TRADED GOODS IN THE AMUQ DURING THE IRON AGE: CYPRIOT, PHOENICIAN AND AEGYPTIAN ARTEFACTS AT CHATAL HÖYÜK

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Abstract: This paper presents and analyses the imported goods in the large village of Chatal Höyük, located on the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, at the eastern fringes of the Amuq plain, over a period of 600 years: from the Iron Age I to the end of Iron Age III (1150-550 BC). The aim of this contribution is to identify and discuss how the presence and absence of Cypriot and Phoenician materials, as well as their variability compared to materials from other areas (Egypt and Assyria), may reveal specific patterns in the trade networks in the NE Mediterranean and within the Amuq plain itself. The detailed analyses of the imports and of their contexts show that connections with Cyprus, although transforming during the Iron Age, were the steadiest, whereas the import of Egyptian and Assyrian materials was directly related to specific economic and historical changes. Moreover, even though Iron Age trade in the Northern Levant (from the 9th century BC) is usually connected to the well-known Phoenician and Cypriot networks in the Mediterranean, the low presence of Phoenician materials at Chatal Höyük may point towards a different intraregional trade organization. This picture fits well within the political and social history of the Iron Age Amuq and, in part, mirrors the political relations between the area and its neighbouring countries.

Keywords: Amuq,[1] Iron Age, Imports, Mediterranean Trade.

1. Introduction

1.1. *Trade, Influence and Reception*

Since the 1980s, when the idea of a Mediterranean as a unifying element was already well established and received, scholarly research has focused on the analysis of the Mediterranean as a cultural unit and on the connectedness of different regions at given periods.[2] Traded goods are pivotal elements in the analysis of the commercial sea network both on short and middle range distances, especially in periods such as the first half of the first Millennium BC, when the existence of a complex trade network, commercial enclaves and independent entrepreneurship is well known from textual and archaeological evidence. Moreover, traded goods play a crucial role in better understanding the well-investigated phenomena of acceptance/refusal, appreciation/rejection of "foreign" elements in specific societies and in pointing out the cultural implications that the use, imitation or rejection of foreign goods can potentially have in the pointing out of community identity.[3]

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1 The words Amuq and T. Tayinat should be transcribed ʻAmuq and T. Taʻyinat, however it has been preferred here to use the terms in the writing usually employed in archaeological publications of the area.

2 For a general overview on the theoretical background for Mediterranean unity cfr. Panagiotopoulos 2015 and references; for the plurality of the Mediterranean as opposed to the unity, cfr. Knapp – van Dommelen 2015b, pp. 2-3; for recent general works on the Mediterranean including pre-Classical times, cfr. Patton 1996; Hodos 2006; Broodbank 2013; Knapp – van Dommelen 2015a.

3 For the Levant and the Eastern Mediterranean the concepts of acceptance and refusal of Mycenaean pottery were employed by Leonard 1994, and were further developed in van Wijngaarden 2002.

This article deals specifically with traded goods in a very small part of the Mediterranean world, the Amuq plain, over a long period of time, the Iron Age (12th-6th cent. BC; IA hereafter), in order to better understand the trade relationships in this specific corner of the Mediterranean, the role of the Amuq and its harbour in the market networks over time, and the relationship between this region and its southern neighbours, such as Cyprus and the Phoenician cities. It deals specifically with goods coming from Cyprus, Phoenician cities and, on a smaller scale, Egypt, as markers for contact and signs of local appreciation of specific products. This analysis has been carried out on the basis of the material found during archaeological investigations and may not mirror traded goods such as food, raw materials or metals, which might have been more strongly represented in the network, but due to their perishable or reusable nature are rare in the archaeological record.[4] This article presents imports and local imitations from Cyprus and from Phoenicia; it will not deal with IA Aegeanizing (or Mycenaean or Philistine) pottery as this specific group has been already analysed and published, and it is not related to trade, but rather to the migration phenomena that took place at the beginning of the Iron Age.[5]

1.2. *The Amuq*

The Amuq region (Hatay province in Turkey) is a plain geographically well defined by the Amanus mountains, the low hills of the Kurt Dağ, and the Syrian limestone massif; it is also a region at the crossroads between Anatolia, Cilicia, northern Mesopotamia and the Qoueiq plain in Syria. Three rivers, the Kara-su, the Orontes and the Afrin, flow into and through the plain; rainfall averages within 500-700 mm per year and is sufficient for rain-fed crops. The lake of Antioch on the north-western part of the plain is a late phenomenon (end of the 1st millennium BC), which started to develop in the second half of the 2nd millennium BC from localized marshes and pools that influenced the settlements' distribution.[6] Sea trade is facilitated in the plain where the Orontes disembogues into the Mediterranean Sea into a now 15 km long coastal strip.[7] Two regional surveys[8] have been carried out in the region mapping and cataloguing 335 sites in the plain; three sites with IA evidence have been extensively excavated (Chatal Höyük, Tell Tayinat and al-Mina), while smaller investigations have been carried out at other IA sites such as Sabuniye and Tell Judeidah. The American regional investigations carried out in the 1930s set a regional sequence for the area (Amuq phases A to T);[9] according to this sequence, phases M to O identify the period from the LBA I to IA III, and generally speaking, the following equivalence can be accepted: Phase M = Late Bronze Age, Phase N = Iron Age I and Phase O = Iron Age II–III. However, at Chatal Höyük, the rich and detailed stratigraphy as well as the possibility of correlating assemblages from different areas has allowed for a further subdivision into three sub-phases for each Amuq period. For this reason, the terms N_Beginning, N_Middle and N_Late (cfr. Table 1) are based only on the stratigraphy

4 The majoritarian role played by raw materials is evident in the cargo of the Uluburun shipwreck (Pulak 2010); cfr. also Sherratt 2015, p. 77.

5 For Chatal Höyük and Aegean migration cfr. Pucci 2019b and references; for the Amuq in general cfr. Pucci – Kozal – Koehl 2020; for Alalakh, cfr. Koehl 2019 and 2020; for Tell Tayinat, cfr. Janeway 2017 and Welton *et al.* 2019.

6 Wilkinson 1997; Yener *et al.* 2000, pp. 174-177.

7 The original coastline was slightly different from the current one, cfr. Pamir 2005, pp. 68-69, fig. 3.2.

8 The American survey carried out by the Oriental Institute in Chicago in the 1930s (Braidwood 1937; Braidwood – Braidwood 1960), the American-Turkish survey in 2000s (Yener 2005) and still ongoing. The archaeological excavations at the three sites were carried out before the survey in the 1930s by the American team of the University of Chicago.

9 For a detailed description of the Amuq phases and the criteria employed, cfr. Pucci 2019a, pp. 6-8 and references. For a general overview of all Amuq phases, cfr. Braidwood – Braidwood 1960, table 1; Haines 1971, table 1.

of Chatal Höyük;[10] the absolute dates for these phases are based on the local stratigraphy and on the artefacts collected.[11]

1.3. *The Iron Age Amuq and the North-Eastern Mediterranean*

The political changes that affected the Amuq region in the passage from the Late Bronze Age (LBA hereafter) to the IA took place over a long period of approximately 100 years, from the mid-13th century to the mid-12th century BC, when the political presence of the Hittite empire began to fade out and the region underwent a period of economic crisis and decreased its agricultural production, which can be seen in the latest stages of the LBA II or in the passage from the LBA to the IA (Phase M-N in Chatal stratigraphy).[12] A similar pattern of economic collapse is also well documented in the rest of the northern Levant and in Cyprus, although to different extremes: from destruction and abandonment (such as at Ugarit, Tell Kazel, and Ras el Bassit),[13] to the intraregional relocation phenomena seen in Cyprus at Enkomi and Salamis, or in the northern Levant with the transfer of the capital to a new location (Tell Atchana to Tell Tayinat).[14] During this period, the Amuq experienced not only political change as it transitioned from provincial territories of a large empire based in Anatolia to an autonomous political entity, but also social change as a consequence of ruralisation and the arrival of small groups of migrants with a Mycenaean cultural background. The pottery production at the beginning of the IA I (Phase N) clearly shows a process of hybridization, which can be considered the result of the local population intermixing with small groups of migrants. Then, during IA I (Phase N), the Amuq underwent a community-building period (Phase N_Beginning, mid-12th - 11th centuries BC), followed by a phase of urban and political rebirth (Phase N_Middle, end of the 11th-10th centuries BC) with the foundation of the new capital (Tell Tayinat) and the birth of a new kingdom (Walastin)[15] under a new local royal dynasty in a regional system that probably extended beyond the borders of the Amuq plain, as evidenced by the stela at Meharde and Sheizar (Phase N_Late in the Amuq, 10th - mid-9th centuries). Starting with Phase O_Beginning (mid-9th century BC), pottery production became homogenous in style, shape repertoire and dimensions and thereby indicates a site-centralized production; in fact local ateliers specialized in small craft works appeared (O_Mid, 8th-7th centuries BC), and the region shifted from a two-level to a three-level settlement hierarchy. During this period the small harbour of al-Mina, located at the mouth of the Orontes, gained relevance (lev. 8-7) and grew in size and connectedness with other Mediterranean political entities such as Cyprus, where, during the same period, the entrepreneurial system was beginning to be replaced by institutionalized trading networks. The Assyrian conquest of the region in 738 BC, although well documented at Tell Tayinat, did not strongly affect everyday material culture; O_Mid is a long period of economic and urban growth, which began to decline only after the collapse of the Assyrian Empire during Phase O_Late (7th-6th centuries BC) when a slow process of depopulation, especially in its eastern fringes, started (cfr. Table 1).

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10 The distinction in beginning/middle/late has been preferred instead of Swift's (1958) division into a/b/c because, in this work it mirrors the position in the stratigraphy and not a morphological change in the pottery assemblages. The subphases beginning and late have been employed only for those phases which were stratigraphically located in the transitional phase from one phase to the other.

11 For a detailed discussion on this matter, cfr. Pucci 2019a, pp. 171-195.

12 Pucci 2020 and references; cfr. also El Ouahabi *et al.* 2018, p. 113. In Cilicia this last part of the LBA is frequently called LBIIb or LBIII (Lehmann 2017, pp. 230-237), at Kinet Hüyük it corresponds to level 13.

13 For a recent overview on traces of destruction during the LBA II in the Levant and northern Syria, cfr. Millek 2019 and references.

14 Cfr. Iacovou 2013 for Cyprus; in general cfr. Mazzoni 1997; for Cilicia cfr. Lehmann 2008.

15 It is preferred here the reading Walastin, instead of Palastin, because this is the official reading of the Luwian hieroglyph inscriptions Tell Tayinat and Aleppo (Weeden 2015).

BC	Amuq/Lower Orontes			Northern Levant (**Tell Afis**) LBA = Late Bronze Age IA = Iron Age	Southern Levant[16] (low chronology) based on **T. Dor** excavations. LB= Late Bronze; Ir = Iron	Cyprus LC = Late Cypriot; CG = Cypro-geometric; CA = Cypro-Arcaic
	Chatal H.	**al-Mina** levels	**T. Tayinat**, local phases Field 1 (F1) or acropolis (BP)			
1250	M-N			LBA II	LBIIb	LC IIIb
1150						
			F1_FP6c	IA IA		LC IIIc
1100/1050	N_Beginning		F1_FP6b	IA IB	Ir1a	
			F1_FP6a		Ir1a/b	CG Ia
950	N_Middle		F1_FP5b-a		Ir1b	
			F1_FP4		Ir1/2	CG Ib
875-850	N_Late		F1_FP3	IA IC	Ir2a	CG II
		10	BP II			ECG III
750	O_Beginning	9		IA IIA	Ir2b	MCG III
				IA IIB		LCG III
650	O_Middle	8	BP III	IA III	Ir2c	CA I
		7				
600	O_Late	6-5				
		gap				
		4				CA II
500						
		3				C Classical I
350		2				C Classical II

Table 1. Iron Age periodization at Chatal Höyük and neighbouring sites compared to the Iron Age sequence in the Levant[17].

1.4. *The Datasets and Pottery Classes*

The archaeological materials from the site of Chatal Höyük excavated during the American excavations in the 1930's are the main dataset on which this research is based and consist of approximately 13,000 diagnostic sherds and 3,500 small finds related to a stratigraphic sequence that spans from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the Iron Age. The archaeological contexts, the pottery inventories, the selection process on the field have been fully published[18] as well as the chronology showed in Table 1. According to the field documentation, all diagnostic sherds were collected and recorded on the field, and among the imported pottery all sherds were kept and brough to the Oriental Institute Museum. The diagrams presented here, as well as in all publications on this material, are based exclusively on number of diagnostic sherds (imported or not) and not on the body sherds. The architectural contexts dated to the Iron Age show mainly domestic structures

16 For the connections between T. Dor and Tyre, Tyre al-Bass, Sidon during this period, cfr. Núñez Calvo 2017, fig. 1.

17 Sequence at Chatal H. is based on Pucci 2019a; at al Mina on Lehmann 2005 and Vacek 2020; at Tell Tayinat on Welton *et al.* 2019. For Northern Levant: Mazzoni 2000 and 2014, Venturi 2007; for Southern Levant, on the Dor sequence cfr. Gilboa 2018 (low chronology). For Cyprus the sequence is based on the reviewed chronology (Georgiadou 2016; Kleiman *et al.* 2019, fig. 8).

18 Pucci 2019a.

with few production areas, the distribution of the imports in the village of Chatal H. per phase have been also analysed in the general publication.[19]

The IA ceramic production at Chatal Höyük employs only three fabric types,[20] which are completely independent of the surface treatment or decoration and only relate to their function: kitchen, storage and common ware. The base clay employed for the production ranges in colour from beige to peach and is very rich in multimineral grit, especially iron (red) grit with the addition of some chaff. This same ware is essentially used for all local production except for very large storage containers, which include more chaff, and for kitchen ware, which includes only one temper (either shell or quartz). This grouping influenced the cataloguing of the pottery: different fabrics combined with specific shapes and surface treatments were ascribed to the import category, while vessels made with local fabric were ascribed to a sub-class in the local common ware group, even when they were imitating foreign styles or shapes. For example, Bichrome vessels, i.e. pottery decorated with painted muster using two colours (usually black and red on a light background) could be catalogued as imported when the fabric was not local, or catalogued as local when the fabric was identical to the one used for common ware. Further distinction between Cypriot and Phoenician bichrome is mainly based on the same features that have been emphasized by scholars over the years: Cypriot bichrome corresponds to the shapes and patterns identified first by Gjerstad as bichrome pottery,[21] whereas Phoenician bichrome bears the decorative features and the shapes highlighted by Gilboa and Núñez Calvo,[22] both in the decorative pattern/syntax and in the shapes. The problems raised by the fact that Phoenician pottery might well be influenced in several aspects by Cypriot pottery and vice versa will be discussed in the Phoenician section.

Very few samples from this assemblage were analysed with Neutron activation in the 1960s and 70s, while more recently a small group of Cypriot sherds have been analysed to determine their specific provenance on the island.[23] All of this data will be merged in the analysis below.

2. Contact with Cyprus

The only regional opening to the Mediterranean, the Orontes delta, offered a natural harbour area. The site of Sabuniye has been identified as the main harbour in the LBA and IA I, while in the IA II and III the role was taken over by al-Mina and Sabuniye transitioned into a warehouse district. This coastline was located approximately 110 nm from the closest Cypriot harbours on the eastern coast of the island, such as Kition/Salamis, and Lapithos on the northern coast. LBA Cypriot imports to the Amuq are well represented at the site of Alalakh and to a smaller extent at Chatal H., and demonstrate a steady trade of ceramic containers from Cyprus to the Amuq. The ceramics consist not only of ubiquitous shapes such as White Slip II milk bowls and Base Ring jugs, but also include rarer artefacts such as Cypriot kraters and monochrome bowls.[24] Fragments of imported Cypriot pottery have also been found in contexts dating to the passage from the LBA to the IA (at Alalakh only in square 42.10, at Chatal H. both in Phase M_Late and N_Beginning), and while they could be residual from previous periods, these fragments may also suggest that the Amuq-Cyprus connection resisted the phase of political instability.

19 Pucci 2019a, pp. 296-297, fig. 122.

20 The distinction between locally produced pottery and imports is based on an autopsy of the fabric using a 10x lens and of the surface treatment and colours of paint and slip.

21 Gjerstad 1948.

22 Gilboa 1999; Núñez Calvo 2008.

23 Cfr. Matthers *et al.* 1983; Karacic – Osborne 2016; Pucci 2019a, p. 16 and note 19.

24 For the LBA Cypriot imports to Alalakh cfr. Kozal 2019a, 2019b and Kozal *et al.* 2020; for the LBA Cypriot imports to Chatal H. cfr. Pucci 2019a, pp. 65-77, 179, pl. 44c; in general cfr. Pucci – Kozal – Koehl 2020.

2.1. *IA Cypriot Containers and their Context*

The IA Cypriot imports to the Amuq (specifically to Chatal H. and to Tell Tayinat) differ from local imitations in several ways: they present a finer yellowish fabric with no chaff (which is typically employed in the local production), the surface of the vessel frequently has a whitish slip, and, when colours are employed on the vessel's surface, the pigments (especially red) are more brilliant than their local counterparts. IA Cypriot imports belong to several pottery classes (cfr. Diagram 1) with various degrees of impact on the local assemblage according to the phase.

During Phase N (Iron Age I, 1140-850 BC), White Painted Wheel Made III (WPWM)[25] and Proto-White Painted imports are very few and related to shapes that sometimes occur only once in the whole assemblage. These vessels (Fig. 1a-d) have been identified not only because their fabrics differ from the local ones (see above), but also due to the presence of a white slip and burnished surface that does not exist in the local or in the Mycenaean production of these same vessels.[26] The only surviving complete vessel is a belly handled jar (Fig. 1d) with black decoration; its shape and elongated neck, as well as the syntax of its geometric patterns, find comparison with white painted (I) amphorae at Paleopaphos-Skales or proto-white painted amphorae at Alaas.[27] Bucchero or black slip channelled vessels are extremely rare and exotic both in shape and decoration:[28] one example, found directly on the floor of a domestic structure, is the large spherical

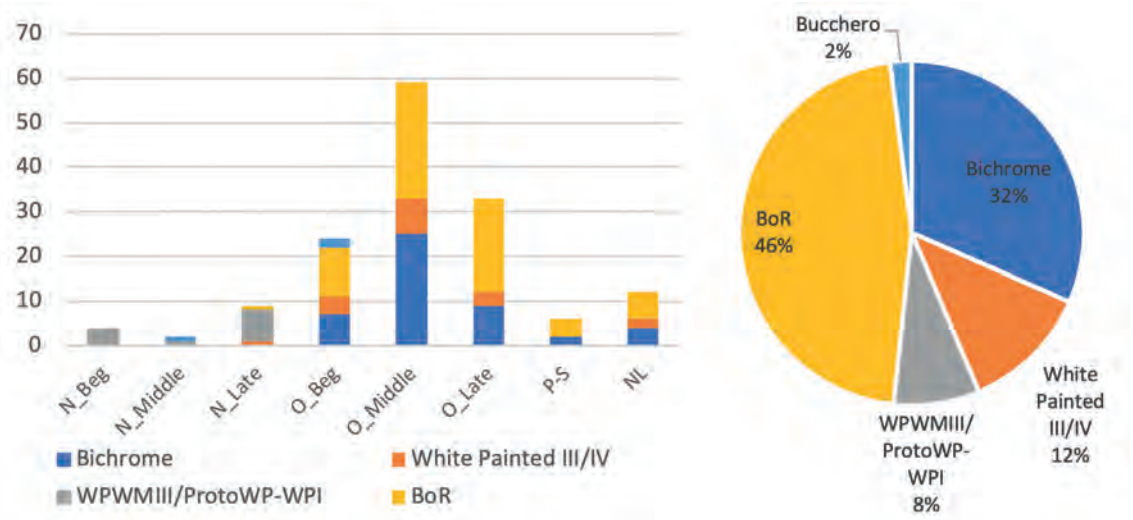

Diagram 1. A. Distribution of imported Cypriot pottery per phase and class. B. Percentage of classes among the Cypriot imports.

25 Following Kling's definition of this class (Kling 1991, p. 183).

26 It should be pointed out that some morphological features, such as the high-swung handles (Fig. 1a-b), do not find an exact comparison in the WPWM assemblage. However, both complete vessels seem to have Cypriot origins, as indicated by their surface treatment and their shape, which is more similar to the carinated cups with high-swung handles from the Argolis (Mountjoy 1999, fig. 48 n. 359) and from Corinth (Mountjoy 1999, fig. 74 nn. 182-184) than the carinated cups of the White Painted Wheel-made III group, which usually have a vertical loop handle.

27 For Palaeopaphos cfr. Karageorghis 1983, tomb 44 n. 116, fig. 52; for Alaas, cfr. Karageorghis 1975, pl. 55, T15/1, pl. 59 T17/2. According to Karageorghis the medium-sized shape (like this example from Chatal) continues in the White Painted I ware during the Iron Age (Karageorghis 1975, p. 47).

28 The Black Slip Painted Ware I-II group of the Cypro-Geometric period (Gjerstad 1948, fig. XVII) combines black slip-ware with the painted patterns of White Painted and Black Slip Bichrome ware (Gjerstad 1948, fig. XVI n. 15); however, its shape, especially the rounded bottom, is not common in the channelled Black Slip group and instead may belong to an amphora or amphoriskos.

Fig. 1. Chatal Höyük pottery. Selection of Cypriot imports (a-e), local made painted plates (f-i) and two handled Aegeanizing jar (j). The phase indicated near the id number refers to the context of retrieval of that specific sherd. © Author

closed vessel (Fig. 1e)[29] with black slip, modelled body, painted geometric elements within a reserved horizontal band on the body, and a star pattern in the reserved circle on the rounded bottom. The variety of shapes, classes and decorations suggests that the Cypriot vessels were imported during this phase for their intrinsic value rather than for their contents,[30] a trend that will completely shift during the 9th century BC. While in Phase N imports are very few and mainly limited to White Painted containers, starting from Phase O_Beginning (Iron Age IIa in the southern Levant, Cyprogeometric III, 9th century BC) the trend and the imported classes change. Instead of importing a variety of single shapes and classes, a preference emerges for two specific classes: Bichrome decorated pottery (PB), and the Black on Red class (BoR). Each class accounts for respectively 32% and 46% of all imports from Cyprus.[31] Thus, Cypriot imports increase in number but are basically limited to three classes (BoR, White Painted WP and PB) and three shapes (juglets, barrel shaped jars and deep bowls).

BoR juglets,[32] become very well appreciated. Neck-ridged juglets with a small vertical loop handle, spherical/ovoid/squat body, and flat base are the most common, and their decoration is limited to simple horizontal lines and concentric circles on the shoulder (Fig. 2a-i). Both shapes and decorations correspond to Gjerstadt's horizon BoR I (III) and II (IV).[33] There are only two variations: a BoR juglet with simple trumpet neck, no ridge and a squat body (Fig. 2e) belonging to a shape common in the Bichrome III horizon,[34] and the only known example at the site of Bichrome-Red Ware (Fig. 2k), with an almost completely black slip and a white decoration on the surface.[35] These juglets fulfilled either a symbolic function as luxury objects[36] or a practical function as containers for specific liquids, or perhaps satisfied both. They were imported to Chatal starting from the very end of Phase N (first half of the 9th century), however their maximum period of diffusion (in terms of percentage) was during the phases O_Middle and O_Late (8th-7th centuries BC), following a trend identical to those of the same class observed at other sites in the southern Levant.[37] A few other BoR shapes, such as the small trefoil jug (Fig. 2j) and bowls (Fig. 2l-n), were found only in Phase O_Late, suggesting that the range of shapes in this class were imported only starting from a later period.[38] These vessels were never imitated locally.

29 Pucci 2019a, cat. n. 3, pl. 2a.

30 The same phenomenon takes place during the LBA, cfr. Kozal 2019b.

31 All percentages are calculated based on the number of diagnostic sherds. All body sherds and/or fragments too small to allow for the identification of their shape have been discarded.

32 This class is considered Cypriot not only because the NAA analyses on three samples identified a Cypriot provenance (Matthers *et al.* 1983), but also because recent studies on this specific class suggest a Cypriot provenance (see Schreiber 2003, p. 221 and ff.; Lehmann 2008, p. 156 note 131; Kleiman *et al.* 2019 – see above).

33 Gjerstad 1948, fig. 25 nn. 9 and 10 (BoR I); fig. 38 n. 9 (BoR II). This is the same type as the BoR juglets imported to the southern Levant from the Iron Age IIA, cfr. Gilboa 2015 pl. 4.2.5 nn. 14-15, pl. 4.2.7 nn. 18-19. The difference between Type III and Type IV could be also related to different workshops, cfr. Kleiman *et al.* 2019, p. 550 and note 101.

34 Gjerstad 1948, pl. 22 n. 10. Birmingham considers this shape typical for BoR II (Birmingham 1963, ill. 1.23) and lists its distribution in the southern Levant and Cyprus (Birmingham 1963, p. 35). In the southern Levant it is considered a marker for the Iron Age IIa (Gilboa 2015, pl. 4.3.5 n. 18).

35 I thank Dr. Francisco J. Núñez Calvo for this information concerning the specific class. It should be mentioned here that the specific context of this assemblage (N-13_II), dated to phase N_Middle, included at least two diagnostic sherds dating to the 9th century BC: the one discussed here (Cypro-Geometric III) and a Euboean bowl (Pucci 2019a, pl. 79b) that might possibly be intrusive (cfr. Pucci 2019a, pp. 86 and 186).

36 Schreiber 2003, p. 55.

37 Kleiman *et al.* 2019, fig. 8 for Megiddo.

38 In contrast, Schreiber (2003, p. 48) and Gilboa (2015, pl. 4.2.2-6) show that BoR bowls appear in the southern Levant in the same period as the juglets.

Fig. 2. Chatal Höyük pottery. Black on red juglets (a-i), Black on Red trifoil jug (j), bichrome red juglet (k), Black on Red bowls (l-o), Black on Red jar (p) and white painted krater or large bowls (q-r). The phase indicated near the id number refers to the context of retrieval of that specific sherd. © Author

WP imports are not very numerous, and are mainly limited to bowls (deep bowl/krater, Fig. 2o and 2q, or smaller handled and thin bowls, Fig. 2r) and to the horizon identified by Gjerstad as III.[39]

Instead, imported Bichrome pottery is the second most common group (cfr. Diagram 1b) and consists of two main shapes: deep bowls with thinned lips (Fig. 3a-g) and single handled barrel-shaped jugs (Figs. 3i-m, 4d, 4e, and 4f).[40] The deep bowls (Fig. 3a-g), often with vestigial handles (Fig. 3f-g), low carination and bichrome decoration with bands and geometric patterns in metope (Fig. 3g), reflect the Cypriot production dating to CG III/CAI,[41] as well as some of the Cypriot imports to al-Mina[42] and to the southern Levant.[43] These bowls, not suitable as transport containers, were perhaps imported for their intrinsic value. Instead, barrel shaped jugs consist of three parts: a cylindrical neck with various lip shapes (Fig. 3g-m), a body made of two hemispheres, and a single vertical handle. Their potential volume ranges between two to four litres, and their irregular and rounded bases prevent these flasks from standing upright.[44] The numerous necks and rim parts (Fig. 3h-m),[45] combined with a very large number of body sherds, clearly shows that this large shape was the most common in the bichrome group and was found frequently as a single vessel in the domestic assemblages of Phase O_Mid.[46] The funnel shape, the bichrome decoration in red bands between black lines,[47] and the nipples at the edges (Fig. 4d, f, h) are all well-known elements in Cypriot assemblages[48] and among the Cypriot imports to al-Mina[49] and to the southern Levant.[50] The shape and decoration of these jugs was also locally imitated (Fig. 4b, e, g), however frequent mistakes in the proportions of the parts or shape, the absence of a white slip and the different tone, shine and thickness of the red colour suggest the absence of a direct technological transfer[51]. These jugs could have been used as short-term containers

39 Gjerstad 1948, pl. 18 nn. 4-6.

40 No bichrome miniature juglets, such as those identified in the southern Levant (Gilboa 2012, fig. 1), were found at Chatal H. These possibly belonged to a different functional area.

41 Gjerstad 1948, Bichrome III, fig. XXI nn. 7, 9 and 10; Georgiadou 2011, fig. 22 from Amathous.

42 du Plat Taylor 1959, fig. 1 nn. 1 and 3.

43 Gilboa 2015, pl. 4.2.3 nn. 5-10. Most of the bowls (Fig. 3a-d) imported to Chatal and found in phases O_Mid and Late have a small ridge underneath the rim, which is a rare feature visible only on Cypriot bowls of the bichrome III and IV horizons (Gjerstad 1948, pl. XXI n. 10 and pl. XXXI n. 3). The only bichrome large bowl found in the Phase O_Beginning level (Fig. 3f) has a rim shape similar to those dated to the Iron Age IIa in the Levant (Gilboa 2015, pl. 4.2.3 nn. 5-8).

44 This process of production could be observed on several body fragments and on the complete vessels A26623 and A26599 (Fig. 4h and b respectively). It is the same procedure used to manufacture the LBA lentoid (so-called pilgrim) flasks, such as A26718 (Fig. 4a).

45 The rim/neck parts shown in the image were assigned to barrel shaped jugs (not to stable amphoras) based on the type of body sherds found in the same assemblage and on the almost complete absence of lower body parts and ring bases belonging to amphoras.

46 Pucci 2016. The diagram shows only diagnostic sherds, i.e. rim-neck handle joints**,** and the distribution of this specific shape follows a similar diachronic scheme as observed by Gilboa in Tell Dor (Gilboa 1999). However, the miniature bichrome flasks, which seem to be recurrent in the southern Levant, are not represented in the Chatal assemblage.

47 Gilboa emphasizes that the enclosed band bichrome configuration fulfilled a very specific function during the IA Ib (Gilboa 1999, pp. 9-12): to convey information on the content of the vessel, especially for trade with Cyprus. In the southern Levant, this same decorative pattern would later on become "evolved to project a group identity" (Gilboa 1999, p. 16) of the local population and of the Cypro-Phoenician cultural milieu. This phenomenon is not clearly present at Chatal (see below on bichrome pottery).

48 Gjerstad 1948, pp. 60-68; Georgiadou 2018, fig. 14 n. 1 from Lapithos. The presence of the nipples may provide further information on the provenance of the examples from Chatal: this specific feature is very frequent at Lapithos (seven examples, cfr. Gjerstad 1948, tav. VIII n. 10), Enkomi-Kaminia (both barrel shaped jugs, Dikaios 1969, pl. 221 n. 9) and Palaeopaphos-Plakes (four examples, cfr. Karageorghis – Raptou 2014, pl. 60 n. 34) and Salamis (Kourou 2019, fig. 1), possibly emphasizing a connection to these specific sites. I thank Martina Ciconte, who analysed bichrome barrel shaped jugs of the eastern Mediterranean in her master thesis, discussed at the Università degli studi di Firenze in December 2019, and collected all morphological data on these containers.

49 du Plat Taylor 1959, fig. 2.

50 Gilboa 2015, pl. 4.2.6 nn. 1-2, pl. 4.2.7 nn. 21-23.

51 These criteria proved to be valid from Karacic and Osborne analysis (Karacic - Osborne 2016): when I was asked to provide them only with Cypriot imports all the samples resulted as belonging to group alfa, i.e. to a Cypriot production.

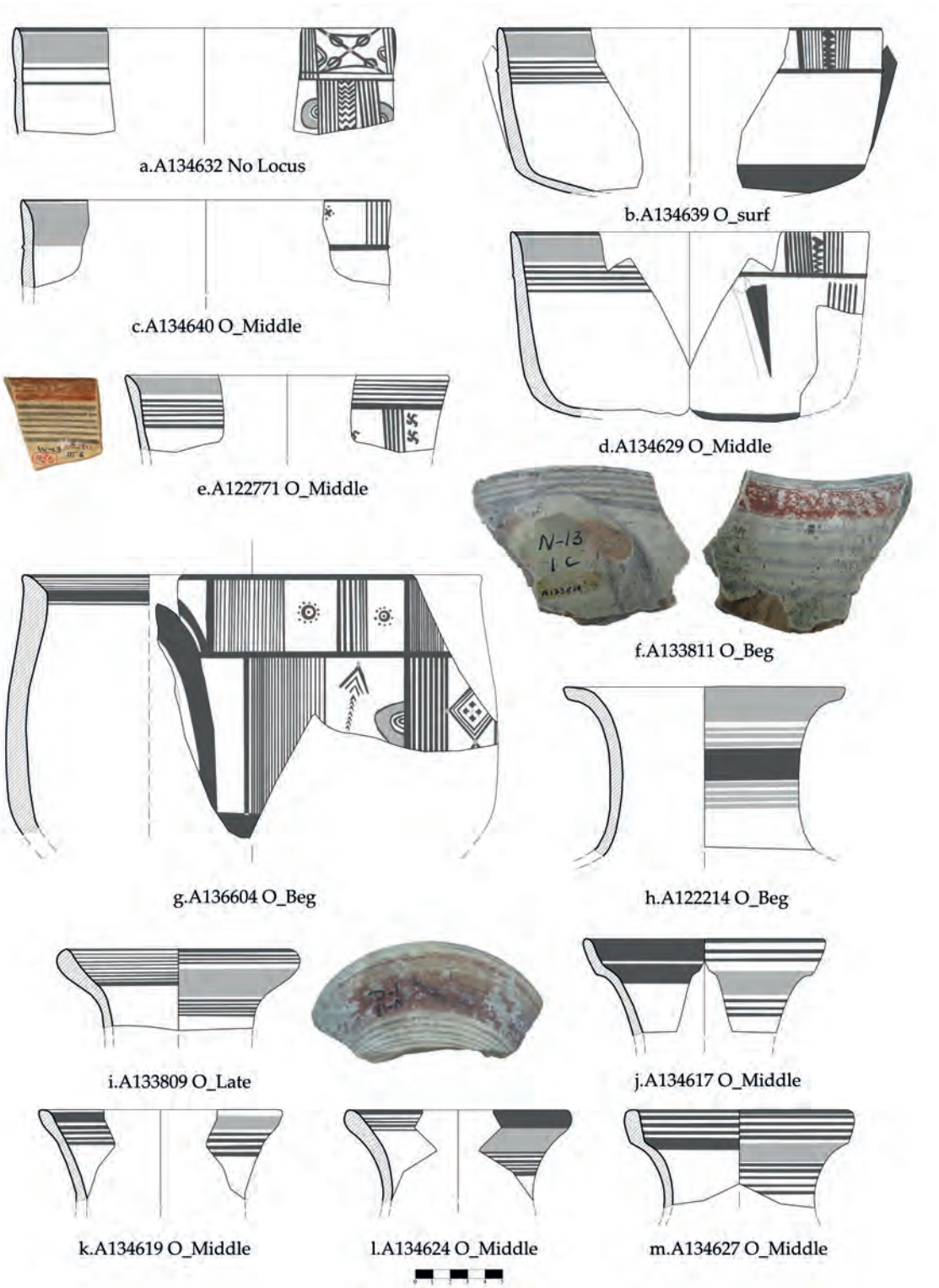

Fig. 3. Chatal Höyük pottery. Cypriot bichrome: large bowls (a-g), Jar (h) and possible barrel-shaped jars (i-m). The phase indicated near the id number refers to the context of retrieval of that specific sherd. © Author

Fig. 4. Chatal Höyük pottery. Flasks, lenticular (a), local made imitation (b), two-handled small Phoenician (c), barrel shaped (d-h). The phase indicated near the id number refers to the context of retrieval of that specific sherd. © Author

or transport vessels, and the fact that they were locally imitated may suggest a function different from that of the bowls. Both bichrome shapes, the bowl and the barrel jug, were imported from Cyprus[52] starting in Phase O (only one example was found in Phase N_Late, see Fig. 4h); no similar vessels are present in the assemblage in earlier periods, with the exception of one pilgrim flask with a lenticular shape and red decoration (Fig. 4a) found in a N_Beginning phase. This specific Late Bronze Age II shape is well-known both in Anatolia[53] and in Syria,[54] and while it differs from the barrel jug in size (1 l), origin (local) and chronology (LBA), it shares the same technological production process as the lenticular Mycenaean/Syrian LBA flask and the Phoenician two-handled Iron Age I flask (Fig. 4c).

2.2. *Other Artefacts*

Among the numerous small finds collected at the site, very few can be traced back to Cyprus, suggesting that traded goods other than pottery were probably limited to perishables (edibles) or precious materials (metals), neither of which survive in the archaeological record. It is worth pointing out here that only two fragments (Fig. 7a-b) of a small[55] painted limestone statue were found on the floor of a Phase O_Late structure. Avoiding a detailed description of the statue[56] a few further observations can be made here: the young Herakles/Melqart belongs stylistically to the Cypro-Greek period and shares several traits with Cypriot male votive figures dating to the same period.[57] In particular the Chatal example is very similar to the Herakles representations found in the Sanctuary of the Golgoi[58] dating to the end of the 6th century BC, as well as to the Kition/Amrit production of the 6th and 5th cent. BC.[59] Style, material, and subject are not local; the rendering of the eyes and the beardless face find direct parallels with a head from Amrit,[60] as well as the shoed feet (Fig. 7b) seem to be related to Amrit production.[61] These elements suggest that it is an import to Chatal, the provenience although here remains questionable: either from Cyprus itself or, considering its provincial traits (elongated face, curls rendered in the same patterns as the lion's teeth) it could also be traced back to an Cypriot atelier located in Amrit.[62] This single votive statue is a *unicum* at the site, and the architectural context in which it was found shows usual domestic features preventing any reconstruction of a temple in this specific area.

3. Phoenician Influence

Defining ceramic materials as "purely" Phoenician is quite a difficult task, considering the overlap of certain production centres for the same types between Cyprus and Phoenicia proper.[63] For this reason, the Amuq's direct relationship to the Phoenician cities is discussed here in light of some recently-debated issues on specific pottery classes and shapes, artefacts and writing.

52 The location of sediment samples in Cyprus cf. Karacic - Osborne 2016, fig. 7.

53 Müller-Karpe 1988, p. 125.

54 Venturi 1996.

55 Probably the whole statue was approximately 50 cm tall.

56 Cfr. Pucci 2019a, pp. 282-283, cat. n. 1225, fig. 119.

57 Karageorghis 2000, cat. nn. 169, 170, 185.

58 See Hermary – Mertens 2014, cat. nn. 300, 301, 303.

59 Hermary 2007.

60 Lembke 2004, pl. 5c-d; Hermary 2007, fig. 4.

61 Lembke 2004, pl. 50.

62 Hermary suggests the presence at Amrit of a group of Cypriot artists from Kition due to the large production of Herakles/Melqart statues at the site (Hermary 2007, p. 177).

63 Gilboa – Waiman-Barak – Sharon 2015, pp. 93-98.

3.1. *The Missing Elements: Phoenician Pottery Shapes*

Defining the Phoenician material culture, especially pottery, is a very complicated issue both when dealing with well-known Phoenician cities and with larger regions where the Phoenician material culture had likely spread (from Arwad/Amrit to the north, to the Carmel coast to the south).[64] Lehmann, in his seminal work on Iron Age pottery, preferred to use the term "coastal",[65] which on some occasions was synonymous with Phoenician;[66] however this included not only shapes known in Phoenician cities, but also shapes from the Syrian and Cilician coastal sites.[67] More recently, specific shapes have been discussed as Phoenician productions and consequently identified as characteristic of Phoenician culture; these are what will be considered here. The well-known transport jars[68] are completely absent at Chatal H., but were imported to the harbour of al-Mina;[69] chalices,[70] similarly unknown at Chatal, are again present at al-Mina;[71] Phoenician neck ridged jugs[72] with flat ring bases may have come in different sizes and body shapes and developed in different ways over time,[73] as the ones with mushroom lips;[74] however, at Chatal H. no complete vessel of this sort could be identified with any certainty. The two-handled small flask (Fig. 4c), found in an unstratified context, is a unique example of this specific small flasks, a shape that differs in size (smaller), number (two) and position of the handles, length of the neck and rim (taller and wider) and decoration of the handle from the typical LBA lentoid flasks (Fig. 4a); this specific shape belongs to a Phoenician tradition identified at Achziv,[75] Sarepta,[76] Tell Qasile[77] and Tell Dor,[78] dating to IA Ia/b at Dor and IA IIa at Achziv. Weiman-Barak identified two production centres for this specific shape in the Western Galilee and the southern Lebanese coast.[79] This one example from Chatal may represent one of the few Proto-Phoenician imports.[80]

Phoenician common plates,[81] despite their wide distribution in the whole Mediterranean and despite the fact that the shape is common in the Phase O ceramic repertoire at Chatal, differ substantially

64 Knowledge of Phoenician pottery is based on the seminal work of Bikai on the pottery from Tyre (Bikai 1978), and on the more recent excavations at the cemetery of Tyre al-Bass (Aubet 2004; Núñez Calvo 2008; 2014). Sites such as Tell Dor (Gilboa 2018 and references), Sarepta (Anderson 1988), Achziv (Mazar 2001; 2009-2010; Yasur-Landau – Press – Arie 2016), and Tell Keisan (Briend – Humbert 1980) also provide crucial information on this topic. General works on Phoenician pottery, besides those in general handbooks (cfr. most recent Sader 2019, pp. 169-175), have been carried out regionally by Stern for Israel (Stern 2015), and by Bikai for Cyprus (Bikai 1987). Also the inventories from Megiddo (Finkelstein – Zimhoni – Kafri 2000; Finkelstein – Ussishkin – Halpern 2006) provide well preserved inventories with Cypriot materials.

65 Lehmann 1996, Assemblage I.

66 Cfr. Lehmann 2008, p. 156.

67 Cfr. Lehmann 2008, maps 2-3.

68 Pedrazzi 2007.

69 Woolley 1938a, pl. IV; Woolley 1938b, fig. 26; Lehmann 2005, fig. 9.

70 Freud 2016, fig. 1, p. 178 and references.

71 Lehmann 2005, fig. 7 n. 8.

72 Núñez Calvo 2008, fig. 25; Núñez Calvo 2014, fig. 3.21.

73 Núñez Calvo 2008.

74 Stern 2015, pl. 4.1.21.

75 Waiman-Barak *et al.* 2017, p. 88 and fig. 3.

76 Anderson 1988, pl. 50 type PF 1.

77 Stern 2015, pl. 4.1.12.

78 Gilboa 2018, p. 125 type FL2.

79 Weiman-Barak *et al.* 2017, p. 93.

80 However, it should be remarked that these vessels were also found in Cyprus and are defined as "Levantine production" (cfr. Georgiadou 2018, fig. 2).

81 Núñez Calvo 2018.

Fig. 5. Chatal Höyük pottery. Bichrome local pottery (a-f), bichrome bowls, kraters and shallow bowls. Single pitcher with white slip (g), bichrome feeding bottle (h). The phase indicated near the id number refers to the context of retrieval of that specific sherd. © Author

from their local counterparts: local plates (Fig. 1f-i) always have an elevated ring base and not the typical flat base of the Phoenician type, in most cases they have a simple rim instead of the horizontal or modelled Phoenician ones, and they may have a red slip and burnished (RS) treatment or be plain – very rarely have a painted decoration. Moreover, the diameter of local plates ranges from 45 to 30 cm for the RS examples and 20 cm for the painted ones, whereas the Phoenician ones all seem to be smaller, with a maximum dimeter of 20 cm.[82] In the few surviving examples of local painted decoration, the patterns are limited to concentric circles and, in very few cases, a spiral pattern on the internal base and/or radial lines on the lip (identical to plates in the Hama assemblage[83]), while the painted Phoenician ones[84] use mainly the enclosed band pattern.[85]

Similar observations can be made on strainer jugs (or beer jugs, cfr. Fig. 6a): this shape is frequently listed in the Early Phoenician assemblages[86] and is produced in different classes, with variations in the size of the spout and neck. However, since this specific shape appears at the very beginning of the Iron Age at Chatal Höyük (11th cent. BC), it seems likely that it arrived from the Mycenaean world.[87] Although not very common in the Late Helladic III horizon,[88] it is present in all phases starting from N_Beginning and is first produced in the Painted Monochrome class;[89] production then extended to the Simple Ware[90] and Red Burnished[91] classes, marking the introduction of this shape into the normal local production of the house assemblage. The shape was already very spherical in Phase N_Middle and maintained this shape throughout later contexts (see Fig. 6a), differing from the Phoenician ones for its shorter neck and (where preserved) shorter spout. Both its early appearance and the morphological differences point to a local development independent of Phoenician influence.

3.2. *The Bichrome and Red Slip Classes*

In the large group of Iron Age bichrome pottery, Philistine bichrome,[92] Cypriot bichrome[93] and Phoenician bichrome[94] are three distinct groups. Cypriot bichrome has been discussed above, while the Philistine bichrome is mainly related to the Mycenaeanizing production. At Chatal Höyük locally produced bichrome pottery first appears with very few rim sherds in the periods N_Middle and N_Late: the first experimentations with bichrome pottery involved applying two colours to the standard Late Helladic IIIC patterns,[95] and in this sense would follow the definition of the Philistine bichrome pottery employed for the southern Levant. This production, however, is entirely local and related to the local production of Mycenaean pottery;

82 Bikai 1978, pl. 91; Núñez Calvo 2014, fig. 3.32, 3.45.

83 Cfr. Riis 1948, fig. 130 nn. 82, 88, 90.

84 Stern 2015, fig. 4.1.1; Núñez Calvo 2017, fig. 3.

85 The only possible example of this type is the fragment in Fig. 5a, both for what is preserved of the shape and for the enclosed band pattern. However, the best comparison for this piece was identified at Tell Tayinat (cfr. Pucci 2019a, p. 100) and below.

86 Núñez Calvo 2015; Stern 2015, pl. 4.1.14, p. 442.

87 Furumark 1941, FS155.

88 Mountjoy 1986, table III.

89 Pucci 2019a, fig. 56.

90 Pucci 2019a, fig. 57.

91 Pucci 2019a, fig. 58.

92 Gilboa – Cohen-Weinberger – Goren 2006.

93 Gjerstad 1948.

94 Gilboa 1999.

95 Pucci 2019a, pl. 155.

it cannot be considered a consequence of contact with the southern Levant. A similar phenomenon can be observed at Tell Kazel,[96] where bichromy and Mycenaean shapes were combined.

As mentioned above, imitation of bichrome Cypriot pottery begins in Phase O_Middle. The vessels' decoration on Cypriot imports – a red band between narrow black lines – likely influenced local production; this enclosed band, although it "typifies the syntax of Phoenician bichrome production",[97] cannot be considered a sign of Phoenician influence on Amuq production as the bichrome shapes from Chatal H. differ from the typical Phoenician ones. Local shapes demonstrate a more eclectic use of the two colours, and while they sometimes bear the same bichrome decorative pattern (such as in the feeding bottle Fig. 5h), it is further developed using the red colour to fill in geometric patterns (Fig. 5c), to vary the geometric motifs (Fig. 5d, f), and is also employed in local figurative scenes (Fig. 5b). This specific figurative painting tradition has been already analysed as being local and well known already in the LBA Northern Levant.[98] Moreover, the amount of Bichrome ware also increases at the site over time, allowing us to distinguish three groups: local-made Bichrome feeding bottles[99] without any surface treatment (Fig. 5h), local-made bichrome with a white slip/wash treatment of the surface (possibly imitating the surface of their Cypriot counterparts; see Fig. 5g), and a very fine burnished Bichrome ware (Fig. 5a), usually used in the production of plates.[100] The third group cannot be traced back to a Phoenician production either, but rather to a local luxury one.[101] This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the presence of large quantities of this burnished and shiny Bichrome ware in the pottery assemblage from the acropolis at Tell Tayinat.[102]

The Red slip and burnished pottery (RB) class has been linked to Phoenician production.[103] Despite the fact that in the Amuq the red slip and burnished treatment covers the whole surface of the vessel in the same way as it does at Tyre (but differently from Tell Afis[104]), its production is entirely local at both Chatal (Fig. 6a-c) and at al-Mina.[105] At Chatal, in particular, RB is the marker for the beginning of Phase O (Iron Age II) and starts exclusively with large standardized conical plates with a ring base (Fig. 1i). During phases O_Mid and O_Late the range of shapes produced in RB ware increases, and closed shapes, although still very few in number, start to appear in this class. Most of the shapes belong to traditions well-known in the previous Phase N (such as the strainer jug, Fig. 6a, or the hemispherical deep bowl, Fig. 6b), yet a few may recall well-known Phoenician shapes: the trefoil jug (Fig. 6c), for example, finds very close parallels at Tyre[106] and at Achziv, Lachish and Megiddo.[107] The spherical shape of the body, however, is deeply rooted in the local production, and the short neck and lower handle differentiate it from the southern Levantine production. Thus, except for a few similarities, the ceramic assemblage from Chatal Höyük lacks both Phoenician

96 Badre *et al.* 2005, fig. 5.8.

97 Gilboa 1999; 2018, p. 160.

98 Venturi 2005; Pucci 2019a, p. 182.

99 The shape is clearly related to the Aegean repertoire, cfr. Pucci 2019a, pp. 220-221.

100 Several examples of this specific production were found at Tell Tayinat (Osborne in press, pl. 29). I thank James Osborne for providing me with his still unpublished draft of building II period pottery.

101 Such as the one in Gilboa 1999, fig. 14, dating to the Iron Age IIa-b.

102 Osborne 2011, pl. 30.

103 Bikai 1978, p. 26.

104 Cf. Pucci – Soldi 2019.

105 Cfr. Pucci 2019a, pp. 194-195. Lehmann still linked the al-Mina red slip pottery to Tyre (Lehmann 2005, p. 84), however his recent research in Cilicia confirms that the RB production is entirely local (personal communication).

106 Bikai 1978, pl. XX n. 1; Núñez Calvo 2014, fig. 3.21c.

107 Stern 2015, pl. 4.1.19.

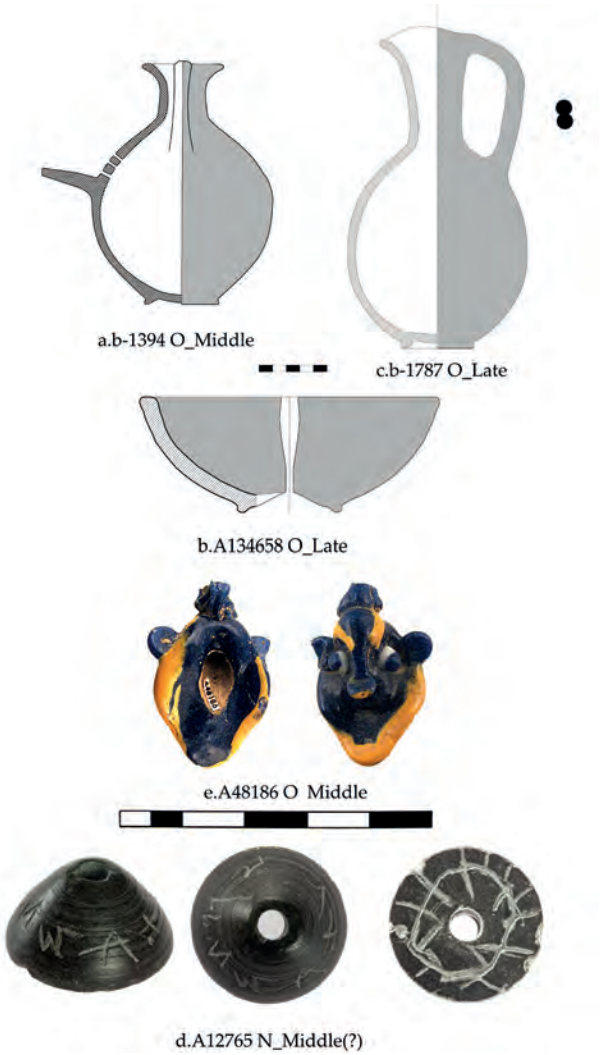

Fig. 6. Chatal Höyük pottery. Red slip and Burnished types (a-c), glass demonic mask (e) and spindle whorl with inscription (d). The phase indicated near the id number refers to the context of retrieval of that specific sherd. © Author

ceramic imports and any clear Phoenician influence, a situation similar to the one described by Lehmann for Cilicia.[108]

3.3. *Phoenician Writing and Phoenician Scarab Production*

The extreme scarcity of Phoenician material culture seems to be confirmed by the low number of Phoenician artefacts identified at the site. The most controversial object is a spindle whorl that bears a Phoenician inscription on its surface (Fig. 6d), translated as "This produces spun yarn" and first published by Gevirtz,[109] who dated the inscription to the mid-8th century BC. Six years later, Levenson suggested that the inscription was a forgery due to palaeographic inconsistencies and should be excised from the corpus.[110] Since then, the inscription and its possible forgery have been discussed at length; although the class of objects, *instrumenta inscripta,* is known, its rarity prevents any statement being made confirming its authenticity.[111] The details on the excavation object card report that it was found together with three other whorls during field work in April 1934, and Braidwood specifies on the object card "Semitic letters. Submycenean pottery level", confirming that the object came from the excavation and its archaeological context belonged to Phase N. Hypothesizing a forgery of Phoenician writing in 1934 in the Amuq (where inscribed objects with Phoenician inscriptions were not common) seems to be a "*lectio difficilior*" of the archaeological evidence. Moreover, several "recent" signs pointed out by Levenson may have been wrongly read due to the rarity of the object.[112] Thus, assuming the authenticity of the object and its context, its singular presence at Chatal could either be related to trade or to the frequent use of Phoenician writing in the neighbouring Cilicia.[113]

108 Lehmann 2008.

109 Gevirtz 1967.

110 Levenson 1973.

111 For a comprehensive bibliography see Lehmann 2008, p. 152 note 92.

112 I thank José Ángel Zamora López for this information. Moreover, Teixidor does not doubt the authenticity of the object (Teixidor 1968, p. 169).

113 Cfr. Lehmann 2008, pp. 152-153; Simon 2018 and references.

A Phoenician glass pendant dating to Phase O_Mid was found in the deposits above locus P-12_2. It represents a "demonic mask" with protruding eyes (Fig. 6e), large ears, and a partially broken suspension loop, and belongs to a Phoenician tradition of glass masks that was well diffused in the Mediterranean.[114] The areas of production of these artefacts stretches from Phoenicia to Cyprus and Carthage, and their means of distribution were not limited to Phoenician trade.[115] Demonic pendants similar in colour, shape and manufacture have also been found at al-Mina in levels 5 to 3[116] and were interpreted by Woolley as local products.[117] However, the large quantity of Phoenician materials at the site has led scholars to suppose a Phoenician enclave at the harbour,[118] which in this case could have also produced glass products.[119] Whether a group of Phoenicians at al-Mina produced glass materials or the glass arrived through trade with Cyprus or Rhodos,[120] it seems evident that the example from Chatal belongs to the same al-Mina group and shares the same origins.

Aside from these two artefacts, little else could be identified as a possible Phoenician production. There are a few stylistic elements on a stamp seal[121] and two scarabs (A17275, A27020, one found in an O_Late context) that Hölbl identified as a Phoenician production dating to the end of the 7th-6th centuries BC.[122] No ivories were found at Chatal (with the exception of an Egyptian ivory pin), while just a few ivory artefacts b, were collected at Tell Tayinat.[123] None, however, clearly belong to a Phoenician production.[124]

Fig. 7. Chatal Höyük. (inv. a-0878) Head of small limestone statue (a), (inv. a-0537) bottom part of small statue with feet and lower part of leg (b, view from the top). © Author

114 Dubin 2006, p. 48. For the specific context cfr. Pucci 2019a, pp. 95-96. The figure belongs to a "type A" (see Spanò Giammellaro 2008, type A, and Seefried 1982, type a and fig. 44), which is dated to the 7th BC (cfr. Pucci 2019a, p. 242).

115 Barthélemy 1995, p. 515 on the specific sites of production of the masks.

116 Woolley 1938b, p. 157, pl. XIV nn. 40 and 28.

117 When Woolley published the material he thought that the production was northern Syrian and not necessarily related to the Phoenician.

118 du Plat Taylor 1959; Elayi 1987; Lehmann 2005.

119 Bondì 2009, p. 380.

120 It should be pointed out that these pendants were very numerous at al-Mina (30), but absent at other coastal sites with a Phoenician presence (as Sukas or Bassit). This data supports the hypothesis of an Amuq production.

121 Pucci 2019a, cat. n. 1042.

122 Hölbl 2019, p. 316.

123 Winter 1973, pp. 284-285, fig. 140.

124 Only one ivory lid with a central rosette was found at Chatal and probably belongs to a LBA tradition (Pucci 2019a, p. 236, cat. n. 349). Winter mentions a different lid with guilloche (t-595) from Chatal, but the field number clearly points to a Tayinat origin.

4. Trade and Contact (Cyprus, Egypt, Phoenicia and the Amuq)

The overview presented above points out a strong bond between Chatal H. and Cyprus, a bond that survived through the exchange of single artefacts during Phase N and then flourished with a better organized trade of specific products and containers during Phase O. Phoenician contact is barely perceivable in the archaeological record of both phases, leaving to al-Mina the only market where Phoenician artefacts were to be found. However, their relatively modest inland diffusion in the Amuq may suggest a small appreciation of these Phoenician products.

The trade picture becomes more articulated when looking at the Egyptian artefacts. G. Hölbl in his analysis of the *Aegyptiaca* from Chatal Höyük pointed out a mixed nature with regard to their origin.[125] Few scarabs were of Phoenician production (discussed above), but the majority of the Egyptian objects were originals from Egypt.[126] Moreover, several *Aegyptiaca,* such as the pin,[127] the New Year's flask,[128] and several amulets do not have any comparisons in the al-Mina assemblage, so it is likely that trade routes other than the sea route allowed for the arrival of Egyptian artefacts in this area. In addition to these points it should be mentioned that Hölbl,[129] in his analysis of the Egyptian blue scarabs from Tarsus and Tayinat, suggests the existence of an atelier in Tell Tayinat for the production of these specific artefacts during the 9th-8th cent. BC; thus, the few surviving examples from Chatal may originate from a local production in the Amuq.[130] This idea could be combined with the possible production of glass pendants at al-Mina mentioned above: both postulated production centres would produce specific "Phoenician" or "Egyptian" artefacts outside the core area of both cultures. These same products were not intended to reach the internal market of the Amuq, but rather the harbour of al-Mina and, by extension, larger Mediterranean trade networks. The production of glass scaraboids with Phoenician traits that Hölbl[131] ascribed to a "Syro-Hittite" production may belong to this same phenomenon: a local production restructured by external trade.

The table showing the quantity of imports over time (Table 2) illustrates a dramatic shift from Phase N to Phase O; the few Mycenaean imports found in Phase N_Beginning were in part remnants of previous LBA trade, and in part came with the first groups of "Mycenaean" migrants to the Amuq.[132] This link to the west, independent of a possible Cypriot mediation, becomes, in Phase O, a solid Greek connection with several ceramic imports (mainly Euboean):[133] their number increases over the course of Phase O, most likely

125 Hölbl 2019, p. 318.

126 The New Year's flask A17438 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, pl. 197a-c; p. 180), amulets: the goddess sitting on the throne A12682 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, pl. 197d-g, cat. p. 181), the Bes A17393 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, pl. 197h-j, cat. p. 182), the Ptah-Pataikoi (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, A12680 cat. p. 181) and A12681 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, pl. 197k-l, cat. p. 181), the canid A48196 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, pl. 197m-n, cat. p. 183), the hare amulet A17387 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, cat. p. 182), the fish A17495 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, cat. p. 183), the faience cowry A17366 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, p. 182), the amulet A12679 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, cat. p. 181), several wedjat eyes (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, cat. pp. 183-185), as well as the hedgehog scaraboids A48184 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, pl. 198a-b, cat. p. 189) and A48195 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, cat. p. 189) and the scarabs A17472 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, cat. p. 188) and A12722 (Hölbl apud Pucci 2019a, vol. II, cat. p. 186) are all certainly Egyptian.

127 Pucci 2019a, cat. n. 496 and cat. p. 180.

128 Cfr. Hölbl 2019, note 47.

129 Hölbl 2017, p. 18.

130 It should be mentioned here that the retrieval of blue Egyptian ingots at Karkemish in the palace of Sargon II may suggest this site also a possible location of these artefacts. Cfr. Zaina *et al.* 2019.

131 Hölbl 2019, p. 318.

132 Pucci 2019b.

133 For a complete publication of the Greek imports see the final publication (Pucci 2019a, p. 195).

Chatal H. sequence	IMP_Myc	IMP_Greek	IMP_Cyp	IMP_Egypt	IMP_Ass	Total imports	% of the whole assemblage
N_Beg	7		6			13	3,2%
N_Middle	5		5	1		11	2,8%
N_Late	1	1	2			4	1,3%
O_Beg	1	5	15	3	2	26	6,3%
O_Middle		9	42	4	6	61	10,1%
O_Late		10	21	10	8	49	4,7%
NA			10	30	9	49	

Table 2. Number of imported ceramics (only diagnostic) and small finds.

in relation to the harbour activity at al-Mina and its presumed Greek emporium.[134] Cypriot imports are consistently present in all Chatal levels, however the Phase N levels include both residual sherds from the previous phase (white slip II, Red lustrous) and single vessels of various morphologies and classes. This suggests that a connection did exist, but it is impossible to hypothesize a well-established ceramic trade relationship; single artefacts were rather brought to the Amuq by people who travelled to and from Cyprus, either because they were trading different materials or moving for other reasons. This unstable connection was probably the consequence of the collapse of the LBA trade entrepreneurship system in Cyprus and the subsequent phase of decentralization in the area, which may have kept its link to the southern Levant, but possibly discontinued trade to Cilicia and to the Amuq.[135] The connection to Cyprus changed drastically during the 9th century BC in the passage from phases N to O, which corresponds approximately to the beginning of the Cypro-Geometric III period, the phase of formation of regional kingdoms in Cyprus. Trade became stable and related to very specific containers and, possibly, their contents. There is no reason to suppose a Cypriot presence at the site: the three classes and three shapes identified at Chatal find exact parallels in the al-Mina assemblage, showing that the trade with Cyprus clearly followed this sea route. From al-Mina it was possible to reach the eastern coast (Salamis area) in 18 hours or in two days, with a stop in a Cilician harbour on the northern coast (Lapithos area).[136]

The almost complete absence of Phoenician materials,[137] even in a period when Phoenician cities were extremely active in eastern Mediterranean trade (starting in the 9th century BC), could support any of the following hypotheses: first, that the trade in this north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean was left in Cypriot hands; second, that the inland sites of the Amuq, such as Chatal, traded only Cypriot goods and intentionally refused or ignored Phoenician artefacts; or third, that the political, social, and historical circumstances cut off specific areas from specific groups of artefacts.[138]

134 Boardman 2001. For a recent overview on the various interpretations of the site, cfr. Radner – Vacek 2020, pp. 134-136.

135 Gilboa, Waiman-Barak and Sharon also postulated fragmented exchanges during the Iron Age I (Gilboa – Waiman-Barak – Sharon 2015, p. 95).

136 The calculations are based on an estimated speed of 4.5 knots/hour and on the sea routes available at https://www.searoutes.com/routing/.

137 Even the presence at Chatal of a Herakles/Melqart statue, as stated above, seems to be related to a Cypriot production, rather than to a Phoenician one. However, it is true that the relevance of a Herakles/Melqart cult at Chatal may be related to the mentioning of a Melqart sanctuary in the Braj stele (Aleppo area) and belong to the same cultural phenomenon, which Lehmann connects to Phoenician traders conducting business in the area (Lehmann 2008, p. 153).

138 I thank the anonymous reviewer who suggested a fourth possibility, i.e. Phoenicians traded with second party merchandise in this area.

The evidence at al-Mina may disprove the first hypothesis: Phoenician plates[139] and other Phoenician shapes were found at this site, therefore their presence is proof that Phoenician artefacts were arriving at least in this harbour. Moreover, trade carried out by Cypriots (especially trade from the northern and eastern coasts of Kition, Salamis and Lapithos) does not deal exclusively in Cypriot artefacts, considering that goods from the Levant, Egypt, the Aegean and Cyprus itself were collected and distributed in and from Cypriot harbours.[140] Furthermore, several Phoenician communities and later colonies in Cyprus,[141] and the simultaneous use of Cypriot and Phoenician languages on the island,[142] clearly point to the existence of a cultural *koinè* that maintained its internal regional differences.[143] Therefore, it is not possible to assess if the merchants trading with the Amuq were Cypriots, or Phoenicians living in Cyprus, or Phoenician from the Levantine coast, but rather that while Cypriot and Egyptian goods were imported to the Amuq and appreciated during Iron age II and III (Phase O), those of Phoenician origin never penetrated inland. A similar phenomenon can be observed in Cilicia, where Phoenician imports are very rare and mainly limited to harbour sites,[144] despite the fact that Phoenician writing was commonly employed in the region.[145] By contrast, some Phoenician artefacts (ivories and transport jars) collected at Zincirli[146] in the Islahiye Valley disprove a complete lack of inland trade, but rather demonstrate that Phoenician artefacts might be related to the specific political role of the settlement and of the context in which they were found: in this case a Syro-Hittite capital with representative buildings.[147] Thus, the data at our disposal is not enough to support the second hypothesis concerning a deliberate refusal of Phoenician products as identity markers of a specific "foreign" group, but the little information we have might suggest that regional capitals such as Tell Tayinat and Zincirli may have required different products (possibly also Phoenician) than those requested by a large but rural village like Chatal H.

From the 9th century onwards commercial networks developed both in the Mediterranean with the Phoenician/Greek and Cypriot sea routes, as well as inland with land routes, which varied depending on the internal political situation. If we can postulate that the trade eastwards during the 9th and through most of the 8th centuries BC reached the Euphrates and that the inland trade southwards was hindered by internal warfare, after the Assyrian conquest of the Northern Levant (Tayinat at the end of the 8th century BC), the commercial networks changed and Assyrian requests may have also influenced Cypriot and Phoenician trade.[148] Large settlements such as Chatal fulfilled a new role: the one of a nodal city with an internal social hierarchy that controlled several smaller settlements in the immediate vicinity and the passage eastwards

139 Lehmann 2005, fig. 2.

140 Knapp – van Dommelen 2010.

141 Counts – Iacovou 2013; Georgiou – Iacovou 2019.

142 Steele 2013, pp. 201-224.

143 Georgiadou 2014; 2018.

144 Lehmann 2008.

145 The use of Phoenician writing has been interpreted either as a sign of resistance to the Luwian hieroglyph writing of neighbouring cities (Yakubovich – Hawkins 2015) or as a consequence of Greek people arriving from Cyprus and settling in Cilicia (Simon 2018). On this subject cfr. also Winter 1979; Novák 2020.

146 A large group of Phoenician ivory was collected by the German excavation in building J on the acropolis at Zincirli; the artefacts belong to different stylistic groups, among them also Phoenician ones (cfr. Winter 1973, pp. 283-284). Fragments of Phoenician jars were collected in the ongoing American excavations at the site, cfr. Soldi 2019, p. 177, fig. 13.

147 However, ceramic assemblages seem to suggest that the network leading to Zincirli was the Cilician one rather than the Amuq.

148 Radner and Vacek suggest that the Assyrian conquest enlarged the Mediterranean trade network strengthening the inland connection to the Assyrian heartland (Radner – Vacek 2020, pp. 154-155).

along the Afrin.[149] The town was certainly connected to al-Mina but also (through the Afrin valley) to inland trade networks now linked to the Assyrian trade system: Egyptian and Assyrian artefacts could have reached the Amuq through this land route, while simultaneously decreasing the demand for Cypriot pottery. In this period (8th cent. BC) larger and possibly institutionalized trading networks may have encouraged the local production of specific groups of artefacts, such as the Egyptian blue scarabs at Tell Tayinat and glass masks at al-Mina, which reached the western and southern Mediterranean through the same local (al-Mina) and regional (Cyprus) hubs.

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149 Osborne 2013, p. 785; Pucci 2019a, pp. 293-299.

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