PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE CYPRIOT AND GREEK IMPORTS FROM THE IRON AGE SETTLEMENT AT TELL EL-BURAK, LEBANON. A FIRST SURVEY OF IMPORTED POTTERY REACHING THE CENTRAL LEVANT, CA. 750-325 BCE

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Abstract: Although "Phoenician traders" have been assigned a central role in the Iron Age Mediterranean, imports of pottery into "Phoenicia" have so far been rarely dealt with. This is mostly due to the limited data available from the Central Levant. The excavations in the Iron Age strata at Tell el-Burak (2001-2022) now first provide large amounts of Cypriot and Greek imports of the 8th-4th c. BCE from a site in Lebanon. This paper preliminarily presents this material and sets it into a wider picture. It focuses less on the decorated fine wares than on the coarse wares (transport amphorae and mortaria), mostly neglected in previous research. These notably overshadow the fine wares at Tell el-Burak and provide evidence for continuous trade with Cypriot and Greek commodities along the Levantine coast throughout the 7th-4th c. BCE.

Keywords: Tell el-Burak; Pottery Imports; Greece; Cyprus; "Phoenician" Trade.

1. Introduction

The important role of "Phoenician traders" in far-flung exchange networks is a commonplace in Mediterranean archaeology. "Phoenician" imports of the 9th-5th c. BCE into various other areas of the Mediterranean have been central to many studies approaching this phenomenon. Imports into Phoenicia, on the contrary, have so far received relatively little attention. Although fragments of imported pottery of the 10th–8th c. BCE, especially from P. M. Bikai's deep sounding in Tyre,[1] have been of some relevance for scholars interested in the chronology of Cypriot and Greek ceramics, I. Chirpanlieva gave a valuable overview of the exchange of Greek pottery between Greece, Cyprus and the Levant in her PhD dissertation some ten years ago,[2] and A. Orsingher recently offered some first observations on Cypriot imports in Central Levantine sites,[3] the phenomenon of Cypriot and Greek imports in the Central Levant has not yet been approached comprehensively. The main reason for this lacuna surely is the limited state of research in modern Lebanon, which is improving only gradually during the last decades. Bikai's plans to publish the pottery of Tyre from excavations beyond her own deep sounding, which would have included the later Iron Age and the Persian

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1 Bikai 1978.

2 Chirpanlieva 2013.

3 Orsingher 2022.

https://doi.org/10.19282/rsf.51.2023.02

period, but was thwarted by the civil war,[4] may be a case in point. Nevertheless, it also seems that the less prestigious imports of transport amphorae and other coarse wares so far rarely found the continued interest of more recent excavators. The amphorae from H. Sayegh's and J. Elayi's important large-scale excavations in the Persian period residential quarter in the Souk area of Beirut, the publication of which was originally announced to be part of their second volume, but then was not included, may be a characteristic example.[5] The situation is somewhat better in the Northern Levant, where important groups of material have been published e.g. from Al Mina, Ras el-Bassit and Tell Soukas, and much better in the Southern Levant, with important contributions e.g. from Dor, Tel Mikhal and Tell el-Hesi (see below). But in the Central Levant, the state of publication regarding pottery imported from Cyprus and Greece remains poor.

More specifically, this means that even though some Cypriot fine wares (mostly of the 9th and 8th c. BCE) have been published from Sidon, Sarepta and Tyre, and in smaller quantities from a number of other sites, the important group of basket handle amphorae, very common in Northern and Southern Levantine sites and generally believed to have been mostly imported from Cyprus, is yet almost entirely missing from the published record. The situation regarding Cypriot mortaria, likewise common in Southern Levantine sites of Iron Age II and the Persian period, is only slightly better. As far as Greek imports are concerned, the situation is similar: even though some Geometric fine wares have been (preliminarily) published from a few sites,[6] only relatively few pieces of Eastern Greek fine wares of the Archaic period are yet available from Tell ʿArqa, Byblos, Sidon, Sarepta and Tyre (see below). Eastern Greek cooking pots are so far known only from sites in the Southern Levant, and Cilician banded wares of the 6th to 4th c. BCE likewise are almost entirely missing from publications regarding the Central Levant. As may be little surprising, the imports of Attic fine wares have so far received most attention; but still, previous researchers often focused on the most iconic figured pieces[7] and the few published assemblages of the popular, but simpler Attic black glaze remain comparatively small. The important group of Greek transport amphorae of the 7th to 4ht c. BCE, still poorly researched even in the Northern and the Southern Levant,[8] so far seems to be almost entirely missing from the Central Levant, leading previous researchers to assume that "Phoenicians" were just not interested in Greek commodities.[9] The earlier supposition that "Phoenicians" had no taste and no use for Greek wares,[10] already argued against multiple times,[11] has a similar background: «If Greek cups were really that attractive to the Easterner there should be many more of them on many more sites».[12] Overall, the popularity of Cypriot and Greek wares in Phoenician sites still can be hardly gauged.

The excavations of Iron Age layers at Tell el-Burak in 2001-2022 yielded large numbers of such Cypriot and Greek imports of the 8th-4th c. BCE. Their analysis is thus suitable to close many if not most of the lacunae mentioned above. Furthermore, this material is an apt starting point to survey the distribution of imported pottery of the 8th-4th c. BCE in the Central Levant as a whole. This paper presents preliminary results of the authors' respective ongoing work on the Cypriot and the Greek imports from Tell el-Burak

4 Coldstream – Bikai 1988, p. 37.

5 Elayi 1998, p. 9; Elayi – Sayegh 2000.

6 Bikai 1978, p. 53; Chirpanlieva 2013, cat. #832, 918-920; Coldstream – Bikai 1988; Doumet – Kawkabani 1995; Gimatzidis 2021-2022; Koehl 1985, cat. #250-255.

7 Finkbeiner – Sader 1997, pp. 138-142; Haider 2012; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2019.

8 Cfr. Martin – Shalev 2022, p. 105.

9 Elayi 1988, pp. 28, 70-71; Nunn 2000, p. 139.

10 Boardman 2004, p. 287: «There was no way in which any Eastern elite could have coveted big Greek clay cups with handles and feet and a few lines painted on them, or found them acceptable for use».

11 Niemeyer 2004, p. 43; cfr. Chirpanlieva 2013.

12 Boardman 2004, p. 287.

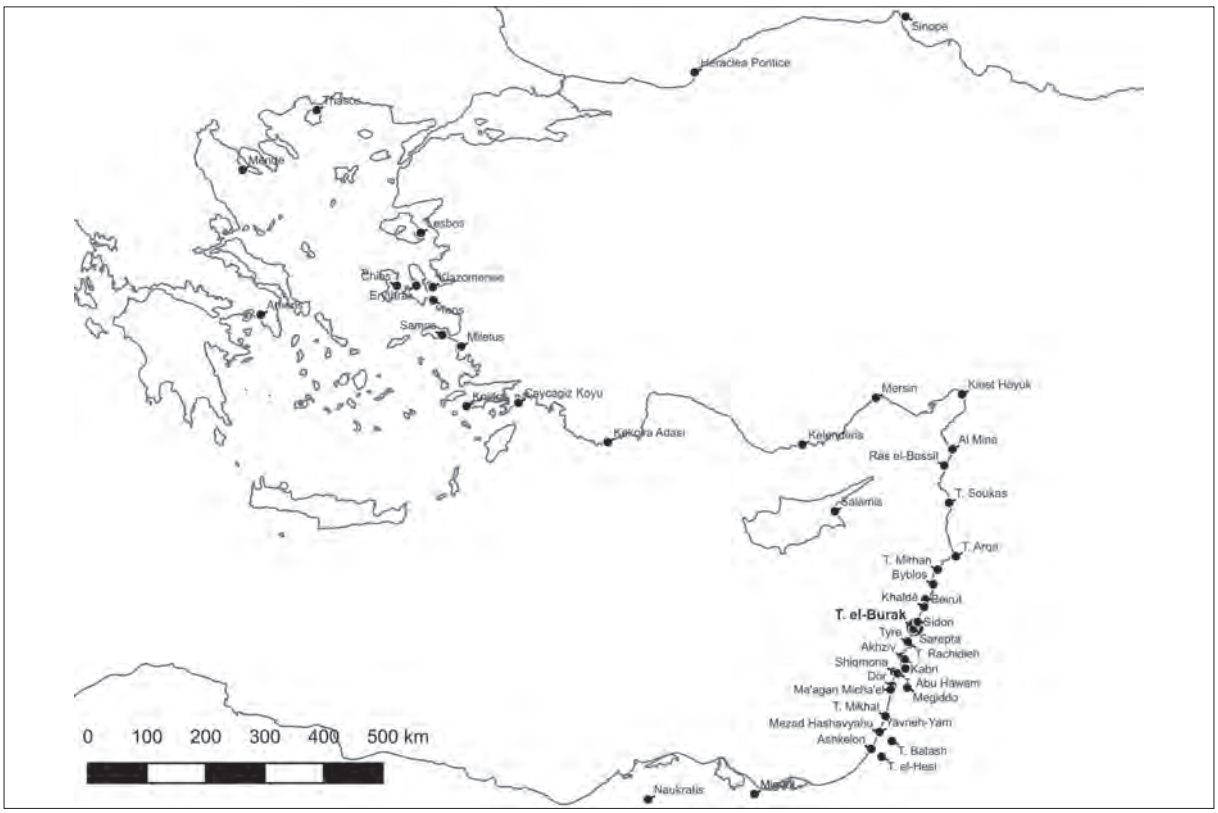

Fig. 1. Sites mentioned in the text.

and sets them into a wider Levantine context, focusing on the Central Levant. We successively deal with the various categories, providing a short overview of the material from the Central Levant published this far, summarizing the evidence from Tell el-Burak, and setting it into a wider Levantine context. But beforehand, the Iron Age settlement at Tell el-Burak must be shortly introduced.

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2. The Iron Age Settlement at Tell el-Burak

The excavations at Tell el-Burak were carried out by a Lebanese-German team between 2001 and 2022.[13] They are of particular importance because they are the only excavations in the Phoenician heartland, apart from the old excavations at Sarepta and the more recent excavations in the so-called college site of Sidon, in which Iron Age remains could be uncovered on a significant scale.[14] Tell el-Burak is located 10 km South of Sidon and 4 km North of Sarepta (Fig. 1). In the Iron Age, the site was occupied from ca. 750/725 to ca. 340/325 BCE (Tab. 1). The excavations have shown that Tell el-Burak was an agricultural domain in the hinterland of the Phoenician cities of Sidon and Sarepta and thus had a specific function within a larger settlement system. This is evident from the architecture, finds, archaeobotany, and zooarchaeology.[15]

13 Kamlah – Sader – Schmitt 2016a; 2016b; Sader *et al.* 2021.

14 For Sarepta and Sidon see Pritchard 1975; Doumet-Serhal 2006.

15 Orendi – Deckers 2018; Vermeersch *et al.* 2022.

Phase	Approximate Beginning	Approximate End
Phase E	750/725 BCE	670/650 BCE
Phase D	670/650 BCE	600/580 BCE
Phase C	600/580 BCE	*500/490* BCE
Phase B	*500/490* BCE	*420/380* BCE
Phase A	*420/380* BCE	340/325 BCE

Table 1. Tell el-Burak: Stratigraphical Phases of the buildings in Area 3.

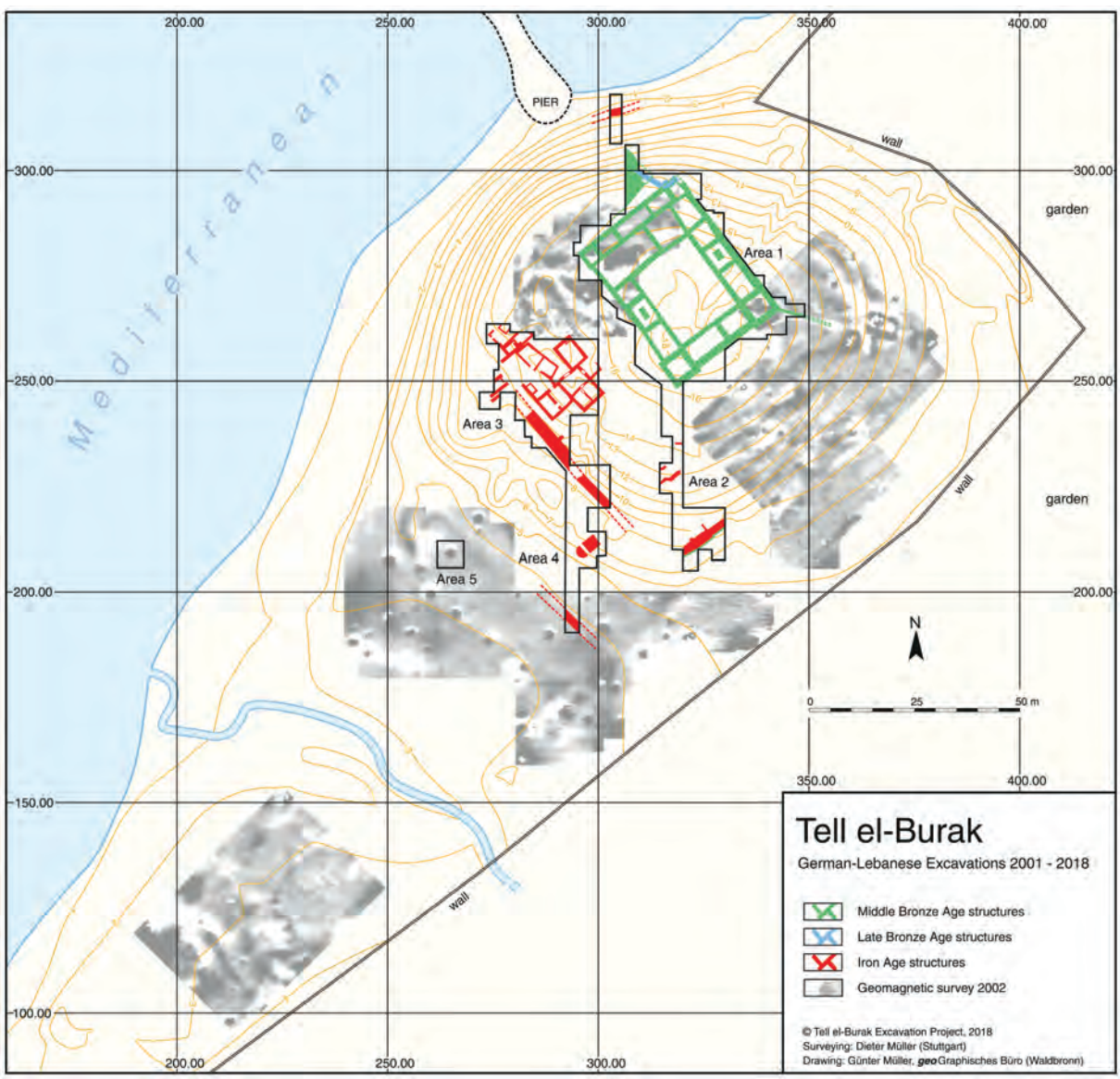

Fig. 2. Tell el-Burak: Topographical plan with Iron Age architectural remains in red colour.

Fig. 3. Tell el-Burak: Aerial view of the Tell from the South-West showing Iron Age architectural remains in Area 3.

Architectural remains of the agricultural settlement of Tell el-Burak were excavated in Areas 2, 3, and 4 (Figs. 2-3). A massive retaining wall, parts of which were excavated in Areas 2, 3 and 4, bordered the settlement in the southwest and southeast (Structure I). It was built already in the oldest Iron Age settlement phase (Phase E; for stratigraphy see below) and shows a high quality of construction, including the so-called pier-and-rubble technique.[16] Above the retaining wall there are several buildings in Area 3. The excavations have unearthed a domestic house (House 1), which includes a storehouse with two rooms (House 3). House 3 was destroyed during the end of phase D (by an earthquake?) and was not rebuilt. Instead, House 2 with two rooms was built, presumably to take over the functions of House 3. These buildings are complemented by an area where several installations were uncovered ("House" 4). All in all, then, the agricultural domain at Tell el-Burak consisted of only a small assemblage of buildings. To the east of Area 3 and to the north of Area 2, the excavations encountered further architectural remains of the Iron Age, but these were only poorly preserved.

In Area 4, excavations South of the Structure I retaining wall exposed a large mortar-built wine press.[17] It is the largest Iron Age wine press uncovered in the Levant to date. This find, together with the archaeobotany, indicates that the agricultural domain of Tell el-Burak was particularly specialized in the production of wine.

The stratigraphy of Area 3 comprises five phases in the history of use of the Iron Age buildings, from the oldest, Phase E, to the youngest, Phase A. Table 1 lists the individual phases and their approximate dating. It should be noted that the dating of Phases C and B is not possible with the same degree of certainty as that of Phases E, D and A. This is because for Phases C and B, the excavations have not been able to expose a floor with dating finds in situ. For this reason, in Table 1 the relevant dates for from the end of Phase C to the beginning of Phase A are set in italics.

16 On this technique, see now Rönnberg 2024.

17 Orsingher *et al.* 2020; K. Zartner in Sader *et al.* 2021, pp. 106-114.

There is no direct stratigraphic connection between Area 3 and Areas 2 and 4. The layers in these two areas can therefore only be connected to the phases of Area 3 by dating the finds from the layers. Since this works well, most contexts could already be assigned to one of the above-mentioned phases.

In most cases, the Iron Age finds at Tell el-Burak were not discovered in situ, but in secondary depositions. The only significant exception is the area of House 3 with its destruction at the end of Phase D. The two rooms of this storage building contained more than 100 restorable local amphorae.[18] The Chian Type I restorable amphora also belongs to this find context (Fig. 10). Almost all other finds are single fragments, which often are, however, well stratified, originating from undisturbed layers that have been carefully stratigraphically excavated (near the buildings in Area 3 or below Structure I in Areas 2 and 4). From these well stratified layers, especially in Area 4, come many of the fragments of Cypriot or Greek Imported pottery.

The most frequent finds are fragments of local "Phoenician" pottery, especially an extremely large number of fragments of local amphorae.[19] The significantly rarer, but still numerous fragments of imported pottery will be presented in this paper. Beyond the pottery, the excavations have yielded numerous Iron Age artifacts representing the different activities within the agricultural domain, e.g. agricultural and domestic tools made of metal, jewellery and arrowheads in metal, fishhooks and weights for fishing nets in metal,[20] grinding stones, loom weights and spinning whorls in clay and stone, terracotta figurines and masks as well as amulets made of sintered quartz.

Taken together, the Iron Age finds from Tell el-Burak provide a detailed picture of an agricultural domain in the Southern Sidonian coastal plain that existed continuously from c. 750/725 BCE to c. 340/325 BCE and specialized primarily in the cultivation, production, and shipment of wine. The domain did not have its own harbour, as underwater archaeological investigations have shown. However, smaller boats could stop at Tell el-Burak to supply the agricultural domain and to transport the agricultural products to the nearest harbours at Sarepta and Sidon. The finds of Cypriot and Greek imported pottery importantly add to this picture.

JK, HS, AS

3. The Cypriot Imports

Cypriot imported pottery provides evidence for exchange networks linking the Levant and Cyprus from the Middle Bronze Age onwards.[21] In the Iron Age and the Central Levant, research on this subject shows large gaps, though. Previous investigations of Cypriot imports were often limited to painted pottery. There has been relatively little interest in other groups (potentially) imported from Cyprus, such as basket handle amphorae or mortaria. This contribution first analyses these three groups together based on the finds from Tell el-Burak.[22] Only when they are combined, a representative picture of the relations between the Central Levant and Cyprus can be drawn.

18 Schmitt *et al.* 2019.

19 Schmitt *et al.* 2019.

20 Schmitt 2013.

21 Charaf 2015, p. 21.

22 The study of Iron Age Cypriote pottery from Tell el-Burak is part of the author's PhD project at the University of Tübingen. This article presents preliminary typological results; the dissertation will also include petrographic and chemical analyses.

3.1. *Cypriot Painted Pottery*

In the Central Levant, the earliest fragments of Iron Age Cypriot painted pottery from Sidon have been dated to the late 11th c. BCE.[23] At Sarepta, a site continuously inhabited from the Late Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period, the earliest Cypriot imports of the Iron Age date to the 10th c. BCE.[24] Another important find spot is Tyre; Bikai's publication offers a short – if meanwhile somewhat outdated – overview.[25] Recent work in the al-Bass cemetery revealed well-preserved Cypriot imports of the late 10th to mid 6th c. BCE, the publication of which importantly improves the state of research regarding present-day Lebanon.[26] Additionally, smaller numbers of Cypriot imports have been published from the Iron Age sites of Rachidiyeh,[27] Qrayeh, Qasmieh, Khirbet Silm, and Joya[28] as well as Khalde,[29] Beirut,[30] Tell ʿArqa,[31] and Byblos.[32] New finds from Tell Mirhan have not yet been processed.[33] In the Southern Levant, the situation is better: Tel Dor provides early Iron Age examples, from the 11th/10th to the 7th c. BCE, reaching their peak around 900 BCE.[34] Various other Southern Levantine sites with Cypriot imports of this period include Megiddo, Achzib, Tell Abu Hawam, and Tell Keisan.[35] In the Northern Levant, the sites of Al Mina – where the earliest Cypriot imports found in stratum VIII have been dated to the mid 8th c. BCE[36] – and Kinet Höyük – with Cypriot imports of the 9th c. BCE[37] – are most important.

At Tell el-Burak, 147 pieces of painted Cypriot pottery, all of them small fragments, could be identified; they include rim and body sherds and more rarely handle fragments. Of these, 100 pieces come from datable find contexts that can be assigned to specific phases within the Tell el-Burak stratigraphy: in 84, that is the majority of cases, to phases E and D, and in 16, that is relatively few cases, to phases C and B. This does not imply that painted pottery was still imported in the 6th or 5th c. BCE, though, as older sherds may have found their way into younger layers. Many small fragments could not be closely identified and dated, but the classifiable pieces can all belong to Cypro-Archaic I and Cypro-Archaic II. In terms of shape, fragments can be assigned to open and closed vessels; the latter seem to predominate. The diagnostic pieces from phases E and D comprise Bichrome amphoroid craters (Fig. 4.1-2),[38] belly amphorae (Fig. 4.3),[39] and unknown types of amphorae (Fig. 4.4-6) with parallels at Tyre al-Bass, Beirut, and Tell el-Rachidieh.[40] Some small, unstratified fragments of barrel shape juglets (Fig. 4.7) find comparisons at Sarepta, Tyre, Tyre

23 Spathmann 2021-2022, p. 478.
24 Koehl 1985, p. 26.
25 Bikai 1978.
26 Aubet *et al*. 2016, p. 8; Núñez Calvo 2014, p. 59.
27 Doumet-Serhal 2003.
28 Chapman 1972.
29 Saidah 1966.
30 Jamieson 2011.
31 Thalmann 1978, pp. 84-85.
32 Salles 1980, p. 77, pl. 9, figs. 1-5.
33 Kopetzky *et al.* 2019.
34 Gilboa 2015, pp. 3, 5, tab. 1.
35 Gilboa 2015, pp. 483-509.
36 du Plat Taylor 1959, p. 63.
37 Hodos *et al.* 2005, p. 65.
38 Cfr. Aubet – Núñez 2008, p. 75, U.39-1.
39 Cfr. Aubet – Núñez 2008, p. 87, U.22-1, U.23-1.
40 Aubet – Núñez 2008, p. 82; Doumet-Serhal 2003, p. 50.

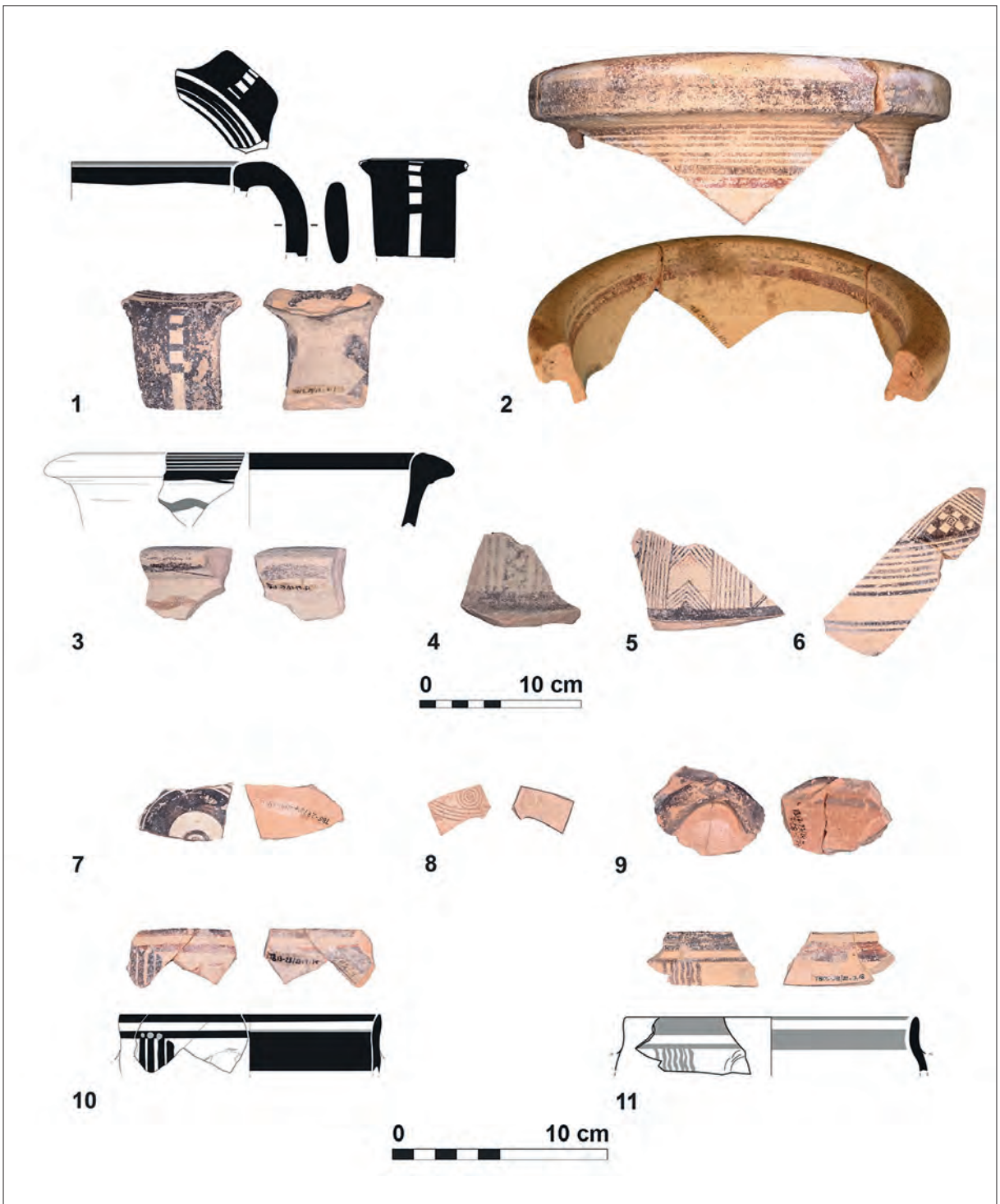

Fig. 4. Tell el-Burak: Imported Cypriot painted pottery: 1. Amphoroid crater (2923-007-0001); 2. Amphoroid crater (2923-019-0051); 3. Amphora, probably belly amphora (2924-251-0026); 4. Neck fragment (2921-091-0101); 5. Body fragment (2923-033-0081); 6. Body fragment (2923-033-0198/0199); 7. Barrel juglet (2824-119-0014); 8. Jug (3220-022-0601); 9. BoR open vessel (2724-008-0074); 10. "Al Mina ware" skyphos (2823-007-0014); 11. "Al Mina ware" skyphos (2921-007-0018).

al-Bass, Khalde, and Tell el-Rachidieh;[41] others (Fig. 4.8) belong to an oinochoe/jug.[42] Few rim fragments (Fig. 4.10-11) derive from skyphoi of the so-called Al Mina ware of the later 8th or 7th c. BCE;[43] in the Central Levant, similar pieces are known from Sarepta and Beirut.[44] Evidence pertaining to Black on Red ware, such as a loop handle belonging to an open vessel (Fig. 4.9), remains rare.

Most of the 16 pieces from contexts assigned to the later phases C and B are tiny pieces which cannot be classified; some (Fig. 4.4, 4.7) clearly belong to earlier types. Due to this possibility of earlier pieces reaching later contexts and the high degree of fragmentation, it is not possible to determine with certainty until when painted Cypriot pottery reached Tell el-Burak. However, it seems that the import of painted pottery ended in the 6th c. BCE at the latest. While according to G. Bourogiannis, Cypriot fine pottery in (parts of) the Aegean ceased in the 7th c. BCE,[45] A. Gilboa describes no Cypriot fine pottery in the southern Levant after the early 6th c. BCE.[46] Nevertheless, the import of Cypriot pottery to Tell el-Burak did not altogether cease, as basket handle amphorae and mortaria show.

3.2. *Basket Handle Amphorae*

Another group of artifacts connecting Tell el-Burak and Cyprus are basket handle amphorae. This group of containers is generally associated with Cyprus due to the abundance of finds known from the island, even though Stern suggested that they were produced on Rhodes.[47] Petrographic and chemical analyses of material from Tell Keisan, Megiddo, and the shipwreck of Kekova Adası indicates an origin in Cyprus.[48] Nevertheless, at the current state of research, secondary production centres in the Levant, which already E. Gjerstad did not preclude,[49] cannot be ruled out.

These amphorae are known from almost the entire Eastern Mediterranean, reaching from present-day South-Western Turkey and Rhodes via Cyprus to the Levant, and as far as Egypt.[50] S. Demesticha recently presented an overview of the distribution and role of Cypro-Archaic basket handle amphorae in maritime networks.[51] Important find spots include Megiddo,[52] Tell el-Hesi,[53] Tel Mikhal,[54] and Tell Keisan[55] in the Southern Levant as well as Migdol on the Mediterranean coast of the Sinai[56] and Naukratis present-day Egypt.[57] A paper by J.-B. Humbert, which deals with the typology, chronology as well as the production

41 Koehl 1985, p. 127, fig. 21,217; Bikai 1978, p. 68, pls. 27,7; 28,1.2; Aubet – Núñez, 2008, pp. 93-94, fig. 15, U. 51-4; Doumet 1982, pp. 97, 105-106, 122, pl. 13,106. See also Gilboa 2012.

42 Cfr. the decoration of Koehl 1985, pp. 131-132, figs. 11,232. 233.

43 Boardman 1959, pp. 136-139, pl. 24. For the recent localization of their center of production in eastern Cyprus, see Vacek 2020, p. 1176 n. 1.

44 Koehl 1985, pp. 128-129, fig. 10,222; Badre 1997, p. 77.

45 Bourogiannis 2017.

46 Gilboa 2015, p. 489.

47 Stern 1984, p. 111.

48 Greene *et al.* 2013, p. 24; Gunneweg and Perlman 1991, p. 594; Kleiman *et al.* 2018, p. 703.

49 Gjerstad 1946, p. 9, n. 2; Gjerstad 1960, p. 120, fig. 15.

50 Göransson 2013, p. 48.

51 Demesticha 2022.

52 Kleiman *et al.* 2018, pp. 697-705.

53 Bennett Jr. – Blakely 1989.

54 Singer-Avitz 1989, pp. 121, fig. 9. 3 n. 9; 142, fig. 9. 17 n. 143.

55 Humbert 1991, pp. 575-576.

56 Oren 1984, pp. 17-18.

57 Johnston 1978.

techniques of the basket handle amphorae from Tell Keisan, should be highlighted.[58] In the Northern Levant, the principal find spots are Tell Soukas[59] and Kinet Höyük;[60] in Cilicia, Kelenderis yielded many pieces from the 7th to 4th c. BCE.[61] Lehmann first gave a general overview of the distribution and typology of basket handle amphorae in the Late Iron Age in Syria and Lebanon.[62] Published evidence from the Central Levant is so far confined to few pieces from Byblos[63] and Beirut,[64] and this impedes a better understanding of the distribution of basket handle amphorae along the Eastern Mediterranean littoral.

The nearly 400 fragments from Tell el-Burak at least partly close this gap. They were found in contexts assigned to all five settlement phases, but only few of them in the earliest phase E and the latest phase A – although only few contexts can be assigned to this last phase, in general. Most pieces of basket handle amphorae were found in contexts assigned to phase B. The documented fragments include rims, handles and bases. Surface colours vary between greenish, buff, and reddish/orange; further analysis will reveal if these groups are petrographically distinctive, and if they can be assigned to specific sites or subregions in Cyprus (as well as if they were indeed all produced in Cyprus).

84 out of a total of 112 rim fragments could be assigned to specific phases; only two of them were assigned to contexts of phase E (Fig. 5.1)[65] and none to contexts of phase D. The forms of the four rims assigned to phase C vary (Fig. 5.2-3); short necks and outturned rims are more common in the many fragments assigned to phase B (Fig. 5.4). Thickened lips and inwardly curved necks (Fig. 5.5) as well as outturned, angular rims and stepped necks (Fig. 5.6) are exceptions.

Of the 223 handle fragments, none could be assigned to phase E and six to phase D, at least one of them featuring three marks incised before firing (Fig. 5.7). In phases C and B, at least two different types of handles are present, some of them longish, with oval cross-sections and slight fingerprints at the attachment area on the outside (Fig. 5.8), some more rounded, round in cross-section and with deep fingerprints on the interior of the handle (Fig. 5.9-10).[66] A large number of 72 handle fragments, mostly conforming to the earlier types but rarely featuring turning marks on their inside, can be assigned to either phase B or A, and only five to phase A. It remains to be seen whether the differing techniques used to attach the handle can be connected to different centres of manufacture.

The number of preserved bases is small, but their forms are varied. The presumably earliest piece (Fig. 6.1) is a surface find with comparisons at Salamis.[67] A total of seven pieces of three different shapes were assigned to either phase C or B; some have a rounded, flat shape (Fig. 6.2) and others a tapered U-shape and a depression on the underside (Fig. 6.3). A similar U-shaped base without the characteristic depression has been assigned to a phase B context (Fig. 6.4). Another piece, with signs of abrasion on the surface, is conical, but more angular (Fig. 6.5). Four bases assigned to either phase B or A are all flat, some of them resembling earlier pieces (Fig. 6.2) while others are more truncated and angular (Fig. 6.6).

58 Humbert 1991, pp. 575-576.

59 Buhl 1983, pp. 16-23.

60 Lehmann, personal communication, 2022.

61 Zoroğlu 2013, pp. 36-37.

62 Lehmann 1996, pls. 79-80.

63 Lehmann 1996, pl. 80.

64 Jabak *et al.* 1998, p. 35.

65 Cfr. Karageorghis 1974, pl. 221.

66 The deep fingerprints may be chronologically distinctive, cfr. Humbert 1991, p. 577; the earliest pieces from Tell el-Burak were assigned to contexts of phase C.

67 Cfr. Karageorghis 1974, pl. 221; but see also Greene *et. al* 2013, pp. 23-25, fig. 2 for the same type.

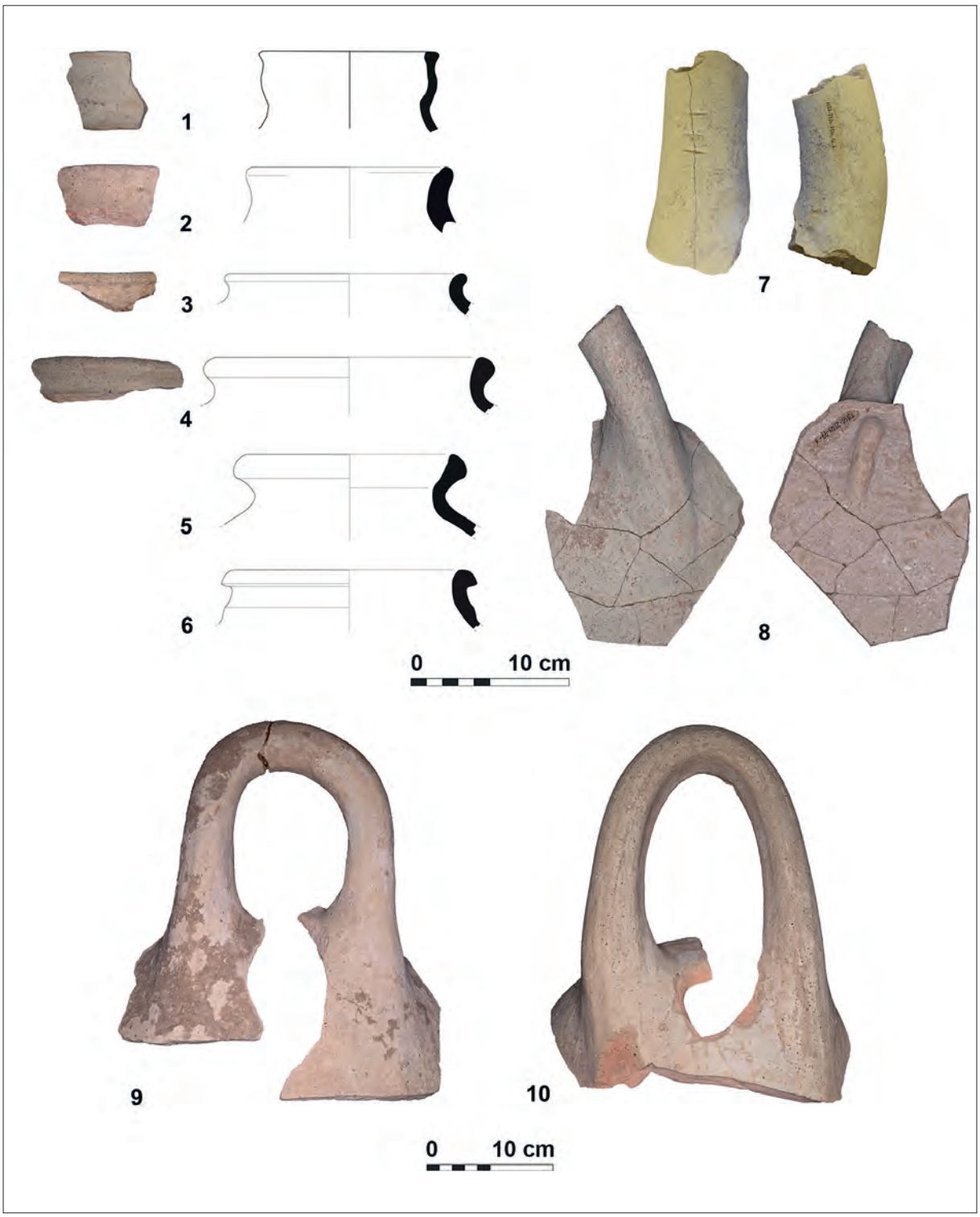

Fig. 5. Tell el-Burak: Basket handle amphorae: 1. Rim (2725-032-0212); 2. Rim (2824-022-0155); 3. Rim (2824-113-0084); 4. Rim (2921-064-0242); 5. Rim (3021-005-0244); 6. Rim (2921-064-0060); 7. Handle (2724-066-0022); 8. Handle (2921-118-0162); 9. Handle (2822-006-0230); 10. Handle (2921-077-006).

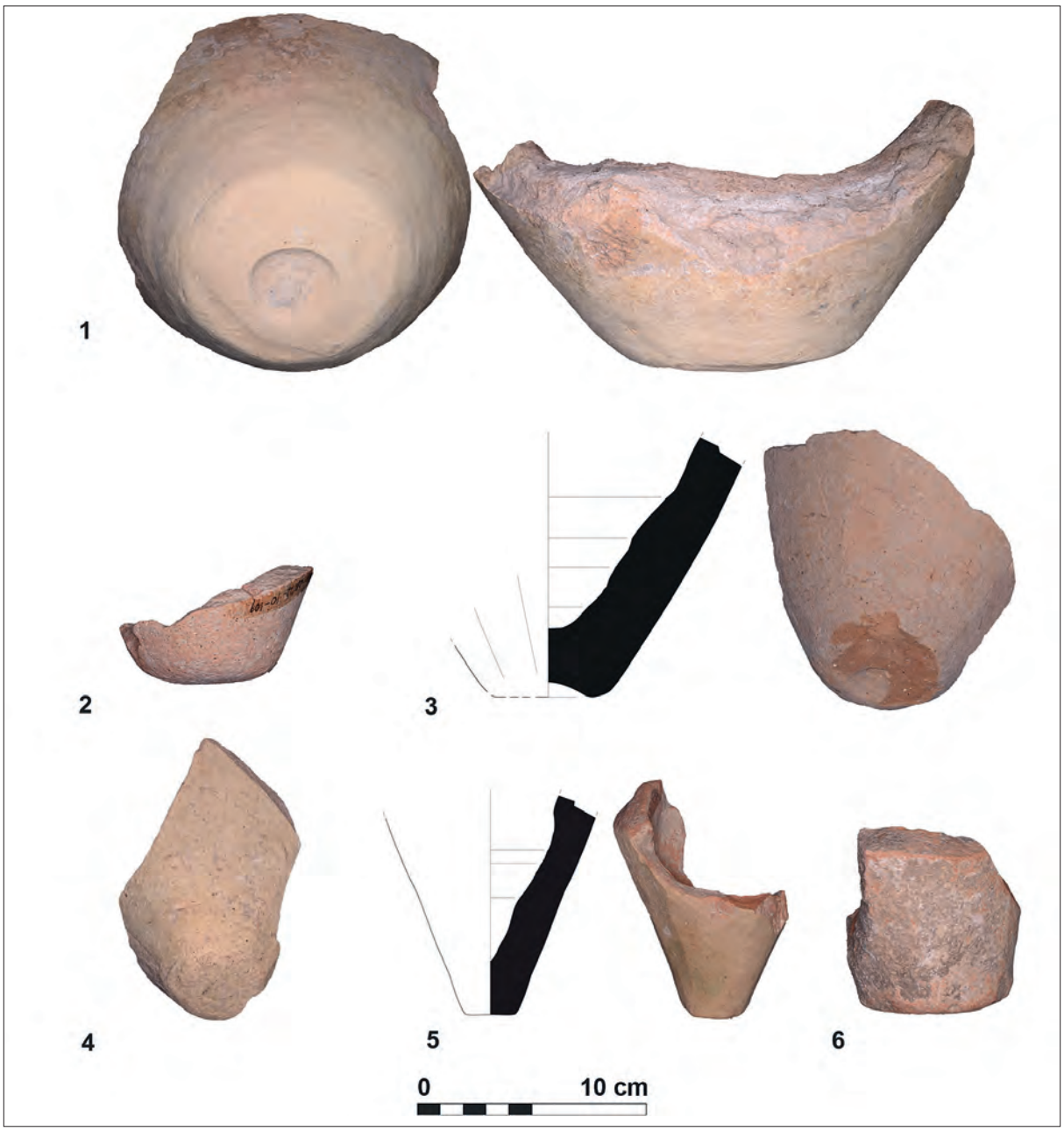

Fig. 6. Tell el-Burak: Basket handle amphorae: 1. Base (unnumbered surface find); 2. Base (2822-010-0109); 3. Base (2921-137-0450); 4. Base (2921-090-0440); 5. Base (2921-066-0192); 6. Base (2822-002-0158).

Based on the thickness of the handles and the variety of bases, the basket handle amphorae found at Tell el-Burak must have had different sizes.[68] Although their original contents are unknown, inscriptions

68 The capacities of entire 7th c. BCE comparisons are 65-85 l: Knapp-Demesticha 2017, tab. A.

from other sites suggest that they were filled with oil[69] and wine.[70] So far, we cannot say with certainty for what purpose these amphorae were brought to Tell el-Burak, but the thoughts on the Greek amphorae presented below are likely applicable to the Cypriot ones, as well.

3.3. *Mortaria*

A third pottery group from Tell el-Burak thought to be of Cypriot origin are mortaria. They have often been referred to as so-called Persian bowls in past publications.[71] Analogous to the basket handle amphorae, the earliest mortaria on the island of Cyprus were found in Tomb 79 at Salamis and dated to the end of the 8th c. BCE;[72] with some variants, these vessels continued into the early Hellenistic period.[73]

The distribution of mortaria in the Eastern Mediterranean is similar to the one of basket handle amphorae. In the Aegean, finds have been reported e.g. from Miletus,[74] Pedasa[75] and the shipwreck at Çaycağız Koyu,[76] and in Cilicia from Mersin.[77] In Egypt, mortaria have been comparatively well-published from Naukratis.[78] In the Northern Levant, Al Mina and Tell Soukas may be considered the most important findspots.[79] While the earliest evidence from the Aegean is later,[80] mortaria already appeared in the Central Levant in the 8th c. BCE, as seen at Beirut,[81] and Tyre.[82] While mortaria from Sidon have not yet been published in detail,[83] additional pieces are known from Byblos and Tell ʿArqa.[84] The publications on Sarepta do not explicitly refer to mortaria, but list these as a group of "deep bowls".[85] Compared to the Central and Northern Levant, the Southern Levant is richer in published finds and research; it may suffice to draw attention to studies of material from Tell el-Hesi,[86] Tel Mikhal,[87] and Ashkelon.[88] Comprehensive analyses on the chrono-typology of mortaria is so far lacking, and this makes the large number of pieces from Tell el-Burak all the more important. Additionally, the questions of their use and their centres of production merit attention.

About 850 fragments of mortaria were found at Tell el-Burak; just as with the basket handle amphorae, this evidence stems from contexts assigned to all settlement phases, although mortaria were rare

69 Karageorghis 1967, p. 38 #101, pl. 126; Puech 1980, p. 303.
70 Humbert 1991, pp. 576-577; Winther-Jacobsen 2002, pp. 173-174.
71 See e.g. Sapin 1998, pp. 88-90; Stern 1978, p. 31.
72 Karageorghis 1973/1974, p. 116.
73 Villing 2006, pp. 38-39.
74 Spataro – Villing 2009, pp. 89-90.
75 Özer 2017, pp. 42-43.
76 Greene *et al.* 2013, pp. 29-31.
77 Lehmann 1996, pl. 25, 161,1; 1998, p. 18, fig. 6,18.
78 Villing 2006, pp. 31-33.
79 Lehmann 1996, pl. 25-29; Lehmann 1998, pp. 15-25.
80 Zukerman – Ben-Shlomo 2011, pp. 91.
81 Badre 1997, fig. 37,8.
82 Bikai 1978, pl. 9,19.
83 Doumet-Serhal 2006, p. 10.
84 Lehmann 1996, pl. 28 form 171; Lehmann 1998, p. 21, fig. 8,7.
85 Pritchard 1975, figs. 19,4; 48,4
86 Bennett Jr. – Blakely 1989, pp. 196-203.
87 Gorzalczany 2006, p. 58, tab. 1.
88 Spataro – Villing 2009, p. 96.

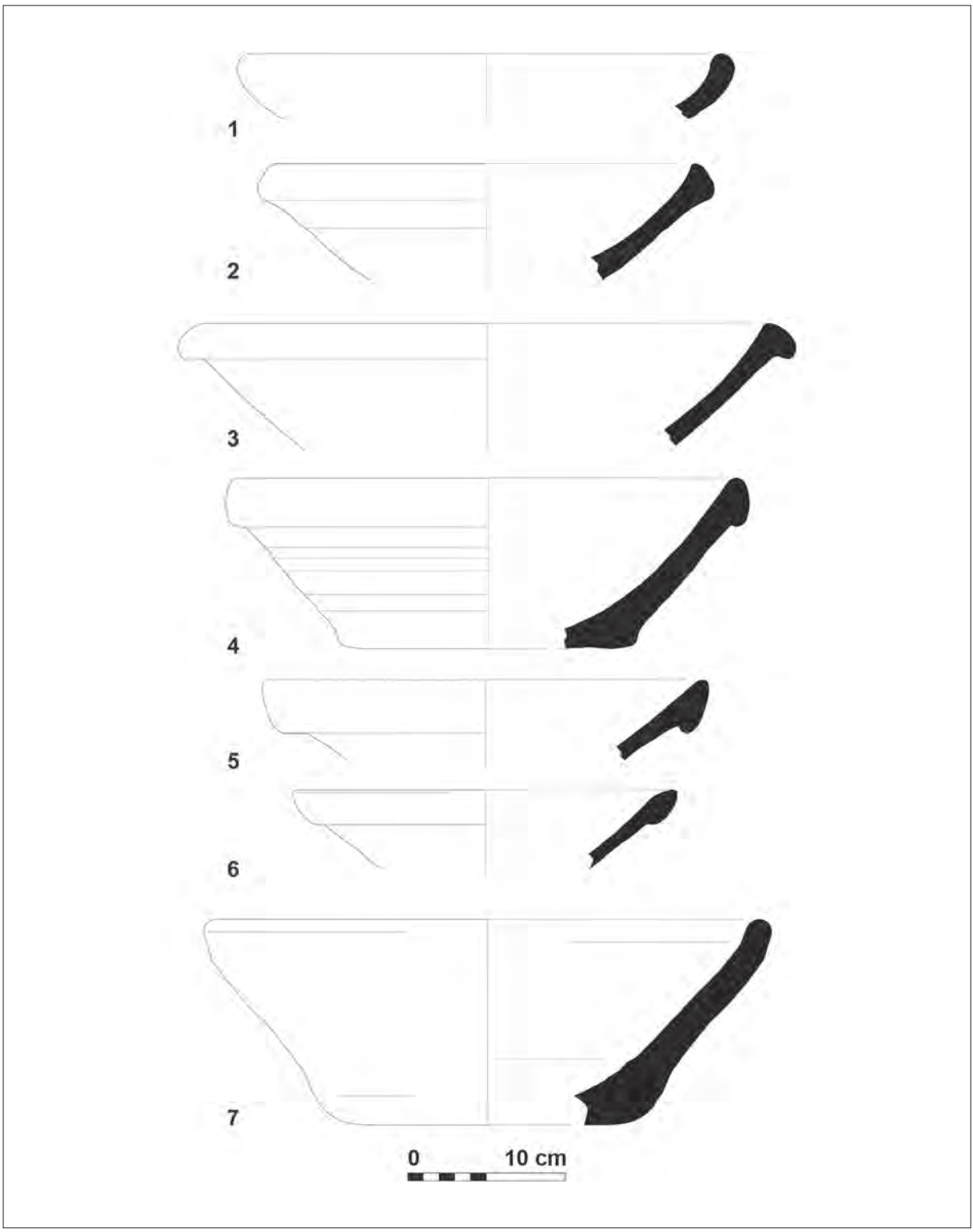

Fig. 7. Tell el-Burak: Mortaria. 1. Mortarium (2923-019-0919); 2. Mortarium (2923-021-0104); 3. Mortarium (2922-019-0069); 4. Mortarium (2824-148-0298); 5. Mortarium (2822-015-0335); 6. Mortarium (2924-270-0010); 7. Mortarium (2923-035-0015).

in phases E and A and most common in phase B. Only the most common types can be considered in the following.[89]

Already in the few pieces assigned to phase E, there are three different forms: some mortaria feature slightly incurving, rounded rims and diameters of 30-33 cm (Fig. 7.1), others rims slightly thickened on the outside and the inside and diametres of 25–36 cm (Fig. 7.2), and yet another one has a projecting, outturned rim and a diameter of 37 cm (Fig. 7.3). In phase D, older forms continued (Fig. 7.2) and a new shape with an out-turned rim appeared (Fig. 7.4-5); it has a flat base and its diameter ranged between 31 and 36 cm. In phase C, the earliest form (Fig. 7.2) becomes rare, but three others appear: a single piece has a rim slightly thickened on the interior, others, which remain current in the successive phase, feature a rounded rim and relatively straight walls steepening somewhat below the rim (Fig. 7.7). Another type, most common in phase B, is called simple rounded rim mortarium.[90] The first ring bases can be assigned to phase C, but they remain rare until phase B. This latter phase shows the greatest diversity of mortaria. Simple rounded rim mortarium forms with diameters of 28-36 cm and either grooved or smooth surfaces are most common (Fig. 8.1-2).[91] A complete example with a grooved surface and a high base (Fig. 8.3) differs, as does another type with a grooved upper part below a thickened rim (Fig. 8.4). The last common shape has a rounded, slightly thickened rim (Fig. 8.5). No new forms can be seen in the last phase A.

On some bases, the use wear is clearly due to grinding movements; in the group with ring bases, the thickness of the vessels here has often been reduced significantly, which ultimately led to fractures in precisely this area (Fig. 8.6). This type of abrasion has also been observed in mortaria from Tell el-Hesi.[92] Similar signs of abrasion can also be observed in flat bases, but they seem to have caused fractures less frequently. In flat-based mortaria, the thickness of the base often decreases towards the middle. Some mortaria have also been repaired; repair holes are mostly found below (Fig. 8.7), but sometimes also on the rim (Fig. 8.8).

Both petrographic and chemical analyses of mortaria found in various regions show multiple sites of production. The petrographic analysis of mortaria found in Ashkelon,[93] Məṣad Ḥăšavyāhū,[94] and Tel Mikhal[95] suggest a Cypriot origin. At the same time, however, another example from Ashkelon may have been produced in and imported from Ionia.[96] Moreover, mortaria seem to have been both imported and locally produced at Miletus.[97] Our petrographic analysis of specimens from Tell el-Burak will shed further light on this issue; it seems especially interesting if common petrographic groups can be identified in basket handle amphorae and mortaria and if it is possible to specifically locate the differing fabric groups.

All in all, it seems reasonable to suppose that the many mortaria found at Tell el-Burak were used to grind foods for longer periods of time until they broke apart; they were almost certainly imported from Cyprus (and other regions?) just because of their sturdy fabric, which was especially resistant to this kind of use.[98] Since the settlement at Tell el-Burak very probably only had a small population, it seems worth

89 The mortaria were grouped according to their rim profile and their outer surfaces. In addition to the ones mentioned in the text, there are several types that form many subgroups; these will be presented in the author's PhD thesis, complimented with petrographical and chemical analyses.

90 Sparkes – Talcott 1970; Villing – Pemberton 2010, p. 568.

91 These have also been found in great quantities at Beirut, see Jamieson 2011, pp. 31-32, figs. 14,1-6.

92 Bennett – Blakely 1989, p. 201.

93 Master 2001, p. 134.

94 Fantalkin 2001, p. 80.

95 Gorzalczany 2006, p. 60.

96 Master 2001, pp. 72, 142; Zukerman-Ben-Shlomo 2011, p. 92.

97 Spataro – Villing 2009, pp. 91-99.

98 Spataro – Villing 2009, pp. 98-99.

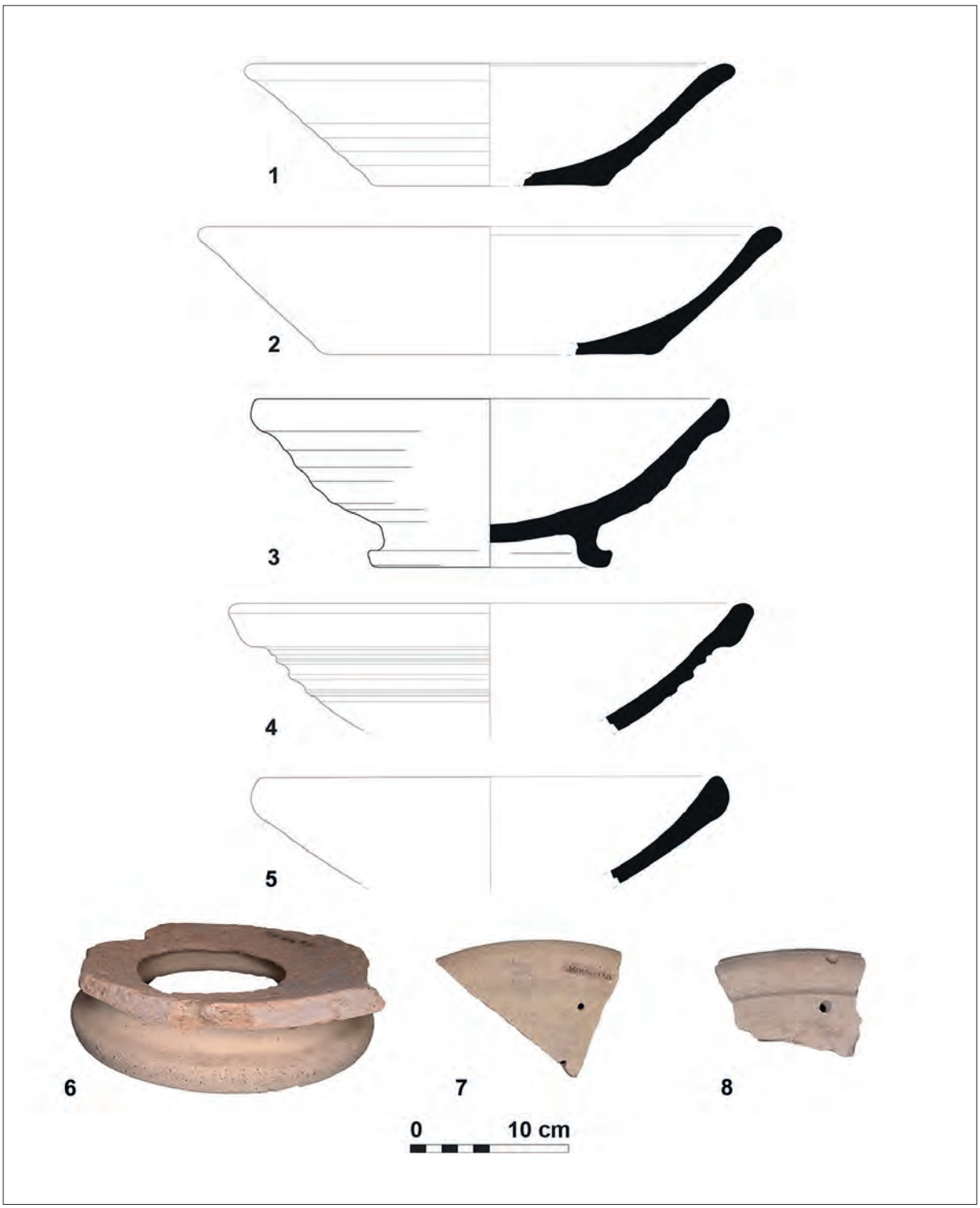

Fig. 8. Tell el-Burak: Mortaria: 1. Mortarium (2921-086-0480); 2. Mortarium (3021-005-0628); 3. Mortarium (2924-167-0001); 4. Mortarium (2924-167-0009); 5. Mortarium (2822-006-0231); 6. Base of mortarium (2824-056-0002); 7. Mortarium with repair holes (2924-157-0023); 8. Mortarium with repair holes (2921-001-0175).

considering if the mortaria were used in the production of a specific kind of food and/or in recurring events of a special character. Another possibility could be that they were used in wine production to grind spices flavouring the wine.[99]

MB

4. The Greek Imports

After the end of the Mycenaean period, very little pottery of Greek origin was imported to Levantine sites. The number of known fragments increases during the 10th-8th c. BCE; Greek Geometric pottery has been (preliminarily) published from the Central Levantine sites of Tyre and Sidon,[100] and in smaller quantities from Byblos, Khaldé, Sarepta and Tell Rachidieh,[101] Few fragments of "Eastern Greek" fine wares dated to the succeeding centuries are yet available from present-days Lebanon, though, publications of the more numerous Attic pieces have mostly been limited to the most impressive finds, and Aegean transport amphorae have often been overlooked – a situation comparable to that regarding the Cypriot imports. The following sections will first analyse these various groups together based on the extensive evidence available from Tell el-Burak.[102]

4.1. *"Eastern Greek" Fine Ware*

Relatively few pieces of Eastern Greek fine wares of the Archaic period are yet available from sites in the Central Levant, namely Tell ʿArqa, Byblos, Sidon, Sarepta and Tyre.[103] More specifically, the imports include various forms of hemispherical cups (*Kalottenschalen*) from multiple centres in Ionia, subdivided by means of their decoration into bird bowls, rosette bowls and banded bowls (*Reifenschalen*, not to be confused with the later banded bowls mostly produced in Cilician Kelenderis): four bird bowls from Tyre and one rosette bowl each from Sarepta and Tyre are so far published. Furthermore, various types of cups with everted rims (*Knickrandschalen* or KRS),[104] are popular; the published record comprises ten KRS from Tell ʿArqa, as well as one from Byblos, multiple (unpublished) from Sidon and five from Sarepta. Contrary to the situation in the Southern Levant, only few fragments of Wild Goat Style vases (oinochoai?) are so far known, all from Tell ʿArqa. Amphorae of the Milesian Fikellura style are likewise rare, with two fragments from Tell ʿArqa and Byblos. Finally, a group of banded wares, mostly bowls, of the 6th–4th c. BCE has been often considered 'Eastern Greek' but was in fact produced mostly in Cilician Kelenderis.[105] These are so far present only in one fragment from Sarepta and possibly a second one from Tell ʿArqa.[106]

The excavations at Tell el-Burak now add three fragments of bird bowls (Fig. 9.1) (probably produced in Teos[107]), at least four fragments of other hemispherical bowls (rosette bowls or *Reifenschalen*) (Fig. 9.2), 13-21 sherds belonging to KRS of various types (Fig. 9.3-4) and one small fragment of a Fikellura amphora

99 Villing 2006, p. 34. Further work on the mortaria of Tell el-Burak will more closely deal with their function and their relationship to grinding stones of basalt, also present at the site (in small numbers).

100 Bikai 1978, p. 53; Coldstream – Bikai 1988; Gimatzidis 2021-2022.

101 Chirpanlieva 2013, cat. #832, 918-920; Doumet – Kawkabani 1995; Koehl 1985, cat. #250-255.

102 The Greek imports of the 7th-4th c. BCE will be published by the author in the final publication of the site, including petrographical analysis and NAA of a selection of transport amphorae fragments.

103 Chirpanlieva 2013, p. 190 n. 933, cat. #795-810, 833-834; Coldstream – Bikai 1988, p. 42 #114-118; Koehl 1985, cat. #250-255. Some 5 or 6 fragments recently found at Tell Mirhan are yet unpublished (S. Gimatzidis, personal communication, 2022).

104 This designation is preferable to the common "Ionian cups", cfr. Schlotzhauer 2012.

105 Lehmann *et al.* 2020. No Cretan wares (cfr. Gilboa *et al.* 2017) could be identified at Tell el-Burak.

106 Chirpanlieva 2013, cat. #820; Khalifeh 1988, import #102.

107 Kerschner – Mommsen 2022.

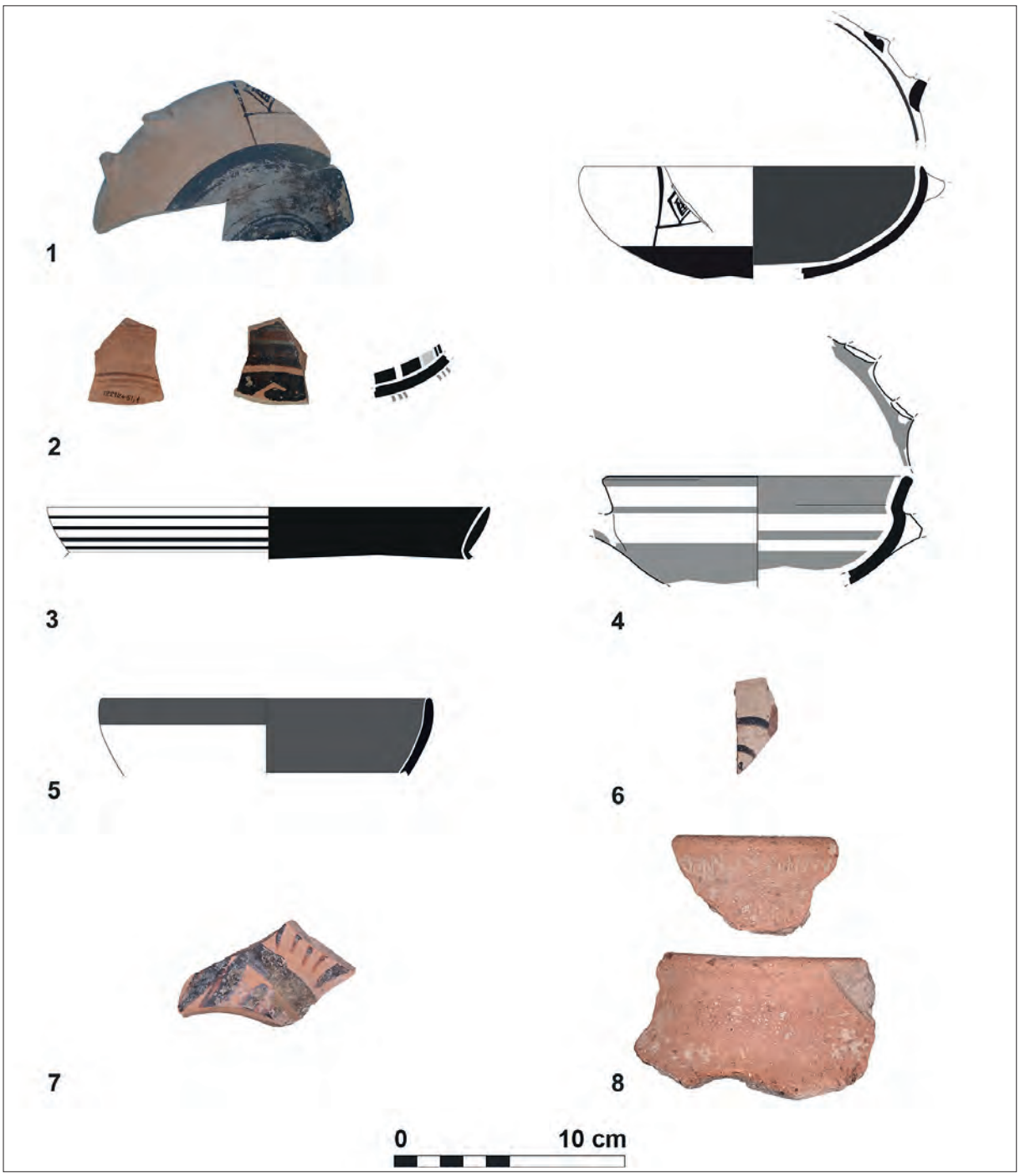

Fig. 9. Tell el-Burak: Imported "Eastern Greek" (Ionian and Cilician) fine wares of the 7th-5th c. BCE: 1. Bird bowl of type IIIb (Kerschner 1997), 640-620 BCE (2825-023-0001); 2. *Reifenschale* or rosette bowl, later 7th or 6th c. BCE (2924-051-0001); 3. *Knickrandschale* of type 5 (Schlotzhauer 2012), ca. 660/650-630/620 BCE (3221-009-0003); 4. *Knickrandschale* of type 9 (Schlotzhauer 2012), 590-540 BCE (2921-007-0040); 5. Banded Bowl, very probably from Kelenderis workshop (Lehmann *et al.* 2020), late 6th or 5th c. BCE (2923-034-0040); 6. Fikellura amphora, 550-525 BCE (3021-009-0108); 7. Banded Amphora, probably from Kelenderis workshop, 5th c. BCE? (2822-010-0134); 8. Ionian cooking pot, probably late 7th c. BCE (3221-025-0044+3221-025-0045).

(Fig. 9.6). Furthermore, one fragment of a banded bowl (Fig. 9.5) and another one very probably of a banded amphora (Fig. 9.7) from Kelenderis show that the trade with these Cilician vessels did not completely bypass the Central Levant, although they still have been found in larger quantities only in the Northern and the Southern Levant.[108]

If we zoom out to the entire Levant, the "Eastern Greek" material from Tell el-Burak, the largest assemblage of such material from Lebanon published so far, importantly adds to our picture of the exchange networks linking the Greek cities on the Western Anatolian coast and the adjacent islands with the Eastern Mediterranean littoral. Far from any plausibility of being used at Tell el-Burak by Greek soldiers or traders, it shows that there was continuous movement of limited quantities of hemispherical bowls and KRS along the entire Levant, reaching from e.g. Al Mina, Ras el-Bassit, Ras Ibn Hani and Tell Soukas through Tel Dan, Tel Kabri, Tell Keisan and Dor to Məṣad Ḥăšavyāhū and Ashkelon.[109] While types of the 7th c. BCE prevail alongside the Southern Levant because of the so-called Babylonian Gap, and those of the 6th c. BCE seem more numerous in other parts of the Central and the Northern Levant, the continuously inhabited site of Tell el-Burak has it all: At least eight KRS belong to types of the 7th or the very beginning of the 6th c. BCE, and at least seven more to types of the first three quarters of the 6th c. BCE. The small fragment of a Fikellura amphora probably of the 3th quarter of the 6th c. BCE takes the number of sites yielding such pots to seven. That they are all located in the Northern and the Central Levant with the exception of Tell Keisan surely has to be explained with the occupation gaps in this period in most Southern Levantine sites.[110]

4.2. *Eastern Greek Cooking Pots (chytrae)*

Eastern Greek chytrae (cooking pots) of the (Early) Archaic period of Kalaitzoglou's main type 1 have been found at multiple Levantine sites, most importantly Ashkelon and Məṣad Ḥăšavyāhū, but also Shiqmona, Tel Kabri, Tel Batash-Timnah and Yavneh-Yam.[111] Two fragments of the rim and body of such a chytra (Fig. 9.8), as well as at least one fragment of a broad strap handle, have been found at Tell el-Burak.[112] The Southern Levantine finds have mostly been taken as evidence for the presence of Greeks, most likely Greek mercenaries. Although this seems anything but far-fetched at Məṣad Ḥăšavyāhū, it appears hardly convincing at the site of Tell el-Burak. These finds thus strengthen Waldbaum's view that this group of cooking pots was in demand in Levantine sites because of its very micaceous fabric, which made it much more resistant to thermal shock compared with local equivalents.[113] This makes the Eastern Greek chytrae comparable to the much larger group of Cypriot mortaria, popular because of their strong fabric (see above).

4.3. *Aegean Transport Amphorae*

By far the largest group among the Greek imports found at Tell el-Burak are 571 fragments belonging to trade amphorae of various Eastern Greek types of the 7th-4th c. BCE. These fill a huge lacuna in our knowledge of Levantine sites, since, apart from a group of fragments published as local wares, but obviously corresponding to various Greek types, from Tell Beirut, only a single Milesian banded amphora from Byblos

108 Cfr. Lehmann *et al.* 2020.

109 Cfr. e.g. Waldbaum 2011, p. 160.

110 Martin – Shalev 2022.

111 Fantalkin 2001, pp. 116, 137-141; Niemeier 2001, pp. 15-16; Waldbaum 2011, pp. 135-137; Wenning 1989, pp. 171-173; for the type, cfr. Kalaitzoglou 2008, pp. 279-280.

112 The incised decoration of the rim is unusual, but the petrographical classification according to S. Amicone (2023) confirms the identification of this fragment as a cooking pot from the Maeander valley.

113 Waldbaum 2011, pp. 136-137.

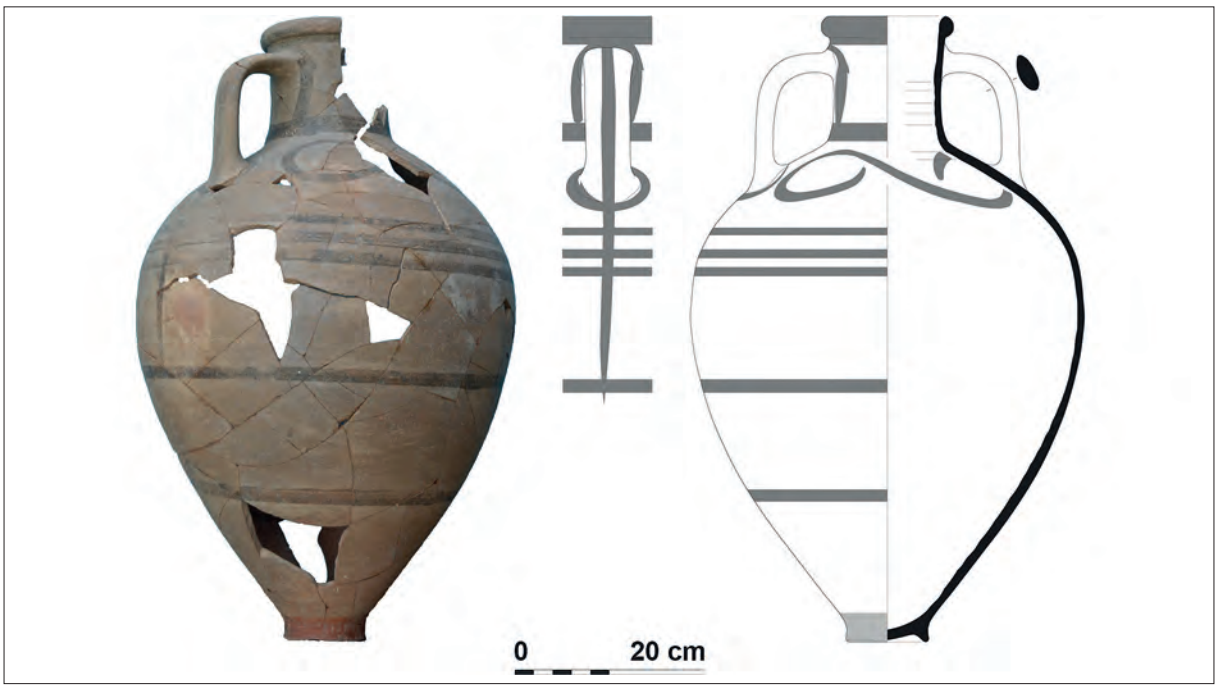

Fig. 10. Tell el-Burak: Almost complete Chian type I (Bîrzescu 2012) amphora from the destruction debris of House 3, probably 650-625 BCE (2824-059-R001).

and a single SOS amphora from Beirut have so far been published from the Central Levant.[114] The situation in the Northern Levant is not much better, since only very few painted fragments are known from Al Mina, while the rest of this material seems to have been discarded.[115] At Tell Soukas, some pieces were correctly identified and published, but curiously regarded as "local wares", too,[116] and it seems unsure how much remains unpublished; at least two pieces can be added from Bassit.[117] In the Southern Levant, the situation is somewhat better, but the Greek transport amphorae were only assigned to specific types in a few 7th c. sites.[118] Other publications often do not explicitly identify them as imports, including them within the local pottery, calling them amphorae, but not providing any details, subdividing them into multiple types or suggesting provenances.[119] The state of research on the imported amphorae of the 5th and 4th c. BCE is now becoming better with current works of Y. Shalev,[120] but the state of publication is still most problematic. Material of the 6th c. BCE is almost entirely missing in Southern Levantine sites.

114 Badre 1997, p. 89, fig. 46,2; Dunand 1954, pp. 419-420 #11121, fig. 441; Jamieson 2011, pp. 14, 28, 102-105, pls. 83-86, figs. 19; 24,8-10; 98.

115 Vacek 2012, p. 272.

116 Ploug 1973, pp. 84-86.

117 Courbin 1993, pp. 30-31, 66, fig. 17, pls. 19, 20 #C.566-567.

118 Fantalkin 2001; Niemeier – Niemeier 2002; Waldbaum 2011.

119 Cfr. e.g. Risser – Blakely 1989; Singer-Avitz 1989; Tal 1999.

120 Cfr. Martin – Shalev 2022; Shalev 2014. Y. Shalev kindly informs me that he expects the number of Persian period (5th-4th c. BCE) imported Aegean amphorae from Southern Levantine sites to be somewhere around 4,000, but that most of this material remains unpublished; nevertheless, the published evidence may be considered more or less representative. The largest corpora are from Ashkelon, with possibly multiple thousand fragments, and from Dor with some 700-900 sherds.

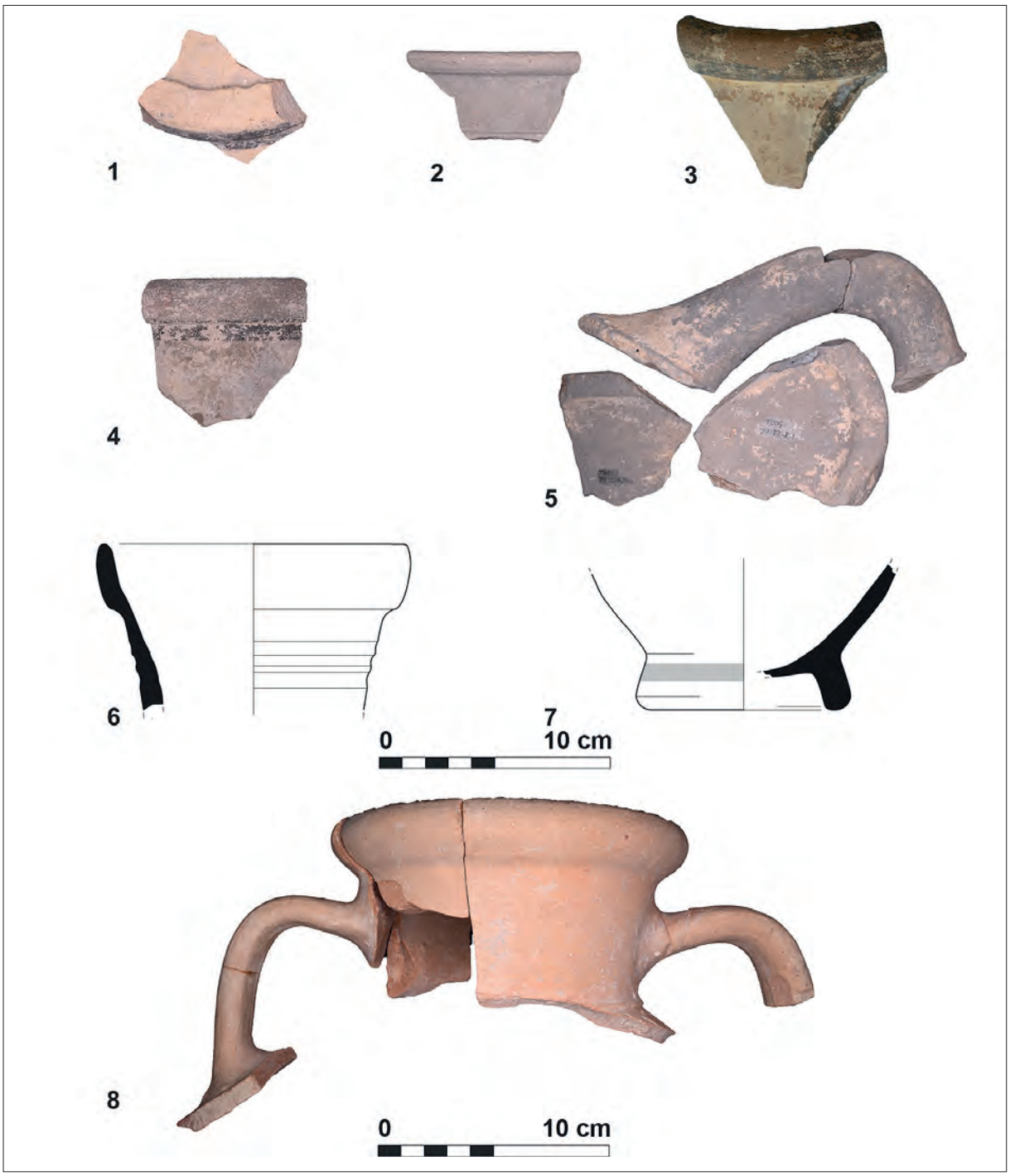

Fig. 11. Tell el-Burak: Imported Greek transport amphorae of the 7th and earlier part of the 6th c. BCE: 1. Proto-Chian of 720-650 BCE? (cfr. Buchner – Ridgway 1993: 429 pl. 211) (2923-020-0108); 2. Lesbian grey type of 700-650 BCE (cfr. Bîrzescu 2012: fig. 1) (3220-009-0299); 3. Chian type I (Bîrzescu 2012), probably 600-550 BCE (2921-125-0400); 4. Clazomenian type 1, 650-600 BCE (Sezgin 2012) (2824-050-0001); 5. Lesbian grey type of the late 7th c. BCE (cfr. Bîrzescu 2012: fig. 2) (2922-008-0001b+2922-008-0002+2922-008-0003); 6. Milesian type 1 (Bîrzescu 2012), 650-580 BCE (3220-018-0027); 7. Milesian type 5 (Bîrzescu 2012), probably 650-625 BCE (2924-201-0001); 8. Samos type 2 (Bîrzescu 2012), 625-525 BCE (2822-013-0064).

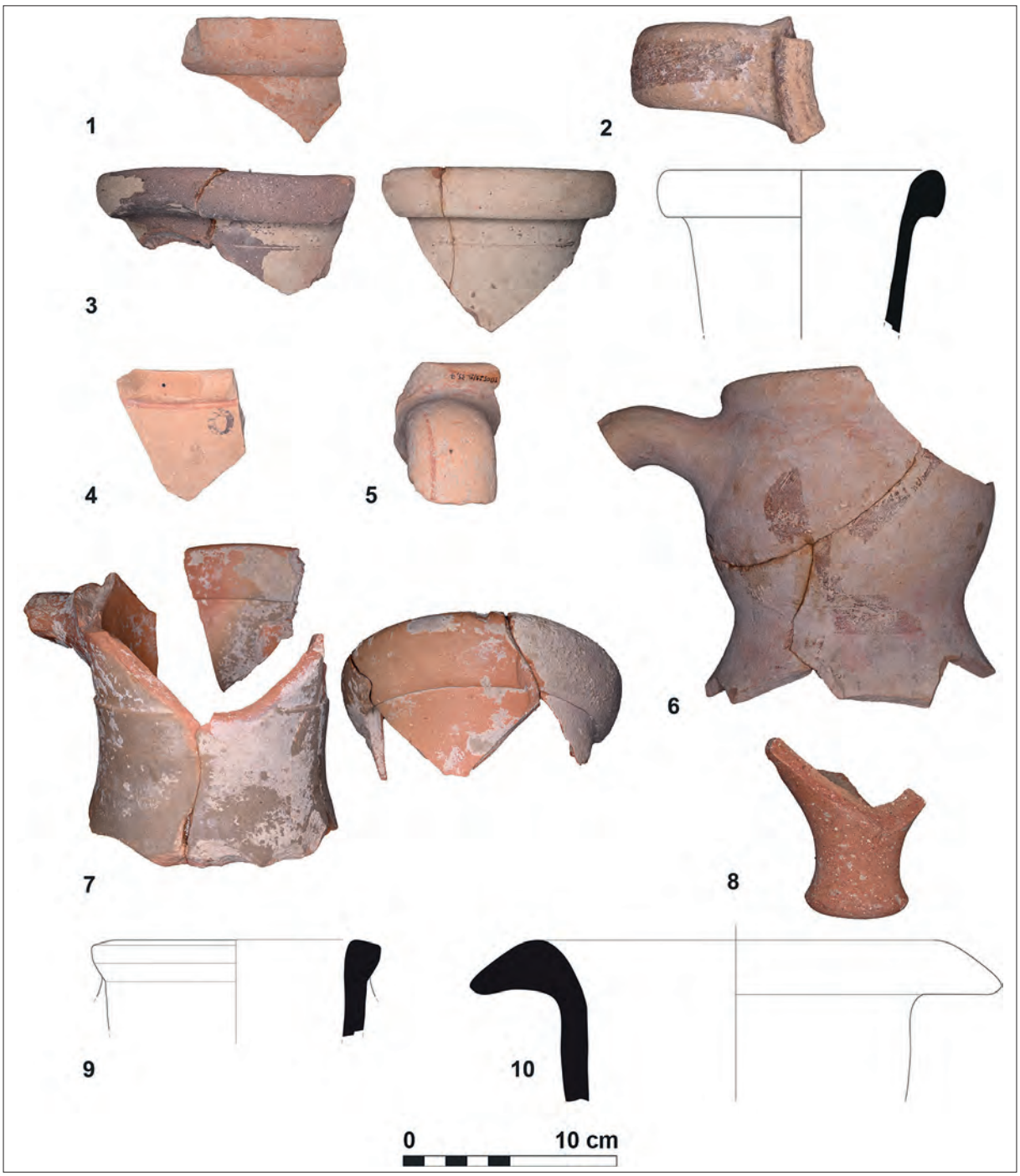

Fig. 12. Tell el-Burak: Imported Greek transport amphorae of the later 6th and 5th c. BCE: 1. Milesian type 2 or 4 (Bîrzescu 2012), 610-480 BCE (2921-090-0246); 2. Clazomenian type 7 (Sezgin 2012), 550-490 BCE (2822-006-0025); 3. Ionia I (Bîrzescu 2012), 565-500 BCE (2921-118-0148/0207); 4. Chian type II,1 (Bîrzescu 2012), 550-500 BCE (2921-117-0228); 5. Chian type II,2 (Bîrzescu 2012), 500-475 BCE (); 6. Chian type II,3 (Bîrzescu 2012), 475-450 BCE (2824-022-0187); 7. Ionia α (Sezgin 2012), mid 5th c. BCE (2824-043-0600); 8. Mende, middle or late type (Lawall 1995), 440-400 BCE (2726-046-0001); 9. Northern Aegean type 2 (Bîrzescu 2012), 500-450 BCE (2824-017-0056); 10. Southern Aegean Mushroom-Shaped Amphora, 360-300 BCE (2825-001-0095).

All these problems notwithstanding, the individual groups from Tell el-Burak mostly do find some comparisons at other Levantine sites. Even though the sites' differing occupational histories must be taken into account, especially the so-called Babylonian gap in most coastal sites in the Southern Levant, the first impression is that the material from Tell el-Burak gives a good overview of the types present in the Levant as a whole and thus can provide a first impression of the respective group's circulation in this area. The comparisons from other Levantine sites cannot be compiled, here, for lack of space; a short overview of the material found at Tell el-Burak follows. It must be stressed that archaeometrical analyses of the past decades have shown that most types of Archaic Greek amphorae carrying the name of a specific Greek polis were not only produced in this namesake city, but in multiple sites within a wider region. Petrographical and chemical (NAA) analysis of a cross-section of the material from Tell el-Burak is planned. More information on the types referred to in the following can be found in two recent books.[121]

The earliest evidence are two small fragments probably belonging to a so-called Proto-Chian amphora (Fig. 11.1) of the late 8th to mid 7th c. BCE[122] and an early amphora of Lesbian grey type (Fig. 11.2) of the 1st half of the 7th c. BCE.[123] SOS amphorae are missing. In the middle of the 7th c. BCE, the number of imported amphorae rises significantly. They include one almost complete (Fig. 10) and another fragment (Fig. 11.3) of a slipped and painted Chian amphorae, at least two Clazomenian type amphorae dating to the 2nd half of the 7th and/or the early 6th c. BCE (Fig. 11.4), at least one other Lesbian grey type amphora of late 7th c. BCE date (Fig. 11.5), at least four Milesian type amphorae of the same period with characteristic ridges on their necks (Fig. 11.6), five fragments probably belonging to band-painted Early Archaic amphorae of Milesian type (Fig. 11.7),[124] and at least six amphorae of Samian type dating to the last quarter of the 7th or the first three quarters of the 6th c. BCE (Fig. 11.8). During the 6th and the beginning of the 5th c. BCE, many amphorae of later Milesian types (Fig. 12.1), a few more Lesbian, more Clazomenian (Fig. 12.2) and many more Samian type amphorae were imported. All in all, 53 fragments of Milesian, 22 of Clazomenian, 12 of Lesbian and 33 of Samian type amphorae were counted. Furthermore, up to 54 fragments belonged to amphorae of Bîrzescu's type Ionia I (often called Samos-Zeest) of ca. 565-500 BCE (Fig. 12.3); one major center producing this type was most recently identified at Teos,[125] while others may have been made in Erythrai, but also in the Northern Aegean.[126] Very prominent among the amphorae imported to Tell el-Burak are the Late Archaic and Classical Chian types, which can be dated quite precisely; 9-11 fragments belong to the 2nd half of the 6th c. BCE (Fig. 12.4), 26-31 to the 1st quarter (Fig. 12.5), 16-28 to the 2nd quarter (Fig. 12.6), and 4-16 to the 3rd quarter of the 5th c. BCE. Although the earliest of these types as well as the Clazomenian and the later Milesian types seem to be so far largely missing in the Levant because of the "Babylonian gap", the large popularity of Chian amphorae of the 5th c. BCE is also visible, elsewhere. The relatively high number of early Milesian, the slightly lower number of Samian, and the few early Lesbian type amphorae likewise find comparisons in the wider region.

During the 5th c. BCE, a very large number of amphorae of Sezgin's type Ionia α, often considered Samian or Samo-Milesian but produced in multiple sites including Erythrai, were imported (Fig. 12.7).[127] Up to 80 fragments were assigned to this type; they mostly seem to belong to the 1st half and middle rather than to the latter half of the century. A small number of up to six pieces can be identified as Northern

121 Bîrzescu 2012; Sezgin 2012.

122 Cfr. Buchner – Ridgway 1993, p. 429, pl. 211.

123 Cfr. Bîrzescu 2012, fig. 1.

124 Cfr. the piece from Byblos: Dunand 1954, pp. 419-420 #11121, fig. 441.

125 Kerschner – Mommsen 2022.

126 Dupont 2019, p. 57.

127 Cfr. Dupont 2018; Sezgin 2012.

Aegean, produced at Thasos (Fig. 12.9?), Mende (Fig. 12.8) or other sites in the region. All in all, it seems that the number of imported amphorae rapidly decreased during the 2nd half of the 5th c. BCE; only three fragments (possibly from Heraclea Pontice, Sinope and Knidos or another site in the Southern Aegean (Fig. 12.10) were dated to the 4th c. BCE, although large quantities of Attic fine wares were imported to Tell el-Burak until the 3rd quarter of the 4th c. BCE (see below). This seems to be in line with developments in the Southern Levant, where Chian amphorae lost their popularity in the middle of the 5th c. BCE, and there is a dip in the overall number of imported amphorae in the 2nd half of the 5th c. BCE.[128]

Altogether, the very large number of imported Eastern Greek amphorae of the 7th-4th c. BCE from the small agricultural site of Tell el-Burak, producing wine in large quantities itself,[129] is striking. Any interpretation of this material must consider that the imported amphorae are few compared to the thousands of jars produced within the region. Both groups were mostly found highly fragmented in large depositions on the hill slopes, and since only a (very small?) part of these extensive deposits was excavated, the imported amphorae broken at Tell el-Burak may have originally numbered in the thousands. One possibility is that the imported amphorae were carried to Tell el-Burak empty together with many freshly made as well as recycled jars of regional production to be filled with the local wine.[130] But the huge number of broken vessels may also suggest large-scale consumption at the site; recurring feasting activities, maybe related to the wine harvest, would be a possible explanation. If it should prove correct that many of the imported amphorae from Tell el-Burak were not directly imported to site to serve the few local inhabitants but brought from the surroundings to be recycled after their contents had been consumed, then the material would mostly stem from nearby sites like Sidon, Sarepta, or even Tyre, and thus constitute a cross-section of the Eastern Greek commodities consumed in Southern Phoenicia. In any case, the material from Tell el-Burak first allows conclusions on the circulation of the various Archaic and Classical types of Greek transport amphorae in the eastern Mediterranean littoral.

4.4. *Attic Black and Red Figure*

The earliest Attic imports of the Archaic period from the Central Levant, multiple black figured cups from Tell ʿArqa and Byblos, date back to around 530 BCE, comparable to the situation in multiple sites in the Northern Levant.[131] Many more black-figured cups and cup-skyphoi and a few lekythoi and craters were imported in the following decades (with similar patterns in the Southern Levant, where the number of known fragments is higher); the red-figured imports also comprise a few cups and the odd other vase, but bell craters were dominant.[132] At Tell el-Burak, the situation is rather different: The entire group of 48 black-figured sherds seems to date back to the 1st half of the 5th c. BCE, and, apart from a few lekythoi (Fig. 13.4), to include only drinking vessels, that is cups and cup-skyphoi (Fig. 13.1-3). They are mostly decorated with *komos* and chariot scenes (Fig. 13.1-3), which were most popular on vessels imported to the Levant because of their easy adaptability to differing cultural contexts.[133] Red-figured fragments are almost completely missing; only two of them have been found. This is especially remarkable when the large popularity of red-figure craters in Levantine sites is considered.[134] Askoi and lekanides, known from various sites in the Central Levant,[135] are likewise missing.

128 Shalev 2014.

129 Cfr. Orsingher *et al.* 2020.

130 Cfr. Abdelhamid 2013, pp. 93-95; Lawall 2011, pp. 43-44; Lawall 2011, pp. 30-32 for the reuse of Greek amphorae.

131 Chirpanlieva 2013, cat. #811-813, 835.

132 See e.g. Chirpanlieva 2013, cat. #814, 816, 818-819, 821, 823-830, 836-857; Finkbeiner – Sader 1997, pp. 138-142; Haider 2015.

133 Chirpanlieva 2013, pp. 315, 347, 351, 396; Nunn 2014, p. 407; Wenning 1981, p. 45; 2000, esp. pp. 349-350; 2004, p. 48.

134 Cfr. e.g. Stewart – Martin 2005, p. 83 for Dor.

135 Chirpanlieva 2013, pp. 176, 184, 187, 190-191 cat. #854.

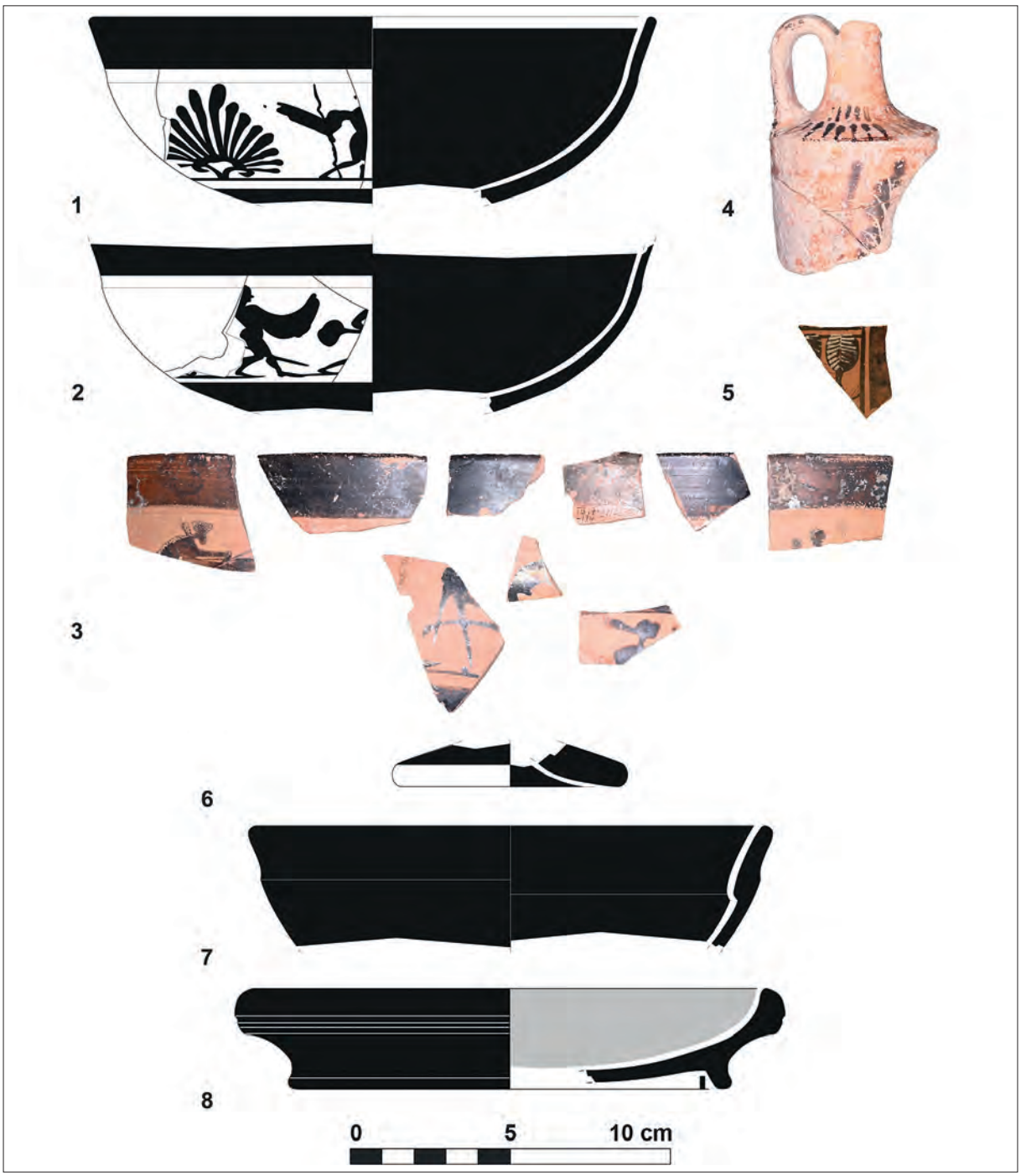

Fig. 13. Tell el-Burak: Attic imports of the 5th c. BCE: 1. Late black figure cup or rather cup-skyphos with komos, possibly of the Lancut group, 500-450 BCE (2824-095+141-0042); 2. Late black figure cup or cup-skyphos with komos, 500-450 BCE (2825-057-0072); 3. Late black figure cup or cup-skyphos with charioteer, possibly of the Haimon group, 500-450 BCE (2725-020-0137); 4. Late black figure lekythos, 500-450 BCE (2921-001-0602); 5. Saint Valentin kantharos of group V (Howard – Johnson 1954), 460-420 BCE (2824-123-0007); 6. Black glazed stemmed cup of type C, 500-450 BCE (2921-001-0202); 7. Black glazed Castulo cup, 480-450 BCE (2921-068-0026); 8. Black glazed bowl with shallow wall and convex-concave profile, 425-400 BCE (2725-002-0020+2825-049-0006).

Other sites in the Central Levant confirm the pattern from the Southern Levant but Tell el-Burak does not. One sherd from the site belonged to a patterned Saint Valentin kantharos (Fig. 13.5); similar vessels have been found in multiple sites in the Southern Levant.[136] All in all, the spectrum of figured Athenian imports at Tell el-Burak seems unusually narrow; almost only drinking vessels were in demand.

4.5. *Attic Black Glaze*

The bulk of the Athenian pottery exported to the Levant was black-glazed. Larger corpora have been published preliminarily, partly or even extensively in the Northern and the Southern Levant.[137] Those so far made accessible from the Central Levant (Tell ʿArqa, Byblos, Beirut, Sidon) remain comparatively small.[138] At Tell el-Burak, a total of 220 fragments has been found, and this makes them the by far largest group known from the Central Levant, surpassed only by the Southern Levantine site of Dor, with a four-digit number.[139] At Tell el-Burak, type A skyphoi (Fig. 14.1) are very common but stemmed and stemless cups of various types (Fig. 13.6), including up to five sturdy Castulo cups (Fig. 13.7), and a few other drinking vessels are also present (Tab. 2).[140] Serving vessels are underrepresented; only one fish plate (Fig. 14.2) and three other (rolled-rim) plates (Fig. 14.3) have been found. Their share within the entire corpus is thus significantly lower than in the large-scale excavations in the Persian-period settlement quarters in Beirut and Dor.[141] As in most Levantine sites, the number of black-glazed bowls of various forms is large; up to 48 fragments from Tell el-Burak can be assigned to such vessels. Bowls with outturned rims of the later 5th and 4th c. BCE are most common (Fig. 14.4), but bowls with incurving rim of the 4th c. BCE (Fig. 14.5) and bowls with shallow wall and convex-concave profile are likewise present (Fig. 13.8). Many of these bowls may have served as drinking vessels, so that it seems that almost the entire Attic assemblage found at Tell el-Burak (apart from the lekythoi) served this purpose. This predominance of drinking vessels among the Attic imports is characteristic for Levantine sites,[142] but still, the lack of craters and the small number of other serving vessels seems particular.

The chronological apogee of the Attic imports is the late 5th and the earlier part of the 4th c. BCE. The surprisingly large amount of Greek fine ware imports itself may seem unexpected at the small agricultural site of Tell el-Burak. It must be stressed that this is only part of a larger phenomenon, since the imported vessels only make up a very small percentage within the entire corpus of pottery found; the thousands of fragments of regionally produced tableware may likewise require an interpretation. One possible explanation would be that the large amount of tableware, among them many Attic imports, were used in recurring large-scale feasting activities at the site, at which the dishes were not centrally acquired, but possible brought individually by the participants. This may fit the observations on the large number of amphorae at the site, but must be considered in more detail, elsewhere.

4.6. *Imitations of Attic Wares*

Finally, it must be noted that at least some five fragments very probably were produced in the region, but imitated Attic imports. These include four small fragments of skyphoi or cup-skyphoi and an almost complete,

136 Cfr. e.g. Risser – Blakely 1989, p. 105 #68, fig. 106,1; Stern 1994, pp. 88-89 #33, fig. 2,36.

137 Cfr. e.g. Marchese 1989; 1994; Risser – Blakely 1989; Stewart – Martin 2005; Stucky 1983.

138 Chirpanlieva 2013, cat. #858-915; Doumet-Serhal 2006, pp. 19-21; Shefton *et al.* 1998.

139 Stewart – Martin 2005, p. 85.

140 Cfr. Sparkes – Talcott 1970 for the typology used.

141 Shefton *et al.* 1998; Stewart – Martin 2005.

142 Cfr. e.g. Marchese 1989; Risser – Blakely 1989; Shefton *et al.* 1998; Stern 2007; Stewart – Martin 2005; Tal 1999.

highly idiosyncratic bell crater (Fig. 14.6). This piece seems to be inspired by red-figured mixing vessels, but its simple red slip may have been chosen rather as a reference to Attic black-glaze. The piece may thus qualify as an imitation the main selling-point of which was its relatively low price. The small number of such imitations, though, suggests that their workshops proved unsuccessful, possibly because the relatively low prices of the simpler Attic imports shipped to the Levant in large numbers already made them quite accessible.

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Fig. 14. Tell el-Burak: Attic black glaze (1–5) and imitations (6) of the 4th c. BCE: 1. Type A skyphos, probably 375-350 BCE (2924-066-0002); 2. Fish plate, ca. 325 BCE (2924-024-0001); 3. Rolled rim plate, ca. 400-375 BCE (2924-001-0043), 4. Bowl with outturned rim, ca. 380 BCE (2924-092-0087); 5. Bowl with incurving rim, probably 350-325 BCE (2825-001-0604); 6. Bell crater, probably 400-375 BCE (2825-008-0001).

	Black Figure	Red Figure	Black Glaze	
Skyphoi	2	1	37	
Cup-Skyphoi	32	0	2	13
Cups (unknown)		0	1	
Cups (stemmed)	0	0	6	
Cups (stemless)	0	0	9	
Kantharoi	0	0	1	
Kantharos-Goblets	0	0	1	
Cup-Kantharoi	0	0	1	
One-Handlers	0	0	1	
Bowls (outturned)	0	0	19	
Bowls (incurving)	0	0	5	
Bowls (swcc)	0	0	3	
Bowls (unknown)	0	0	21	
Saltcellars	0	0	1	
Plates	0	0	3	
Fish Plates	0	0	1	
Stemmed Dishes	0	0	1	
Jugs/Oinochae	0	0	1	
Lekythoi	9			
Unknown	14	1	91	

Table 2. Attic fragments from Tell el-Burak.

5. Conclusions and Outlook

The preceding chapters preliminarily presented and discussed the Cypriot and Greek imports of the 8th to 4th c. BCE from Tell el-Burak. They constitute by far the largest assemblage of Greek and one of the most prolific of Cypriot imports of these periods published from the Central Levant and one of the most extensive and varied datasets pertaining to such vessels so far available from the entire Eastern Mediterranean littoral. On a very basic level, the material may confirm the common view that the Eastern Greek imports supersede the Cypriot ones in the 2nd half of the 7th c. BCE and are then replaced by Attic ones at the turn of the 5th c. BCE.[143] On the other side, the material from Tell el-Burak suggests that this image, based on the fine wares only, reflects only parts of the reality. It thus could be shown that at least at Tell el-Burak, the well-known Cypriot and Greek fine wares are overshadowed by much larger amounts of transport amphorae from these areas. Furthermore, with the likewise large group of mortaria, Cyprus supplied a very large number of specialised devices for the processing of food, which were imported because their fabric guaranteed superior quality. A similar phenomenon may be seen on a much-reduced scale when the Eastern Greek cooking pots are considered. It still is difficult to tell if pottery from Cyprus and from Greece was carried to the Levant on the same ships, but at least a late 7th c. BCE shipwreck found off the Turkish coast at Kekova Adası shows that Cypriot basket handle amphorae as well as Milesian/Southeast Aegean and Corinthian amphorae were sometimes shipped together.[144] Overall, it seems at least very probable that Greek wares were not always carried by Greek and that Cypriot products were not always carried by Cypriot merchants. Another 7th/6th c. BCE shipwreck found at Caycagiz Koyu as well as the 5th c. BCE shipwreck of Ma'agan Micha'el[145] suggest that basket handle amphorae and mortaria were, at least, shipped together.

143 Lehmann 1996, pp. 76-78; Lehmann 1998, p. 31; cfr. also Sader *et al.* 2021, p. 27.

144 Greene *et al.* 2013, pp. 24-27.

145 Lyon 1993.

The Greek as well as the Cypriot fine wares find comparisons in other Central Levantine sites, and, often in much larger quantities, in the better-published sites in the Northern and especially Southern Levant. They demonstrate that the Central Levant, on a general level, dovetails with this data. Regarding the imported amphorae, especially those from Greece, the available comparative data is much poorer, but it still seems that the evidence from Tell el-Burak is in many ways characteristic for the entire region. Still, this exceptionally large assemblage is of utmost importance to first trace the distribution of the amphora types produced in multiple sites in Eastern Greece and Cyprus to the Levant. While the Greek amphorae can be largely assigned to known types, the production centres of which are already at least partly known, only petrographical and chemical analysis will be able to shed light on the origins of the various fabric groups of the more uniform jars as well as the mortaria from Cyprus (and possibly other regions). Nevertheless, the heterogeneity of their fabrics already suggests close interconnections of multiple centres on the island with the Central Levant.

The imported Cypriot and Greek amphorae as well as the Cypriot mortaria are present in all settlement phases and were thus imported continuously, even though the fine wares produced in the respective regions were not. This suggests that the decrease of Cypriot fine ware imports is anything but a sign of decreasing interconnections between Cyprus and the Levant. It thus seems implausible that it is the result of changing political circumstances, as has been argued.[146] It likewise is important to recall that Tell el-Burak was continuously used in the 6th c. BCE and that the imports of "Eastern Greek" fine wares cover this entire period, reaching down to the 3rd quarter of the 6th c. BCE. The much larger group of transport amphorae clearly confirms this. This suggests that the lack of much 6th c. BCE imports from Attica, so different from the situation e.g. in Etruria and Southern Italy, cannot be only explained with the fact that the respective settlement phases are lacking, as is the case in most of the Southern and parts of the Northern Levant but indicates that the Levant was not yet (closely) integrated into the networks of distribution of Attic pottery. The Eastern Greek transport amphorae show that the decline of Eastern Greek fine ware imports in the latter half of the 6th c. BCE does not indicate decreasing contacts between Ionia and the Levant, but only the increasing dominance of Athens on the fine ware market in this period. The changing political circumstances of the 5th c. BCE notwithstanding, Attic pottery was imported in large quantities throughout this period. The continuous imports from Greece during the 6th c. BCE not only corroborate the continuous use of the site, but also attest to the fact that the Babylonian conquest did not have any paramount effects on the exchange of Greek pottery along the Levant. This, lastly, suggests that e.g. Fantalkin's knowledgeable reconstruction of multiple periods of contact between the (Southern) Levant and Greece[147] cannot claim validity for the entire eastern Mediterranean littoral. The continuous trickle of fine wares, but especially the large number of transport amphorae, lastly, attest to a continuous trade in Greek goods along the Levant in the Archaic period, undermining the frequent link of these imports with Greek mercenaries or other Greeks present in (Southern) Levantine sites.[148] The (few) fragments of Eastern Greek chytrae from Tell el-Burak point into the same direction. All in all, it seems that the larger political context – the history of events – had little influence on the exchange networks distributing imported pottery along the Levantine coast.

These are just preliminary conclusions based on the finds from a single site of small size and agricultural character (even though if our suggestions of bring-your-own-cup-parties and the recycling of amphorae at Tell el-Burak should be correct, the imports from this site would provide something like a cross-section of Greek and Cypriot imports in the entire sub-region of present-day Southern Lebanon). Nevertheless, they may already suggest that there is still much research to be done on "Phoenician" interconnections. The con-

146 Cfr. Orsingher 2022, p. 314.

147 Fantalkin 2006.

148 Cfr. e.g. Fantalkin 2001, p. 138; 2006, p. 202; 2011, p. 96.

tacts between "Phoenicia" and other areas in the Eastern Mediterranean were anything but a one-way road; the pottery imported to the Central Levant which has been dealt with, here, are but one facet of the interregional exchange processes characterising the Eastern Mediterranean in the Iron Age and the Persian period.

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Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank the entire team of the Lebanese-German excavation project at Tell el-Burak. Our gratitude goes to the Lebanese *Direction Générale des Antiquités* for granting us the permission to carry out the investigations and for their unfailing support. All the pottery drawings were done by Rami Yassine. Let him find here the expression of our appreciation and thanks for his work. We would also like to extend our thanks to the Collaborative Research Center 1070 at the University of Tübingen (SFB 1070 "ResourceCultures"). The results presented here are part of its Project A06, which investigates exchange networks in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Department of History and Archaeology at the American University of Beirut provided the necessary space during our study seasons to process the material presented here. We wholeheartedly thank them for their warm welcome. Last but not least, our thanks go to the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and to the editors of *Rivista di Studi Fenici* for accepting the article and for assisting in the editorial work.

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