

INTRODUCTION

In this work, we seek to develop a picture of the creative independence of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, drawing primarily on the evidence and analysis of White Slip wares – but also supplemented by other archaeological evidence from Cyprus and the lands surrounding the Eastern Mediterranean. The creativity of the ancient Cypriots throughout the course of the Bronze Age is captured in the following paragraph from MERRILLEES (1965, 139):

It must be obvious to all those who have studied the archaeology of Cyprus that that appealing lack of affectation with its intensely human, often whimsical air, which so typifies the prehistoric islanders' outlook on life, can nowhere be seen to better advantage than in the pottery of the Bronze Age, at once the most plentiful product of their industry and the most suitable vehicle for their artistic outlets. During the course of the Bronze Age it is possible to observe

the customs, beliefs, and everyday life portrayed through the medium of clay in a manner so uninhibited, so thoroughly natural, that one has no option but to see in it the purest exposition of the Cypriote spirit. Just how vital the pottery of this period is may be most strikingly seen when it is compared with the stereotyped wares of the Iron Age, whose aesthetic potential, it is true, had been more fully realised, but which left as a result little scope for personal expression of the kind that previously revealed the Cypriote spirit in such intimate detail.

The Cypriot spirit of the Late Bronze Age (ca 1580–1180 BC) is, I believe, expressed strongly in the development of the White Slip series. Scrutinizing this development allows us to further interpret the historical situation of the island. Not only does such a study contribute to the interpretation of the peoples who populated the island at this time, but also

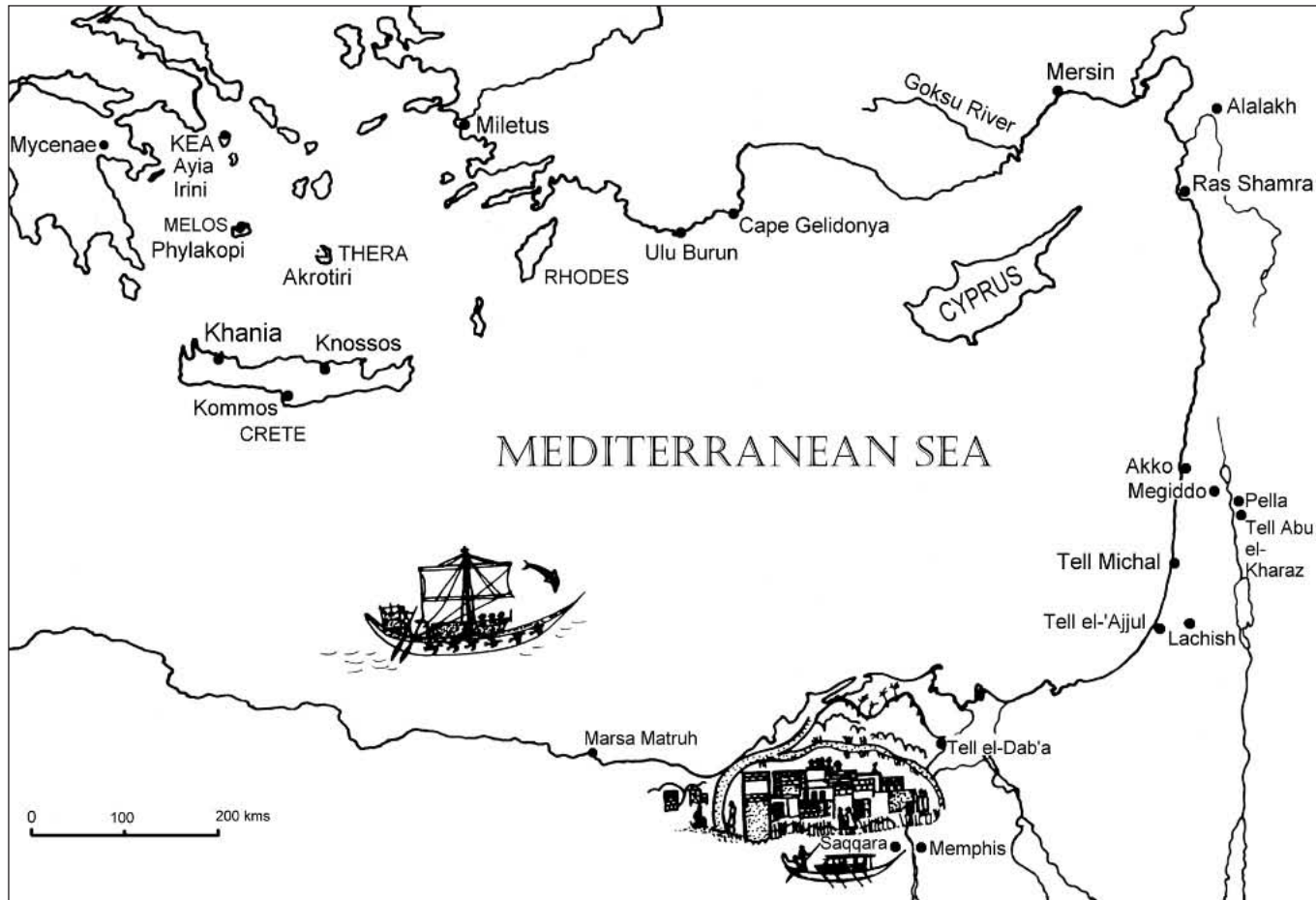


Fig. 1 Map of Cyprus and East Mediterranean

the discovery of Cypriot White Slip outside of the island exposes the nature of interaction with foreign communities, at a time when we have few historical references to the island and its people.

The long debated issue of whether the Alashiya of the Amarna letters (EA 33–40, 114) could be equated with Cyprus has been finally laid to rest with the exciting results presented by GOREN *et al.*, (nd; 2003). As they claim, “We succeeded to come to a firm conclusion as to the location of the kingdom of Alashiya. The mineralogical composition of the tablets [especially of EA 37 that was not analysed before] strongly relates it to western Cyprus. This suggests that Alashiya of the 14th century BC was located in western Cyprus and not in the eastern part of the island, in north-western Syria or in Cilicia as was previously suggested.”

The methodology of this book focuses on contact between ancient communities as an important form of evidence to illustrate dramatic historical developments. A particular case is when there are differences in level of technology between societies, and when we can observe the way in which the transfer of

advanced technology impacted on technologically simpler lifestyles. For example, it seems clear that the technology required to obtain the controlled higher temperatures needed for smelting copper as production increased, had a flow on impact on the development of the kilns used for firing ceramics in Cyprus – as was the case with White Slip, Base-ring (BR) and Red Lustrous Wheel-made (RLW-m) wares to name the most obvious.

L. COURTOIS (1977, 13), who located the manufacture of the White Slip wares in specific mineralogical areas around the periphery of the Troodos Mountains, considered that there was a correlation between the appearance of White Slip ware and the technology needed for the increased exploitation of the copper in these mountains. In fact she (*ibid.*, 16) considered that: “Ensuite le fait qu’elle est un sous-produit d’une industrie minière. Elle a été conçue et réalisée par métallurgistes qui avaient une expérience poussée des arts du feu, d’où la qualité remarquable des produits qu’ils obtenaient.” This suggestion has been taken up by others (see e.g., JONES 1986, 526–27; KNAPP and CHERRY 1994, 160).

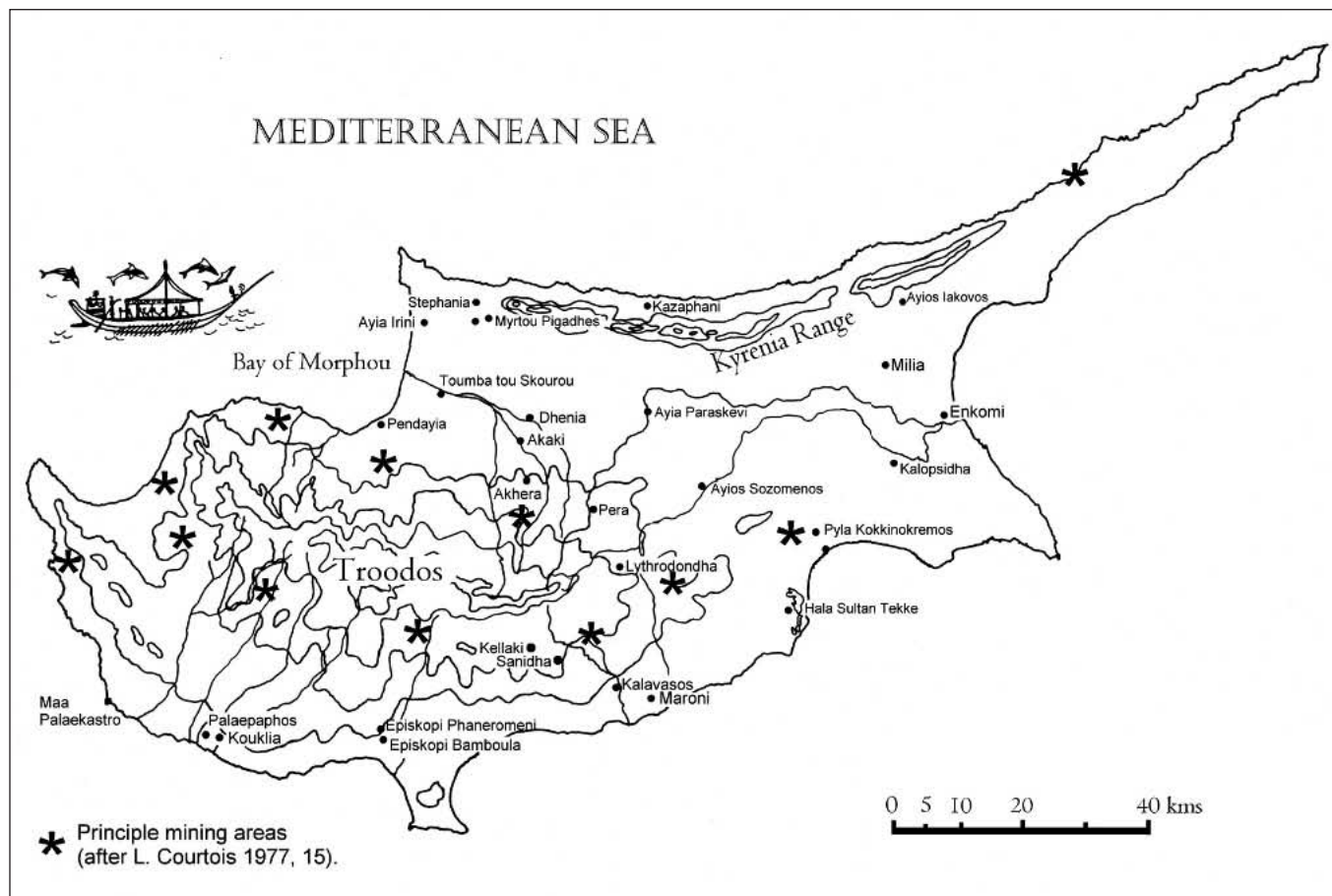


Fig. 2 Map of Cyprus showing sites mentioned in text and also the principle mining zones (after L. COURTOIS 1977, 15)

This connection between White Slip manufacture and the mining industry has been reinforced by the findings at the site of Sanidha *Moutti tou Ayiou Serkhou* (hereafter Sanidha) by TODD (1990; 1991; 1993; see Chapter IV.4). That PWS, WS I and WS II could have been “manufactured in the one of the southern mining centres such as Skourka *Ayios Mamas*, Ephatagonia or even Kalavassos” had been speculated upon by SWINY (1979, 238). He (*ibid.*) considered that the poor representation of PWS along the southern coast could merely be a result of “incomplete archaeological survey data.” Given the additional evidence for PWS in the south since he wrote, particularly the material found around Limassol (eg., Tomb 275/5, CHRISTOU 1995, 803, fig. 5); Erimi (KARAGEORGHIS 1972, 1010, fig. 7; CHRISTOU 1995, fig. 13); and the two unpublished tomb groups from Anarita and Kedaes in the Paphos area (ÅSTRÖM 2001, 49); we should not exclude the possibility of a PWS production centre situated in the southern part of the island. It seems highly likely that the knowledge regarding improved smelting conditions and kiln construction used for the mining and processing of copper came from outside Cyprus. These issues are discussed further in Chapter I.3.

In more general terms, examining the archaeological record of Bronze Age Cyprus allows us to better speculate about the interaction of cultures and the development of ideas on society, ethics, philosophy and politics. We can try to understand some of these developments on Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age through an intense study of the material culture. In particular when we discover Cypriot artefacts, like vessels/sherds of White Slip in foreign contexts, we are led to speculate on the reasons why people on the island were engaging in such a wide sphere of contact. Of similar importance are the foreign wares found on the island itself.

In the case of the analysis of the history of Cyprus, pottery is of crucial importance. This is because, unlike in other parts of the East Mediterranean at this time, we have only a limited number of examples of the distinctive script of the ancient Cypriots known as Cypro-Minoan and unfortunately the script has not yet been deciphered. KARAGEORGHIS (1984b, 41) says on this issue:

Writing would have been a necessity in this developed and sophisticated Cypriot society during the Late Bronze Age, and even more so in a country whose economy depended largely on trade with neighbouring countries. The Cypro-Minoan script developed and became current throughout the island. Though long written documents in the form

of baked clay tablets of a cushion-shaped variety like those of the Near East have been found only at Enkomi, there is evidence of the script in all parts of the island. Signs from it are engraved or painted on vases or engraved on bronzes, cylinder seals, clay balls, ivory objects, clay loomweights, etc. There are about eighty signs in the Cypro-Minoan script. Several attempts have been made to decipher the Enkomi tablets but no satisfactory results have yet been reached and the language of the documents remains unknown. Several theories have been advanced, the latest being that it is Hurrian. What is certain is that these tablets are not lists of objects or inventories, like the tablets of the Mycenaean and Minoan palaces, but continuous texts; it has been suggested that they may be poems. Some texts in the Cypro-Minoan script have also been found at Ugarit, the cosmopolitan town on the Syrian coast opposite Cyprus, with which the island maintained close commercial relations. The suggestion has been put forward that there was a commercial colony of Cypriots at Ugarit.

Our inability to decipher the language makes the focus of this book, that is the role of White Slip and other Cypriot wares even more important. Like many other Late Cypriot fabrics, White Slip wares are found at sites near and far from where they were manufactured. L. COURTOIS (1977, 10) explains that the likely reasons for the popularity of the White Slip wares was due to its strength and its impermeability to substances like water and grease; and the fact that it was easy to clean. Many of the vessels examined during this study show signs of ‘use-wear’, especially on the rim, base and interior base. Thus, we tend to disagree with KROMHOLZ’s (1978, 2) thesis that WS II was primarily a funerary ware; and closer examination of funerary offerings will probably confirm this.

Historical records up to the present day underline the fact that the strategic location of the island of Cyprus has resulted in a long history of intense cultural interchange – often accompanied by repeated occupation together with feisty resistance from the island’s inhabitants. However, in the early pre-history of Cyprus before ship travel and trade became commonplace from the start of the Late Bronze Age, the island was a relatively isolated place. It was then populated by people who may have had diverse origins, but soon developed their own unique culture and spirit. By the time of the Late Bronze Age we have a repeated influx of visitors, involving greater contact with the mainland and other Mediterranean islands.

Evidence on Cyprus of contact with the main-

land and other islands prior to the Late Cypriot period does exist, but it is not substantial. On the other hand, a significant quantity of Middle Cypriot III pottery is found outside of the island. This is a necessary prelude to the Late Bronze Age developments and demonstrates the beginnings of the Cypriot enterprising spirit to create and export the island's products. Pottery, and whatever contents it may have had, was obviously of interest to the foreign ports. However, we should assume that the greater interest at this time and, for most of the LBA, was in the island's natural resources such as timber, agricultural produce but, in particular, copper. Once the surrounding nations and independent traders focused on Cyprus' copper resources, the island and its inhabitants moved into a new sphere of international relations.

Many of the copper/bronze implements that do survive in the archaeological record of the mainland for the periods under discussion would surely have used Cypriot copper. However, while metal analysis of artefacts can detect components consistent with a Cypriot ore source, the establishment of trade connections basically relies on the appearance in the mainland of other Middle and Late Cypriot goods, such as pottery. The quantity of ceramic wares discovered supports the inclusion of Cyprus within an established, sophisticated trading network. What occurred before the LBA was that natural resources on the island brought it into the Hyksos/Syro-Palestinian economic sphere. During this Middle Cypriot period, copper production was the main economic resource of the island and indeed contributed to a unification of the Cypriots. Thus according to FRANKEL (1974, 51) copper was "...the main economic factor unifying Cyprus...and much of the social interaction between the fairly isolated regions can be related to it." Over a period of time, it also led to its strong foreign connections during the Late Bronze Age.

1. THE CONTINUITY OF WHITE SLIP WARE AS A SIGN OF CYPRIOT INDEPENDENCE

In reflecting on the history of Cyprus and its relations with other lands of the Eastern Mediterranean during this Late Bronze Age, we should focus on the remarkable continuity in the production and distribution of White Slip wares over a period of 400 years. L. COURTOIS (1977, 16) believed that a study of the White Slip wares would allow us to follow the exploitation of one of the oldest mining areas for four centuries, since she considered White Slip to be a by product of this industry. As KARAGEORGHIS (2001, 10) says:

A factor which should also be emphasized, and which may have a bearing on the arguments proposed here, is the fact that during the four centuries of life of the White Slip ware bowls of medium size, the essential characteristics of the form never changed, the same size and the same form being maintained. This implies that the standard White Slip ware bowl served a specific purpose for which it proved highly suitable. Naturally once the new fabric was invented, it was also used for the manufacture of other shapes of vessels as well, jugs and juglets, tankards, large bowls and other shapes. But by far the most frequent shape, especially among the exported examples, was the medium size hemispherical bowl.

This continuity reflects not only the demand for the product in other lands, but also the likelihood of the general continuity of the Cypriot civilization itself over that period. This continuity, when added to the other archaeological discoveries, strongly suggests that the ancient Cypriots were a fiercely independent people, who traded with the various countries of the region. While remaining relatively autonomous, they appear to have forged strong links with several of the key societies of the Bronze Age with changes in emphasis from the dominance of Egypt, through to the dominance of the Mycenaean and Hittite civilizations. The fascinating conclusion indicated by the archaeological evidence is that, notwithstanding these changes in alliances, the Late Bronze Age Cypriot society does not appear to have been conquered or totally subjugated by any of these other lands.

Cyprus at this stage appears to have been an independent society (or societies) with its own rules. Yet during this Late Bronze Age period, huge changes were taking place in Egypt, the Levant, in the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations and in Anatolia. The links between Cyprus and these lands during these times have been illuminated by the archaeological discoveries in relation to White Slip ware and other Cypriot pottery. KARAGEORGHIS (2001, 9) puts the point succinctly thus:

There is hardly a Late Bronze Age site in the Levant, the Aegean or the eastern Mediterranean at which one or more White Slip sherds have not been found; in some cases there are hundreds of such sherds or complete vessels. I feel certain that many more White Slip ware sherds have also been found on excavations outside Cyprus in the past but these have not been recognized and thus never recorded. A good example of this phenomenon is the discovery of White Slip ware sherds on the island of

Crete. Once they had been recognised in the region of Kydonia some fifteen years ago, many have been recorded at frequent intervals ever since. The same may be true of Base-ring ware ...

In Cyprus itself, these two wares had a life span of about four hundred years, with minor variations, something which is considered unique in the history of Late Bronze Age ceramics. This immediately raises the question of what inspired the Late Cypriot potters to produce these long-lived fabrics and what made them so attractive to a foreign clientele stretching from the central Mediterranean to the Syro-Palestinian coast. It also raises the question of the political circumstances which allowed for this continuous production.

There is thus substantial evidence of an increasingly unified society in Cyprus from the LC IA:2 period onwards. This unification is symbolised by the first appearances of White Slip I ware and continues through to the LC IIC period, centuries later.

What the history of White Slip reveals to us is a view of Cyprus as a society that, through generational change, valued at least some of the utilitarian objects of the previous generation; a view that is supported by other artefactual studies. This stresses the continuity of a island-wide society throughout the Late Bronze Age, even though there were aspects of regionalism in the early stages of White Slip development (e.g., PWS, WS I 'RL', WS I 'FWL' etc). It supports the thesis that the island was a relatively unified cultural entity with deep rooted traditions during the Late Bronze Age. Naturally the gateways which permitted external influences to enter into this culture were the sites placed closest to the coast. From there, improved and new technologies (particularly in relation to the mining industry) and new ideologies are most likely to have infiltrated further inland.

Ceramics served primarily a utilitarian function within the broader structure which defined the community. Yet, in the long history of White Slip ware, we can discern a clear pattern: the first phases of White Slip produce a variety of changes; the development then settles down to the long-lived durable fabric and especially in the form of the decorative finish of White Slip II. Indeed the stability of White Slip during the Late Bronze Age was so great that we are left with no clear archaeological horizons for WS II. This was bemoaned by KROMHOLZ (1978, 13) who stated: "Conditions of relative peace seem to have obtained at the time, and the absence of frequent destruction layers does not afford sufficient chronological resolution for the details of style."

The same general point can be made about Base-ring wares as KNAPP and CHERRY (1995, 161) noted when they wrote: "It seems clear that the potters who manufactured Base-Ring wares worked in a tradition that remained relatively stable for four centuries." And likewise, the study of RLW-m ware suggested a similar situation (ERIKSSON 1993). The stability of these three wares over the major part of the Late Bronze Age reflects the continuity of the community which they served. It is a major part of the evidence which allows us to conclude that conditions of relative peace must have existed for much of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus.

The extensive network of foreign relations which arose at this time is also illustrated by the discovery of artefacts of foreign provenance on Cyprus. Thus excavations all over the island, but particularly in the tombs and settlements at Enkomi-*Ayios Iakovos* (hereafter Enkomi) in the east and Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* (hereafter *Toumba tou Skourou*) in the west, have exposed not only typical artefacts of Middle to Late Bronze Age Cypriot culture, but also foreign artefacts which illustrate the links with the cultures of Syria/Canaan, Mesopotamia, Crete and other islands, Mainland Greece, Anatolia and Egypt. This interchange of ceramics opens up the whole area of study of the chronological synchronizations which inter-link the cultural sequences of these societies, as represented by the artefacts. In this book, we shall discuss many of these interconnections that have been linked to Cyprus.

The background to the development of the White Slip series begins with the major changes occurring on Cyprus during the Middle Cypriot III period. These changes can most logically be explained by the evidence which suggests the growing inclusion of the island into the socio-economic environment of the eastern Mediterranean (see KNAPP 1986, 70-72). Such inclusion also meant the introduction of new technology and political awareness on a broader scale; also, but more difficult to demonstrate, there may have been impacts on religious beliefs. What we can observe in the archaeological record is that there were major changes in late Middle Cypriot to early Late Cypriot island life, which saw the emergence of a complex society. As KNAPP (1996, 59) later observed:

... just prior to the Late Cypriot period ... settlement sites were concentrated along the foothills on either side of the Kyrenia range, and also at prime locations in the Troodos river valleys, where they entered or crossed the *Mesaoria* ... In terms of the material culture, there is a fair degree of sim-

ilarity in everything from pottery to metal products to burial goods, which may indicate common beliefs, political alliances, and economic activities, all punctuated by the burgeoning trade in copper and the resultant development of intra-island communications.”

Evidence for this can be observed in changes in architecture, such as building plans and village/town layout. PELTENBURG (1996) has argued that already by the 16th century BC archaic state forms emerge in Cyprus; he focuses on the example of Enkomi. There were also changes to burial practice and offerings, and one may note a particular cultural change with the use of intramural burials at Enkomi. This was opposed to the cemetery sites placed away from the settlements – the practice which largely characterized the Bronze Age up until this point, and continued at other sites like *Toumba tou Skourou*, Episkopi *Bamboula* and Myrtou *Pigadhes*.²

Cyprus emerged from an island made up of separate villages overwhelmingly dominated by agriculture to the development of planned sites, often more closely located near the coast. As KNAPP (1996, 60) commented: “The new settlement orientation, towards the sea, provides good supplementary evidence for the intensification of social and economic complexity on the island. This development, furthermore, was linked to overseas demand for Cypriot products, coupled with the motivation of Cypriot elites to establish economic and political alliances with more powerful politics in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean.”

The sites of interest to us in relation to this early period are: firstly, Enkomi, nearby Kalopsidha *Tsaoudi Chiflik* (hereafter Kalopsidha) and Hala Sultan Tekke *Vyzakia* (hereafter Hala Sultan Tekke) in the East. Secondly, without the full publication of the excavations at Phlamoudhi *Melissa*, we have major gaps in the evidence from the North Coast of the island.³ For example, one is left to only wonder and speculate about the nature and type of settlement that would have been home to the occupants of the large tombs at Kazaphani.⁴ Thirdly, in the north-

west of the island, we have what remains of the ‘industrial’ aspects of the settlement at *Toumba tou Skourou*. We have yet to excavate any actual settlement site that could be associated with the significant burial sites at *Toumba tou Skourou*, Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* (hereafter Ayia Irini) and Myrtou *Stephania* (hereafter *Stephania*). Fourthly, further inland from the latter site, we have the settlement and religious area at Myrtou *Pigadhes*.

Fifthly, on the southern coast we can mention the sites of Episkopi *Bamboula* located near the Kouris River, and Maroni *Vournes* situated closer to the coast and near a bay. According to the excavators of *Vournes* (CADOGAN *et al.*, 2001, 77): “There is ample evidence that, in the present state of knowledge, *Vournes* represents a leading settlement of Late Cypriote I. We are tentatively dividing its sequence into three phases: *Vournes* Ia, Ib and Ic.” Underwater work in the nearby bay off Maroni *Tsarroukkas* has revealed evidence of shipping activity dateable to LC IA:1 (*ibid.*).

For this study, we have focused mainly on the Late Cypriot stratified levels from Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Korovia *Nitovikla* (hereafter *Nitovikla*), Episkopi *Bamboula*, *Toumba tou Skourou*, and Myrtou *Pigadhes*; with some supplementary evidence from Maroni *Vournes*. At all of these, in the earliest or early levels, we find WS I – one of the archetypal wares used traditionally to define Late Cypriot I, and which we use here to define the Late Cypriot IA:2 period (see below). Proto White Slip which in this work we use to define the Late Cypriot IA:1 period is also present at most of these sites.

2. BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF WHITE SLIP

As discussed previously (ERIKSSON 2001a, 51), Cypriot archaeologists of the first half of the 20th century used the appearance of two Cypriot Wares – Base-ring I and White Slip I – to define the emergence of a new cultural phase which they termed the Late Cypriot I period.⁵ The basis for this was challenged in the early 1950s by the recognition that both Base-ring ware and

² The situation at Enkomi is somewhat special and whilst intramural burials were a feature of Neolithic life on the island, one can only speculate on the cultural or defensive reasons as to why the occupants of sites like Enkomi and later Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni and Hala Sultan Tekke carried out this practice.

³ See SYMEONOGLU 1975; SMITH 2002.

⁴ According to KNAPP (1996, 61): “To the list of 243 Late Cypriot sites identified by CATLING for the Cyprus Survey (1962: 160–169) must be added at least an additional 65–70 sites.”

⁵ See below where I have explained we now define this as the second of three phases within Late Cypriot I.

White Slip ware had forms which were considered to be a stylistic precedent, one which bridged the transition from Middle Cypriot forms to those regarded as being typical of the mature Late Cypriot I period (eg., Figs. 3d, 5–6, 7a–b, 8–11). These vessels were denoted as ‘Proto’ forms and it was the late M.R. POPHAM (1962) who first applied the term ‘Proto White Slip’. GJERSTAD (1926, 199) had earlier recognised the specific characteristics which we now use to define Proto White Slip and he linked it to the White Painted series, (see ÅSTRÖM and WRIGHT 1962, 275, n. 2). However, it was Popham who formally pronounced the decision that the group of vessels he defined as ‘Proto White Slip’ should be considered as a formative stage of WS ware. Given that White Slip was by now regarded as a hallmark of a chronological period, its direct antecedent soon came to be included in the cultural assemblage that was used to define this ‘new Late Cypriot era’. Thus, a preceding phase of the Late Cypriot I stream was identified and, with some other factors taken into account, Late Cypriot IA was divided into two phases: LC IA:1 and LC IA:2.

As an eventual consequence of this development, the beginning of the Late Cypriot period (placed by some approximately 20 years before the beginning of the New Kingdom – see GJERSTAD 1926, 334) needed to be reconsidered and was placed earlier than had previously been thought. Support for this was supplied when MERRILLEES (1977) was able to report on the discovery of a Proto White Slip bowl in the final Hyksos settlement at Tell el-Dab^a. This occupation is believed to have ended when the New Kingdom pharaoh Ahmose ousted the Hyksos from the delta of Egypt. As MAGUIRE (1992, 118) says, “MERRILLEES (1977) uses a Proto-White Slip bowl found at Tell el-Dab^a as a *terminus ante quem* date (1575/1550 B.C.) for the end of the LC IA period in Cyprus (\pm 1560–1530 B.C. BIETAK 1989, fig. 6). The bowl is securely sealed in a grave of D/2 and, while it is assured an exact date, it is surprising that it should be used to mark the end of the LC IA period rather than an indicator for the extent of the period (KNAPP 1979).” This is true.

The main point here is that the presence of this

PWS bowl in Stratum D/2 gave great weight to the argument that Late Cypriot I had begun prior to the New Kingdom. Earlier I (ERIKSSON 1992, 162–4) have argued against this on the basis that the Tell el-Dab^a evidence, which is essentially from a burial dug from Stratum D/2, needed to be reinforced by other stratified finds – as it was just as likely that the burial could possibly date to the first 11 years of the New Kingdom. However, this does not get us around the issue of the vessel’s arrival; here we now agree with Manfred BIETAK (2001, 172), that, based on the evidence from Tell el-Dab^a, Proto White Slip (and therefore the Late Cypriot IA:1 period) formally ended 10, possibly 20 years before the fall of Avaris, which is currently placed at some point between years 11 and 22 of Ahmose.⁶ The evidence of PWS in a MB III context from Tell Ridan, 18 km south of Gaza, would also support this general alignment of the LC IA:1 period (OREN 2001, 133, fig. 7).

Another attempt to get around the implied chronological precedence of the ‘Proto’ wares was to see them as ‘contemporary regional variants’ of the particular ware. EAMES (1994, 140) attempted to do this with Proto Base-ring ware; this issue will be discussed further in Chapter I.3. Eames’ thesis is based in part on interpretation of material from an unpublished study by Stephen J. Bourke, *Studies in the White Slip wares of the Late Cypriote I Period*.⁷ In that study BOURKE pointed out the similarities between the designs on Proto White Slip with those on White Slip II – in particular the ‘rope lattice’ (‘RL’) pattern (see Fig. 12). This connection between the rope-lattice motif of PWS and WS II will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II. Its presence on some of the vessels at Episkopi *Bamboula* suggested to DANIEL and later BENSON (1961, 64, n.2) that they should be categorized as WS I, rather than WS II.

It is clear that there is a connection running through the PWS, WS I ‘Rope Lattice’ Group, WS I–II/WS II early ‘Ladder Lattice’ Group, and WS II normal as typified by ‘LLHC’ and ‘LLDR’ (Fig. 28). This is in contrast to the more delicate and finely

⁶ As KITCHEN (2002, 9) notes, “the Year 11 in Papyrus Mathematical Rhind could be either of the local last Hyksos king, or else a victorious Ahmose.” HARVEY (1998, 45) believes it more likely that reference is to year 11 of the Hyksos - Khamudy, which Vandersleyen (see *ibid.*, n.128) equated provisionally with year 18 of Ahmose.

⁷ In her study, EAMES (1994) could not find any solid evidence from settlement or tomb evidence on Cyprus that

PBR preceded BR I. Whilst the stratified evidence from *Toumba tou Skourou* may be ‘stratigraphically limited’, as EAMES (*ibid.*, 138) claims, we should not dismiss the evidence of the site too readily simply because the tomb evidence is disturbed. The site still provides us with the best settlement evidence for the chronological precedence of the Proto wares over BR I and WS I.

painted WS I as characterised by such rim motifs as ‘Framed Wavy Line’ (‘FWL’) and ‘Framed Lozenge’ (‘FL’) to name a few (Fig. 12). This connection between PWS and WS II was also noted by POPHAM (1962, 289–90) who, even though he (*ibid.*, 290) came to the conclusion that PWS was a formative stage of the White Slip series, did consider that other options were to see it as ‘a degenerate stage of WS I perhaps contemporary with the introduction of WS II’ or as ‘a rustic regional fabric imitating the technique of WS I’. The accumulated evidence available to us now certainly suggests that Popham’s initial insights were right; Proto White Slip is the earliest stage in the White Slip development, even if short-lived. However, it is also true that particular design elements of PWS continue in some form or another until the demise of the ware, centuries later (Fig. 28).⁸

Most of the conceptual work in reclassifying the Late Cypriot period, now that an earlier phase of this period had been detected, was done by P. ÅSTRÖM (1972b). We shall rely on his divisions, which are discussed in detail in Chapter I.2. He formally proposed a division of LC IA into two phases – LC IA:1 and LC IA:2. LC IA:1 was defined by the appearance of PWS, and was linked to the last part of the Hyksos period in Egypt. Åström then defined LC IA:2, as the period in which WS I and BR I first appear in Cyprus; this phase covered the first part of the 18th Dynasty in Egypt, beginning with the reign of Ahmose. The LC IB phase was incorporated by Åström in his thesis by referring to the first appearance of Late Minoan IA and Red Lustrous Wheel-made wares in Cyprus. The definition of later phases relied on the first appearances of Mycenaean wares on the island.

I shall argue in Chapter I.2 that we should not rely on Base-ring in the definition of LC IA:1 and LC IA:2. The reason is that new evidence in relation to the first appearance of BR I has raised problems about its use in the definition of LC IA:2, as it now seems that BR I probably first appeared in Cyprus before WS I. As for LC IB, the distinction between LC IA:2 and LC IB is something that, as Åström would now agree, cannot be defined by using the first appearance of LM IA or RLW-m. This is because mounting evidence shows that LM IA makes an appearance in Cyprus associated with LC IA:2 wares, or even earlier (see Chapters III and VI). Furthermore, I (ERIKSSON 1993, 149), after ÅSTRÖM

(1972b, 700–1), have earlier determined that RLW-m’s earliest appearance in Cyprus occurs in LC IA:2. However, the ware seems to be largely characteristic of LC IB onwards. All these general observations have led to the need for a tighter definition of the periods of the Late Cypriot era – without abandoning the general categorizations put forward by Åström. We shall take up this issue in Chapter I.2.

In archaeological history, there was also a considerable debate on the composition of White Slip wares and the localization of their manufacture. In the late 1960’s the origin and production of White Slip was considered to be Cypriot; but the possibility still existed that it may have been manufactured elsewhere outside of the island, or even that its origins were foreign (given the history of white slipped wares outside of the island eg., Chocolate on White ware of the Transjordan). L. Courtois was one of the pioneering scientists who helped resolve this issue. As a specialist in the area of chemical provenience studies of ancient ceramics, she was able to draw some very important conclusions on White Slip ware in a number of publications throughout the 1970s (see Bibliography). Her examination of the fabric was thorough. She noticed that, whilst it was likely that the fabric was derived from a specific geological area (like that found in the southern parts of Cyprus in the Troodos Mountains), that the type of material used for the clay could also be found in similar geological areas of Syria and Anatolia (*id.*, 1977, 12).

However, her analysis of the slip gave a more conclusive result in determining the origin of the ware. Analysis of examples of early, middle and late White Slip wares showed that each had a combination of unusual minerals, but that all were devoid of iron. According to COURTOIS (1977, 13) there is only one mountain range in the Near East which provides the minerals detected in the clay and those in the slip and that is in the mining zone of the Troodos mountain range. More recent work on the characterization of the clays used for producing the WS series (see ALOUPI, PERDIKATIS and LEKKA 2001) have confirmed this and will eventually allow greater understanding of the mechanisms of trade between the source and the final destination (see eg., HATCHER 2002).

Another major issue in the archaeological debate has been: when was the very beginning of the White Slip wares? We have already above quoted KARA-

⁸ This is the ‘rope lattice’ to ‘ladder lattice’ development.

GEORGHIS on the long life of White Slip. It has previously been maintained (ERIKSSON 2001a, 53, fig. 1), that at the time of the first appearance of PWS, the MC III cultural tradition was dominant in Cyprus. In fact POPHAM (1962, 285) made the observation that "...Proto White Slip is closer to Middle Cypriot styles of White Painted wares than is White Slip I and at times it appears to be a stage linking the two wares." These arguments are developed in Chapter II, which deals with the whole of the PWS ware – the defining feature of the LC IA:1 period. This period came to a conclusion with the first appearance of WS I, several decades after the start of the LC IA:1 period.

3. THE KEY ROLE OF THE WHITE SLIP AND OTHER CYPRIOT WARES AS CHRONOLOGICAL BEACONS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

My major thesis, in this book and elsewhere (ERIKSSON 2001a), is that the White Slip wares in Cyprus and overseas constitute an important part in a larger picture. They are amongst the most interesting tangible markers from Cyprus to assist us in the synchronization of cultural repertoires of contemporary societies of the East Mediterranean. As such they serve as beacons in elucidating the relations between the societies of the eastern Mediterranean.

The evidence provided by PWS finds inside and outside of Cyprus gives us an insight into this first Late Cypriot phase of the island's history. We see the development of a new phase in international relations, based on the connections with the Hyksos, the peoples of Tell el-^cAjjul, which are so strongly represented at *Toumba tou Skourou*. However, by the time we detect the appearance of WS I in stratified excavations within and outside of Cyprus, there has been a further dramatic increase in international relations. Thus, when these first two stages of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age are taken together, we see an extraordinary stage of development in the island's history. During this time, the dominant societies surrounding Cyprus increased their trade and military activities with each other. Thus, in the period that followed LC IA:1, large empires arose and fell in a remarkably turbulent time. International diplomacy, trade and technology exchange blossomed.

These empires sought contact and exploitation of less developed cultures, in a way in which Cyprus had never previously experienced. Furthermore, with the increase in shipbuilding in the Mediterranean, Cyprus was in an ideal geographical position to participate in this expansion (as her later his-

tory shows). At least part of her population, (perhaps with some external pressure), learned to exploit the natural resources around them, especially copper and timber, in the growing environment of trade and political relations. The development of the early WS wares (PWS and WS I) and their dispersal in Cyprus and overseas is a window for interpreting Cyprus' increasing international role.

This expansion of the island's foreign relations coincided with key developments within Cyprus itself. Thus, by the time we start finding PWS and WS I in foreign contexts, we know that communities on Cyprus during the Middle Cypriot period had already been involved in increased contact with the Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian areas – as well as with some of the islands of the Aegean. Whilst communities on Cyprus did have contacts with 'the mainland' from earliest times, the lifestyle on the island had been largely an agrarian one. Such a lifestyle did continue, but significant changes occur at the end of the MC III culture. Important transformations occur with the development of the exciting new period, LC IA:1. Throughout this period, there was extensive development of urban centres with clear diversification of skill and the emergence of stratified society. Further development of trade and foreign relations occurred during the next period, LC IA:2, which is the period of the arrival of the WS I wares. The next period LC IB takes in the reign of Thutmosis III; during this phase we have direct communications between the island's leaders and Egypt.

The later arrival of White Slip II is also a significant signpost in the development of Cyprus and the surrounding civilizations. The first appearance of WS II signifies the start of the LC IIA period. During this time, there were dramatic changes in the relations between Cyprus and the Hittite empire, as well as Syria/Canaan. Hence, WS II increasingly appears in many, but not all, of these lands. As we shall see, the distribution of another Cypriot ware, Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware underwent a transformation during this period – with a reduction of the amounts in Egypt and significant increases in the Hittite Empire and Syria. The issue then arises as to whether this signifies a change in Cyprus' relations with Egypt or whether it demonstrates that an independent Cyprus was now able to trade with all these lands. The picture is further complicated by the fact that contact with the Mycenaean Greece also dramatically increased at this time, according to the quantities of Mycenaean ware on Cyprus itself.

In this book, we shall argue that, in addition to the primary role of White Slip wares, Red Lustrous

Wheel-made ware (RLW-m) also plays a significant role, as is shown in my earlier study (ERIKSSON 1993). There (*ibid.*, 149), the nature and distribution of RLW-m ware was summarized thus:

It was invented and manufactured only in Cyprus between Late Cypriot IA:2 and the Late Cypriot IIIA:1. Nowhere else is there (a) such a continuous and extensive chronological range; (b) such a full representation of the variety of shapes; or (c) the quantity, which represents more than 50% of the total recorded here. By comparison, Syria which has figured largely in the literature as the suspected homeland of the ware, records a very small amount (7.3%) and it is not well represented beyond the coastal areas, a curious situation had it been manufactured there. Finally, a unique feature of Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware, the presence of pre-fired pot marks, many of which are signs of the Cypro-Minoan script, confirms Cypriot involvement in their production.

In general terms, my argument in relation to RLW-m was that the ware is found more extensively on Cyprus than anywhere else (see Eriksson 1993, 30, fig. 8). Its geographical distribution, as well as its chronological and typological range on the island shows that it originated there. RLW-m occurs in dated contexts that give it an unbroken sequence from the LC IA:2 period through to the LC IIIB period. By the nature of its fabric and finish, RLW-m ware forms a distinct class of ceramic within the repertoire of LBA pottery. Thus the corpus of RLW-m ware brings together vessels of a great variety of shapes by reason of their distinct fabric, finish and technique.

The study of RLW-m provides the archaeologist with evidence of far-reaching contacts over a large part of the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. My understanding of the relations implied by its distribution was based on accepting the thesis that its homeland was Cyprus (*ibid.*, 3, 149; *id.*, 1991). Since 1993, further evidence has pointed to a specific site on Cyprus, in the vicinity of Kazaphani (as we earlier indicated, ERIKSSON 1993, 147), as a possible centre of production of this very important ceramic. In a recent work by KNAPPETT (2002), he states that while most of the “predominantly volcanic geology of much of the island renders” it unsuitable as a source for the RLW-m fabric, that “there is one part of the island that is different – the north, around Kyrenia – which is actually characterised by limestones, and occasional outcrops of low-grade metamorphic rocks. Such geology represents a much better fit with the petro-

graphic characteristics of RLWm ware [see *id.*, 2000]. Moreover, one of the Cypriot sites from which samples have been taken, Kazaphani, is located in this region close to Kyrenia, and a great deal of RLWm ware was found there.”

One of the main objectives of my 1993 study of RLW-m was to establish a relative framework for the more than ca 300-year period of its manufacture which inter-linked all those areas in the East Mediterranean where it has been found. This meant making a detailed analysis of many of the associated finds, which very often included WS wares (Table 11). Like the WS wares, RLW-m has been recorded in Canaan, Syria, Egypt, Anatolia and the Aegean; but it is far more extensively found in Egypt and Anatolia than WS and this means it is an additional tool for establishing and securing the relative chronological framework.

My argument for the critical importance of Red Lustrous in the assessment of the overall picture has been supported by TODD (2001, and see Chapter V). My general point here is as follows: without the addition of more historic documents to outline further the role of the island, the ceramic record is critical to advancing the study of Cypriot history of this time. As products of Cyprus that were clearly valued in their homeland and abroad, *both* WS and RLW-m are critical in assessing the role of the island and of its inhabitants in the growing international forum that characterised the LBA in the eastern Mediterranean.

Our most useful evidence is derived from a number of sites from around the island. In the east there was Enkomi, a town which continually developed and expanded throughout the LC period. The tombs at Kazaphani (NICOLAOU and NICOLAOU 1989) reveal that the north coast had at least one major centre with strong inter island links and the excavation of an associated settlement will one day help reveal the importance of this part of the island at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. The importance of this site for international relations is not yet fully appreciated. It is of interest that, in my thesis on RLW-m ware, 64 spindle bottles of the broad shouldered type (Type VIA1a) were recorded in Cyprus (the largest concentration of 22 from Kazaphani on the North Coast; 9 from Kourion on the south coast; and 7 from Enkomi on the eastern coast). From Egypt there are 50 examples; 32 in the Levant and two from Anatolia (ERIKSSON 1993, fig. 45). These figures would highlight the role of the north coast of Cyprus and of coastal trade in general and suggest a possible link up between the appearance of RLW-m

in Crete with its appearance in Egypt in the first half of the 18th Dynasty, with a significant proportion of the Egyptian contexts well dated to the time of Thutmosis III, but starting earlier in the New Kingdom.

Another important area was around Morphou Bay in the northwest of the island. The excavations of a workshop quarter at *Toumba tou Skourou*, and further north a settlement and temple site at Myrtou *Pigadhes* have been very significant. The finds from burials in the cemeteries located near *Toumba tou Skourou*, *Stephania* and Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* are a clear illustration in this area of the transition from MC III to LC IA:1, and later. Along the south coast there were significant centres such as Maroni and Episkopi *Bamboula*. It should be noted that our knowledge of occupation along this southern coastal area during LC IA is largely derived from burial complexes, such as the tomb at Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* (KARAGEORGHIS 1990).

The detailed publication of two of these sites – the excavations of Enkomi and *Toumba tou Skourou*, coupled with some evidence from tombs around the island, have combined to reveal not only typical artefacts of LC IA, but also foreign objects. These latter demonstrate the links with the LM IA Minoan civilization, the Semitic cultures of Syria/Canaan and late Second Intermediate/ New Kingdom Egypt. Later we have the decorated pottery of the Greek Mainland, LH IIIA:2 style, which is found extensively throughout the East Mediterranean. This has allowed for the establishment of an archaeological horizon, based on its representation in Akhenaton's short-lived capital at Tell el-Amarna. All of this allows for chronological synchronizations to be made which inter-link the cultural sequences of these various lands. A note of caution here however: all of this can be affected by subjective analysis and thus it helps when such synchronizations can be based on the evidence of repeated occurrences.

In this book, substantial evidence is presented which supports the view that Cyprus was a sophisticated and independent country throughout the Late Bronze Age. As we have indicated, the major part of this evidence will come from an analysis of the Cypriot pottery within the island and in several external contexts. However, besides the pottery of Cyprus, there have been numerous archaeological objects discovered which further signify this developed and creative culture. In general, this book does not analyze such non-ceramic discoveries; however, a glimpse of the contribution which these items can make to our appreciation of the richness of LBA

Cypriot culture is provided by KARAGEORGHIS (1984b, 41) thus:

Other artistic accomplishments of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. illustrate not only the taste of the Cypriots but also the cosmopolitan character of the urban centres in which this art flourished. There is a preference for a combined style which betrays both Near Eastern and Aegean elements as is evidenced in glyptics and jewellery. The gold diadems with embossed decoration of sphinxes, flowers, etc., are cases in point. Worthy of special mention are two exceptional pieces which were found in Cyprus and date to the 14th and 13th centuries respectively. Whether they were made locally or were imported is not certain, but they indicate artistic taste which prevailed among the island's inhabitants. The first is a hemispherical silver bowl with a wishbone handle from a 14th-century B.C. tomb at Enkomi. It is decorated with oxen heads and flowers in an inlaid technique with gold and a black substance known as *niello*. Only one other vase, found at Dendra in the Peloponnese, is comparable. The second is a conical rhyton (ritual vase) of faience from a tomb at Kition, dating to the second half of the 13th century B.C. Its surface is covered with blue enamel and it is decorated in three registers with galloping animals, a hunting scene and running spirals. The decoration is painted in yellow and black or inlaid in red enamel.

Late Cypriot pottery, in our view, not only helps establish the general thesis of the independence of Cyprus. We believe that it goes beyond this – that it is the best ceramic tool for historical analysis of the events and the different Historical Periods of the Late Bronze Age in East Mediterranean. Because of the various changes in the styles and distribution of Cypriot pottery, we are able to determine a number of valuable transition points that have important historical implications. In this way, we believe that Cypriot pottery is a better tool than Minoan, Egyptian, Palestinian or even Anatolian pottery. White Slip, as a major part of this Cypriot ceramic repertoire, thus constitutes an important beacon for the historical analysis which we attempt in Chapter VII.

4. CHRONOLOGICAL PHASES AND HISTORICAL PERIODS IN THE LATE CYPRIOT BRONZE AGE

When we discover artefacts of foreign origin in any archaeological context, as we do with PWS, WS I and WS II, we must think: what was the response of those people when they came into contact (whether

directly or indirectly), with people, ideas, beliefs, and languages which may have been so different to their own? In Cyprus during the Late Cypriot period, we can conclude that there were changes at all these levels, many of which resulted from the introduction of foreign ideas and technology. Of great importance here were the relations between the rulers of these societies. Alliances, defence treaties and open conflicts were common. Developments in, and between the various civilizations of this time – and their relations with Cyprus – thus need to be further explored.

In this book, we shall use evidence regarding the White Slip and other ceramic wares to draw some historical conclusions about the connections between the inhabitants of Cyprus with other cultures during the Late Bronze Age – a process begun in a paper for the 2001 SCIEEM Euroconference (ERIKSSON 2003). In Cyprus, this era extends from the end of the Middle Cypriot (MC) Period until the end of Late Cypriot IIC Period. In Egypt, this correlates with the last part of the end Second Intermediate Period, followed by the 18th and 19th Dynasty down to before Year 8 of the reign of Rameses III of the 20th Dynasty. In terms of the Aegean civilisations, we are looking at the period from Late Minoan and Mycenaean cultures until Late Helladic/Minoan IIIB. In terms of the Hittite peoples in Anatolia, we are looking at a period from the Old Hittite Kingdom to just before the destruction of Hattusa in the reign of Suppiluliuma II.

Thus, in terms of this monograph, we are looking at significant cultural exchanges between the people and regions of Cyprus and in particular the following cultural groups:

- a) The Hyksos/Semitic peoples of Egypt and the southern Levant;
- b) Egyptian culture of the 18th, 19th and early 20th Dynasties;
- c) Late Minoan civilization;
- d) Late Helladic culture of mainland Greece – the Mycenaean;
- e) Hittite civilization of Anatolia of the New Hittite period;
- f) Canaanite culture of the Late Bronze Age, especially Ugarit;
- g) The Hurrian peoples, especially from Mittani.

The process in this manuscript will therefore be as follows: we shall rely on ÅSTRÖM's (1972b) definitions of the Late Cypriot chronological phases – with some modifications, as explained in Chapter I.2. ÅSTRÖM

(1972b) relied extensively on the various forms of White Slip ware as indicators of a number of phases. However, new archaeological work since 1972 has put some of the definitions under pressure. Adjustments need to be made. We shall argue in Chapter I.2 that these adjustments make the first appearance of the various White Slip wares even more important than envisaged by Åström, in the definition of the various phases in the Cypriot chronology. These chronological phases are redefined with a greater attention to Egyptian chronology – since it is the basis to which all other chronological sequences in the eastern Mediterranean can most solidly be linked. As ÅSTRÖM (*ibid.*, 756) determined “Cypriote chronology is ultimately dependent on chronological schemes for Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Crete and Greece.”

The long era which is identified as Late Bronze Age Cyprus extends for hundreds of years, it begins with the first Late Cypriot period – LC IA:1 – and extends until LC II C. (We should note that the Late Cypriot III period began a new stage in the history and culture of the island – at a time when White Slip, like other marker wares prevalent during the Late Cypriot Bronze Age, were no longer manufactured. Hence it is not included here). Using Åström's and POPHAM's classifications, we identify seven Late Cypriot periods which go to constitute the whole historical era known as Late Bronze Age Cyprus. To these seven Late Cypriot periods, we shall give an individual number and consequently identify them as the seven key Historical Periods of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age.

These seven Historical Periods can therefore each be identified with a particular Late Cypriot chronological phase, using Åström's definitions. Thus, we have the following:

PERIOD 1: = LC IA:1. This period refers primarily to the links between the Hyksos and Cyprus; it is equivalent to the appearance of PWS (Phase 1 and Phase 2) until the time of the first appearance of WS I.

PERIOD 2: = LC IA:2 This period refers to the links between Cyprus and other societies beginning just before the start of the 18th Dynasty in Egypt and extending through the reigns of Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, and Thutmose II. It begins with the first appearances of WS I and extends through the first major period of the production of this ware.

PERIOD 3: = LC IB This period covers the developments in, and the foreign links of, Cyprus during the reigns of Thutmose III and his immediate successor, Amenhotep II. More extensive links developed between Cyprus with Egypt and the Levantine area

during this time. Certain specific forms of WS I ware can be identified with this period.

PERIOD 4: = LC IIA:1–2 This period refers to the first appearances of WS II and its export throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Significant events involving Cyprus occurred during this time; we have the Madduwatta text; the increasing links between Cyprus and Syria (as revealed for example, by the excavations at Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida); and the conflicts between Amenhotep III of Egypt and the Hittite Empire for the control of Syria. It incorporates two phases of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus, LH IIIA:1 and LH IIIA:2a.

PERIOD 5: = LC IIB This period relates to significant events for Cyprus: relations with Egypt were transformed as result of the religious upheavals under the reign of Akhenaton; there was also an increase in contacts with the Mycenaean civilization and the Hittite Empire under Suppiluliuma I. It is specifically identified with the introduction of Mycenaean LH IIIA:2b in Cyprus and Egypt.

PERIOD 6: = The first part of LC IIC:1. This period refers to a time of major conflict between the Hittite Empire and Egypt; there were also internal intrigues within Egypt with a succession of rulers: Tutankhamun, Ay and Horemheb. It ends with the conclusion of the 18th Dynasty in Egypt. During this period, there was a dramatic increase in the links of Cyprus with the Mycenaeans, as illustrated by the introduction of LH IIIB:1 wares.

PERIOD 7: = The second part of LC IIC:1 and all of LC IIC:2. This period refers to the 19th Dynasty in Egypt under the reigns of Rameses I, Seti I and Rameses II, and then continuing to sometime before Year 8 of Rameses III in the 20th Dynasty, which is when Egypt did battle with the Sea Peoples. During this long period, the power of independent Cyprus increased; we have records of relations with a number of surrounding countries – including Egypt, Ugarit, the Mycenaeans and the Hittites. At a midpoint in this period, we have the changeover from Mycenaean LH IIIB:1 to LH IIIB:2 wares.

The known historical events surrounding the seven periods will be extensively discussed in Chapter VII.

That chapter is divided into seven parts corresponding to each historical period. A synchronism between Cypriot, Mycenaean, Minoan, Hittite and Egyptian chronologies will be needed for a comprehensive analysis. Table IA is a provisional attempt to illustrate this relative synchronism, linking the seven key Historical Periods of the Cypriot Bronze Age to the list of the pharaohs of New Kingdom Egypt and other surrounding civilizations. In the various chapters of this book, information about these synchronisms will be expounded from both archaeological and historical viewpoints – drawing especially on the White Slip material in its various contexts (see Table IB).

We should note here that this work relies on relative chronology and not on absolute dates. Here, there is a general avoidance of absolute chronology and its attendant debates (with the exception of a discussion of MANNING's (1999) thesis on Thera – see Chapter III). The reason for this avoidance of the use of absolute or western year dates is because it is believed that for the kind of work presented here, a relative framework for the Cypriot evidence provides more certainty.

Earlier in my writing, an absolute chronological framework based on HELCK's (1987) Ultra Low chronology for Egypt was used. However, even then it was stated that: 'It should be noted that fixing absolute dates to any event or period is ... not considered relevant to the establishment of a relative chronological scheme. Ideally, with a well-founded relative framework, any set of absolute dates can be applied without radically affecting any of the component parts' (ERIKSSON 1992, 156). This point was reiterated in my thesis (*id.*, 1993, 3) where my main point was to establish a workable relative chronological scheme based on the occurrences of Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware. For the purposes of this monograph therefore, it is preferred to work on the further refinement of the relative framework as it allows for more universal application for the Cypriot evidence. Notwithstanding this disclaimer, we should also point out that not, since 1998, have I used HELCK's (1987) absolute chronology, which began the New Kingdom in 1530 BC. Instead we follow the absolute dates of KITCHEN (1987, 2000, 2002), which begins the New Kingdom in 1540 BC.⁹ My general

⁹ I started using KITCHEN's (1987) dates for the New Kingdom in 1998 and applied them in an article I wrote at that time (ERIKSSON 2005), and in later works (*id.*, 2001c, 66, n. 2). Whilst it is justifiable to quote me as having once used Helck's 'Ultra Low' chronology (eg., MERRILLEES

2001a, 94; *id.*, 2002, 1), which starts the beginning of the New Kingdom 10 years later than Kitchen's date, I urge people to consider my comments above about the importance of establishing the relative sequence.

point here is, however that the framework of this manuscript generally seeks to establish synchronizations between the various civilizations – without specific reliance on final absolute dates.

We now turn to a preliminary analysis of the key features of the seven Historical Periods and their associated chronological phases.

5. THE FIRST HISTORICAL PERIOD – THE LAST YEARS OF THE HYKSOS (LC IA:1)

As already indicated (and see ERIKSSON 2001d, 183–4), by the end of the MC III period, there is evidence of increased foreign contacts on Cyprus. The transition into the LC IA:1 period, brought with it the development of urban centres with clear diversification of skill, and the more observable emergence of a stratified society. The emergence of complex sites closer to the coast is seen in part as an eventual result of the increased foreign contacts.

In the final part of MC III and during LC IA:1, the evidence shows that events occurred which testify to dramatic changes on the island. We refer to KNAPP (1986, 71) on this: “Fortifications, mass burials, and increased finds of weaponry suggest a break with the relatively peaceful patterns of the past.” In the case of Enkomi it has been observed that the original Middle Cypriot III foundation was destroyed. This was followed by the Level I occupation dated more broadly to the whole LC I period, which itself suffered two catastrophes.¹⁰ The discovery of PWS in the destruction level at Episkopi *Phaneromeni* (HERSCHER 1991, 45), makes this event slightly earlier than the destruction of Level IA at Enkomi (where WS I has also appeared in the record). The destruction of Episkopi *Phaneromeni* before the end of LC IA:1 is roughly contemporary with the turmoil that the Hyksos settlers at Tell el-Dab^a were enduring. Could it be that *Phaneromeni* was destroyed as a result of the campaigns that led to the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt? Thus assuming that at least some of the causes of the mass burials were a result of aggressive actions, they must have covered a significant time period.¹¹

Archaeologists have tried to link the end of Historical Period I (LC IA:1) with a known major historical event of this time – the expulsion of the

Hyksos from Egypt by Ahmose, the founder of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty. This is significant because the Hyksos certainly had an impact on Cyprus prior to their defeat in Egypt. Thus prior to and during our first Historical Period (LC IA:1), Cyprus engaged in an important foreign relationship – significant links with the Hyksos regime in Egypt. At Tell el-Dab^a in the Nile Delta (the Hyksos capital of Avaris), we find many examples of typical Middle Cypriot III pottery, such as White Painted III–IV,¹² White Painted V, Red on Black and Black Slip as well as PWS, Bichrome Wheel-made and Black Lustrous Wheel-made wares of LC IA:1 date.¹³ Also, at numerous coastal sites in the Levant, especially Tell el-^cAjjul, the appearance of Middle Cypriot pottery, is on a scale that suggests that Cyprus was part of the Hyksos’ Mediterranean trading network which included the Nile Delta and southern Canaan. Indeed, MAGUIRE (1991, 64) and OREN (1997b, 271; 2001, 136–7 and footnotes) have claimed that during this period Middle Cypriot pottery predominantly from the southeast of the island was ‘plentiful’ and formed ‘...the largest component of exported pottery at over thirty sites in the Levant [like Tell el-^cAjjul and Tell Ridan] and at Tell el-Dab^a, Egypt’.

The level of social and political organization in the region at this time is apparent according to OREN (1997b, 255) especially if we examine: ‘...site location and settlement pattern; the structure of urban organization, military, public and domestic architecture; as well as cult and economy’. The nature of the interaction between the Cypriots and the Hyksos appears generally to have been friendly and positive, but many disruptions at the end of MC III into LC IA:1 require thought to be given to the possibility of Cyprus having been prepared for the conflicts which later involved the Hyksos. Indeed, it may be that the emergence of planned urban, industrial and military sites in Cyprus, such as Enkomi and *Toumba tou Skourou*, at the end of the MC III should, at least in part, be linked to this political and trading network established between Cyprus and the Hyksos.

Perhaps, a major piece of supportive evidence here is the fact that in some of the earliest tomb

¹⁰ See CREWE (fc) for more information.

¹¹ A number of possibilities have been proposed to explain the mass burials and fortresses (see summary in MERRILLEES 1971, 76–7).

¹² See MERRILLEES (2002) for his objections to WP III–IV PLS being defined as simply a Middle Cypriot fabric.

¹³ See BIETAK 1999, fig. 5; BIETAK and HEIN 2001, fig. 1.

groups associated with the foundation of Enkomi and *Toumba tou Skourou*, we do find TeY ware.¹⁴ We should note that in Tomb V at *Toumba tou Skourou*, there is an assemblage of material that would fit well with that found at Tell el-Dab^a Stratum D/3, as it includes not only TeY ware, but also a WP III–IV PLS juglet¹⁵ (quite rare in this part of the island) and WP V bowls¹⁶ comparable to that found at Tell el-Dab^a in Strata D/3–D/2.¹⁷

This association at *Toumba tou Skourou* is evidence against the hypothesis that the Cypriot assemblage in Hyksos levels at Tell el-Dab^a, which is considered to derive largely from the southeastern part of the island, was not reaching the northwest of Cyprus (see discussion Chapter I.5).

Other evidence has been referred to which suggests to some that the Hyksos had a presence on the island.¹⁸ For example, the first Late Cypriot Fortress of Level IA at Enkomi, the construction of which is similar to the Vrysis *Nikolidhes* (hereafter *Nikolidhes*) fortress, was considered by DIKAIOS (1969–71, 501) to be comparable with MB IIC Syro-Palestinian *migdal* type architecture. Certainly, in Cypriot history up to this point, the concept of building fortification had not become a standard feature of Bronze Age life on the island. But the evidence of Enkomi reveals that, when it was constructed, this had changed; whether this was because of the fear of intra-island, or foreign, aggression remains debatable.¹⁹ The attendant fears behind the community desire to build fortification structures may be further expressed by the practice of intramural burials at Enkomi, not a usual practice of the Bronze Age in the island. Perhaps some of the occupants of Enkomi, were either greatly influenced by foreigners (who were now living in their community), or had experienced first hand the town structures and practice of intramural burials at some sites on the Egypto/Levantine mainland of the Middle Bronze Age.

However, what remains clear from all the evidence of the transition is that a dominant Late Cypriot culture develops out of the preceding Middle Cypriot tradition. It certainly was enhanced by the adoption of foreign technology, and possibly importation of

cultural traditions or beliefs, but it remains uniquely Cypriot.

In relation to this transition period, I (ERIKSSON 2001a, 53) remarked in my paper that:

Over a relatively short period of time, the capacities of sites, such as Kalopsidha-*Tsaoudhi Chiftlik*, Enkomi, Morphou-*Toumba tou Skourou*, Myrtou-*Pigadhes*, Episkopi-*Bamboula* and Maroni-*Vournes* went far beyond the agrarian function and plan of EC–MC sites. Enkomi, the most impressive of these sites, shows, through the LC period, real social stratification and diversification in its architecture and artifacts. Here people were urban dwellers, not dependent on working the land, but on other commodity producers outside of the city. Thus, during the MC III/LC I transition, a level of social complexity began to emerge on Cyprus.

Hence, in the transition to – and during – our Historical Period I (that is LC IA:1), a level of social complexity came to Cyprus that had existed outside of the island in other civilizations for centuries. However, while there were clearly changes because of the increased contacts with the surrounding lands of Egypt, the Levant and the Aegean at this time, there is no evidence that this was the result of forced foreign conquest or overbearing dominance. Rather we see the emergence of a more unified society in Cyprus itself – responding to the influence of this growing international contact in the form of trade and diplomacy. Certainly as we progress throughout the Late Cypriot period, the evidence suggests that the indigenous population benefited from the foreign interaction. Obviously the exchange process involved in the acquisition of Cypriot commodities must have led to an increase in wealth and technological development on Cyprus itself.

It is important here, however not to over-emphasize the scale of influence from the foreign sources. As mentioned, there is no evidence that it was total domination or conquest. On the contrary, Cyprus appears to have retained a considerable level of independence during this period.

Rather, the evidence is that Late Bronze Age Cypriot society developed internal structures largely

¹⁴ Eg., Enkomi Tomb PT 32, see COURTOIS 1981, figs. 18–9: 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22; *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb V, see VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 296–7, 304, pls. 181–3, T. V. 18, 24, 31, 75, 118.

¹⁵ VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 301, T. V.101.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 304, T. V.53, 105, 106.

¹⁷ PF 1994, 217, no. 247.

¹⁸ See for example SJÖQVIST 1940, 199.

¹⁹ Until we know more about settlement layout in the EC and MC periods (see FRANKEL and WEBB 1996, 53–4), and understand its relationship with MC III–LC I settlements, we cannot make definitive statements regarding the full influences that prevailed during the foundation of sites such as Enkomi.

independent from the mainland, which is another factor in support of our general thesis of the creative independence of the island during the Late Bronze Age. Indeed, in the material record of MC III/LC IA Cyprus, we see the steady development of the local culture. Accepting this general transition, we can develop a theory for the continued emergence of urban, industrial and military sites, and an assessment of the level of foreign involvement within the island. It would also need to connect with what we know about the later post Hyksos times – during which periods the island continued or re-established its contacts with Egypt, the Levantine coast, the Minoans and later the Mycenaean and Hittite empires.

The actual timing of the end of the first Historical Period (LC IA:1), is a matter of some controversy, which will be discussed throughout this book. We should note that the destruction of the *Nitovikla* fortress and the mass burials at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* (hereafter Ayios Iakovos) were associated by SJÖQVIST (1940, 199) with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Avaris.²⁰ What we can conclude is that at this time there were clearly established means of communication which linked the various regions of the island. A more unified Cyprus was developing an internal strength as an independent society – a pattern which would last throughout the Late Cypriot period.

Given the likelihood of interactions between Cyprus and the Hyksos, it is important to refer to the dramatic events that occurred in Egypt during LC IA:1 period – especially in the final years, when the Hyksos were defeated by Ahmose. The historical events of this period are discussed in Chapter VII.1.

6. THE SECOND HISTORICAL PERIOD – EARLY 18th DYNASTY (LC IA:2)

Åström and others have identified one of the key defining features of this Historical Period 2 (LC IA:2 phase) as the first appearance of WS I. We shall discuss the timing of this event at length in Chapter III. At this stage, we should note that the chronological separation of LC IA:1 and LC IA:2 culture in Cyprus is also supported by the evidence of PWS and WS I finds in the general stratigraphy at Tell el-Dab^a and ^cEzbet Helmi, modern localities of ancient Avaris, in Egypt.²¹ We believe there

was a clear temporal break between the appearance of PWS and WS I in the different areas of excavation at ancient Avaris in Egypt (see Chapters II and III). This is also supported by the discoveries at Levantine sites, particularly Tell el-^cAjjul.

My general proposal is that the LC IA:1 period in Cyprus corresponds with late Hyksos period in Egypt and ends shortly before the expulsion of the Hyksos from Avaris. The evidence of Late Cypriot pottery from ^cEzbet Helmi, demonstrates that the LC IA:2 period in Cyprus has already begun by the early 18th dynasty, which is when WS I is first recorded there. As a consequence we need to date its first appearance in Cyprus some 10 to 20 years before this. The problematic evidence of Tell el-^cAjjul appears to confirm this. It does not allow for the LC IA:2 period to begin any more than 20 years or so before the expulsion of the Hyksos from Avaris.

The surviving Late Cypriot IA:2 imports to Egypt, from the beginning of the New Kingdom until the reign of Thutmose II, show us how the links between Cyprus and Egypt increased and extended during Historical Period 2. In addition to the White Slip at Tell el-Dab^a, the quantities of BR I and RLW-m along the Nile Valley demonstrate strengthening links with Cyprus (see MERRILLEES 1968; ERIKSSON 1993). Thus, at sites all along the Nile valley – from the Delta to as far south as Semna – we have burials and some settlements with Cypriot pottery. As Egypt has always had a thriving pottery industry, the import of these goods was due probably to their contents, and because they were a part of shipments which carried valuable natural resources for which Cyprus was renowned and Egypt poor, namely copper and timber. Other commodities could have included olive oil, which was also *not* a product that was then cultivated in Egypt.

In return, Egypt could offer gold and many other products, but they are not easily detected in the archaeological record of Cyprus, as they do not survive so well. This may explain the near absence of New Kingdom Egyptian artefacts in Cyprus at the same time when there is a significant flow of Cypriot goods into Egypt as evidenced by the pottery. An alternative hypothesis has been that there was an indirect connection between Egypt and Cyprus. MERRILLEES (1968, 198) developed the role

²⁰ However, see HULT (1992; 2001) for a lowering of the date of the construction of *Nitovikla* to LC IB.

²¹ See BIETAK 1999, fig. 5; BIETAK and HEIN 2001, fig. 1.

of Ras Shamra as a ‘mercantile intermediary’. We know that Ras Shamra/Ugarit and its port played a significant role at this time which facilitated the movement of goods, but it still does not explain the lack of Egyptian artefacts in Cyprus during the LC IA:2 – IB periods, when Late Cypriot I pottery is so prevalent in Egypt. As mentioned recently (ERIKSSON 2001d, 184):

I have claimed, since 1993, that the connection [between Cyprus and Egypt] is likely to have been more direct (ERIKSSON 1993, 97). One reason is that the kind of Cypriote vessels one finds at possible intermediary sites like Ras Shamra and Tell el-^cAjjul do not match completely with those found in Egypt; thus for example, there is a significant amount of PWS (Proto White Slip) and WS (White Slip) I at Tell el-^cAjjul [in Canaan], but hardly any in Egypt [except at Tell el-Dab^ca].

In addition to the White Slip and other pottery from Cyprus found in Egypt, our view that there was a direct interaction between the two lands during this Historical Period (LC IA:2 and onwards) is reinforced by the recent discovery of some significant Egyptian artefacts in Cyprus. One of the finds in Cyprus is the fragment of a serpentine vase found in a tomb at Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* with two cartouches which CLERC (1990) has identified, albeit reservedly, as those belonging to the pharaoh Ahmose, founder of the 18th Dynasty (Fig. 39).

The LC IA:2 period was also the time when important links between the Minoan civilization and Cyprus were being strengthened. Not only do we have the discovery of some WS I on Thera, Crete, Rhodes and Melos, we also have LM IA pottery being recorded at quite a number of sites on Cyprus. This, combined with the absence of any PWS in the Aegean, implies that historically the Late Minoan contact with LC IA:2 Cyprus expanded significantly after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. This in itself reflected the links between the 18th Dynasty Egyptians and the Minoans – as represented by the finds at Tell el-Dab^ca. See Chapter VII.2 for the discussion of the history of this period.

Within Cyprus itself, the emergence of a distinct élite class is evident in the culture of Late Cypriot Cyprus, especially during this LC IA:2 period and into the later phases. As KNAPP and CHERRY (1994, 167) explain:

...the ability to maintain neutrality and accommodate exiles in a turbulent geopolitical climate (KNAPP 1985a, 234–41) made Cyprus a wealthy, centralized socially stratified polity, organized

and dominated by one or more political élites responsive to economic demand for Cyprus’ foremost basic resource.

Nevertheless, and as already mentioned, one always gets the impression that, while the Cypriots welcomed improved technologies and presumably other ideas, a very strong Cypriot character and thus respect for tradition was at the root of this society: “...it remains to be demonstrated that élite authority on Cyprus had any obvious link to external ideologies or overseas polities” (*ibid.*).

From an archaeological point of view, the most important WS piece from this period was the WS I bowl found in the post-eruption debris of the huge volcanic eruption on the island of Thera. Its importance for chronology is discussed in the second part of Chapter III.

7. THE THIRD HISTORICAL PERIOD – THE IMPACT OF THUTMOSIS III (LC IB)

This period, LC IB, extends from the beginning of the reign of Thutmosis III (including the coregency with Hatshepsut) and extends to the last part of the reign of Amenhotep II. It is no coincidence that we have a big increase in the numbers of Cypriot pottery occurring in Egypt, around the time of Thutmosis III.

An important illustration of these increased contacts between Cyprus and Egypt during the reign of Thutmosis III (Historical Period 3) is a collection of artefacts, identified as coming from Abydos Tomb D 114, and now located in the Nicholson Museum (Sydney). As we shall see in Chapter V, the analysis of this evidence further supports the increased links between the cultures of Cyprus and Egypt during the Late Cypriot IB period (MERRILLEES 1968; ERIKSSON 2005).

Of major interest here is the fact that some of the earliest references to Cyprus in documents – as ‘Isy (Asiya) – are during this period, in the reign of Thutmosis III (see also CLERC 1990, 96–7). OCKINGA (1996, 42) lists three references to tribute from Asiya in the Annals of Thutmosis III (from years 34, 38 and 39). The references indicate that the ‘tribute’ consisted of large quantities of ingots of copper ore, lead, horses, timber, ivory and lapis lazuli which are listed as part of Asiya’s tribute to Egypt. KARAGEORGHIS (1995, 75) has also stated about Cyprus at this time: “It was an independent, prosperous country, but in view of Egypt’s influence on the Levantine coast the king of Cyprus made it his policy to have good relations with a powerful neighbour by exchanging gifts (cf. CLERC 1990,

97; ERIKSSON 1993, 152).” This is part of the evidence in this book which supports the view that there were closer links between Egypt and Cyprus during the time of Thutmosis III. In particular, Thutmosis III formed an alliance with the Hittites of Anatolia to attack the Hurrians in Mittani. This impacted on whole of the Levant and Cyprus. The extraordinary historical events which occurred during the life of Thutmosis III established relationships not only with Cyprus, but also with other lands with which Cyprus was associated. These events are discussed in Chapter VII.3.

During this time, Cyprus managed to remain independent and significantly extended its trade with all these major powers. However, the international tensions did have an impact on Cyprus itself. Towards the end of Period 3, the island was attacked by a coalition of Ahhiyawans (generally accepted as being the Mycenaean) and the Hittite vassal king Madduwatta. This attack apparently did not succeed and Madduwatta had to apologize to the Hittite king for his actions. We discuss this issue at length in Chapter VII.3.d, because it shows that, even in this early phase, the Hittites were making claims on Cyprus. The Madduwatta text demonstrates that the Hittite king was very upset about the attempted incursion by Madduwatta into territory that he considered under his control. This formal claim to Cyprus by the Hittites was not matched by actual conquest. The fact that Madduwatta’s attempts were resisted by the indigenous Cypriots, even though he was an ally of the Hittites, further demonstrates our thesis of the independence of the island.

8. THE FOURTH HISTORICAL PERIOD – SUPPILULIUMA I, AMENHOTEP III AND THE EARLY AMARNA PERIOD (LC IIA:1–2)

The links between Egypt and Cyprus continued long after the death of Thutmosis III. It was probably during the reign of Thutmosis IV that we have the introduction of WS II ware. Soon, production had advanced to the level of being a ‘big’ industry in Cyprus through the remainder of the LBA. It was during the LC IIA that WS II appeared together with some new types of Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware. Significant events were occurring in all the civilizations surrounding Cyprus at this time. The Hittite empire in Anatolia had become a substantial force and was by this stage perceived as a threat to both the Mycenaean and the Egyptian civilizations. Various alliances were reached in an attempt to reduce the power of the Hittites. Meanwhile, after

achieving tremendous victories under Thutmosis III, Egypt initially began to lose its grip in Syria. The ascension of pharaoh Amenhotep III, however, transformed the situation. In foreign policy he again strengthened Egypt’s position in Syria/Canaan and formed an alliance with the Mitanni. However, later in his reign, both the Egyptians and the Mitanni came under great pressure from the great Hittite king, Suppiluliuma I.

The religious revolution in Egypt also began with the reign of Amenhotep III. Originally a strong supporter of the god Amun Re, Amenhotep III became increasingly concerned with the power of the priests and supported his son, Amenhotep IV (later called Akhenaton) in the establishment of the new monotheistic religion of the Aten. Amenhotep III also extended and intensified relations with the Aegean and Cyprus, including correspondence with the ‘king of Alashiya’. These matters are discussed extensively in Chapter VII.4.d.

It was during this historical period that the links between Cyprus and the Levant increased dramatically. In particular, the city state of Ugarit, where the Ras Shamra tablets have been discovered, formed a close alliance with Cyprus and even had a Cypriot colony. Cypriot pottery and Cypro-Minoan writing were discovered at the site, as well as funerary practices which are similar to those found on the island. The problems that the rulers of Ugarit had in balancing between the conflicting demands of the Hittite versus Egyptian empire were similar to those faced by the independent Cyprus (see Chapter VII.4.b).

9. A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORICAL PERIODS 5, 6 AND 7

The Historical Period 5 (LC IIB) was identified by the first appearance of Mycenaean LH IIIA:2b wares in Cyprus and Egypt. During this time, WS II and RLW-m continued to expand in their distribution throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and we see a huge increase in RLW-m in the Hittite lands. This period was significant because of the tremendous growth of the Hittite Empire during the reign of Suppiluliuma I. In Chapter VII.5, we discuss the events surrounding his reign. He was well known for his continuous propaganda claims asserting that Cyprus was part of his domain.

The most notable series of events during Historical period 5 was the massive strife in Egypt brought about by the regime of Akhenaton; he attempted to impose the one god *Aten* on the people of Egypt and therefore to destroy their previous polytheistic

beliefs. This was not only a religious revolution, but also a major political struggle with the priests of Amun Re, whose power in Memphis had become excessive and was threatening the authority of the pharaoh himself. Indeed, GILES (2001, 13) sees this political struggle as the major element in the upheavals of that time:

What Amenhotep III and Ikhnaton did was take a divine element, and using all the resources of the theocratic state they created a cult to act as a counter weight to a religious establishment that had grown too powerful. This was a political and not a religious accomplishment, and during the whole life of this cult it attempted to limit the power of the Amen priesthood. That this was in fact the case became apparent only when Ikhnaton, during his period of sole rule, brought his hatred and perhaps fear of the Amen cult into the open and tried to destroy it.

The internal upheavals gave an opportunity to the external enemies of Akhenaton to conquer and dominate Egyptian ‘territories’ in the northern Levant. Thus, under the leadership of king Suppiluliuma I, most of Syria was conquered or dominated by the Hittites. They even conquered large parts of the Mitannian empire, who were the major allies of Egypt in the region. The Hittites also made their presence felt in Cyprus – by insisting that key political figures be provided exile there.

Notwithstanding all this, Akhenaton had a good relationship with Cyprus; some of the contacts between the king of Alashiya and the Egyptian pharaoh are documented in the Amarna letters. By the end of his reign, Akhenaton’s obsession with the new religion not only led to the setbacks in foreign policy, but also resulted in a massive reaction from the Egyptian establishment against his new religion. Notwithstanding the intellectual and artistic achievements of his rule, which were considerable, his legacy was to leave Egypt a divided and weakened empire. All these events are discussed in Chapter VII.5.

Turning now to Historical Period 6, it is identified in Egyptian terms as the period of the reigns of Tutankhamun, Ay, and Horemheb and coincides with the first part of LC IIC:1 in Cypriot chronology. During this time, Egypt was rocked with intrigues as to who should be on the throne.²² There was a resurgence of the power of the priests of Amun Re and the successful attempts to destroy the religious agen-

da of Akhenaton. The Hittites took advantage of these upheavals and expanded their influence in the northern Levant – even threatening traditional Egyptian lands. An account of these events and their impact on Cyprus is given in Chapter VII.6.

Although Cypriot RLW-m ware was substantially diminished in Egypt at this time, it continued its appearances in Anatolia and the Levant. The importance of this change in distribution in understanding international relations at that time was explained by HENNESSY (1997, 372) thus:

Åström made clear some years ago that Cyprus, as a major entrepôt for the distribution of Mycenaean ceramics, saw no diminution in its import during Late Cypriote II B, and indeed the amount of IIC ware in the island was not far short of the figures for IIIA or IIIB. Certainly, from the mid-thirteenth century there was increasing production in the island of local copies of IIIB and IIC wares, but even these were exported. It seems that it is time to reassess the picture of international contact during the late 14th and 13th centuries BC in the eastern Mediterranean and the Levant. Eriksson has demonstrated a change in direction for the exchange of Red Lustrous wheel made ware during the Amarna Period and after the campaigns of Suppiluliuma, and there are probably other products for which a similar change in direction of exchange could be suggested, but it seems not to have affected the volume of trade in the area.

However, HENNESSY (*ibid.*) warns that this change of emphasis of some Cypriot goods from Egypt to the Hittite Empire should not be overestimated. As we shall see in Chapter VII, the Egyptians retained significant influence in Cyprus even during the period when Suppiluliuma I gained control of the major export centres for Cypriot pottery in Syria, such as Ugarit. After all, the extensive influence of Egypt in the Palestinian-Jordanian area continued throughout all the struggles over Syria, including during the takeover of Kadesh, Gubla (Byblos), and even the domination of Ugarit, by the Hittites. This was a most challenging time for the independence of Cyprus, which had to balance the demands of the Mycenaean and the Hittites – while retaining relatively friendly links with Egypt. Some of the challenges which it faced are described in Chapter VII.6.c.

²² See DIJK 1996 with references.

The end of the LBA comes at the close of Historical Period 7. This period begins at the start of the 19th Dynasty with the short reign of Rameses I. He was followed by Seti I who began to reconquer Syrian lands from the Hittites. Then followed the very long reign (67 years) of Rameses II. We then have the early part of the 20th Dynasty, to before Year 8 of Rameses III – when the historic battle with the Sea Peoples occurred. During this lengthy period there was a significant increase in Mycenaean ceramics in Cyprus; in fact it covers two ceramic phases, the second part of LH IIIB:1 and the whole of the LH IIIB:2 phase.

In the first part of Historical Period 7, the massive conflict between Egypt under the reign of Rameses II and the Hittite Empire came to a head at the battle of Kadesh. The Pharaoh claimed to have defeated the Hittites, but independent records show that this was not the true outcome of the conflict. Several years afterwards, the famous formal treaty was signed by Rameses II and a new Hittite emperor. Around three decades later, during the second half of this Period 7, the Hittites carried out a major attack on Cyprus, which by now was quite powerful as indicated by her possession of her own naval force. Although this attack succeeded in destroying the Cypriot naval forces, the Hittite king still failed in his attempt to conquer the island. The initial attack by Tudhaliyas IV was followed about 20 years later by an attempted invasion from Suppiluliumas II.

We also have important documents from this time of correspondence between the king of Ugarit and the king of Alashiya in relation to the threat from the Sea Peoples. Towards the end of Period 7 (during LC IIC:2), both countries had been subjugated. Some years later, before Year 8 of Rameses III, both the Hittite and Mycenaean empires also fell. These events are recounted in Chapter VII.7.

The important point which emerges from the evidence and our historical survey is that, during periods, 5, 6 and 7, Cyprus was subjected to pressures from all these civilisations – Mycenaean, Canaanites, Hittites and Egyptians. Cypriot wares are found in all these areas – but the distribution changed as historical events unfolded; in particular, there is the aforementioned change in the distribution of RLW-m wares which relates to the increased links between the Hittite empire and Cyprus in this part of the Late Bronze Age. Judging from the continuing production of pottery such as White Slip II, as well as the strength of trade between Cyprus and the other civilizations, Cyprus during these many years managed to retain its creative spirit and its

independence. Nevertheless, this was no easy task: these pressures must have created major challenges to the diplomatic abilities of the Cypriot rulers.

10. BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS

In Chapter I.1, we give a brief archaeological history of the attempts to define the Late Cypriot Chronology from GJERSTAD in 1926 to more modern times. In section I.2, we outline the Historical Periods using Åström's definitions of the various phases of Late Bronze Age Cyprus; in doing so, we present some modifications to his definitions. In the other sections of this Chapter, we consider some general issues which arise throughout the book. Thus in section I.3, we have the connection between White Slip manufacture and the copper industry; in section I.4, an analysis of the distinctive nature of White Slip ware, including the decorative motifs; and in section I.5, a general critique of the 'intra-island barrier' thesis.

In Chapter II, we shall outline in detail the phases of the PWS development. We shall refer to various discoveries of PWS and their implications. This ties up with my comments in this Introduction about the role of the Hyksos. We examine evidence from within Cyprus of the tombs and industrial quarter at *Toumba tou Skourou* which confirmed the predominance of this ware in the northwest of the island. This is contrasted to the evidence of Enkomi, which was the only site producing stratified PWS and WS I when POPHAM was writing his research. In section II.4, we discuss the evidence of the internal conflicts within Cyprus at this time.

When it comes to foreign contexts of PWS, which links the LC IA:1 phase in Cyprus with the MB IIC phase in Syria/Canaan, the material from Megiddo and Tell el-^cAjjul is strong evidence for this synchronization. We also discuss PWS at Tell el-Dab^a during the Hyksos years in Egypt. In section II.7, the early links between Cyprus and the Minoan civilization are examined.

In Chapter III, the distinctive nature of WS I is examined and we look at several critical contexts in Cyprus relevant to the issue of stylistic development and chronology. We seek to differentiate the various styles of WS I based on decorative motifs. We shall examine the appearances of WS I within and outside of Cyprus. The controversial question of the timing of the first appearance of WS I at Tell el-^cAjjul in Canaan is critically examined. It is argued here that WS I began in Cyprus no earlier than about 10 years before the start of the New Kingdom or 20–30 years before the fall of Avaris (Tell el-Dab^a) in Egypt; also

that it was first exported to Canaan and a few years later to Egypt, following the expulsion of the Hyksos from Tell el-Dab^a by the Theban pharaoh Ahmose and the establishment of the 18th Dynasty. In section III.5, we discuss the significance of the ^cEzbet Helmi finds in Egypt.

The discovery of a WS I ‘rope lattice’ bowl at Thera has created a major controversy in regard to the dating of the massive volcanic eruption of the island, and even on the dating of the first appearances of WS I. This issue is discussed extensively in the second part of Chapter III. Here we examine Sturt Manning’s thesis ascribing a very early date to the Thera eruption and seeking to adjust the chronology of Cyprus, Egypt and the Aegean accordingly. We dispute Manning’s claim here, using contemporary archaeological evidence. His ‘intra-island barrier’ thesis is also critically examined.

WS I appears in great numbers in Egypt during the next period, LC IB corresponding to the reign of Thutmosis III. This period is discussed in section III.12. During this period, RLW-m wares appear extensively in Egypt, and the relations between Egypt and Cyprus become stronger.

In Chapter IV.1, we discuss the last phase of WS I and the transition to WS II production. The reign of Thutmosis III encompassed most of our Historical Period 3 (LC IB). We have evidence that this transition period included a greater role for Cyprus from the beginning of the LC IB period. The various contexts in Cyprus and at Ras Shamra which illustrate the transition are discussed. My major task in Chapter IV is to discuss the development of WS II as a distinctive ware from both PWS and WS I. In section IV.2, the evidence for the first appearance of WS II in Cyprus and its extensive production on the island is presented. In section IV 3, we look at the evidence of production sites of WS II.

Section IV.5 deals with geographic distribution of the ware and looks at the WS II exports throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and even to places as far away as Libya and Sicily. Section IV.6 relates to the contexts in Cyprus and overseas in which WS II is found with RLW-m wares. Section IV.7 deals with the historical context of WS II: Its arrival occurred over a period when momentous events were taking place in Egypt, in the Levant, in Anatolia and in the Aegean. The interaction of the various empires was itself dramatic – yet it will be shown that WS II continued to appear in virtually all these contexts. Section IV.8 deals with the end of WS II: After many decades, the exports of WS II from Cyprus were reduced in quality. The degenerate form – WS II late

(sometimes called WS III) – soon died out and brought to a close the 400-year life of the White Slip wares.

Chapter V discusses the role of other Cypriot ceramics related to, and associated with, White Slip when they are found outside Cyprus. Because of their distribution outside of Cyprus, we shall examine the way in which these Cypriot wares help us to understand the relations of the island with Egypt, Canaan, the Aegean, the Northern Levant and Anatolia. The research will involve an examination of selected available tomb and settlement contexts to determine what information they shed on these questions. This will require a focus on the important examples of Cypriot wares that have been found at sites outside of Cyprus. Wares discussed include Proto Base-ring, Base-ring I and RLW-m. There is also discussion in the various sections of Cypriot wares found at specific locations including Abydos, Ras Shamra, Jordan, Canaan and Alalakh. In sections V.9 and V.10, there is a lengthy discussion of the distribution of these Cypriot wares, especially RLW-m, in Anatolia and the significance of this.

In Chapter VI, we consider the appearance of foreign artefacts within Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age and the way they illuminate our other observations about developments at this time. These include TeY ware from the Egypt/Levantine realm of the Hyksos (section VI.1); Late Minoan pottery (sections VI.2 and VI.3); and artefacts from Egypt such as the serpentine vase (section VI.4) and the mehak razors (section VI.5). These items are considered on the basis of the way they illuminate events during Middle Bronze IIC to Late Bronze Age, especially in the first three Late Cypriot Periods – that is LC IA:1, LC IA:2 and LC IB.

In sections VI.6 and VI.7, we provide an analysis of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus and the general impact of the Mycenaeans throughout the region. As we have seen, the various types of Mycenaean decorated pottery is very important in the separation of the historical periods 4, 5, 6 and 7. Overall, the evidence of this chapter adds further to the ceramic record of the relations between Cyprus and these other lands. This evidence of synchronizations reinforces our general chronological and historical conclusions in this book.

In Chapter VII, we attempt in some detail to present the manifold events that took place in Cyprus and the surrounding civilizations in the seven Historical Periods outlined in this Introduction. I have already mentioned some of these events briefly in the last few sections of this Introduction. My main focus

is to explore the international relationships which developed between these lands and their impact, direct and indirect, on Cyprus.

The broad ranging historical discussion in Chapter VII seeks to demonstrate that in the whole Late Bronze Age Cypriot period, the island remained essentially independent. Other writers, particularly those who worked directly with the late J.R.B. Stewart, such as Robert S. Merrillees, have hinted at this. The evidence is further interpreted in Chapter VIII to show that the island's leaders were skilful in achieving a balance between the interests of the various civilizations: the Minoan and Mycenaean from the Aegean; the

Canaanite groups; the Hittite empire and of course the Egyptians. Our evidence shows that independent Late Bronze Age Cyprus established extensive trade and diplomatic links with these societies – notwithstanding the various conflicts between them. They managed this in the context of complex and changing interrelationships between the empires during very turbulent times. In so doing, Late Bronze Age Cyprus managed to develop its creative skills – especially as reflected in the range and production of its ceramic wares (such as White Slip). This book seeks to present part of the story as to how this was achieved; the full account still needs to be uncovered.