

II. SIGNIFICANT CONTEXTS IN THE DISCOVERY OF PROTO WHITE SLIP AND THE PHASES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

As we have seen, for archaeologists Proto White Slip is one of the key defining ceramics for the first Late Cypriot period – LC IA:1. Its distinguishing features and the occasions of its appearance are thus critical for archaeological analysis. It is especially important to distinguish PWS from WS I, the latter signifying the beginning of the LC IA:2 period.

The critical issue here is the dating of PWS and the first appearances of WS I. As explained in the Introduction, in current Cypriot archaeology, PWS is now accepted as having chronological precedence over WS I. We noted (in Chapter I.1) that this was first proposed, after PWS was formally identified as a distinct style, by POPHAM (1962, 278).⁴³ Once it was generally accepted that PWS was earlier than WS I, archaeologists concluded that a redefinition of the term “Late Cypriot I” was necessary. This period had previously been defined by GJERSTAD (1926, 333); SJÖQVIST (1940, 100–108); SCHAEFFER (1948, 377–8) in terms of the first appearance of WS I and BR I in the archaeological record in Cyprus and abroad.

PWS can be differentiated from WS I through the difference in decorative elements, as explained by POPHAM (1962, 282–6). The use of circles rather than dots is something largely confined to PWS; the dots are a simplification prevalent in WS I where the designs have become more neatly drawn and finer brushes are used (see Chapter I.4). But at sites like Pendayia, Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* and most especially at *Toumba tou Skourou*, we have bowls with very similar designs in PWS and WS I ‘RL’. Whilst the ‘Rope Lattice’ band rim motif is a common bond, it is more finely executed on the WS I vessels (see Fig. 12). In the case of some vessels, the fact that the vertical lozenge chains are unframed suggest they be considered as PWS, because in WS I the lozenge chains are usually framed. Only in some of the early WS II vessels do you get unframed lozenges (Fig. 28).

Earlier (ERIKSSON 2001a, 53, fig. 1), it has been explained that we can delineate two relatively clear

Phases in the history of the PWS sequence. Phase 1 is the Early Phase linked to the Middle Cypriot Period. This group, of which there are currently only four examples, show strong links with the MC III period. This Phase of the PWS development clearly links it with the White Painted tradition of the northwest of the island. It is based on shape, the decorative schema and the application of design. If it is earlier than Phase 2 it would be only a minimal period. Thus until clear evidence for chronological precedence is apparent, we use the more prolific Phase 2 style to define LC IA:1.

1. PHASE 1 PWS: THE EARLY PHASE OF PWS LINKED TO THE MIDDLE CYPRIOT PERIOD

Phase 1 PWS can be seen as a bridge between the MC and LC periods in Cyprus, as well as a bridge between the WP IV-V and the mature PWS wares. In this section, we consider the four tombs which contain the main exemplars of Phase 1 PWS. A look at these tomb groups in which these Phase 1 PWS bowls occur – especially Pendayia Tomb 1 (Lower) and Tomb 2 – reveals that their associated finds are of Middle Cypriot origins. One can identify four bowls with flat or concave bases, a feature which denotes their MC links. Furthermore, there is the use of lower body and base decoration, typical of MC III painted ceramics. In contrast, in developed PWS and WS I decoration, the motifs are nearly always kept to the upper and mid body area of the bowls in particular. In my 2001 paper, the following was explained about this group (ERIKSSON 2001a, 53, fig. 1):

The distinctive nature of the bowls in this group, and their link with the MC III traditions was commented upon by KARAGEORGHIS (1965: 51, n. 5, 60). Jugs from Pendayia-*Mandres*, Akhera-*Paradisi* and one from *Toumba tou Skourou* [Figs. 5a–c, 8] seem also to belong to this group based on their surface treatment and decoration. The PWS material from Episkopi-Phaneromeni may also belong to this phase (SWINY 1979, 237–238).⁴⁴

⁴³ As ÅSTRÖM (see KARAGEORGHIS (ed.), 2001, 49) pointed out at the White Slip Conference, GJERSTAD (1926, 199) had observed a group with decoration that ‘might be an intermediary stage between the White Painted and White Slip wares.’

⁴⁴ According to SWINY (1979, 237) “At least 151 sherds of Proto W.S. ware, representing a maximum of 34 vessels, were recovered from the stratified levels at Settlement A.”

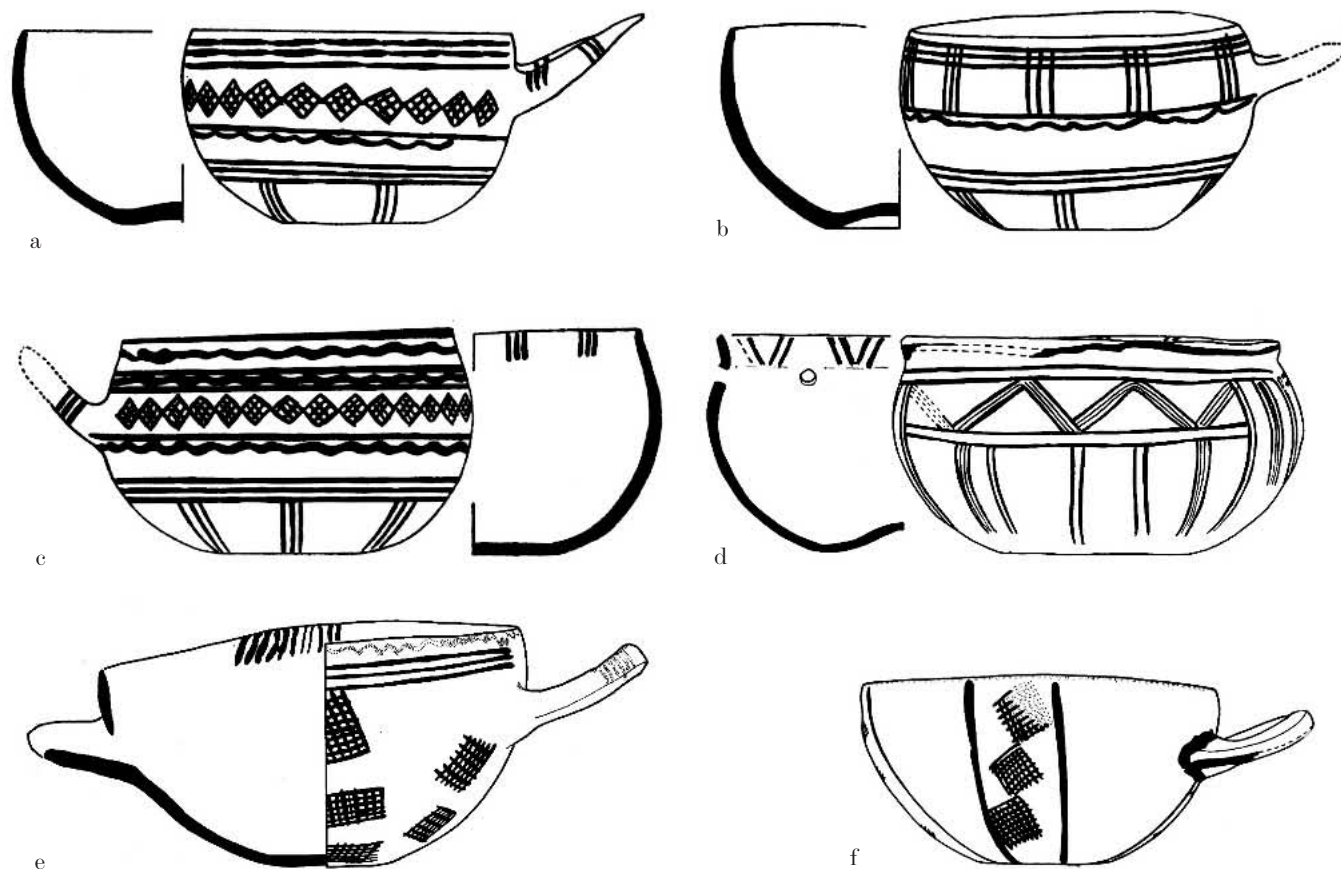


Fig. 4 PWS from Pendayia and Stephania a) Phase 1 'PL' bowl from Pendayia Tomb 1:94 (after *ibid.*, 32, fig. 11:94). D. 12.8 cms; b) Phase 1 'PL' bowl from Pendayia Tomb 1:31 (after KARAGEORGHIS 1965, 32, fig. 11:31). D. 13.2 cms; c) Phase 1 bowl from Pendayia Tomb 2:19 (after *ibid.*, 32, fig. 11:19). D. 13.2 cms; d) Phase 1 bowl from Stephania Tomb 14A:1 (after HENNESSY 1963, 37, pl. 56:1). D. 12.6 cms; e) Spouted bowl with 'floating cross-hatches' from Stephania Tomb 5:7 (after *ibid.*, 14, pl. 32:7). D. 14.0–14.6 cms; f) Bowl with 'floating cross-hatches' from Stephania Tomb 14A:10 (after *ibid.*, 38, pl. 52:10). D. 12.9–13.3 cms

The three bowls referred to are from Pendayia Tomb 1 (Lower): 94; from the same tomb (Upper):31; Tomb 2:19 and from *Stephania* Tomb 14A.1 (see ERIKSSON 2001a, fig. 1). Each has an important feature in common, which derives from the White Painted style. Below the mid-body section of each bowl there are three horizontal parallel lines from which groups of three vertical lines extend down to the base, forming a metope pattern. To further illustrate this point, it is worth comparing the bowls of PWS Phase 1 with the White Painted vessels from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb V Chamber 2:18 (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 304).

I now turn to an individual analysis of each of these four tombs:

1.a Pendayia Tomb 1 (Lower)

This tomb group is quite important because it demonstrates that a bowl of Phase 1 PWS is contemporary with what we define as late MC III fabrics, but without Phase 2 PWS. The contents of this lower Level of the tomb include: Black Slip III,⁴⁵ RP III,⁴⁶ RP IV;⁴⁷ WP III–IV PLS juglet;⁴⁸ WP IV;⁴⁹ WP V;⁵⁰ and PWS (Fig. 4a). We should also note that there were three skulls (X, Y, Z) and that the skeleton of X was recorded in a more articulated position. This per-

⁴⁵ KARAGEORGHIS 1965, nos. 83, 96, 100, 101, 110, 142.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 85.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, nos. 76, 95, 109, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 139.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 126.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 86.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 137.

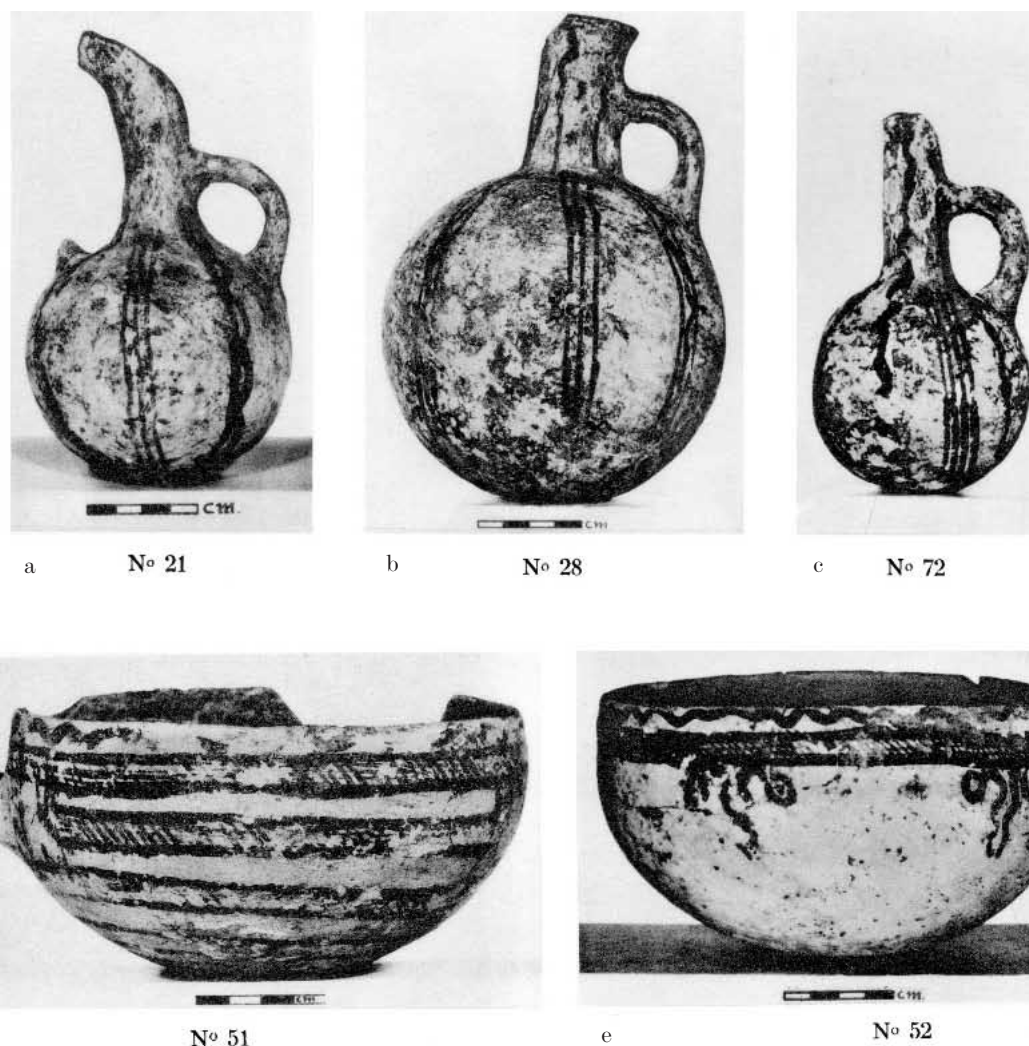


Fig. 5 PWS Phase 1 and 2 from Tomb 1 Pendayia (after KARAGEORGHIS 1965, pl. 3:2–6) a) PWS Phase 1 cut-away spouted jug (after *ibid.*, 25, pl. 3:2, no. 21). H. 17cms; b) PWS Phase 1 jug (after *ibid.*, 27, pl. 3:3, no. 28). H. 17.8 cms; c) PWS Phase 1 jug (after *ibid.*, 35, pl. 3:4, no. 72). H. 12 cms; d) PWS Phase 2 bowl (after *ibid.*, 31, pl. 3:5, no. 51). H. 8.5 cms; e) PWS Phase 2 bowl (after *ibid.*, 31, pl. 3:6, no. 52). H. 10.6 cms

haps indicates that the grave goods around Skull X represent the latest burial in this layer of the tomb (KARAGEORGHIS 1965, fig. 4: inhumation inférieure). In this scenario, the Phase 1 PWS bowl was located in the central area with many of the small finds. The ceramics indicate a fairly homogeneous group that borders the MC III/LC IA:1 transition.

1.b Pendayia Tomb 1 (Upper)

As we saw in the lower Level of this tomb, the upper

Level also has Phase 1 PWS, together with MC III wares (see *ibid.*). Specifically, the MC wares were identified as follows: Black Slip II;⁵¹ Black Slip III;⁵² RoB;⁵³ RP III;⁵⁴ RP IV;⁵⁵ Red Slip;⁵⁶ WP III–IV PLS juglet.⁵⁷ These were found with 11 PWS bowls and jugs, of which 9 were Phase 1 (Figs. 4b, 5a–c).⁵⁸ There were also two other bowls typical of Phase 2 PWS with typical ‘Rope Lattice’ designs (Fig. 5d–e).

There is also an extraordinary phenomenon at this upper Level – we find at least 20 skulls, seeming-

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, nos. 6, 18, 22, 36, 53.

⁵² *Ibid.*, nos. 4, 12, 24, 33, 39, 45, 46, 47, 48, 55, 57, 69, 70.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, no. 38.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 63.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 2, 7, 8, 11, 15, 16, 17, 23, 27, 37, 41, 59, 71.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 35.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 30.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, nos. 3, 13, 21, 21A, 28, 31, 32, 54, 72.

ly buried within a short space of time to judge from the pottery. It appears that we are dealing here with one of the mass burials characteristic of this period, as explained in our Introduction. Historically, it seems that the conflicts that gave rise to these mass graves were raging at the very time of the birth of the PWS series. These mass burials extended to the time of Phase 2 PWS, when we have the first LC period, LC IA:1.

1.c Pendaria Tomb 2

Unlike the other two tombs at Pendaria, KARAGEORGHIS (1965) notes that there was very little pottery in this tomb. From the MC period, we have only some vessels of WP IV and Drab Polished. However, we do have the Phase 1 PWS bowl (Fig. 4c), as well as some PWS sherds from this time (*ibid.*, 57–9, figs. 17, pl. IV: 1–2). In my 2001 paper, this was said about the bowl here (ERIKSSON 2001a, 53–54, fig. 1):

The PWS bowl may be compared with the two already mentioned from Pendaria-*Mandres* Tomb 1 Lower and Upper burials. We may note that this vessel has the ‘Framed Lozenge’ band motif, which carries through in the later PWS and WS I sequence. Among the sherds from this tomb, examples of Phase 2 and [WS I ‘RL’ style] are present. The ‘Rope Lattice’ band motif is typical of more developed Phase 2 PWS and is present in the tomb (KARAGEORGHIS 1965: pl. IV:1, row 2:2), as well as a [WS I ‘RL’ rim sherd with] dots framing a vertical chain of lozenges (*ibid.*, pl. IV:1, row 2:3).

This WS I ‘RL’ sherd is the only one published from this site, and compares well with the pattern on the WS I bowl from Thera and the WS I sherd from Knossos. The evidence also compares well with the *Toumba tou Skourou* evidence for this style, and thus may support its association with PWS more than mature WS I (but see Chapter III.2). Pendaria Tomb 2 may have been reused in later periods, but its significance is that it shows PWS of both Phase 1 and Phase 2, as well as WS I ‘RL’ style.

1.d *Stephania* Tomb 14A

In 1963, Hennessy published details of a bowl at this tomb, which he classified as WS I (Fig. 4d). The design is very close to that found on WP V vessels (ERIKSSON 2001a, 45, fig. 1). The design seems closer to PWS and perhaps it should be classified within the Phase 1 grouping of PWS. There is a similar vessel from Stratum V of the Ayia Irini Tomb (QUILICI 1990, 98, figs. 258–9, 317a:290). POPHAM (HENNESSY *ibid.*, 47) considered two other bowls from *Stephania* could be related to PWS (Fig. 4e–f). A re-examina-

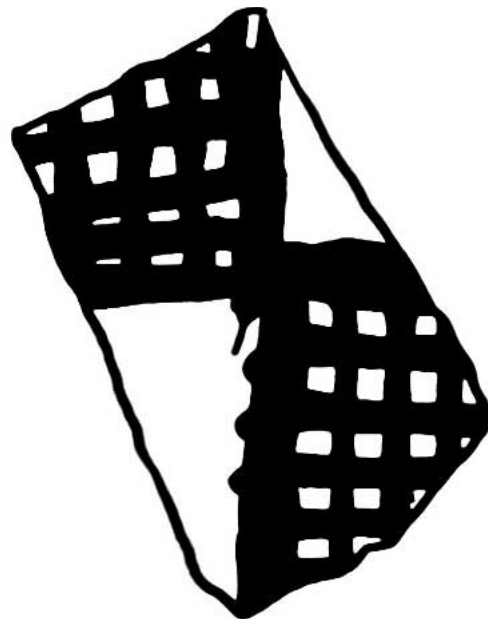


Fig. 6 Sherd of Phase 2 PWS with chequerboard pattern from *Stephania* Tomb 14A (S 120)

tion of the *Stephania* material as suggested by ÅSTRÖM (2000, 151) will be quite invaluable, as Hennessy sent me a sherd from Tomb 14 A which is definitely an example of Phase 2 PWS (see below and Fig. 6). However, this discovery still does not redress the imbalance in the small quantity of PWS found at sites like *Stephania* and Ayia Irini, as compared with the nearby site of *Toumba tou Skourou*.

What then was the context of this discovery at *Stephania*? All the tombs at *Stephania*, including Tomb 14A had their contents mixed by water surges. Thus, we generally cannot determine a sequence for the burials. We do know, however, that the PWS bowl was found together in a cluster with two PBR vessels and a BR I tankard (HENNESSY 1963, pls. LVII:5, 7; LVI:6). The decoration on this Phase 1 PWS bowl, as well as its shape, established clear similarities to the WP V vessels (see ERIKSSON 2001a, fig. 1, also HENNESSY 1963, pl. 41:43, T. 7; pl. 46:5, T. 10). We can thus assume a direct chronological relationship between this Phase 1 PWS bowl from *Stephania* and the MC III painted tradition of northwest Cyprus.

2. TRANSITION FROM PHASE 1 TO PHASE 2 OF PWS

As we noted in the Introduction, the sites of Enkomi, *Toumba tou Skourou* and Myrtou *Pigadhes* were founded in the MC III period. This is shown by the evidence of the earliest excavated levels or tomb assemblages. There are two other published sites where the transition is barely visible: Kalopsidha has an earlier occupation and is in decline by the begin-

ning of the Late Cypriot; Episkopi *Bamboula* has some Middle Cypriot ceramics in its earliest levels, but its foundation is really best dated to LC IA:2. Of all the published sites only Pendayia, Stephania and Toumba tou Skourou have produced both Phases of the PWS, suggesting that if there was to be any chronological precedence it was brief. Phase 2 PWS is far more widespread, indicating the extent of inter-island activity at the beginning of LC IA:1.

2.a Transition at Pendayia

The transition from Phase 1 to 2 PWS can best be seen in Pendayia Tomb 1 (Upper). We have already referred to the Phase 1 WS I bowls. However, there were also two remaining PWS bowls (Fig. 5d–e), which had the more developed shape and decoration, that is the hemispherical so-called ‘milk’ bowl. In addition, they did not have the lower body and base metope decoration, typical of Phase 1 PWS. This next Phase of the stylistic development of the ware also translates into a chronological one. Thus, in the Lower burial of Tomb 1, Phase 1 PWS is found without the more typical Phase 2 PWS vessels; the latter occur in the Upper burials. Although in the Upper Level of Tomb 1, we find both Phase I and Phase 2 bowls, we should note that they are in different areas of the tomb.

The stratification of Pendayia Tomb 1, shows a clear development in terms of the associated ceramics from Lower burial to Upper. We have noted that in both Phases, there is no WS I nor BR I. This may initially suggest that both these wares were not yet created at the time of use of this tomb. However, the picture is more complicated by the fact that we find BR I together with Phase 2 PWS at another site – Akhera Tomb 1 (KARAGEORGHIS 1965, fig. 26:10, 111). There is more PWS in this latter tomb than in the Upper Level of Pendayia Tomb 1 – yet we do not have WS I. A clear chronological progression suggests itself: that there is not much of a time interval between the appearance of developed, Phase 2 PWS and BR I. But clearly, WS I comes after BR I – this further confirms the correctness of our decision to use WS I alone (rather than BR I) as the defining feature of the LC IA:2 period. The main point is that, in this area of Cyprus (the northern foothills of the Troodos), we have significant evidence for this chronological progression.

There is another significant feature of the assemblages of Pendayia Tombs 1 and 2, when compared with the earliest tomb at *Toumba tou Skourou*, Tomb V. There is an interesting variety of discovered items here: weapons and metal objects in general and



Fig. 7 PWS and WS I bowls from *Toumba tou Skourou* (after VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990) a) PWS Phase 2 from Tomb III (after *ibid.*, 269, T. III.8, fig. 159c). H. 11.0 cms; b) PWS Phase 2 from Tomb IV (after *ibid.*, 279, T. IV.33, fig. 159b). H. 8.2 cms; c) WS I ‘RLFL’ style from Tomb I (after *ibid.*, 235, T. I.295, fig. 162c). H. 8.0 cms; d) WS I ‘RL’ style from Tomb IV (after *ibid.*, 280, T. IV.32, fig. 162d). H. 10.2 cms

stone mace heads, but also WP III–IV PLS style juglets and Black Slip imitations of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware. A further study of these items provides evidence at Pendayia Tomb 1 (Upper) and Tomb 2 of the transition from Phase 1 PWS to the developed Phase 2 PWS.

3. PHASE 2 PWS: THE MAJOR EXTENDED PERIOD OF ITS PRODUCTION

In the last section, we considered three sites in relation to the transition from Phase 1 to Phase 2 PWS. Now, we turn to consider the sites and tombs which produce the major examples of Phase 2 PWS. In addition to the sites discussed below, Phase 2 PWS ‘RL’ has also been recorded in the center of the island in Tomb 2 at Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi* (‘RL’ metope design).⁵⁹

3.a *Toumba tou Skourou*

The distribution of the various styles of WS ware at *Toumba tou Skourou* is given in the following table (see Chapter III.2, Table 8). These will be discussed here and in later Chapters.

Although other wares at *Toumba tou Skourou* illustrate the transition from the MC period, we should note that the majority of PWS itself at the site begins at Phase 2. For example, in Square C 12 of the mound, Black Slip, Black Slip Reserved Slip, Black Slip/PBR and Pithos ware were recorded with the Phase 2 PWS.⁶⁰ Again, in another square of excavation, Phase 2 PWS is found together with the MC wares WP V, RP and Black Slip in D 12 (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 31). This raises important issues about the length of the LC IA:1 period. This point is reinforced by the fact that, as EAMES (1994, 132, 138) noted, it is not long in the stratigraphy of the mound that we have the appearance of BR I and then WS I (the latter belonging to the LC IA:2 period).

Tomb III at *Toumba tou Skourou* is significant because it is the only tomb at the site which has Phase 2 PWS (Fig. 7a), but which has no WS I or BR I. Yet, on the other hand, the tomb, which was used for an adult male and female, and an infant, has clear links to the MC III period (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 265). This is shown by the other ceramics from this tomb, which include nine Black Slip; one Black Slip (Painted); four Red Polished IV; four WP VI (*ibid.*, 267–9). The PWS bowl may be compared with Kaza-

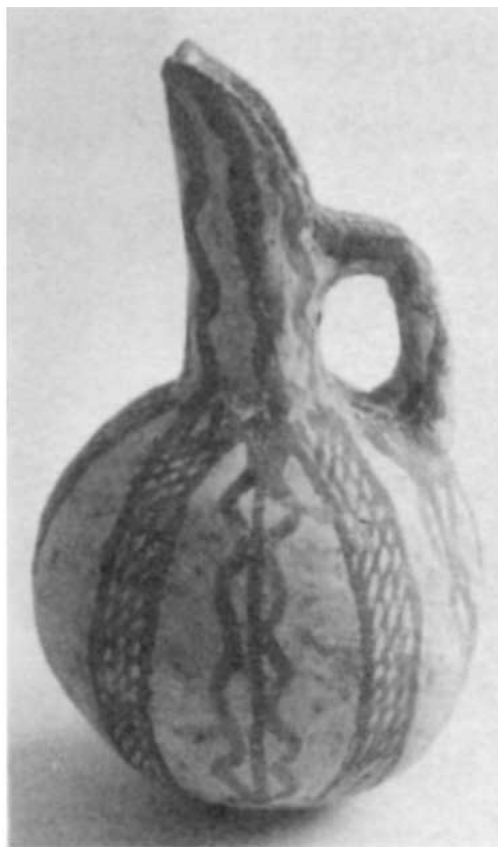


Fig. 8 PWS Phase 2 jug from Tomb I *Toumba tou Skourou* (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 191, T. I.130). H. 13.0 cms

phani Tomb 2B (NICOLAOU and NICOLAOU 1989, 65, No. 410, fig. 13, pl. 23). From this tomb plan, we can see that there are two groups with about 10 vessels marked clearly on each side, which may represent two burials (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 263, fig. 37).

This tomb thus has a unique place in the sequence at *Toumba tou Skourou*; its discovery represents the earliest occurrence of the PWS Phase 2 ware in the tombs (see Table 8). Not only is it found without WS I, it seems closest to the MC III wares. Of additional interest is the fact that sherds of LM IA were recorded in the niche of Tomb III (*ibid.*, 267, T.III:34). PWS occurs in tombs together with WS I, but in both these tombs the contents indicate a long period of use (Table 8: Tomb IV, Tomb I Chamber 1). The PWS bowl from Tomb IV (Fig. 7b) shows the designs which become more refined in the WS I ‘RL’ Group (Fig. 7c–d). We should also note the PWS jug from Tomb I (Fig. 8). Although, the

⁵⁹ HENNESSY *et al.*, 1988, 54, fig. 9:Tomb 2:3.

⁶⁰ The bowl is said to be undecorated but the illustration

clearly shows a Phase 2 bowl, (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 30).

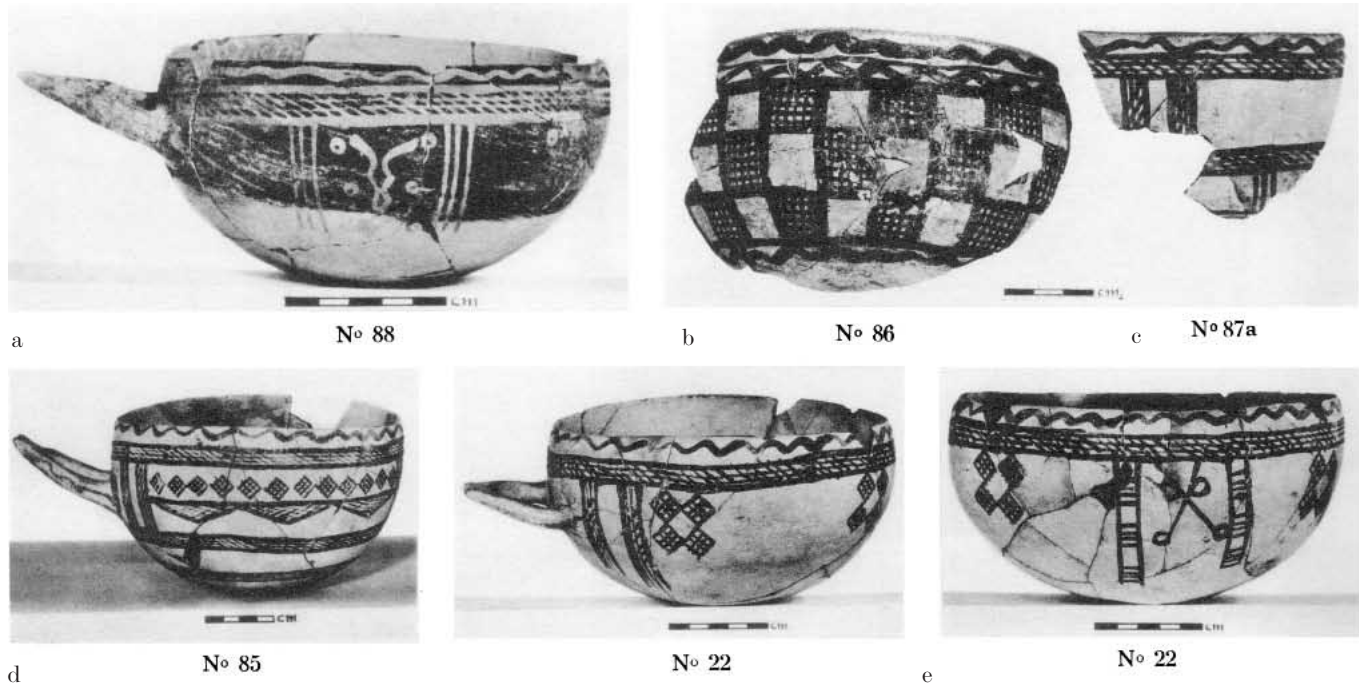


Fig. 9 PWS Phase 2 from Tomb 1 Akhera (after KARAGEORGHIS 1965, pl. 8:1–6) a) PWS Phase 2 bowl (after *ibid.*, 96, pl. 8:1, no. 88). H. 7.6 cms; b) PWS Phase 2 bowl (after *ibid.*, 96, pl. 8:2, no. 86). Remaining H. 9.5 cms; c) PWS Phase 2 bowl (after *ibid.*, 96, pl. 8:3, no. 87a). Remaining H. 6.4 cms; d) PWS Phase 2 bowl (after *ibid.*, 96, pl. 8:4, no. 85). H. 11 cms; e) PWS Phase 2 bowl (after *ibid.*, 86, pl. 8:5, no. 22). H. 10 cms

PWS and LM IA are not found directly associated in the same tomb, this is indirect evidence of the Phase 2 PWS occurring simultaneously with early LM IA (see Chapter III).⁶¹ Finally, we should note that the similarity of the PWS from this tomb with Akhera Tomb 1, and to a lesser degree with Pendaia Tomb 1 (Upper), places these tombs at about the same chronological horizon – perhaps before the introduction of BR I which has appeared in Akhera *Paradisi* Tomb 1.

It is important to contrast Tomb III with two other tombs at *Toumba tou Skourou*, which illustrate different features of the historical transition. Thus, the earliest evidence for occupation at the site is found in Tomb V Chambers 1 and 2, dated to the MC III period. On the other hand, Tomb VI was originally dated entirely to the LC IA/IB transition at the site (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 393). However, we would argue that the use of the tomb begins

already in MC III, and only the final use is dateable to the LC IB period. My reasons for this are: firstly, as the excavators comment, Tombs V and VI lay near one another in the southern borders of the site (*ibid.*, 287). At this site, it was noted that, “...the pottery and bones had been floated towards the rear walls in disorder”, (*ibid.*, 309, pl. 93). This is similar to the other tombs at the site and is the condition of many Cypriot tombs.

With this in mind, we can make the following observations cautiously. Within the tomb there is a development that moves from MC III until LC IB. Looking at the contents of Tomb VI, it would seem we have a high proportion of older styles which are equivalent with Tomb V (cf. Black Slip Imitation Tell el-Yahudiyeh from Tomb VI, *ibid.*, 318, T.VI.123, with Tomb V, *ibid.*, 305, T.V.96); although perhaps the latter is somewhat developed, since WP III–IV PLS and imported Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware are absent

⁶¹ As we have seen, the excavators’ had their own definition of the term LC IB at the site and it is in this context that they placed the appearance of LM IIIA:1 pottery. However, following Åström, some of this pottery should be ascribed to the LC IIA:1 period. Overall, this phase spans our LC

IA:2–LC IIA:1 periods; to it belong the burials in Niches 2, 4 and 6 in Tomb I, Tomb I Chambers 2 and 3, Tomb II Chamber I and some of the interments in Tombs I Chamber 1, Tomb IV and Tomb VI.

here. However, unlike Tomb V, Tomb VI has WS I 'RLFL' as well as PBR, BR I and WS I 'PL' (Table 8). So it was used later, but there may have been a gap in its use. These WS I wares are of critical importance in the debate on the existence of Manning's 'intra-island barrier' (see Chapter I.5).

Tomb IV at *Toumba tou Skourou* provides an even more complex illustration of the chronological developments in Cyprus. Unfortunately, however, there seems to be no clear distinction between the two Levels in the tomb – according to the excavators (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 273). Furthermore, the upper plan was lost and the lower was not numbered. What we do know is that the material spans MC III to LC IB. It is more comprehensive than Tomb VI – as it has Phase 2 PWS; WS I 'RL'; and WS I 'FL' (Table 8; Fig. 7b, d).

Taken together, the tombs at *Toumba tou Skourou* are very important in identifying, not only the existence of Phase 2 PWS, but also its place in the Cypriot chronological sequence.

3.b Akhera Paradisi Tomb 1

This tomb provides a very good illustration of Phase 2 PWS. There were 11 vessels here (see Fig. 9),⁶² the tomb appears not to have been used for a long period of time, as there were only two skulls of a male and female (KARAGEORGHIS 1965, 76). There is a scarab (*ibid.*, pl. 8:7–10) which, while it has been given an absolute maximum range of anywhere between the 12th and 18th Dynasties by CHARLES (*ibid.*, 156), certainly does evoke a connection of sorts with the Hyksos.⁶³ This would make its origin consistent with the LC IA:1 period, as defined by the appearance of Phase 2 PWS.

3.c Ayia Irini Tomb of Quilici

Another major source of evidence of the Phase 2 PWS was the Ayia Irini tomb, excavated by QUILICI (1990). In an earlier paper, it was argued that one of the vessels discovered in the tomb should be reclassified Phase 2 PWS and attributed to the associated period of LC IA:1 – rather than WS I (ERIKSSON 2001d, 192; Fig. 10):

[This] jug that was classified as WS I (QUILICI 1990: 105, no. 355, figs. 289, 317 [here Fig. 10]). QUILICI

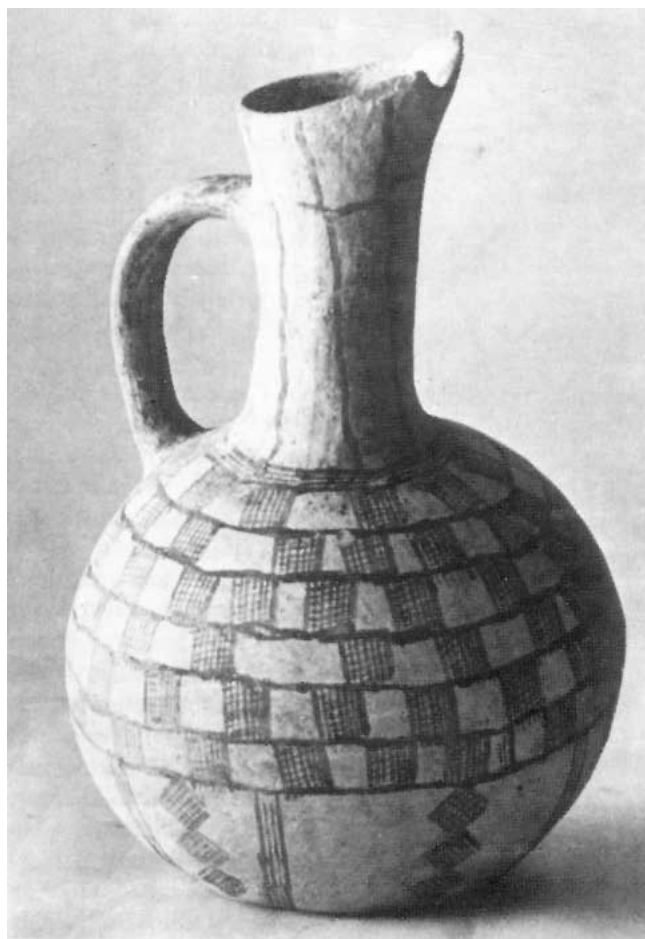


Fig. 10 PWS Phase 2 Jug from Ayia Irini (after QUILICI 1990, fig. 289, no. 355). H. 20.3 cms

(1990: 143) discusses it with the Stratum VI material, not Stratum V, although it is presented with the Stratum V finds.⁶⁴ If it is from Stratum VI of the tomb, then the stratification would demonstrate clearly the evolution of PWS (Phase 2) through to WS I within a single tomb group. This is because the shape and decoration on this jug clearly show that it belongs to the PWS (Phase 2) classification. In general, our evidence is that PWS precedes WS I; in this case, PWS is also associated with BR I. The jug, with its cut-away spout and flat base, is a good illustration of the LC IA:1 period. The chequerboard decoration with cross hatched squares around the upper shoulder and the parallel lines and lozenge chains trailing below the

⁶² ÅSTRÖM (1972b, 678) followed KARAGEORGHIS (1965, fig. 28) in assigning some of the PWS to WS I style. However, the 11 White Slip vessels in this tomb are all Phase 2 PWS.

⁶³ On showing a photograph of this scarab to Daphna Ben Tor, she considered that this was a typical 13th Dynasty type.

chequerboard are also typical of PWS (eg., Pen-dayia, KARAGEORGHIS 1965: 34, fig. 12; Akhera, *ibid.*: 93, fig. 28:70, 86 [here Fig. 9b]). This discovery solidifies the presence of this ware in the North-west region, as up till now we only have a few examples of PWS; all of which had originally been classified as WS I (see ERIKSSON 2001a: 55).

Furthermore, as we have discovered in other parts of Cyprus, the majority of the pottery associated with the PWS in this layer of the tomb belongs to the MC III ceramic typology (Black Slip IV and Black Slip V plain and incised vessels).⁶⁵ Yet, and not unexpectedly, there are also signs of the LC IA:1 period (Monochrome/PBR bowl).⁶⁶ A LM IA cup (Fig. 44a) was also recorded in Stratum VI among this group of pottery in the northern part of the chamber, located around three skulls and some long bones.⁶⁷

This discovery, of an LM IA cup with spiral design,⁶⁸ is of major interest. It has excellent parallels with the LM IA spiral cups from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chamber 1.⁶⁹ We should also note (with some reservations relating to disturbance of the layer contents) that it was found directly underneath the WS I 'RLFL' bowl (Fig. 17);⁷⁰ a Bichrome Wheel-made krater,⁷¹ and a PBR/Black Slip jug,⁷² all assigned to Stratum V.⁷³ This is all very significant as, taken at face value, the evidence of Stratum VI must indicate that LM IA overlaps with the beginning of LC IA culture, that is LC IA:1. I do not feel that there can be a challenge to this association, based on arguments about the reliability of the tomb's stratigraphy or on the factors which lay behind the final resting place of the objects. The information from Stratum VI does therefore appear to support the argument of the excavators (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 393) of nearby *Toumba tou Skourou* and MANNING (1999, 145) which associates the LM IA material with the earlier local material of LC IA:1 date in *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chamber 1. However, as mentioned, we

should note in relation to this tomb that there are issues relating to the reliability of the evidence due to disturbances and movement within the tomb.

It does not follow from this, however, that LM IA should be limited exclusively to the LC IA:1 period. On the contrary, we shall argue from other evidence that LM IA overlaps with both LC IA:1 and LC IA:2. When the total material regarding LM IA in Cyprus is put together, there is no evidence which would support an exclusive association of LM IA with only one of the LC IA Cypriot periods. Notwithstanding this, however, the weight of the evidence would still lean to a closer association of the majority of LM IA ceramics with the LC IA:2 period (see also Chapter III). One key point here is that there are BR I bowls (QUILICI 1990, nos. 449, 450) and White Painted (WP) VI ware (*ibid.*, no. 451) recorded in Stratum VI and there is also a second LM IA cup in the following Stratum V (Fig. 44c).⁷⁴

Finally, we should note that there is another example of PWS at Stratum V in Quilici's Ayia Irini tomb. Our analysis shows that there is a WP V everted rim bowl (*ibid.*, no. 447) in the preceding stratum; this has a successor in another bowl (*ibid.*, no. 290), which we would classify as PWS. This supports the general thesis of links between WP V with the PWS discussed elsewhere (ERIKSSON 2001a, 53).

3.d LC IA:1 occupation at Hala Sultan Tekke *Vyzakia*

Early settlement of Hala Sultan Tekke around the beginning of LC IA:1 is apparent from the significant presence of material of MC III–LC IA:1 character. However, the nature and extent of that period at Hala Sultan Tekke has yet to be revealed by the current excavations. Suffice to note that PWS is present along with other MC III/LC IA:2 wares in and around Area 6 (see plan in HST 2001, fig. 72), which indicates the use of the area contemporary with the foundation of Enkomi to the north-east.⁷⁵

⁶⁴ See plan of Stratum VI (QUILICI 1990, 121, fig. 320) where no. 355 is shown in the southeast of the trench.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 410, 428, 431, 434, 446.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 444.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, figs. 319; 320:LXIII–LXVI; 325.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 427.

⁶⁹ VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, nos. 494, 497, 498, 500, figs. 168, 169.

⁷⁰ QUILICI 1990, no. 241.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, no. 243.

⁷² *Ibid.*, no. 242.

⁷³ See plan of this stratum (*ibid.*, figs. 198, 199) and the detailed photographs (figs 202, 203).

⁷⁴ Other finds of interest in this lowest Level are the Babylonian cylinder seal (*ibid.*, no. 422), faience vessels (*ibid.*, nos. 426, 435) and bronze weapons (*ibid.*, nos. 414, 452). All these items indicate contacts and habits about the lifestyle of the initial occupants of the tomb of an international nature.

⁷⁵ See E. ÅSTRÖM 1983, figs. 225; 245: row I:1, 3; row 2: 2, 3, 4; row 3: 3; ÅSTRÖM and HERSCHER BROWN 1989, figs. 92: bottom left corner; 111: bottom left corner; ÅSTRÖM and NYS 2001, fig. 78 row 3:2 uncertain); see also FRANKEL and CATLING 1976, pl. XL:34.

3.e 'PWS' at Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 104

Despite my earlier (ERIKSSON 2001a, 57) suggestion that PWS may be present in this tomb complex, one must accept the excavator's (Karageorghis pers. comm.) comment that the fabric and finish of these vessels is that of WS I. Not only was the shape of the vessels of interest in terms of PWS classification; that is, a spouted bowl (Fig. 16c); and a round based jug (Fig. 16b); there were also elements of the decoration – the use of 'Rope Lattice'; hatched square chequerboard pattern; and, on the jug, the use of open circles. However, the designs are carefully executed in a more detailed way by comparison with PWS. It is thus clear that these vessels, as well as many others of the WS I found in this tomb, belong to the WS I 'RL' group (see Chapter III.3, Table 9, Fig. 16a). There is, therefore, no PWS in this tomb.

In concluding this section on Phase 2 PWS in Cyprus, we wish to stress that even taking into account the evidence from the sites mentioned above, when we consider the overall situation in Cyprus, the discovered output of PWS is small. Thus, for example, in the northwest at the sites of Ayia Irini and *Stephania*, there are only a few examples of Phase 2 PWS. Whilst we have one example of PWS Phase 1 at *Stephania* (see above), the only other vessels with designs which may be associated with PWS are the ones with the 'Floating X-Hatched Lozenges'.⁷⁶ There is, however, the possibility that an examination of the sherd material will produce more. This group could be the output of a single potter. What we can conclude is that, it is thus quite possible that the production (as distinct from distribution) of PWS was localized and concentrated in only certain parts of Cyprus. This is in stark contrast to the later extensive production of 'mature' WS I and particularly WS II ware which were island wide.

4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF CONFLICT IN CYPRUS DURING LC IA:1

Although LC IA:1 was a period of creativity and expansion for Cyprus, MERRILLEES (1965; 1971 with further references), ÅSTRÖM (1972c) and others

argue that this was also a period of significant internal conflict and regionalism within the island. It is believed that several battles took place between the different cultural groups. The major conflicts are believed to have occurred before the successful takeover of much of the east of the island by the Cypriots from the western sector, as evidenced by the ousting of "lingering Middle Cypriot wares ... by typical Late Cypriot fabrics such as Base-ring I and White Slip I" (MERRILLEES 1965, 147). Whatever the cause, it is clear that there was a period of fierce fighting throughout the island. Mass burials from this historical period have been identified in the West, the centre and the East of the island, for example – at Pendaγia (Tomb 1 lower), *Stephania* (Tomb 12), Ayios Iakovos (Tombs 8, 10, 12, 14), Nitovikla (Tombs 2, 10, 12(2)), Milia Tomb 11, and also at Enkomi.

It is indisputable that a number of destructive events occurred over this period of time. Thus, the original Middle Cypriot foundation of Enkomi was destroyed; this was followed by the Level I occupation in the Late Cypriot period, which itself suffered two catastrophes. The discovery of PWS⁷⁷ in the destruction level at Episkopi *Phaneromeni* (HERSCHER 1991, 45), makes this event slightly earlier than the Level IA destruction at Enkomi (where WS I has appeared as well).⁷⁸ It may be contemporary with the Level A destruction at Enkomi which DIKAIOS (1969–71, 479) aligns with the "signs of unrest at the end of MC III" observed at other sites. Other sites like the fortresses at *Nitovikla* and *Nikolidhes* also showed evidence of destruction. However, while the former's destruction was originally dated to the end of the MC, its construction has now been redated to LC IB and considered to be approximately contemporary with the fortress of *Nikolidhes* (HULT 1992, 73, 74; 2001, 212). It appears, however, that we are justified in speculating that there were aggressive actions which covered a significant part of the island at various points during the LC IA:1 period.

Turning now to the mass burials, they are found in a number of tombs over the island which have been thought to indicate that some drastic event or

⁷⁶ HENNESSY 1963, Tomb 5 no. 7, pl. 32:7.

⁷⁷ KARAGEORGHIS (1977, 747) reports that there is "un quantité considérable de fabrique Proto White Slip (fig. 70)".

⁷⁸ At the site of Episkopi *Phaneromeni* on the south coast, Red Polished wares predominated. The lack of White

Painted wares are in stark contrast to sites like Kalopsidha and Enkomi. Yet, at *Phaneromeni* the presence of considerable amounts of PWS in the final layers gave a date for the destruction towards the end of LC IA:1 (see HERSCHER 1991, 45).

events (such as plague or internal or external military aggression) occurred on the island. As KNAPP (1986, 71) observed, “Fortifications, mass burials, and increased finds of weaponry suggest a break with the relatively peaceful patterns of the past.” From the earliest observations in the archaeological record of the disturbances during this period of the island’s life, archaeologists have tried to link the destructions and mass burials with the internal conflicts which occurred in Cyprus during the LC IA period.

For example, ÅSTRÖM (1972c, 50–1) makes the following observations in relation to a number of fortifications and the destruction of them:

The fortifications in various parts of Cyprus in LC I also indicate that this must have been a period of unrest. There were also isolated military forts at Nikolidhes and Enkomi (Phlamoudhi could now be excluded), and large refuge sites at Nitovikla, Asomatos and Karpasha, while fortified settlements have been observed at Ayios Sozomenos, Ayios Thyrsos, Dhavlos, Dhikomo and Rizokarpaso. A chart of the distribution of the fortresses shows that these occurred not only in the Kyrenia range and the Karpass peninsula, but also on the central plain. Two of these fortresses, Dhikomo and Asomatos, were occupied from the Early Cypriote to the Late Cypriote period. The fortress at Ayios Sozomenos, in the centre of the island, may date back to the Middle Cypriote period. The refuge site of Krini, to the south-west of the Kyrenia range, has not yet been excavated but was apparently only occupied in the Middle Bronze Age and abandoned or destroyed at the end of that period. There were other signs of unrest in the final phase of the Middle Bronze Age. Lapithos was probably destroyed at about this time, as the cemetery went out of use. The inhabitants of the western part the Island may have tried to take possession of the important Kyrenia pass, through which the copper trade passed. Enkomi flourished from the beginning of the LC IA, following the destructions of Lapithos and Krini, and there may be some connection between all these events.

5. PWS AT TELL EL-DAB^{ca}

One of the most important discoveries of Cypriot PWS was outside the island at Tell el-Dab^{ca} in Egypt. Here, the presence of Phase 2 PWS is very significant (see BIETAK and HEIN 2001). There seems little doubt that by this time, the Hyksos power was extensive, trade with the outside world reached a high level and that northern Egypt must have been a

cosmopolitan and wealthy centre – especially at Avaris. As HOLLADAY (1997, 201) says:

More dimension is added by considering Kamose II’s description of the harbour at Avaris: crowded with “... [Three hundred] ... ships of new cedar, filled with gold, lapis lazuli, silver, turquoise, and countless battle axes of metal apart from moringa-oil, incense, fat, honey, *itren*-wood, *sesedjem*-wood, wooden *planks*, all there valuable timber and all the good produce of Retenu” ... This clearly is not an exhaustive list, and may only refer to status goods of interest to the Upper Egyptian Court. ... The key point, however is that at some time during the shipping season...300 cedar ships (i.e. North Syrian ships) are in harbour with characteristic exports of Retenu. ... the staggering fact that 300 seagoing vessels could simultaneously be in port points to a – probably *the* – key economic significance of Avaris.

Much of this shipping trade was with, or through, Cyprus. Through a study of the ceramics, FORSTNER-MÜLLER (2003, 170) has come to a similar conclusion in relation to the importance of Tell el-Dab^{ca} during the Hyksos period:

Tell el-Dab^{ca} appears to have become an economic and administrative nucleus for at least the Eastern Delta. The social structure of the population seems to have consolidated into a new political unit. The traditional supply lines were interrupted as is perhaps implied by the deterioration by bronze, which during the Hyksos time changes to arsenic-copper (probably a result of recycling of old weapons).

She draws these conclusions from an examination of TeY ware and their production throughout the eastern Mediterranean (FORSTNER-MÜLLER, 2003, 170):

It seems that Tell el-Dab^{ca} has become a centre of pottery production. Only large containers used for transport (amphorae) are still imported (mainly fabric IV-2-c). Cyprus has become a new important trading partner.

There are different patterns for the distribution for the pottery types: The Tell-el Yahudya juglets can be found from Syria and Cyprus to Kerma, they are however rarely found in Egypt outside the Eastern Delta. ... A remarkable unity in the material culture of the Eastern Delta is evident. ...

This might indicate some kind of mass production in the central Hyksos area caused by political changes and an increase in population.

At Tell el-Dab^{ca}, there are a number of PWS sherds, all but one with the typical ‘Rope Lattice’ motif, that can now be attributed to Stratum D/2, the

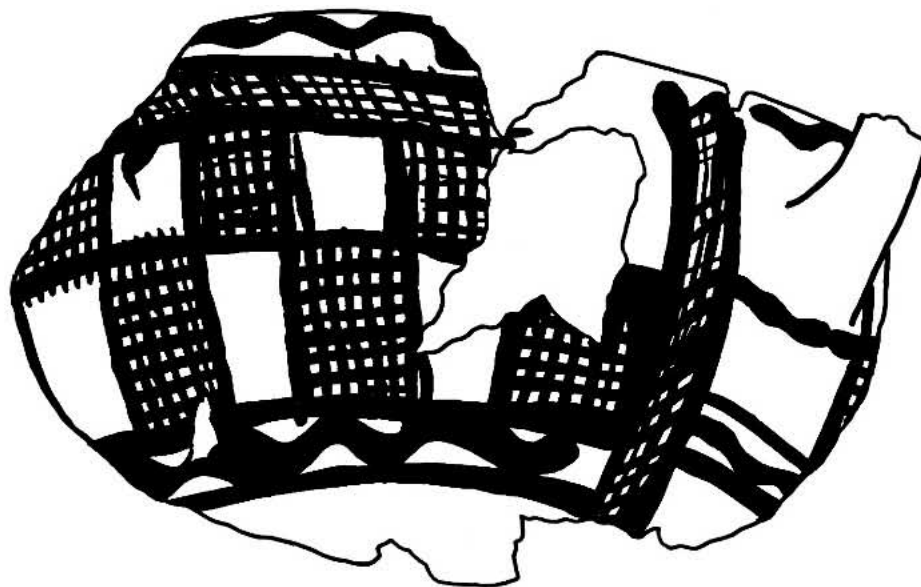


Fig. 11 Fragmentary PWS Phase 2 hemispherical bowl with rope lattice and chequerboard pattern from Tell el-Dab^ca A/II – n/10, Grab 1 (after PF 1994, 217, no. 248). Remaining H. 7.4 cms

last Hyksos occupation level.⁷⁹ One of these, a bowl (2100) was found in the pithos burial of an infant and comes from Grave 1 in a stratified context of area A/II, square n/10 (Fig. 11).⁸⁰ The design on this bowl fragment is identical with that on Akhera *Paradisi* Tomb 1:86 (Fig. 9b); Pendayia Tomb 2⁸¹ and *Stephania* Tomb 14A:S.120 (Fig. 6), which all incorporate the ‘Latticed Square Chequerboard’ motif. We should note that there were a number of other PWS sherds from Tell el-Dab^ca, but they were in unstratified or disturbed contexts (see BIETAK and HEIN 2001).

These White Slip discoveries were among the hundreds of sherds of Cypriot origin recorded at Tell el-Dab^ca since the Austrian Institute excavations directed by Bietak began in 1966. We wish to refer specifically to the work of Louise Maguire, who has studied over 500 Middle and Late Cypriot sherds from the Tell el-Dab^ca excavations, which I have also seen (MAGUIRE 1995, 54). Amongst these were the PWS and WS I ceramics found at the site in the excavated areas of Tell el-Dab^ca and of ^cEzbet Helmi.

The comparison of these two sites is of great historical importance. In Tell el-Dab^ca, PWS occurs during the final period of the Hyksos occupation; this comes to an end with the abandonment of the Stratum D/2 structures. It is significant that there is

no sign of destruction (BIETAK 1989, 79). On the other hand, ^cEzbet Helmi (BIETAK 1992) seems to demonstrate a continuous occupation of the site from the Hyksos period, into the early 18th Dynasty and through to Thutmosis III. However, there is no evidence of PWS in any stratified context. How can this be explained?

Recently, I have developed the following observations by Maguire on this issue (see ERIKSSON 2001a, 57; *id.*, 2001c, 54). Firstly, one must agree fully with MAGUIRE’s (1995, 54) observation about the complete contrast between the Cypriot assemblages of the Hyksos period Tell el-Dab^ca excavations and those from New Kingdom ^cEzbet Helmi, located on the other side of the Didamun canal to the north-west. Secondly, my own notes indicate that the Cypriot assemblage from Tell el-Dab^ca in areas A/II, A/IV, A/V and F/I is substantially different to the one we get at ^cEzbet Helmi in areas H/I, H/II and H/III. The Tell el-Dab^ca assemblage is very strongly Middle Cypriot, characterized in the main by WP CLS, WP PLS, WP IV, WP V, WP IV–V, RoB, Black Slip Reserved Slip (see MAGUIRE 1995, figs. 5–8). Thirdly, we can reiterate the observation made by MAGUIRE (1991, 64) that these are predominantly southeastern Cypriot styles.

⁷⁹ See BIETAK and HEIN 2001, figs. 2, 7–8, sherd nos: 7943H, 1169, 2100, 7945U, 8477 Z, 8559E.

⁸⁰ BIETAK 1991, 312, fig. 288:4; PF 1994, 217, no. 248.

⁸¹ KARAGEORGHIS 1965, pl. 4:1, bottom right corner.

It is true that there is a slight overlap with the ^cEz-bet Helmi Cypriot assemblage, but not one consistent with what one might expect, if there were a direct historical follow on. It seems that there is a gap and that there is a historical explanation for this situation.⁸² The above observations thus relate to certain historical events, as already referred to in the Introduction. The Hyksos were expelled from their capital Avaris during the reign of Ahmose, the first pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty. Up to that point, we find PWS at Tell el-Dab^ca. There is then a clear and substantial break, after which we get some early WS I ‘RL’, but predominantly later forms of WS I appearing in a mid-18th Dynasty (ca Thutmose III) deposit at the site.⁸³ It allows us to draw certain dramatic conclusions about events at Tell el-Dab^ca, and the interconnections between Cyprus and Egypt during this time. We believe that this significant break at the former Hyksos capital gives us an important clue to the first appearances of WS I (see Chapter III).

6. PWS AT MEGIDDO AND TELL EL-^cAJJUL

It is of great significance that we find examples of PWS wares in the Canaan region, because this region clearly had trade and other links with Cyprus, even before the LC period. PWS is found at a few sites in the area: Megiddo, Tell el-^cAjjul, Hazor and Pella, while WS I is more commonly found throughout the region (see eg., GITTLEN 1977; BERGOFFEN 1989; NEGBI 1989; OREN 2001). We have already mentioned the material at Tell el-^cAjjul, which is critical to the issue of the first appearance of WS I.

GITTLEN (1977, 402–3) referred to these matters as early as 1977 when he stated: “Proto White Slip bowls in stratified deposits at Tell el-^cAjjul City II and Megiddo Stratum IX give evidence of an early LB IA date for the arrival of PWS in Palestine.” More specifically, he (*ibid.*, 403) nominates the time as at the earliest phase of City II and maybe at end

of City III, at the conclusion of the MB IIC. “It would appear that this rare ceramic was at the end of its production life when its importation to Palestine occurred.”

6.a The PWS in Stratum X at Megiddo

This site at Megiddo was vital to Popham’s initial thesis that PWS was a formative stage before WS I. He reported findings of a Phase 2 PWS in a structure of Stratum X; here the ware appeared after, or slightly overlapping with, WP IV–V, but before BR I. The main points in relation to the Stratum X presence of PWS at Megiddo are that examples of WP III–IV CLS⁸⁴ and PLS⁸⁵ are found at the site and attributed to Stratum XI. Another WP III–IV PLS jug is attributed to Stratum X.⁸⁶

An analysis of the Cypriot ceramics from Stratum X led ÅSTRÖM (1972a, 271) to the conclusion that it covered the end of MC III and the beginning of LC IA. The earlier Stratum XI seems to be the clear horizon for the MC wares and we may also note the presence of TeY ware in this level.⁸⁷ In Stratum X BiW-m ware makes a dramatic appearance where it is well represented,⁸⁸ continuing on into Stratum IX.⁸⁹

Apart from the WP III–IV PLS jug⁹⁰ said to be from Stratum X, and the bowl of PWS,⁹¹ there is also WP V/VI,⁹² WP VI,⁹³ and some other MC wares.⁹⁴ It is in Stratum IX that we have the earliest appearance of BR I ware,⁹⁵ as well as of Chocolate on White ware.⁹⁶ Two Monochrome bowls are also attributed to Stratum IX.⁹⁷

We should note that GITTLEN (1977, 113) tried to dismiss the PWS from Stratum X Room 4021 on the basis that the room had no lime plaster paving and that the separation between Strata X and IX in Room 4021 varied by as much as 1–2 cms to 45 cms. He concluded that the assemblage could have come from Stratum IX, which would give it a LB I date. However, this argument is poor – the PWS Phase 2

⁸² The only other overlap between the two excavated areas is represented by material from the disturbed layers at Tell el-Dab^ca, which include PWS, WP V, WP VI, Bichrome, BR I, Black Lustrous and Red Lustrous wares. For example, there is a RLW-m sherd from a broad shouldered spindle bottle (Type VIA1a), which is typologically early in the sequence of RLW-m; but its location in F/I-1/16 is considered to be intrusive. The BR I bowl rim in a Level above it, F/I-i/22, probably has the same fate, although it was once considered to show the presence of BR I at Tell el-Dab^ca in Hyksos times.

⁸³ This thesis is fully developed in Chapter III.

⁸⁴ LOUD 1948, pl. 34:4, 8, 9.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 34:12, 13.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 46:11.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 32:31, 32.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 39.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pls. 48–9.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 46:11.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 45:21.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pl. 42:1.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pl. 41:32.

⁹⁴ See ÅSTRÖM 1972a, 271.

⁹⁵ LOUD 1948, pl. 51:1.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 54:11, 18.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 54:21–22.

bowl could very easily belong to Stratum X assemblage (see also OREN 2001, 129). Its association with MB III material culture in Stratum X finds confirmation with the evidence from Stratum D/2 at Tell el-Dab^a and elsewhere.

There is no doubt that Stratum X, on the basis of the local and imported material, could cover from the end of MC III into the beginning of LC IA, as Åström suggested. The above evidence permits us to conclude that LC IA:1 was in part contemporary with the MB III/LB I character of Stratum X and that it had commenced before the end of the Hyksos period.

6.b The PWS at Tell el-^cAjjul in Canaan

One of the most important issues in Late Cypriot archaeology relates to the nature and quantity of Cypriot pottery from Tell el-^cAjjul when compared with that from Tell el-Dab^a in the eastern Delta of Egypt. While PWS was appearing at a similar time in both Tell el-Dab^a and Tell el-^cAjjul, there are differences which an overall analysis of their Cypriot ceramic assemblages reveals. That PWS occurs at both sites reflects the fact that in the latter part of the Second Intermediate Period, there were strong interconnections between Hyksos rulers at Tell el-Dab^a with the people of the southern Levant. Thus, in relation to imports from Egypt to this region during this period, OREN (1997b, 271, 275) says:

The sites in southern Canaan are replete with imported Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects of Second Intermediate Period date, ... The abundance of Egyptianizing artifacts surely testifies to the high degree of cultural interaction with the Delta Kingdom of the Fifteenth Dynasty (KEMPINSKI 1992a)... The archaeological record from northern Sinai has added a new dimension to the enigmatic issue of cross-cultural exchanges between southern Canaan and the Nile Delta. The ceramic testimony is most revealing. ... Canaanite and Egyptian pottery, which reflects the level and nature of economic interaction with the outlying regions of southern Canaan and the eastern Nile Delta, is almost equally distributed (32% and 34% respectively) throughout the sites.

We shall discuss this historical development in detail in Chapter VII.1. In the meantime, it should be noted that the close association between the Hyksos and the Canaanites is reflected in the fact that both centres had Middle Cypriot and (generally later) PWS wares. Substantial evidence for this is provided by MAGUIRE (1991, 1994).

Maguire's work for her 1986 PhD dissertation

involved a study of: *The Circulation of Cypriot Pottery in the Middle Bronze Age*. She (MAGUIRE 1991, 64) was able to draw important conclusions on this issue, such as: "Of the White Painted tradition, Pendent Line Style, Cross Line Style and White Painted V style, predominantly southeastern styles, form the largest component of exported pottery at over thirty sites in the Levant and at Tell el-Dab^a, Egypt..."

OREN (1997b, 271) also testifies to the fact that "Characteristic Middle Cypriot Bronze Age wares like White Painted IV-VI and Red-on-Black are indeed plentiful at sites along the southern coast, particularly at Tell el-^cAjjul and Tel Ridan..." These and other investigations support the view that both societies had significant trading relations with Cyprus during this LC IA:1 period. This should be understood in the context of the very strong trading and economic relations that existed between the two centres themselves. As OREN (1997b, 279) says:

The vivid list in Kamose II's stele of "all the good produce of Retenu" that reached the large harbor at Avaris provides us with some idea of the scale of exports from southwestern Canaan. We are thus dealing with two integrated socioeconomic systems that operated simultaneously, as if in two concentric circles, between the Sharuhén bloc and the Delta kingdom. The outer system represents a state-run trade network, concentrated on bulk commodities that made their way to Avaris from the harbors of Ashkelon and Tell el-^cAjjul. The inner circle represents the northern Sinai overland economic system, which operated in a highly specialized ecological niche and involved a totally different code of socioeconomic relationships between the local pastoralists and donkey caravaneers.

However, as we have already indicated, this parallel phenomenon whereby Middle Cypriot and PWS wares arrived at both Tell el-Dab^a and Tell el-^cAjjul came to a sudden end. We then have a period when the first forms of WS I wares (Rope Lattice Group) appear plentifully at Tell el-^cAjjul, but only rarely at Tell el-Dab^a. As indicated in Chapter I.5, real issues arise about the dating of WS I with the 'Rope Lattice' ('RL') motif, comparable with the WS I 'RL' bowl from Thera, prior to the destruction of City IIb/City III of Tell el-^cAjjul attributed to a campaign of Ahmose. According to OREN (2001, 139), of the 15 WS I sherds marked with a findspot, the evidence suggests that the first appearance of WS I is in City IIa of early LB IA date. However, the situation in Palace I is different, according to BERGOFFEN (2001a) who dates WS I to the MB IIC horizon. We shall discuss these extensively in Chapter III.

There is thus a need to explain why, at the end of the late Hyksos period at Tell el-Dab^ca/Avaris, the Cypriot imports consist of largely MC III style (particularly WP PLS and CLS, see MAGUIRE 1991, 1994) with some early LC IA:1 pottery (PWS); whilst in the contemporary period at Tell el-^cAjjul, just three days walking distance from Avaris, the Cypriot imports at this exact same time – according to BERGOFFEN (1989; 2001a; 2001b) – consist not only of the PWS (LC IA:1 period), but also of WS I ‘RL’ (LC IA:2 period).

In this book, we have sought to explain this apparent difference between Tell el-Dab^ca and Tell el-^cAjjul by proposing a situation whereby, whilst Avaris was under siege by the Theban armies under Khamose and then Ahmose, Tell el-^cAjjul took over its Cypriot connections and that this coincided with the first appearance of WS I ‘RL’ style. This thesis is further developed in Chapter III.7.

We should also note here the observation of BOURKE (1981, 47) that the large quantity of WS I at Tell el-^cAjjul needs some further explanation, “...when contrasted with the virtual absence of the ware at Megiddo, Hazor and Lachish, all large and extensively dug sites.” He takes up STEWART’s (1974, 120, n. 20) reconstruction, which has Tell el-^cAjjul as the major importing centre for Cypriot copper.

In overall terms, WS ware at Tell el-^cAjjul can be summed up so: when we look at the rim motifs of the published PWS and WS I material (PETRIE 1931–34; MERRILLEES 1974a; BERGOFFEN 1989; 2001a; 2002), we can see that the ‘Rope Lattice’ band is most common (about 20 examples), followed by the ‘Ladder Framed Lozenge’ band (about seven examples); a motif discussed here in relation to other sites, such as Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* and Phylakopi on Melos. This is definitive evidence which links some Tell el-^cAjjul material with the northwest (Rope Lattice Group) and also the south coast (Ladder Band Framed Lozenge) regions of Cyprus. It is highly relevant to the transition from the LC IA:1 to the LC IA:2 periods.

7. CYPRUS AND THE MINOAN CIVILIZATION DURING LC IA:1

Apart from a single and very significant PWS sherd from the site of Miletus (NIEMEIER 1997, 235, fig. 66); there are no other examples of PWS discovered in the Aegean. Yet, as we shall discuss in Chapters III and VI, there is a small amount of LM IA pottery found in LC IA:1–LC IA:2 (late SIP to early New Kingdom) contexts in Cyprus. The question now arises: if there is LM IA exported to Cyprus during LC IA:1, does the virtual absence of PWS in the Aegean at

this time signify anything of historical importance? One possible explanation is that historically trade from Cyprus to the Late Minoan civilization only began after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt and concurrently with the LC IA:2 period, that is during the WS I period. Prior to that time, there was trade between the Minoans and Cyprus, but it was only one directional – from the Aegean into the island. However, this explanation is not supported by other evidence from Crete.

The problem here is that the amount of LM IA in Cyprus prior to the LC IA:2 (New Kingdom) is very small. We do not dispute that, sometime during the first part of the LBA in Cyprus, there was a transit point for trade between the Minoans and Egypt (as well as the Syro-Palestinian area). In this regard, it is generally assumed that the route through Cyprus was by far the most common method for the sea-going trade between the Minoans and Egypt – although there may have been some more direct voyages. However, this does not mean that there were a significant number of such transit links with Cyprus prior to the LC IA:2. WARREN (1995, 10) explains the complexity of the situation so:

A question of fundamental importance for understanding the relationships between Crete and Egypt is the direction of the shipment of goods: were there direct exchanges, Crete-Egypt, Egypt-Crete, or were they indirect, conducted through intermediaries of the Levantine states and Cyprus? Minoan foreign connections were developed with Anatolia, Cyprus and the Near East as well as with Egypt, and among all of these states of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages there were complex and multiple interconnections in the flow of goods, ideas and influences. Indeed the Minoan (and a little later the Mycenaean) palatial economy is the westernmost manifestation of a form which is essentially the same over the whole area of Anatolia, the Levant, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Each had its distinctive emphases (the Hittites and Mycenaeans military and religious, Egypt military and religious with an extraordinary range of technological competence, the Levantine states entrepreneurial, Crete a profound interaction of the aesthetic with the natural environment, through religion), though all were politically pyramidal, palace-centred, redistributive with varying degrees of mercantile interest and freedom, and all promoted interconnections.

We can confidently say, however, that in this complex picture, the interconnection between the Minoans, Cypriots and Egypt was of paramount importance during the major part of the first half of the Late

Bronze Age. Warren's evidence does not, however, establish that, during LC IA:1, prior to the beginning of the New Kingdom in Egypt, we have significant numbers of Egyptian objects appearing in Crete, and Cretan influences in Egypt. WARREN (*ibid.*, 13) outlines the alleged Minoan link with Hyksos Egypt so:

In the Hyksos or Second Intermediate Period, connections appear to have extended well beyond the economic or primary category to the political and symbolic. ... Apophis' dagger, Khyan's inscribed lid (and presumably the alabaster jar too) and the paintings of Tell el-Dab^a comprising the evidence, while a Hyksos period scarab from Knossos, probably 15th Dynasty, belongs to the class of secondary materials (WARREN 1980–1, 89 and fig. 47; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990, 211 no. 68, and pl. 45, no. 68; Phillips 1991a no. 173).

The main evidence here is that from Tell el-Dab^a, as provided by BIETAK (1995; 2003), which refers to the famous Minoan wall paintings. The wall paintings, attributed stylistically to the LM IA period, are said to testify, not only to the commercial links between the two societies, but also to a high level of cultural interchange and interaction. BIETAK (1995, 26) sums up his reasons for classifying them as Minoan so:

The themes, technique and style of the paintings can be proven to be Minoan. Features that typify Minoan painting, such as the mixed technique of fresco and secco, the planning of the borders by the device of pressure strings into the wet plaster, and the outlining of figures for heightened effect (compare with the so-called 'Parisienne' at Knossos) are all present at Tell el-Dab^a. Even the convention of using blue colour to indicate partially shaved heads (well known from the Theran frescoes) is attested on one bull leaper at Tell el-Dab^a. The quality of the paintings is very high, as is evident from the fine lines and vivacity of style, not to mention the polishing of the surfaces.

The first appearance of these wall paintings had initially been ascribed to the Hyksos period, (BIETAK 1995, 26). However, in more recent publications, the stratigraphy and associated finds have been further evaluated and the level with the discarded wall painting fragments is now dated to the Thutmoside era (e.g., BIETAK 2003, 29, fig. 1). Therefore, the key discovery on which WARREN relied to link the Hyksos

and the Aegean during LC IA:1 no longer seems valid. The question itself however remains open.

8. TRANSITION FROM PWS PHASE 2 TO WS I

It is important that, on both sides of Cyprus, we can observe a transition from PWS to WS I (although there are differences in the nature of the change).

8.a The transition at Enkomi

We have already referred to the fact that, at Level A in Areas III and I at Enkomi, the associated ceramics belong to the MC III period (see DIKAIOS 1971, 441–2). This early Phase is of great interest from the perspective of Cyprus' foreign relations. This Level exhibits similarities with the ceramics of Tell el-Dab^a Stratum D/2, as well as with Megiddo Stratum XI and part of Stratum X. What strikes us here is that, at the earliest Levels of the Enkomi site, we have the introduction of LC IA:1 ceramics, including Phase 2 of PWS (Figs. 18a–d, 25a–d; Tables 6–7). The archaeological history is interesting here, as was explained in an earlier paper. (ERIKSSON 2001a, 55–6):

...when Popham was trying to assess the relative chronology of the PWS, he only had the stratified evidence from Megiddo and information about one sherd of PWS from the [unpublished recent] excavations at Enkomi. The information given to POPHAM suggested that PWS appeared at the site prior to the introduction of WS I. With the publication of his excavations, DIKAIOS (1969–71) has provided the full details of the Level I occurrences of PWS, of which there was more than one [see Figs. 18a–d, 25a–d].

It seemed to follow, with the full publication, that the progression from PWS to WS I was not as definitive in the east of the island, as one would have liked: that is, if we are to accept the general argument that PWS is the formative stage of the WS series. In the earliest levels of the Late Cypriote period, Level IA, LC I ceramics appear including Phase 2 PWS. In Areas III (*ibid.*, 549, 552, fortress room 111:2933/20, 21, 24 & 4107/8) and I (*ibid.*, 546, room 117:2288/1; room 121:2247/1) some sherds are found between the bedrock and the first floor. However, [in Area III] WS I also occurs in between the bedrock and the earliest floors (*ibid.*, 547, room 101:2303/4; 551, room 103:3781/1; 553, fortress south stoa:4670/1).⁹⁸

⁹⁸ See CREWE (*fc*) who has put forward an argument "that Area I building was constructed earlier (LC IA1) than the Area III building (LC IA2)...".

Rm	52	112*	117	118A	119	121	135	136	Comments
Level IA									
PWS			2288/1						'RL' rim w. pendent lozenge framed by open circles, Fig. 18a
						2247/1			'RL' rim, Fig. 18b
						*			One sherd (CREWE <i>fc</i> , Table 3)
Level IA End									
TeY								2283/1	
Level IB									
WS I					2162/1				B/s w. fine dotted style, Fig. 18f
Level IB mid									
PWS					2175/1				B/s w. 'RL' rim design w. pendent RL and two open circles placed vertically, Fig. 18c
WS I					2175				Two sherds. Information from L. Crewe
					2163				Two sherds. Information from L. Crewe
								1024	One sherd. Information fom L. Crewe
Level IB End									
PWS			2205						Two sherds. Information from L. Crewe
					2163				Information from L. Crewe
WS I		5830/1							'FDR' rim with pendent dotted row, Fig. 18g
			2205/1						'RLFL' rim w. third rope lattice band below, Fig. 18d
			2205						Four sherds. Information from L. Crewe
			2181						One sherd. Information from L. Crewe
					2134/1				'RLFL' rim style, Fig. 18e
		2233							Two sherds. Information from L. Crewe
		2235							One sherd. Information from L. Crewe
				2156					One sherd. Information from L. Crewe
							2287		One sherd. Information from L. Crewe
								2095	One sherd. Information from L. Crewe
								CREWE (<i>fc</i> , table 3) lists 17 sherds from Level IB	
WS II									See CREWE (<i>fc</i> , tables 2–3) where 13 sherds are listed

* Room 112 considered unuseable by CREWE (*fc*) because of 'severe disturbance'

Table 6 Distribution of PWS, WS I and TeY wares in Area I Levels IA and IB at Enkomi

Thus, two distinct Phases were observed in the Level I building in Area I and in the Fortress of Area III. Both of these Phases ended in destruction or catastrophe. But what of the problem in Level IA? This can be resolved as follows: although we have both PWS and WS I here, they do not occur together in any of these contexts in Level IA. So we remain consistent with the general chronological thesis, provided that we view the development within the rooms separately. This is exactly the conclusion that DIKAIOS (*ibid.*, 225) reached in relation to the PWS sherds found in Level I, and the basis of the information he gave to POPHAM. There is also the argument now that the construction of the Area I Building preceded the Area III Building. This has been proposed

by CREWE (*fc* with refs) who believes that "the occupation sequence differs in the two areas, with probable continuous occupation in Area III from LC IA2 but a mid LC IB abandonment in Area I (see CREWE 2003 for full discussion)."

However, in all this account of the transition, we should keep in mind that Enkomi was not a major PWS centre. We seem to have only the examples at the bedrock in Areas III and I and appear not to have any earlier examples of WS at Enkomi. Furthermore there is a near total absence of PWS from the numerous tombs excavated at Enkomi. What is the historical reason for this? The most viable explanation is to view the production of PWS as a northwest Cyprus phenomenon as MERRILLEES (1971) and others have

Rm	101	103	104	105	106	107	111	112	114	115	116	118	Comments
Level IA													
PWS	2296												In construction deposit (CREWE fc)
							2933/20- Rm 111 disturbed (CREWE fc)						'RL' rim. Same vessel as 2933/24, Fig. 25a
							2933/21						'RL' rim, Fig. 25c
							2933/24						Same as 2933/20 w. two parallel pendent lines, Fig. 25b
							4107/8 - from 1A end (CREWE fc)						As 2933/20 w. open circle and snake motif, Fig. 25d
WS I	2303/4												B/s w. fine dotted snake motif, Fig. 25e
		3781/1											FWL' rim w. three parallel pendent lines. Bichrome. Fig. 25f
													9 WS I sherds recorded by CREWE (fc, table 3)
Level IA end													
PWS										2460			Information from CREWE (fc, table 3)
WS I													33 sherds recorded by CREWE (fc, table 3)
Level IB early													
WS I	2313/1												B/s w. dotted 'snake' framed by two parallel pendent lines, Fig. 25g
				2358/1									Int. rim w. three parallel and double row of dotted rows, Fig. 25h
													25 WS I sherds recorded by CREWE (fc, table 3)
LM IA										1793/2		1805/1	LM IA spiral cup. Rim and bodysherd prob. from same spiral cup
Level IB													
PWS													One sherd according to CREWE (fc, table 3)
WS I		2336/23											'FWL' rim w. double set of three parallel pendent lines, Fig. 25i
		3786/2											Wishbone handle w. three line motif near tip of handle
			3532/1										'FDR' rim w. double set of two parallel pendent lines and pendent ladder, Fig. 25j
							2369/2						'FL' rim w. two pendent lines. Bichrome. Fig. 25k
									4079/2				'FL' rim w. framed pendent design. Bichrome. Fig. 25l
													192 sherds recorded by CREWE (fc, Table 3); 157 from Rm 103
WS II													One sherd according to CREWE (fc, Table 3)
Level IB advanced													
PWS					2507								One sherd according to CREWE (fc, Tables 2-3)

Table 7 Distribution of PWS and WS I in Area III Levels IA-IB at Enkomi

Rm	101	103	104	105	106	107	111	112	114	115	116	118	Comments
WS I					2504/5								B/s w. pendent framed dotted row w. three parallel pendent lines
Level IB late													
WS I												2380/5	B/s w. parallel line motif
Level IB end													
PWS							4109						One sherd according to CREWE (fe, table 3)
WS I					2510/12								'FWL' rim w. three parallel pendent lines. Bichrome. Fig. 25n
					2510/14								'FDR' rim w. two sets of parallel pendent lines. Bichrome. Fig. 25p
					2511/11								'PL' rim w. four parallel pendent lines, Fig. 25o
							3813/17						B/s w. dotted snake framed by vertical 'FXH'. Fig. 25q
											1256/1		'FL' rim of bowl w. wishbone handle; sets of two parallel pendent lines, Fig. 25m
WS I													82 sherds recorded by CREWE (fe, table 3)
WS II													26 sherds recorded by CREWE (fe, table 3)

Table 7 continued Distribution of PWS and WS I in Area III Levels IA–IB at Enkomi

done – tracing its links back to the White Painted IV–V tradition. This would lead us to the thesis that the PWS found outside of Cyprus, especially at Tell el-^cAjjul, Megiddo and Tell el-Dab^ca were exported from the northwest (although it is still possible that some was exported from the eastern or southern coast of the island).

8.b The transition at *Toumba tou Skourou*

In contrast to Enkomi, where the transition is difficult to trace – *Toumba tou Skourou* provides a vivid and important illustration of the transition from Phase 2 PWS to WS I. At *Toumba tou Skourou*, we begin with the earliest burials, which can be dated to the MC III, and consequently provide the date for the foundation of the settlement, (an event which may be roughly synchronized with Tell el-Dab^ca Stratum D/3). Thus the earliest evidence for occupation at the site is found in Tomb V Chambers 1 and 2; here we have a typical collection of MC III wares. We

also have imported TeY juglets of Hyksos/Semitic origin (as well as local imitations), which illustrate the MC III–LC IA:1 transition. The presence of these ceramics at the site of the earliest *Toumba tou Skourou* tomb must in part be explained by presuming that there was contact between people from this part of Cyprus, either directly with the Hyksos or indirectly via Enkomi. This matter becomes clearer when we consider the additional archaeological evidence.

In an earlier paper, the situation at *Toumba tou Skourou* was described so (ERIKSSON 1992, 214):

The stratigraphy observed in the Mound provided clear evidence for a sequence from MC III through to our LC IA:2, one which can be paralleled in most of the tombs. Whilst the function of the structures is uncertain, the excavators cannot be wrong in describing the site as an “industrial quarter” [VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 23]. In one of the earliest deposits found in square C 12 of the Mound, the

pottery included Black Slip, Black Slip Reserved Slip, Black Slip/Proto BR, Red Polished, WP, Proto WS and Morphou Bay Mottled wares [*ibid.*, 28]. The absence of BR I and WS I (and note the absence of LM IA) determined that it not be given a LC IA:2 date, and whilst it shared similarities with the MC III Tomb V, the presence of Proto BR and Proto WS clearly indicate a LC IA:1 date. ... The evidence from the tombs also shows that at the site BR I ware was introduced after Proto WS ware, but before WS I ware, a situation which is similar to that observed at Kalopsidha by ÅSTRÖM [*ibid.*, 371].

This is a further example which supports our use of WS I, rather than BR I, as the starting point of the LC IA:2 period. Prior to that time, we had the LC

IA:1 period, during which we saw at *Toumba tou Skourou* the introduction of Phase 2 PWS wares. This LC IA:1 period is exemplified in the lowest occupation Level in Square C 12 in the Mound, in the niche burial and chamber of Tomb III, in most of the niche burials in Tomb I and in Tomb I Chamber 1 and Tomb VI. *Toumba tou Skourou*, taken as a whole, thus represents a clear transition from the MC III wares to the LC IA:1 period. After a short time, WS I appears in the repertoire alongside the Proto wares, which gradually then begin to disappear from the archaeological record.

However, what were the events associated with the rise of WS I in Egypt, Canaan and Cyprus itself. We turn to this now.