

VI. FOREIGN ARTEFACTS FOUND IN LATE BRONZE AGE CYPRUS

The general evidence in the last chapter with respect to discoveries in Egypt, Canaan, the Northern Levant, Anatolia, and the Aegean is further illuminated when we consider in more detail the discoveries in Cyprus itself of archaeological material from foreign sources. This material evidence is an important addition to the general picture of the links between Cyprus and the other civilizations. The majority of this chapter will focus on the first part of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age, that is, historical periods 1, 2 and 3 covering the phases Late Cypriot IA and Late Cypriot IB. The final part of this chapter will focus on historical periods 4, 5, 6 and 7, that is, the LC II phases, especially in relation to Mycenaean pottery and Egyptian pottery in Cyprus at the end of the LC IIC. The analysis in this Chapter does not refer to all the available material – which is beyond the scope of this book; rather we discuss important examples of foreign artefacts in Cyprus, which illustrate our general thesis. Many are specific issues on which I have previously published.

In the first part of this chapter, we consider four Cypriot tombs which illustrate the cultural links of Cyprus in the first part of the Cypriot LBA – that is, LC IA:1, LC IA:2 and LC IB. The four tombs are: Tomb V and Tomb I at *Toumba tou Skourou*, Tomb 104/105 at Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* and the Ayia Irini Tomb excavated by QUILICI. We have already discussed these sites in earlier chapter and have noted that they yielded significant local Cypriot pottery. However, they also contain significant non-Cypriot artefacts. There are other tombs in Cyprus which would be included in a comprehensive account; however, these four tombs have been selected because, in our view, they best illustrate the changing nature of the cultural links of Cyprus were during MC III through to LC IB (see also ERIKSSON 2003).

1. TELL EL-YAHUDIYEH WARE AT *TOUMBA TOUT SKOUROU* AND OTHER SITES IN CYPRUS

Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware is a style of pottery that is linked with Hyksos Canaanite culture of the late MB Age. At sites in Cyprus several examples of imported and locally produced TeY ware have been recorded (see KAPLAN 1980; NEGBI 1978). The earliest evidence for occupation at *Toumba tou Skourou* is found in Tomb V Chambers 1 and 2. In this tomb, we have a typical collection of MC III wares associated with

imported and locally made imitations of Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglets. The imported TeY juglet, with incised decoration of birds and lotus blooms the ‘El Lisht’ style, was recorded in Chamber 1 of Tomb V dated to MC III (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 386, T. V.24, pls. 182–183).

The Cypriot pottery from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb V indicates that it was in use during MC III, but no later than this period. A correlation between the TeY ware found in Stratum E/2–1 (ca. 1640–1590 BC) at Tell el-Dab^a with that from Tomb V at *Toumba tou Skourou* was made by BIETAK (1984, 477). This would suggest that MC III is *in part* contemporary with Stratum E/2–1 in Egypt.

Local imitations of TeY ware were also recorded in Tomb V. However, in Tomb I at the same site, which has a high percentage of LC I pottery, there occur only local imitations of the ware (*ibid.*, 386). As this class of fabric is culturally identified with the Hyksos, its presence at the site in the earliest tomb must in part be explained by presuming that there was definite contact between this part of Cyprus, either directly with the Hyksos or via Enkomi. How else can one explain the fact that in Tomb V, which represents the earliest occupation at *Toumba tou Skourou*, we have Tell el-Yahudiyeh and White Painted III–IV Pendant Line Style (PLS) vessels which are characteristic of Hyksos deposits outside of the island.

One may also note that a significant array of weapons which point to the military nature of these associations were also found in the tomb. However, the excavators preferred to rule out war or epidemic as an explanation for the presence of the weapons (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 291). One can ask here: who were the Cypriot people who established the site of *Toumba tou Skourou* and what were their connections with the Hyksos?

The other vessel in Tomb V that is of interest is the only example of White Painted Pendant Line Style at the site (*ibid.*, 1990, 301, T.V:101). This type of vessel is more common on the east of the island and is characteristically found in MB IIC deposits in the Levant and Egypt. In the northwest, it is very rare, and we may note its presence in Pendayia Tomb I (KARAGEORGHIS 1965, fig. 9:30, 126).

This Hyksos connection is also found at Enkomi (French) Tomb 240 where large numbers of White Painted Pendant Line Style and White Painted Cross

Line Style were recorded along with a sherd of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware (COURTOIS 1981, fig. 5:16 no. 57). This sherd from Enkomi is similar to one of the juglets found on Thera (KAPLAN 1980, fig. 93e). There is a further association of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware with White Painted Cross Line Style at Pendayia Tomb 1 (Lower) and in Enkomi (French) Tomb 11 (SCHAEFFER 1936, 140, fig. 30).

ÅSTRÖM (1971, 418) has suggested that three unprovenanced TeY juglets, now in Thera, may have come from a LM IA level at Akrotiri, and thus demonstrate the survival of this form into the early 18th Dynasty – a time which he considered to be contemporary with the LM IA settlement at Akrotiri. However, the stratigraphy and the tombs at *Toumba tou Skourou* suggest an alternative view of the link between TeY and LM IA. We should remember that the change from what is defined as a traditional MC III assemblage occurred with the introduction of the PBR and PWS wares. The excavators (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 393) defined the division between MC III and LC I on the basis of confining el-Lisht/Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware to MC III and Late Minoan IA to LC IA. However, because of the later division of LC IA into two periods, this matter requires further clarification. It seems that Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware appears primarily in the first part of the LC IA:1 period, although some may indeed have occurred during MC III. On the other hand, as we shall discuss extensively in the next two sections, the LM IA material first appears in the last part of LC IA:1, or also during LC IA:2.

These observations at *Toumba tou Skourou* provide us with clear evidence for the chronological precedence of TeY over LM IA. This ties in clearly with the periodic sequence MC III, followed by LC IA:1, followed by LC IA:2. We also see here the progression of the White Slip wares. This began with PWS which was recorded at the site in the earliest levels of the mound excavations, as well as in some of the tombs. We find PWS wares in the lowest occupation level in Squares C12 and D12 of the Mound, in the chamber of Tomb III, and in Tomb I Chamber I and Tomb IV, although the contents of these last two are mixed.

The general impression is that the LC IA:1 period, as evidenced at this site, was short lived and that there was not a long interval of time before WS I appears in the repertoire and PWS disappears very quickly – thus introducing the LC IA:2 period (see Table 8). This fits in with the evidence from Enkomi and Tell el-Dab^{ca}. Of great historical interest here is the fact that the Tell el-Yahudiyeh material at *Toumba tou Skourou* links it with Egypt, as well as the

Aegean and Canaan. The occurrence of the TeY ware in Cyprus coincided with the rapid changes that saw Cyprus move from an agrarian society to an international trading culture. The historical events are discussed in Chapter VII.1.

However, there is an interesting difference between the occurrence of TeY in Cyprus and in Egypt. We may recall that one of the planks on which Manning based his proposal for a link between the SIP and LC IA:1 was the dating of TeY ware and local imitations on the island to the LC IA:1 period. It was assumed by Manning (and previously by Merrillees), that TeY ware was defunct before the end of the SIP in Egypt and that its occurrence in LC IA:1 deposits therefore indicated that this period was, in part, contemporary with the end of the SIP. We do not challenge this thesis as far as it goes; it supports our view regarding the start of the LC IA:1 period in Cyprus.

However, it is not the whole story; because the situation of TeY is different in Egypt. Thus, although we may confine the occurrence of imported TeY ware in Cyprus to the MC III – LC IA:1 period, the evidence shows that TeY continues to occur in Egypt in the 18th Dynasty contexts. Consider the evidence from Egypt in more detail: a TeY juglet was recorded in Tomb D114 from Cemetery D at Abydos, which also contained some LC IA:2 pottery and scarabs of Thutmosis III. This created the possibility that TeY ware was still in use as late as the time of Thutmosis III. However, MERRILLEES (1968, 116) rejected this, claiming instead that the tomb contained various layers and covered a long period of time from the end of the SIP down to the reign of Thutmosis III. Yet this explanation seems implausible. The homogeneity of the published grave goods suggest a shorter duration for this tomb, which is strengthened by the fact that it consisted of only a single chamber. It would be better to accept the thesis that TeY occurs in later contexts in Egypt than it does Cyprus.

Another example is the TeY juglet found in Tomb E 10, Cemetery E at Abydos. However, unfortunately no record of where the individual finds came from was published. In his chronological assessment of this tomb, MERRILLEES (*ibid.*) proposed that there were two deposits, one of SIP date and the other belonging to the time of Thutmosis III, with the TeY juglet belonging to the former deposit. However, the excavator, Garstang, made a statement which clearly indicates that the TeY juglet was associated with a RLW-m spindle bottle and a red polished pilgrim flask. These two latter forms are known not to occur in SIP deposits. In fact, the RLW-m pilgrim flask is not recorded in deposits dated earlier than the reign

of Thutmose III. The remaining finds should also be dated to the reign of Thutmose III, including a bronze “rotating” razor of a type which was found in *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I. The TeY juglets from Abydos may represent ‘heirlooms’. In any event, no matter in what way one interprets them, these TeY vessels were still in circulation as late as the reign of Thutmose III. The conclusion is again here that this is another example of TeY occurring in Egypt, significantly later than its occurrence in Cyprus.

Not surprisingly, Manning wants to push us in the opposite chronological direction on this issue. Thus, he used Bietak’s correlation between the TeY ware found in Stratum E/2–1 at Tell e-Dab^a with that from Tomb V at *Toumba tou Skourou* and concluded that a terminus ante quem for the beginning of the LC IA period was provided by the evidence from this stratum. But Manning’s conclusions do not follow from the evidence here; it is true that the pottery from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb V indicates that it was in use during MC III. However, the correlation cited only serves to show that MC III is in part contemporary with Stratum E/2–1. PWS is not found in this stratum; therefore the beginning of LC IA:1 must be later.

This conclusion is reinforced when we note the role of the Cypriot imitations of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware. With regard to the local Black Slip imitations of TeY ware from *Toumba tou Skourou*, NEGBI (1978) did not exclude the possibility that they may have been locally produced after the time when genuine TeY ware was no longer imported into Cyprus. This is not to deny that there are some which can be dated to MC III contexts – for example, a juglet decorated in incision with birds and lotus blooms, recorded in Chamber I of Tomb V. On the other hand, only local imitations of TeY ware were recorded in Tomb I, which has a high percentage of LC IA:2/LC IB pottery. Irrespective of the dating of local imitations, it is clear that the evidence from Stephania and *Toumba tou Skourou* does not provide support for suggesting that imported TeY occurs in LC IA:2 deposits in Cyprus. We have thus accepted the proposition that its last appearances there probably occurred during LC IA:1.

As we have seen, none of this establishes that TeY did not occur in Egypt after the 18th Dynasty. Even if the Tell e-Dab^a example of TeY is contemporary with *Toumba tou Skourou*, the other examples of TeY from Egypt are clearly not. We have already accepted that TeY is very unlikely to have occurred in

Cyprus after the end of LC IA:1. The question which remains a puzzle is: Why did TeY end in Cyprus, but continue to appear in Egypt during the 18th Dynasty? This matter remains a mystery; however, a reasonable historical assumption would be that this ware was made readily available to the Egyptians – because of the renewed conquest and domination of their lands during parts of the 18th Dynasty, especially during the reign of Pharaoh Thutmose III.

2. LATE MINOAN IA POTTERY ASSOCIATED WITH PWS IN CYPRUS DURING LC IA:1

The links between Cyprus and the Minoan civilization are very important in our first three historical periods. The presence of Minoan wares in Cyprus, however, establishes more than this; it is a critical chronological tool. In Chapter III.8 and III.9, we referred to its crucial role in the Thera debate; but there are many other important contexts. The evidence here is also important in the assessment of the historical relations and between Cyprus and the Aegean (see Chapter VII.2). Our general thesis here is that, although LM IA occurs in LC IA:1, its primary manifestation is during LC IA:2. We now consider the individual tomb groups:

(a) Ayia Irini

In our view, Ayia Irini is the most important site for the analysis of LM IA in Cyprus.²²⁷ It has LM IA in both the LC IA:1 and the LC IA:2 periods. In a tomb excavated by QUILICI (1990), a LM IA cup with spiral design (Fig. 44a) also has excellent parallels with the LM IA spiral cups from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chamber I (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990., nos. 494, 497, figs. 168, 169, see Fig. 44b). It was found in the lowest level, Stratum VI, and we can observe a group of pottery in the northern part of the chamber, located around three skulls and some long bones (QUILICI 1990, fig. 320:LXIII–LXVI). The associated pottery reveals vestiges of the MC III tradition (Black Slip IV and Black Slip V plain and incised vessels, *ibid.*, nos. 410, 428, 431, 434, 446); with signs of the start of the LC IA:1 period (Monochrome/Proto BR Bowl, *ibid.*, no. 444). The attribution of the Phase 2 PWS jug to this Stratum seems appropriate (Fig. 10; see Chapter II.3.c). We should note that the Stratum also contains LC IA:2 ceramics. Nevertheless, taken at face value, it must indicate that some LM IA overlap with our Historical Period 1, that is, with LC IA:1.

²²⁷ For further comments on this tomb see ERIKSSON 2003, 425–6.

(b) *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I

Tomb I at *Toumba tou Skourou* is interesting because it was used for a long time – from MC III times up until the LC IB period. It is difficult to sort out definitively the sequence of burials or associated finds in the tomb. The presence of LM IA pottery in *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I led the excavators to propose that this particular site had close, and possibly, direct connections with the Minoan civilization. Indeed, the relatively large quantity of LM IA found at the site is unique outside of the Aegean area. Furthermore, when we look at the other material from this tomb, the parallels that can be drawn with material from Tell el-*c*Ajjul in Canaan cannot be disputed. There is increasing evidence from this side of Cyprus to suggest that this was the area which traded with the MB III/LB I Levantine city-states, as attested to by TeY wares (see last section).

It is interesting to note the change in analysis which arose out of the finds from their excavation mounds and tombs at *Toumba tou Skourou*. Archaeologists initially believed that the stages of development extended from MC III through to LC IB, and that no visible breaks could be observed. One reason for the division between Middle Cypriot III and Late Cypriot IA was the evidence from the tombs, and specifically the imported material found therein, namely el-Lisht ware and Late Minoan pottery. They thus divided it into two periods: MC III wares were associated with el-Lisht. After the Middle Cypriot period, most observers would accept that the Late Minoan IA pottery then becomes associated with the LC IA:1 period. The main reason for this is the presence of Proto White Slip at the site. We would also agree with the excavators that this LC IA:1 phase can be characterised by Black Slip, Red Polished, PBR and WP pottery. These forms recall MC III traditions and emphasise the site's transitional nature.

Notwithstanding these discoveries, which link some Late Minoan IA pottery to the first phase of the Late Cypriot, one cannot confine it only to this LC IA:1 phase. As we shall see in the next section, based on published results, LM IA occurs primarily in the phase which the excavators called LC IB and which we now define as LC IA:2.

(c) Maroni *Vournes*

A fragment of an LM IA spiral cup was recorded in *Vournes* Ia (CADOGAN *et al.*, 2001, fig. 3). This phase represents the earliest use of the site and BR I appears in the subsequent phase, earlier than WS I. In the following level, *Vournes* Ib, WS I is rare although there is a rim sherd with 'LFL' design around the rim and 'dotted snake' motif. It is finds such as this which reinforce our view that LM IA must definitely have begun prior to the WS I and must be seen as having its first appearances during the LC IA:1 period. The point is, however, that LM IA extended well into the 18th Dynasty.

3. LM IA AND LM IB IN CYPRUS DURING THE 18th DYNASTY (LC IA:2 AND LC IB)

Firstly, we will consider LM IA found in the presence of WS I – the Cypriot ware used as the marker for recognising the LC IA:2 phase. As indicated in the last section, some LM IA can be identified with the PWS wares. Indeed, all these tombs do contain PWS, used to link LC IA:1 with the last part of the SIP period. However, this does not detract from our general point: the majority of LM IA wares occurred during the LC IA:2 period in Cyprus – that is during our Historical Period 2. The following is some of the evidence from individual tomb groups:

(a) *Ayia Irini*

In a number of tombs at this site the evidence suggests a LM IA/LC IA:2 synchronism. Firstly, as we saw, in a tomb excavated by QUILICI (1990), Stratum VI can be identified to a major degree with the LC IA:1 level. However, in the next level, Stratum V, there is a second LM IA cup of the characteristic Vapheio type with spiral design (Fig. 44c). Here we should note the white dots on a dark band on the lower body of the cup, considered to be characteristic of LM IA pottery at Gournia (BETANCOURT and SILVERMAN 1991, 51; see also Chapter III.4.a). Situated not far from the LM IA cup, we have the WS I 'RLFL' bowl (Fig. 17); and in the entire layer there are WS I vessels with nearly all the main rim motifs represented (Table 10).²²⁸ There is also a WS I 'Undec', a type which PADGETT (1990, 374) had thought was only known at *Toumba tou Skourou*.²²⁹ At

²²⁸ See QUILICI 1990, figs. 317a–b (rim motifs are: 'FDR'-305, 403; 'LBD'-338; 'FWL'-279, 366; 'FL'-219, 248; 'LFL'-324; 'PL'-294).

²²⁹ WS I 'undec' is also found at Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 104 Area F (KARAGEORGHIS 1990, 28, nos. 15, 16, pls. 16, 45).

that site it is found in Tomb I Chamber 3 also in association with LM IA cups with spiral design, and, one should note, WS I ‘FWL’ (Table 8). Overall, the evidence from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chamber 3, suggests a LC IA:2 synchronism, with that period at least extending well into the early 18th Dynasty, but ending before the reign of Thutmosis III.

Taking into account the fact that the Egyptian razor of a type dateable to the reign of Thutmosis III is found in the subsequent layer to the LM IA Vapheio style spiral cup, Stratum V–VI can be dated before this time. Thus, we can conclude that in Quilici’s Ayia Irini tomb, LM IA pottery can be associated with a broader LC IA:1–LC IA:2 horizon, and can be used to support our thesis that LM IA extended into the LC IA:2 period.

Furthermore, at Ayia Irini, we can note the LM I vessels in Tomb 3 (PECORELLA 1977, Tomb 3 nos. 16, 29, figs. 30, 31, 44), which may be LC IA:2 or LC IB. The LM I cup with double axe and a double line shaft (Fig. 44d) is paralleled at Thera and *Toumba tou Skourou*, but the design suggests that this may be a slightly later type, and thus LM IB/LH IIA. As for the other LM I cup with rows of tiny dots (Fig. 44e), Warren (pers. comm.) noted that this “form of decoration does seem to occur as ‘background’ on LH IIA vases.” The LM IA cup with ‘double axe and a double line shaft’ from Tomb 20 (Fig. 44f) seems later in style.

(b) *Toumba tou Skourou*

The issue of the growing numbers of LM IA spiral design cups found on Cyprus is of increasing importance for a number of archaeological issues. Of importance here are the finds at *Toumba tou Skourou*.²³⁰ Sherds of LM IA spiral cups were found in *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chamber 1,²³¹ and in Tomb I Chamber 3 (Table 8).²³² Here WS I is represented by two vessels, one an undecorated bowl (*ibid.*, 239, T.I:328) and the second a classic WS I ‘FWL’ bowl (*ibid.*, 239, T.I:324). Here LM IA does not occur together with PWS; instead, in Tomb I Chamber 3, LM IA occurs with BR I, WS I and BiW-m wares. In these cases, the Minoan ware occurs in contexts clearly dated to LC IA:2/B.

The presence of the New Kingdom razors, dateable to the reign of Thutmosis III, at this site is very important chronologically (see ERIKSSON 2001d, 188; and section VI.5). It is further evidence that LM IA extends well into LC IA:2, and possibly to LC IB when the razors are dated. These razors are also found at Tell el-^cAjjul (Fig. 40) and unstratified at Akko (BEN-ARIEH and EDELSTEIN 1977, pl. 18:5). It would be a great discovery if we had some LM IA in stratified contexts at this site – to supplement the picture that is emerging of the connections between the northwest and Tell el-^cAjjul. We should note, however, that the total evidence presents a mixed picture. Tomb I Chamber 1 covers a period from MC III to LC IB; whereas, in Chamber 3 of the same tomb, the association is between LM IA with WS I ‘FWL’ and WS I ‘Undec’ which suggests a LC IA:2/B date.

(c) Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia*

In Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 104, Chamber O, a fragment of a LM IA spiral cup was recorded (Fig. 44g).²³³ It may be compared with sherds of LM IA cups found in *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chamber 1 (see n. 231, Fig. 44b). Unfortunately, the other pottery is unhelpful for close dating of this context, as is the fragment of an Egyptian alabaster vase of later New Kingdom date, parts of which were scattered throughout the tomb. However, when we look at the entire contents of the tomb complex of Tombs 104 and 105, we can see that some parts of these tombs need to be dated at LC IA:1, because of the presence of Black Slip II (Reserved Slip), BiW-m, and PBR.

As we have already observed, this Tomb 104 had one of the largest collections of WS I ‘Rope Lattice’ Group outside of *Toumba tou Skourou* (Table 8). However, this is accompanied by other WS I styles typical of the LC IA:2 – IB periods. There is also BR I, RLW-m and White Lustrous Wheel-made ware. Again here, the material shows a span from LC IA:1 into LC IB, but the clustering around the LC IA:2 period is noticeable. This supports a preliminary conclusion that the LM IA probably dates to the LC IA:2 period.

In Tomb 105 Pit C, we find a sherd of a LM IA (or B?) cup with the double axe motif (Fig. 44h). It

²³⁰ LM IA cups with the double axe motif are found at *Toumba tou Skourou*; a cup with lily motif (KARAGEORGHIS 1978, fig. 29) was found in a tomb near Limassol along with WS I, WS II, BR I, BR II, RLW-m bottles, a BLW-m juglet, LH IIIA:2 etc., (*ibid.*, 888).

²³¹ VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 220, T I.494 P384, T I.497 P387, T I.498 P388, T I.500 P391, pls. 168, 169.

²³² *Ibid.*, 239, T.I.495 P385

²³³ KARAGEORGHIS 1990, 37, pl. VI: Tomb 104 Chamber O, i.

is similar to the LM IA cup fragments with double axe motif found in *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I (Fig. 44i–k and VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, fig. 172, Tomb I.499 P390) – although these do not have the vertical row of dots separating the axe motif. It may better be compared with two examples found in Ayia Irini *Paleokastro*. One was found in Tomb 20 (Fig. 44f) and provides the closest parallel. The other one was in Tomb 3 (Fig. 44d); it has a solid band below the base of the axe, whereas the sherd from Palaepaphos has two bands below like the one from Ayia Irini Tomb 20.²³⁴

KARAGEORGHIS (1990, 50) has established that the remaining ceramic material in the tomb of early date was the BR I and WS I sherds. We should also note that, apart from the distinctive WS IIA style vessels, there is no WS II recorded in this tomb, although there is certainly other later material.²³⁵ The presence of the Ahmose vase in the tomb complex is further evidence here, that some of the burials date during or after the reign of this pharaoh. This again supports a synchronization between WS I and LM IA, which extends well into the first part of the 18th Dynasty.

(d) Enkomi

One reason for proposing that LM IA can be linked with LC IA:2 is based on evidence from Level IB, where four LH/LM sherds were recorded in rooms of the Area III Fortress (DIKAIOS 1969–71, 230, 445, pls. 58, 86). Two of these sherds come from cups that have been attributed to the LM IA spiral style (*ibid.*, 230, n. 186 & n. 187, inv. nos. 1793/2, 1805/1, pls. 58/26, 27–27a, 86/1, 2). The context in which they were recorded was that the sherds were within the makeup of the floors, laid down after the destruction of the Level IA occupation of the Fortress (*ibid.*, 445). The first sherd (1793/2) came from room 115 in the “layer between floor VI (the first to be made after the destruction of that building) and floor V, on which the second and final destruction of the Fortress took place.” The second sherd (1805/1) was found in the mud mortar which formed floor X, which was the first floor laid down on the debris of the first destruction, of room 118.

This indicates that the vessels from which the sherds came were in use at the time of the original occupation of the Level IA Fortress in the LC IA:2 period.

The remaining two Aegean sherds came from later strata, one within Level IB that may be attributed to LM IB style;²³⁶ and the other in a context that post-dates the destruction of Level IB and which is typical of LM IIIA:1 style.²³⁷ The earlier of these sherds was found on a floor upon which the second destruction of the Fortress occurred. It is a sherd from an alabastron and has been variously considered to be of LH I or LM IB style. The evidence from Enkomi indicates that there was a rough overlap between LM IA with the LC IA:2 periods and between LM IB and LC IB.

We may also note the presence of LM I spiral cup fragments in the Levant at Alalakh Level V (WOOLLEY 1955, 370, pl. 129 ATP/48/16; GATES 1982, 98) and unstratified at Tel Michal, the only one known from Canaan (NEGBI 1989, 61, pl. 58:7). All the observations in this section again support the general conclusion that the majority of LM IA was in LC IA:2 contexts, that is our Historical Period 2. The historical implications of this are discussed in Chapter VII.2.

4. CYPRUS AND THE EARLY 18th DYNASTY EGYPT – THE SERPENTINE VASE OF AHMOSE

The tomb at Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* has been discussed already in relation to the LM IA/IB pottery, as well as the various styles of WS I and WS IIA that it contained (see Chapter III.3). However, it also contained a serpentine vessel which bears the nomen and prenomen of Ahmose, first pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty (Fig. 39). This vessel was found alone and cannot be associated directly with any of the other contents, but it may still represent a tool for calculating a link between LC I Cyprus with 18th Dynasty Egypt (our Historical Period 2).

When we look at the contents of the tomb complex of Tombs 104 and 105, we can note that, apart from two vessels of Black Slip III (KARAGEORGHIS 1990, 57, n.32, pl. 18: K.14, K.27), some Black Slip II Reserved Slip (*ibid.*, 57, pl. 5), and PBR (*ibid.*, 29, pl.

²³⁴ Warren pers. comm., (5.vii.03) notes that P. Mountjoy “puts nearly all the double axes with a double line shaft in LH IIA...”

²³⁵ KARAGEORGHIS 1990, pls. VI:Tomb 104 Chamber E (iv); XIII:B. 23, B. 5, E. 5; XV:E.6; XVI: F. 7.

²³⁶ DIKAIOS 1969–71, 230, inv. no. 4102/1, pls. 58:28, 86:3, from floor VII of room 114.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 230, inv. no. 1560/1, 445, 481, 554, pls. 58:29, 86:4, 248–9. Recorded between Levels I and IIA.

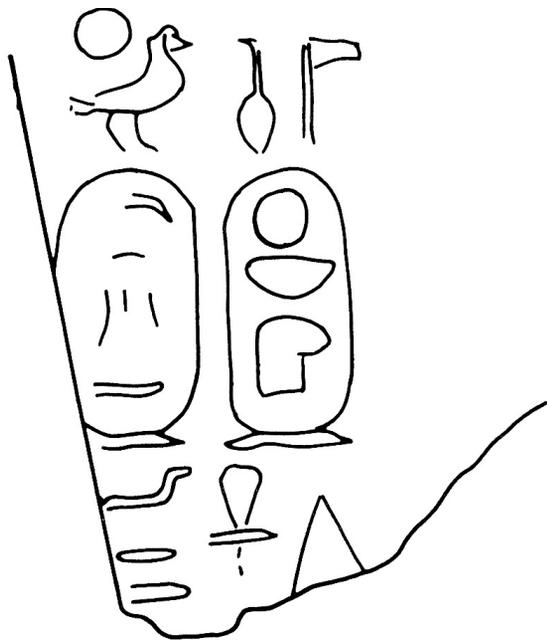


Fig. 39 Stone vessel fragment with cartouche of Ahmose (?) from Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* (after CLERC 1990, 95, fig. 1)

18:K. 11), everything else is LC IA:2 or later. This includes the WS I 'RL' spouted bowl (Fig. 16c), jug (Fig. 16b), and the bowl (Fig. 16a), which may be compared generally with the Thera WS I bowl (Fig. 13a). There is also BR I, WS I, RLW-m and WLW-m and BiW-m wares (*ibid.*).

Unfortunately, as mentioned, we cannot establish definitively the sequence of this material, nor can we be sure that the Ahmose vase belonged to any of these early burials. Nevertheless, from other chronological associations, it follows logically that the Ahmose vase did belong to the burials dated to the LC IA:2 use of the tomb complex. If this is so, then this is one example of the Egyptian evidence demonstrating a trading link between the early 18th Dynasty Egypt and LC IA:2 Cyprus.

5. THE 'MECHAK' RAZORS FROM EGYPT OF THUTMOSIS III DATE IN CYPRUS DURING LC IB

(a) The discovery of Egyptian 'mechak' razors in Cyprus

We have now discovered two razors of Egyptian origin, known as 'mechak' in Egypt, both found in the northwest area of Cyprus from the sites of *Toumba tou Skourou* and Ayia Irini. At Ayia Irini, the razor was discovered in Strata IV and III, (QUILICI 1990, 65, no. 196, figs. 176, 195; ERIKSSON 2001d, fig. 1b). It

is important to note that, at this level, there is no WP V, PWS, or LM IA. We do, however, find a number of WS I bowls – 19 of these are the typical deep hemispherical bowl shape. Only two bowls (*ibid.*, nos. 104, 209), one spouted, have the everted rim and concave base typical of the earlier stratum and also of the early phase of the WS I bowl series (Table 10 – the WS series here clearly illustrates the development of the WS I type ware, and supports the general thesis of this book).

The two artefacts are a type of distinctive hooked razor with five sides, either without a handle or with a wooden or metal handle (see ERIKSSON 2001d, fig. 3). In Egypt, similar artefacts are known as 'mechak' razors. A catalogue of these razors in Egypt allows a subdivision of three main variants to be defined (*ibid.*, table A). Two of these Egyptian variants can be equated with the two Cypriot razors (see VI.5.d). These comparative examples are found in Egyptian tomb contexts which can be dated to the 18th Dynasty, specifically to the reign of Thutmosis III or slightly earlier.

Egyptian artefacts from this period are quite rare in Cyprus and thus the recognition of these razors adds a significant tool to the relative chronological debate by allowing a synchronism between the LC IB period with the time of Thutmosis III, and also reinforcing the LC IA:2 period/early 18th Dynasty overlap. On top of adding weight to our argument on the historical periods, the razors also support our view that one peak period of the contact of Cyprus with Egypt, which brought with it the RLW-m and BR I, was largely equivalent with the reign of Thutmosis III (our Historical period 3). This further reinforces our historical conclusions (see details Chapter VII.3).

The two razors are significant because they were made in Egypt and because they are found in Cypriot tombs which contain large amounts of local pottery, such as BR I and WS I. The LM IA pottery in both of these tombs seems to belong to the preceding LC IA:2 period. The tombs are not undisturbed single period burials, but in fact were used over a period of time – so we must be cautious with the evidence. Nevertheless, there are some conclusions that we can draw.

(b) Archaeological history of the first razor

We should begin here with the archaeological discovery of the first complete razor. The first 'mechak' razor observed in Cyprus was the one which I identified during my own analysis of *Toumba tou Skourou* (ERIKSSON 1992, 170ff).

Initially, in the final publication of the excavations at *Toumba tou Skourou*, it had been assumed that the first razor was an example of a cleaver type known from the Aegean (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 222). This line of thought was pursued further in the publication of a tomb excavated at Ayia Irini, which has a razor considered to be the closest parallel to the one from *Toumba tou Skourou* (QUILICI 1990, 65, no. 196). However, this conclusion was clearly mistaken, for when we look at the type of razor from both tombs, we can see that they are of the Egyptian ‘mechak’ razor type. Why was this not realised earlier, especially by those who studied it prior to publication? It appears that the very significant amount of Late Minoan (LM) pottery found at the site created the tendency to look westwards, rather than eastwards, for parallels to the non-Cypriot finds from the sites. *Toumba tou Skourou* is still being treated in this way by some scholars despite the significant representation of material from the Egypto-Levantine area found in the tombs. General conclusions about the sites such as “It demonstrates a consistent Cypriot link with the Aegean world, particularly Crete” were drawn about the site of *Toumba tou Skourou* (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 397).

These conclusions were then translated to the excavators’ assessment of the razor; all agreed that it was non-Cypriot and had no relation to the other razors found at *Toumba tou Skourou*, which belonged to the Early-Middle Cypriot tradition (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 330). The mistake was then made: In the final publication of this tomb, the razor from Tomb I Chamber I was described as “a curious piece ... without exact parallel in Cyprus; it has a generic resemblance to Aegean ‘razors’ or ‘cleavers’ which are rare in Late Bronze Age Cyprus” (*ibid.*, 330 with refs). However, the Aegean cleavers do not bear even a generic resemblance to the *Toumba tou Skourou* razors (ERIKSSON 2001d, fig. 2). The Aegean cleavers were nearly twice the length and were clearly designed for a more sturdy cutting purpose than was the intention with the razors.

In addition to the negative evidence, there was also the positive evidence from Egypt. After considering this, it was proposed in 1992 that the closest parallels for the first razor from *Toumba tou Skourou* was with a type of razor found in New Kingdom Egypt (ERIKSSON 1992, 170–2; 1993, 83, n. 244). The razor from *Toumba tou Skourou* had traces of wood around the rivets which suggested that it once had a wooden handle, similar to a variant found in Egypt. The other interesting feature of this razor was the pale brown cloth of a tight and delicate

weave which was found adhering to both sides of the spur at the butt-end of the razor (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 330).

My observations in relation to the first razor occurred whilst investigating a number of tomb groups in Egypt which contained RLW-m spindle bottles and razors of a similar shape to the one recognised in *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chamber I (ERIKSSON 1993, 83, n. 244; *id.*, 2001d, fig. 1a) Initially, I came to regard the Egyptian razors as typical of the period when Thutmose III was in power (ERIKSSON 1992, 170–172; BOURRIAU and ERIKSSON 1997, 99). This date range can now be seen as too narrow, being based on limited evidence.

At this time, I drew on the discovery of the first razor at *Toumba tou Skourou* (which I considered roughly contemporary with Thutmose III) to argue that the LM IA material was not the latest foreign material in this tomb (ERIKSSON 1992, 171). My reasons were that LC IB is the latest local phase represented in the tomb and that the razor is associated with that latest use of the tomb chamber (see also MANNING 1999, 145). I had already come to the view, as outlined in Chapter I, that this period is linked with the reign of Thutmose III. This was a period later than the LM IA. So the presence of the razor in *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chamber I suggested a later date for the use of Chamber I, that is, equivalent with a time during the reign of Thutmose III.

However, I later came to a more cautious view: on the basis of new evidence from Egypt, I could not then rule out categorically an earlier 18th Dynasty date for the first example of this type of razor found in Cyprus, as I mentioned to Sturt MANNING (1999, 145, n. 704). Without an exact well-dated parallel, it was hard to be sure.

(c) The second Egyptian ‘mechak’ razor in Cyprus

There was then a further development, which required me to look at the general situation again: I discovered that there is another razor of Egyptian type in a LC I tomb in Cyprus at Ayia Irini (QUILICI 1990, 65, no. 196, figs. 176, 195 fig. 1b). There may also be some incomplete examples from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chambers I and 3 (VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 222, 37 B4; 241, 367 B59). What struck me in regard to the second razor in this Ayia Irini tomb is that the tomb also has LM IA pottery present, but not in the same stratum as the razor (see VI.2.a, 3.a above); furthermore, the local contents were very close parallels to the *Toumba tou Skourou* tomb, in which the first, earlier Egyptian razor had been found. There were, however, some

significant differences: the Ayia Irini tomb did not have the same quantity of MC III material as *Toumba tou Skourou* and, whilst used for multiple burials, the layer with the razor could clearly be characterised as belonging to a later period, LC IB.

The tomb was excavated by Lorenzo Quilici in 1971 and the publication appeared in 1991 (QUILICI 1990).²³⁸ The tomb contains some very important material for defining typological development in the LC I Period. Located near Ayia Irini and linked to the tombs published by PECORELLA (1977), the Cypriot artefacts in the tomb can be soundly dated within the criteria established for LC I, with the acknowledgement that a few pieces are MC III and that some LC II (early) material is also present, (ERIKSSON 2001d, 193, table B).

The presence of a LM IA spiral cup in the lowest stratum and a LM IA Vapheio cup in the following stratum are important finds that we have already discussed; these provided further confirmation of the links between the Aegean and Cyprus at this time. The tomb also supports the synchronism between the LM IA Minoan world and LC IA:1–2 Cyprus already established at other sites on the island, like Enkomi, *Toumba tou Skourou* and Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* (see sections VI.2 and VI.3).

As with the first razor, when this second bronze razor was found in Stratum III–IV, it was also originally thought by the excavators to establish a further link with the Aegean (QUILICI 1990, 65, n. 70). Instead, in a dramatic twist, it provided a second example of the Egyptian ‘mechak’ razor in Cyprus. This bronze razor, probably without handle, was found within a Bichrome ware krater (*ibid.*, 64, no. 193) in Stratum III–IV. It is a Type 1 variant of the ‘mechak’ razor used in Egypt during the New Kingdom (ERIKSSON 2001d, fig. 1a). The addition of this second complete example further reinforces the earlier conclusion in relation to the *Toumba tou Skourou* razor.

(d) Comparison between the ‘mechak’ razors in Egypt and Cyprus

The family of razors in Egypt to which the *Toumba tou Skourou* and Ayia Irini razors belong are types that do not precede the New Kingdom, an opinion to which W. Vivian Davies (pers. comm.) has also

agreed, saying that “all the present indications are that it is a New Kingdom form.” Furthermore, within this family of razors, we can see certain developments which seem to have a chronological progression. For example, by the time of the Amarna period, the type of razor has a metal handle; thus the wooden handled version, typical of the time of Thutmosis III, has by then become obsolete.

The place of New Kingdom razors, as well as the long history of the razor in Egypt is discussed in more detail by DAVIES (1982, 189–190). He points out that this New Kingdom type, known as ‘mechak’, derives its name from the verb “to shave” (chak), (*ibid.*, 189–190). The five-sided shape of this type of Egyptian razor is very distinctive. It has a thin, hatchet-like blade with two concave sides and a convex cutting edge at one end; at the butt-end, there is an upturned spur. Within this group, there are three main types: (1) without handle; (2) with wooden handle attached by metal rivets; or (3) with metal handle attached by metal rivets.

In my paper on this topic (ERIKSSON 2001d), a comprehensive analysis of the ‘mechak’ razors in Egypt was presented and their relevance to Cypriot contexts. The early work on the date of these razors by PETRIE (1917, 50:139, pls. 60:80–81, 61:78–81) led him to the view that their chronology extended from the time of Thutmosis III till the reign of Amenhotep III. Further discoveries of razors since Petrie’s time have widened the chronological range from his initial dating. In particular, we must now extend into the 19th Dynasty for the type with a metal handle.

Analysis of all variants of this type of razor recorded in Egyptian contexts led to the following chronological conclusions. Firstly, many of the tombs in Egypt in which the razors were found also contained RLW-m spindle bottles. Secondly, many of the tombs with razors also contained inscribed material of Thutmosis III. Thirdly, BR I ware was found in a small number of the Egyptian burials which contained razors. Versions of the two variants of the razor found in Cyprus are also found at three main sites in Egypt; that is the ‘mechak’ razors without handle (Type 1) or with wooden handle (Type 2). The version with metal handle, Type 3, seems to date from the Amarna period onwards as late as the 19th Dynasty and has not yet been found in Cyprus.

²³⁸ I would like to thank Celia Bergoffen for drawing my attention to this tomb with its WS I and Lucia Vagnetti and Paolo Belli who kindly sent me a copy of the publication.

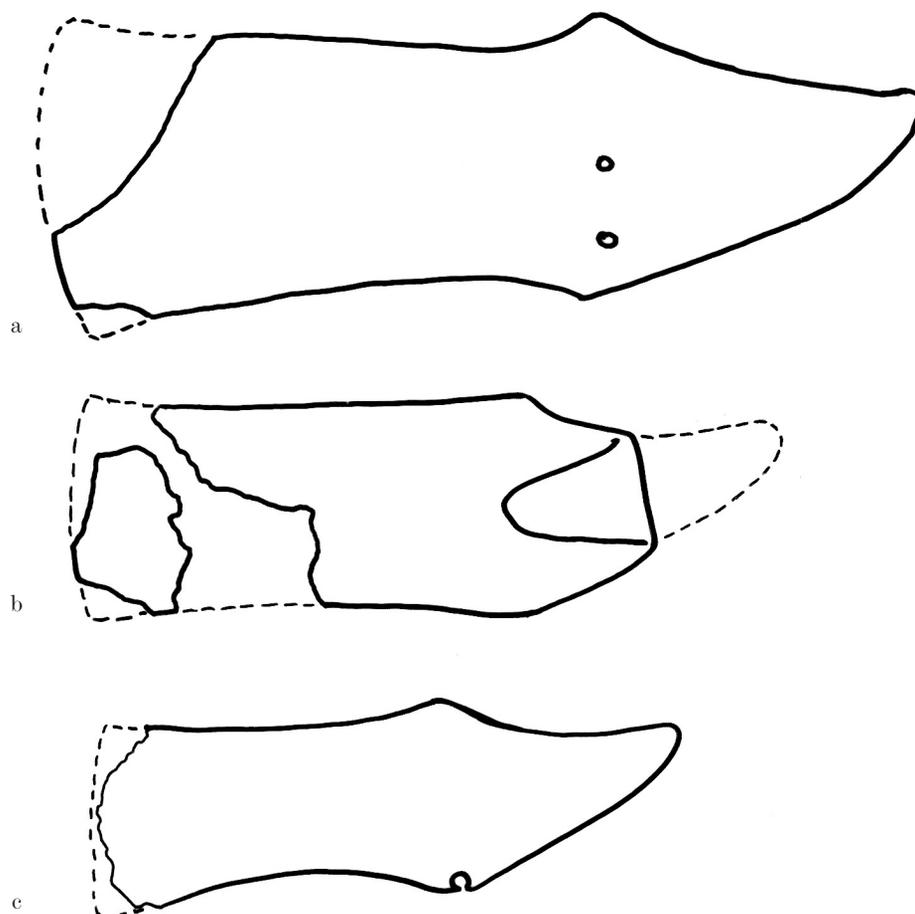


Fig. 40 'Mechak' razors from Tell el-^cAjjul a) 'Mechak' razor (Type 2-two rivets) from Tomb 418 (after PETRIE 1933, pl. 24:136, scale 2:3); b) 'Mechak' razor (Type 2-one rivet) from Tomb 291 (after PETRIE 1931, pl. 21:117, scale 2:3); c) 'Mechak' razor (Type 1) from Tomb 1081 (after PETRIE 1932, pl. 15:81, scale 1:2)

The three key sites in Egypt where such razors were found are: Abydos, Aniba and Thebes (Deir el Medineh). In each of these, extensive necropoli of the New Kingdom have been excavated. Detailed analysis (ERIKSSON 2001d) of these three Egyptian sites demonstrates that associated with each of these razors, is either RLW-m ware or BR I ware or royal name material of Thutmose III. On several occasions, these material objects are represented together. It is a viable proposition to conclude that there must be a similar date for the razors found in the Ayia Irini and *Toumba tou Skourou* tombs, especially since we have shown that one was a Type 1 and the other was a Type 2 Egyptian 'mechak' razor. These razors are also recorded at Tell el-^cAjjul (Fig. 40), and with no context at Akko (BEN-ARIEH and EDELSTEIN 1977, pl. 18:5).

Summing up in the case of the first complete razor from *Toumba tou Skourou*, the evidence from Egypt supports the view that a large part of the history of use of Chamber 1 of Tomb I is equivalent with the first half of the 18th Dynasty, probably down to the

end of the reign of Thutmose III. Added to this, the discovery of the second Egyptian 'mechak' razor, from the site of Ayia Irini, provides further dramatic evidence linking LC IB Cyprus with Egypt.

Furthermore, the two 'mechak' razors found in Cyprus add weight to the thesis that the main period of this contact between Cyprus with Egypt, which brought with it the first RLW-m wares and increases of WS I and BR I, was largely equivalent with the reign of Thutmose III (see also Chapters IV.1 and VII.3). The similarity of the razors found in Cyprus to razors of Type 1 and 2, found in Egypt in the various tombs, and the fact that all these latter razors can be dated around the reign of Thutmose III, further reinforces this conclusion. It is further evidence against the argument that would suggest that „LC IB may have begun before the end of the SIP” (MANNING 1999, 181).

In conclusion, because of the very few finds of 'mechak' razors in Cyprus, it is hard to conclude that they were intended to replace the local razor variant.

Hence it does not appear that their presence indicates a major cultural transference between Egypt and Cyprus. Nevertheless, we have been able to draw the above chronological conclusions from the context in which these razors are found in Egypt itself.

6. MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN CYPRUS TO THE REIGN OF AMENHOTEP III

(a) On Mycenaean pottery in general

In Chapter VII.2.c, we discuss the development and significance of the Mycenaean civilization; this society played a major role in the complex historical events surrounding Cyprus during the LBA. In such a picture, the large amount of Mycenaean decorated pottery found in Cyprus is of critical importance, not merely because it assists us in dating Cypriot contexts, but also because it provides substantial evidence that Cyprus was a kind of staging post from which the Mycenaean further developed their trade with the surrounding lands. Indeed, the Mycenaean pottery found in these lands is a testament to the huge trade which they managed to carry out with Egypt, Syria, Canaan, Assyria and many other places in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Mycenaean pottery is important in identifying historical periods in Egypt from LC IIA:1 onwards, but occurrences of LH I and LH II in Egypt before the reign of Amenhotep II are rare (see WARREN and HANKEY 1989, 137–46). During the reign of Amenhotep III, that is, during our Historical Period 4 we detect an important sequence from LH IIIA:1 to LH IIIA:2a. The next phase in Mycenaean decorated pottery is LH IIIA:2b that signifies the tumultuous era of Akhenaton. It is at the end of his reign that LH IIIB:1 first appears and extends past the end of Period 6 with the death of Horemheb, until well into the reign of Rameses II when LH IIIB:2 appears.

The pattern for Mycenaean wares in Cyprus, however, differed from Egypt, as SANDARS (1978, 75) explains:

If we use the Mycenaean pottery found overseas as a criterion of the level of trade, always remembering that we only have that part of the trade that travelled in durable containers, then we find that Egypt imported goods from Greek lands in the early 14th century (Amarna period), but that the trade fell off sharply after this. At the same time Cypriot pottery disappears almost completely from Egypt, though the texts give no indication of a break in Cypriot-Egyptian relations. In the Levant Mycenaean imports reached a peak in the later 14th century (LH IIIA2) with finds from 90 sites between

the Orontes and Nubia; but there was a falling off to 75 sites in the first half of the 13th century (LH IIIB1). In Cyprus, however, Mycenaean imports in the same period increased to 61 sites (LH IIIB1) as against 47 with LH IIIA2 pottery.

It is important to have a brief picture of the civilization which was producing these amazing amounts of high-quality ceramics. It is only after ca 1600 BC that we see a dramatic movement of the Mycenaean peoples away from agricultural production towards the development of crafts and manufacturing. This coincided with large infrastructural developments in the form of the ‘city states’ with their palaces. A large number of relatively independent kingdoms then arise in which each of the rulers had substantial power over the people of their region. Each of the Mycenaean cities was distinguished by an acropolis surrounded by very large defensive walls.

Following the deciphering of the Mycenaean language – Linear B, we have been able to add to the ceramic record information from documents which gave us an even clearer picture of the development of Mycenaean culture, particularly towards the end of the LBA. A large proportion of Mycenaean culture was borrowed from, and heavily influenced by, the Minoans. Some of the finds accompanying the burial of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae allow for speculation that the connections of the inhabitants reached as far away as Egypt. In particular, the palace structure appears to have been derived from Minoan architecture. However there was also a significant difference in these civilizations. The Mycenaean were clearly more militaristic than the Minoans – especially in the conflicts and wars between their kingdoms. It is believed that this constant conflict between the city states was the reason why the Mycenaean cities were built with such elaborate fortifications.

However it appears that the Mycenaean kingdoms did occasionally come together in a unified way, the most famous case being the Trojan War; if we can rely on Homer’s account. Here the Mycenaean were said to have united and eventually conquered the city of Troy. In one of the ironies of history, the Mycenaean took over control of Crete at around 1380 BC, although they already had a presence on the island following certain disasters which hit the Minoan civilization at the end of LM IB in the second half of the 15th century BC (ca 1450 BC). This eventual takeover by the Mycenaean ca 1380 BC occurred during the reign of Amenhotep III. CLINE (1994) has presented striking evidence for a changeover with a complete shift in the destination of Orientalia from Crete to

mainland Greece. (These matters will be further discussed in Chapter VII.2.b.

However, from an economic point of view, the most important aspect of Mycenaean life was the development of trade in raw materials such as oil and manufactured goods such as textiles. In this extensive trade throughout the lands of Eastern Mediterranean, pottery played a major role – not only as a desired ornament and a product for home use, but also for the transport of a number of tradeable items. The presence of Mycenaean decorated pottery in the various societies of the Eastern Mediterranean is thus important in assisting historical analysis, as we shall see in Chapter VII.²³⁹ Within Archaeology, it has a major role in refining chronological synchronisms.

(b) The first period: LH IIIA:1 and LH IIIA:2a

The Late Helladic LH IIIA:1 Mycenaean pottery is used as a marker of the LC IIA:1 phase in Cyprus, while the LH IIIA:2a is associated with LC IIA:2 (ÅSTRÖM 1972b, 760). Both these phases have been incorporated in our Historical Period 4, in order to cover the full reign of Amenhotep III. We shall, however, discuss the two phases separately here.

Beginning with LH IIIA:1, we can refer to certain distinctive shapes in this ware; in particular, there is the large goblet; the piriform jar; the rounded alabastron; the krater; the kylix and the small handleless jar. While shapes are important, the most easily identifiable feature of these wares is the decoration, as MOUNTJOY (1986, 51) explains:

The four most common LH IIIA:1 motifs are net, scale, stipple and spiral. They appear in great quantity and render the identification of an LH IIIA:1 group an easy matter: the blotchy LH IIIA:1 stipple has evolved into a fine even version, which is current only in this period; the spiral is especially common in a curve-stemmed form with long flowing stems. The plant patterns, on the other hand, are less easy to assign in sherd material to LH IIIA:1 or LH IIIA:2a and a deposit should be dated from the presence of the four motifs listed above rather than from the plants. Lily, ivy and papyrus have survived from LH IIIA:1 and are characterised by flowing curved stems, with much emphasis on the stems; this is a very characteristic feature. The

palm has almost disappeared, but, in contrast, the papyrus is more popular than it was in LH IIIA:1. Another facial motif surviving from LH IIIA:1 is the argonaut, which may have a curtailed or a complete body. It often ornaments the beaked jug... There is much red monochrome decoration particularly on the goblet.

In what follows, we shall list some of the contexts in Cyprus where Mycenaean LH IIIA:1 ware appears. Because it is so common, this is not intended to be an exhaustive list, but rather to refer to some of the key sites.

(i) Enkomi Level IIA. Area III

This level IIA at Enkomi contained the highest percentage of RLW-m wares recorded of all the levels excavated at this site. The RLW-m included fragments of spindle bottles (ERIKSSON 1993, nos. 590–1) and sherds (*ibid.*, no. 1190) representing 2.4% of the total sherd count. Through the Mycenaean ware, we are able to determine that Level IIA extended in range over three Cypriot phases: we have the presence of LH IIIA:1, LH IIIA:2a and LH IIIA:2b sherds (DIKAIOS 1969–71, pl. 61) WS I–II/WS II early ‘LL’ with dotted and wavy line rims; and WS II ‘LLDR’ and ‘LLHC’ was found in Level IIA, further confirming the dating (*ibid.*, pl. 59). Other Cypriot wares included BLW-m and BR II (*ibid.*, 447).

(ii) Katydhata Tomb 26

This tomb has contents associated with a single burial and contains an LH IIIA:1 alabastron (ÅSTRÖM and FLOURENTZOS 1989a, 20, no.6, fig. 19 row 1:2). It was associated with a White Slip II ‘LLHC’ bowl (*ibid.*, fig. 19 row 2:2), as well as other Cypriot pottery, including two BR II bowls; a BR I trumpet-based juglet; a BR I jug; two PWW-m I jugs; and a RLW-m spindle bottle (ERIKSSON 1993, no. 330).²⁴⁰ The Mycenaean ware allows us to follow ÅSTRÖM (1972b, 760) in dating the tomb to LC IIA:1.

We turn now to consider this first phase of Mycenaean decorated pottery, LH IIIA:1 in broader terms; it is used as a signifier for the first appearance of LC IIA:1. One reason why it can play such a useful role is because LH IIIA:1 pottery is very uniform in character, even though it is distributed widely

²³⁹ Unfortunately, Mycenaean plain wares, which would have been used for bulk transport, are not yet well detected in overseas locations as are Canaanite, Egyptian and Minoan plain wares.

²⁴⁰ ÅSTRÖM and FLOURENTZOS 1989, 20, Tomb 26:nos 1–5, 8–9, fig. 19, row 2:4–7, 2, 8–9 respectively.

throughout Greece and the Mediterranean. This ceramic has been uncovered in separate excavations of different regions of the then Mycenaean empire, such as Nichoria, Tiryns, Sparta, Asine and Athens. These added to the original study by FURUMARK (1972a & b) which MOUNTJOY (1986, 51) describes as follows:

When Furumark defined the LHIIIA1 period, he had a limited range of material at his disposal: his fifty-one different groups of LHIIIA1 material all came from tombs apart from three, from the Thebes palace, the Ramp House at Mycenae and Trianda on Rhodes. The Trianda deposit is borderline LHIIIB/IIIA1 and contained only 24 LHIIIA1 sherds and the dating of the other two groups has been questioned: the Thebes palace group, which contains the controversial inscribed stirrup jars and much unpainted pottery, is now dated by most scholars to LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB; the date and nature of the Ramp House material has been criticized by E. French, who doubts if the bulk of the pottery is so early. There is still today a dearth of pure LHIIIA1 settlement deposits, but the lacuna has been partly filled by the publication of painted pottery from the so-called Atreus Bothros at Mycenae. This material was domestic rubbish thrown into a cleft in the rock, which was cut by the dro-mos of the Treasury of Atreus and sealed by chips from that cutting. It consists of sherds with only a few restorable pots, but it offers a good picture of LHIIIA1 material from a settlement context and contributes much to our knowledge of shapes and motifs popular in this period.

Turning now to consider the next style in the Mycenaean ceramic development, LH IIIA:2a, this phase has an interesting history. Initially, FURUMARK divided the LH IIIA:2 group into an early and a later phase. This has come to be labelled as 2a for 'early' and 2b for 'late'. MOUNTJOY (1986, 67) believes that the evidence in Greece for this division is 'not good' for this reason:

Furumark's extremely large number of find groups for the whole period come, as usual, mostly from tombs. He was able to include only four domestic assemblages, two belonging to LHIIIA2 early and two to LHIIIA2 late, but the LHIIIA2 early assemblages involve only a few pots and none of the four assemblages is from the Mainland. More recently a group of terrace deposits from Mycenae belonging to LHIIIA2 late has been published by E. French, but domestic evidence for LHIIIA2 early is still lacking, so that, at the moment, the division between the two phases is an

artificial one based on style, and, even stylistically, with the exception of the kylix, it is difficult to separate material of the two phases unless the context is clear.

However MOUNTJOY (1986, 67) does identify the kylix as an important shape of the ware which allows us to differentiate LH IIIA:2a from LH IIIA:2b styles:

The kylix, which has replaced the goblet, is one of the most common shapes. It is also an obvious criterion for the difference between LHIIIA2 early and LHIIIA2 late: the early version FS 256 has a narrow decorative zone, which terminates at the handle base, whereas the later version FS 257 has a much deeper zone, which, in some cases, may reach the top of the stem.

This does not overcome the problem that the 2a type for most shapes is not easily differentiated from the 2b type. The decoration of the wares provides a better basis for the distinction between the two phases, but again it is not always definitive. We take up this issue in the next section.

In the light of the problem of differentiation, it is not surprising that there are few contexts in Cyprus, which are primarily linked to the LHIIIA:2a phase. One that stands out, however, is the Ayios Iakovos Bronze Age Sanctuary. Here we find four excellent examples of LH IIIA:2a pottery: squat jug, two amphoras, and a krater (GJERSTAD *et al.*, 1934, pl. 66:1). White Slip is present in the form of a WS II 'LLHC' krater. RLW-m ware again plays a key role with six examples of the arm-shaped vessel (ERIKSSON 1993, nos. 1013–8) and fragments (*ibid.*, no. 1030). There was also a spindle bottle (*ibid.*, no. 541), which was found in the terracotta basin in the western section of the sanctuary as well as fragments from other spindle bottles (*ibid.*, nos. 586–7), lentoid flasks (*ibid.*, nos. 812, 931–5) and sherds (*ibid.*, no. 1182). Because of the presence of the specific type of Mycenaean ware, ÅSTRÖM (1972b, 683) dated this group to LC IIA:2. This dating is further supported by the presence of other Cypriot wares; these were a BR II biconical jug, a PWH-m jug and a PWW-m jug. Other contexts dated to this period have been identified by ÅSTRÖM (*ibid.*, 683–6) and we may just mention Enkomi (French) Tomb 2 with LH IIIA:2 ware.

MOUNTJOY (1986, 67) has identified a special decoration of this phase of Mycenaean ware which she believes occurs primarily in Cyprus and the Near East, as follows:

The Pictorial Style of decoration, which may have its origin in fresco, begins in LHIIIA1, but is rare

then. It is more common on LHIII A2 pottery, but it should be noted that it appears on a very small percentage of Mycenaean pottery, most of which, so far, has been found in Cyprus and the Near East [see VERMEULE and KARAGEORGHIS 1982]. ... In contrast to the narrow zonal decoration of most LHIII A2 vases, it covers a large area of the vase, the motifs sometimes continuing through the belly bands. It is employed on the krater FS 7–8 and, especially, on the amphoroid krater, FS 53–54. Chariots are the most popular motif, followed by birds; apart from horses, other animals are rare, as are human figures without chariots.

7. MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN CYPRUS DURING AND AFTER THE REIGN OF AKHENATON

(a) Mycenaean pottery during the Amarna Period: LH IIIA:2b

In Chapter I.2, we explained that the LC IIB Period in Cyprus coincides with the appearance of Mycenaean LH III A:2b pottery. As we have seen in the previous section, this category of Mycenaean ware arose from the fact that FURUMARK (1972a & b) had divided the LH III A:2 group into an early and later phase. It is not, however, a simple matter to distinguish these two phases, although MOUNTJOY (1986, 67) believes that decoration can be a useful tool. She makes the following observations on the decoration of both the early and late phases of LH IIIA:2, from which we can draw some guidance:

The decoration of the pottery of this period ... is characterised by great standardisation; there are many motifs, but few basic designs. Facial designs, such as plant motifs and argonauts, have almost disappeared and the Ephyraean open style of decoration has also gone. The decorative zone on closed shapes is generally narrow and becomes more so throughout the period, so that, by LHIII A2 late, zonal decoration, consisting of running designs (eg. quirk) or a row of isolated motifs (eg. N pattern) predominates. The decorative zone may be further narrowed by the addition of a fine line group, especially on the piriform jar. Surface designs, such as scale pattern, are correspondingly rarer and facial designs not common until the hybrid flower appears in combination with the whorl-shell towards the end of LHIII A2 late. The flower itself, in the voluted and unvoluted types, first appears in this period and becomes extremely popular.

These observations are a useful guide, but they raise the question. If the distinction between the early and later phases of LH IIIA:2 is a difficult

one, why differentiate them at all? The answer to this question, in our view, goes beyond shape and decoration. As we argued in Chapter I.2, it is important to take into account historical events in distinguishing phases and periods. This is a critical issue in this case because LH IIIA:2a takes in the final years of the reign of Amenhotep III, whereas LH IIIA:2b relates to the period at Amarna with Akhenaton as Pharaoh or co-regent. (For a discussion of the dramatic events of this period, see Chapter VII.5). Indeed the most distinctive finds of Mycenaean LH IIIA:2b pottery are at Akhenaton's new city. Thus the historical basis of the distinction is supported through the significant quantities of this type of Mycenaean decorated pottery at this unique site. WARREN and HANKEY (1989, 152) refer to some additional evidence:

The link between LH III A 2 and the reign of Akhenaten is strengthened by circumstantial evidence from Sesebi, a fortified town between the second and third cataracts of the Nile. Four intact foundation deposits, under the fortification wall and the temple, show that they were built during the first five years of Amenophis IV, before he changed his name to Akhenaten. The town was occupied until late in his reign or early in the reign of Tutankhamun, as is shown by a relief in the later Amarna style found there. Sherds of LH III A 2 identical in type, fabric and decoration with pottery from El Amarna were found among burnt debris in houses [MERRILLEES and WINTER 1972, 122, figs. 33–4], including one small sherd found in cleaning between the southern temple and the magazines.

I turn now to consider some contexts in which Cypriot wares occur together with Mycenaean LH IIIA:2b wares at this time in Cyprus (see also ÅSTRÖM 1972b, 686–8):

(i) *Enkomi Level IIA. Area III*

In this area, we have some examples of LH IIIA:2b pottery occurring in association with the RLW-m ware pilgrim flasks (DIKAIOS 1969–71, pl. 61, Area III). These pilgrim flasks cannot be dated earlier than the LC IIA:1, but the Level spans from LC IIA:1 to LC IIB. The WS II, as discussed above, includes styles that were found at Amarna, eg., 'LLDR' and 'LLHC' (*ibid.*, pl. 59). LH IIIA:2b pictorial style is also present in this level (*ibid.*, pl. 61:38).

(ii) *Ayios Iakovos Tomb 8 (third burial)*

There are 10 LH IIIA:2b vessels in this layer associated with 10 WS II bowls mostly of WS II early 'LL'

rim motif, but also 'PL', and two WS II normal 'LLDR'.²⁴¹

(iii) *Ayios Iakovos Tomb 14 (second burial)*

This is a closed group and contained four LH IIIA:2b and two WS II 'LL'.²⁴²

(iv) *Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 2 (second and third burials)*

According to ÅSTRÖM 1972b, 687) these two burial periods span LC IIB. In the earlier group there was one LH IIIA:2b vessel; WS II normal 'LLDR', and also 'LLHC'; and WS II late vessels, one with 'LL' (GJERSTAD *et al.*, 1934, 473–4, nos. 31, 40, 49, 52). In the later burial, we have LH IIIA:2b pottery and one WS II early 'LL' jug (*ibid.*, 473, no. 21) and bowls with WS II normal 'LLHC', and WS II 'LL' rim motifs (*ibid.*, 473, no. 4, 5, 8).

(v) *Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 10A*

ÅSTRÖM (1972b, 690–1) redated this tomb to LC IIB. It is a small group of pottery which includes a LH IIIA:2b three handled jar and a WS II 'LLDR', thus it is a classic Amarna period collection (GJERSTAD *et al.*, 1934, pl. 81.3).

(vi) *Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 11*

In Burial Group IA there was LH IIIA:2b and 11 WS II late 'PL', 'LL', undecorated, and sherds (*ibid.*, 521, 524, nos. 227, 251, 254, 261). In Burial Group IB LH IIIA:2b and one WS II jug, two very worn WS II 'LLDR' bowls (*ibid.*, 520, nos. 157, 204, 207, pl. 82). According to ÅSTRÖM (*ibid.*, 687): "The earliest burials of Group IC belong to the last phase of LC IIB." It contained an increasing number of LH IIIA:2b amongst its pottery as well as four WS II 'LLHC', 'LLDR', 'LL', WS II late 'LL' (GJERSTAD *et al.*, 1934, nos. 170, 180, 181, 185). In this tomb it is interesting to observe the increasing percentage of LH IIIA:2b compared to the decreasing quantity of WS II (*ibid.*, 522–3, tomb register).

(vii) *Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 17, Layer II*

From the Upper Layer here, we find an amount of LH IIIA:2b pottery, which can certainly be dated to LC IIB. It appears together with an RLW-m ware spindle bottle (ERIKSSON 1993, no. 297). There was no WS ware in this tomb.

(viii) *Katydhata Tombs 11, 50, 90*

In the second stratum of Tomb 11, LH IIIA:2b is recorded with WS II 'LLHC' (ÅSTRÖM and FLOURENTZOS 1989a, fig 24 rows 1:1, 2:1–3). The third stratum of this tomb may also date within this period. A classic Amarna period parallel can be observed in Tomb 50 with its four LH IIIA:2b vessels (*ibid.*, fig. 40 row 1:7–9) and WS II 'LLDR' (*ibid.*, fig. 40 row 1:10). Tomb 90 contained WS IIA 'LL' with a LH IIIA:2b, possibly LH IIIB jar (*ibid.*, fig 61, row 3).

(ix) *Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb 1*

This tomb is significant because it covers the range of the Mycenaean pottery from LH IIIA:2b, LH IIIB and some transitional LH IIIB/LH IIIC:1 styles. This indicates a period of use for the tomb from end LC IIB to the end LC IIC/LC IIIA. It should be noted that, as there was no observable stratigraphy, the excavator was compelled to treat this material as a single group (KARAGEORGHIS 1976, 89). Amongst the material was a RLW-m ware pilgrim flask (ERIKSSON 1993, no. 947); two WS IIA, three WS II late 'PL', and seven WS II late 'LL' bowls (KARAGEORGHIS 1976, 76–7).

(b) The first post Amarna Period for Mycenaean pottery: LH IIIB:1

Elizabeth French has divided this long period into two phases: LH IIIB:1 and LH IIIB:2. Her decision was based on various finds in Greece. MOUNTJOY (1986, 93) provides the following discussion of various characteristics which support the division into the two phases:

Four LHIIIB1 settlement assemblages have now been published from Mycenae giving a picture of continuous development from very early LHIIIB1 through two successive phases down almost to the start of LHIIIB2, allowing a very long period of development...There are two demarcation points for the beginning of LHIIIB1 ... it can be said to begin with the introduction of the vertical whorl-shell or, slightly later, with the appearance of deep bowl....Another very early feature of LHIIIB1 is the appearance of the Zygouries kylix, which is current together with the deep bowl, and may also be used as a criterion for the beginning of the period; it becomes rarer as LHIIIB1 progresses. The divi-

²⁴¹ GJERSTAD *et al.*, 1934, 333, tomb register. WS II = nos. 3, 4, 6, 8, 16, 19, 33, 35, 62, 69.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 354, tomb register. WS II = nos. 4, 12.

sion of LHIII B1 from LHIII B2 is marked by the appearance of deep bowls of Group B (large bowls with a monochrome interior and a very deep rim band) and rosette bowls (bowls with a dotted rim and a rosette in the centre of each side).

When it comes to decoration, it is clear that there is substantial continuity between the previous period LH IIIA:2 and the LH IIIB:1. However, MOUNTJOY (1986, 93) also refers to one major difference:

There is, however, one great difference from LHIII A2, namely that the LHIII A2 narrow decorative zones with zonal patterns and the slightly wider, but over-filled, zones have given way to a new simpler arrangement in which symmetry is now very important. This is reflected particularly in the panelled style of decoration, in which the central triglyph is always placed in the centre of the side of the vase. Filling ornaments reappear after their banishment in LHIII A2 late, but are now not employed merely as fill, but to give an ornate appearance. The narrow zonal decoration, which was so popular in LHIII A2, now appears only in the belly zones of stirrup and piriform jars, since decorative zones are now much broader than those of LHIII A2. This is due to the more conical-piriform shapes, which require a longer vertical handle, which, in turn, gives rise to a deeper zone.

MOUNTJOY (*ibid.*, 95) goes on to list 40 separate motifs which occur with this particular Mycenaean pottery phase.

In historical terms, there is evidence that LH IIIB:1 pottery occurs in the last phase of Amarna. This supports our historical association of this phase of the ware with the events of Historical Period 6, beginning with the reign of Tutankhamun. WARREN and HANKEY (1989, 154) present a great deal of evidence which links the beginnings of LH IIIA:2 to this time. They conclude as follows:

Evidence from Amarna that LH III B had already begun in the reign of Tutankhamun (1336–1327 BC) (and possibly in that of Akhenaten) was noted above [*ibid.*, 153], while at Kamid El-Loz III B 1 pottery was associated with a destruction that also appears to be of the time of Akhenaten. At Gurob an LH III B stirrup jar came from a pit dated to the time of Tutankhamun (ÅSTRÖM 1962, 222–4).³³ The context of LH III B at Saqqara confirms that the period began no later than the reign of Horemheb.

This is illustrated by the discoveries in the military pharaoh's tomb, as WARREN and HANKEY (1989, 151) explain:

At the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, military commander for Tutankhamun at Memphis, in surface debris, in Shaft 1, and in the nine rooms of the upper level, fragments of seven pots of late LH III A 2 and early III B were found (MARTIN 1978, 6).

In his relative chronology, ÅSTRÖM (1972b, 689–93) did not really distinguish between LH IIIB:1 and IIIB:2. In terms of settlement levels, we can note that LH IIIB occurs at Myrtou *Pigadhes* Period V, Enkomi Level IIB,²⁴³ Apliki, Kition, Sinda, Episkopi *Bamboula*, Athienou, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maa *Palaekastro* and Pyla *Kokkinokremos*. There are also a number of tomb groups referred to by Åström (*ibid.*) which we shall discuss below because of what they tell us about the changing role of WS II in the LH IIIB age (some of these cross the LH IIIB:1/IIIB:2 division).

(i) *Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 11: Second, Third and Dromos Burials*

In the Second Burial there are four WS II late 'LL' bowls (GJERSTAD *et al.*, 1934, 518, nos. 72, 75, 80, 87). They were found with 6 LH IIIA:2b; four LH IIIA:2b–IIIB; and four LH IIIB vessels. In the Third Burial there was one WS II late 'PL' (*ibid.*, 516, no. 7). It was accompanied by one LH IIIA:2b and 15 LH IIIB vessels. In the last burial placed in the Dromos there was a WS II late 'LL' bowl (*ibid.*, 524, dromos no. 1); and two LH IIIB vessels.

(ii) *Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 22*

This was a closed burial and had a LH IIIB vessel along with locally produced White Painted Wheel-made III (GJERSTAD *et al.*, 1934, pl. 87:4). There was no WS ware.

(iii) *Enkomi Cypriot Tomb 10 Third Burial Layer*

In the Third Burial Layer here, DIKAIOS (1969–71 362, pl. 286:2) noted four main groups. The clusters show a chronological succession based on the styles of Mycenaean pottery found, which ranged from LH IIIA:1 to LH IIIB style. The LH IIIB vessels are important for this period: they occurred only in DIKAIOS' Groups III and IV and were found just either side of the entrance-way (*ibid.*, 362–3, see pl. 286:2 nos. 180, 181, 183, 286). It should be noted,

²⁴³ See DIKAIOS (1969–71, pls. 65–7) where there is LH IIIB:1 and LH IIIB:2 (*ibid.*, pl. 63:30), but no LH IIIC. In this level there is also the introduction of WS II late (eg., *ibid.*, pl. 63:11, 14–16, 26–29).

however, LH IIIB has already made its appearance in the preceding Second Burial Layer, again found just to the left of the entrance (*ibid.*, 361, see pl. 286:4, no. 306). If the end of the Second Burial Layer is dated to LC IIB, then the Third Burial Layer probably also began at LC IIB, but continued in use into the LC IIC period.

The general continuity of Mycenaean pottery is shown by the fact that, in the Fourth Burial Layer, the latest LH pottery style is LH IIIB, which therefore dates that layer to the LC IIC period. Cypriot pottery was found with the Mycenaean ware here. A RLW-m ware pilgrim flask (ERIKSSON 1993, no. 885) was found in the northern part of the chamber with other pottery that DIKAIOS (1969–71, 363) labelled Group IV. He probably considered this to be the final group of grave gifts, not least because of his inclusion of the LH IIIB cup.

(iv) *Enkomi (French) Tomb 12*

In this tomb, the concentration of pottery is at the northern end of the main chamber (SCHAEFFER 1936b, figs. 35, 36:lower, 37:lower, pl. 33:1–3, 5). This tomb illustrates the work of SCHAEFFER in the analysis of Mycenaean LH IIIB pottery. The finds included a LH IIIB:2 bowl with Mycenaean flower motif (*ibid.*, fig. 36:below 19, pl. 33:2); and two LH IIIB:2 pictorial kraters (*ibid.*, fig. 37:lower left, lower right, pl. 33:5).²⁴⁴ There was also Cypriot pottery: in particular, three RLW-m ware spindle bottles (ERIKSSON 1993, nos. 272–4) and a pilgrim flask (*ibid.*, no. 886). In general, a date within LC IIC range can safely be ascribed to the pottery found in the tomb; but there is clearly a late 13th century BC component.

(c) The transition to Mycenaean LH IIIB:2

One issue that arises here, however, is: at what point do we have the transition to LHIIIB:2? The LH IIIB:1 category of Mycenaean pottery had certainly commenced before the end of the reign of Horemheb in Egypt (see above).

Furthermore, it seems clear that LH IIIB:1 was still prevalent well into our Historical Period 7, even for a substantial part of the reign of Rameses II, occasionally accompanied by WS II late ‘LL’ and ‘PL’ style bowls. WARREN and HANKEY (1989, 154–8) present evidence from sites which show clear links between the Rameses II period and the presence of LH IIIB:1. Whatever the answer to this question

may be, an important conclusion is that the reign of Rameses II covered both LH IIIB:1 and 2 phases. Indeed the ware itself came to be identified with the long reign of this pharaoh, as WARREN and HANKEY (1989, 154) explain:

The reign of Ramesses II, from 1279 to 1213 BC (KITCHEN 1987, 38–40, 52) provides the basic correlation for LH III B wherever pottery of LH III B (and a little of LM III B) has been excavated in Egyptian contexts or those with an Egyptian connection. Indeed, from Egypt to Anatolia, along the Levant coast and further inland, it is almost axiomatic in deposits or levels approximately dated to the thirteenth century BC, that pottery of LH III B and a small amount of LM III B, imported or of Aegean inspiration, will be found (usually as a minor element) with Cypriote pottery and Egyptian objects of the XIXth Dynasty. Results of recent study and excavation have confirmed this general correlation, but closely dated links are elusive.

Turning now to consider this second phase LH IIIB:2 itself, its presence becomes clear at some point well after the start of our Historical Period 7. MOUNTJOY (1986, 121) explains some of the archaeological findings which further supported this as a separate phase:

We have already seen (see LHIIIB1 introduction [*ibid.*, 93]) that the LHIIIB period has been divided by E. French into LHIIIB1 and LHIIIB2 on the basis of domestic groups from Mycenae and Tiryns, a division also recognised by Schachermeyr. Three LHIIIB2 deposits form the basis of the division for the second half of the period. Excavation at Mycenae of the Perseia (W) Trench L by the Prehistoric Cemetery Central in 1952 and 1953 produced domestic pottery, which had been abandoned in the area and dumped from the debris of the great destruction, which occurred at the end of the period 2. The second group comes from Tiryns. Restoration of the West Wall in 1957 produced four layers of stratified LHIIIB2 domestic pottery. The last LHIIIB2 group published so far is one of several from within the Citadel at Mycenae. A mass of pottery fell down from buildings above onto the Causeway leading from the Ramp House to the north corner of the South House at the time of the great destruction.

It is interesting that this category is not well represented in Greece itself. However the pottery is well

²⁴⁴ The first of these with goats is attributed by VERMEULE and KARAGEORGHIS (1982, 203, no. V:59) to Ripe I style (1300–1270/60); the second with bull protomes (*ibid.*, 205, no. V:90) to Ripe II style (1275–1230/20).

represented in overseas contexts, mostly in coastal cities. It has also been found in central Anatolia and across the Jordan River at the sites of the Amman Airport Temple, Deir Alla and Tell es-Saidiyeh. SANDARS (1978, 75) makes the following observations in relation to Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus:

In Cyprus large quantities of Mycenaean pottery have been found in the coastal emporia – more in fact than in the whole of the Levant – and there have been doubts as to whether some of it was not produced in Cyprus itself by Mycenaean colonists; but on the whole clay analysis and other arguments do not support the colonial case for the 13th century.

MOUNTJOY (1986, 121) provides us with an important criterion for differentiating the LH IIB:2 group from its predecessor so:

A group of LH IIB2 pottery is easy to recognise from the presence of the Group B deep bowl, so-called to distinguish it from the LH IIB I deep bowl of Group A, which continues unchanged. The Group B deep bowl can be distinguished from the Group A deep bowl by its very broad rim band of about 3 cm and by its monochrome interior. It should not be confused with the LH IIC Group A deep bowl, which also has a monochrome interior, but is in other respects exactly the same as the Group A deep bowls of LH IIB. A further characteristic of a LH IIB2 group is the presence of a smaller deep bowl, known as a rosette bowl, since it has a rosette (FM 27) in the centre of one side; it has a dotted rim. The presence in a group of sherds of these very distinctively decorated bowls is a good criterion of LH IIB2.

This criterion is useful because that particular bowl is also the most common decorated shape of Mycenaean ware at this time. However there are three additional new shapes: the large linear basin with a heavy round lip; the shallow bowl; the ring-based krater; and the amphoriskos. Significantly a number of shapes from the previous period have disappeared.

In relation to the decoration of this ware, MOUNTJOY (1986, 121) provides the following information:

LH IIB2 decoration is a continuation of that of LH IIB1, but it is duller and heavier. Panelled decoration is now all-pervasive and is used especially on deep and stemmed bowls, ring-based kraters and, as an innovation, on the narrow-necked jug. The centre panel is now very wide and elaborate on all the above shapes, except the deep bowl of Group A, where its appearance is the same as in LH IIB1. The centre panel is frequently flanked by the half-

rosette, which is much commoner than it was in LH IIB1. The type of side panel filled with vertical zigzag continues to be popular, especially on the Group A deep bowl, but side panels with a fill of widely spaced chevrons are also common, whereas they did not appear in LH IIB1.

The LH IIB:2 Mycenaean ware also appears in Cyprus itself during Historical Period 7. It seems that, notwithstanding the tumultuous events in the surrounding civilizations, the Cypriots continued trade with the Mycenaeans. One example from Kition Tomb 1 illustrates this continuity. Amongst the many Mycenaean pieces ranging from LH IIIA:2 to LH IIB, there was a LH IIB:2 dish with a Mycenaean flower motif. This was found with Cypriot wares including BR II and WS II wares; RLW-m pilgrim flasks and a Monochrome Apliki“ vessel. The presence of LH IIB:2 vessels clearly indicate that the tomb was used in the second half of the 13th century BC in the LC IIC:2 phase. Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 18 belongs to LC IIC:2 according to Åström (1972b, 691). In the entire tomb, there were only two fragments of WS II in the side chamber (GJERSTAD *et al.*, 1934, 558). The majority of the pottery was LH IIB and White Painted Wheelmade (*ibid.*, pls. 88:1, 90). Åström (1972b, 692) noted that the latter “occurs in increasing quantities in the chamber and is more frequent than Mycenaean IIB in the upper layer, which belongs to the very end of Late Cypriot IIC.”

WARREN and HANKEY (1989, 158) cite evidence which could provide a determination of a more specific date for the transition from LH IIB:1 to LH IIB:2. At Tarsus a LH IIB:2 deep bowl (FS 284) was found in a context with a bulla inscribed with the name of Puduhepa. This lady was the wife of Hattusili III, the Hittite king who signed the Treaty of Kadesh with Rameses II ca 1259 BC; and mother of Tudhaliya IV. This, together with other evidence, gives an indication that the likely date for the transition to LH IIB:2 was around the middle to later part of the reign of Rameses II. The issue requires further enquiry: it is possible that a further examination of the contexts of LH IIB:1 and 2 Mycenaean decorated pottery in Cyprus, with a careful assessment of contexts, will provide further illumination.

Finally, we note that LH IIB:2 pottery is found at Ugarit before its destruction. We agree with WARREN and HANKEY (1989, 162) that the date for this destruction of Ugarit, where no LH IIC pottery is recorded until the post destruction debris, can be placed somewhere between 1200–1180 BC.

In Cyprus, the period from 1190–1175 BC is defined as LC IIIA:1 by ÅSTRÖM (1972b, 762); how-

ever, we are inclined to see it as the end of the LC II as indicated by the destructions at sites like Enkomi Level IIB, Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and Maa *Palaeokastro* I. The lowering of the date of the destruction of these to ca 1180 BC for this phase, may find some support in recent contributions detailing the end of LH IIIB which were presented at the SCIEEM 2000 EuroConference in 2003 by French, and also Moun-tjoy.²⁴⁵ For this period, from 1200–1180 BC, we have evidence from Cyprus of Egyptian 19th and 20th Dynasty pottery, which may help determine the end date of LC IIC.

8. EGYPTIAN AMPHORAE FROM LATE CYPRIOT II CONTEXTS IN CYPRUS

We shall now consider some evidence of the presence of Egyptian ceramic products in Cyprus from the last part of the LBA.²⁴⁶ Recently, archaeologists have had occasion to reclassify some ceramics as of Egypt-

ian origin. The identification of these as Egyptian wares was not initially done, because of the difficulty in recognizing its distinctive fabric. Certainly, it was acknowledged that these Egyptian vessels, like the ones illustrated here (Fig. 41), were foreign to Cyprus; however, the tendency had been to classify them under the general term of ‘Canaanite’. With increased research and collaboration into the definition and recognition of true ‘Canaanite’ fabrics (BOURRIAU 2000; SERPICO *et al.*, 2003), it is clear that not all fabrics once classified under the umbrella of this term in Cyprus are of Syro/Palestinian origin. A number of them are, in fact, of Egyptian origin and very important in establishing some Egyptian presence in Cyprus, especially during the last part of the Late Bronze Age.

Some of these were found at Hala Sultan Tekke, where the British Museum first started excavating at the end of the 19th century. Artifacts of Egyptian

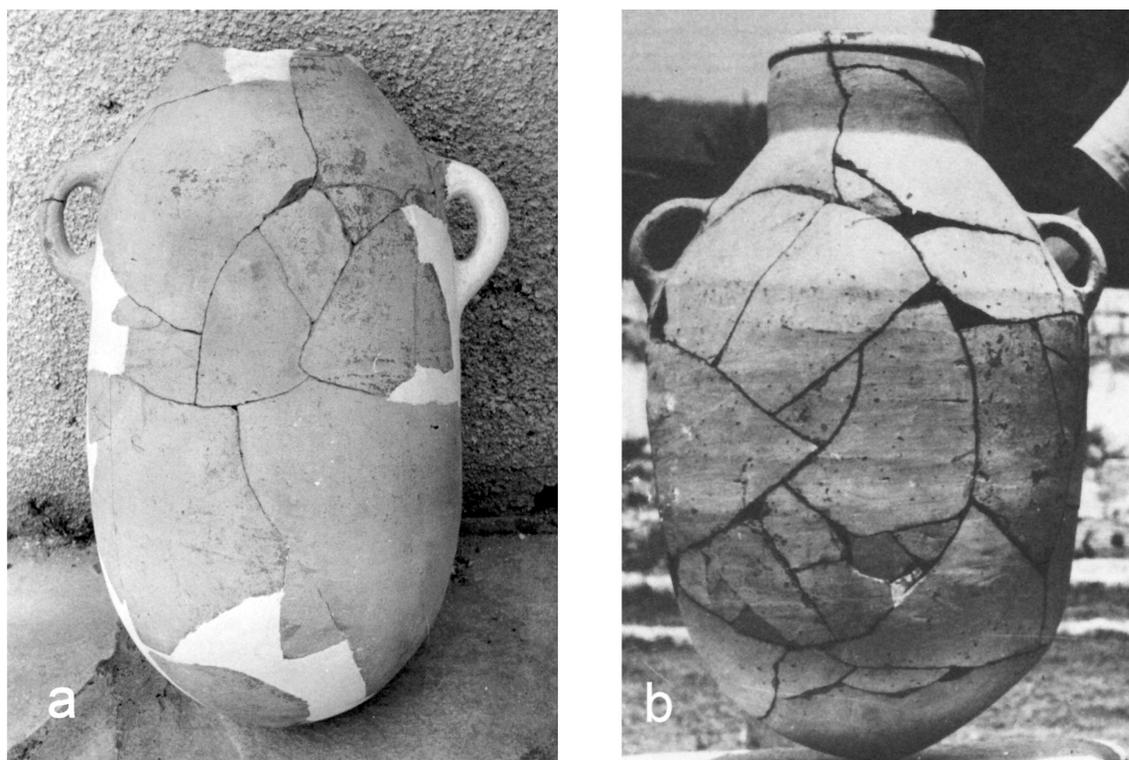


Fig. 41 Egyptian amphorae from LC IIC Cyprus a) Hala Sultan Tekke Area 8, Room 36, Layer 3, Vase 2; b) Pyla *Kokkinokremos* (after KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS 1984, pl. 21:1952/26)

²⁴⁵ Publication forthcoming.

²⁴⁶ I am most grateful to Professor Paul Åström for the opportunity to work at Hala Sultan Tekke between 1987 and 1995. The recognition of significant quantities of Egyptian ceramics at the site (and now elsewhere in Cyprus), adds another cultural dimension to our interpretation of

this period. Therefore, I must express heartfelt thanks to Janine Bourriau who, during my participation in the Egyptian Exploration Society work at Memphis, Egypt, was the one who instructed me in the classification of Egyptian New Kingdom pottery. This section is based on a paper I wrote in 1995.

provenance or Egyptianising style have been found at the site since its earliest exploration; however, new finds are being added, and these include several Egyptian amphorae.

Paul ÅSTRÖM, who has been excavating the site since 1971, has stated (*id.*, 1986) that it was the discovery of artifacts such as the amphora handle stamped with the cartouche of Seti I that drew his attention to the site with the view to the discovery of more Egyptian artifacts. This handle (Cyprus Museum Inv. No. 1952/1–11/6) was described by ÅSTRÖM (1963, 115–6, figs. 1–2) as having a grey core which turned to red at the edges; it was covered with a thick, matt yellow-green slip. This fabric description is evidence of Egyptian New Kingdom pottery because it had a Nile silt clay with a marl slip. Initially, the true origin of this handle was not realised by ÅSTRÖM (*ibid.*, 119), who considered that the handle was part of a two handled plain white wheel-made jar of non-Cypriot origin. So he (*ibid.*, 120) stated that it was most likely an import from either Syria or Palestine. However, in a later study dealing with Canaanite jars from Hala Sultan Tekke, ÅSTRÖM (1991, 68) modified his earlier view and determined that this handle fragment was indeed an Egyptian import.

Another amphora found earlier at the site had been recognised as being Egyptian; it had most likely come from Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb VIII and had been excavated by the British Museum in their 19th century digs. The Egyptian identification was made by BAILEY (1976, 15–6, 30, pl. 15d) who, using comparisons with vessels dated to the Amarna period, identified the tomb itself as belonging to the LC II period (*ibid.*, 29).

It should be noted that Hala Sultan Tekke had already been identified as an important site which has also produced numerous non-ceramic Egyptian artifacts, such as a faience sceptre head with the cartouche of Horemheb (*HST* 7, 40, N 1188, figs. 98–9, 101); a number of Egyptian scarabs (*HST* 1, 14, pl. 13a–b; *HST* 3, 56, fig. 32a–b; *HST* 8, 9, N 1157m, fig. 13); two with the cartouche of Rameses II (*HST* 1, 20, pl. 21d–g; *HST* 8, 176, 247–8, N 1234, fig. 457; ÅSTRÖM 1992, 878, fig. 2); and objects of faience,

alabaster and glass (see entries in Index, *HST* 9). There is even evidence of Egyptian food imports at the site in the form of bones from a Nile river fish: *Lates niloticus* (ÅSTRÖM 1989b, 204).

In addition, from the courtyard of Building C at Hala Sultan Tekke, an interesting collection of pottery and artifacts was recorded. One of these, an amphora decorated with the palm-tree motif, has been discussed in a paper by ÅSTRÖM (1983). In that paper, ÅSTRÖM (*ibid.*, 175, pl. 27:4) referred to two amphorae which he described as ‘Canaanite jars’ – because of their morphology. In a paper discussing this issue, I (ERIKSSON 1995a, 200–1) determined that both of these vessels are, in fact, Egyptian amphorae, which merely look similar to the ‘Canaanite’ jar form. HOPE (1989, 87) has pointed out that it is often the case that such Canaanite designs inspired the Egyptian examples.

In my paper (ERIKSSON 1995a, 201) one of the Egyptian amphorae from the courtyard of Building C is discussed extensively (Fig. 41a):

This previously unpublished amphora from Hala Sultan Tekke is incomplete, with the rim, neck and part of one handle missing; it has an elongated, oval shaped body, slightly more bulbous towards the rounded base; there are two opposing vertical handles on the upper body, (Fig. 3a–b). The fabric is of fine silty consistency with some calcium carbonate inclusions; it is fired red (2.5YR 5/6) with a grey (7.5YR 5/0) core. The surface is covered by a thick pinkish (closest to 5YR 8/4) slip. Its shape belongs to HOPE’s Category Ia.²⁴⁷... It has a good parallels with an amphora type recorded in graves from Gurob, which can all be generally dated to the XIXth Dynasty and perhaps later.²⁴⁸ This type was also recorded in graves at Tell el-Yahudiyeh which are dated to the XXth Dynasty(?).²⁴⁹ Complete examples were found at Qantir on the floors of a ‘palace’ structure dated by the pottery to the XXth Dynasty.²⁵⁰ A similar amphora was found in the destruction layer of the ‘palace’, this destruction being dated to the XXIst Dynasty.²⁵¹ The type can therefore be dated from the XIXth to the XXIst Dynasties.²⁵² A XXth Dynasty date for the two

²⁴⁷ HOPE 1989, 92, “amphorae with vertical handles and round shoulders, a smooth body profile, short or medium tall necks, in large and medium sizes”, see fig. 3:1, pl. 6a (from Gurob).

²⁴⁸ BRUNTON and ENGELBACH 1927, 21–4, pl. 38:460; see Register of Tombs Pl. XIV where this type is recorded in Tombs 5, 6, 16, 30, 483 at Gurob, Tomb 5 being the burial of Pa-Ra^cmessu, a son of Rameses II.

²⁴⁹ GRIFFITH 1890, pl. 15:5.

²⁵⁰ ASTON 1989, 13, fig. 7:3.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 14–5, fig. 8:1. It should be noted however, that this example has a slightly more pointed base than the ones from Hala Sultan Tekke.

²⁵² HOPE 1989, 94.

amphorae from the courtyard of Building C would be in accord with Åström's [1983, 175] LC IIIA:1 (ca 1190–1175 BC) date for the Building.

It is also important to note that, in addition to the two nearly complete amphorae, there are also many sherds of the Nile silt fabric at Hala Sultan Tekke (ÅSTRÖM 1992, 880, fig. 3). During 1990, a significant quantity of Egyptian Nile silt amphorae sherds were recorded in an excavation of the northern part of Area 8 (F 1800–1803). Six specific examples, identified as Egyptian, are given in the paper.

The dating of the Egyptian artifacts at the site to the 19th Dynasty and/or 20th Dynasty raises some important issues about the presence of Egypt in Cyprus at the end of the LBA. As we see in chapter VII. 7 and in the Conclusion of this book, this was around the time just prior to the great destructions of the societies surrounding Cyprus and a crisis period for the island itself. It has sometimes been assumed that relations with Egypt had effectively become non-existent by this time. The evidence from Hala Sultan Tekke suggests that this may not be the case.

There is preliminary evidence to suggest that there may be other occurrences of 19th Dynasty Egyptian New Kingdom pottery in Cyprus. Thus at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* where 'Canaanite' amphorae jars and sherds were recorded, there is one storage jar that is probably of Egyptian origin (Fig. 41b). As KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS (1984, 51) noted: "The local Cypriote pottery is largely undecorated, except for relatively few Base-ring II and White Slip II [late 'LL' and 'PL' style] ware sherds (*ibid.*, pl. 24)". The Egyptian jar was commented on so (ERIKSSON 1995a, 203):

This was discovered on the floor of Room I during the 1952 excavations at the site by Dikaios. It has a thickened rim; short, wide neck; straight, angular shoulder; handles placed on the shoulder; wide body with slightly curving sides to rounded base [DIKAIOS 1969–71, pl. 297:6; KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS 1984, 45, no. 26, pl. 21:1952/26]. As Karageorghis and DEMAS [*ibid.*, 46] observed, the shape of this amphora "is unique", but it is doubtful whether it should be considered as "a Cypriote version of a 'Canaanite' jar." It may be generally compared with an example from Tell el-Yahudiyeh

which belongs to HOPE's [105, fig. 5:3, pl. 6c] Group Ib amphorae dated to the XXth(?) Dynasty. This would correspond with the latter part of the LC IIC–LC IIIA date given to the life of the settlement.

This raises the question as to whether there should also be a re-examination of the site at Maa *Palaeokastro* where 42 fabrics identified as 'Canaanite' were sorted by hand, but some of which may be Egyptian. They were recorded throughout the life of the LC IIC–LC IIIA settlement (HADJICOSTI 1988, 341, 363–81, tables 4–5).²⁵³ Similarly, a re-examination of sherd material excavated from Dikaios' excavations at Enkomi is likely to produce more examples of Egyptian pottery from this period.

The need for such an investigation had been foreseen by PELTENBURG (1986, 165) who stated that "analyses of 'Canaanite' jars will eventually reveal more (Egyptian amphorae) in LC IIC–IIIB contexts." This was commented on as follows (ERIKSSON 1995a, 204):

This statement was based on the amphora handle with the cartouche of Seti I which has been discussed above. It was fairly assumed by Peltenburg [1986, 165] that the vessel from which this piece came arrived in Cyprus after the reign of Seti I, an assumption that added to his argument for the existence of some form of contact between these two lands at this time. The amphorae and large quantity of Nile silt sherds recovered from LC IIIA:1 deposits at Hala Sultan Tekké greatly reinforce Peltenburg's argument.

Assuming that there is sufficient evidence to show reasonably strong links between Cyprus and Egypt at this late point in the 19th and early 20th Dynasties, does this mean that there was a break in relations from the end of the Amarna Age and an upsurge at this time? The evidence of *Aegyptiaca* compiled by JACOBSSON (1994, 85) led her to conclude that "the majority of objects which can be dated with some precision are from LCHIC–IIIA contexts, with an earlier peak in LCIIA:2–IIB". Certainly there is reason to believe, from a historical perspective, that relations with the regime of Horemheb may have been strained – given the close-

²⁵² Maria Hadjicosti kindly allowed me to examine the sampled sherds of the 42 fabric groupings. The only two of these that I thought were a Marl D (2b and 2c) were not analysed by NAA. Of interest is that in the other groups Canaanite fabric P11 or P30 (as defined at Memphis by

BOURRIAU 1990, 21–2, 23), both of which are clearly identified by the inclusion of grey white particles, were identified in the following fabric groups: 1, 3, 11, 12b, 13a, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 27, 33, 36, 39, 40.

ness between the King of Alashiya and Akhenaton (and/or Amenhotep III). On the other hand, it can be said that (ERIKSSON 1995a, 204):

Contrary to this notion is the Cypriot pottery found in a stratified sequence at Kom Rabia (Memphis), which ranges from end SIP/early XVIIIth Dynasty down to the Ramesside period. Whilst it must be stressed that there is only a small amount of Base Ring I, Base Ring II and Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware at the site, there seems no reason to suggest that there was a break in the import of Cypriot pottery during the time represented. This is in direct contrast to the evidence from the tombs,

as MERRILLEES [1968, 190, 202] concluded that there was no Cypriot pottery arriving in Egypt after the Amarna Age.

The site at Hala Sultan Tekke probably provides the key to this puzzle. One thing is certain: the Egyptian amphora and sherds referred to in this section all come from contexts in Cyprus that cannot be dated any earlier than LC IIC to LC IIIA. As noted in 1995 (*ibid.*, 205): “It is time to review the evidence for determining whether there was any established Egyptian interest in the island or, whether there is any evidence for direct contact between Cyprus and Egypt at this time.”