IV. Transition from the LC IB Period and the Development of White Slip II

The transition from WS I to WS II in Cyprus has traditionally been seen by archaeologists as the defining mark of a new historical period – the change from the long LC IB period to LC II. We believe this occurred sometime after the death of Thutmosis III and before the reign of the Egyptian pharaoh, Amenhotep III. It has generally been assumed that this change marks a clear chronological transition between the two wares. The main point to note here is that it was during the LC IB period (the reign of Thutmosis III) that the exports of ceramics to Egypt from Cyprus hit a peak – as well as having strong relations between the two lands. At this stage WS I was still dominant. However, by the time of Amenhotep III, a transition had occurred with the introduction of new decorative styles which we identify as WS II.

As noted earlier, the settlement evidence available (Tell el-Dab^{c}a, el Amarna, Memphis) suggests that WS II does not appear before the end of Thutmosis III's reign, and probably not until the reign of Amenhotep III. This is contrary to the evidence compiled by Gittlen (1977, 432, 439) for Canaan. In addition, recent analysis of the Sinai sites has led to some contexts being dated either contemporary with the Syro-Palestinian campaigns of Thutmosis III (Aston 2006, 69) or to the period directly after Thutmose III in the reign of Amenhotep II (Oren 2006, 288). But, interestingly in his extensive analysis of Egyptian contexts, many dateable securely within the reign of Thutmosis III, Merrillees (1968, 186–7) only recorded WS II at Tell el Rataba (date disputable) and at el Amarna (well after Thutmosis III).

We have emphasized the importance of the appearance of WS I as one of the key defining characteristics of the LC IA:2–IB periods; WS II plays a similar role for the LC II period. It has distinctive characteristics that set it apart from the PWS and WS I series; but we can trace the connections. As for the earlier styles of WS II, the rim motifs are a key distinctive feature. On the basis of the rim motifs we can recognise the following main groups in WS II (Fig. 28):

1. Ladder Lattice Group:
   a. Ladder Lattice (LL);
   b. Ladder Lattice Hooked Chain (LLHC);

Fig. 28 Development of Rope Lattice to Ladder Lattice a) PWS; b) WS I 'RL'; c) WS I–II/II early; d) WS II 'LL'; e) WS II 'LLDR'; f) WS II 'LLHC'

c. Ladder Lattice Dotted Row (LLDR);
2. Parallel Line Group:
a. Parallel Line (PL) two lines;
b. Parallel Line (PL) three lines;
c. Parallel Line (PL) four lines.

In the distinctive WS IIA Group these are the main rim motifs (Fig. 12):
1. Double Line Framed Group:
a. Framed Lozenge (FL);
b. Framed Cross-hatching/Wavy Line (FXH/WL).

It is important to note here the origin of the 'Ladder Lattice' motif. It seems clear, as Popham (1972b, 704) had once thought, that the 'LL' motif is not only the direct descendant of the 'Rope Lattice' (his 'ladder pattern style') of WS I, but also of PWS. In WS II ware, 'both the 'Hooked Chain' and 'Dotted Row' are debased and quickly executed versions of the 'Lozenge Chain' which had once been applied so carefully in the WS I series, (see Popham 1962, 263). The development and longevity of this motif on the White Slip series testifies to cultural continuity (Fig. 28). As a further example of the links between WS I and WS II, we can refer to WS II 'LL' bowls (Fig. 29f), which exhibit a design layout closely akin to the WS I 'RL' bowls (such as the one from Thera).[163] This WS II style is not recorded in the recent excavations at Tell el-ᶜAjjul until Stratum H2, which the excavator dates to LB IB = LC IIA–B (Fischer 2003, fig. 5:1).

It should be noted that the LC II period is divided into several sections. The reign of Amenhotep III corresponds with the LC IIA:1 and LC IIA:2 phases (period 4). The next phase, LC IIB corresponds with Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton) and Smenkhkare in Egypt, and with the LH IIIA:2b period in the Aegean (period 5). The change from LH IIIA:2a to LH IIIA:2b was considered important by Åström (1972b) in defining the borders of LC IIA:2 and LC IIB. The next period is defined in terms of the first part of LC IIC:1; it is seen as extending from Tutankhamun, through Ay to Horemheb (period 6). During this Cypriot period, we had the start of the long LH IIIB phase in the Mycenaean civilization. The final period 7, which corresponds with the second part of the LC IIC:1 phase and the totality of LC IIC:2 phase is very long; it extends from the reign of Rameses I, through Seti I to Rameses II; it then continues through to before Year 8 of Rameses III. (For definitions of these periods, see Chapter I.2; for an outline of the history, see Chapter VII.4 –VII.7).

A good archaeological history of the definition and classification of White Slip II ware in the literature is given by Kromholz (1978, 5–8). He (*ibid.*, 12) undertook a multivariate study of White Slip II hemispherical bowls to determine "local preferences for particular White Slip II forms and decoration, identifying patterns of regionality and trade within Cyprus as evidenced by this one style of pottery, and examining the foreign trade patterns represented by non-Cypriote finds."

1. The Transition from LC IB and the Transitional WS I–II/WS II Early Styles

In the previous chapter, we discussed the development of WS I during the two periods, LC IA:2. and LC IB. We saw that during the latter period, the ties between Cyprus and Egypt became stronger. However, WS I was not well represented in the dramatic increase in the number of Cypriot wares exported into Egypt during the LC IB.

We have argued in Chapter I.2 that the major transition from LC IB to LC IIA appears to have occurred before the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep III. However, there were certainly periods of overlap of WS II with WS I. Furthermore, the above archaeological evidence suggests that there were examples of WS I together with LM IIIA:1 pottery; this is the ware associated with the early reign of Amenhotep III. Artzy's argument that there was a period in which both WS I and WS II wares must have been in simultaneous production appears very strong.

There are even further difficulties for scholars trying to determine the first appearances of WS II. There are two distinct wares, which have been associated with WS II and which have complicated the picture. The first is called by Popham Transitional WS I –WS II (stylistically very close to WS II early). One of the main distinguishing features, apart from fabric, is the use of a wavy line as opposed to a row of dots on the rims of the vessels. The second ware, which developed sometime during the LC II period, is the distinctive ware named WS IIA. Before we can address the issue of the first appearances of WS II, we must consider these two types and their differences to the standard or normal WS II.

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[163] For example some from *Stephania* Tombs 7:3, 14A:13 (Hennessy 1963, pls. 37:3, 57:13); and Ayia Irini no. 73 (Quilici 1990, figs. 78, 193a:73).

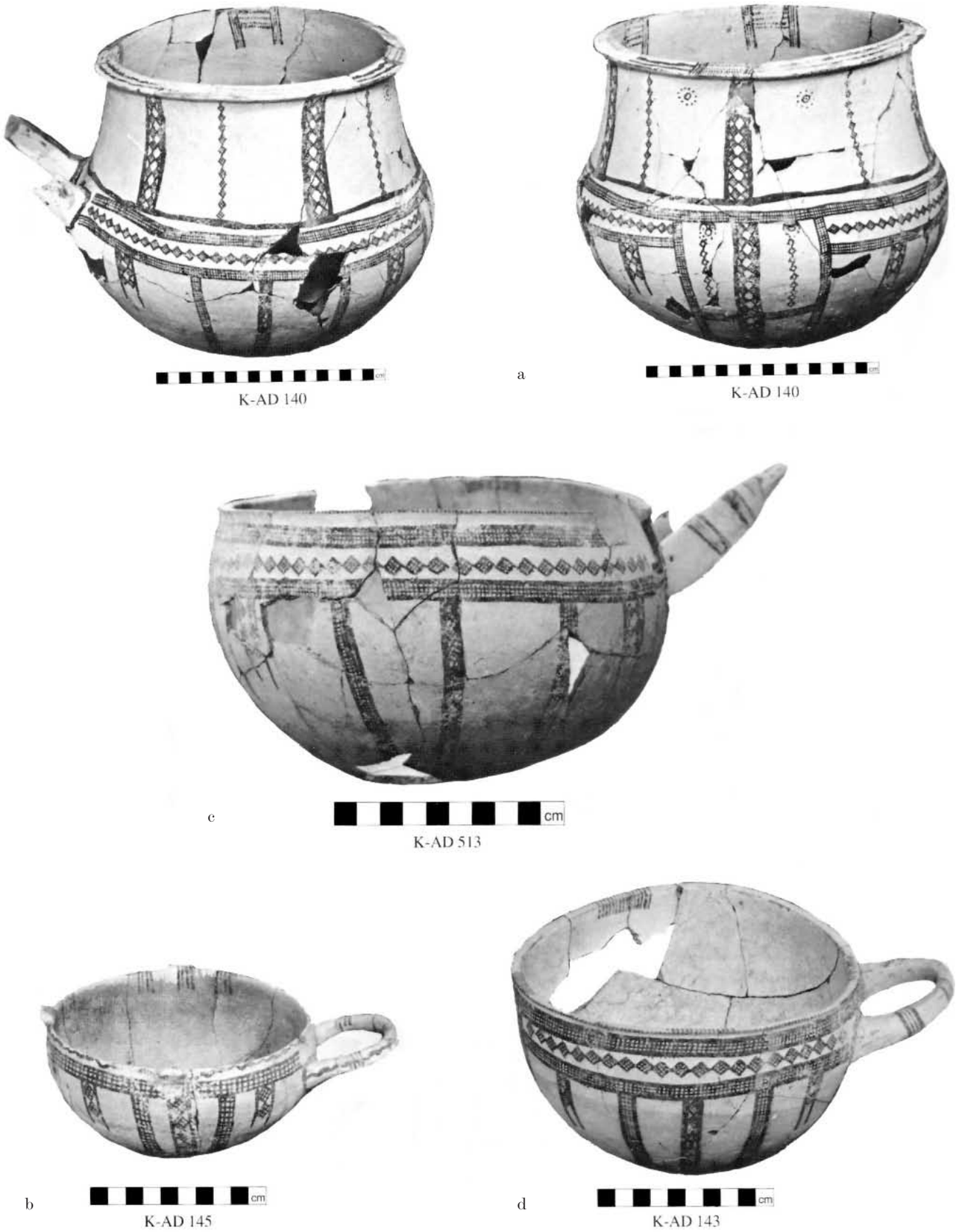

Fig. 29 WS II early vessels from Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* Tomb 4 (after *VVP* 3, pl. 23, 25) a) 'LLFL' krater K-AD 140. H. 25.2 cms; b) 'LL' bowl (with wavy line on rim) K-AD 145. D. 13.8–14.2 cms; c) 'LLFL' krater K-AD 513. H. 15.0 cms; d) 'LLFL' bowl K-AD 143. D. 18.2–19.2 cms

We turn first to consider the 'Transitional WS I–WS II'. It is distinguished by the following characteristics, as described by Popham (1972a, 443): "Inclusion of White Slip II features on vases of basic White Slip I type and the retention of White Slip I characteristics on pots of White Slip II fabric and decoration". Popham explains that the vases are similar to WS I, except that manganese based black paint is used. There has been a change in some of the shapes; for example (*ibid.*,): "wishbone handles begin to get less rounded. The jug with a pouring mouth is introduced. The most significant feature is the change in decoration, as Popham (*ibid.*,) explains:

> The change-over to a basic ladder pattern decoration has begun and in vases of this style the frontal ornament is dropped in favour of a continuous frieze... The bowl [*ibid.*, fig. 50:3] shows this change in process of taking place; the painter has worked in the old manner by painting his frieze in two halves so that his lines do not meet in front but instead of the elaborate frontal ornament he has placed a row of pendent lozenges; the rim is dotted in the new White Slip II style…It is characteristic that the ladder pattern is inclined to be somewhat slovenly in the case of vases of White Slip I fabric and these too preserve the smaller version of the design with its thin lines and inclined cross strokes; those of White Slip II fabric, on the other hand, have a heavier but meticulously executed version of the ladder pattern in which the cross strokes are at right angles to the main lines.

Popham (*ibid.*, 444, fig. 50) indicates that there are very few contexts in which we can detect the presence of this Transitional WS I–WS II style. Not only are they few in number, but they cover only a few years. He lists the following provenanced examples:

1. Katydhata T.107.1 (*ibid.*, fig. 50:1);
2. Arpera T.205C.69; (*ibid.*, fig. 50:2)
3. Stephania T.7.3 (*ibid.*, fig. 50:3).

To this list, we would add another example of this transitional WS I–II style found in the Lachish Fosse Temple (see IV.6.c and V.7.b). Popham (*ibid.*,) concludes in relation to this style that: "The most interesting feature and one most significant for the future development of White Slip ware is the growing adoption of the ladder pattern style except in the case of White Slip IIA ware."

The similarity between WS I–II ware, which is WS I fabric with WS II designs (*ibid.*, 454) can be seen clearly when we compare it with WS II early vessels from Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* Tomb 4 (Fig. 29). This tomb was in use, according to South and Russell (1989, 51), from LC IB, until well into LC IIA, containing the earliest material found in the *Ayios Dhimitrios* cemetery.

However, there is an additional issue when considering the significant number of archaeological finds in Cyprus dated to the last part of the LC IB period, which constitute part of a Transition phase. Many of the key sites, which illustrate the transition from the LC IB to the LC IIA period, do not always present samples of this Transitional WS I–WS II ware. They are nevertheless important reference points in illustrating the nature of the transition and we turn to consider them now.

(a) Toumba tou Skourou

As we have seen in earlier chapters, the tomb material from the site illustrates the continuity of WS wares from PWS 'RL' of LC IA:1, until WS II 'LLDR' styles appear in LC II (Table 8). We can note that at this site WS I–II/WS II early appears with LM IIIA:1; and WS II 'LLDR' appears with LH IIIA:2b. This progression allows us to characterise the various phases in LC chronology. The site is also important for other Cypriot ceramic wares, which can be used to identify specific phases in the chronology. In relation to the transition from LC IB to LC IIA, one key ceramic class at *Toumba tou Skourou* was BiW-m ware – an eastern ware of which four examples are known from the tombs at the site. This ware, at its latest, can probably be associated with the LC IIA:1 period because its latest occurrence was with LM IIIA:1 pottery and a WS I–II 'LLFL' jug in Chamber 3 of Tomb II (see Table 8:72; Vermeule and Wolsky 1990, 256, 393, pls. 139, 163). LM IIIA:1 was also found in Chamber 2 (Table 8).[164] This discovery indicates that some BiW-m ware was contemporary with, or at least lasted until, the reign of Amenhotep III, to whose reign LM IIIA:1 pottery is traditionally linked. To the excavators, the association suggested that what they define as LC IB continued until the time when LM IIIA:1 pottery was in circulation (*ibid.*, 395). Whilst the excavators preferred to date it to their own definition of LC IB, we are required to date these chambers to the LC IIA:1 period, so as to be consistent with Åström's and our definition of the historical phases.

One interesting aspect with respect to these two

[164] Vermeule and Wolsky 1990, 255, T.II.53).

chambers is that we do not find BR II and WS II here. In fact, in terms of the White Slip, LM IIIA:1 is here associated with WS I 'FWL', 'FL' and 'PL' rim motifs and WS I–II 'LLFL' (Table 8). However, we should note that at the site LM IIIA:1 pottery is in fact found with WS IIA 'FL' in well 6 of House C.[165] The absence of an association between WS II and LM IIIA:1 in the tombs is not a serious issue as there seems little time between all four chambers of Tomb II. In the tombs, we get a dramatic indicator of the starting point for the appearance of WS II 'LLDR' in association with BR II and four LH IIIA:2b vessels – a stirrup jar, alabastron and two pilgrim flasks.[166] They were found together in Tomb II Chamber 4; the latest tomb chamber opened at the site.[167] There was no WS I ware at all in this chamber. The evidence from *Toumba tou Skourou* provides evidence of the introduction of WS II normal around the time of the appearance of LM IIIA:1, and certainly by the import of LH IIIA:2b pottery into the island. Within Tomb II, we witness a sequence of the chronological phases from LC IB through to LC IIA:2 at the site, which further illustrates the time of the transition from LC IB to LC IIA, relative to the Aegean sequence.

(b) Enkomi

In Chapter II, we referred to the destruction of Level I at Enkomi during the LC IA:1 period. At a higher excavated level after this destruction, we find a demonstration of the transition from LC IB to LC IIA. There were two levels of destruction in LC I. After the first early destruction, there was a further occupation. There was then the next level of destruction, which we are concerned with here. The floors of this second stage of Level I were dated by Dikaios and Åström to the period LC IB. However, Dikaios noticed a more extensive depth of deposit in comparison with the preceding phase. This led him to view LC IB as a longer phase than LC IA. This conclusion arises because WS I–II/WS II early (Fig. 30d), WS II (Fig. 30e), BR II and LH IIIA:1 sherds are the key ceramics recorded prior to the destruction level of this phase, or in the transition to the following Level IIA (Dikaios 1969–71, pls. 58–9). For Schaeffer and Åström (as well as in our definition), the presence of BR II and WS II were definitive indicators of the LC IIA period. Hence the stages of the second phase of Level I at Enkomi illustrate the transition from LC IB to LC IIA:1 (see *ibid.*, 445).

We should also refer here to the presence of a LH IIIA:1 sherd in the transition from Level IB to Level IIA at Enkomi. At Level II, we have the next Mycenaean phase, that is, LH IIIA:2 style. Here we can see that WS II normal is well represented (Fig. 30f–i); with some WS I survival (Fig. 30a–c). But it is the earlier Level IB that illustrates the synchronization between LH IIIA:1 and the LC IIA:1 period in Cyprus. Indeed this Mycenaean ware in Cyprus itself defines this transition, as was (Eriksson 1992, 213) earlier explained:

> For Sjöqvist, LH IIIA:1 occurred late in his LC IB, for Åström and Schaeffer it was characteristic of the early part of LC IIA. For these reasons it is suggested that following the first destruction the occupation levels belong to LC IB, and that the final occupation level and destruction of Level IB be given a LC IIA:1 date.

Enkomi is thus another excellent illustration of the transition.

(c) Myrtou *Pigadhes*

The site of Myrtou *Pigadhes* also illustrates the transition from LC IB to LC IIA. This can be understood through the two separate phases, Phases IIA and IIB at Myrtou *Pigadhes*; each was represented by only one floor. Phase IIA was identified with an LC I A:2 to LC IB date; Phase IIB was attributed an LC IIA:1 date. These Period II Phases, A and B at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, were revealed in only a small area of the site (Taylor 1957, 7, 113–4). They were initially dated by the excavator, J. du Plat Taylor, based on Sjöqvist's definition of these periods, to LC IA and LC IB respectively. We now date the beginning of Period II Phase A to LC IA:2 because of the appearance of a small percentage of WS I, BR I and BiW-m wares (*ibid.*, 4); and Period B is considered to be largely LC IIA:1, especially since the presence of BR II and Bucchero show the transition to LC IIA:1. However, this site is complicated because of the observations of Catling (*ibid.*, 41) that there was no WS II in Period II. Period III is not dated earlier than LC IIA:1/LC IIA:2.

Furthermore, in the publication, not a single sherd of WS I from Period II was illustrated (*ibid.*, fig. 19). The WS I which is illustrated in Catling's report, such as 'FWL' (*ibid.*, fig. 19:172, 173, 177), 'FDR' (*ibid.*, fig. 19:169, 178) and 'FL'? (*ibid.*, fig. 19:171) is attributed by him to Period III and IV. A re-examination

[165] *Ibid.*, 137, 395.
[166] *Ibid.*, 260–1.
[167] *Ibid.*, 394.

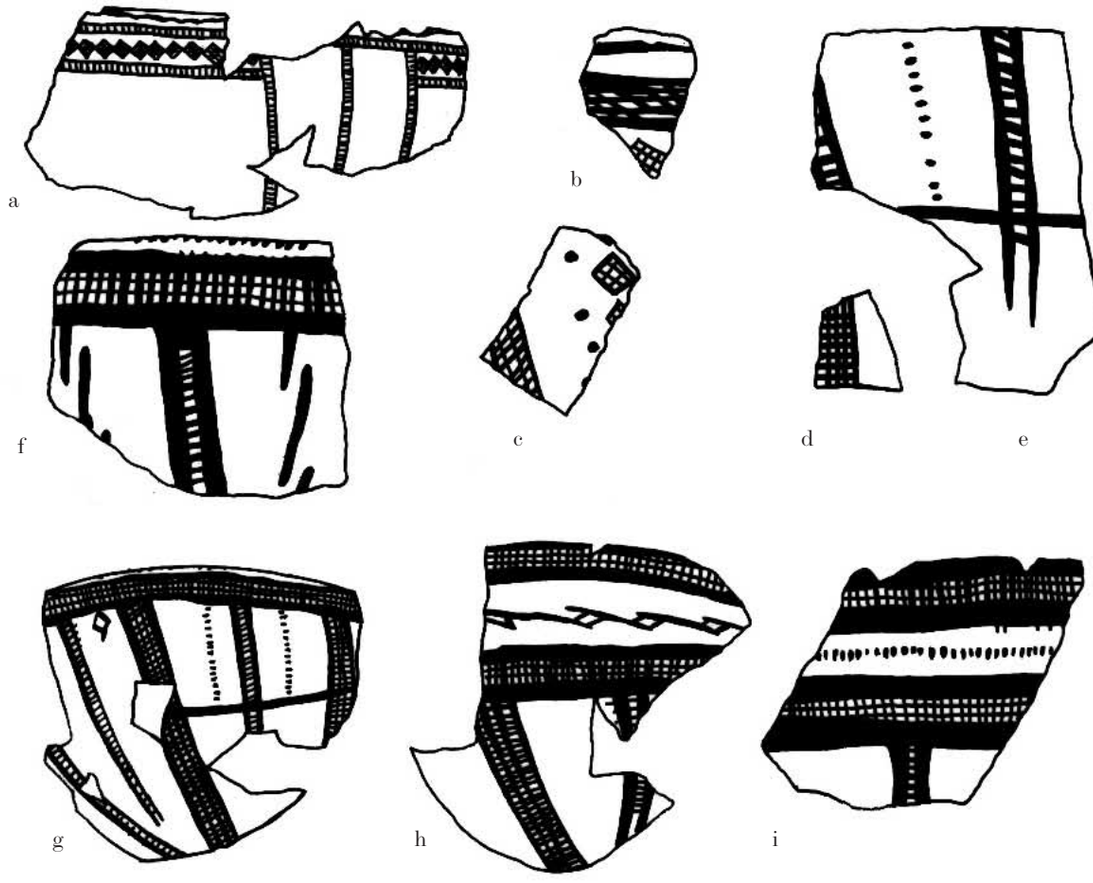

Fig. 30 Selected WS I, WS II early, WS II normal sherds from Area III Level IIA (after Dikaios 1969–71) a) WS I 'LFL' (after *ibid*., pl. 59:18 3710/10); b) WS I 'RL' (after *ibid*., pl. 59: 17 4506/1); c) WS I 'RL' (after *ibid*., pl. 59:21 3710/12); d) WS I–II/WS II early (after *ibid*., pl. 59:22a 4082/1 – transitional between Levels I and IIA); e) WS II (after *ibid*., pl. 59:22a 2811/1 – transitional between Levels I and IIA); f) WS II early 'LL' (after *ibid*., pl. 59:27 4157/1); g) WS II normal 'LL' (after *ibid*., pl. 59:24 2798/3); h) WS II normal 'LLHC' (after *ibid*., pl. 59:28 4311/2); i) WS II normal 'LLDR' (after *ibid*., pl. 59:23 2745/7)

of the Period II material would be useful. For the levels where Catling does record WS wares, however, the figures are extraordinary. In one layer (CD4, III) which contained 55% of all WS recorded on the site, Catling (*ibid*., 41) records the figures as, "200 sherds of White Slip I and 273 sherds of White Slip II".[168]

(d) The transition at Ras Shamra

Evidence of the transition from WS I to WS II is also provided from the Northern Levant region – for example at Ras Shamra, as referred to by M. Yon (2001, 118).

In the second corpus of ceramics from Ras Shamra (Courtois and Courtois 1978), only about 25 sherds are presented representing the repertoire of White Slip ware imported from Cyprus. These were discovered between 1960 and 1966 at Ras Shamra, mainly in settlement deposits. Five sherds are considered to be WS I (*ibid*., figs. 30:1–3 and 32:4), and all the others WS II.

(e) Alalakh

At Alalakh Bergoffen (2005, 72) noted that: "At least one-fifth of the WS vessels from the palace could be classified as WS II early, a style mid-way between WS I and WS II in its frieze decoration. The

[168] The author did study the 1950 material held in the Institute of Archaeology basement. What can be noted was the poor quality of the sherds and the difficulty in identifying specific WS wares.

chronological range of this style is not known: it has not been determined whether it appeared early in the WS II sequence, as the name implies, or was contemporary with WS II." The date range for WS I–II/ WS II early at Alalakh is placed by Bergoffen (*ibid.*, 53, table VII) from Level V with one occurrence, but being most common in the Level IV Palace. This is discussed in more detail elsewhere (V.8). The date of the Level IV palace is considered to range from a time equivalent with the end of the reign of Amenhotep II until sometime in the reign of Amenhotep III (Table 12).

2. The Role and Distinctive Nature of WS IIA Ware

As mentioned, there is a second distinct type of White Slip ware which is associated with WS II and is considered by some to be an early form of WS II. Popham himself felt that this was an early phase of WS II – it was he who named this series of bowls WS IIA (Fig. 32). Late in his life, Popham (2001, 46) reflected on his classification of this style and explains this thus:

> White Slip II, also, appeared to be fairly uniform apart from one very distinct variety and quite a few oddities. The main clear exception was a class of bowls which displayed a much closer continuity with White Slip I, especially in retaining a version of frontal ornament, dropped entirely in other types. On them, the framing lines for the frieze continued the old system of parallel lines in place of the then routine ladder pattern, while they uniquely continued the framed wavy line style of the earlier bowls as well as depicting a quite unusually large version of the framed diamond class (*SCE* IC, Part 1C, figs. 51 and LXXXII:7–8). It was so different that I distinguished it by its own classification as White Slip IIA.[169]

Earlier, Popham (1972a, 446) had considered WS IIA to be a regional style of southwestern Cyprus. It is distinguished by its white, chalky slip and black paint. "The typical designs, … are the framed lozenge and wavy line styles, the latter well represented in Cyprus at Kouklia."[170] It has further been claimed that: "The development of the WS IIA wavy line style from WS I is clearly seen at Episkopi-*Bamboula* where the wavy line is transformed into a tight squiggle … in stratum A:5, dated to LC IB by the appearance of WS II."[171] This level in Area C contained, apart from WS II, also BR II and LH III pottery, the presence of all three which became the basis for the redating of this Level to LC IIA:1 by Åström (1972b, 682). Popham (1972b, 702) had noted in the same publication that the WS from "the so-called L.C. IB level at Bamboula contained with White Slip I, only transitional White Slip IIA and early II."

In Areas A and E, Level A:5 was redated to LC IIA:2 (*ibid.*,); these redatings are followed here (see also Chapter I.1.f). Benson (1961, 66) who named WS IIA the 'tree design' saw in what was a standard motif "the degeneration of the vertical lozenge chain and/or the dotted vertical wavy line"; it looked like "a schematically drawn pine tree" (Fig. 31d). We consider that this motif is the development of the 'Dotted 'Snake'' motif of WS I (or Benson's 'dotted vertical wavy line' – Fig. 31b). It evolves into the cross

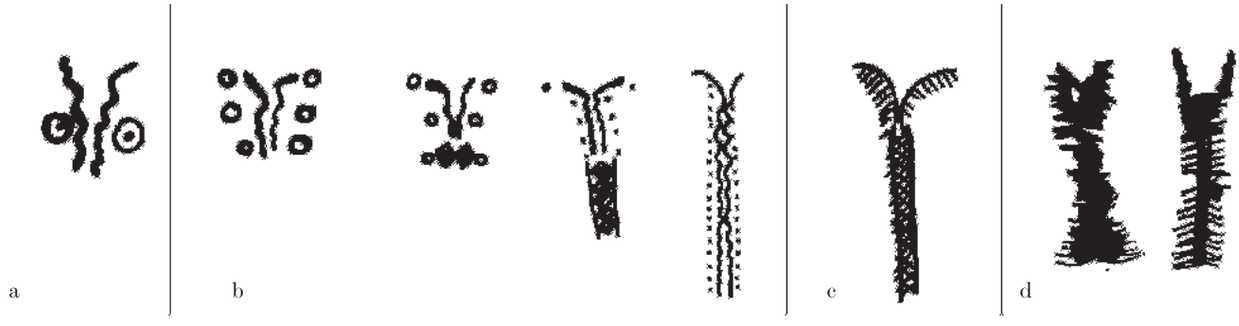

Fig. 31 Development of 'eyes and nose' motif from PWS to WS IIA a) PWS; b) WS I; c) WS I late; d) WS IIA

[169] Merrillees (1991, 239) suggested that more conventional practice for naming sub-categories within major ware categories should have dictated that this class of White Slip II be termed something like 'White Slip II Palm Tree Style' or 'White Slip II South Coast'. Benson (1961, 66) called it 'tree design'.

[170] Popham 1972a, fig. 51:1, 2, 5, 6.

[171] Benson 1961, pls. 5–6; Åström 1972b, 675; Bergoffen 2002, 150, n. 10.

hatched motif seen on some late WS I, where it has started to look like a 'palm-tree' rather than a 'snake' like figure (Figs. 26, 27c, 31c). Thus, it further evolves into the 'palm-tree' like image of WS IIA (Figs. 31d, 32). However, not all WS IIA has this motif (see Popham 1972a, 452, fig. 56:1–3, which he classified as an 'oddity' but which clearly belongs with this group). The close connection between WS IIA and WS I seems evident in the adoption by the WS IIA workshop of the 'Framed Lozenge' and 'Framed Wavy Line' rim motifs, which otherwise does not survive into WS II normal or late styles.

WS IIA ware appears also to have been exported, although not in great numbers. According to Gittlen (1977, 418) WS IIA first appears in Canaan only after the beginning of LB II. Bergoffen (2005, 52) discusses this issue thus: "WS IIA exports were considerably more frequent and more widely distributed than suggested by the ten sherds from TAH, Tell el-ᶜAjjul, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell el-Farᶜah South, Gezer, Tell Jemmeh and Lachish listed in Gittlen's catalogue." She cites further evidence for this ware at Alalakh, Tell Abu Hawam, Ashkelon, Tell Kazel and Tyre, as well as the one recorded by Merrillees (2001a, 94–6, fig. 5a–f) and said to be from Thera. A WS IIA 'FL' bowl from Tomb B1 from Akko found together with WS II 'LL' and LH IIIA:2b decorated pottery can be closely dated to the Amarna Age (Ben-Arieh and Edelstein 1977, pl. 17:7). Popham (1972b, 752–3) also recorded it at Hazor and Khania (WS IIA 'FL') in Crete. The intact WS IIA 'FL' bowl said to be from Thera, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, is described thus by Merrillees (2001a, 97):

> It is nevertheless more accurately designated early White Slip II, belonging to Popham's White Slip II "oddities" of Bowl Type ID (Popham 1972a, 452, fig. 56:2, 466) and Russell's White Slip II "Parallel Line Style" [Russell VVP 1989, 2–3, fig. 4]. Russell speculated that the Vasilikos Valley was a center for its production [*ibid.*, 1989, 3]. It is also closely related to another grouping, Popham's White Slip IIA, which is concentrated on the south coast of Cyprus (Popham 1972a, 445–7).

Merrillees goes on to conclude that there can be little doubt that the bowl was manufactured in the south part of the island. Merrillees (*ibid.*, 97–8) also refers to the following finds in the Aegean:

> Interestingly enough one bowl of White Slip IIA and another one or two of White Slip IIA or White Slip II "Parallel Line Style" have turned up in the Aegean amongst the habitation debris at Khania (Tzedakis 1972, 164–5, pl. XXXI:1–2, mysteriously called "white slip paint B"; Åström 1972b, 752; Cline 1994, 185 no. 445 with references, pl. 287) and Tiryns respectively (Kilian 1981, 170, 184 fig. 40:5; Cline 1994, 180 no. 400 with references, pl. 8:28; Kilian 1988, 121, 150, 129 fig. 25:11; Cline 1994, 180 no. 399). The former came from a LM IIIA (2?) horizon at Khania (Tzedakis 1972, 165; Cline 1994, 185 no. 445) and is now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Khania, Case No. 12, no. 1959. It has a gritty fabric fired red-brown at the rim and a creamy-white slip burnished to a very low finish. The painted decoration is matt black and blackish-brown. Its wishbone handle is rounded and ends in a projection with a vertical groove down the back, like the one on the vase in the Cairo museum. One of the sherds from Tiryns has been attributed to LH IIIB2 early (Cline 1994, 180 no. 400). These regional White Slip II styles are equally uncommon in Syria/Palestine (Åström 1972b, 753–54).

We should also here refer to the WS IIA 'FL' bowls from Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 104, Chambers B and E. In Chamber B with its two WS IIA 'FL' bowls, there was – according to Karageorghis (1990, 54–5) – nothing that should date before LC IIC (Fig. 32a, Table 9: B. 5, B. 23). However, with its RLW-m pilgrim flask (*ibid.*, pl. 45: B. 16) it could start as early as LC IIB, which would fit with other evidence for dating WS IIA at this time. Karageorghis (*ibid.*, 56) has explained that there were three chronological groups represented in Chamber E. To the second of these groups – dated between LC IIA/B – he assigned the WS IIA 'FL' bowl (Fig. 32b, Table 9: E. 5).[172] Their presence in this tomb goes to reinforcing the argument that this group is a south west coast style, as Popham (1972a, 446); and others, like Russell (1989, 3) and Merrillees (2001a), have agreed.

Some other examples of this WS IIA type style not listed in, or published since, Popham's (1972a, 464) study are found at: Enkomi Tomb 3 (Gjerstad *et al.*, 1934, 483, no. 252, pls. 77 row 9:3; 114:8); Episkopi *Bamboula* Tomb 5 (Benson 1972, B 116, pl. 16:B 116); Tomb 40 (*ibid.*, B 118 pl. 58:B 118; B 122 pl. 58:B 122); and Katydhata Tomb 11 (Åström and Flourentzos 1989a, 17, figs. 25, row 1:4, 28: T.11/26, Tomb 11).

In fact, there is some evidence that WS IIA actually appears primarily during Åström's LC IIA:2 phase (and in some cases even later), after the first

[172] This is a good parallel for the bowl in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, referred to above.

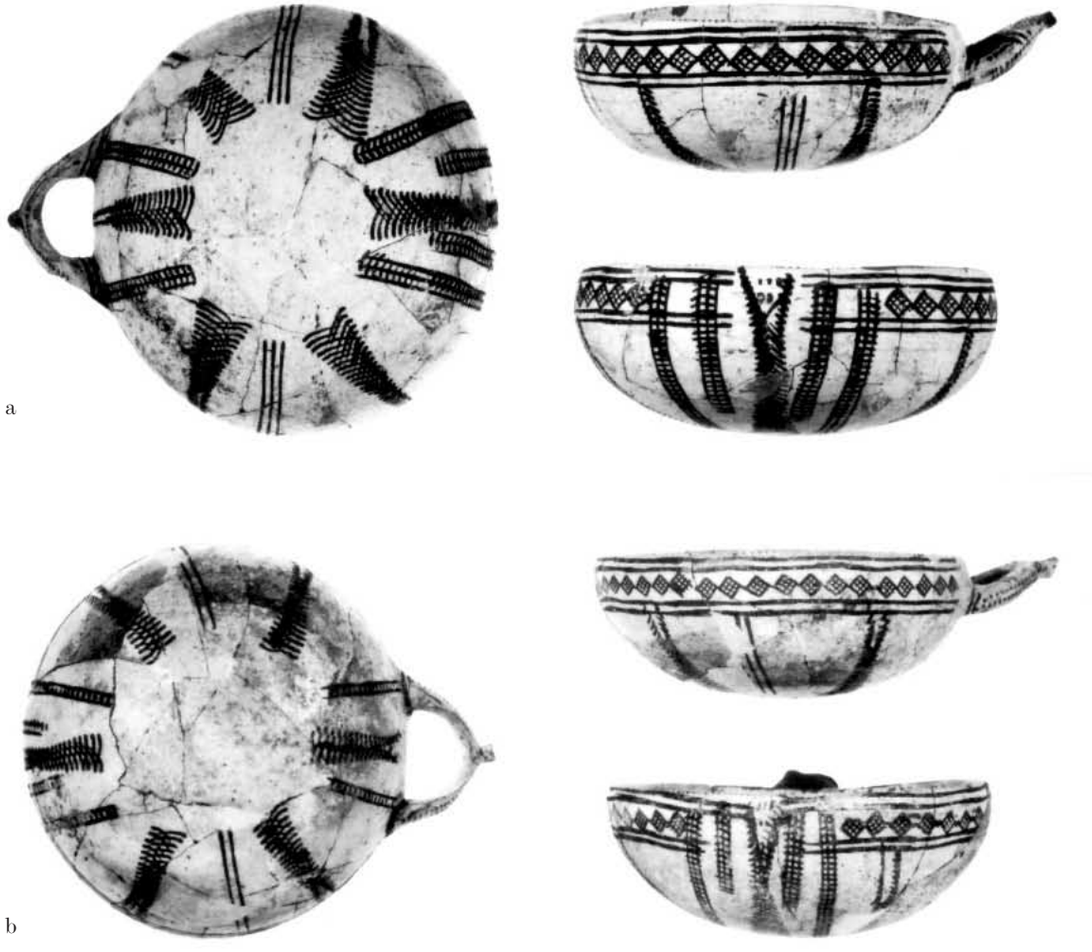

Fig. 32 WS IIA 'FL' bowls from Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 104 Chamber B (after Karageorghis 1990)
a) No. B. 23 (*ibid*., pl. 13:B. 23). D. 23. 2 cms; b) No. E. 5 (*ibid*., pl. 13: E. 5). D. 22.5 cms

LC IIA:1 phase. In one context, WS IIA is associated with LH IIIA:2 pottery in Cyprus. This was at Katydhata Tomb 90, where we have an association between WS IIA 'FL' with LH IIIA:2a (Fig. 33c–d; Åström 1972b, 685; *id.*, 1989a, fig. 61: T. 90/2). Another important case for our argument here is Akhera Tomb 3, where WS IIA was found (Fig. 33a–b). There is nothing in this tomb that needs to be earlier than LC IIB (Table 11). With its vast array of 'classic' LH IIIA:2b (Karageorghis 1965, fig. 34), this tomb provides a good link with the Amarna period horizon, our Historical Period 5 . The WS II 'LLDR' bowl (*ibid*., pl. 9:2), would agree with this assessment. Thus, there seems to be no reason to date any of the WS IIA 'FL' (Karageorghis 1965, figs. 36: 8, 15, 46, 48, pls. 9:3, 4, 5, 8, see Fig. 33a–b) or WS II 'LL' (*ibid*., pl. 9:6, 7) before this horizon.

One of the groups that Popham (1972a, 446, fig. 56:4–8, 11) linked to the WS IIA style were vessels that had the 'dotted scale' motif (see Fig. 36). Russell (1989, 3) noted that:

> Popham wondered whether this related group was a later manifestation of the WS IIA style and whether it might be a product of a particular factory. At Ay. Dhimitrios the style appears on approximately one-third of the WS sherds, which suggests that the Vasilikos Valley was a centre for the production of this distinctive style.

Whilst Russell (*ibid*.,) links this group with her 'Parallel Line Style' (here WS IIA 'FL'), we are inclined to link it with WS II normal. This is based on the use of the 'LLHC' motif typical of that style in a combination with 'dotted scale' (see Fig. 36d).

We conclude that this WS IIA class is unique; its characteristics link it to the WS II category, but the rim motifs are a development of WS I styles, especially the 'Framed Lozenge' and the debased version of the 'FWL' (Fig. 33e–f). The 'FL' and 'FWL' style is not otherwise represented in the normal WS II

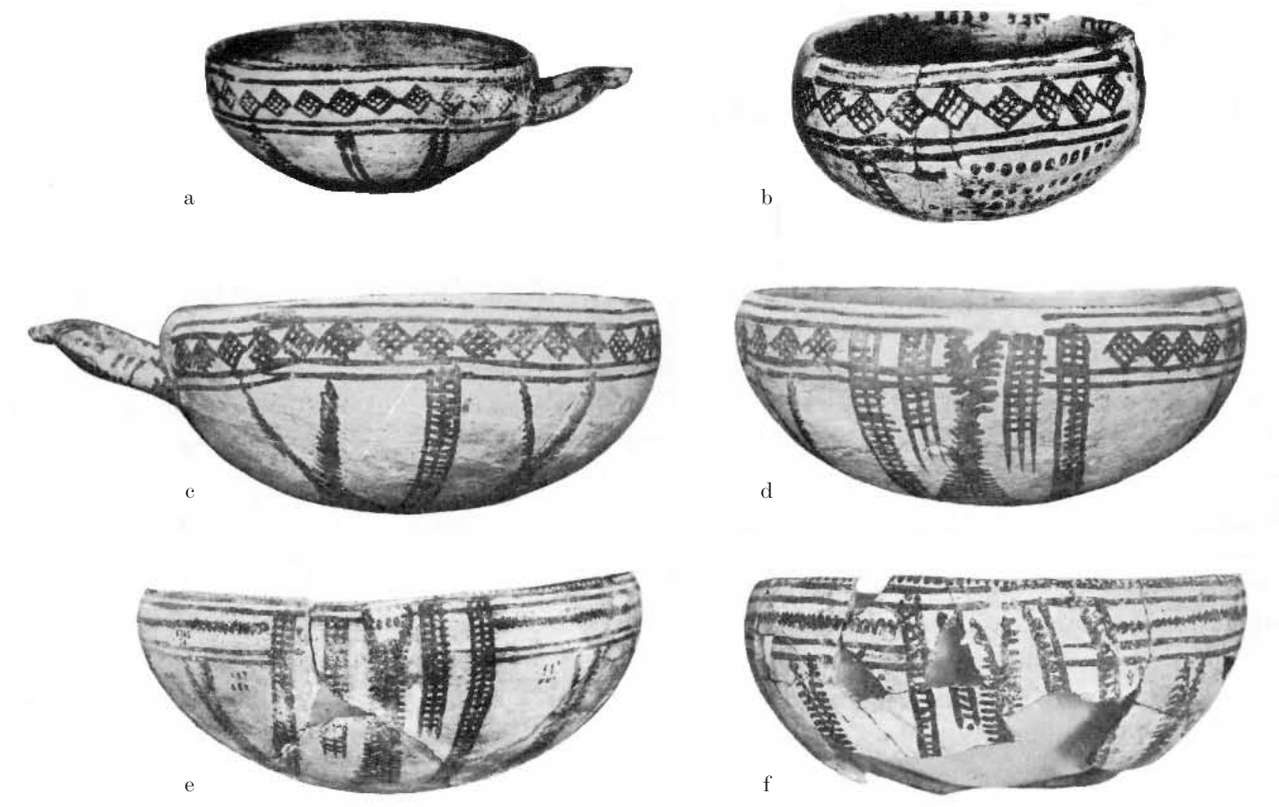

Fig. 33 WS IIA style a) 'FL' bowl from Akhera Tomb 3: 15 (after Karageorghis 1965, 124, pl. 9:15). D. 14.3 cms; b) 'FL' bowl from Akhera Tomb 3:46 (after *ibid.*, 127, pl. 9:8). D. 8.6 cms; c) 'FL' bowl from Katydhata Tomb 90:2 (after Popham 1972a, 445, fig. 51:3). D. 20.0 cms; d) As above (after *ibid.*, 445, fig. 51:4); e) 'FWL/FXH' bowl from Kouklia TAS. 1.4 (after *ibid.*, 445, fig. 51:5); f) 'FWL/FXH' bowl from Kouklia TA. V. 56 (after *ibid.*, 445, fig. 51:6)

group: instead, this latter group takes up a version of the 'Rope Lattice' style used in PWS and WS I 'RL'. We call this the 'Ladder Lattice' style.

3. The First Appearance and Economic Basis of White Slip II

We concede that there are problems in deciding on the first appearance of WS II, partly because of the existence of the other two types of ware which we have discussed, namely, Transitional WS I–WS II (or WS II early) and WS IIA. Nevertheless we wish to persist with our view and follow Åström in using the first appearance of normal WS II as one of the bases for defining the LC IIA:1 period. Leaving aside the transitional wares, I am not aware of any convincing evidence on Cyprus that WS II normal appears before the LC IIA:1 period. This is contrary to Gittlen's (1977, 439) general interpretation of the evidence from Palestine, where he concluded that: "The WS II pottery arrived in Palestine only shortly after the arrival of WS I, toward the end of LB IA or at the transition to LB IB. Thus, WS II was contemporary with PWS and WS I in late LBA I contexts." Stratified evidence from the Sinai where WS II 'LLHC' and WS II 'LLFL', both with dotted rim, were recorded at Site A 345 would also support this (Oren 2006, figs 6:6–7). Whilst Oren (2006, 288) accepts that in the Aegean BR II and WS II are found consistently with LM/LH IIIA ceramics, the evidence from A345 may support a post-Thutmose III date for the WS II, "...which were particularly common in the upper stratum, attributed to the reign of Amenhotep II ." This is generally consistent with our position.

In Chapter I.2, we outlined our view that the LC IIA:1 begins just before the reign of Amenhotep III and is primarily defined in terms of the LM/LH IIIA:1 pottery style. This point is discussed at length in Chapter VI.6. In general, when WS II occurs together with Minoan or Mycenaean pottery, it is not earlier than LM/LH IIIA:1. For example, when WS II first appears in Crete we may note the dating of contexts with WS II no earlier than the LM IIIA:1 period at sites like Kommos, Crete (Watrous 1992, 157, nos. 570, 808, 1931–5, pls. 51, 52, 'LL', 'LLDR'). Unless clear evidence is provided which links the normal or standard forms of WS II

to definite earlier contexts, there is no reason to suppose that they began any earlier than LC IIA:1. Indeed, the overwhelming proportion of finds of WS II are unproblematically dated to the time of Amenhotep III or later.

One counter example which adds to Gittlen's argument that WS II pottery arrived in Canaan toward the end of LB IA (or at the transition to LB IB) is the apparent presence of WS II in an LB I tomb at Jatt, Israel. The information from this tomb ultimately needs to be treated with caution, due to the circumstances which led to its discovery and excavation. Nevertheless, according to Yannai (2000, 49), the tomb has an early and a late assemblage with the existence of a hiatus "corroborated by the lack of imports dateable to most of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE, most notably Mycenaean pottery." It is the earlier assemblage which interests us, as Yannai (2000, 58, 71, fig. 8:89–90) attributes two WS II early 'LL' bowls to the early LB I burial phase. (The other Cypriot material therein has very strong connections with the LC IA:2 – IB tombs of north and northwest Cyprus and with Tomb 62 at Pella in Jordan, situated a short way down the Esdraelon valley from Jatt). If the WS II early bowls (*ibid.*) could be established unequivocally to belong with this group of wares, then this would create a chronological problem: it would suggest that the dating of the WS II material in this first assemblage is from a time during the reign of Thutmosis III, which contradicts our view about the first appearances of WS II. However, the full time range for the use of this tomb is from early 18th Dynasty until around the time of Amenhotep III. Thus, the evidence here is far from conclusive; it cannot by itself date the first appearance of WS II in any exact way.

The existence of simultaneous production of WS I and WS II for a period of time does not mean that we must abandon the chronological use of WS II as one defining feature of the LC II period. On the contrary, the rise in demand for production probably was a key element in the development of WS II as a distinctive product. This probably reflected not merely increased demand for a particular product, but also changes in the economic relations between Cyprus and the various societies of the Eastern Mediterranean. Certainly the appearance of WS II wares in much greater quantities than WS I and in many more places in the Eastern Mediterranean societies, suggests that trade between Cyprus and other lands expanded dramatically.

The evidence suggests that WS II went as far as Sicily, Libya, Greece, the Hittite lands, as well as the traditional areas of the Aegean, Syria, Canaan and Egypt (see below). The arrival of WS II coincided with certain dramatic historical events in Egypt, Canaan and Syria. These events related to the attempted domination of the Syrian kingdoms by the Hittites. As discussed in Chapter VII.4, they also had their impact on Cyprus.

A key question now arises: why did this fundamental change in wares – from WS I to WS II – occur in Cyprus? One reason for the replacement of WS I is the better economics of the production of WS II. This thesis has been extensively developed in a very important paper by Michal Artzy entitled 'White Slip Ware for Export? The Economics of Production'. Artzy (2001, 112) states her thesis in the following way:

> The reason for the dominance of White Slip II among the imported pieces may lie in the economy of production. The White Slip ware, unlike many other ceramics, is slipped with a different clay from that used for the production of the ware. However, while the ware remains similar in composition for both White Slip I and White Slip II, the ware of the slip changed. The slip associated with the White Slip I family is lower in magnesium, iron, potassium and calcium than the slip of the White Slip II family.

She goes on to develop this thesis further:

> Although in a previous study (Artzy 1985) these changes were attributed to the augmentation in the demand for the ware, and thus chronological progression was accepted, I now wonder if this simple solution was obscuring the true situation. Since the vast majority of the imports to the coastal Levant are of White Slip II, and the slip is thinner and probably easier to use, economic considerations may have dictated which type was to be shipped. The White Slip I family did, indeed, appear in Cyprus at an earlier stage, but when the great explosion in the demand for the supplies to the mainland occurred, it was White Slip II which was favoured by the supplier, although White Slip I was still on the production lines. A cursory examination of the material from the Israeli coast emphasizes the use of a multi-tipped, thicker brush used on White Slip II as opposed to the single-tipped brush used on White Slip I. Forms of decoration applied horizontally and vertically are eventually replaced by simple vertical strokes.

Artzy goes on to speculate that WS II was a more commercially orientated ware and more readily available to meet the growing demand than WS I. In support of this is the fact that we find that it appears in several production centres, including outside of Cyprus.

Another factor here is that once we enter the period of the production of WS II, the quality of the White Slip wares declined. WS II normal still had a

strong slip, but the colour was no longer the typical bright white of the earlier WS I production; most examples had a grey or beige colouring to the slip. In the final stage of the WS II production, the quality had become very mediocre and according to L. Courtois (1977, 11) often only had a thin layer of golden beige micaceous slip. She says (*ibid*., 11): "Cette dégradation de la qualité explique sans doute le déclin commercial, puis finalement la disparation de la W.S.W. et de son modèle le plus typique: le bol à lait." Courtois (*ibid*., 13) believed that the slip was developed as a by-product of the mining industry, since the white material used for White Sip was extracted simultaneously with the copper ore.[173] However, as she explains (*ibid*., 14) the deeper the miners went, the worse the quality of the material became. This is evident from the fact that, as the years progressed, the quality of WS II deteriorated, especially in the final manifestations of its production. This decline in quality most likely caused the eventual cessation of production – but this was only after many decades of highly successful production and export distribution.

Economic factors were also involved in the extensive distribution of WS II wares virtually everywhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. The fact that most of the WS II products were found near coastal areas is entirely consistent with the view that the majority of the trade was done by sailors – probably those involved in the export of other resources from the island. On this point M. Artzy (2001, 112–3) draws the following conclusions:

> But who did the production, shipping and the distributing? It is hard to believe that bowls, even the White Slip bowls, could have been ideologically important, a major component of palace economy. But economic interests were not necessarily limited to the palace, especially not at this time (Sherratt 1994, 67). As Cypriote interests in the maritime trade expanded, so must the numbers of Cypriotes involved in it. It is in the 13th century or perhaps a little earlier that Cyprus joins the economic giants. The wealth of the harbour towns and burial sites such as Hala Sultan Tekke, Enkomi, Kition and Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* seems to increase as the 13th century progresses towards the 12th century. It is this time to which most of the oxhide ingots found on Cyprus are to be dated.

Hence, White Slip II outside of Cyprus tends to be made up almost exclusively of bowl shapes because of the economics involved in the shipping. There also seems to be a direct relationship between the numbers and the later shape of the oxhide ingots.

4. Production Sites During the Long Life of White Slip II

The site of Sanidha in the Troodos Mountains, near Kalavasos, is undisputedly a major source of White Slip II ware production in Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age. This leads us to a consideration of the extensive work by Ian Todd and the Vasilikos Valley Project at that site. This work is of critical importance when analyzing the development of WS II in Cyprus. Todd and Pilides (2001, 27) describe the situation thus:

> The 1988 surface survey revealed the existence of very large quantities of White Slip II and Monochrome wares, but only very small quantities of Base-ring and other characteristic Late Bronze Age ceramic types. The distribution did not resemble that of a settlement site. Significantly the White Slip sherds included a number of wasters (sherds deformed in firing) supporting the idea of local manufacture. No evidence was found to suggest a metallurgical significance. Surface finds also included considerable numbers of fragments of fired/burnt clay fire-bars which were of uncertain purpose and with almost no parallels in Cyprus. The site, although large, has no obvious strategic importance, suggesting that it was located for a special function on a considerable scale even if not for a long period of time.

The site was initially used in the late Middle Cypriot period or no later than Late Cypriot IA. The vast bulk of the ceramics is, however, of Late Cypriot type, in particular White Slip II and Monochrome. The WS II includes 'LLDR', and plenty of WS II late (*ibid*., figs. 13, 16). Whilst the earliest WS style represented at the site with some frequency is WS I–II transitional; it seems that the site was one of those manufacturing the 'LLDR' and 'LLHC' styles so typical of the LC IIA:2–IIB periods (*id*., 1993, 111, pl. 13).

Todd and his associates were able to establish through the presence of other ceramics and fire-bar fragments that this was a major center, dedicated primarily to wholesale production. However, although WS II was by far the major product, most of the discovered samples were not intact, as Todd and Pilides (2001, 37) explain:

> White Slip II occurs in large quantities, but in an extremely fragmentary form; restorable shapes are

[173] See Gomez *et al*., 1995, and Gomez and Doherty 2000 on this.

very few and these are in wares other than White Slip. The vast majority of these small sherds, however, belong to White Slip II bowls, some tankards, craters, and the occasional jug. They are made in a range of fabrics, but the commonest type is hard and grey with a light grey or cream slip which almost never flakes off. The decoration consists of lattice patterns and hooked chains of lozenges or dotted rows; a small percentage is decorated with more unusual motifs, although still within the White Slip II repertoire (Todd and Pilides 1993, pl. XIII:1–3).

Another significant site for WS II wares is located further down the Vasilikos valley from Sanidha, that is the site of Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. Both sites are often considered together. As Alison South and Louise Steel (2001, 66) report:

> By Late Cypriote IIA, the large settlement of Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhi*mitrios was founded, from which has come much of the White Slip material recently excavated, but there is also Late Cypriote II material including White Slip at a number of other sites in the valley. In contrast with earlier periods for which there is usually no evidence of occupation near the coast, there are Late Bronze Age sherds, including White Slip II, on the coast at Tokhni-*Lakkia* just east of the mouth of the Vasilikos River. Late Cypriote II fine wares including White Slip – mostly White Slip II normal – are not by any means confined to a few major sites, but they occur on at least 30 sites in the valley, extending from the coast to the perhaps defensive hilltop site at Ora-*Betaleyi* overlooking the mining area.

At Kalavasos village, in the middle of the area, two Late Cypriot IIA:1 tombs with early White Slip II have been excavated: Tomb 10 (also known as Mavrovouni Tomb 1; *VVP* I, 196–7; Åström 1972b, 685, 817) and Tomb 22 ("Tomb near Mosque"; *VVP* I, 203–4) which also contained a Mycenaean IIIA:1 piriform jar. Tomb 11 (*Mavrovouni* Tomb 2; *VVP* I, 197–8) contained some White Slip II vessels and a Mycenaean stirrup jar.

5. The Extensive Geographical Distribution of WS II

The expansion of trade involving WS II was remarkable. It was found as far away as Sicily and Libya, as well as in the Aegean, the Levant, Canaan and Egypt. In nearly all the geographical regions outside Cyprus in which WS II is found, the quantity is greater than that of WS I. Below, we look briefly at the evidence of the distribution in the Aegean; Sicily and Libya; Ugarit and Ras Shamra; Canaan; and several other places.

(a) WS II in the Aegean

Merrillees (2001a, 99–100) draws the following conclusion regarding White Slip Ware in the Aegean:

> Other finds of White Slip Ware from the Aegean have been authoritatively if not comprehensively listed by Popham (in Åström 1972b, 752), Cadogan (1972), Buchholz (1987, 164–5), Åström (1988) and Catling (1991), and bibliographically brought up to date by Cline (1994, 180ff, nos. 399–460). Even with the addition of two unpublished sherds of White Slip ware possibly from Schleimann's excavations at Tiryns (*Ashmolean* 1933, 453) and Orchomenos (information from Susan Sherrat), they do not amount to a substantial corpus. Certainly White Slip II is more common than White Slip I, a pattern reflected in the Levant as well, and Proto White Slip has so far been unattested in the Aegean. Nor can anything be read into the geographical distribution which, when the White Slip II sherds from Troy are taken into account (Åström 1980; Merrillees and Krpata 1997), extends from the north-eastern Aegean to Crete and from Rhodes to Tiryns.

Merrillees (2001a, 100) goes on to give critical support for the view that some of the White Slip in the Aegean came from the south of Cyprus and not from the northwest: "The comparatively higher proportion of sherds from Kommos probably reflects more the chances of excavation than any historical factor but on technical and stylistic grounds we can at least be reasonably confident that the ceramic production of the south coast of Cyprus was involved in the trade with the Aegean."

(b) WS II as far as Sicily and Libya

White Slip II wares extended beyond the Aegean area, up to Sicily and significantly the coast of Libya. According to Vagnetti (2001, 101), the number of bowls in Italy from Cyprus is very small, especially compared with pottery from Greece. However, the situation is very different in Libya, as Vagnetti (*ibid*., 102) remarks:

> Excavations on Bates' Island, in the east lagoon of Marsa Matruh, … have brought to light archaeological material among which, according to the preliminary, but very detailed discussion by L. Hulin (1989), Cypriot pottery represents ca. 60% of the total number of sherds belonging to the LBA. White Slip bowls were found in fair numbers; they were labelled either as transitional between WS I and II or belonging to WS II varieties, a classification to which I have no technical comment to add. Several other Cypriote wares such as Base-ring I

and II, White Shaved, Red Lustrous, Plain White, Monochrome and Pithos ware have also been found (White 1986, 77–78, figs. 26–31; Hulin 1989, 125, fig. 4, tables 1–2).

Vagnetti makes the following additional points in relation to Libya (*ibid.*, 103):

> The first interpretation of the archaeological evidence for LBA occupation at Marsa Matruh put forward by the excavator D. White and by other scholars (White 1986, 1989, 1990 1994, 1996; Conwell 1987) is that the site – which is also the only well protected anchorage on the Marmarican coast, with access to a watered, cultivable coastal plain – should be considered as a sort of trading outpost, visited by Cypriote and Aegean sailors for resupply operations and for exchange of goods with the Libyan nomads living in the area. Evidence for such exchange is represented by ostrich eggshells, while traces of metalwork carried out on the site may have provided an extra attraction for the local population. The special feature of the site, if seen against the background of long distance Mediterranean trade, is the very limited presence of Aegean pottery and the abundance of Cypriote wares, the range of which also includes domestic, coarse and semi-coarse ware.

It is very significant that a WS II late 'PL' rim sherd occurs at the Sicilian site of Cannatello in contexts associated with LH/LM IIIB pottery (*ibid.*, fig. 1). It seems probable that there was contact between these two areas of Sicily and Cyprus before the events which effectively saw the end of the Late Bronze Age and the end of White Slip production.

(c) WS II at Ugarit/Ras Shamra

In Canaan and the northern Levant areas, the distribution of White Slip II wares is even more extensive. What is significant is that the concentration is basically in the coastal areas, with a much lower distribution as we move inland towards the East. M. Yon (2001, 123) gives the following illuminating explanation:

> In conclusion, while Cypriote exports are numerous in the region of the northern Levant from Anatolia to southern Phoenicia, it is difficult to evaluate the system of diffusion of White Slip since the circumstances of discovery are so different. Much remains to be done to elucidate the Late Bronze Age levels on numerous sites. However it is certain that cargos of Cypriote ceramics were arriving in Levantine commercial ports at the end of the Late Bronze Age. The eloquent example of Tell Abu Hawam can be applied to other ports from Ugarit to Byblos or Sidon.

The large scale importation of Cypriot pottery on the coastal sites which is in evidence, for example, at Ras Shamra, was mainly destined for local consumption, or for distribution amongst the coastal population who were accustomed to this category of product. In fact the rarity of evidence of White Slip in inland areas shows that the quantity of imports destined for the redistribution to another clientele on sites as far away as the Euphrates was minimal, although such redistribution did occur.

It has been suggested that during the period from LC IIA:1 to LC IIB, trade between Cyprus and the Levant was disrupted because of the incursions into the region by the Hittites. While this may be true of some of the Syrian kingdoms, it is unlikely to be the case for Ugarit, where the Cypriot presence appears to be very substantial and continuous throughout this period. Indeed, as we shall elucidate in greater detail in Chapter VII.4, there were in fact extensive trading and economic links between Cyprus and Ugarit during the Late Bronze Age. These links may have begun with Historical Period 2; were certainly present in Period 3; became more extensive in Periods 4 and 5; and even continued into Period 6.

During the Amarna Age (Periods 4 and 5), Cyprus was in many ways the closest ally and trading partner of Ugarit. There was certainly a whole colony of Cypriots working in the town and contributing to all aspects of that civilisation in northern Levant. There are even some examples of Cypro-Minoan writing at Ugarit, as Saadé (1979, 164) notes: [174]

> The discovery at Ras Shamra of Cypro-Minoan documents is explained by the frequent contacts that Ugarit had with the neighbouring island and by the presence of Cypriot elements in Ugarit and its port.…First of all, there are several isolated signs of Cypriot linear writing incised in a few vases. There is in addition a short inscription on a silver bowl brought to light near the house of the High Priest. We should also mention a tablet which was found on the surface of the Tell (at the place where the excavations to expose the house of the man of letters) and which has seven lines on each side; two fragments of tablets found in the South Palace; and finally, a tablet gathered from among the ruins of

[174] All quotes from Saadé, translated by Helen Jenkins.

the house of Rap'anou, which has eleven lines on the front and eight lines on the verso.

Even though there is not as much White Slip as one would expect at Ras Shamra, it is still very significant and is often found in the company of other types of Cypriot pottery. Indeed, in relation to the site of *Ugarit*/Ras Shamra, M. Yon (2001, 118) refers to the presence of WS II in many tombs:

> In most cases, as far as they are published, the grave goods in each tomb contain one or several White Slip II bowls associated with local ceramics, Mycenaean IIIB, one or two Cypriote Base-ring II bilbils and, on occasions, Red Lustrous spindle bottles or alabaster vessels. Tomb XXXVII, found in 1936 on the tell of Ras Shamra, and the large funerary vault III at Minet el-Beida may be cited as examples, but other examples could also be given. One must always be aware that the ceramic groups published by Schaeffer (1949) are not exhaustive, and they do not provide a complete listing of the grave goods in each tomb.

In addition to Ras Shamra, going roughly south down the coast of the Levant, Yon refers to findings of WS II at the following sites: Tell Sukas; Tell Kazel; Byblos; Sidon Dakerman; and Tyre. She draws this conclusion (*ibid.*, 121):

> Following the coast to the south, we finally reach the region of Mount Carmel which marks the southern limit of the zone under consideration. The site of Tell Abu Hawam constitutes an important reference point because it has yielded large quantities of White Slip, especially WS II; the contexts in which the material was found and the diversity illuminate certain aspects of the White Slip wares found on other sites, or in some cases they may provide a contrast with them.

(d) Continuing Cypriot trade with Canaan

Turning further south, the extensive discoveries of WS II in Canaan show that it is unlikely that there was any significant break in Cypriot trade with that region during the Amarna Period. Gittlen (1982) has proposed such a break; however, Hennessy (1997, 360) has argued against this: "In the most thorough study yet made of Late Cypriot pottery found in Palestine/Canaan, Gittlen argues for a break at the end of, or during Late Bronze Age II A, but his own figures would deny it [Gittlen 1982, 514, chart 63]. It is inconceivable that all the ceramics in Late Bronze Age II B context were survivals; there are great many, 25–30% of all imports in the Late Bronze Age." This also ties up with the known historical facts as given at our Chapter VII.4 and VI.5.

(e) Other areas of WS II distribution

Our knowledge of the geographical distribution of WS II was substantially boosted in the series of papers edited by Karageorghis (2001) – and especially the extensive earlier work referred to in these papers. Thus, for example, P. Fischer (1999, 47ff., figs. 5, 7, 9, 10; 2001a, 163–5, 168) refers to Early WS II 'LL" and WS II 'LLFL' and other WS II sherds found in Phases VI–VII (1450–1370 BC) at Tell Abu el-Kharaz in the Jordan Valley, which he considers of great significance for relative chronology. Earlier he (*id.*, 1999, 45–6 fig. 3) referred to a WS I sherd from 'a fill', which may date to either Phase IV or V (MB IIC–LB I). An association can be made for it with our 'FXH' Group which tends to date to LC IB, and so perhaps the context is unreliable for dating (see Chapter III.12).

In concluding this geographical survey, we must refer to the great importance of Anatolia (including the 'Amuq) and its links with Cyprus. I have argued elsewhere (Eriksson 1993) that the most important of the Cypriot wares in Anatolia, from the point of view of relative chronology, is not White Slip, but rather Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware. This view is reinforced by Ian Todd (2001, 206) when he says about RLW-m ware:

> Eriksson concludes from her analysis of the ware that "the distribution and chronology of RLW-m ware as it appears in the eastern Mediterranean indicates that it was invented and manufactured only in Cyprus between LC IA:2 – LC IIIA:1" (*ibid.*, 149). If this conclusion is accepted, and it sorely needs to be backed up by scientific analyses, the ware provides a most valuable indicator of the presence of Cypriote-made vessels over a wide stretch of the adjacent mainland, allowing significant chronological and political deductions. This is not so important for Syria-Palestine where Cypriote White Slip ware is abundantly in evidence, but it is of much greater significance in Anatolia where White Slip ware is not nearly so well represented. It may also be of value to Eriksson's thesis to determine the extent to which other known Cypriote ceramic types occur on Anatolian sites at which Red Lustrous Wheelmade ware has been found.

Todd (2001) undertook this task and determined that there are also significant samples of White Slip found in Anatolia, especially of WS II. Because the area is so vast, Todd divides it into six geographical regions and finds some WS examples in five of those regions. We shall discuss Todd's findings in the next Chapter. Suffice to mention here that his analysis relies very heavily on the distribution of RLW-m wares in Anatolia.

6. The Association of Red Lustrous Wheel-made and White Slip Wares[175]

As was indicated in the Introduction, this book not only draws on White Slip ware, but also on the appearances of the major Cypriot ceramic RLW-m. My thesis that RLW-m ware was produced on Cyprus and distributed throughout the Mediterranean is a key element of our overall analysis here, especially in regard to cultural and chronological synchronisms (see also Chapter V.4). There are a number of occasions when RLW-m occurs together and with the WS series: in these cases, we have a very powerful explanatory tool. In it is therefore important to record these occurrences of the conjunction of the two wares. I chose to do so in this chapter because, in the majority of cases when RLW-m occurs together with White Slip, it is with WS II.

This major conjunction between RLW-m and WS II was not, however, the situation in Egypt. Rather, from the observations of Gjerstad, Sjöqvist, Oren and others, it is clear that it was during the reign of Thutmosis III (LC IB) when most of the Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware arrived there. This is not to deny the possibility that some RLW-m first appeared in certain earlier 18th Dynasty contexts, before Thutmosis III, but well after the start of the LC IA:2 period – although I do not believe there is any evidence which would allow us to date RLW-m wares to the time of the late Hyksos period (LC IA:1). At the moment, this issue as to whether the period of 'export' of RLW-m to Egypt begins with a few finds from earlier in the 18th Dynasty, or whether these should be attributed to the large majority that occur during the Thutmosis III period is difficult to resolve. We shall take up this question again in Chapter V.4.

Although the majority of occurrences of RLW-m in Egypt were during the LC IB period (Thutmosis III), the picture is different when we look at the discovered associations between RLW-m and WS wares throughout the whole Eastern Mediterranean. Here WS II contexts are dominant and the periods extend from LC IIA:1 onwards. (Table 11). In what follows, we survey the relationship of RLW-m with the totality of the White Slip series. A general picture can be presented as in Table 11.

	CONTEXT	WHITE SLIP	RED LUSTROUS (after Eriksson 1993)	DATE
1	Enkomi Level IA Area I Building	PWS Phase 2 sherds (Table 6, Fig. 18a–b); WS I (Dikaios 1969–71, 444)	Sherds (*ibid.*, 31, CN 1187)	LC IA:1–2
2	Ayia Irini Tomb Stratum III–IV	21 WS I bowls (Quilici 1990, nos. 40-'FWL', 48-undec., 49-'FWL', 60-'FWL', 72-'FWL', 87-'FWL', 89-dotted rim, 94-'FWL', 95-'FWL', 99-'FWL', 100-'FWL', 104-'FL', 125-'FL', 128-'FWL', 134-'FL', 158-'FL', 161-undec., 182-undec., 191-'FWL', 209-'FDR', 211-'FDR'); one WS I–II/WS II early bowl (*ibid.*, no. 73)	Juglet Type IV B2 (Quilici 1990, no. 136, fig. 157); two bottles Type VIA1a (*ibid.*, nos. 133, 181, figs. 127, 165, 194a); bottle (*ibid.*, no. 123, fig. 157)	LC IA:2–LC IB
3	Ayia Irini Tomb 21 Stratum 5 (Phase II)	11 WS I bowls (Pecorella 1977, nos. 31-(Fig. 26b); 40-'FWL', 51-'FDR', 60-'FDR', 80-'FWL', 83-'FWL', 86-'FWL', 91-'FDR', 104-'PL', 118-'FWL', 119-'FWL'); two WS I late ? motif bowls (*ibid.*, nos. 97, 99)	Juglet (Eriksson 1993, 31–2, CN 3)	LC IA:2–LC IB
4	Ayia Irini Tomb 21 Stratum 5 (Phase Phase III)	Three WS I 'FWL' bowls (Pecorella 1977, nos. 35, 37, 38); WS I 'FWL' spouted bowl (*ibid.*, no. 34)	Bottle (*ibid.*, 31–2, CN 248)	LC IB
5	Ayia Irini Tomb 21 Stratum 4 (Phase IV)	Two WS I bowls (Pecorella 1977, nos. 22+23-'FrLa'; 27-'FWL')	Bottle (*ibid.*, 32, CN 247).	LC IB
6	Episkopi Bamboula Tomb 12 Period B	Eight WS I bowls (Benson 1972, 16–7, nos. 36–7, 41, 51–2, 74, 76–7)	Bottles (*ibid.*, 33, CNs 132–3)	LC IB

Table 11 Some dated contexts with RLW-m and WS wares (based on Eriksson 1993)

[175] This examination is based on an analysis of work I did for my PhD (see Eriksson 1993).

	CONTEXT	WHITE SLIP	RED LUSTROUS (after Eriksson 1993)	DATE
7	Enkomi (French) Tomb 8	WS I sherds (Schaeffer 1936, 139, T. 8, no. 11)	Bottle (*ibid*., 34, CN 105)	LC IB
8	Enkomi (French) Tomb 15	WS I 'FWL' bowl (Schaeffer 1952, 109, no. 19, figs. 40:19, 41:19)	Bottles (*ibid*., 34, CNs 106, 275)	LC IB
9	Enkomi Level IB Area I Building	PWS Phase 2 (Table 6, Fig. 18c); WS I (Table 6, Fig. 18d–f) and WS II (Dikaios 1969–71, 444)	Sherds (*ibid*., 35, CN 1188)	LC IB–LC IIA:1
10	Enkomi Level IB. Area III Fortress	WS I (Dikaios 1969–71, 444) Figs. 26, 27g–q	Sherds (*ibid*., 35, CN 1189)	LC IB–LC IIA:1
11	Myrtou Pigadhes Period II Phase B	WS I (Taylor 1957, 4, 113)	Bottle (*ibid*., 37, CN 671)	LC IB–LC IIA:1
12	Enkomi (French) Tomb 3 Lower burial	WS I 'FWL' bowl (Schaeffer 1936, fig. 32:37, pl. 32:6)	Krater (*ibid*., 37, CN 47)	LC IB–LC IIA:1
13	Lachish Fosse Temple Structure I	WS II (early) bowl (Tufnell *et al.*, 1940, fig. 32:155); two WS II bowls, (*ibid*., fig. 32:156, 165)	Bottle (*ibid*., 103–4, CN 765)	LC IB–LC IIA:1
14	Enkomi (French) Tomb 5 Layer IV	One WS I 'FWL' bowl and three WS II 'LL', 'LLFL' bowls (Schaeffer 1952, nos. 267, 290, 353, 360, figs. 71:267, 73:342, 74:353, 360,)	Bottle (*ibid*., 38, CN 262)	LC IB–LC IIA:2
15	Episkopi Bamboula Tomb 13	Two WS I bowls (Benson 1972, 18, B 87-undec, B 90-'FWL'); three WS I spouted bowls (*ibid*., 18, B 84-'FL', pl. 39, B 85-'FL', pl. 39, B 86-'FLMet', pl. 16, fig. 23a); seven WS II bowls (*ibid*., 18, B 141–5, 148, 159); one WS II krater (*ibid*., 18, B 169-'LLFL', pl. 17)	Bottles (*ibid*., 57, CNs 134–7)	LC IB–LC IIA:2
16	Episkopi Bamboula Area C, Level A:5	WS I and WS II sherds (Benson 1970, Table 6A–B)	Sherds (*ibid*., 40, CN 1236)	LC IIA:1
17	Episkopi Bamboula Tomb 2	WS II 'LLDR' bowl (Benson 1972, 11, pl. 16:B 129).	Sherds (*ibid*., 45, CN 1247)	LC IIA:1
18	Kalavasos Tomb 1	Four WS II bowls (Åström 1972b, 685, n. 2)	Bottle (*ibid*., 40, CN 315)	LC IIA:1
19	Katydhata Tomb 26	WS II 'LLHC' bowl (Åström 1989, 20, fig. 19 row 2:2)	Bottle (*ibid*., 40, CN 330)	LC IIA:1
20	Enkomi Level IIA Area III	WS II (Dikaios 1969–71, 447) Fig. 25a–c	Bottles (*ibid*., 40, CNs 590–1) and sherds (CN 1190)	LC IIA:1–IIA:2
21	Enkomi (French) Tomb 11, Lower Layer	Two WS II 'LL' bowls (Schaeffer 1952, 151, nos. 132–3); WS II 'LLFL' large bowl (*ibid*.,154, no. 181, fig. 61:13)	Bottles (*ibid*., 38–9, CNs 263–271), flasks (CNs 816–7)	LC IIA:1–IIA:2
22	Alalakh Niqme-pa palace Room 16	WS bowls	Bottles (*ibid*., CNs 400–3, 681)	LC IIA:1–IIA:2
23	Ayios Iakovos Bronze Age Sanctuary	WS II 'LLHC' krater (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 357, no. 18)	Bottle (*ibid*., 41, CN 541), arms (CNs 1013–8) and fragments (CN 1030)	LC IIA:2
24	Episkopi Bamboula Area C Level A:6	WS I and WS II sherds (Benson 1970, Table 6A–B)	Bottle (*ibid*., 41, CN 138); sherds (CN 1237)	LC IIA:2
25	Episkopi Bamboula Area E Level A:6	WS II sherds (Benson 1970, Table 8A–B)	Sherds (*ibid*., 41, CN 1241)	LC IIA:2
26	Myrtou Pigadhes Period III	WS II sherds (Taylor 1957, 114)	Bottle (*ibid*., 43, CN 142) sherds (CN 672)	LC IIA:2
27	Enkomi (French) Tomb 2	Three WS II bowls (Schaeffer 1952, nos. 8, 39, 43, figs. 49:1 (LL), 49:4 (LLHC), 50:8 (LL), pl. 12)	Bowl (*ibid*., 43–4, CN 1), jar (CN 50), jug (CN 78), bottle (CN 542), flasks (CNs 815, 939), arm (CN 1021)	LC IIA:2

Table 11 continued Some dated contexts with RLW-m and WS wares (based on Eriksson 1993)

	CONTEXT	WHITE SLIP	RED LUSTROUS (after Eriksson 1993)	DATE
28	Enkomi (French) Tomb 11 Upper Layer	11 WS II bowls (Schaeffer 1952, 141, nos. 13-'LLDR', fig. 61:12, 23; 143, no. 36; 145, nos. 42, fig. 62:11, 42A, 50-'LLDR'; 146, no. 60-'LL', 148, nos. 85–6-'LLDR', fig. 62:10, 149, no. 104-'LL'; 150, no. 126-'LL')	Bottles (*ibid.*, 44, CNs 263–6)	LC IIA:2
29	Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios Tomb 11	WS II	Bottles (*ibid.*, 44–5, CNs 319–28), flasks (CNs 827–9, 987), bottle (CNs 627–41), sherds (CN 1217)	LC IIA:2
30	Alalakh House 37 Rooms 12 and 13	WS II bowls	Arms (*ibid.*, CNs 1023, 1044)	LB II
31	Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 11 Period IA	Four WS II bowls (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, nos. 227-'PL', 251-'LL', 254-'LL', 261-'LLHC', pl. 82)	Flask (*ibid.*, CN 824)	LC IIA:2/LC IIB
32	Episkopi Bamboula Area A Level B:6	WS I and WS II sherds (Benson 1970, table 1A–B)	Sherd (*ibid.*, 47, CN 1231)	LC IIB
33	Episkopi Bamboula Area C Level B	WS I and WS II sherds (Benson 1970, table 7A–B)	Sherd (*ibid.*, 47, CN 1238)	LC IIB
34	Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 3	WS II bowl (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 482, no. 187-'PL', pl. 77, row 11:2)	Jug (*ibid.*, 47–8, CN 76), five bottles (CNs 107–8, 289–91); four flasks (CNs 820–1, 887–8); and sherds (CNs 58, 1198)	LC IIB
35	Tamassos-Politiko Tomb VI Lower Burial	WS II bowl (Karageorghis 1965b, no. 17); a WS II tankard (*ibid.*, no. 64)	Bottle (*ibid.*, 48, CN 372)	LC IIB
36	Enkomi (Cypriot) Tomb 10 Third Burial	One WS II jug and 13 WS II bowls (Dikaios 1969–71, 389, nos. 191, 199, 204, 212, 229, 234, 240, 244, 257, 260, 263, 265, , 279, 296, pls. 206–7)	Flask (*ibid.*, 48–9, CN 885)	LC IIB
37	Akhera Tomb 3	One WS II 'LLDR' (Karageorghis 1965, no. 13), four WS IIA 'FL' (*ibid.*, nos. 8, 15 (Fig. 33a), 46 (Fig. 33b), 48), two WS II 'LL' (*ibid.*, nos. 3, 47)	Two bottles (*ibid.*, CNs 93, 242), one flask (CN 802)	LC IIB
38	Akhera Tomb 2	One WS II 'LLHC' (Karageorghis 1965, 112, no. 11); one WS II 'LL' (*ibid.*, no. 9)	Flask (*ibid.*, 51, CN 928)	LC IIB–IIC:1
39	Kition Tomb 1	WS II	Flasks (*ibid.*, 49, CNs 895–7)	LC IIB–LC IIC:2
40	Ras Shamra Tomb I	WS II bowl (Schaeffer 1949, fig. 62:3)	Flask (*ibid.*, 115, CN 877)	LC IIC
41	Minet el-Beida, Tomb IV	WS II 'PL' (late) bowls (Schaeffer 1949, fig. 57:3–4, 26)	Flasks (*ibid.*, 114, CNs 911, 916).	LC IIC
42	Ras Shamra Tomb 1068	WS II	Bottle (*ibid.*, 115, CN 533)	LC IIC
43	Enkomi Level IIB Area I	WS I and WS II (Dikaios 1969–71, 451)	Bottle (*ibid.*, 50, CN 592), sherds (CN 1191)	LC IIC
44	Enkomi Level IIB Area III	WS I and WS II (Dikaios 1969–71, 451)	Flask (*ibid.*, 50, CN 938)	LC IIC
45	Kition Area I	WS II sherds	Sherds (*ibid.*, 50, CNs 1224–5)	LC IIC
46	Kition Tomb 4 & 5	WS II	Bottle (*ibid.*, 50, CN 362)	LC IIC
47	Episkopi Bamboula Area C Levels C:1–2	WS I and WS II sherds (Benson 1970, table 7A–B)	Sherds (*ibid.*, 50, CNs 1239–40)	LC IIC
48	Enkomi (Cypriot) Tomb 10 Fourth Burial	One WS II tankard and six WS II bowls (Dikaios 1969–71, 389, nos. 18, 83, 85, 90, 96, 113, 120, pls. 209–10)	Flasks (*ibid.*, 51, CNs 868–9)	LC IIC:2
49	Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 11 Period III	WS II bowl (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 516, no. 7)	Flask (*ibid.*, 51, CN 870)	LC IIC:2

Table 11 continued Some dated contexts with RLW-m and WS wares (based on Eriksson 1993)

(a) Early association of WS with RLW-m

At the outset, we should make an important chronological observation: there is no exclusive association between PWS and RLW-m; thus the evidence implies that, by the time the latter is introduced, PWS is no longer in production. Furthermore, we can observe that there is no clear association between WS I 'Rope Lattice' with any RLW-m, not even at *Toumba tou Skourou*. We should also note that at Ayia Irini (Table 10; Quilici 1990) WS I 'RL' occurs in stratum V with PWS, LM IA etc, *before* a RLW-m spindle bottle of the broad shouldered early type is recorded in strata III–IV (see Sections II.3.c and VI.1.a). This stratigraphy may be significant, keeping in mind the well founded cautions about using material for determining chronological developments from such multi-use tomb groups.

The first association between the two wares in Cyprus thus occurs when RLW-m and so-called "mature" WS I are found together – that is, well after the start of LC IA:2 (e.g. Enkomi, Ayia Irini) onwards. Certainly the common presence of RLW-m in LC IB deposits suggests that it appears already by late LC IA:2, a view first put forward by Åström (1972b, 701). However, the general view is that none of the contexts with RLW-m ware and WS I can be dated securely to the LC IA:2 period only. The debate is made more interesting by a recent paper by Aston (fc), in which he analyses some of those contexts in Egypt with RLW-m and Royal name material that were (Eriksson 1993, 67–78) believed could date to the early 18th Dynasty. He concludes that none of them are secure. At this stage, I am not fully persuaded by his argument. Part of the problem here is that there are also important contexts in Cyprus and Syria/Canaan which seem to attest to a starting point for RLW-m in the latter part of the LC IA:2 Period. The issue may be resolved as more material comes to hand (see also Chapter III).

Turning to the LC IB period, in Enkomi, (Swedish) Tomb 8 and (French) Tomb 15, there is an association between RLW-m ware and WS I 'FWL' dated to LC IB.[176] A similar date is given to Episkopi *Bamboula* Tomb 12 Period B, where there are eight WS I bowls with either 'FWL', 'FXH' and a 'FL' styles. The 'FL' spouted bowl is comparable to the one from ᶜEzbet Helmi (Fig. 21).[177] There was also a WS I–II/WS II 'LL' jug.[178] All these were together with two RLW-m ware spindle bottles.

In Ayia Irini Tomb 21 (Stratum V-Phase III), the association is between a RLW-m spindle bottle and WS I 'Framed Wavy Line' (FWL),[179] and the transitional type which we have called WS I 'FWL' late spouted bowl.[180] In the same tomb in a later level also dated to LC IB (Stratum 4–Phase IV), another RLW-m spindle bottle was associated with just transitional type WS I 'FWL' late (Fig. 26a), and the unusual 'FLBD' rim motif (Fig. 26d).[181] The overall record suggests that during LC IB the typical WS I style is 'FWL', and particularly the late styles which exhibit the 'Framed Cross-hatching', which is certainly most common at this time (see Chapter III.12).

It should be noted that there are some contexts where we see the transition from LC IB through to LC IIA:2. Thus Episkopi *Bamboula* Tomb 13, which was plundered, shows a similar total array of goods to the above mentioned Episkopi *Bamboula* Tomb 12. Both appear to include RLW-m and WS I and WS II (Benson 1972, 17–8). Whilst we cannot distinguish any sequence, other than the obvious, it is of interest that the latter *Bamboula* tomb contained the best parallel so far cited for the ᶜEzbet Helmi WS I 'FLMet' style spouted vessel (see Chapter III.5).

In Cyprus, some of the Enkomi tombs also span this LC IB–LC IIA:1 period, such as Enkomi (French) Tomb 5, Layer IV. In this tomb, there is only one skeleton shown on the left side of the chamber, and its skull, spine and upper limbs are more or less in position (Schaeffer 1952, pl. 38). The RLW-m spindle bottle was found to the left of where the lower limbs of the skeleton would have been located, had they been preserved. It occurs together with a WS I 'FWL' rim motif bowl (*ibid.*, fig. 74: 360); one WS II 'Parallel Line' bowl (*ibid.*, 198, no. 295, fig. 72:295); one WS II 'Ladder Lattice Framed Lozenge' bowl (*ibid.*, 199, no. 353, fig. 74:353); and a WS II 'Ladder Lattice Framed

[176] Schaeffer 1952, fig. 41:19.

[177] Benson 1972, 16–7, nos. 36–7, 41, 51–2, 74, 76–7; B 72-'FXH', B 74-'FXH', B75-'FXH', B 76-'FWL', B 78-'FWL', B 81-'FL', B 82-'FXH', B 83-'FL'; *id.*, 1961, pl. 7:1–9.

[178] Benson 1972, 17, B 96 – WS I–II – WS II early 'LL'; *id.*, 1961, pl. 7:9.

[179] Pecorella 1977, no. 35, figs. 365a–b, 480:35; no. 38, figs. 368, 475:38.

[180] *Ibid.*, no. 34, figs. 363a–b, 489:34.

[181] *Ibid.*, nos. 22, 27, figs. 354a–b, 359a–b, 485:22 + 23, 475:27.

Hooked Chain' bowl (*ibid.*, 198, no. 290, cf. fig. 73:342). We should note here a further level of complexity: the use of the chamber extends into the LC IIA:2/B period, as indicated by the presence of a LH IIIA:2 three handled jar and cup (*ibid.*, figs. 68:101; 69:115). The general character of the material found closely associated with the spindle bottle suggests a LC IB date, except for the WS II bowls which push the date into LC IIA:1–2.

(b) WS II and RLW-m in Cyprus

As we have seen, Åström (1972b, 685) used the appearance of LH IIIA:1 pottery, as the key feature in defining the LC IIA:1 period; this period is generally linked to the first part of the reign of Amenhotep III – although it may have begun slightly before this on Åström's reckoning (see Chapter I.2). In any event, the evidence shows that the vast majority of the associated finds of WS II with RLW-m ware in Cyprus are from the LC IIA:1 period onwards – until LC IIIA:1 (e.g. Maa *Palaeokastro*).

We shall here consider two examples where this association between RLW-m and WS II is best illustrated within Cyprus. Firstly, we have the lower layer of the western chamber of Enkomi (French) Tomb 11. Here the finds were scattered over a bench. Two groups of material were identified and the WS II ware vessels were considered to be associated with a chronologically later group of material (Eriksson 1993, 38–9, fig. 10). This included one pilgrim flask and two WS II 'Ladder Lattice' (LL) bowls (Schaeffer 1952, 151, nos. 132-3, type fig. 62:11). Given the marked absence of BR II and LH IIIA:2 wares on the western bench, the date for these goods is somewhere between LC IIA:1 and LC IIA:2.

Secondly, there are a number of deposits with RLW-m and WS I and II which can be dated more definitively to the LC IIA:1 period. These include Episkopi *Bamboula* Area C, Level A:5 where there was also a sherd of LH III pottery.[182] In terms of tombs, Kalavasos Tomb 1 had a RLW-m ware spindle bottle associated with four WS II bowls, and also a LH IIB–IIIA:1 three handled jar.[183] In Katydhata Tomb 26, a similar association is indicated, as it included amongst its finds a RLW-m spindle bottle, with a WS II 'LLHC' bowl and a LH IIIA:1 alabastron (Åström and Flourentzos 1989a, 20, fig. 19, row 2).

(c) The association between the two wares outside of Cyprus

Outside of Cyprus, the picture is somewhat more complex. WS wares are yet to be found together in an identical context with RLW-m in Egypt. However, they have both been found at similar locations in a number of instances: in the recorded stratigraphy of Tell el Dab^{c}a/^{c}Ezbet Helmi (where we also have PWS, WS I and WS II); at Saqqara? (where we have WS I 'FWL'); at Tell Heboua (Oren 2001, 141, fig. 1) where we have WS I 'FL'; and at Memphis-Kom Rabi^{c}a (where we have two sherds of WS II 'LL' in late 18th dynasty contexts; one of which is dated after the reign of Tutankhamun).[184] Interestingly, the only place in Egypt where WS is represented in any substantial way is at Amarna; here there were significant amounts of mature WS II 'LLDR' and 'LLHC', as well as BR II. However, no RLW-m has yet been recorded, a fact of great significance (see Chapter V.4).

In Anatolia, WS is so rare and contrasts starkly with the considerable representation of RLW-m in this area after about 1350 BC. The presence of RLW-m in Anatolia is extremely important for understanding the links between Cyprus and the Hittite empire. This is discussed in Chapter V.9. As for the Aegean area, both WS and RLW-m are rare and not found in association with one another.

However, in Canaan and Syria, both wares are found together, although only in a few contexts, as follows:

Firstly, in southern Canaan, in Structure I of the Fosse Temple at Tell ed-Duweir–Lachish, a collection of Cypriot vessels were found in locus D. 1 near the altar (see Eriksson 1993, fig. 32). This included a WS I–II 'LL' (with wavy line rim) bowl (155); two WS I–II 'LL' (with dotted rim) bowls, (156, 165); a BR II bowl, (176); a LH IIA one handled kylix (257). They were found together with a RLW-m spindle bottle (Eriksson 1993, 103, no. 765). The life of Structure I was dated by the excavators (Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940, 69) from the reign of Thut-

[182] Benson 1970, Table 6A–B.

[183] Åström 1972, 685, n.2.

[184] I had the opportunity in the 1990's to catalogue the Cypriot pottery from Kom Rabi^{c}a (Eriksson 1995b). I express my sincere thanks to the EES for allowing me to mention these sherds here.

[185] The end date was largely determined by the fact that a plaque bearing the prenomen of Amenhotep III was found on top of the south wall of Room D, Structure I, near the triple altar, the observation was made that it got there during the leveling of Structure I for Structure II, (see Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940, 68–9, pl. 32:7).

mosis III until the reign of Amenhotep III.[185] Some have suggested that the evidence in Structure I demonstrates an association between the LH IIA period and part of the reign of Thutmosis III (see Warren and Hankey (1989, 144). However, given that at least part of the assemblage could date to, or even after, the reign of Amenhotep III, the above association is not the whole picture. This is especially since such precise synchronisms cannot be derived from this Lachish context alone. Thus, whilst the presence of transitional WS I–II could relate to the earlier appearance of this ware, i.e. prior to the reigns of Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III (i.e. LC IB), it is just as likely that the presence of the wares indicates the latest use of Structure I, which fits in with the traditional dating of Transitional WS I–II (that is, to the beginning of the LC IIA:1 and by synchronism, to the latter Thutmosis IV/early Amenhotep III reigns).

Secondly, there are wares which illustrate the association between WS II, RLW-m and LH IIIA:1 found in the Nahalat Ahim tomb in Jerusalem (Amiran 1960). Thirdly, there is evidence of this association between the two wares at Alalakh in Room 16 of the Level IV Niqmepa palace, according to Woolley (1955, 122); however, in the latter case, the WS could not be located by Bergoffen (2005, 22, 105, WT91–93).

(d) Links between WS II, RLW-m and Mycenaean wares during the LC IIA:2/LC IIB Period

As we have seen, the two phases in the classification of LH IIIA:2 style pottery are used to separate the LC IIA:2 from the LC IIB period. Thus when we find WS wares together with Mycenaean LH IIIA:2a or 2b wares, we can be largely confident that we are within the ambit of these two periods. We then notice that there are some specific contexts in which we find an association between these two wares and RLW-m. For example, Episkopi *Bamboula* (Areas C and E, Level A:6) contained WS II, RLW-m and LH IIIA:2 pottery.

An important case in Cyprus is at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*. There, the curious structure has been interpreted as a sanctuary, but may be better interpreted as a site for some kind of mortuary ceremony (Webb 1992, 94–6; 1999, 34). It had a large bath-shaped terracotta basin; it was in and around this basin that many of the finds were recorded.[186] There are more than six RLW-m arm-shaped vessels, a rare type of spindle bottle, a lentoid flask and more sherds of these shapes. Only one WS II 'Ladder Lattice Framed Hooked Chain' ('LLHC') krater is known. Of great chronological interest is the fact that we also have here the presence of a LH IIIA:2a squat jug, two LH IIIA:2a amphoras and a LH IIIA:2a krater.[187]

Enkomi (French) Tomb 2 is another key example. It was not used for a long period and can be dated entirely within the LC IIA:2 period. It contained at least three WS II bowls; these were two 'LL' (Schaeffer 1952, figs. 49:1; 50:8), and one 'LLHC' (*ibid.*, fig. 49:4). With these, there were many unusual RLW-m vessels representing six different shapes and 14 LH IIIA:2a vessels.[188] There is also a hieroglyphic inscription on one of the silver rings which is an epitaph that appears in the titles of Amenhotep II (considered to be an heirloom in this context).[189] The association between WS II, RLW-m and LH IIIA:2 can also be observed in Enkomi (French) Tomb 11, Upper Layer. In the eastern chamber there were eight WS II bowls with 'LLDR' and 'LL' rim motifs'[190] while in the western chamber there were two WS I–II/II early 'LL' bowls[191] and two WS II 'LL' bowls.[192] Hence this Upper Layer has been dated to the LC IIA:2 period.[193]

The wealthy contents of Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* Tomb 11, used for only a few burials, also demonstrates the association between WS II, RLW-m and LH IIIA:2, and dates to this LC IIA:2 into LC IIB period (South and Steel 2001, 71–2). The wealth of Tomb 11 was nearly matched by the gold, silver, bronze, and ivory found in Tomb 5 (South and Russell 1989, 53). Unfortunately this later tomb had been damaged and the ceramic finds suggest that it may have been used for a longer period of time, LC IIA–early LC IIC (*ibid.*,). The six WS II vessels are all of the WS II normal style (Fig. 34). Among the other ceramics were two RLW-m spindle bottles (*ibid.*, 52, fig. 58: K-AD 258, K-AD 367 pl. 29: K-AD 367), and many sherds (*ibid.*,).

From the undisturbed layer of Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 3, apart from the fragments of a RLW-m spin-

[185] Gjerstad *et al.*, 1934, 356, plan XIII:52.
[186] *Ibid.*, pl. 66:1.
[187] See Schaeffer 1952, figs. 42, 49–50, pl. XII.
[188] *Ibid.*, 135; *id.*, 1953, 61.
[189] Schaeffer 1952, 141, nos. 13, 23; 143, no. 36; 145, nos. 42, 42A, 50; 146, no. 60.
[190] *Ibid.*, 148, nos. 85–6.
[191] *Ibid.*, 149, no. 104; 150, no. 126.
[192] Åström 1972, 684.

Fig. 34 WS II normal style 'LLHC' and 'LL' vessels from Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* Tomb 5 (after *VVP* 3, pl. 28) a) 'LLHC' krater K-AD 366. H. 28.0 cms; b) As above; c) 'LL' bowl K-AD 259. D. 16.0 cms; d) 'LLHC' tankard K-AD 370. H. 22.5 cms; e) 'LLHC' pedestalled bowl K-AD 369. D. 19.0 cms

dle bottle there were also a WS II 'PL' shallow bowl;[194] a LH IIIA:2 one handled bowl;[195] a LH IIIA:2 bowl;[196] The presence of LH IIIA:2, BR II and of the WS II show that this lower layer does not predate LC IIA. The remaining material from the disturbed layers, from where the 'LLDR' bowl (Fig. 35) comes, does not reveal anything later than LC IIB. This tomb can thus be treated as a further example of the association of the Cypriot periods with Mycenaean pottery.

Other examples of this association are given in Cyprus. Firstly, there is Episkopi *Bamboula* (Area A, Level B:6; Area C, Level B – see Benson 1970). Secondly, we have the lower and upper burial sections of Tamassos *Politiko* Tomb VI also dated to the LC IIB period.[197] This latter contained an association between a WS II bowl;[198] a WS II tankard;[199] a LH IIIA:2 cup;[200]and a RLW-m ware spindle bottle.

Fig. 35 WS II 'LLDR' bowl from Enkomi Tomb 3:220 (after Gjerstad *et al.*, 1934, 482, pl. 114:12). D. 16.4 cms

There are two significant cases where the two

[194] Gjerstad *et al.*, 482, no. 187, pl. 77, row 11:2.
[195] *Ibid.*, 482, no. 197, pl. 77, row 11:11.
[196] *Ibid.*, 482, no. 216, pl. 77, row 11:12.
[197] Karageorghis 1965b, 26.
[198] *Ibid.*, no. 17.
[199] *Ibid.*, no. 64.
[200] *Ibid.*, no. 16, fig. 4:16.

wares do not occur together. The first is at Episkopi *Bamboula* Tomb 2 where the earliest burial (A) contained a WS II 'Ladder Lattice Framed Dotted Row' ('LLDR') bowl (Benson 1972, pl. 16:B 129), RLW-m ware, but no Aegean vessels. Mycenaean wares, however, certainly occur at other levels of Episkopi Bamboula. This phenomenon can probably be explained by the fact that we are at the earliest level phase and that we are probably at the start of LC IIA (Benson 1972, 11).This is further supported by the fact that at Episkopi *Bamboula* Tomb 12 Period C, WS II[201] is recorded along with other artefacts, which also assigns the level to LC IIA.

The second case has already been referred to: it relates to Egypt, where a general link has been established between the LC IIB period and the Amarna Age. At the Amarna site BR II and WS II are present (Merrillees 1968, 78–88) in significant quantities, but we do not yet have an illustration of an association together with RLW-m. This phenomenon has yet to be explained, but we believe it ties up with the change in the distribution of RLW-m from Egypt towards the Hittite empire – and changes in the relations of Cyprus with these two empires.

(e) WS and RLW-m during the remainder of the Late Bronze Age

A real transition from LC IIB to LC IIC:1 can be seen in Akhera Tomb 2; we have RLW-m pilgrim flask sherds in association with a collection of LH IIIA:2b and at least one LH IIIB:1 vessel. The complete absence of any Middle Cypriot, WS I or BR I wares in this tomb suggest that the tomb be dated to the LC IIB into LC IIC:1 horizon.[202] Typical of this period are the WS II 'LLHC' and 'LL' bowls.[203]

There are some contexts which we can definitely date to the LC IIB period in Cyprus, in which we usually find RLW-m, White Slip II and Mycenaean LH IIIB together. An example is Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 11, Period IA. In this tomb, a WS II 'PL' bowl was found closely associated with a RLW-m ware pilgrim flask;[204] and a LH IIIA:2b one handled shallow cup.[205] These are clear signifiers of the LC IIB period. Indeed, Åström (1972b, 687) dated the earliest use of the tomb to LC IIB:1. This level also contained WS II 'LL' AND 'LLHC' (Gjerstad *et al.*, 1934, 522, table).

Another example is at Enkomi (Cypriot) Tomb 10, Third Burial Layer, there were five WS II bowls[206] with either 'LLDR' or 'LL' Dotted Rim motifs found, which were near the RLW-m ware pilgrim flask in the northern part of the chamber. They were together with other pottery that Dikaios labelled Group IV.[207] He probably considered this to be the final group of grave gifts, not least because of his inclusion of the Mycenaean LH IIIB cup. The group could span LC IIB–LC IIC. A similar connection was noted in Kition Tomb 1.[208]

Although Tomb 1 at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* was looted in antiquity, the remaining contents suggested a date between LC IIB–IIC (South and Russell 1989, 46). There were 11 WS II vessels recorded, and they were largely of the WS II normal style with the interesting design of 'dotted scale' pattern (Fig. 36). This motif was surely inspired by the scale pattern typical of LH IIIA:2–IIIB vessels (Fig. 37). Given the fact that this 'dotted scale' pattern can occur on vessels with the distinctive 'LLHC' pattern, South and Russell (*ibid.*, 45) were right to conclude that this style must be associated with Popham's WS II normal (see Fig. 36d). This tomb also had a RLW-m spindle bottle (*ibid.*, K-AD 130, fig. 45, pl. 21).

As discussed above the Third Burial Layer of Enkomi (Cypriot) Tomb 10 dates from the LC IIB into LC IIC:1. As in the Fourth Burial Layer, there was no LH style later than LH IIIB. We can thus confine its date from the end of LC IIC:1 through to LC IIC:2. According to Dikaios, a WS II 'LLDR' bowl[209] was associated with two RLW-m ware flasks found with a cluster of grave goods labelled Group II.[210] A chronological succession is difficult to detect, especially since the re-use of earlier vessels seems to have occurred and the question of mixing is always present. However, based on the occurrence of this type of RLW-m ware flask elsewhere, its date here can be assigned to the LC IIC:2 period.[211]

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[201] Benson 1972, 16–7, nos. 27, 63–9, 71; B 132–8, B 140, B 165; *id.*, 1961, pl. 8.

[202] Karageorghis (1965, 138) had dated this tomb to LC IIC:2.

[203] *Ibid.*, nos, 9, 11 (not illustrated).

[204] *Ibid.*, 521, no. 227, pl. 82, row 2:1.

[205] *Ibid.*, 521, no. 240, pl. 82, row 7:6.

[206] Dikaios 1969–71, pls. 206: 263, 279, 207: 260, 265, 296.

[207] *Ibid.*, 363.

[208] Karageorghis 1960.

[209] Dikaios 1969–71, pl. 210:18(139).

[210] *Ibid.*, 364, pl. 286:1.

[211] See Eriksson 1993, Type VIIAb, 25, n. 28.

Fig. 36 WS II 'dotted scale' pattern style vessels and WS II normal style 'LLHC' from Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* Tomb 1 (after *VVP* 3, pl. 21) a) Tankard K-AD 79. H. at rim 24.5 cms; b) Tankard K-AD 80. H. at rim 24.5 cms; c) Bottle K-AD 82. H. 18.0 cms; d) 'LLHC' krater with 'dotted scale' pattern K-AD 85. H. 28.7 cms

Fig. 37 Mycenaean IIIB jar with 'dotted scale pattern from Enkomi Tombe du pointe topographique 110:245 (after Courtois 1981, 142, fig. 137:4(245)). H. 14.7 cms

This type of flask was also found in Enkomi (Swedish) Tomb 11, Period III; there were a number of interments in this tomb. Treating the group as a unit, one may note many similarities between this material and that from Enkomi (Cypriot) Tomb 10 Layer 4, especially between the LH IIIB pottery. It also contained a WS II 'PL' bowl.[212] Based on this and other evidence, it can be dated to LC IIC:2, which is when Åström would date this layer of the tomb.[213]

In Minet el-Beida, Tomb IV, the context seems very tight and dateable to the last half or quarter of the 13th century BC (see Schaeffer 1949, fig. 57). Included amongst the contents were: WS II (late) bowls[214] with simple linear designs that are typical of the end of the LBA; two types of RLW-m ware pilgrim flasks; two LH IIIB:2/Cypro-Mycenaean bowls;[215] other LH IIIB:1–2 vessels and sherds.[216] We consider any finds of RLW-m ware after this date to be largely residual as at Maa *Palaeokastro*.[217]

In conclusion, what this study shows is that RLW-m is never found together with PWS; that RLW-m spindle bottles can be found with WS I and II, but that RLW-m arm-shaped vessels and flasks are predominantly associated with WS II ware. There is some association between the two wares in LC IB, but its major manifestations are in LC IIA:1 and LC IIA:2. These observations need to be considered in the context of the broader archaeological picture of RLW-m wares, a matter we shall take up in the next Chapter.

7. The Historical Context of WS II

Within Cyprus, the WS II production centres give us little historical information about the development of the society itself – except that the level of ceramic technology was very sophisticated. Thus, it appears that few chronological conclusions can be drawn from the material at Sanidha – at least not until we are able to specifically identify exported WS II vessels from the site that have been deposited in other lands. On the other hand, the presence of White Slip II outside the island tells us much about the international links at this time in Bronze Age history. For example, Hennessy (1997) lists a number of Cypriot exports to Egypt and Canaan during the LC IIA/B periods, which he sees as corresponding roughly to the Amarna Age. In addition to WS II, these include BR II ware, Bucchero ware, Cypriot Plain White Wheelmade ware I, Monochrome ware, and RLW-m ware. In relation to WS II in general, Hennessy (1997, 356) has this to say:

> With the exception of the Governor's Tomb at Gaza all of the deposits contain examples of the so called milk-bowls. The deeper forms of the bowls tend to be early, but in these contexts there is an almost equal representation of deep and shallow examples. The handles are usually of the wishbone type and the rounded form of the earlier classes of the ware have, by White Slip II, given way to the triangular shaped handle.

The extensive geographical distribution of WS II referred to in section IV.5 supports the claim that Cyprus during this time was an independent state, which forged its own wide ranging trade and diplomatic contacts with a number of countries. It did this in a substantially independent way, without subservience to the agendas of the major powers surrounding it, such as the Minoan, Mycenaean, Egyptian and Hittite civilizations. This independence also

[212] Gjerstad *et al.*, 1934, 516, no. 7.
[213] Åström 1972b, 830.
[214] Schaeffer 1949, fig. 57:3–4, 26.
[215] *Ibid.*, Fig. 57:8, 20.
[216] *Ibid.*, fig. 57:1, 7, 9, 15–6, 19, 21, 24–25, 27, 29–32.
[217] Karageorghis and Demas 1988.

explains the ability of Cyprus to continue very substantial trade with all sides in Syria/Canaan, notwithstanding the massive conflicts taking place there (See Chapter VII.4).

From the beginning of the WS II series, through to its conclusion about 200 years later, dramatic and traumatic events occurred throughout the whole Eastern Mediterranean. Thus, during LC IIA:1, the Hittites were pushed out of the Levant by the rise of the Hurrian empire. In fact this empire became a major and dominant force in the whole of the Syria/Canaan region. The Hittites were pushed back almost to the border of their capital – Bogazköy. The Egyptians also suffered severe setbacks in Syria at this time. For at least one hundred years, the Hurrian language and culture dominated a large area of the Levant.

The weakened position of the Hittite king meant that he could not control all his vassal kingdoms. During this time, one rogue leader by the name of Madduwatta, attempted an invasion of Cyprus. There is some debate as to the dating of the so called Madduwatta document; however we believe that these events were around the time of the transition of the LC IB to the LC IIA:1 periods. The attempted invasion failed, a fact which further supports our view that Cyprus was a relatively strong, independent land during this time (for a discussion of the whole issue, see Chapter VII.3.d).

Meanwhile, during the LC IIA:2 phase (the second part of Historical Period 4) the Egyptian Pharaoh appears to have acted to further increase the links between Cyprus and Egypt, as reflected in the Amarna letters. The pharaoh Amenhotep III, who reigned during this time, was anxious to prevent the further spread of the Mittanian Kingdom. He made peace with the Hurrians and even married two of the Mittanian princesses.

It was also during this historical period 4 that two Aegean cultures impacted on Cyprus. Thus the Minoan empire in Crete had continued to develop its links with Cyprus and Egypt, throughout and after the reign of Thutmosis III. This development extended through the whole LC IB period in Cyprus and into the beginning of the LC IIA:1. However, at this time, the Minoan civilization which had reached high levels of cultural and religious achievement as well as expansion of its commercial interests, collapsed with the destruction of the palace at Knossos. In subsequent phases, therefore, only a trickle of Minoan pottery came to Cyprus (and also to Egypt), in the form of LM II and LM IIIA:1.

However, during the LC IIA:1 and subsequently, the empire whose centre was at Mycenae in Greece expanded eastward to parts of Asia Minor and along the sea routes. Large amounts of Mycenaean pottery appears in Cyprus and there is no doubt that these people had a major impact on the Cypriots. The leadership of Cyprus certainly would have had to come to an accommodation with the increasingly powerful Mycenaean world.

We have mentioned the destruction of Knossos; this may have been a consequence of the increasing power of the Mycenaeans. This development occurred around the LC IIA:2 phase of period 4, when the Mycenaeans launched a full-scale attack on the Minoan empire and conquered Knossos, destroying much of the city.

Shortly after these events, we have evidence which points to a dramatic increase in trade and contacts between Egypt and the Mycenaeans.

The Hittites did not rise again, until the emperor Suppiluliuma I came to the throne in the second half of this Historical Period 4. At this time, it appears that there was also a significant expansion of the links between Cyprus and the Hittite empire. These links had tentatively begun from the time of Thutmosis III. With the rise of Suppiluliuma I, these contacts became more extensive. However, the links between Cyprus and Egypt did not diminish during this time; they may even have become closer in the next period when the king of Alashiya (Cyprus) wrote to the Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaton warning against any alliance with the Hittites or their allies and expressing intimate friendship (see Chapter VII.5).

As we have seen, the stages of the production and distribution of White Slip II ware extended beyond the LC IIA period and covered the phases of LC IIB, LC IIC:1 and LC IIC:2. These were also important historical periods covering the major events in the civilizations around Cyprus (see Chapter VII.4-7).The remarkable geographical distribution and continuity of WS II is a certainly a beacon in illuminating the pivotal role of Cyprus, during these tumultuous times.

8. End of the White Slip – WS III (or WS II late)

The LC IIB period, around the middle of the 14th century BC, was the last major floruit of White Slip ware. It is the period of 'LLDR' and 'LLDR', the last 'showy' phase of WS II. These rim patterns seem not to last much beyond this time frame. After this we witness a steady decline of the White Slip tradition through the LC II period, where WS II 'LL' and 'PL' continue to be made through the late 14th/early 13th centuries BC. However, by the mid 13th century BC,

WS II late is a very different product from 300 years earlier (Fig. 38). Thus, the last 100 years of White Slip production witnessed the eventual demise of what had become a major tradition on the island and a key symbol of native Cypriot creativity and independence.

Why did this decline happen? Clearly, as Popham (1972b, 703) and others have recognised, one major factor was the huge importation of decorated Mycenaean wares into Cyprus and into the overseas markets of Cypriot products. The adoption of Mycenaean wares seems to reflect a change in eating customs which may have begun among the élites, who, to judge by many of the tombs of the LC IIA:2 – IIB period, adopted LH IIIA:2 wares with increasing demand. The sailors of the ill-fated Ulu Burun ship, if as we assume they were of Cypriot background, may have kept their traditional eating habits to judge by the number of WS II normal 'LL' bowls found in the wreck, but were also exposed on their travels to new customs. Cypriot merchants, sailors, ambassadors, élites may have all played a part in the transformation of the table 'manners' and other aspects of their society.

Initially the WS II potters had nothing to fear. Their product was widely used among the Cypriot population, as WS I had been for the previous 200 years since the mid 16th century BC. However, in the mid 14th century BC, Mycenaean LH IIIA:2b decorated wares, including the magnificent pictorial style, became prominent on the island. The WS II Cypriot potters initially may have tried to match this by producing their own pictorial style (see Steel 1997). However, the hand-made technique could not compete with the wheel-made ease of production, which combined with other elements, such as the decoration, must have made LH IIIA:2b–LH IIIB so appealing, as finds in settlements and tombs indicate. Throughout the 13th century BC, one gets the impression that it was primarily the non-élite sector of the community who kept the WS II potters going, while other potters in Cyprus set up work-

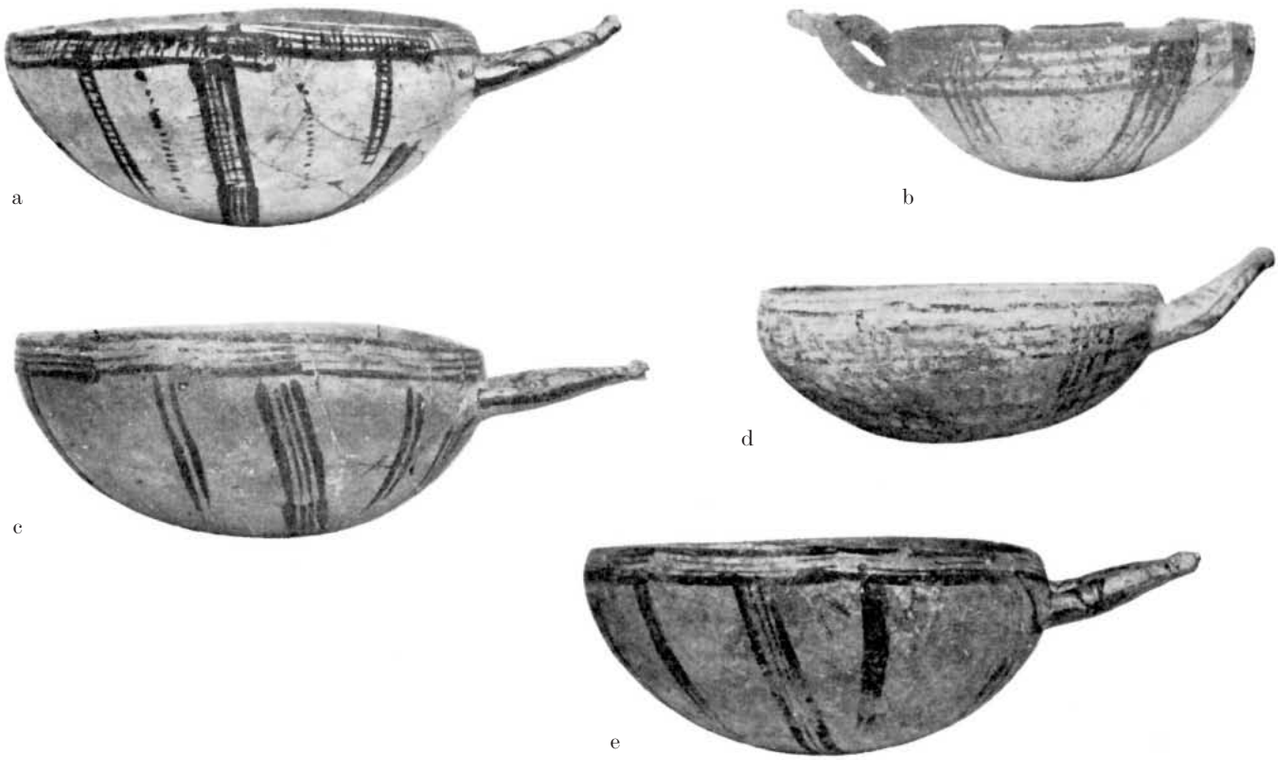

Fig. 38 WS II late bowls (after Popham 1972a, 453, fig. 57) a) 'LL' bowl from Dhekelia *Steno* Tomb 3:4 (*ibid*., no. 1); b) 'PL' bowl from Dhekelia *Steno* Tomb 2:66 (*ibid*., no. 2); c) 'PL' bowl from Dhekelia *Steno* Tomb 4:17 (*ibid*., no. 3); d) 'PL' bowl from Ayios Iakovos Tomb 8:33 (*ibid*., no. 4). D. 15.0 cms; e) 'PL' bowl from Enkomi Tomb 6:10 (*ibid*., no. 5). D. 16.3 cms

shops to make a local version of the popular Mycenaean decorated style. The declining quality of the visual appearance of 13th century WS II suggests that the potters involved were maintaining a tradition, but that it was a struggle. White Slip ware production came to an end, as many other things did at the end of the 13th/beginning of the 12th centuries BC, with the destruction of the core elements of a number of civilizations that had been associated with Cyprus.

The site of Sanidha, discussed by Ian Todd and Despo Pilides (2001), gives much information about the final phase of WS II ware. There was a severe deterioration in the quality of the ware and the use of much more coarse materials. This late style differs in important respects from the golden period of WS II production, to such a degree that it has been sometimes labelled as a different category – WS III. Todd and Pilides (2001, 38, 40, fig. 16) describe the situation thus:

> In 1972 Popham assigned this group of "badly formed bowls with their dark-coloured and unevenly applied slip on which is painted a debased form of the earlier ladder pattern and parallel line styles of decoration" to the final phase of White Slip II (Popham 1972a, 456, fig. 57) rather than to a third category, White Slip III, for lack of sufficient stratified material to allow the chronological value of such a distinction to be assessed.

In fact, Popham believed that the deterioration may have begun as early as the very start of the Mycenaean LH IIIB phase. He states: "It is interesting that Furumark, on the basis of the Mycenaean pottery, places Ayios Iakovos 13^{II} in the early part of his IIIB phase while suggesting that Enkomi (Swedish) T.11 periods IC to II belong in the previous transitional phase. It is therefore possible that the change in the shape of the ladder pattern bowls from deep to a shallower type took place about the beginning of Mycenaean IIIB or L.C. IIC." (Popham 1972b, 703).

This approach can be contrasted to that of Dikaios, who by 1971 had already introduced the category of White Slip III and applied it to a small number of White Slip sherds from Enkomi (Dikaios 1969–71, pl. 63:26–28). As Todd and Pilides (2001, 38) explain:

> Dikaios had already made that distinction in 1971 by assigning a small number of White Slip sherds from Enkomi to White Slip III (Dikaios 1969–71, pl. 63:26–28). He describes the fabric as dark red or grey, coarse, mixed with black grit, with a grey core and either a yellow shiny slip, irregularly applied on the surface, or a light brown lustrous slip mixed with mica , which is either plain or decorated with a dark brown paint in Parallel Line style (*ibid.*, 832). On examination these sherds assigned to White Slip III proved indeed to be at variance with White Slip II from the site and to be strikingly similar to the White Slip sherds with fugitive slip from Sanidha. They are of a thick fabric with a washy micaceous slip which does not exactly flake off but which abrades allowing the red surface to show. The core is invariably grey and the shapes of the bowls are shallow with a triangular handle with a fish-tail at its tip. At Sanidha too, the decoration of these bowls, when it can be discerned, consists of ladder patterns or, occasionally, bands of horizontal and vertical lines although the latter seems to predominate in the published examples of White Slip II Late.

From these observations, we conclude that these are essentially the same form and should all be classified as White Slip II Late. We agree with the reasoning of Todd and Pilides (2001, 39–40) here:

> It seems that Dikaios' White Slip III, White Slip II Late (at least from Enkomi) and the White Slip with fugitive slip from Sanidha are sufficiently similar to be included within the same category. All the published examples of White Slip II Late and White Slip III from Enkomi belong chronologically to the end of Level IIB (Dikaios 1969–71, 569, 571). One bowl of this type was found in Tomb 2 (*ibid.*, 340, pl. 193:21), while the same fabric occurs in the tombs excavated by the French expedition, chronologically ranging from LC I to LC IIC (Courtois 1981, fig, 135:239–241).

Vagnetti (2001) also refers to the final development of the White Slip, variously called WS III or WS II late and points out that it has been found on most parts of Cyprus, except in the south-west. Vagnetti notes that this degenerate type often appears in contexts with the fully formed WS II. It is possible that there was simultaneous production for some time. The WS II Late ceramic appears to have been a less expensive form, for the sale/trade at cheaper prices. It is also possible that this form was only produced at Sanidha and that this may partially account for its absence in the south-west region of Cyprus. We should also note here that we find this inferior form of WS in some overseas contexts (see Gittlen 1977, 441; Vagnetti 2001). The product may have been less expensive, but it was not purely for local consumption.

Within Cyprus itself, Cadogan *et al.*, (2001, 84–5) report on finding several samples of WS II late bowls at Maroni *Vournes*, near Maroni Village. These finds

further confirm the extensive links between the Sanidha, Ayios Dhimitrios and the coast. As the authors (*ibid*., 84–5) state:

> Patterns that are only rarely represented are WS II Late and Parallel Line Style, both most closely associated with the LC IIC phase at Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* (South, Russell and Keswani 1989, 3–4, figs. 4–5). This suggests an earlier date for the Ashlar Building relative to *Ayios Dhimitrios*, since at *Ayios Dhimitrios* there are more examples of very late WS II-plain bowls, with no more than sloppy banding on dark slips. With features that stretch back into LC IIB late, we may be viewing a *Vournes* III period that started even before the transition to from LC IIB to LC IIC. Survey and study of the British Museum tombs, and of 15 new tomb deposits at *Tsaroukkas*, support this picture (Manning and Monks 1998).

The deterioration in quality finally led to the demise of White Slip ware altogether – after a period of nearly four hundred years. The exact timing of this is not clear – but is an important issue in terms of the events in Historical Period 7 (see Chapter VII.7). Popham (*ibid*, 704) believed: "Present indications are that White Slip ware was no longer manufactured by the end of LC IIC and it may even have ended somewhat earlier." He added (*ibid*.,), "…they could no longer compete in attractiveness or ease of manufacture." Karageorghis (2001) refers to the long life and continuity of style of the White Slip pottery – a phenomenon which he (*ibid*., 9) considers "unique in Bronze Age ceramics." He adds (*ibid*., 10):

> The latest use of White Slip ware bowls was probably made at sites like Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* and Maa-*Palaeokastro*, the latter dating to the middle of the 12th century BC, at a time when none of the other traditional Late Cypriote fabrics (with the exception of Base-ring) were in use. The locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1 skyphoi became predominant and the White Slip ware bowls gradually disappeared. The newly arrived immigrants probably did not feel the need to retain White Slip ware, and four hundred years represents a respectable age at which the ware might die out.

The historical importance of this continuity is reflected in the political independence of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age and will be further considered in Chapter VII.4–6.