The Aegean and Cyprus

Interaction Between Two Distinct Cultural Mediterranean Areas from the Third Millennium to Ca 1200 BC

Giampaolo Graziadio



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With contributions by Artemis Georgiou, Lorenzo Mazzotta, Francesca Nani, Laerke Recht, Angiolo Querci

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Abstract

The present book discusses the Cypro-Aegean interaction from the third millennium BC to ca 1200 BC from both the Aegean and Cypriot perspectives. The study's main focus is the evidence represented by the exchange in pottery and metals, but all other relevant artifact categories are also considered. Five Interaction Periods are distinguished and a regional approach is followed in the review and discussion of Cypriot finds from the Aegean. The comparative analysis of the exchanged goods and reciprocal cultural relationships period by period shows that the closest contacts between Crete and Cyprus were established in Interaction Period 2, i.e. the Neopalatial Period in Aegean terms and the first urban phase on Cyprus, while the apex of interaction between Mycenaean Greece and Cyprus was reached in Interaction Period 3, i.e. the early Mycenaean Palatial Period and the second urban phase on Cyprus. In the final period of the thirteenth century BC (Interaction Period 4), the nature of contacts between the two areas began to shift, foreshadowing the more marked change apparent in the following Interaction Period 5 (twelfth century BC).

Keywords Interaction. Mediterranean. Areas. Aegean. Cyprus.

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Abbreviations and Terminology

Chronological and/or Cultural Entities

BR	Base Ring
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EC	Early Cypriot
EH	Early Helladic
EM	Early Minoan
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LC	Late Cypriot
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MC	Middle Cypriot
MH	Middle Helladic
MM	Middle Minoan
NAA	Neutron Activation Analysis
PWWm	Plain White Wheelmade
WPWm	White Painted Wheelmade
WS	White Slip

Museums

BM	British Museum
CM	Cyprus Museum

Bibliographic

CMS	Corpus der minoischen und mykenische Siegel
FM	Furumark Motive
FS	Furumark Shape
MP	Mycenaean Pottery (Furumark, A. 1941. Mycenaean Pottery I. Analysis and Classification. Stockholm: Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet I Athen, 4o, XX:1.
SCE	The Swedish Cyprus Expedition

Identification Number of Enkomi Tombs

C	Cypriot excavations
F	French excavations
GB	British excavations
S	Swedish excavations

Preface
Two Given Points, Infinite Straight Lines

Luca Bombardieri

Only one unique line passes through two given points. Far from being only geometric, elementary and basic, this simple rule sounds like an anchor. We shall be ready to free from this security to read and understand the book we are about to leaf through.

If the two given points are Cyprus and the Aegean in the Bronze Age, then from these two unique points pass infinite straight lines. As many as there are reciprocal relations, direct and indirect paths of exchange and interaction. The structure of this book and its deep analysis of materials and evidence provides us with an highly beneficial guide to this multiplicity of interactions, without giving up describing the most difficult knots to untangle and understand.

The words that Jeremy Rutter left commenting on this book may alone be sufficient to understand its significance and contribution:

> This is by far the most thorough and detailed evaluation of interactions between Cyprus and the Aegean basin during the Bronze Age that has ever been undertaken. It should be definitive for at least a generation or more of future scholarship on this topic. The findings are significantly different on a number of major issues from those of previously published research, and the magnificent list of references is in itself worthy of publication for all those who are pursuing research on Cypro-Aegean connections during the period ca. 2500-1200 BCE.

The infinite straight lines from which we started to attempt to describe the Cypro-Aegean connections are intertwined and their impact echoes far beyond time. The memory of these multiple connections is a fundamental element of our common Mediterranean identity beyond the specific case of Greeks and Cypriots. Like an echo over time, this deep memory is formed by successive distortions and adjustments that we still produce for the questionable need to adapt it to our changing identity.

The stronger the impact and the deeper the memory, the higher we can imagine the distortion and adaptation, i.e. the distorted echo effect. That is why the contribution and the use that can be made of this book is all the more important, beyond its contribution to the arena of scholars interested in Bronze Age Cyprus and the Aegean.

Do Cypriots feel Greek? And is the opposite true? Since when, for how long? Why? Archaeological analysis cannot and should not answer any of these or similar questions, least of all punctually, but it can perhaps offer a greater magnifying glass to observe a long-term phenomenon.

The gradual stepping back in time of the so-called Hellenization of Cyprus had a strong ideological and political matrix during the last decades of the twentieth Century. In more recent years out, even out of the archaeological debate, it appeared as a sort of dichotomy between those who downplay the Aegean impact on the island in the name of an original multiculturalism and those who emphasize the Aegean and Greek dimension of Cyprus' cultural development in the second and first Millennia BC (and far beyond).

These latter argue for an (almost) original Greekness of the island, based on two major set of theories: the migrations and the antecedents.

The migration theories play a key role by suggesting that at least during the eleventh century BC some groups of Aegean migrants settled in Cyprus and integrated with the island's heterogeneous population for example. Evidently, this series of events – beyond its numerical significance – remains deeply rooted in the memory of the Greeks and Cypriots, as also evidenced by the long-standing traditions concerning the foundation of new cities by Greek heroes returning from the Trojan War. Agapenor, king of Tegea in Arcadia, who is said to have founded Paphos by erecting a temple to Aphrodite at Palaepaphos, Teucer, the mythical founder of Salamis, and the Laconic hero Praxandros to whom the foundation of Lapithos is said to date.

Although it was probably not a colonization or large-scale migration that produced substantial changes in all aspects of material culture, Aegean ethnic contributions, though small, nevertheless contributed to the emergence of a new Cypriot identity over time.

Additionally, the antecedent argument is part of the same emphasis on the early Hellenization of the island, as argued for the

construction of the so-called Proto-Aphrodite theory. The modern imagination has created the island of Aphrodite from a rib of myth, with such capacity and force of impact that it has inexorably trapped the scientific debate in a veritable 'romantic conspiracy', according to a definition by Diane Bolger (2003, 93). The temptation to project Aphrodite, the erotic and fertility goddess, into the past of the island's prehistoric communities has represented the premise on which every analysis of the female representations in Prehistoric Cypriot Art has invariably been confronted and clashed. Each of these, from time to time, interpreted as a variable figure of a single Proto-Aphrodite (Karageorghis 1977). In this sense, it is very interesting to note how Vassos Karageorghis (1991, 2) embraces – and without hesitation – the definition of the Great Goddess modelled by Marija Gimbutas, stating that "her basic tenet that a common religious ideology did exist among the various regions of the 'Old World' in the Neolithic and Calcolithic periods is correct".

Another case for a suggested antecedent theory is related to the foundation of the Iron Age City Kingdoms in Cyprus. Hence, one may look at these political entities either as triggered by a political and monarchical system introduced by Aegean settlers in the twelfth-eleventh centuries BC, or as locally based phenomenon the with no connection with the supposed Achaean migration or colonization of the last centuries of the second millennium BC. As such, this is one of the most common field of battle in archaeology, where archaeologists who love foreign-induced phenomena will eternally fight against those who love locally-produced dynamics.

From this perspective, while the dichotomy of Hellenization/Multiculturalism is still a debated phenomenon with rather vague limits, the memory of the Cypro-Aegean connections has a long history and different echoes well before the actual scientific debate.

With the handover of Cyprus from Ottoman authority under British rule in 1878, Greek Cypriot intellectuals began to use the growing Western interest in the Classical Past as a strong political tool in the strategy of asserting the island's Hellenic identity and its long-standing aspirations for *enosis* with Greece. This produced two apparently divergent needs. The first is the need to promote local collections and establish museums on the island where archaeological objects may be exhibited, emphasizing this link with Greece and 'educate' the Cypriot audience. In 1882, the Cyprus Museum – Greek in its architecture – with marble imported from Greece for the construction of the entrance *pronaos*, was promoted on the strong initiative of the Greek Cypriot intellectual élite. The second parallel need is to encourage foreign expeditions to the island, stimulating the acquisition of collections of Cypriot antiquities by major Western museums, to keep European interest in Cyprus' classical past and Hellenism alive.

From this brief journey across dichotomies, we can see how essential a guide to the origins of the Cypro-Aegean connections is and how relevant an analysis of the interactions between these two cultural areas during the Bronze Age can be. Giampaolo Graziadio's book fully represents this rich and analytical guide, as necessary as it is. Necessary to find the centre of gravity and balance between the two poles of mutual attraction described by Graziadio. In analyzing the individual lines and routes of exchange involving raw materials, products and ideas, a real two-way relationship between the Aegean and Cyprus through the Bronze Age is reconstructed. This character of reciprocity in the overall balance of relations between the two cultural areas has never been so clearly described in the scientific debate and, perhaps, the reason is to be found in the distortion and echo effects mentioned above.

I hope I am not being out of tune by leaving here a small personal note that I believe I can share with all those who know Giampaolo, over and above the merits of his research, which here appear to be entirely evident. This scholar's ability to listen others' viewpoints, his natural modesty and overview have produced a book that is incomparable in terms of its potential, and yet – if you were to ask Giampaolo – he would tell you: "I have been working on it for a while", or "something finally came out of it".

The result of a large part of his research life thus takes on the dimension of a handicraft and daily work, of a constant and long-lasting commitment, of a capacity for involvement – it should not be forgotten that the appendix and co-authored chapters in this volume are all by young researchers, many of them his students – and of a passion that programmatically deviates from the current trend of scientific production measured in quantity of easy-to-consume results in favour of slow food for thought.

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The Aegean and Cyprus
Interaction Between Two Distinct Cultural Mediterranean Areas from the Third Millennium to Ca 1200 BC

Dedicated to the memory of Mario Benzi

Introduction

> Interaction between Cyprus and the Aegean has clearly been a subject of intensive discussion. The interpretation of the archaeological data and the intersection models proposed for them, however, were never systematically tested against the evidence available […] Often these interpretations are only subjective impressions or speculations, while in some cases the distinction among observation, interpretation and speculation is not clear. (Portugali, Knapp 1985, 45)

The present volume begins with this citation because it so clearly expresses the complexity inherent to the study of Cypro-Aegean interaction and the need for an in-depth assessment of the available evidence. In examining these interactions, the present book does not attempt to develop a new, original theoretical model. Instead, assuming that Bronze Age trade was not unidirectional, it provides a synthesis of the available archaeological data from the third millennium BC to ca 1200 BC from both the Aegean and Cypriot perspectives in the hope of contributing to further studies. The present study finds its foundation in the archaeological record since "the data should always form the basis of any theoretical model" (Antoniadou 2003, 3).

However, before discussing the archaeological evidence, it is essential to recognize the vast bibliography that provides the theoretical framework for the use of material culture to the interpretation

of the archaeological record (Iacono 2018, 8-34 with refs). Specifically, for Cypro-Aegean interaction, the theoretical frameworks impacting current interpretations of the Cypriot archaeological record and Cypro-Aegean interaction were discussed clearly in Antoniadou's 2003 review of the major trends in the interpretations of trade and contacts between the two areas (Antoniadou 2003, 6-13). More recently, in an article published in 2022, B. Knapp stated his views on the possible trade mechanisms at work between the Aegean and Cyprus (Knapp 2022, 81), but his previous theoretical discussion, which delved into the history and development of several key concepts involving Cypro-Aegean interactions, must also be recognized (Knapp 2008, 12-65). Starting from 'island theories', Knapp's earlier discussion focused point by point on the historically pertinent and perpetually evolving concepts in the social sciences, specifically social identity, ethnicity, migration, acculturation, and hybridization. For the theoretical perspective adopted throughout the present book, the development of these concepts is reviewed by F. Nani in chapter 1 and placed within the context of her wider discussion on social theories.

Since Cypro-Aegean interaction must inescapably be considered in the wider Mediterranean context, several studies are important for their basic contribution to the theoretical approach to interactions and modes of interaction in the "Middle Sea".[1] In terms of modes of long-distance trade, there has recently been debate over the ways cultural and commercial contacts in the Mediterranean have had repercussions on Cypro-Aegean interaction.[2] This debate originated from two different interpretative models. The first and most prevalent model envisions long-distance trade between Sardinia and Cyprus over a direct southern trade route involving Sicily, Crete and Cyprus, while an alternative interpretation suggests a more complex trade system with interconnected local, interregional and international routes involving Cyprus, Sardinia, Sicily, southern Italy, Malta, Crete, the Greek mainland and the Southeastern Aegean. This debate, however, does not directly affect the interpretation of Cypro-Aegean interaction throughout all the periods of mutual contacts because the range of trade contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus is much more restricted than that of the long-distance international trade between Sardinia and Cyprus. More importantly, the various areas involved in these contacts had a long tradition of strong cultural and material links connecting them well before the advanced phases of the Late Bronze Age when the evidence of

1 Cf. for example, Antoniadou 2003, 25-33; Manning, Hulin 2005, 2-7; Broodbank 2013, 18-25; Iacono 2020, 34-8, with earlier refs.

2 Russell, Knapp 2017; Bürge, Fischer 2019, 239 with refs; Sabatini, Lo Schiavo 2020; Perra, Lo Schiavo 2021; Knapp et al. 2021.

interaction is more apparent. However, the existence of various interaction spheres is, in my view, quite plausible within the relatively restricted ambit of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. The different areas where the artifacts discussed in this study were found would have been part of an active interaction sphere that encompassed Cyprus, southern coastal Anatolia, and the southernmost Aegean including Crete (Knapp 2022, 82 fig. 5). According to Knapp's recent model, this can be regarded as one of the interaction spheres which "rested in the hands of certain people in multiple coastal or island polities that were beyond the control of the major, land-based powers such as New Kingdom Egypt or the Hittite state, perhaps even the sea-girt Minoans" (Knapp 2022, 82). However, if we accept the model of a direct southern route in the Mediterranean involving Sardinia and Cyprus as extremities, it should be acknowledged that, at least in certain periods, the contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus were to a certain extent not only due to a direct interest in reciprocal trade, but also to their strategic location on this long Mediterranean trade-route.

The ca 1200 BC temporal limit of the current book must also be addressed. While the reasons for the use of this end date are explained in more detail in the Epilogue, it is primarily based on the clear and dramatic changes that marked the end of the thirteenth century BC and the beginning of the twelfth century BC, both in the Aegean and on Cyprus, and by their effects on interaction between the two areas. The dramatic destructions by fire and/or abandonments near the end of the LH IIIB phase or during the transitional phase between LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early when the Palatial Mycenaean period ended are well known in Late Bronze Age Aegean history. Even though the causes of this turmoil, which especially affected the Greek mainland, remain a matter for debate, it is quite clear that the Postpalatial period of LH IIIC was a time of marked instability throughout the Aegean.

In the last decades of the thirteenth century BC there also were unsettled conditions and severe disruptions in Late Cypriot society, although these were not uniform over the entire island. Signs of trouble with traces of destruction appear at Enkomi and Sinda and abandonments are apparent at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, Maroni *Vournes*, and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, while at other primary towns such as Kition and Kouklia *Palaepaphos* no apparent settlement interruption can be traced. The foundation of the short-lived defensive settlements of Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and Maa *Palaeokastro* can be dated before the end of the period.

In the following phases of the twelfth century a high level of cultural development, economic prosperity, and participation in international trade appeared in the urban centers that had uninterrupted occupation. During LC IIIA, many general changes occur, especially

in the ceramic record, funerary customs, domestic architecture, and religious practices, as well as in metal types and elite craft production. In the past, many scholars shared the opinion that most of these changes were due to the arrival on Cyprus of a new population group from the Aegean as a consequence of the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces, and LC III was considered the period of the Mycenaean colonization of Cyprus. In these historical reconstructions, particular importance was placed on the changes in the LC IIIA ceramic production that showed a marked increase in the local manufacture of Mycenaean-type pottery, which was considered the main ethnic marker of the emigration of Aegean people to Cyprus. Now the perspective has changed and the appearance of at least some local Aegean-type vessels may be assigned to the LC IIC Late phase, predating the disruptions allegedly considered the mark of the arrival of a displaced Mycenaean population. Moreover, other archaeological evidence shows that the "Aegeanisation" of certain Cypriot cultural traits in the LC IIIA period had their roots in the preceding periods, and in most cases this phenomenon should be interpreted as a process of "hybridization" that is one of the most distinctive cultural features of the LC IIC-III periods.

Although the unsettled times around 1200 BC have a determinant impact on the content of this book, trade contacts were not completely interrupted between the Aegean and Cyprus at this time, although reciprocal imports appear more scattered after this critical period. In 1994, E. Cline wrote that "not a single ceramic vessel from Cyprus appears in LH/LM IIIC contexts, which is quite a change from the earlier LH/LM IIIA and LH IIIB periods". However, thanks to more recent research and publications, Cypriot ceramic finds from the Aegean are now documented, and the use of Cypriot copper in the Greek mainland, on Crete and on other Aegean islands is also confirmed in LM/LH IIIC. Some evidence for contacts between the two islands also comes from Cyprus where Cretan transport stirrup jars continued to be exported and some cult elements of Cretan derivation have been suggested for twelfth and eleventh centuries BC finds. Nevertheless, it is evident that by ca 1200 BC many aspects of the long-lasting process of Cypro-Aegean contacts disappeared and interaction between the two areas took new forms.

A Short Overview of Previous Scholarship on the Archaeological Evidence of Cypro-Aegean Interaction

The Discovery of Reciprocal Contacts

If we compare overall the archaeological record documenting Cypro-Aegean interactions from the two areas, a discrepancy exists with substantially more Aegean imports found on Cyprus than Cypriot artifacts found throughout the Aegean. However, apart from occasional earlier finds, only at the end of the 1800s and in the first decades of the 1900s is there recognition of the significant evidence of reciprocal contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus.

On Cyprus, after an earlier phase of Cypriot archaeology (Bombardieri 2011; 2024), following the activities of Luigi Palma di Cesnola and his brother Alessandro on the island in the late 1800's,[3] some Mycenaean vases were included in the *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, a scholarly catalog of the Cypriot antiquities stored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York and published in 1914 by J.L. Myres (1914, 45-50). In addition, some Aegean artifacts also recovered by the Palma di Cesnola brothers have been published in detail in more recent publications (Karageorghis 2000a, 26 no. 16, 46-50 nos 70-1, 70 no. 113). Also, in the last decades of the 1800s, thirty-seven Mycenaean vessels from Cyprus were mentioned in the pioneering study of Mycenaean vessels by Furtwängler and Loeschcke (1886, 24-31, pls XIII-XIV, XXII), and in 1899 some "Mykenaean vases" were listed and discussed in the catalog of the collections stored in the Cyprus Museum. The publication of this collection by Myres and Ohnefalsch Richter distinguished "Genuine imported vases" from so-called "Native imitations" of Mycenaean vases, which indeed included many Iron Age vessels (Myres, Ohnefalsch Richter 1899, 40, 50, pl. III: nos 431, 434, 435; also cf. Myres 1914, 45-53 for this ceramic distinction). The most significant increase at the end of the century to the number of known Aegean finds from Cyprus arose from the excavations of the British Museum expedition, whose main purpose clearly was to enrich the Museum collections by acquiring interesting objects. These include the Turner Bequest Excavations at Amathous in 1893-4 and at Kourion in 1895,[4] and in 1897 the British Museum team found more than 90 Mycenaean whole and partial vessels, as well as three LM IIIB vessels in a cemetery at Maroni *Tsaroukkas* (Manning, Monks 1998, 297-8 with refs). At Hala Sultan Tekke, following a trench opened in 1894

3 De Agostini 1871; Palma di Cesnola 1879; Palma di Cesnola 1891; Bombardieri 2015.

4 Murray et al. 1900, 57-86, 72-4, figs 124-7; Kiely 2009a; 2009b; 2019, 18-22.

by J.L. Myres, a team under the directions of H.B. Walter and J.W. Crowfoot excavated several tombs in 1897 and 1898 that contained many Aegean imports (Bailey 1976, 1-32; Åström, Bailey 1976; Fischer 2019b). In the course of the early British expeditions, several Mycenaean vessels, including Pictorial kraters, were also found at Klavdhia[5] and elsewhere.

While these sites yielded significant finds, by far the greatest number of Aegean imports were found at Enkomi, the main Late Bronze Age site on Cyprus, which was largely unknown to scholars before 1896 (Kiely 2019, 9) when the British Museum expedition excavated some one hundred LBA tombs (Murray et al. 1900, 72 figs 124, 126, 128; Kiely 2019, 23-4). The British excavators of Enkomi wrote that this "pottery of the Mycenaean kind was constantly found in our excavations" along with ivories, bronzes, jewelry, and other artifacts which they compared to Aegean items (Murray et al. 1900, 6). Accounts of these excavations and their scientific limitations are well known (Steel 2001), but new opportunities for study have recently arisen with the online publications of the Aegean finds from the Enkomi tombs stored in the British and Cyprus Museums (Crewe 2009a; Pilides 2023), although some objects from the site are also dispersed in other museums of the world (Gubel, Massar 2019, 193-6, figs 1-35, with refs).

The most mature phase of Cypriot archaeology began with the activities of the Swedish mission to Cyprus (1927-31). Over ca 40 years, the members of the Swedish missions further illuminated the nature of Cypro-Aegean contacts and data was regularly published in the volumes of the monumental series of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (1934-72). This series remains an absolutely essential source for the study of Cypriot prehistory and later periods on account of the unprecedented attention paid to stratigraphical details and descriptions and to the classification of the finds. Subsequent excavations at Enkomi by the French (Schaeffer 1936; 1956; 1971) and Cypriot (Dikaios 1969-71) missions further illustrated contacts with the Aegean and other Mediterranean areas, but the Turkish occupation of the north part of Cyprus in 1974 brought about the end of the excavations at Enkomi.

Turning to important finds that provide the earliest evidence of Cypriot artifacts in the Aegean, the overall imports are relatively few and of various categories, so we can review them individually piece by piece here. One of the first discovered Cypriot vessels from the Aegean is a White Slip I bowl found below the eruption deposits on Thera in 1870 during excavations in the area of Akrotiri (Cline 1994,

5 Smith 1925, section IIcb, 4, pl. 2: no. 17; 4-5, pl. 3: nos 17, 19; 5-6, pl. 4: nos 13, 27; 6, pl. 5: nos 12-14; 7, pl. 6: no. 12; 7, pl. 7: nos 8, 12; 7, pl. 8: nos 4, 12; 8, pl. 9: no. 8; 8, pl. 10: nos 4, 9, 11; 9, pl. 11: no. 17; 10, pl. 12: no. 34; for these vases also cf. Walters 1912.

186 no. 455; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 153; Manning 1999, 151 fig. 31). Preceding this are the finds of Cypriot bronzes, a rapier and a spearhead, that were recovered during Biliotti's excavations at Ialysos (Rhodes) and published in 1886 by Furtwängler and Loeschcke (1886, pl. D: 3, 7; also cf. Benzi 2009, 50 fn. 21, for further refs). Benzi has also mentioned not only additional bronzes from Biliotti's excavations, which "may be more safely regarded as influence rather then imports" (Benzi 2009, 50-1 fn. 27), but also other finds, such as glass pendants and faience scarabs which were imported from Cyprus or other Eastern Mediterranean regions (Benzi 2009, 52-3 fns 34, 36, 47 with refs). While six sherds belonging to a White Slip I bowl were discovered in a mixed layer at Phylakopi on Melos at the end of the nineteenth century (Edgar et al. 1904, 100, 158 fig. 148, a-c), Crete also produced early evidence for Cypriot-Minoan connections. A handmade Red-Lustrous spindle-bottle was found in Area 67 at Gournia,[6] but because its shape is typical of the Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware, it is uncertain whether it should be attributed to Cypriot manufacture, and the place of production can now be considered possibly Anatolia (Kozal 2015; Kibaroğlu et al. 2019; also see here § 5.3.1.1); however, this Gournia spindle-bottle is handmade, which could indicate that it is a Cypriot item with a shape inspired by wheelmade examples.

Oxhide ingots were also found at Gournia during the early excavations between 1901 and 1904. Four fragments of these oxhide ingots were analyzed using Lead Isotope Analysis and were found to be made of copper from the Apliki mines on Cyprus (Mangou, Ioannou 2000, 213: A, D; Betancourt 2014b, 65-6 nos 2-5, with earlier refs). Another oxhide ingot was found at the beginning of the twentieth century in the area south of the "Long Corridor" in the Palace of Knossos, but the possible Cypriot origin of the copper has not been determined (see § 4.3.2.1).[7] Concerning the discovery of other oxhide ingots on Crete in this period, lead isotope analysis of three samples from the LM IIIC quarter excavated in the Piazzale dei Sacelli at Ayia Triada and a LM IIIC half ingot from the same site (Lo Schiavo et al. 2013, with refs) determined that the copper was consistent with the same Cypriot origin as the Gournia ingot fragments. This signature differs from the oxhide ingots from Vano 7 in the "Royal Villa" whose source of copper remains unknown. The origin of three other examples from Tylissos and two of the six ingots from Zakros (see § 4.3.2.1 with refs) also remain unknown.

6 Boyd-Hawes et. al. 1908, 42 pl. VIII.25.2; Cadogan 1972, 5; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 149; Mantzourani, Theodorou 1991, 55 no. 13.

7 Mantzourani, Theodorou 1991, 55 no. 7; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 128 no. 12; Evely 2000, 344 no. 33; Mangou, Ioannou 2000, 208: KN/162.

The list of other Cypriot objects found in Crete during this early period of excavations includes some sealings from the Palace of Knossos (see discussion in § 5.3.3.1), a LBA iron knife with bronze nails from a LM IIIC context in tholos 5 at Vrokastro (Cadogan 1972, 9-10 with earlier refs; Mantzourani, Theodorou 1991, 55 no. 12), and a LBA cylinder seal from a burial at Palaikastro dubiously attributed to LM III.[8]

Turning to the Argolid, it is worth emphasizing the early discovery of some prestige finds of Cypriot manufacture, such as a faience goblet from Tsountas' excavations in Tomb 49 (Cline 1994, 197 no. 560 with refs) and a hematite cylinder seal from Tomb 47 (Portugali, Knapp 1985, 77 no. 132) at Mycenae, as well as a gold bucranium that was part of the so-called "Tiryns Treasure" discovered in 1915 in the Citadel of Tiryns (Portugali, Knapp 1985, 77 no. 137).

The Developments of Research on Cypro-Aegean Interaction

When considering the developments of Cypriot archaeology in the second half of the twentieth century, it should be noted that research took on a relevant international role, with many important publications stemming from the scientific interest in Cypriot contacts with neighboring areas. Antoniadou has rightly stated that

> within the conceptual and methodological framework of the culture-historical approach, Cyprus' external contacts were divided into geographical areas and studied respectively: Cyprus and the Aegean, including Mainland Greece and Crete, Cyprus and the Near East, and Cyprus and Egypt. The relation between Cyprus and Anatolia had yet to be explored as well as that with Sardinia, these being dependent on later discoveries. (Antoniadou 2003, 8)

Reference can also be made to Antoniadou's *raisonné* review, which addresses the various problems concerning Cypro-Aegean contacts from the Cypriot perspective. It begins from Catling's 1964 comprehensive study on Cypriot bronzework and includes a discussion on the possibility of Mycenaean colonization (Antoniadou 2003, 7-25, and 10-11 for a review of the studies concerning contacts between Crete and Cyprus). While it is impossible to review in detail here all the individual scholarship, Vassos Karageorghis and Paul Åström can be recognized as two of the most eminent scholars of Cypriot archaeology due to their excavations, research activities, and extensive publications on

8 Bosanquet 1901-02, 302 fig. 18.2; CMS II, 3 no. 282; Davaras, Soles 1995, 57 no. 77; Pini 2014, 329 no. 9.

a wide range of topics related to the Cypriot Bronze Age and Cypro-Aegean interaction. The dissemination of research on Cypriot archaeology and the island's external contacts has benefited substantially from contributions to the series *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* founded by Paul Åström (cf. Jung 2012a), as well as from many conference proceedings and other publications mentioned below.

Turning to the Aegean, due to the small number of Cypriot imports and their diffuse scatter found in the early phases of research, until recently there was the widely shared opinion that very few Cypriot artifacts were to be found in the Aegean regions, and it was also assumed that all the Cypriot artifacts traveling westward were shipped only because they were accompanying copper (Cline 1994, 60; Knapp 2022, 74). However, with continued research, the number of Cypriot imports identified has increased substantially, especially in the Argolid, the Dodecanese, and on Crete where Cypriot artifacts of various categories (Knapp 2022, 75) have been found. Additional evidence of Cypriot finds in the Aegean are presented in detail in chapters 5-7 of the present book and the early impressions of limited exchange must be revised.

To complete the short overview of previous scholarship after the earliest discoveries of reciprocal imports, only a synthesis of the most notable publications is possible because of the sheer volume of impressive research addressing the problems inherent to reconstructing interactions between Cyprus and the Aegean. I am well aware that the mention of only a few publications within the *mare magnum* of the relevant archaeological literature inevitably results in a very partial selection. For this reason, in this book I refer mainly to collective works and mention only the most frequently cited publications, with apologies for all unintentional omissions.

Beginning with the acts of conferences and collective works containing contributions dealing with Cypro-Aegean interaction in the Bronze Age, as early as the 1970s the various problems concerning both Mycenaean and Minoan relations with Cyprus were discussed at international conferences (Karageorghis 1973; 1979a), and a review of the Bronze Age Cypriot objects found in the Aegean was also published in *Acts of the First International Congress of Cypriot Studies* (Cadogan 1972). In 1986, a symposium dealing with the cultural location of Cyprus between the Occident and the Orient was held (Karageorghis 1986a), while in the nineties there were new conferences focusing on Cypro-Aegean interconnections (Karageorghis 1991; Christou 1997) and particular attention was devoted to the contacts between Cyprus, the Dodecanese and Crete (Karageorghis, Stampolidis 1998) and to the Cypriot shipwreck at Point Iria in the Argolid (Phelps, Lolos, Vichos 1999). In the following years various contributions of Cypro-Aegean interest were published in the acts of conferences held in Rethymno (Stampolidis, Karageorghis 2003) and

in Athens (Laffineur, Greco 2005). More recently, the connections between Cyprus and the Dodecanese in the light of the new evidence also were the subject of several papers presented in a symposium held on Samos (Karageorghis, Kouka 2009), while some questions concerning the suggested presence of Mycenaeans in Cyprus in the twelfth century BC were discussed in a symposium in 2011 (Karageorghis, Kouka 2011). Interest in the connections between Crete and Cyprus has also increased and a conference organized by the British School at Athens, the University of Crete, and the University of Cyprus compared the evidence from the two islands (Cadogan et al. 2012). Additional important contributions highlighting the connections between Crete and Cyprus can be found in recent collective works (Karageorghis et al. 2014; Macdonald, Hatzaki, Andreou 2015). While the proceedings from a conference in Heidelberg dealt with the cultural contacts in different Mediterranean regions between the end of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (Babbi et al. 2015), Cypriot connectivity in the Mediterranean from approximately the Middle Bronze Age to the Roman period was discussed specifically at a conference held in Athens in 2020 (Bourogiannis 2022).

At its essence, this book relies on the published reviews of reciprocal imports both to the Aegean and Cyprus, with other relevant evidence also used to enrich the interpretations of the archaeological evidence. A survey of these contributions begins with the list of Minoica from Cyprus published by Catling and Karageorghis in 1960, while the above mentioned Cadogan's review of Cypriot objects from the Aegean has also greatly enhanced our knowledge of Cypro-Aegean connections (Cadogan 1972). In 1985, Portugali and Knapp published a spatial analysis of Cypro-Aegean interaction between the seventeenth and fourteenth centuries BC that was complemented by short catalogs of the Aegean objects on Cyprus and the Cypriot objects in the Aegean (Portugali, Knapp 1985, 70-8). In the following decade, in addition to a list of Cypriot finds on Crete, published as part of an appendix to a paper on the sea-routes between Crete and Cyprus (Mantzourani, Theodorou 1991), two important books by Lambrou-Phillipson (1990) and Cline (1994) contained catalogs of "*orientalia*" found in the Bronze Age Aegean and included the Cypriot imports as a notable component. From the Cypriot perspective, two lists of the Cypriot sites where Mycenaean pottery was found were published by M. Pacci (1986) and later by M.P. Toti (1994), while G.J. van Wijngaarden presented a thorough discussion and a catalog on the Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus, particularly focusing on the finds from Enkomi, Athienou, and Apliki (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 125-202, 290-300, tabs VI-X, 314-15, 323-5, maps 8-9, 346-77, catalogs I, V-VII; also cf. Van Wijngaarden 2007; 2016). In addition, A.H. Sørensen (2008, 173-90) published a catalog of Minoan finds on Cyprus that date to the early LM periods.

While reiterating that it is impossible to mention all scholars of Cypro-Aegean interaction, the scientific research of several scholars such as R. Merrillees (1979; 2001; 2009), N. Papadimitriou (2012; 2015; 2022), S. Antoniadou (2003; 2005; 2007; 2011), and A. Papadopoulos (2011; 2012; 2022) has led to important contributions on various aspects of Cypro-Aegean interaction. Also of exceptional value are the varied and wide research activities of Knapp who has specifically contextualized Cypro-Aegean connections within the framework of the cultural and commercial role of Cyprus between the West and the East.[9]

Moving beyond individual researchers and their contributions, a brief summary of the evolution of research on the topic of Cypro-Aegean interaction is also informative. Several basic studies on the Aegean pottery imported to Cyprus are well known and still remain indispensable for comprehending Cypro-Aegean interactions.[10] This early work promoted new research and stimulated the development of a vast quantity of archaeological literature. Following this direction, subsequent contributions are also worthy of consideration.[11] Among these recent works, the monumental study of P. Mountjoy (2018) on the decorated pottery dating to the twelfth century BC recovered on Cyprus and in Philistia raised awareness of the Aegean pottery from Cyprus to an unprecedented level. Moreover, Neutron Activation Analysis and Petrography of ceramic finds have provided the fundamental data needed to correctly identify the predominantly Argive origin of the Mycenaean pottery from Cyprus[12] and the Cypriot origin of imports to Kommos (Tomlinson, Rutter, Hoffman 2010).

Research on Cypriot interactions has also evolved with the examination of contacts other than those with Crete and the Argolid. For example, based on additional work after the pioneering excavations on Rhodes, the key role of the Dodecanese in Cypriot-Aegean interactions is now clearly demonstrated. Among recent contributions, not only are the proceedings from the conference held in the Dodecanese mentioned above relevant, but a wide repertoire of other studies documents the discovery of Cypriot pottery, local imitations of Cypriot pottery, and other Cypriot artifacts among the finds of Eastern Aegean island sites.[13]

9 Knapp 1990a, 2008; 2012b; 2013a; 2015; 2021; 2022; Knapp, Cherry 1994.

10 Furumark 1941; Stubbings 1951; P. Åström 1972; 1973; 1979; 1983; 1998; Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982.

11 Cf. for example, Kling 1989a; 1991; 2000; Steel 1998; 1999; 2004b; 2004c; 2023; Mountjoy 2004; 2008; 2010; 2015; 2020; Jung 2011a; 2011b; 2015.

12 Catling, Jones, Millet 1978; Jones 1986; Bryan et al. 1997; Mommsen, Beier, Åström 2003; Yellin 2007; Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015; 2019.

13 Benzi 2009, 49-53, 55-6; Marketou 1998a; 2009a; 2009b; Marketou et al. 2006; Karageorghis, Marketou 2006; Karantzali 2005; 2009.

Another import topic in Cypriot archaeology that has continued to evolve and is supplemented by a wide breadth of literature concerns the diffusion of oxhide ingots and copper/bronze artifacts made of Cypriot copper throughout the Aegean. Several scholars, such as Muhly (2009; Muhly et al. 1988; Muhly, Kassianidou 2012), Gale (1991; 2011), Stos-Gale (1988; 2000; 2001; 2011; 2015; Stos-Gale, Gale 2003; Stos-Gale, Macdonald 1991), Mangou, Ioannou (2000), Liard (2010), Sabatini (2016), and, last but not the least, Kassianidou (2003; 2008-12; 2013a; 2014; 2021; 2022), deserve recognition here for their substantial contributions to the methodological, interpretative, and archaeological discussions concerning Cypriot metallurgy and Cypro-Aegean trade in oxhide ingots.

In this short review of previous scholarship the age-old question of the so-called "Aegean colonization" of Cyprus must be mentioned as one of the most debated topics concerning Cypro-Aegean interaction in the Bronze Age, but here it is only mentioned without an in-depth discussion of the wide relevant literature since this topic belongs to an archaeological period beyond the scope of this book (see, however, §§ 1.3.3, 1.4 for a discussion on various theoretical interpretations).

Finally, the importance of reconstructing the Cypriot social context in order to understand Cypriot trade cannot be neglected. S. Sherratt (2016), for example, has emphasized the social role of the maritime mercantile elites on Cyprus, especially in the thirteenth century BC, and N. Meyer and Knapp (2023) have recently discussed the mercantile class on the island as powerful actors within Cypriot society throughout the entire Late Bronze Age.

The Structure of the Book

As pointed out above, the aim of this book is to present a review of the archaeological data concerning Cypro-Aegean interaction from the third millennium BC to ca 1200 BC from both the Aegean and Cypriot perspectives and within the historical background of the two areas. While chapter 1 comprises the theoretical introduction written by Francesca Nani and chapter 2 discusses the comparative chronology, the subsequent chapters are organized chronologically with internal divisions used to present the regional evidence related to each temporal period. For clarity, the discussion of regional evidence is further subdivided by find categories. Since historical context is a necessary prerequisite for comprehending archaeological data, before the detailed regional evidence is presented, each chapter begins with a section devoted to a historical synopsis of the research in both the Aegean and on Cyprus. In chapter 7, various aspects of the development of Cypro-Aegean interaction presented in the preceding chapters are reconsidered and particular problems

are discussed in more depth. Several chapters include contributions from collaborators who address specific topics that complement the general analysis of the archaeological evidence. These include a case study on the LH IIIA and LH IIIB pottery from funerary contexts at Enkomi by Lorenzo Mazzotta and Laerke Recht in chapter 5 and an analysis of the local production of Aegean-style pottery on Cyprus that substantially enhances the discussion of Cypro-Aegean interaction in the LC IIC by Artemis Georgiou in § 6.4.3. The book also includes a contribution by Angiolo Querci in the Appendix that considers the impacts of nautical factors to Cyprus-Aegean connections.

Needless to say, the overwhelming majority of available evidence of reciprocal contacts is provided by pottery. Some preliminary remarks are therefore necessary about the classification of Aegean ceramic imports to Cyprus. Although in this volume reference is always made to Furumark's basic classification of Mycenaean pottery, functional categories are also distinguished, although their distinction is not intended as an alternative system of shape classification. As far as functional categories are concerned, it must be recognized that, generally speaking, every individual vessel throughout its lifespan may have been used for more than a single purpose; however, the shape can be considered indicative of its original intended function. A jug, for example, is primarily a pouring vessel, although it may also occasionally be used as a storage or a multi-functional container as can sometimes be inferred from the find's context. While a vessel's individual use life is interesting, when applied to groups of imported vessels with the same intended function, the functional categories distinguished in this book establish an additional system of classification that can provide insight on aspects of the market rules governing trade of Aegean pottery and/or the functional preferences of Cypriot people according to their needs and/or tastes. In terms of Aegean ceramic imports to Cyprus, it should also be noted here that not all the Aegean-type vessels of Cypriot production, especially the three-handled jars FS 46 and FS 47 and the local "Levanto-Helladic" and White Painted Wheelmade III pottery, have been included in the accompanying tables since they cannot be considered Aegean imports in their own right. However, the careful discussion of Artemis Georgiou in § 6.4.3 is a contribution of great importance for understanding the development of pottery production on Cyprus in the thirteenth century BC.

Finally, this book admittedly does not provide a complete catalog of all Aegean imports antedating the period around 1200 BC. The catalog of Aegean pottery from Cyprus published by P. Åström as part of volume IV, part 1D, of the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* (Åström 1972) is the primary catalog of Aegean imports published before 1972, including detailed references to earlier publications, and it provides the most comprehensive source of discussion and review of Aegean

vessels up to this date. Therefore, for the sake of brevity, when the Aegean imports antedating Åström's catalog are incorporated in the tables and discussion in this book, reference is made to his work. However, due to the presence of a few gaps in his catalog and in light of more recent studies, clarification and elaboration were in some cases necessary (see § 5.4.1.4 fn. 28; also see § 5.4.1.4.1). In order to update the list of Aegean vessels, the reviews of reciprocal imports mentioned above, as well as various publications and excavation accounts, have also been taken into account as references to single items published after 1972, but, for the sake of brevity, reference is generally made to the main general reviews of finds since they provide references to previous literature. Moreover it is also important to point out that only well-published finds have been selected for inclusion in the tables and discussion, but unfortunately there are many items, generally undiagnostic fragmentary sherds from settlement deposits, which I was not able to check and classify, in addition to an undefined number of Aegean vessels from Cyprus that are stored in museums and private collections all over the world that have been omitted. Despite these obstacles, I am confident that the repertoire of Aegean pottery examined here is representative of the corpus of Aegean imports to Cyprus and may provide a reliable picture of Cypro-Aegean interaction in the Bronze Age before ca 1200 BC.

1 An Overview of Theoretical Approaches to Interaction

Francesca Nani

Summary 1.1 Ethnicity and Other Group Identities: A Matter of Definition. – 1.1.1 The Origin of 'Ethnicity'. – 1.1.2 Ethnicity and Cultural Identity. – 1.1.3 Different Approaches to Ethnicity: Isolationist vs Interactionist, Primordialist vs Instrumentalist. – 1.1.4 Ethnicity and Archaeology: Use and Abuse of a Term. – 1.2 How Societies Remember: Collective, Cultural and Social Memory. – 1.3 Memory, Identity and Material Culture: Between Craft Production and Cognitive Archaeology. – 1.3.1 Towards a Definition of Craft Production and Cognitive Archeology. – 1.3.2 Archaeology and Culture-Historical Approaches. – 1.3.3 Towards a Different Approach. – 1.4 Insularity, Connectivity and Cross-cultural Encounters: What Identities? – 1.4.1 Insularity and Connectivity. – 1.4.2 Cultural Encounters: From Acculturation to Cultural Fusion. – 1.5 Conclusions.

1.1 Ethnicity and Other Group Identities: A Matter of Definition

The concepts of ethnic and cultural identity have been a frequent component of theoretical discussions within the social sciences; however, despite their increasing centrality in archaeological discourse, these concepts continue to be poorly defined and distinguished. For example, S. Sherratt (2005, 27) manifested an "uneasiness" towards the too vague application of the term to refer to different group identities, and A. Leriou (2007a, 25-6) called for a more attentive use of the terminology with which wider processes are described. Using the comprehensive theoretical summaries made by B. Feuer, D. Hu, and

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other scholars,[1] this section discusses the importance and application of these concepts to archaeological contexts.

1.1.1 The Origin of 'Ethnicity'

Despite the fact that the terms 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic' are based on the ancient Greek word ἔθνος, they appeared relatively late in academic discussions, although the latter term had been used since the mid-nineteenth century to refer to "racial" characteristics (Eriksen 1993, 4). According to Sherratt (2005, 30-2), we need to turn to the "semantic history" of the Greek term in order to shed light on the progressive shift of meaning towards its current use. The first appearance of ἔθνος and its plural ἔθνεα is in Homer's works, where they generally mean a 'large number', a 'mass' of either animals or humans. Only in the fifth century does Herodotus (e.g. *Hist.* 5.17-18, 6.43, 7.81, 7.110, 8.73, 9.25) take the first step to associate the term with a 'group of people', using it to define various populations living either at the border of or in the Greek mainland. The use of the term in this sense, however, occurs rather infrequently, and the word is more often encountered as a synonym for 'a loosely organized crowd', in contrast to the organized polis (e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1326b). In Plato (e.g. *Grg.* 455b) and Xenophon (e.g. *Symp.* 3.6) it is also used as a synonym for 'class' or a more tightly defined grouping based on sex or occupation. From the Hellenistic period, the adjective ἐθνικός appears and the term ἔθνος begins to be used to refer to 'non-Greeks'. In the Septuagint, ἔθνος often indicates non-Jews, while in early Christian and then early Modern periods, it defines those who are "neither Jews nor Christians" (Sherratt 2005, 32).

Ethnicity is centered around the socio-political developments of the twentieth century (Sherratt 2005, 31). Hu (2013, 373) underlines that the appearance of the term 'ethnicity' corresponded to the rise of Nazi and Soviet programs, between World War I and II, when its use was focused on establishing national origins. In this respect, ethnicity was a way to classify human differences and to identify the primordial traits of each nation. After the initial use, the cultural-historical approach, which correlates material culture and people's identities (see below § 1.3.2), dominated the discussion in the academic field of the 1940s and 1950s. From the second half of the twentieth century, the exploitation of 'culture' by Nazi and Fascist regimes, as well as many other colonial empires which used it to support their expansionist goals, led to a growing dissatisfaction and pejorative connotation towards the term and its semantic correlates

1 E.g. Jones 1997; Knapp 2008, 35-8; Feuer 2011; Hu 2013.

in those debates. During the late 1960s and 1970s, there was again a "surge of interest in the phenomenon of ethnicity", when the term and the concept started to be preferred to other terms, such as 'culture' or 'tribe' (Jones 1997, 51-5). Therefore, ethnicity re-emerged as a new, alternative, and "processual" approach which increasingly focused on "the self-definitions of particular ethnic groups in opposition to other groups", overcoming the culture-historical approach in favor of a more social one. Nonetheless, Jones recognized that, in the theoretical framework of ethnicity,

> other factors have been involved, including the meanings which concepts such as race, tribe and ethnicity have accumulated within the context of a number of different functioning ideological discourses, and the increasing salience of ethnicity in the realm of national and international politics. (Jones 1997, 55)

Such ideological connotations and their political uses obviously made discussions on ethnicity and ethnic identity more multi-layered and complex.

1.1.2 Ethnicity and Cultural Identity

Given this history, how have modern scholars approached defining ethnicity and ethnic identity? Building on ideas previously developed by Weber, Hu has recently defined ethnic identity as "a belief in group affinity that is based on subjective beliefs of shared common ancestry drawn from 'similarities of physical type or of customs or both' or 'of memories of colonization and migration'" (Hu 2013, 372; Weber 1978, 389). Similarly, according to Jones:

> ethnic identity [is] the aspect of a person's self-conceptualization which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent. (1997, xiii)

Therefore, ethnicity represents "an aspect of social relationship between agents who consider themselves as culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have a minimum of regular interaction" and of which ethnic identity is the "symbolic aspect" (Eriksen 1993, 12; Bentley 1987, 27; Jones 1997, xiii).

In order to define the ethnic identity of a group, it is necessary to consider both the insiders' (emic) idea of membership and the outsiders' (etic) characterization of the same membership (Hu 2013, 373-4). While emic categories are established and make sense only within the specific culture that produces them, etic categories represent

a more extensive range of classification that can be applied outside of a given culture (Parker 2001, 318-22; also Hruby 2010, 197). Since both emic and etic categories are based on cultural attributes, Feuer, following Patterson, looks to group awareness as the root that differentiates cultural and ethnic identity. In this approach, cultural identity defines a cultural group as "any group of people who consciously or *unconsciously* share an identifiable complex of meanings, symbols, values and norms" (Patterson 1975, 309; cf. Feuer 2011, 508; emphasis added). In addition to sharing the meanings, values, etc. that define cultural identity, ethnic groups can only exist when members choose to be part of them and *consciously* consider themselves as members of the group. Moreover, according to J. Yinger (1986, 24-5), the distinctive shared values and feelings of common descent within an ethnic group can be fruitfully used to recognize this group, even when the values and feelings are artificially built as a fictional construct. In summary, modern scholarship seems to consider "self-conscious identification with a particular group of people" (Jones 1997, 123) the defining characteristic that differentiates ethnic groups from cultural groups. We too accept and consider awareness of belonging as a necessary condition when speaking of ethnicity.

1.1.3 Different Approaches to Ethnicity: Isolationist vs Interactionist, Primordialist vs Instrumentalist

The above distinction between cultural and ethnic groups draws heavily on the sociological discourse, and within this field, 'ethnicity' has become a factor considered important to the formation of political communities. In contrast with (or at least more easily than) other group identities, ethnic differences can in fact be politicized to create or enhance the cohesion of groups and to pursue specific interests (Hu 2013, 375; see § 1.3.3 for the role of material culture in this). Hu (375) identifies two common approaches to the integration of cultural differences in the political field: isolationist vs interactionist perspectives and primordial vs instrumental perspectives. The two approaches are often included as a frame of reference in archaeological research, and it is important to briefly introduce them here.

Isolationist vs interactionist approaches consider ethnicity in the context of their relationships with outsider groups. Isolationists maintain that ethnic and cultural identities are created and better preserved when the contact with other groups is lacking or, more realistically, very limited. By contrast, interactionists emphasize the role of interacting with the 'other' in highlighting or creating identities, to the point that Yinger (1986, 22) states that "ethnicities […]

are never singular, but always exist in systems: one ethnicity implies at least one another" (cf. also Hu 2013, 375).

Nowadays, scholars in social sciences tend to prefer the interactionist view and remark that alterity is a necessary condition for the development of ethnic or cultural identity. Ethnic identity in particular has been connected to the necessity of creating or maintaining boundaries, with ethnicity considered a self-defining system based on a we/they opposition (Jones 1997, 64). In a more intermediate perspective, it is in the encounter with the 'other' that identity is more clearly established, because different forces focus on what is 'us' and what stands 'outside of us'. Therefore, cross-cultural interactions play a vital role in constituting ethnic and cultural identities and, without their inputs, social systems tend to be weaker (see below).

Primordial vs instrumental perspectives on ethnicity and ethnic identity are more controversial. The debate revolves around the question of whether ethnicity is rooted in deep, basic, and irreducible features to which individuals are attached (language, religion, etc.), or if it can be acquired through a combination of variables, representing symbols used by people towards specific ends. As a general definition, primordialists focus on emotions, on an "ineffable and unaccountable" (Jones 1997, 63-8) sense of belonging acquired at birth, and on the power of particular symbols of ethnicity. It is the "deep-seated need for rootedness" that "gives rise to communal sentiments that generate ethnic groupings" and provide emotional support (Bentley 1987, 26). In the instrumental perspective on the other hand, people are drawn to create groups that defend their common interest and use ethnicity as an instrument to pursue their collective goal.

The instrumental view appeared as a response to the failure of the primordial approach to address the "dynamic and fluid nature of ethnicity in varied social and historical contexts" (Jones 1997, 74).[2] Instead, instrumental views focus on the organizational features of ethnicity which is regarded

> as constituting the shared beliefs and practices that provide a group with the boundary maintenance and organizational dimensions necessary to maintain, and compete for, socio-economic resources. (74)

The main flaw of the instrumental approach is the risk of over-deterministic explanations of ethnicity coming "into existence in order

2 However, the primordial approach can be regarded as fundamental to some aspects of ethnicity. For example, de Vos's (1982, 17) definition of ethnicity as "a sense of feeling of continuity with the past, a feeling that is maintained as an essential part of one's self-definition" emphasises one aspect that is particularly poignant in the archaeological debate.

to serve the purposes of interest groups", although "there are many examples which patently contradict such an argument" (77). Essentially, instrumental views inadequately consider the psychological and human variables in the definition of ethnicity, since the instrumental approach is often too rationally directed to maximizing self-interest. If we do not consider the role of 'culture', it might become difficult to distinguish ethnic identity from other collective types of identity (77-9).

Bentley (1987, 24-6 with refs) and Jones (1997, 65-72 with refs) have pointed out that despite the two perspectives often being presented as dichotomous, they share a few premises and several critical gaps and are better considered as complementary rather than mutually exclusive. For this reason, they have suggested alternative theoretical approaches. These address an aspect that both instrumental and primordial approaches seem to ignore: "how people recognize commonalities of interest or sentiment underlying claims to a common identity".[3] Bentley suggests drawing from Bourdieu's theory of practice, specifically his *habitus* (see below), in order to overcome the dichotomy between instrumental and primordial approaches. He states:

> Rooted in preconscious patterns of practice that are not susceptible to conscious apprehension or alteration, ethnic identities implicate, in a phenomenological sense, who people are [...] At the same time, the idea of habitus accounts for ethnic-group formation and coordinated ethnic action without having to assume that ethnic identities represent either artifice or the product of some psychologically improbable process of unconscious interest aggregation. (Bentley 1987, 48)

Similarly, Jones (1997, 60) recognizes Barth's book entitled *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) as the "turning point" in identifying ethnic groups as "self-defining systems" and, based on her previous discussion on different approaches, she defines ethnic groups as "culturally ascribed identity groups, which are based on the expression of a real or assumed shared culture and common descent" (Jones 1997, 84). In the end, Jones recognizes that Barth's dissertation argument

> counteracts the idea that ethnicity constitutes the basic, underlying essence or character of a group of people which persists through time and can be traced back to a unique origin. Instead, [she] argue[s] that ethnic identity is based on shifting, situational, subjective identifications of self and others, which are rooted in

3 Jones 1997, 83; cf. also Bentley 1987, 48-50 and more recently Feuer 2011, 508-9; Hu 2013, 376.

> ongoing daily practice and historical experience, but also subject to transformation and discontinuity. (Jones 1997, 13)

Based on these two final definitions, ethnic identity has gained some important traits: it possesses a "situational", not fixed character and it is rooted in "ongoing daily practices and historical experience" (Jones 1997, 13). However, it should be noted that the distinction between cultural and ethnic identity is clear mainly from a sociological perspective, which considers cultural identity as a sub-category of ethnicity. Cultural anthropologists regard cultural and ethnic identity more as a continuum that connects people to their past and future and provides a sense of historical continuity and embeddedness in a community. Similarly, psychological studies use ethnic and cultural identity as interchangeable concepts, since they define cultural identity as

> that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his[/her] knowledge of his[/her] membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. (Kim 2007, 240-1)

This definition contradicts the demarcation previously drawn between cultural and ethnic identity, by assigning to cultural identity a self-awareness of belonging that is usually thought to be essential for the recognition of ethnic identity.

1.1.4 Ethnicity and Archaeology: Use and Abuse of a Term

Since the differences between the theoretical definitions of cultural and ethnic identities are somewhat unclear and identifying ethnic affiliation in the archaeological record is also difficult, Feuer, as well as other scholars, albeit aware of a theoretical distinction between cultural and ethnic identity, often prefer to generically refer to "ethnic *or* cultural identity" (Feuer 2011, 514-15, emphasis added). On the contrary, according to Clarke (2003, 205-7) "ethnicity assumes a degree of cultural identity that is not only self-defining but also defined from the outside", thus reflecting the sociological perspective that more clearly distinguishes ethnic from cultural identity. For Clarke (2003, 205-7), cultural identity is associated to a generic "group identity, specifically the combination of distinct cultural homogeneity", while ethnic identity is regarded as also "usually dependent upon a degree of social complexity" in addition to the distinct cultural homogeneity. The overall confusion that seems to dominate the archaeological field in the use of ethnic identity and its application to a "certain, somewhat vaguely defined (or 'intuitive') level of

group identity" (Sherratt 2005, 27) have led Sherratt, followed by Leriou (2007a, 37) and an increasing number of scholars, to completely reject the use of both 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic identity' (cf. also Knapp 2007, 40; 2008, 31; 2021, 38-40).

Considering the political, often racial and generally problematic nature of the terms connected to ethnicity, many archaeologists have even preferred some less "perplexing" and "politically charged" substitutes, such as "group identity" (Clarke 2003, 207; Sherratt 2005, 36), "social identity" (Knapp 2008, 31-2), or "cultural identity" (Leriou 2007a, 36). Leriou proposes "cultural group", which she uses to "define the producers and/or consumers of a particular culture". This definition seems sufficiently specific while at the same time still devoid of the "inherently political and value-laden connotations" that, according to Sherratt (2005, 27), should make archaeologists and ancient historians "particularly cautious about how [they] deploy [ethnicity] in relation to the physical or textual record". On the other hand, group identity, although less politically laden than ethnicity, can still be politically manipulated and at the same time is also overly generic as it can encompass other forms of identity based on gender, social role, age, etc. For example, B. Knapp correctly remarks that it is possible for individuals to retain more than one identity at the same time, expressing their belonging to different groups (Knapp 2008, 33; cf. also Hu 2013, 375). For this reason, he prefers to adopt "social identity" as a more suited – and broader – term than 'ethnicity'. More specifically, Knapp defines social identity as "the knowledge, value and significance attached to membership in a social group" and as "an individual's internalization of a group's shared norms and values", which is a process that is always in progress (Knapp 2008, 31-2). Eriksen (1993, 12) similarly addresses social identity, but his definition focuses on the emergence of identity through the development of social relationships between members of a group (cf. also Hall 1997, 30). However, for both of these approaches it is necessary to stress that 'social' can also imply an organized group, in which case identity can also be linked with political objectives.

More pronounced differences do exist between Knapp's and Eriksen's approaches. Specifically, unlike Knapp, Eriksen considers social identity as a broad term that encompasses different identities of which individuals dispose in the social arena, including ethnicity. In this case, when not clearly defined, 'social identity' risks to become a substitute of group identity rather than of 'ethnicity'. On the other hand, when used according to Knapp's definition, social identity can be an appropriate substitute for ethnic identity in archaeology, especially because it can be connected to social memory (see below). Similarly, Knapp's 'cultural identity' might be more appropriate in archaeology as it highlights the individual's awareness or sense of belonging to a (social) group on the basis of shared cultural frameworks.

Having defined the most relevant terms revolving around a group's identities, we can now examine how these identities are created, transmitted and, most importantly for archaeological studies, intertwined with material culture.

1.2 How Societies Remember: Collective, Cultural and Social Memory

Archaeology is strongly indebted to works that highlight the ways and extent to which the identity of social groups is related to shared memories. The title of this section draws from P. Connerton's influential 1989 essay, in which he examines how societies can create and transmit memory (Connerton 1989). Together with M. Halbwachs, Connerton is one of the main contributors to the debate about "collective memory" and the role of memory in the construction of a society's identity. This debate involves the fields of sociology, philosophy, and anthropology: here only a brief introduction can be offered.

The expression "collective memory" was coined by Halbwachs in the posthumous essay *La mémoire collective*, where he entitled the first chapter "Mémoire collective et mémoire individuelle" (1950). As underlined by N. Russell (2006, 792-6), although the idea was somehow present throughout European history since Augustin and Thomas Aquinas' philosophical reflections, Halbwachs introduced the new and compelling point that an individual's personal memory is strictly correlated to the experiences and memories of the group to which he belongs. Moreover, similar to how an individual's memories are formed, past experiences of a group create a shared 'collective' memory. As memories of past experiences contribute to the formation of an individual's own identity and own self-narration, a social group builds its own identity through the collective memory of its experiences (Connerton 1989, 22). As stated above, societies as "self-interpreting communities" create narratives of themselves in order to distinguish themselves from other societies (12). J. Assmann then related 'collective memory' to 'cultural identity', defining the concept of "cultural memory" as

> a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behavior and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains [*sic*.] through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation. (Assmann, Czaplicka 1995, 126)

Connerton and Assmann, therefore, underline the importance of this type of memory in constructing the "semantic code" collectively shared by a society which provides a framework for individuals to classify, build, and store their experiences (Connerton 1989, 27-8).

Connerton names this framework the "mental map" or "schema" of a society. Assmann names it "concretion of identity" and considers it one of the main characteristics of cultural memory since it "preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity" (Assmann, Czaplicka 1995, 130). Regardless of terminology, the focus is on the fact that through this shared framework, unique for every group, societies define themselves in a positive ('we are those who do/are this') or negative ('we are those who do not do/are not this') way. In other words, this shared framework generated by cultural memory in Connerton and Assmann's theories has an important role in a society's self-awareness and self-definition. Based on the preceding section of this chapter, social memory can thus be considered one of the most basic constituents of any cultural identity.

L. Girella, P. Pavúk and M. Pieniąże, following Assmann, have recently defined "cultural memory" as the

> distribution throughout society of what the individuals believe, feel, and know about the past, but it is also a past made of artifacts and traditions forming the ties that bind members together. (2019, 523)

With their definition, they highlight that the link between individual and collective memory lies in the experience and relationships of a single person, which over time bind "personal and experiential memories" so that they "develop into more referential and collective ones" (523). In this regard, it is also appropriate to use the terms "social" or "socio-cultural" memory (e.g. Voskos, Knapp 2008, 661) in order to recognize not only the relationship to an individual's 'culture' (for the term see below) but also the place that memory holds in the society as a whole.

Now a problem seems to arise. If cultural memory primarily stems from the experiences of individuals, how can it somehow orient their actions? Alternatively, if the individual acts according to a pre-ordered framework, how are changes and innovations possible? According to C. Tilley (1982, 26-7), to overcome this apparent contradiction, it is necessary to concentrate on the relationship between the individual and their superstructures in terms of "dialectic structuralism".[4] Structuralism, of which A. Giddens and P. Bourdieu are the main theorists, focuses on the interactions between individual actions and social structures, finding in human agency the connection and the

4 "Structuralist in the sense that a consideration of social structures plays a central part in the analysis, and dialectical in the emphasis it places on the relationship between structures and the activities of individuals and groups situated within social formations" (Tilley 1982, 26).

key to escape deterministic views where the individual has no power of choice. More specifically, Giddens' (1976; 1979; 1984) structuration is the process through which individual and society reciprocally reshape one another, by the individual's reproduction of practices learnt through socialization and constantly re-enacted in the same society. This idea is similar to Bourdieu's (1984) *habitus,* implying both a "structuring structure" and a "structured structure" (also Jones 1997, 89). In Tilley's methodological approach, the same notion is expressed as follows: "the results of individual actions form society which, in turn, reacts back and shapes individual actions" (Tilley 1982, 27).

Although Bourdieu himself was criticized for apparently expressing a deterministic view (Jones 1997, 89), in the archaeological debate, a structuralist approach such as Tilley's and other followers of Bourdieu's practice theory aided in balancing the deterministic-processual view of powerless people who are captured in plots outside of their control. On the contrary, practice theory draws attention to the agency of individuals and, in particular, to the intentionality of actions (Tilley 1982, 29). Specifically, to emphasize the role of agency in the construction of social structures, R.A. Joyce and J. Lopiparo define "structured agency" as

> exercized in sequences of practices that recapitulate and transform prior actions, sequences that we can recognize as structures at scales from the individual technical practice to the collective coordinated experience of long-enduring landscapes. (2005, 365)

Over the long term, through the structuration of society, this agency leads to traditions, which in Pauketat's (2001, 2-3) dynamic and open view are "practice(s) brought from the past into the present". Through this, the discussion has returned to the idea of "cultural construction", with tradition playing an important role (3).

Therefore, whether labeled collective, cultural, or social memory, all of these paradigms recognize the importance of repeated and transmitted practices that can be called 'tradition', and they consider memory as providing a specific sense of identity and belonging to an individual. The individual's actions, at the same time and in a reciprocal relationship, contribute to reshaping and/or transmitting cultural memory to future generations, who, through its incorporation, develop their cultural identity. Thus, for the archaeologists the fundamental question is: in societies of the past, where can we detect individual agency and how can we recognize a dialectically related cultural identity? One of the possible answers lies within a society's material culture. In fact, 'things' can be considered as "embodied behaviors" (Ardesia 2016, 275, after Leroi-Gourhan 1971) or "embodied ideologies" (Tilley 1982, 32) that have an active role among the society which produced and used them.

From here, we can appreciate the utility of studies that focus on material culture, craft production and, ultimately, the importance of understanding the relationship between repeated actions/practices and a society's cultural memory.

1.3 Memory, Identity and Material Culture: Between Craft Production and Cognitive Archaeology

1.3.1 Towards a Definition of Craft Production and Cognitive Archeology

In her definition of craft production, C.L. Costin states that the objectives of archaeological studies of craft production are

> (1) to describe the production system in terms of its technology, human agents, and organizing principles; (2) to explain why historically specific production systems have developed; and (3) to identify and explain cross-cultural regularities and variability in craft production systems and their role in general social evolution. (2005, 1034)

Many studies of craft production choose to focus on the first point, that is the technological aspect, with less attention paid to the social issues of production. However, as the aim of archaeology is "to study the relationships between men and things, and the relationships between men *through* things" (Giannichedda 2006, 238, Author's transl.), in the following discussion craft production and technology are broadly considered within the context of human societies and their political developments. In this way, the archaeology of craft production is one of the many possible approaches to the study of the past, one that focuses on those 'things' of everyday use that are important products of human labor (Giannichedda 2006, 30-5) and are a significant part of what has been called 'material culture'.

In 1923, V.G. Childe provided a definition of material culture that has widely influenced different fields and continues to do so today. In the first chapter of his *What Happened in History*, Childe states:

> even the student of material culture has to study a society as a cooperative organization for producing means to satisfy its needs, for reproducing itself and for producing new needs. (1923, 17)

Since there is a plurality of human societies, each of them with its own traditions, there should also be a plurality of material cultures. This is the reason why archaeologists can distinguish different types

of objects of the same function, showing differences that depend on the variability of social traditions. On this basis, the term 'culture' is defined by Childe (19) as "the totality of recognized types current simultaneously in a given area". Therefore, while introducing the concept of material culture itself, Childe had already strongly highlighted the relationship between objects, techniques, and society and his legacy has been important for all the scholars seeking a human centered approach to craft production.

Conversely, some processual archaeologists stressed the external (e.g. natural and environmental) constraints to human agency and presented a more deterministic approach. For example, D. Clarke's notion of "technocomplex" suggested that different cultures can independently reach the same "equilibrium" as "a widely diffused and interlinked response to common factors in environment, economy and technology" (Clarke, Chapman 1978, 495). In a marked contrast to the idea that technology is strongly linked to a particular society and context, a 'technocomplex' gathers together cultural systems because they share similar material and technological substructures, hence it represents a larger group, as opposed to one single cultural group (328-9). Although Clarke does not rule out the possibility of a certain variability in the cultural groups that converge in the same technocomplex, external factors (i.e. the environment or the economy) act as constraints within which other human sociocultural variables are forced to develop (329-33). However, regardless of the determinism of this view, Clarke's theory remains highly influential and will play an important role in other parts of this section.

In the analysis of production techniques, the risk of excessive determinism is enhanced by the active role played by natural environments in determining which actions are permitted on given raw materials. A. Leroi-Gourhan (1971, 15) himself, considered by many scholars the founder of craft production archaeology, was often accused of being extremely deterministic, as, for example, when he openly stated that "technological determinism is as strong as the zoological one" (Author's transl.). Nonetheless, he explained the tension between natural determination and human variability in terms of *tendance* (trends) and *fait* (facts). *Trends* are like universal statements and depend on physical limitations of materials or needs of use; *facts* are the concrete application of trends in life. Even if a trend can appear 'natural' and 'logically' unavoidable, in human history not everything has been predetermined by nature and every application of a general trend is unique due to the existence of multiple and complex variables (27-9). As suggested by Clarke, many techniques can be understood as similar responses to similar problems. However, each of these techniques still has peculiarities that can be thoroughly explained only in their individual and particular socio-cultural framework. Techniques as *facts* are the product of a

compromise, in a specific time and place, among the physical characteristics of available materials, technical skills, commercial and use needs, and social conventions. This means that techniques and objects are related with societies, because only within the society that makes and uses them are objects provided with meanings and fully understood. Similar to previously mentioned structuration theories, material culture

> structures and is structured by the perception of actors of their social world and may be a powerful means of legitimating the existing social world. It has a dual effect, as both a creation and a creator of social practice. (Tilley 1982, 32)

In substance, by emphasizing again human agency and human choices, and by considering artifacts as "solid behaviors" (Ardesia 2016, 275), it is possible to avoid determinism. Not only do objects materialize specific values of a society, but they also represent the "string of repeated actions that are learned, transmitted and transformed" (Mills, Walkers 2008, 13). Embodied in the objects, those actions that contain the agency of the present craftsman together with the agency of all the past ones are somehow stratified and "fossilized" (Ardesia 2016, 276).

Returning to Clarke's work, he states that artifacts encode information "about the orientation of a culture's *precepta*, information about the actions integrated in their fabrication, information about their intent" (Clarke 1971, 120), and that

> material culture constitutes an information subsystem of patterned constellations of artifacts which outline the behavior patterns of a social cultural system and embody that system's technology. (Clarke, Chapman 1978, 129)

Derived from Clarke's theory and widely reproduced, the 'triangle of material culture' effectively shows how objects, actions, and meanings are interlinked and stresses that people confer meanings to both the object and the actions needed to produce that object **[fig. 1.1]**.

Meanings and thoughts are a favored research field in cognitive archaeology. Defined in C. Renfrew's (1994, 3) words as "the study of past ways of thought as inferred from material remains", cognitive archaeology may constitute a reaction to the attention of processual archaeology on the economic and functional aspects of societies. In other words, from this perspective the focus of material culture studies can return from outside people to people themselves.

There is not enough space here for an in-depth theoretical discussion on cognitive archaeology, whose research field is certainly not limited to the manufacturing of objects (Renfrew, Zubrow 1994).

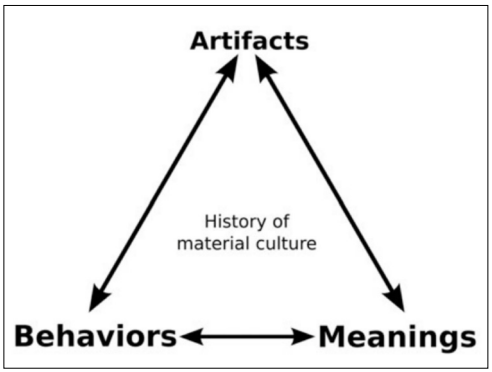


Figure 1.1
Material culture's triangle according to Clarke's theorization (after Ardesia 2016, 275 fig. 15.2)

However, within cognitive archaeology, it is important to mention the processes through which technological knowledge is acquired and transmitted, and how cultural values are embedded in these processes. Craft production studies can reconstruct a single *chaîne opératoire* by recognizing the different actions needed to produce an object, because those actions are the result of a specialized process, involving a specific set of knowledge and skills. In the same manner that Connerton (1989, 21-5) distinguished various meanings for the verb 'to remember' that address different types of memory, many scholars have defined multiple meanings for the verb 'to know' in order to indicate specific types of knowledge. For example, concerning actions, Tilley (1982, 31) distinguishes between 'knowing that' and 'knowing how'. The knowledge expressed by 'knowing that' is a

> propositional knowledge which can be discursively formulated, so that the actor would be able to tell us his reasons for a particular pattern of behavior [*sic*.].

The knowledge expressed by 'knowing how' is a

> knowledge which an actor possesses but cannot put into propositional form in that he [/she] is unaware of the principles upon which he [/she] is acting. This does not mean his [/her] action is unintentional. (31)

The expression 'know-how' has spread into many languages to define the technical knowledge required to make things, and Ryle (1949, 30-4) underlined that 'know-how' is primarily based on practice. Repetition and imitation, but not mandatory knowledge, are some of the characteristics of technical knowledge. It has often been remarked that mastery of this type of knowledge, when technique becomes

habit,[5] leads to a sort of automatic gesture. However, this does not mean that technical knowledge precludes the agent's awareness of what they are doing and their chance to modify the process. Gestures can be considered a "motor faculty know-how" resulting from the application of conceptual know-how where even the "motor idiosyncrasies" are linked to individual agency (34; Karlin, Julien 1994, 158-9).

If know-how is mostly learned through practice and example, it is clear why the archaeology of craft production has been interested in the process of apprenticeship. Here, craft production and cognitive studies almost collide. M.-N. Chamoux (2010, 145-9) refers to an ethnological example about the various possibilities for know-how transmission based on the scalar distribution of know-how in a society. Studying the Nahua village of Cuacuila in Eastern Mexico, she observed that know-how exists as knowledge that can be: shared by all the members of the community, shared by specific groups defined by broad categories such as age or sex, shared by reduced groups of individuals, or held solely by one individual. Hence, general know-hows can be transmitted through "impregnation" (150-2; Karlin, Julien 1994, 152), which includes a passive phase of continuous observation of the action followed by an active phase of attempts to reproduce those actions. By contrast, more specialized know-hows (e.g. embroidery) or general know-hows that cannot be observed for the time necessary for impregnation, will need a master teaching young apprentices the correct sequence of actions to perform (Chamoux 2010, 152-9).

Obviously, for the apprentice to acquire the correct technique through progressive steps, each know-how has a specific learning process. In this respect, it is important to highlight the following concepts:

- A know-how itself is a product of a tradition of tests, trials and failures slowly evolving through the stratified actions of generations of crafters. It is learned from practice and experience, acquired through the horizontal interactions between crafters and the vertical interactions between masters and apprentices. As a consequence, the technical knowledge to produce objects can be by itself considered a product of a society's unique material culture.
- Learning a technique is a vital social action that involves not only the master and their apprentice(s) but also the history of the master and their whole community, whose specific needs, knowledges, and beliefs are embodied both in the object and in its making process.
- Despite the tendency to be conservative due to their relationship with cultural memory, techniques allow the appearance of

5 Many anthropologists have remarked how crafters, when asked about their technique, cannot explain it verbally and instead prefer to directly show how a product is made (e.g. Chamoux 2010, 144).

> innovation thanks to the role of individual agency. As in other fields of social practice, craft-makers can decide when and how deeply the traditional technique requires modification, according to specific inputs and/or needs. A dynamic balance can be found between tradition and innovation.

1.3.2 Archaeology and Culture-Historical Approaches

Craft production and cognitive archaeology demonstrate that there are parts of 'cultural narratives' embedded within material culture and crafting techniques. This provides material culture and crafting techniques with identitarian values and might trigger the shift from a 'material culture assemblage' to an 'ethnic or cultural marker assemblage'. Since Childe's theorization of culture, many archaeologists have acknowledged its potential for developing a methodology that attaches people to the array of objects, buildings, and other traces of the archaeological past. This correlation of people to objects that is at the heart of the culture-historical approach created a backlash in archaeological discussions, with criticism and reevaluation focused around the disputed notion that 'pots equal people'.[6] As noted by Jones (1997, 15-24), the culture-historical approach led to abuses in the interpretation of archaeological data by scholars who sought to justify political or colonial claims.

As mentioned above, a critical turning point in the debate over ethnic identity was the introduction of Barth's (1969) instrumental perspective. According to this new perspective, ethnic identity should be examined in terms of the relations and ideological boundaries which societies define for themselves, instead of focusing on cultural markers (1969; Jones 1997, 72-3; Voskos, Knapp 2008, 662). In archaeological debate, the discussion on ethnic identities then became focused on which aspects of society are markers of identity. From this discussion arose the suggestion to abandon the concept of 'ethnic identity' in archaeology (see above) and a limited consensus on what can be considered an ethnic or cultural marker (what Knapp 2008, 33 identifies as "the archaeological dilemma"). However, more importantly, it became clear that

> it is essential that archaeologists do not assume that the etic ('objective') criteria – such as recurrent artifact assemblages – we use to define archaeological culture coincide with a people's own self image and self definition. (Stone 1995, 10)

6 Merrillees 1975, 37; Stone 1995, 10; for a discussion cf. Voskos, Knapp 2008, 661-2; Knapp 2008, 38-44.

1.3.3 Towards a Different Approach

Our "century-old obsession with pottery as a reliable indicator of ethnic groups" (Sherratt 2005, 35) is not only an overly simplistic approach to ethnic and/or cultural identity but has also perpetuated the notion that

> foreign elements within the area identified as occupied by specific groups are generally viewed as the result of colonization, invasion or migration. (Leriou 2007a, 22)

This is possibly the most influential, and most problematic, side-effect of the culture-historical approach, which ironically led archaeologists to forget the peculiar diachronic, vertical dimension of cultural identity, in favor of a spatial and horizontal view (Bernardini 2005, 47). By often focusing on a single class of objects, or at best on a limited number of classes, and by overemphasizing the detectable breaks in a given tradition, archaeologists have developed theories of migrations, colonizations and invasions that have strongly influenced the contemporary history of various areas. As Leriou (2007b, 1) points out, the culture-historical approach remains the dominant attitude towards ancient material culture because it can be used to "boost the pride, morale, self-determination and cohesion of ethnic groups"; therefore, it is particularly important for "people whose national unity and collective rights are threatened by other, more powerful nations or serious internal division". Cypriot archaeology provides a prime example of the role played by the political background and agenda of researchers in dictating interpretations. It also shows how the "complicated relation of contemporary politics with the principle of archaeology" has influenced the current archaeological narrative (an insightful review of it is in Leriou 2007b, 3-27; also Voskos, Knapp 2008, 662; Fisher 2006, 83).

This recent debate has shown that the undeniable role of material culture in the definition of identities is played in an arena of constant renegotiation through objects and symbols. The identitarian values that are associated with objects are complex, intertwined and can thus only be understood in their wider context, which includes both the present and the past of a society.[7] Unfortunately, since contextualizing many aspects of past societies is often unattainable in archaeological studies, it can be extremely difficult to interpret material culture and techniques as markers of cultural identity. This does not imply that we can reject the practice completely though, since we

7 Stone 1995, 12; Sherratt 2005; Bernardini 2005; Knapp 2008, 380-2; Leriou 2011, 258.

would then be restricted to just the presentation of data and would have to abandon any possibility of broader interpretations. In their contributions, none of the authors mentioned above suggest rejecting the study of past societies through material culture. Their criticism instead is strictly directed towards culture-historical approaches that frequently utilize weak associations between the cultural identity of human groups and a limited number of objects (generally pottery) to develop wide narratives. Instead, as much as possible, we need to seek an interpretation that considers material culture as a whole and within its wider geographical, socio-political and economic environments (Stone 1995, 16). As this and the previous sections have shown, multiple group and individual identities structure and are structured by the interaction between humans and material culture. In order to decipher a society's cultural identity, it is necessary to consider how all these variables intertwine.

1.4 Insularity, Connectivity and Cross-cultural Encounters: What Identities?

1.4.1 Insularity and Connectivity

Before examining models of cultural encounters and how they lead to the renegotiation of group identities, which is the most important part of this theoretical chapter, it is necessary to discuss two other aspects that have played a key role in Cyprus' Pre- and Protohistory: insularity and connectivity. Both of these concepts provide a necessary, yet not sufficient, context for the study of Cypriot identities, and they cannot be ignored when putting material culture into perspective.

As obvious as it might sound, from a mere geographic point of view, the first and most important trait of Cyprus is that it is an island. This remark might seem to be superfluous, but it is paramount to considering how insularity has contributed to Cyprus' cultural identities. This section provides a preliminary definition for an island, explains how Mediterranean islands interrelate with other lands and people, and finally discusses the role the sea and insularity play in shaping identities.

At the beginning of the 2000s, C. Broodbank (2000a, 1-34) invited Bronze Age Aegean archaeologists to adopt a more marked "island archaeology perspective" and reviewed previous conceptions of both insularity and islands. Interestingly, however, he concludes his theoretical chapter without providing an exact definition of 'island' on account of the multiple ways in which insularity can be experienced. Instead, he suggests researchers "make a virtue of the multiple layers

and ambiguities within insularity" and remain aware of "the degree to which insularity is culturally constructed, open to multiple meanings in a given context, historically contingent and therefore liable to change" (18). The most important distinction to be made is between "analytical islands", whose pre-modern inhabitants unlikely considered themselves as islanders, and "perceived islands whose insularity was readily experienced by their occupants". There also exist "matchbox continents", that are islands which are large enough to act, under some circumstances, as "land-masses in their own right" (16), but this category is less important for our discussion.

A second point that clearly emerges from Broodbank's analysis is that the traditional view of island populations as representing secluded, 'pure' entities that become corrupted and eventually die out with external contacts is based on relatively recent examples of encounters between Western explorers (or colonizers?) and remote islands. This view is profoundly biased by several preconceptions (e.g. the romanticization of the 'noble savage') and is deeply misleading as well. Not only has it been proven that not all contacts result in a disaster, but anthropologists now also recognize that there are virtually no such "pristine communities" and that most of the islands have been "altered" from an alleged pure, indigenous state by simply existing (8-14). Currently, insularity is conceived as a 'fuzzy' category in which the sea and sea-faring culture play a key role in defining its perception, with insularity being "a changeable attribute and one that can operate at least on certain levels as a social strategy or way of thinking" (17-18). Following Broodbank's seminal contribution, other scholars have remarked that island inhabitants often decide whether to adopt or reject innovations, whether to enhance or diminish their 'isolation'. It is more likely that island societies consciously negotiate cross-cultural interactions under their own terms, and they create specific island identities in order to distinguish themselves from other 'neighbors'.[8] In addition to their "physical existence", islands are "also made and remade by people" (33).

However, by definition, islands are portions of land surrounded by the sea, which not only defines their geographic boundary, but also contributes to their insularity.[9] The undeniable geographic border created by the sea firmly delineates an island, effectively dividing people and contributing to their isolation. Nonetheless, under certain circumstances, a border formed by the sea can actually be weaker and more permeable than borders formed by other natural

8 Broodbank 2000a, 20; Clarke 2003, 213; Knapp 2007, 44, 51; Leriou 2011, 251.

9 The definition of islands can also be metaphorically applied to inland areas, where access is restricted by borders that are difficult to cross.

or even cultural variables. For example, in the Mediterranean, where the sea can be crossed by vessels, this 'border' can also serve as a great connector, with travel by sea preferable and faster than travel by land (Knapp 2007, 46; Leriou 2011, 251-2). This double nature of the sea led Knapp to define "the island paradox", which he explains as follows:

> although they [i.e. islands] serve as essentializing metaphors for singularity and isolation, more often than not they are intricately linked into much broader social, cultural and politico-economic networks. (2008, 20)

Since the publication of P. Horden and N. Purcell's (2000) essay, *The Corrupting Sea*, the concept of connectivity has spread into the archaeological debate, and the Mediterranean has been increasingly viewed as an entity at the same time discrete and homogeneous (Panagiotopoulos 2011, 31-2). Connectivity can be defined as

> the various ways in which microregions cohere, both internally and also one with another, in aggregates that may range in size from small clusters to something approaching the entire Mediterranean. (Horden, Purcell 2000, 123)

This idea had been implicit in Bronze Age Aegean studies since the criticisms raised to thalassocracy (e.g. Braudel 1972; Knapp 1993), but Horden and Purcell (2000) were the first to explicitly elaborate on the idea, providing a formal background and drawing attention to some important features of Mediterranean connectivity. One of the most important is intervisibility, or the role a "mariner's line of sight" plays in expressing and conceiving unity, and where the "visual ordering of geography" contributes to the interaction of individuals. Broodbank (2000a, 38-43) also noted that only a limited number of areas of the Mediterranean Sea are completely out of sight of the land, and in particular, Cyprus and the Aegean enjoyed a high intervisibility both among islands and mainland, and with the coasts of the Levant and Western Anatolia. Thus,

> the lines of visibility that bind places across the Mediterranean Sea create […] a distinctive maritime milieu – a milieu that dominates pockets of the land world with which it comes in contact. (Horden, Purcell 2000, 125-7)

As part of more extensive networks, and mostly due to coastwise navigation, islands and peninsulas are part of an "inside-out geography", in which a territory is perceived from its maritime approaches and "distance is, in effect, inverted: places linked by the sea are

always close, while neighbors on land may, in terms of interaction, be quite 'distant'" (133).

Although scholars, especially historians, frequently focus on the commercial/economic aspect of Mediterranean networks, connectivity is neither limited to nor synonymous with trade. Indeed, any movement of people, no matter the size, scale, or reason of travel, should be counted, including for example groups involved in warfare, piracy, pilgrimages, etc. (154-7). In the study of Pre- and Protohistory, connections and movements of people have been one of the main topics of discussion. Unfortunately, biased views have also arisen, where specific periods of Mediterranean history have been considered as devoid of connectivity merely because many movements were overlooked due to a lack of archaeological evidence (151-72). Since the sea can unite as well as divide, Bronze Age scholars are well aware that islands can be isolated, but they are also "at the same time strikingly exposed to interaction" (Knapp 2007, 47). Panagiotopoulos (2011, 34-5), underlining that the focus of Bronze Age Aegean connectivity has to be placed "on the region in terms of space and on the states or elites in terms of social context", criticized the title of Horden and Purcell's essay for presenting a negative view of the sea. Instead, he stressed the importance of the sea in prehistoric socio-cultural interactions. Knappett (2018, 975), while considering connectivity and mobility, has recently called for a distinction between the terms, with connectivity "a property of the environment" and mobility a "property of people". Through this distinction, Knappett considers connectivity as "potential", meaning that in a seascape many possible movements of people are allowed. By contrast, mobility is the actualization of the potential, meaning the actual movements that are mostly revealed by material data. A further step in Knappett's view is highlighting that models of connectivity networks can be developed from a theoretical approach, but they need to be compared with models of mobility drawn from material networks that attest to actual mobility. The two approaches to network analysis should be combined to address the varied and complex interactions that are evident based on archaeological examination of the material record (976).

Indeed, the distribution and variability in archaeological evidence in the Aegean has stirred a debate between two opposed positions, colonization or migration. The next section will focus on the modes of cross-cultural interactions and on various models to interpret identities from these encounters. In this section, colonization, migration, connectivity and mobility are the models considered to try and answer the question: how did contact between different cultures begin? Cyprus is an interesting case study for the approaches that have been applied to explain different pivotal phases. On the one hand, there are scholars supporting colonization, either from Anatolia or

from the 'Mycenaean' mainland, respectively occurring in the Early Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age.[10] On the other hand, migration has been promoted as a view because it "empower[s] indigenous people at the expense of imperial or colonial regimes".[11]

Refusing such an antithetical conception of migration and colonization, Leriou (2011, 258-9) and Bernardini (2005, 46) have pointed out that both entail a view based on antagonistic ethnic groups and a notion of a clear cultural, or better yet ethnic, separation between natives and newcomers. Conversely, neither theory considers the reciprocity of exchange (see below) and, more remarkably, small-scale, frequent movements distributed through time in the background of apparently culturally homogeneous periods. Bernardini (34-6), from an anthropological perspective, highlights the value of an individual's or a small group's decisions and of patterns of movements and behaviors during migrations, and he requests that researchers carefully reconsider the major moments in European Pre- and Protohistory that are generally interpreted as the sudden arrival of large, culturally compact groups. Some of these 'major' movements can arguably be better explained by the frequent movements of small groups diachronically distributed over a long period of time (34-6). Moving from a similar criticism, with regard to the alleged Sea People/Philistine migration of the Levant, Knapp (2021) has recently revised the main positions in light of both the most updated archaeological data and the most recent migration theories. Not only does he comment on the existence of different types and ways of migrations and the variability of the groups involved (6-10), but he also clearly underlines that "Mediterranean prehistory and protohistory encompass a very broad spectrum of mobility" (54) that includes but is not limited to migration. On this basis, Knapp rejects traditional and "monolithical" interpretations of large-scale migrations in favor of a more nuanced and varied explanation for the changes in the Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age Levantine coast (67-70).

In conclusion, connectivity is a relevant model to consider when attempting to interpret people's mobility in the Bronze Age Aegean. There exists a continuum of communication, of small- and large-scale movements, of "background noise" from coastwise contacts that collectively binds apparently distant regions and contributes to the exchange of people, goods and cultures (Horden, Purcell 2000, 172). In the end, connectivity can lead to the settling of individuals or groups of people in a different land, but the presence of 'foreign' elements in a territory's material culture does not need to imply large,

10 E.g. Catling 1994; Iacovou 1999; Karagheorghis 2000b; 2002, 84-113.

11 Voskos, Knapp 2008, 660; for further bibliography on the two approaches cf. Fischer 2006, 81-3; Knapp 2008, 249-58; Leriou 2007b; Leriou 2011, 258.

organized migrations or colonizations. Migration should not necessarily be rejected as an explanatory model, but it does need to be supported by solid data and scholars should not forget the other types of movements that the Mediterranean Sea could allow. By contrast, connectivity and insularity play an influential role in defining islanders' identities, by prompting groups to enhance or weaken cultural boundaries, according to specific social strategies. In an interconnected environment that might allow human mobility to various degrees, islanders choose the level of insularity they want to maintain, and this is reflected in various ways in their sociocultural identities (Knapp 2007, 49-51; Leriou 2011, 254, 261).

1.4.2 Cultural Encounters: From Acculturation to Cultural Fusion

The previous sections have shown that cultural and ethnic groups select the "narratives that give [their] members a sense of community" (Girella, Pavúk, Pieniążiek 2019, 523), and that in this process social memory and material culture contribute to form and implement identity. Identity is also influenced by encounters with other groups, and as just examined, there are multiple modalities with which this can happen in insular environments. Now we turn from the discussion on identity development within a group to the approaches that address the modes of interaction between groups with different identities.

Aegean Bronze Age cross-cultural interactions have often been explained with theories that consider how cultural and ethnic identities can be renegotiated in situations that imply significant interactions with outsiders. Feuer (2011, 519) mentions acculturation, creolization, syncretism, hybridization, transculturation, emulation, and assimilation as the main processes intimately associated with ethnicity and cultural identity. Among these, in archaeology emulation and assimilation are commonly regarded as phases, means, or outcomes of acculturation and have been subjected to intensive study for a long time. On the other hand, creolization and hybridization have been considered problematic approaches borrowed from post-colonialism to identify new traditions born from the mix of two cultures, with creolization particularly used in contexts of asymmetrical power (Jung 2009, 81 with further bibliography). As noted by Jung (82), given that these approaches derive from (post-)colonialist studies, their use is more acceptable in contexts where the presence of 'colonies' is proven, while a more cautious use is necessary when dealing with other cross-cultural situations of the ancient world. Other scholars have stressed the risk of reviving the notions of purity vs impurity of a given culture and the potential racist implications that can rise from the use of terms like 'pure' vs 'hybrid' (see below and van Pelt 2013).

Taking these criticisms into account, in this section acculturation is considered a broad concept that can to some extent encompass different interactions, and therefore it can most notably be employed as a more neutral term to indicate any sort of cross-cultural contact. Then, the discussion is expanded to include a number of other frequently used terms that have been employed in the analysis of Cypriot interactions with the Aegean and the Levant.

1.4.2.1 Acculturation

The following definition of acculturation was originally provided in 1936 by R. Redfield, R. Linton, and M.J. Herskovits and is still considered seminal for both anthropological and socio-psychological studies:

> acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups […]. Acculturation is to be distinguished from *culture change*, of which it is but one aspect, and *assimilation*, which is at times a phase of acculturation. (Redfield, Linton, Herskovits 1936, 149)

J.W. Berry, one of the main contemporary proponents of acculturation theories, considers the term comprehensively and refers to "the process of cultural and psychological change that results following the meeting between cultures" (Sam, Berry 2010, 472). In particular, Berry highlights the mutuality of the process of acculturation that is seen in Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits' definition, and he emphasizes the difference they trace with assimilation. Assimilation is to be regarded as a (non-essential) phase rather than a synonym for acculturation (Berry 2008, 330). From this distinction between assimilation and acculturation, he develops his theory of four main acculturation strategies, which have become the predominant framework in the analysis of cross-cultural interactions in acculturation studies (Brown, Zagefka 2011, 132, with further bibliography and a summary of other relevant theoretical approaches). Berry basically conceives the process in terms of two orthogonal dimensions corresponding to two different attitudes, (a) towards one's own group and (b) towards other groups **[fig. 1.2]**. One axis represents the desire for "maintenance of one's heritage and cultural identity", while the other represents the desire for "seeking relationship with other groups" (Berry 2008, 331). Depending on how these two oriented axes interrelate, Berry defines his four acculturation strategies, which can be used to understand interactions from the point of view of both the dominant culture and the non-dominant culture.

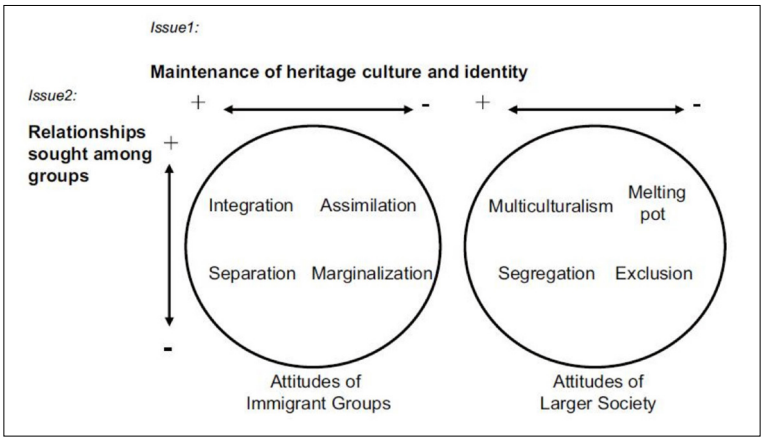


Figure 1.2 Acculturation strategies in ethnocultural group and in the larger society (after Berry 2010, 477 fig. 2)

At the opposite extremes in Berry's theories, there is "integration", when maintenance of cultural identity as well as participation with the other group are equally on the highest value of the respective axis, and there is "marginalization", when both maintenance of cultural identity and participation with the other group are low on the axes. Between these extremes, the two other possible strategies are "assimilation", when maintenance of cultural identity is low and participation with the other group is high, and "separation", when maintenance of cultural identity is high and participation with the other group is low (331-2). It is necessary to note that Berry recognizes that an important component to the success of any one of these strategies, especially integration, depends on their acceptance among the dominant cultural-ethnic group and that disagreements between the two groups can lead to conflicts.[12]

If acculturation strategies explain *how* people acculturate, the related concept of cultural adaptation explains *how well* people acculturate, or, according to Sam and Berry (2010, 472-8), it considers the "individual psychological well-being and how individuals manage socio-culturally". Remarking on the distinction between psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation, which represent two separate but interrelated aspects, the two scholars identify three perspectives for examining adaptation processes in contemporary studies: affective, which focuses on the emotional aspects of acculturation

12 Society's expectations of acculturating groups are the specific focus of Interactive Acculturation Models (IAM) and related theories (cf. Berry 2008, 332; Sam, Berry 2010, 477; Brown, Zagefka 2011, 132-3, all with previous bibliography).

(e.g. psychological stress and well-being); behavioral, mainly directed to cultural learning processes; and cognitive, which "is concerned with how people perceive and think about themselves and others in the face of intercultural encounters". The cognitive perspective is, thus, the most focused on identities (474-5).

The most used theoretical framework for cultural adaptation was proposed by Y. Kim, who defines cultural adaptation as

> the dynamic process by which individuals, upon relocating to new, unfamiliar, or changed cultural environments, establish (or re-establish) and maintain relatively stable, reciprocal, and functional relationships with those environments. (2001, 31)

She considers together the psychological stress and the cultural learning processes, as well as the eventual creation of identities, and remarks that acculturation also implies a process of "deculturation" (Kim 2008, 363). With this she means that, in order to integrate into the new culture, something of the individual's old cultural identity must be abandoned. This process is stressful for the individual who is constantly challenged to adapt to a new situation, and according to Kim (363-4),[13] adaptation's ultimate goal is the complete assimilation in the new culture (also Croucher, Kramer 2017, 97-8). However, as complete assimilation has been proven impossible to obtain, Kim argues that the intercultural personhood is a more realistic outcome in which the new identity is born from a "dynamic and integrative transformation" of the two conflictual cultural identities. She also stresses how this identity is not simply an addition of two elements to create a "multicultural", "syncretistic", or "hybrid" identity, but a product greater than the single parts of which it is composed (Kim 2008, 364).

Berry and Kim's approaches are widespread, but some aspects have been recently reconsidered, such as the focus on the individual rather than on the group (e.g. Brown, Zagefka 2011, 139-40) and the limited attention paid to the dynamism of acculturation as a multidirectional process that influences both groups. This lack of a multidirectional perspective that considers the group together with the individual on both sides of the encounter represents S. Croucher and E. Kramer's (2017) main criticism to Kim and Berry's theories. Croucher and Kramer notice how, according to Kim and Berry, "change happens almost exclusively on the part of the minority or newcomer", while in reality, it is impossible for the dominant culture to not be affected by the interaction with minority groups (2017, 101-2). Based

13 According to other scholars, in particular Berry and his colleagues, integration is the most successful adaptation strategy (Sam, Berry 2010, 478-9; Berry 2008, 334-6).

on this assumption, Croucher and Kramer offer an alternative theoretical framework called "Cultural Fusion Theory", where

> newcomers to a culture continually build upon their knowledge base/repertoire and fuse/integrate their previous cultural knowledge with newly acquired cultural knowledge. (98)

More precisely, in Kramer's more recent definition, fusion is

> the blending of differences that leads to outcomes that are different from composite ingredients (synergistic results). With regards to cultural fusion, this process involves multiple information flows, not just two cultures meeting and forming a third, 'hybrid' culture. (Kramer 2019, 14)

1.4.2.2 Acculturation Processes

In both Kim's and Kramer's theorizations, there are echoes of a wider debate on acculturation processes that has produced an incredibly vast array of terms to define cross-cultural encounters. In M. Kraidy's words,

> this rich vocabulary reflects the historical, geographical, and linguistic diversity of cases of cultural mixture, and mirrors the myriad approaches used to understand it. (2005, 2)

From the often-unclear distinction between assimilation and acculturation, to the sometimes too naïve use of increasingly problematic terms such as 'mestizaje' and 'creolization', it is important that archaeology engages with this debate and at least places the terms it borrows from other disciplines into historical context in order to avoid misleading narratives of the past. The following discussion is a very cursory attempt to do so.

As mentioned above, the archaeological debate too often overlooks Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits' disclaimer that acculturation and assimilation are two distinct phenomena. While introducing his own interpretation of acculturation as a mode of cultural interaction, B. Stone also remarks that in the archaeological research "assimilation is often confused with acculturation, but assimilation is a much more thorough process" as

> [a]ssimilation involves more than the adoption of material culture; the thought patterns underlying the 'veneer' of similar material cultures are shared when assimilation has occurred. (1995, 7-9)

In fact, as shown above, these two concepts arguably work on different degrees of scale. According to Berry, Kim, and the other psycho- and sociological approaches, acculturation can, but does not necessarily have to, encompass assimilation, since assimilation is one of the modes of cultural adaptation in acculturation processes, namely the one that leads to an almost complete abandonment of one's own native cultural identity **[fig. 1.2]**. Despite a number of different interpretations, recent archaeological debate is beginning to incorporate the ongoing research of sociocultural studies on acculturation and acculturation strategies.

Whilst assimilation and acculturation have reached rather stable definitions and many disciplines now can more easily borrow the terms, there is still heated debate surrounding 'creolization', 'hybridization', and a number of other closely related terms. Almost all of these terms have recently been questioned due to their original connection to (post-)colonial studies. This is especially true for 'creolization', initially a linguistic concept derived from 'creole' that stems from the Portuguese *crioulo* or the Spanish *criollo*, with the general connotation of "someone born in the country" in the contexts of European colonial possessions (Kraidy 2005, 56). Thus, in sociolinguistic studies, the term 'creoles' came to define

> new vernaculars that emerged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from non-standard varieties of European languages in (sub)tropical plantation settlement colonies around the Atlantic, in the Indian Ocean, and in the Pacific. (Mufwene 2008, 176)

Creoles' genesis can be complex and influenced by a number of factors that usually differentiate them from pidgin languages (176-83). However, much of the current debate over creole and pidgin languages concerns the question of whether they really are a separate language or dialects. As Mufwene underlines:

> These questions are tied to the ideology of language purity, akin to that of racial purity, inherited from the nineteenth-century European societies, which treated people 'of mixed races' as 'unnatural', 'anomalies' or 'inferior', and 'mixed languages' as aberrations. (175)

In such a complex discussion, any derivative use and borrowing of the term outside its linguistic context can only be more problematic, especially if used as a synonym of 'hybridization' (see below) or to indicate the simple mixing of elements of cultures (e.g. Ben Shlomo, Shai, Maeir 2004, 20). Not only should creolization only refer to a particular case of hybridization at best, but the undeniable connection with colonization and the implication of asymmetrical power

relationships entailed in the very term should also discourage archaeologists from its inconsiderate use (Hitchcock 2011, 272).

The less archaeologically popular 'syncretism' and '*mestizaje*' can be connected to the same (post-)colonial background. According to Kraidy (2005, 49), from a rather neutral meaning referring to "the fusion of divergent ideas" applied in particular to the study of "interreligious borrowing and intrareligious fusion", the concept of syncretism began to carry negative connotations in Catholicism. It was used to indicate the contamination of church doctrines by outside elements in new colonized territories. Postcolonial attempts to relocate syncretism and save it from "its charged history and pejorative connotation" encountered a limited interest, especially in Latin America where *mestizaje* was widely adopted instead (49-50). Challenged by the need to create new national identities, decolonized Latin American countries opted for a "foundational theme" that defined their population as hybrids of both the indigenous population and the descendants of Spanish colonists. However, as many scholars have pointed out, *mestizaje* not only "contains residual imperial relations" and is often a "deeply racialized discourse", but it has also been recognized as "in effect a tool for bleaching all but the most benign practices that gave precolonial natives their identities" (51-4). Once more, the original burden of these terms calls for extreme caution in applying them to non-colonial contexts, and indeed in this case for trying to find a more suited substitute.

1.4.2.3 Hybridization

The word 'hybrid' has already made its appearance in this chapter multiple times, indirectly proving that it is one of the most frequent terms in cross-cultural discussion. In archaeology, 'hybridization' has been the preferred alternative to assimilation or acculturation models (e.g. Knapp 2008, 54-9, 108; Voskos, Knapp 2008, 661, 677), and the term has enjoyed wide popularity as an apparently more neutral option (e.g. Kraidy 2005). Its popularity is probably due to the fact that hybridity "has a broader meaning that often encompasses the objects and processes captured by equivalent terms such as 'creolization', '*mestizaje*' and 'syncretism'", and it refers now "mostly to culture but retains residual meanings related to the three interconnected realms of race, language, and ethnicity" (Kraidy 2005, 1). On the other hand, its polysemic nature that favored its wide adoption has led to a "watering down of its explanatory power" (Hitchcock 2011, 277) and, according to some, has made it "controversial", "politically charged" and "conceptually unstable" (Kraidy 2005, 2, 47), which caused strong criticism of its use in the archaeological discussion.

It is, thus, first necessary to define hybridization in order to evaluate its adoption in the archaeological debate. 'Hybrid' was invented in the nineteenth century from a Latin word that was used to refer to "the offspring of a tame sow and a wild boar" (Hitchcock 2011, 272). Therefore, "hybridity began as a biological concept associated with the cross-breeding of animals and plants" (272), but it was then expanded to classify virtually any product of mixtures or blending (Kraidy 2005, 1). In particular, it emerged in the context of interracial contact in overseas colonies, and it is deeply rooted in racialist theories, according to which the mixing of human races would produce a hybrid, i.e. a contamination or a degeneration of the white European race (48). This original connotation led to an initial rejection of the term, while later postcolonial studies reversed and 're-popularized' the term to understand cultural contacts. For example, H. Bhabha (1994) celebrates hybridity as a resistance to the imperial ideology by the colonized, whose identity strikes back, a process that "undermines the authority of colonial representation because it brings to light the ambivalence of colonial discourse" (Kraidy 2005, 57-8, with a discussion on various postcolonial positions). Although influential, apart from a few exceptions (e.g. Knapp 2008), Bhabha's view had little echo in archaeology, while other postcolonial approaches were more successful. Many of them define hybridization as the processes of negotiation that take place mostly in "contact zones produced by colonialism" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 2007, 108) and the resulting production of "*new* social and material creations […] that demonstrate their own unity and coherence" and are not merely the sum of the two cultural groups (Knapp 2008, 58, emphasis added; cf. also Voskos, Knapp 2008, 661).

B. Knapp especially has been a proponent of hybridization as an innovative approach to the interpretation of cultural contact situations in the Bronze Age Aegean. In addition to emphasizing the need to reject top-down and monodirectional views of acculturation processes, he has repeatedly stressed individual agency, the multiplicity and diversity of social agents, and the ongoing process and fluidity of identities (Knapp 2008, 106, 264-5; Voskos, Knapp 2008, 679). Indeed, such a view of hybridization, or better of "hybridization practices", is broader than its common use (cf. Hitchcock 2011, 273) and Knapp acutely underlines many important key points that have been highlighted also in the most recent cross-cultural theories. Building on the postcolonial reappropriation of hybridization in a positive light, Knapp offers one of the most complex perspectives on hybridization (see below). However, despite the postcolonial revival, some archaeologists have rejected the use of hybridization on the basis of its previously mentioned 'controversial' nature.

1.4.2.4 The Discussion on Hybridization and Other Approaches

Three main arguments have been presented against 'hybrid' on both a semantic and ideological level. First, as some scholars have pointed out, hybrid is a term that "can be appropriated by anyone to mean practically anything" (Gomez-Peña 1996, 12-13) and

> when a concept means so many different things to so many different people in so many different fields and so many different contexts, it ceases to have any meaning whatsoever. (Kraidy 2005, 66)

Therefore, archaeologists should not be tempted to use the term without contextualizing its theoretical background, nor should they adapt the term for their interpretations. To do otherwise risks enlarging the possible meanings, contributing to the confusion, and weakening the concept.

A second important issue is expressed by Stockhammer's (2013, 12) poignant reflection that "it takes two to tango", which means that "'hybridity' cannot exist without 'purity', nor 'international' without 'nation states'". According to him, despite trying to remove the notion of purity because of its deep-rooted history of xenophobic and racial discourse, hybridization supporters are actually reintroducing it in the discussion because "if we discuss hybridity, we have to define what we understand to be pure" (12; cf. also Young 1995, 24-6). From this semantic history, it is clear the term is indeed deeply connected to the colonial view. Born out of a biological and racial background, the concept of hybridity has often been used in the interest of dominant sectors and, most of all, it has been used "as a framework for studying and defining postcolonial nations and cultures" with a "particular geopolitical directionality" (Toumson 1998, 64; Kraidy 2005, 67-8). In contemporary debates outside archaeology, hybridity often continues to hide new imperialistic claims and is used to mask dominant actions in unequal power relationships (what Kraidy 2005, 72-96 has called "corporate transculturalism"). At the very least, then, archaeology should be aware of the risk of bringing along the idea of colonization and asymmetrical power relationships through the unthoughtful use of 'hybridization'.

Finally, from a merely epistemological point of view, hybrid is

> what falls between the analytical categories defined by us […] it is 'in-between' our categories; it comprises myriad features that remain unclassified; it is the accidental remainder that does not fit into the arbitrarily classified. (Stockhammer 2013, 13)

Essentially, hybrids are all those "unique objects with singular features or uncommon combinations of features" that remain outside our

classes: it is an epistemological stratagem to classify what we cannot classify (14). It is a mistake to assume that what is a class for us has always been a "meaningful category" for past human beings, as there is a risk of forgetting the dynamic and creative process that led to the creation of the 'hybrid', as well as the agency of individuals (14-15; Panagiotopoulos 2012, 56).[14] According to Stockhammer (2013, 16-22), it is more appropriate for hybrid objects to be thought of as entangled objects with different degrees of entanglement that provide possibilities for archaeologists to detect the process through which an object is appropriated and eventually transformed into something that "can be taken as a representative of a new taxonomic entity".

A number of other alternatives for hybridization have arisen from these criticisms. Looking back at the sociolinguistic field where 'creolization' was born, L. Hitchcock preferred the term "koineization", which

> is characterized by mixing, leveling and simplification of a mix of dialects over the course of several generations and is often found in areas where there is a sudden in-migration, followed by the establishment of a permanent community. (2011, 276)

In linguistic terms, the definition of "koineization" (Tuten 2008, 185) showcases two other key elements: first, koineization exists between dialects of the same language or "mutually intelligible varieties of language"; and second, it "is often found in new towns, frontier regions and *colonies*" (emphasis added). Two issues arise from this definition. If we want to transport this concept into the space where cross-cultural encounters occur, we need to assume some sort of 'cultural proximity' that would enable the creation of a *koine*. How, then, can it be determined where and to what extent cultures can be considered 'close', 'mutually intelligible', or, drawing from linguistics, 'dialects'? The very concept of cultural identity is such a slippery and hard-to-define thought that, in our opinion, it is a demanding task for archaeologists. Moreover, after rejecting 'hybridization' and 'creolization' because of their connections to the colonial debate, with 'koineization' Hitchcock has suggested another term that is possibly linked to the modern concept of colonies, although in a lighter way. However, Hitchcock's koineization is presented as a complementary element to her main alternative model of transculturation. Contrary to koineization, which remains an isolated suggestion, transculturation has been frequently used as an alternative to 'hybridization' (cf. also Kraidy 2005; Panagiotopoulos 2011).

14 Notably, in the case of Aegean people on Cyprus, Voskos and Knapp (2008, 678) question the Aegeans' consciousness of their 'Aegean' identity at the beginning, and especially after "two or three generations of intermarriage", and how this actually impacts their will to create hybrid objects.

In his search for a new and sustainable approach to hybridity, Kraidy moves from Said's musical counterpoint, in which multiple voices play at the same time resulting in an ordered polyphony, towards adopting a transcultural approach. In particular, he remarks that "the prefix 'trans-' suggests moving through spaces and across borders, not merely between points" (Kraidy 2005, 13-14). Therefore, transculturation can be defined, quoting Martìnez-Echazàbal, as a "process whereby both parts of the cultural equation are modified and give way to a new socio-cultural conglomerate", being "thus different from both acculturation and assimilation" (Martìnez-Echazàbal 1998 in Kraidy 2005, 53). Applied to archaeology, Panagiotopoulos (2011, 36) stresses the 'trans-' prefix and conceives it in a looser way as "nothing other than being in contact and understanding the culture of otherness by transcending racial, ethnic, religious and cultural barriers". The attention is drawn on the "conscious choice of moving across social systems whose cultural features are fundamentally different" and the "diffusion of initial cultural identities as individuals cross the borders of different cultures and assimilate them". In doing so, Panagiotopoulos highlights the agency of individuals and their "capacity to free themselves from their own culture, and acquire several cultural identities" as opposed to the role of elites sharing one intercultural, or "international", lifestyle (36). Similarly, Hitchcock concludes that

> a transcultural approach to the study of shifting identities at the end of the Bronze Age favors the multivocal, intertwined, the complex, the experiential and the contextualized over the dualistic or monocausal explanations of previous approaches. (2011, 278)

Therefore, returning to Kramer's cultural fusion theory, according to which cultural identities are renegotiated in any direct or indirect encounter with the 'other' in a complex and fluid process, it is now clear that his approach is only the latest in a debate that has been ongoing for the past half a century and more. Nonetheless, it offers new possible perspectives, that had not been supported by organic theorization. At first, it was introduced as an open and dynamic system in which newcomers to a culture do not choose to undergo the process of 'deculturation', but instead retain their initial cultural identity and fuse it with the new dominant one in a product that fits the cultural landscape (Croucher, Kramer 2017).

More recently, cultural fusion has been expanded by Kramer (2019, 7-8) to overcome even the duality of 'newcomer' and 'dominant culture'. According to his definition, cross-cultural contacts can involve more than two cultural groups (a 'minority' and a 'dominant' one) and fusion is a process of integration of alterities coming from countless channels that constantly retransforms the environment in

which they engage (1-3). Contrary to Kim, Kramer's cultural fusion theory does not consider differences inside the society as threats to the system's balance that need to be contrasted as much as possible. Instead, differences represent a positive stimulus for the constant renegotiation of a society's own identity in a continuous flow of change to and from "semi-stable mutation(s)" (3). Variety is considered a strengthening value for societies, since it increases their ability to adapt and thus survive, whereas alterity is a key element in the definition of identities. In this perspective, adaptation has neither a preconceived direction nor a final goal, and assimilation, seen as the loss of one's uniqueness and elimination of differences, disrupts the need for communication and weakens the system (4, 9-12).

In cultural fusion theory, the interplay of old and new behaviors and memories is the base for the re-creation of identities in societies (7). In this view, Kramer was to some extent preceded by Knapp's peculiar view of hybridization and by transculturation theorists, since all of them see cultural identities as fluid, mixed processes continuously moving across borders (Kraidy 2005, 14).[15] Cultural fusion represents just another, new approach to cross-cultural interactions that offers an alternative to more mainstream acculturation theories by including one or more cultural groups in the creation process of more complex societies, not limiting the interaction to two groups. At the same time, cultural fusion emphasizes that processes of cultural interactions are multidirectional and underlines that reciprocity of transformations occurs in all communities involved. In fact, while originally present in the above-mentioned Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits' definition, later theorizations of acculturation have neglected reciprocity in favor of a mostly unidirectional relationship between a submissive and a dominant culture. Finally, cultural fusion theory is of particular interest for the archaeological debate since it also underlines the role played by different types of cultural media and products in cross-cultural interactions, of any sort. In this respect, cultural fusion theory suggests that the process of fusion can involve also cultures that have only been in contact *indirectly* through media or any aspect of material culture (Kramer 2019, 31-3).

To conclude, although brief and hardly exhaustive, this sub-section has hopefully highlighted that cultural identities are inevitably negotiated in cross-cultural encounters. Moreover, it has suggested that all groups involved in these encounters take part in and are affected by cross-cultural interactions. While newcomers to a 'host' culture develop a newly fitted 'intercultural identity', people from the so-called host culture are also challenged by the encounter with the

15 Other features of cultural fusion that have been partially anticipated by Knapp (2008) are the role of material culture in mediating identities and the possibility of interactions that involve more than two cultural identities.

newcomers and eventually undergo some form of change. Eventually, the complex terminological discussion should not distract from these key traits that need to be remembered when studying ancient cross-cultural interactions. On the other hand, by examining the complex assemblage of terms that can be used to define these encounters, the section may also help raise awareness of the terms we use in our discussions. As previously mentioned about the 'ethnicity' debate, value-laden terms borrowed from other fields risk not only introducing into the archaeological narration concepts that are at best anachronistic, but also biasing the interpretation of the past with a contemporary perspective.

1.5 Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the mechanisms that contribute to the forging of identities, especially cultural ones, first inside the group, then when different cultural groups interact. A second focus, which is important from the archaeological perspective, has been on how these resulting identities are connected to material culture and crafting techniques.

After a brief review of the debate on ethnic and cultural identities, cultural identity emerged as a less politically charged term and it was defined as the aspect of identity that encodes one's sense of belonging to a group on the basis of shared culture (§ 1.1).

In § 1.2, it was then argued that cultural identity is strictly related to its self-representation, which is implemented through the shared memories of its members. Social memories are at the same time inherited from the past and constantly recreated in a communal framework. Every society, thus, needs to perpetuate those elements that are considered relevant to reaffirm and strengthen identity and/or to remodel it according to the changes that are collectively perceived as necessary.

In § 1.3, reference to craft production and cognitive archaeology has shown how material culture and the technical knowledge necessary to make material culture are strongly related to societies. This means that material culture and technology shape and are contemporaneously shaped by societies. Objects and techniques, as the embodiment of human agency, can also be considered part of those "narratives that give [a cultural group's] members a sense of community" (Girella, Pavúk, Pieniążiek 2019, 523) and that contribute to the creation of the self-representation or socio-cultural identity of a society. At the same time, the risks of a too simplistic view that equals material culture associations to cultural identities have been pointed out. The rejection of culture-historical approaches leads to consideration of the complex and intertwined context in which identities

and material culture interact in order to correctly interpret the traces of past societies.

Taking this into account, to contextualize Cypriot material culture, § 1.4 first considered how "sea and land combine to create islandscapes, which are seldom congruent with unitary islands" and how "insularity […] is a form of social identity, and a cultural strategy that islanders manipulated" even to the point of becoming "a resistant identity" (Broodbank 2000a, 33). Then, given the role of the sea as both a unifier and a divider, connectivity and mobility have been preferred as preliminary frameworks for interpreting Bronze Age Aegean archaeological data. Issues of colonization or migration should be submitted only after a careful examination of all the available data and not inferred *a priori*. This is especially true as

> Cyprus' geopolitical profile as well as its market potential […] resulted from both its insularity and its connectivity within the eastern Mediterranean (Knapp 2007, 49)

and mobility of goods and people played a key role in a large part of its (pre-)history.

Finally, the last and longest part of § 1.4 has focused on the mechanisms that regulate cross-cultural encounters and the renegotiation of identities that take place when cultural groups interact. From the myriad of terms and approaches, our suggestion is to prefer those models that most enhance the multidirectional, reciprocal relationship between cultures, acknowledging the complex, fluid and ever-changing nature of cultural identities. On the contrary, attention is required to the use of terms that have political connotations and that imply asymmetric power relations. The explanatory model we are applying to understand our data cannot be a pre-interpretation of the data themselves. That said, since the Cypriot Late Bronze Age is generally characterized by a low degree of insularity and, conversely, by a high degree of connectivity (e.g. Leriou 2011, 263), marked also by a considerable quantity of imported objects, it is worth considering cultural fusion theory's spotlight on the ability of 'things' to contribute to cultural encounters as much as people.

2 Aegean and Cypriot Comparative Chronology

Summary 2.1 Some Preliminary Considerations on the Aegean Relative Chronology. – 2.2 A Preliminary Discussion on the Cypriot Relative Chronology. – 2.3 The Scheme of Correlations Between the Aegean and Cyprus Used in This Volume.

In order to discuss the connections between the Aegean and Cyprus, a comparative chronology must first be established.

2.1 Some Preliminary Considerations on the Aegean Relative Chronology

It is well known that one of the most discussed topics in Aegean Bronze Age chronology is the absolute chronology of the Late Bronze Age phases, resulting from the different absolute dates for the volcanic destruction of Akrotiri at Thera at a mature to later LM IA period which have significant impact on the absolute chronology of the close of LM IA. During the last five decades this topic has been a subject of the intense discussions which have been comprehensively overviewed in recent publications by Fantuzzi (2024) and Wiener (2024). The Aegean literature antedating 2018 showed an increasing adoption of the so-called Aegean High Chronology, which was based on the suggestion that the event occurred in the last decades

of the seventeenth century BC,[1] although several scholars followed a low chronology based on the traditional method of establishing synchronisms with Egypt and Mesopotamia suggesting a date about the end of the sixteenth century BC for the Thera eruption (cf. Shelmerdine 2008a, 4-5, figs 1.1-1.2 for the comparative schemes; Tartaron 2008, 84, tab. 1, modified low chronology, 86-9). However, the introduction of the new calibration curve IntCal 20 including annual measurements of tree-ring segments for the period 1700-1500 BC (Pearson et al. 2018; 2020) made it possible to recalculate the previous radiocarbon date range for the seed samples from the Thera eruption deposits. At the present state of art, the new radiocarbon determinations, including the latest data from an olive branch buried during the Thera eruption and an olive shrub found carbonized by the same eruption deposits on Therasia, are shifted towards the sixteenth century BC (Pearson et al. 2023; Fantuzzi 2024, fig. 2.7). Moreover, the study of the presence of sulphates in the ice-core record shows that the source of the traces of the 1628 BC eruption was the Aniakchak volcano in Alaska, while they were formerly connected to the Minoan eruption (Pearson et al. 2022; Fantuzzi 2024, 17). Summing up, a date for the Thera eruption near the end of the seventeenth century BC, and more specifically 1611 BC, now seems unlikely (Pearson 2024, 200), while the 1561 BC date appears as a reasonable hypothesis for this event.[2] However, according to Pearson radiocarbon data

> depending on interpretation, could also support younger sulphate events at 1558 BC, 1555 BC, ca 1538 BC and even, just possibly, 1525/4, which would align better certain archaeologically based dating. (202)

As a consequence, the absolute date of the volcanic eruption of Thera is still unsettled but it is likely that further data in the future will lead to more precise dating of this event. For these reasons, in table 2.1 the calendric dates for the beginning and the end of the LM IA and LM IB are left undefined; generally speaking, however, Manning's chronological scheme is also shown in this table, although sharing his warnings that "Minoan, Cycladic, and Mainland phases are of course not in exact synchronicity in reality" and that a variation of 50 years should be allowed for the Early Bronze Age while a range of 25 years should be allowed for the Middle and Late Bronze Age (Manning 2010, 23, tab. 2.2, and pertinent note).

1 Cf. for example, Cline 1994, 7, tab. 1; Rehak, Younger 2001, 391, tab. 1, Modified High Chronology and Low Egyptian Chronology; Manning 2010, 23, tab. 2.2; 2014.

2 Pearson 2024, 202; Fantuzzi 2024, 17; cf. Manning 2022; 2024a; 2024b.

Although the resolution of the problem of the Thera eruption date is, of course, of utmost importance in the archaeology of the Aegean and related areas, it is important to point out here that the competing absolute Aegean chronologies have limited impact on the content of this book. Since "the relative chronology based on pottery is reasonably secure" (Hallager 2010, 151, tab. 11.1), references will be generally made to the Minoan and Helladic chronologies based on ceramic and palatial relative chronologies. For Crete, the five Minoan palatial periods that are deeply rooted in Aegean archaeology (Manning 2010, 17, tab. 2.1) are used. The recent discussion concerning the use of "palace", on a general basis and, more specifically, of "Protopalatial" as valid terms in the Cretan sequence (Tartaron 2008, 95-8 with refs; Schoep, Tomkins, Driessen 2012) is of particular relevance to this study, since it incorporates frequent references to the Minoan palatial chronologies. Turning to the archaeological record of mainland Greece, the use of the traditional firmly established chronology based on ceramic styles appears to be similarly unavoidable, and, as with the Minoan chronology, this book also sometimes refers to the Mycenaean palatial periods. In addition, a pivotal role in Cypro-Aegean relations is also played by the East Aegean regions, including the Dodecanese and the Aegean coast of Anatolia, beginning before the Mycenaean Palatial Period. The archaeological evidence of this area is discussed in terms of general Bronze Age periods (EBA, MBA, LBA). Although on principle the use of either ceramic or palatial Minoan and Mycenaean chronologies may be an individual choice, the two chronological systems are often not incompatible, and, therefore, coexist in many studies concerning Aegean subjects, which is a precedent followed in this book.

Table 2.1 The relative and absolute chronology of Crete and Mainland Greece in the Bronze Age: absolute dates after Manning 2010, 23, Table 2.2, with the exception of the LM IA (LH I)- IIIA1/IIIA2 Early (LH IIIA1) period. (*) see discussion on the date of Thera eruption in Chapter 2.1

Crete			Greek mainland		
Palatial Phases	Relative Chronology	Dates BC	**Palatial Phases**	Relative Chronology	Dates BC
Pre-Palatial Period	EM I	3100-2650	**Early Bronze Age**	EH I	3100-2650
	EM II	2650-2200	-	EH II	2650-2200
	EM III	2200-2100/2050	-	EH III	2250-2100/2050
	MM IA	2100/2050-1925/1900	**Middle Bronze Age**	MH I	2100/2050-1950/1900
Protopalatial Period	MM IB	1925/1900-1875/1850	-	-	

Crete			Greek mainland		
	MM II	1875/1850-1750/1700	-	MH II	1950/1900-1750/1720
Neopalatial Period	MM III	1750/1700 – 1700/1675	-	MH III	1750/1720-1700/1675
	LM IA	(*)	**Mycenaean Prepalatial Period**	LH I	(*)
	LM IB	(*)	-	LH IIA	(*)
Monopalatial Period	LM II	(*)	**Mycenaean Palatial Period**	LH IIB	(*)
	LM IIIA1-LM IIIA2 early	(*)	-	LH IIIA1	(*)
Final Palatial Period	LM IIIA2 late-LM IIIB	1375/1350-1200/1190	-	LH IIIA2	1390/1370-1330/1315
			-	LH IIIB	1330/1315-200-1190
Postpalatial Period	LM IIIC	1200/1190-1075/1050	**Postpalatial Period**	LH IIIC	1200/1190-1075/1050

2.2 A Preliminary Discussion on the Cypriot Relative Chronology

Like the Aegean basic chronological scheme, the conventional Cypriot Bronze Age chronology is tripartite having a structure where each of the three main periods (EC, MC and LC) has been further subdivided in three sub-phases. However, many inherent problems have been noted regarding the effectiveness of such a sequence. In particular, its base rests on the original pottery classification by E. Gjerstad in 1926, which does not consider the continuity of the EC-MC II periods and neglects the fact that MC III is better linked to the LC I period (Gjerstad 1926; cf. however Steel 2004a, 12-13, 218 fn. 87; Crewe 2007b, 4). Leaving aside the alternative cultural/chronological sequence later proposed by P. Dikaios (1962, 192-203; cf. Steel 2004a, 13-14), which relates to earlier prehistoric periods, the scheme proposed by B. Knapp beginning in 1994 warrants attention. Knapp's scheme distinguishes between the Prehistoric and Protohistoric Bronze Age periods, with the latter (dating, in traditional terms, from MC III/LC I to LC IIIB) subdivided in three phases.[3]

3 Knapp 1994a, 379-82, fig. 1; Knapp 1994b, fig. 9.2. For later references to this scheme, cf. Knapp 1997, 35, tab. 1; Knapp 2008, 71, tab. 1 (Prehistoric Bronze Age), 133, tab. 3 (Protohistoric Bronze Age); Webb, Knapp 2020, tab. 1, for Early and Middle Cypriot. A

Another classification, used in L. Steel's book (2004a, 13, tab. 1.1), is a compromise between Knapp's scheme and the conventional chronology. In this book, I have followed Knapp's scheme in general, with a few modifications based on adaptations derived from my consideration on the LC Urban Phases, which are explained below **[tab. 2.2]**.

In the development of Cypriot civilization an important role was played by the urbanism process and in this study a particular importance is attached to it. J. Stewart initially discussed the emergence of 'urbanisation' processes in Cyprus during the EC III and into the MC period (Knapp 2013c, 109-11 with refs), but not much attention was paid to the process until the recent generation of scholars (113). Current views differ from Stewart's interpretation, with broad consensus that the process of urbanisation on Cyprus dates back to the LC period, much later than in other countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, especially Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt (Negbi 1986, 97; Keswani 1996, 217-18; Knapp 2013b, 38-9). However, there are different opinions on the start of the process. Some scholars have stated that the rise of urbanisation on the island may be found on the southern coast by the thirteenth century (LC IIC), although they acknowledge that there was a hierarchical settlement pattern as early as the beginning of the LBA (Steel 2004a, 149, 156-7; 2014, 578; Crewe 2007b, 7-8). Instead, following the notion of urbanism based on the archaeological materials and architectural, economic, and ceremonial features (Knapp 1996a; Knapp 1997, 56), one can suggest that on Cyprus there were proper urban centers with specialized economies and ceremonial activities in the early LC period. Among the various changes which appear in Cyprus during the Protohistoric Bronze Age 1 (MC III/LC I-LC I), Knapp also considers "the establishment of true urban centers with monumental architecture" (Knapp 2013c, 115; also cf. 2013a, 348). Other scholars agree that on Cyprus there was a rapid development of urban settlement in MC III/LC I (Fisher et al. 2011-12, 415; Fisher, Manning, Urban 2019, 474) and, taking into account the combined evidence from the settlement and the cemetery, P.M. Fischer (2019b, 221) recently argued that the city of Hala Sultan Tekke was founded "sometime in the period covering the end of MC and the beginning of the LC period". The use of the term "Proto-Urban" for the early phases of the LC period may therefore reflect this view, since it implies that the start of urbanism dated back as early as the earliest LBA or MC III/LC I, while Cypriot towns did not substantially develop until LC IIC. For example, although aware of the limits of the available evidence, K.D. Fisher "termed a Proto-Urban period covering roughly the MC III through the LC IIB"; in his opinion, this is followed by a

revised scheme was published in Knapp 2013a, 27, tab. 2, and in Meyer, Knapp 2021, 437, tab. 1, where Prehistoric Bronze Age 2 is regarded as equivalent to LC IIA-LC IIC Early, Prehistoric Bronze Age 3 to LC IIC Late-LC IIIA, and LC IIIB to the Early Iron Age.

fully urban phase from the mid-fourteenth century to the end of Late Bronze Age (Fisher 2014, 187-90, Proto-Urban period, 190-201, fully urban phase). Similarly, G. Cadogan (1989a, 48; 1993, 22; 1998, 6-7) referred to "true urbanism" in the thirteenth century "as against the proto-urbanism of LC I", and other scholars also regarded Enkomi, Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, and Hala Sultan Tekke as proto-urban settlements during the LC I period (Papadimitriou, Kriga 2013, 11). While P. Keswani (2004, 154-5) discussed the foundation of these "new towns" in LC I, according to O. Negbi (1986; 2005, 3-5, tab. 2), urbanisation was the most prominent innovation of the Middle/Late Cypriot Bronze Age transition even if the process accelerated in the advanced phases of the LC, reaching its apex in LC IIC. L. Bombardieri has recently considered Cypriot urbanisation as a gradual uninterrupted phenomenon and, more expressly, suggested that there was

> a long proto-urbanisation process that gradually develops through the Middle Bronze Age, without significant external triggers, and culminates in MC III-LC I. (Bombardieri 2017, 362-3; cf. however, Webb, Knapp 2020, 31)

Based on the identification of distinctive urban traits in individual sites, such as social stratigraphy, architectural development, commercial and administrative activities, and centralized and specialized production activities, in 2006 I stated that the so-called "proto-urban" settlements of LC I effectively already had clearly defined urban characteristics and distinguished four Urban Phases (I-IV) in the period dating from MC III/LC I to the end of LC IIIB (Graziadio 2006).

As a result of recent research in the Maroni valley area, a low-density urban model has been proposed, which is of particular interest to the process of emerging urbanisation discussed above. In fact, the variations observed in the alignments of some geophysically identified structures may reflect a diachronic settlement development (Manning et al. 2014, 21-2). The archaeologists working in this area wrote that

> the 'townscape' structures imaged between *Vournes* and *Tsaroukkas* […] seem roughly to follow the south-southeast alignment of the structures at *Tsaroukkas*, and/or of the LC I structures in the south area of the *Vournes* excavation (21)

while other LC II structures are oriented more southeasterly. Among the various explanations suggested by the authors, it seems that the suggestion that "the LC II monumental structures were superimposed into an existing LC I-II urban environment" (22) is entirely plausible. If indeed this is the case, Maroni would offer an archaeological example of an urban sequence from LC I to the apex of the urbanization process in LC IIC. This would confirm a progressive

development of the process on Cyprus from the beginning to the end of the LBA as suggested in my 2006 study. Therefore, I distinguished four Urban Phases (I-IV) in the period dating from MC III/LC I to the end of LC IIIB (Graziadio 2006), and the following synchronisms with the conventional chronological scheme may be suggested: Urban Period I = MC III/LC I; Urban Period II = LC IIA-IIC early; Urban Period III = LC IIC late-end of LC IIC; Urban Period IV = LC IIIA-IIIB **[tabs 2.2-2.3]**. In Urban Periods II and III, the range of features marks the differences between the urban centers and the secondary and tertiary sites as they were defined in the settlement hierarchy suggested first by Knapp in 1997.[4] However, the four Urban Phases distinguished in my 2006 study are not intended as a new chronological system of the LC period, but simply as a theoretical framework for the traditional chronology in terms of urban development.

Table 2.2 The relative and absolute chronology of Bronze Age Cyprus

Knapp's chronological scheme[5]	Urban periods (Graziadio 2006)	Approximate absolute chronology
Prehistoric Bronze Age 1, Philia 'Phase'	Philia Phase	2500/2400-2200 BC
Prehistoric Bronze Age 1	EC I-III	2200-2100/2050 BC
Prehistoric Bronze Age 2	MC I-II	2100/2050-1800/1750 BC
Prehistoric Bronze Age 2	MC III	1800/1750-1690/1650 BC
Protohistoric Bronze Age 1 (MC III-LC I)	Urban Period I (MC III-LC I)	1690/1650-1450 BC
Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 (LC IIA-IIC early)	Urban Period II (LC IIA-LCIIC early)	1450-1340 BC
Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 (LC IIC Late-LC IIIA)	Urban Period III (LC IIC late- end of LC IIC)	1450-1340 BC
Early Iron Age (LC IIIB)	Urban Period IV (LC IIIA)	1190/1185-1125/1100 BC
	Urban Period IV(LC LC IIIB)	1125/1100-1050 BC

2.3 The Scheme of Correlations Between the Aegean and Cyprus Used in This Volume

If we consider the Aegean and Cypriot relative chronologies comparatively, the difficulty in correlating the single cultural phases across so many regions is clearly a major problem. In order to avoid continuously presenting equivalencies between the different chronologies

4 Knapp 1997, 53-63. Note however that in the following studies Knapp (2008, 138; 2013a, 355) proposed a four-tiered settlement hierarchy.

5 Knapp 2013, 27, Table 3; Webb, Knapp 2020, Table 1; Meyer, Knapp 2021, Table 1.

of each area and for the sake of simplification and intelligibility of the text, it is more advantageous to refer to phases or periods of contact between the involved areas.[6] While Steel (1998, 286; 2004b, 70) distinguished three main phases of Aegean imported pottery to Cyprus during the LBA, from a Cypriot perspective K. Eriksson (2008, 299; 2009b, 122-3) utilized the earlier classifications based on ceramics and distinguished seven key Historical Periods relating to particular Late Cypriot chronological phases, from LC IA:1 to LC IIC:1-2, in order to discuss the interaction between Cyprus and other contemporaneous societies (Minoans, Egyptians, Hittites, Mycenaeans, Ugarit). On the other hand, in his studies on the development of ceramic exchange between the Aegean and Cyprus in the MBA and LBA, Nikolas Papadimitriou first conformed to this approach and adopted a division into four chronological stages, choosing an Aegeocentric approach (Papadimitriou 2015, 423); more recently he has distinguished two main phases: (Phase A) the time when Crete "dominated Aegean affairs", including Proto- and Neopalatial periods as well as LM II-IIIA1 and (Phase B) "the time when Mycenaean centers controlled maritime exchanges", i.e. LH IIIA2-B (Papadimitriou 2022, 179-80, tab. 1).[7] Here a subdivision of Cypro-Aegean interactions into five periods is preferred because this allows consideration of the Cypro-Aegean interactions from a Cypriot perspective. In fact, significant importance must not only be attached to the Minoan Palatial Periods (from the beginning of interaction to the end of the Neopalatial Period) and the Mycenaean Palatial Periods (from then on) but also to the single phases of urbanisation process on Cyprus, since beginning at the transitional MC III-LC I period, they define the single phases in the history of Cyprus in the LBA. Keeping any further discussion on synchronisms to the following chapters, from this point forward five distinct Interaction Periods are defined below to correlate the chronology and make possible the discussion of Cypro-Aegean interconnections, although it should be admitted that they are not in exact synchronicity **[tab. 2.3]**:

6 Note that, in addition to scholars mentioned in the text, Portugali, Knapp (1985, 60-1, figs 4-14, 4-15, and 4-16) already distinguished three Periods of exchanged artifacts between the Aegean and Cyprus.

7 Papadimitriou defines his own approach as Aegeocentric. Cf. Papadimitriou 2012, 94-5; 2015, 423-4, tab. 1, where the following general synchronisms are proposed: Stage 1: MM IB-MM IIB = MC II-III; Stage 2: MM III/LM-LM IB/LH IIA = MC III/LC IA:1-LC IB (earlier part); Stage 3: LM II/LH IIB–LM/LH IIIA1 = LC IB (later part)-LC IIA; Stage 4: LM/LH IIIA 2-LH/LM IIIB = LC IIB-LC IIC. In his recent publication (Papadimitriou 2022, 180, tab. 1) he has suggested a synchronism between MM IB-LH/LM IIIA1 and MC-LC IIA (Phase A), while he has correlated LH IIIA2-B with LC IIB-C (Phase B). On the other hand, Cadogan (2005, 314) suggested the following synchronisms: LC I (and going back into late MC) to IIA, more or less equivalent to LM/LH I-IIIA1; LC IIB = LH IIIA2 into early B; LC IIC = LH IIIB2 and LC IIIA-B = LH IIIC (-SM).

Table 2.3 The suggested correlations between the Aegean and Cyprus according to the relative chronologies used in this book

Interaction period	Crete	Mainland Greece	Cyprus
Period 1 *Early*	Final Pre-palatial Period: MM IA	Early Bronze Age - Middle Bronze: MH I	EC III
Period 1 *Late*	Protopalatial Period: MM IB-MMIIB; beginning of the Neopalatial Period (MM III early)	Middle Bronze Age: MH II-MH III early	MC I-MC III
Period 2	Later phases of Neopalatial Period: MM III late-LM IB	final Middle Bronze Age - Early Mycenaean period: MH III late -LH IIA	MC III/LC I – LC I (Urban Period I)
Period 3	Monopalatial Period: LM II-LM IIIA2 early	Earlier Mycenaean Palatial Period: LH IIB- LH IIIA2	LC IIA- LC IIC early (Urban Period II)
Period 4	Postpalatial Period: LM IIIA2 late-LM IIIB	Later Mycenaean Palatial Period-beginning of Postpalatial Period: LH IIIB-early LH IIIC	LC IIC late-end of LC IIC (Urban Period III)
Period 5	Postpalatial Period: LM IIIC	Postpalatial Period: LH IIIC	LC IIC Final/IIIA-LC IIIB (Urban Period IV)

- **Interaction Period 1: Two phases** (chapter 3)
  - ***Earlier Phase*:** the late Minoan Prepalatial period (EM III-MM IA) on Crete and the late Early Bronze Age and early Middle Bronze Age (EH III-MH I) on the Greek mainland correspond to the EC III on Cyprus;
  - ***Later Phase:*** the Minoan Protopalatial period (MM IA-MM IIB) and the beginning of the Neopalatial period (MM III early) on Crete and the MHII-MH III early on the Greek mainland roughly correspond to the MC I-MC III on Cyprus;
- **Interaction Period 2** (chapter 4): most of the Minoan Neopalatial period (MM III/LM IA-LM IB) on Crete and the final Middle Bronze Age-Prepalatial Period (MH III late-LH IIA) on the Greek mainland correspond to MC III/LC I-LC IA and LC IB, namely the first urban phase on Cyprus;
- **Interaction Period 3** (chapter 5): generally speaking, the Minoan Monopalatial period (LM II-LM IIIA2 early) and the early Mycenaean Palatial Period (LH IIB-LH IIIA2) on the Greek mainland correspond to the second urban phase on Cyprus (LC IIA-IIC early);[8]
- **Interaction Period 4** (chapter 6): the Minoan Final Palatial period (LM IIIA2 late-LM IIIB) on Crete and the late Mycenaean

8 For a discussion on the distinction between early and late Mycenaean Palatial Period, see § 5.1.

Palatial Period (LH IIIB)-early phase of LH IIIC on the Greek mainland approximately correspond to the third urban phase on Cyprus (LC IIC middle and late of LC IIC);[9]

- **Interaction Period 5** (Epilogue)**:** the Minoan Postpalatial period (LM IIIC) on Crete and the Mycenaean Postpalatial period later than LH IIIC 1 early on the Greek mainland correspond to the last urban on Cyprus (LC IIC Final/IIIA-LC IIIB).

Finally, it is important to point out that Interaction Period 5 is considered out of the scope of the discussion on Cypro-Aegean interaction presented in this book since in the troubled period around 1200 BC the end of the Palatial Mycenaean period in the Aegean and the unsettled conditions prevalent in Cyprus at the end of the LC IIC period gave rise to dramatic changes both in the Aegean and Cypriot scenarios. Moreover, they also modified the nature and intensity of the long-lasting interaction and trade between the two areas (also see Epilogue).

9 It should be noted that, according to Mountjoy (2018, tab. 1-4), LC IIC ends in the early twelfth century BC, in the period which she names "Cyp IIIC Early 1" and regards it as partially contemporaneous with LH IIIC Early 1. This synchronism is accepted in this book (see chapters 6.1 and 6.4.2.4 for a fuller discussion).

3 Interaction Period 1: The Earliest Relations Between the Aegean and Cyprus

Summary 3.1 Cypro-Aegean Synchronisms in Interaction Period 1. – 3.2 The Earlier Phase of Interaction Period 1. – 3.2.1 The Historical Background of the Aegean. – 3.2.2 The Historical Background of Cyprus. – 3.3 The Very Beginning of Contacts: The Aegean Perspective. –3.3.1 Cypriot Pottery in Crete. – 3.3.2 Cypriot Copper in the Aegean. – 3.4 The Very Beginning of Contacts: The Cypriot Perspective. – 3.4.1 The Earliest Minoan Imports. – 3.4.2 The Trade Relations with Other Aegean Areas. – 3.4.3 The Beginning of the 'Dodecanesian Connection'. – 3.5 The Later Phase of Interaction Period 1. – 3.5.1 The Aegean Historical Background. – 3.5.2 The Cypriot Historical Background. – 3.6 The Evidence for Contacts in Interaction Period 1, Later Phase: The Aegean Perspective. – 3.6.1 The Scarce Evidence for Cypriot Pottery Imported to Crete. – 3.6.2 Other Problematic Pottery from the Aegean. – 3.6.3 The Use of Cypriot Copper in the Aegean in Interaction Period 1, Later Phase. – 3.7 The Evidence for Contacts in Interaction Period 1, Later Phase: The Cypriot Perspective.

3.1 Cypro-Aegean Synchronisms in Interaction Period 1

The earliest contacts between Cyprus and the Aegean can be assigned to Interaction Period 1 **[tab. 2.3]**, which is divided here in two phases (Earlier and Later) that cover a long time span.[1] While there

1 Graziadio 2013, 168. Note that in a forthcoming article concerning the early phases of interaction between the East Aegean and Cyprus, for the sake of clarity, the earlier phase of contacts between Cyprus and the Aegean has been named the "Early

is a general consensus that the MM IA period, i.e. the final phase of the Prepalatial period on Crete, is contemporaneous with EC IIIB or EC III-MC I on Cyprus,[2] here this stretch of time corresponds to the Earlier Phase of Interaction Period 1. The Later Phase, on the other hand, is equated with the Protopalatial period (MM IA-MM IIB) and the beginning of the Neopalatial period (MM III) on Crete, with MH II and part of MH III on the Greek mainland, and roughly with MC I-MC III on Cyprus.[3] An overlap of the Minoan Protopalatial Period with late MC I is indicated by one single find: the well-known Kamares cup, dating to MM IB/MM IIA, which was found in a single tomb at Karmi *Palealona* dated to MC I by most scholars (see § 3.7).[4]

Given the lack of any other find from safe context, however, a further discussion on the synchronization between the Cypriot and Cretan phases during the Later Interaction Period 1 is also necessary in terms of absolute chronologies. According to the Minoan absolute chronology suggested by S. Manning (2010, 23, tab. 2.2) **[tab. 2.1]**, the Protopalatial period (MM IB-MM IIB) lasts from the last quarter of the twentieth century BC (ca 1925/1900 BC) to the end of the eighteenth century BC (ca 1750/1700 BC). On the Cypriot side, J. Webb and B. Knapp (2020, tab. 2.1) **[tab. 2.2]** have recently dated the MC III period from ca 1800/1750 to ca 1690/1650 BC. Although it is, of course, impossible to synchronize the phases exactly, these absolute chronologies (if they are well founded) imply that MC III should not only be approximately contemporaneous with the last phase of the Protopalatial period, which ends ca 1750/1700 BC, but also could possibly overlap with the earlier part of MM III since this is a short period lasting from ca 1750/1700 to ca 1700/1675 BC. On the other hand, according to Manning (2010, 23, tab. 2.2), LM IA spans from ca 1700/1675 to 1625/1600 BC. If we consider the synchronisms in terms of relative chronologies, it should be underlined that, according to K. Eriksson (2007, 12, tab. 1A, 45, 173-6; 2009b, 121, fig. 1), LM IA (and LH I) overlaps with the later part of LC IA1 (and much of LC IA2). Therefore, taking into account these suggested partial synchronisms between MM III and MC III, Eriksson's statement implies that the earlier part of LC IA1 may overlap with the final part of MM III (see § 4.1) **[tab. 2.3]**. Even if in the various chronological schemes the

Initial Stage", while the following period has been called the "Late Initial Stage" (Graziadio, forthcoming).

2 Saltz 1977, 51, 55; Catling, MacGillivray 1983, 1-8; Åström 2000, 152; Caloi 2009, 43.

3 N. Papadimitriou (2012, 94; 2015, 424 tab. I, 424-5) also considered the Protopalatial period as a distinct phase of contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus which he called Stage 1.

4 Stewart 1962b, 204; Catling, MacGillivray 1983, 5; Niemeier 1998, 36; Merrillees 2003, 341; Webb et al. 2009, 155 no. 6, 247, 252 fig. 4.45.

single phases of the MC-LC I period are not synchronized, it should be noted that R.S. Merrillees and P. Åström also regarded MC III as contemporaneous with all of or part of LM IA (Sørensen 2012, 187 fig. 2 with refs).

Summarizing, Interaction Period 1 covers a long span of time from the final Prepalatial to the very beginning of the Neopalatial period on Crete, while on Cyprus it corresponds to the period lasting from the end of the Early Bronze Age to the end of Middle Bronze Age.

3.2 The Earlier Phase of Interaction Period 1

3.2.1 The Historical Background of the Aegean

Based on burial and settlement contexts, the Prepalatial period (EM I-MM IA) on Crete is viewed as the time when Minoan society grew and ranked society began to emerge and establish contacts within the Aegean and beyond (Tomkins 2018a; 2018b). At Knossos, a settlement re-organization as well as the earliest important social changes may date back to the beginning of EM IIA (Wilson 1994, 39; Wilson, Day 1994), with similar situations also apparent elsewhere (Todaro 2013, 2). According to I. Schoep (2006), the appearance of the Minoan palaces may indeed be assigned to EM III, while when reassessing the Prepalatial archaeological record, J. Driessen (2007) preferred an even earlier date for this crucial event, the EM IIB period.[5] Although trade connections in the Aegean are well substantiated from the Late Fourth Millennium BC (Papadatos, Tomkins 2013), a marked Cycladic interaction appeared especially in central and eastern Crete from EM I onwards (Betancourt 2008a, 210-14; Wilson 2008), and Cretan overseas contacts with the Eastern Aegean and the Levant began in EM II (Kouka 2019, 2, with refs, fig. 6; Sørensen 2009b, 10-13). The participation of Crete in the Egyptian trade networks is apparent from imported goods already in the Prepalatial period (Warren 2000), but Minoan trade also occurred with the Eastern Mediterranean throughout the EBA, including exchange of valuable raw materials such as semiprecious stones, ivory, and gold. The presence of locally produced artifacts made of Levantine ivory from EM II-III contexts at Mochlos provide an example (Soles 2005, 430). Ivory imported from the Eastern Mediterranean (Egypt and/or the Levant) was of course used for the production of artifacts all over Crete, especially in the Mesara, the central southern area which played an important

5 While Schoep referred particularly to eastern and central Crete, also in the Mesara the beginning of the Palatial era might be ascribed to EM III: cf. Todaro 2013, 10.

role in the connections between Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean during the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods (Van de Moortel 2006b, 630-5; cf. Carinci 2000, for a minimalist view). At any rate, in MM I, there was a dramatic increase in Minoan trade[6] when the first appreciable ceramic exchange with the Near East is apparent (Watrous 2001, 198). Manning (2008, 115) even argued that in this period "Crete seems to have been significantly oriented toward the Levant and the Near East, rather than the Aegean". Despite the limited data, the increasing importance of Minoan trade and commerce with the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the third and the beginning of the second millennium BC provides therefore the background against which the earliest Cypro-Minoan interaction can be set.

In the EBA I-II periods, Cycladic people generally lived in small settlements dispersed over the island landscape, although there were also larger and more complex Early Cycladic II settlements, for example Chalandriani on Syros and Skarkos on Ios. There are rich archaeological data which suggest that, in the Early and Middle Bronze Age, the Cycladic islands engaged in very dynamic trade relations, benefiting from their geographical location which encouraged regular contacts with the Greek Mainland, the East Aegean, and Anatolia.[7] However, the evidence for Cycladic overseas contacts is particularly pronounced on Crete where some sites, such as Poros-Katsambas (Dimopoulou 1997; 2012; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004) and Ayia Photia (Day, Wilson, Kiriatzi 1998; Davaras, Betancourt 2004), show a high level of interaction with the Cyclades. However, the finding of folded-arm marble figurines and the use of Cycladic copper, as shown by Lead Isotope analysis and excavations at the EM smelting workshop of Chrysokamino (Betancourt et al. 1999b) in eastern Crete, also cannot be neglected. If we turn to the connections with Cyprus, there are clear indications that the interaction between East Aegean/Western Anatolia, the Cyclades, and Cyprus began during the third millennium (Kouka 2009) and continued in Interaction Period 1.

Turning to mainland Greece, in the third millennium BC small-scale complex societies emerged in some regions of the Greek mainland and the MH culture developed after the collapse of the Early Bronze Age, which has been attributed to various causes. In the EH I period, contacts with the Cyclades are clear from similarities between the Cycladic 'frying pans' and regional pottery recovered on the Greek mainland. Throughout the Aegean EBA II period, increased social complexity and the appearance of small-scale chiefdoms are

6 Betancourt 1998; Watrous 1998, 20-1; 2001, 196-8, esp. 197; Manning 2008, 113-14.

7 There is a very rich bibliography on this topic. For a limited selection of relevant publications, cf. Barber 1987, 132-40, 154-7; Broodbank 2000, 276-7; 2013, 307-8, 335, with refs; Efe 2007; 2020; Şahoğlu 2008; Kouka 2008; 2019.

to be regarded as new innovations important to the development of Helladic society. The destruction of the House of the Tiles at Lerna at the end of EH II was followed by many changes in architecture, pottery, and probably social structure, all of which apparently support Caskey's theory of the 'coming of the Greeks' in EH III. However, some alternative explanations have also been suggested to define the time corresponding to the arrival of Greek-speaking peoples (Pullen 2008, 38-41, with refs; Wiener 2013). In MH I, inter-Aegean contacts are well-established, as clearly shown by the contents of a tomb in the Athenian Agora, which included imports from Aegina, the Argolid, and Crete (Balitsari, Papadopoulos 2019). As far as overseas connections are concerned, in the later part of EH II, cultural interaction between central Greece (Lefkandi I assemblage), the Cyclades (Kastri Group), and Western Anatolia can be inferred by the similarity of pouring and drinking vessel shapes (Sotirakopoulou 1993; Rutter 2001, 113-16, with refs; Knapp 2018a, 76-8, with refs).

About half-way through the third millennium, mainland Greece also became part of the so-called 'Anatolian Trade Network', along with Anatolia, the islands of the East Aegean, and the Cyclades. Yet, the sporadic presence of Cypriot copper in metal artifacts belonging to the EH period suggests that there were only indirect relations via the Cyclades between mainland Greece and Cyprus (see § 3.3.2). Finally, in Interaction Period I, Earlier Phase, the Dodecanese also played a role of primary importance in Cypro-Aegean contacts. These exchange networks are detailed more in the following discussion.

3.2.2 The Historical Background of Cyprus

On the Cypriot side, the transition from the Chalcolithic to the Bronze Age took place in the so-called Philia phase about midway through the third millennium BC, many centuries later than in the Aegean and other regions of the Eastern Mediterranean. However, there is evidence for contacts between the island and southwestern Anatolia before this transition, as early as the Cypriot Middle to Late Chalcolithic, when the first elites emerged in Cyprus and a small East Aegean/West Anatolian group probably settled on the island, transferring features of their homeland (Kouka 2009, 31, 34-5 with refs; Knapp 2013a, 245, 260). More specifically, some novel shapes and decorations of the Late Chalcolithic pottery are considered to reflect features of the West Anatolian and East Aegean ceramic production (Peltenburg 2012, 46, with refs). Moreover, the trade in Cypriot copper began in the third millennium BC when Cyprus became part of the Anatolian Trade Network, which, in addition to Anatolia, also included the islands of the East Aegean, the Cyclades, and mainland

Greece,[8] although, as noted by Knapp (2008, 78), "Cyprus's role in these interactions remains poorly understood". However, the presence on Crete of metal artifacts containing Cypriot copper, mentioned above, could date to a period corresponding to the Chalcolithic in Cyprus (see § 3.3.2). Trade connections with the East also dated back to the Cypriot Middle Chalcolithic period as shown by an axe from Pella in Jordan made of Cypriot copper (Philip et al. 2003; Knapp 2018a, 72).

In the so-called Philia Phase (2500-2400/2300 BC) there were important changes in many components of everyday life, including architecture, pottery production, ideology, and ordinary household activities, that testify to increasing cultural contacts with the communities of southwest and south Anatolia. While these changes have been explained differently by various scholars,[9] a population movement from Anatolia is still regarded as a possible interpretation (Steel 2004a, 127-8; Kouka 2009, 36; Webb, Frankel 2007, 206). The evidence for external contacts in the third millennium BC clearly reached a peak in the Philia Phase with the flood of Anatolianising elements. In EC burial contexts, a few Western and Eastern exotic artifacts clearly had prestige value,[10] but as noted by O. Kouka, there was also

> an increased social and ceremonial symbolism of Early Cypriote society which, nevertheless, did not act independently, but was related to the symbolism expressed in the east Aegean, west and central Anatolia. (2009, 40)

Through the history of research, scholars have expressed different, divergent opinions on the politico-economic organization of Cypriot society in EC and MC periods (Webb, Knapp 2020 with refs). However, a marked reassessment of the archaeological record for the MC period shows an increasingly active dynamic social system and, especially in MC III, the establishment on Cyprus of strong foreign connections with the other countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, specifically Egypt and the Levant (Webb, Knapp 2020). On the other

8 For a general discussion on metal artifacts linking Cyprus to Anatolia and the East Aegean/Western Anatolia in the third millennium BC, cf. Webb et al. 2006; Kouka 2009, 35-8, with refs. For the 'Anatolian Trade Network', also cf. Şahoğlu 2005; 2008.

9 Steel 2004a, 126-8; Knapp 2008, 115-22; 2013a, 261, 264-77; Kouka 2009, 36, with refs.

10 For the exchange of goods in the EC period, cf. Knapp 1990, tab. 3; 2013a, 307-11; 2018a, 74. Two spearheads probably from the area of Vasilia are the first objects directly imported from Anatolia, but tin used in some objects was probably also imported from Anatolia, and toward the end of the Early Bronze Age, Cyprus was heavily involved in the trade in tin coming from foreign countries (Knapp 2018a, 72-3, 74, with refs). On the other hand, EC pottery was also exported to Cilicia (Knapp 2018a, 74, with refs).

hand, although the Aegean is attributed with a more secondary role in the main trade networks during this period compared with the overall increase in international contacts (Steel 2004a, 143; also see § 3.3.1), the following discussion aims to show that the roots of the close trade connections between Cyprus and the Aegean in the LBA develop in Interaction Period 1.

3.3 The Very Beginning of Contacts: The Aegean Perspective

3.3.1 Cypriot Pottery in Crete

Considering the earliest Cypro-Aegean connections from the Cretan side, relative evidence for finished artifacts admittedly is very meager and adequate data to support the suggestion of some cultural similarities between Crete and Cyprus, particularly in terms of Neolithic circular houses, phallic-shaped idols, pottery motifs from the Mesara on Crete, and ceramic features of the Erimi phase (Chalcolithic) on Cyprus (Watrous 2001, 162 fn. 28, 163 fn. 35, 166 fn. 61 with refs), are absent. Likewise, the similarity between a bead from an EM II tomb at Mochlos and some Cypriot examples has been proposed, but the finds may not be contemporaneous, as pointed out by Lena Åström (1972, 575). Therefore, a fragmentary Red Polished III amphora, generally dated to EC III/MC I, may be considered the earliest Cypriot artifact found on Crete,[11] but no precise reference can be made to its contextual chronology because it was found at Knossos in a mixed deposit (SE Kamares Area Dove Pit) that was attributed to MM IA, MM IB, or MM IIA (Momigliano 1991, 166; MacGillivray 1998, 46; Niemeier 1998, 36, with refs). Although likewise transported to Crete in Interaction Period 1, it is possible that a further import dates to the EC III/MC I period or MC I early, but it could also be assigned to the later phase of Interaction Period 1, for the reasons explained further in § 3.6. Finally, some Minoan elements have been suggested on a lapis lazuli cylinder seal from the EM III-MM IA burial Building 5 at Phourni (Arrefdchanes) (Kanta 1998, 33 with refs; Graziadio 2005a, 328 fn. 42). This seal, probably of Cypriot production, has been regarded (Kanta 1998, 33) as a possible harbinger of the LBA "Cypro-Aegean" seals, but its connections with Cyprus remain uncertain.

11 Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 109 no. 1, fig. 2; Catling, MacGillivray 1983; Russel 1985, 42 and fn. 30; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 85, 227 no. 126, pl. 30; Catling 1991, 5 no. 1; Mantzourani, Theodorou 1991, 55 no. 5; Caloi 2009, 47.

3.3.2 Cypriot Copper in the Aegean

The limited evidence in terms of imported artifacts, however, may be luckily mitigated by Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts. If we take into account that the Mediterranean trade in Cypriot copper began very early, there is absolutely nothing surprising about the fact that some EM artifacts made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores – namely two daggers, a fish hook, and an awl – were found in the necropolis at Ayia Photia in northeast Crete in contexts that can be considered contemporary with the Chalcolithic period on Cyprus (Stos-Gale, Gale 2003, 91-2, tab. 5; Peltenburg 2011, 6). There is additional analytical evidence which confirms the use of Cypriot copper on Crete during the third millennium BC. As a matter of fact, Lead Isotope copper analysis shows that the main copper sources for Early and Middle Bronze Age artifacts from Greece and the islands were located in the Cyclades (Stos-Gale 2000, 63 fig. 3.4); however, Cyprus was indicated as the second largest copper source used for the production of Cretan tools and weapons in the Prepalatial period, when Cretan copper samples consistent with Cypriot ores clearly surpassed the amount of artifacts made of copper from Lavrion or other more distant sources (Stos-Gale, Macdonald 1991, 267 fig. 7a; also cf. Stos-Gale 2001, 195, 200-1 fig. 10.2; Sørensen 2008, 157). Nearly all the analyzed objects made of Cypriot copper were said to be from the Mesara, implying a circulation of Cypriot copper also in south-central Crete already by the earlier phase of Interaction Period 1.

Additional details are provided by Z. Stos-Gale in a 2001 publication that reports the results of the analysis of 118 "Prepalatial and Old Palace weapons and tools" (2001, 195, 202 fig. 10.2; also cf. Knapp 2018a, 73). The results indicate that in the Prepalatial period the artifacts made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores were nearly a third (29%) of the total number of samples; while in the Protopalatial period, there was a marked drop, with Cypriot ore in only a sixth of the samples (16%). In a later review of the copper objects used on Crete in these periods, Gale and Stos-Gale (2007) summarized the results of 43 copper-based Prepalatial artifacts and 73 copper-based Protopalatial artifacts, most of which were found in the Mesara tombs. In this publication they assigned to Cypriot sources 26% of the Prepalatial artifacts and 15% of the Protopalatial artifacts.[12] Leaving aside

12 Gale, Stos-Gale 2007, 107 figs 5-6. It should, however, be pointed out that in this publication the authors reported a list of the sites where the Prepalatial samples were found, i.e. Ayia Triada, Kalathania, Koumasa, Krasi, Marathokephala, Platanos, and the cave of Pyrgos (109 fn. 21). According to Gale and Stos-Gale (109 fn. 23), the 73 analyzed artifacts from the Protopalatial period seem to have also been found at the same sites, but the identity of the samples in the author's text, written in footnotes 21 and 23, includes the word "Prepalatial" and the context is therefore unclear.

the general doubts recently raised by J. Muhly about the reliability of these analyses and the difficulties in understanding the possible means of transmission of Cypriot ores to Crete (Muhly in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 119-20; Knapp 2013a, 301; 2018a, 73), the value of these data also was considered partially invalidated by the vagueness of these publications.[13] However, the Oxford Archaeological Lead Isotope Analysis (OXALID) now makes it possible to verify the typology and the provenance of all the analyzed samples, also including items from Prepalatial and Protopalatial contexts in more detail,[14] although the limitations of Lead Isotope analysis have recently been discussed by Knapp (2022, 68 with refs).

In addition to these connections between Crete and Cyprus, connections between the Cyclades and Cyprus date back to the third millennium BC, with evidence for bidirectional trade relationships. Specifically, rat-tail spearheads from the Cyclades have been regarded as possible Cypriot imports dating to this early period; however, they may alternatively be considered of Anatolian manufacture (Renfrew 1972, 322-3, fig. 16.5: Types Ia, Ib; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 90, 93 fn. 3, 384 fn. 565, 372 fns 529-30 with refs; Doumas 1992). Moreover, according to early Lead Isotope analysis, some EBA-MBA copper-based artifacts from Amorgos (2 samples) and Kastri at Syros (4 samples) were made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores, but this analysis has since been questioned (Stos-Gale, Gale 1984, 62 fig. 8; cf. however, Stos-Gale, Macdonald 1991, 267 fig. 266: a). Notwithstanding, an increase in the use of Cypriot copper has more recently been suggested during the Early Cycladic IIIA (Gale, Stos-Gale 2008, 389 fig. 37.4b). Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that in the EBA the Cycladic islands also played an intermediary role in the trade of Cypriot raw material between Cyprus and the Peloponnese, although Cypriot copper was only sporadically used on mainland Greece. This suggestion is supported by the Lead Isotope analysis of EH and MH metal finds from the Peloponnese which, on one hand, confirms the absolute prevalence of copper-based artifacts made of copper consistent with the Cycladic isotopic field, but on the other hand, it shows that a few samples are also consistent with copper from Cypriot ores (Kayafa 1999, 397-400; 2010, 708, 710 fig. 8; Kayafa et al. 2000, 43-4, 48, 52, tab. 2.10). In this regard, it should also be underlined that the typology of some of the EH metal artifacts from mainland Greece was also comparable to Early Cypriot examples

13 For the discrepancy in the number of artifacts made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores in the Gale and Stos-Gale publications, also cf. Knapp 2008, 78, where he noted that "it remains uncertain how ores consistent with production from Cypriot sources got to Crete during the Pre-Palatial period". Also cf. Knapp 2012a, 17.

14 Cf. "Crete, Artefacts Lead Isotopes" at `http://oxalid.arch.ox.ac.uk/Greece/Greece.html`.

(Kayafa 1999, 374 fn. 411 with refs; Kayafa et al. 2000, 43-4, 48, 52, tab. 2.10). Taking this evidence into account, Kayafa (2010, 708, 711 fig. 8) rightly noted that this likely attests to the "existence of intermediaries who traded this copper in the Peloponnese", a role possibly played by Cretan or Cycladic people, more than to direct trade. In this connection, it should be noted that Stos-Gale has mentioned some bronzes from Kos consistent with a Cypriot copper, although no other information was provided (2016, 389; cf. Knapp 2022, 68), and the existence of "a possible tin trade route to the Aegean via southern Anatolia, Cyprus and the Dodecanese islands of Kos and Rhodes" in the Middle Bronze Age has also been noted (Knapp 2022, 68, with refs).

3.4 The Very Beginning of Contacts: The Cypriot Perspective

3.4.1 The Earliest Minoan Imports

Apart from the above discussed connections during the third millennium BC, comparing all the material evidence of the earliest contacts attested on Cyprus, we find that Aegean artifacts are scarce. Therefore, I begin the discussion with the most renowned find, the Minoan bridge-spouted jar from Lapithos Pennsylvania Tomb 6A (= 806A) which is the earliest Minoan vase imported to Cyprus[15] and probably of Knossian manufacture (Wilson 1994, 41 fn. 132 with refs, either MM III or MM IA; Momigliano 2007, 103). The particular wealth of this tomb in metal artifacts, as well as in gold and faience prestige objects, indicates that it belonged to an elite group. However, as a result of disturbance owing to repeated burials and flooding, a range of chronologies have been suggested for the context, including EC IIIA-EC IIIB, EC IIIB-MC I, and MC I, the latter being the preferred date. Moreover, although there is general consensus that the bridge-spouted jar is attributable to the Prepalatial period, its precise date is also somewhat discordant in terms of Cretan chronology, with suggested dates of EM III, EM III/MM IA, and MM IA.[16]

For a long time, a small group of bronzes found in EC III or MC I contexts were said to indicate other links between Crete and Cyprus. Keswani's list included two daggers in intact burial deposits dating to EC IIIB and MC I from Vounous T.19 and T. 143, a Minoan dagger from Lapithos Tomb 313CD, and a Minoan dagger and a razor from

15 Grace 1940; Stewart 1962a, 277, fig. CLVI: 10; Cadogan 1991, 169; Manning 1995, 89 fn. 187; Sørensen 2008, 173 no. 1, with additional refs.

16 EM III, EM III/MM IA: Walberg 1992, 386-7; MM IA: Manning 1995, 89-90 fns 187-9; Niemeier 1998, 36.

Lapithos Tomb 322A.[17] Lead Isotope analysis recently confirms that another dagger made of tin bronze (CY018-O025) from an EC III context at Lapithos, which was previously only suspected of being Minoan, was indeed imported from the Aegean.[18] Additional bronzes (a razor and a few tweezers and scrapers) have also been regarded as EM III/MM I tools imported to Lapithos.[19] Although not clearly substantiated by current research, theoretically, the possibility cannot be ruled out that there were also reciprocal influences between the Aegean and Cyprus in bronze working.[20]

To conclude this review of Minoan objects imported to Cyprus, a Minoan three-sided prism seal can be mentioned (L. Åström 1972, 768 and fn. 4), and Knapp (2022, 69-70 with refs) also refers to a personal communication by Jennifer Webb who suggested a possible link between some of the goldwork from Lapithos and "some gold foil 'leaves' from Mochlos on Crete, part of an assemblage dated to Early Minoan II-III".

3.4.2 The Trade Relations with Other Aegean Areas

The development of early metalworking in Cyprus is strictly connected to the movement of metals within a wide area which included Cyprus, coastal Anatolia, the Aegean, and perhaps even the southern Levant (Knapp 2008, 78). It is well-known that the period of the so-called 'Philia culture' in Cyprus (from ca 2500 to 2300 BC) was a time of intense external contacts, especially with Anatolia, but for the purpose of this study, it is important to point out that in this period the north coast of Cyprus, especially the key-site of Vasilia, became part of a maritime interaction sphere that also included the Cyclades and southeastern Anatolia. Copper was circulating in the form of ring-ingots throughout this area, and Cyprus adopted the perforated axe-shaped ingot, an 'international' ingot form (Webb et al. 2006, 276-7). Moreover, some artifacts of the Philia phase were made with copper from Kythnos and, later on, some artifacts found in Cyprus,

17 Branigan 1974, 11: Type X, 160 nos 291, 292a, 159 no. 196; Åström 1979, 59-60; Keswani 2005, 389, tab. 13; 2004, 202, tab. 4.7c; for a review of copper-based artifacts consistent with a production from Aegean ore sources, also cf. Knapp 2022, 68-9 with refs.

18 For earlier references, cf. Catling 1964, 62. For Lead Isotope Analysis, cf. Kassianidou 2013b, 233 fn. 39, 242 fns 145-6 (CY018_O025).

19 Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 110-12; Branigan 1974, 122, 177 no. 1474, 123 fn. 1; Åström 1979, 60; Kanta 1998, 34.

20 Note that Kayafa (1999, 374 fn. 411) discusses the few similarities between some of the EC and EH bronzes emphasized by Tripathi (1988, 33, 53, 57, 59) and states that, although the evidence is stylistic, "the situation in the EBA period might have been more complex in terms of cultural contacts around the Mediterranean than usually believed".

including a knife from Karmi *Palealona* T. 2, were made with copper from the Cyclades.[21] A dagger from Tomb 1 at Vasilia attributed to a later phase of Philia phase or EC I-MC period even had a lead isotope composition with the Lavrion ores in Attica, while the isotope composition of a rat-tail dirk from the same context is consistent with copper ores at Lavrion or Kythnos (Stos-Gale 2015, 112 with refs). It was correctly pointed out that Lead Isotope Analysis (Sherratt 2005, 31) proposes the origin of copper but not the origin of the artifact, because the imported finished artifacts may have been modified according to local tastes or copper may have been imported as a raw material (Webb et al. 2006, 273). The two weapons from Vasilia seem to confirm this statement since they featured a Cypriot shape, indicating that they were probably cast in Cyprus, while imported Aegean copper was used for their manufacture (Stos-Gale 2015, 112). The same is probably true of an EC III rat-tail dagger which had lead isotope ratios which seem to be consistent with Lavrion ores, therefore confirming the earliest trade connections with mainland Greece (112; Webb 2018, 11, 24 no. 15). Lead Isotope analysis also shows that several EC copper artifacts from Lapithos were made of copper from the same Aegean sources, i.e. the Cyclades and Lavrion (Stos-Gale 2015, 112), although some metal may not have been imported directly (Knapp 2012a, 16-17). Therefore, Webb et al. (2006, 277) did not rule out the possibility that "interaction may however have been both indirect and limited to the exchange of raw materials".

3.4.3 The Beginning of the 'Dodecanesian Connection'

The so-called duck askoi of the Early and Middle Aegean Bronze Age became well known from Schliemann's excavations at Troy in 1884 and were comprehensively discussed in later publications.[22] Although these particular containers spread largely in the Aegean (with examples from the Argolid, Aegina, Central Greece, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, and some sites in western Anatolia), the origin of their shape has generally been regarded as Cycladic.[23] However, we are

21 Webb et al. 2006, 271-3, 276, tab. 5 nos 3, 5, 14 (several metal objects of the Philia phase), 12 (for the EC III-MC I knife from Karmi, which was dated to EC III/MC on p. 273, tab. 5, while it was attributed to an earlier period in Webb et al. 2009, 90 no. 18, fig. 4.32). For artifacts made of copper derived from Cycladic ores, also cf. Stos-Gale 2001, 205, tab. 10.3; Knapp 2013a, 309.

22 Schliemann 1894, 216 no. 130; Dietz 1974; Merrillees 1979; Rutter 1985; Misch 1992; 1996.

23 For the suggestion of a direct derivation from Cycladic prototypes, cf. Merrillees 1979, 17-19; Cadogan 1991, 169; Åström 1998, 258. The Anatolian intermediation suggested by Misch (1992, 89-90) seems to be unlikely.

now able to safely state that duck askoi were also locally produced throughout the East Aegean in the Early and Middle Bronze Age (Benzi 2020, 51). Nevertheless, in the discussion of Cypro-Aegean relations, the primary focus of interest rises from the observation that a few duck askoi, clearly inspired by Aegean prototypes, were also manufactured in Cyprus in EC and MC periods. A few decades ago, Åström (1988, 76; 1998, 258-9) discussed them in connection with examples from Rhodes, and Merrillees (1979, 16) addressed some of their local features, but apart from a few exceptions (Kouka 2009, 39; Marketou 2009a, 51-2; Webb, Knapp 2020), in the general discussions of Cypro-Aegean connections, the Cypriot examples were typically given less consideration than the few Early and Middle Bronze Age finished artifacts. This is especially striking if we consider that duck vases clearly reflect the earliest, albeit ephemeral, Cypriot attempts to produce vases of Aegean inspiration, although genuinely Cypriot in fabric and incised decoration. It is likely that they were used "by a specific group and/or in specific occasions" (Kouka 2009, 39). In a 2005 article, I distinguished two groups of Cypriot duck vases (Graziadio 2005b, 9, pl. 2; also add a duck askos in the Pancyprian Gymnasium Collection at Nicosia: Karageorghis 2007, 134-6, fig. 3) **[fig. 3.1 no. 11]**. Into the first (Group A), I included six Red Polished III duck vases of the EC period and a Black Polished example possibly of MC I date. It is important to note that these feature a general Aegean shape with a few elements (mainly the rounded base) adapted from the local tradition **[fig. 3.1: 1-6]**. In the second group (Group B) are five askoi that have a shape further removed from the Aegean prototypes and that also show more features derived from the Early Cypriot ceramic tradition, such as basket handles and cut away necks instead of tubular necks **[fig. 3.1: 7-11]**. The production of duck askoi in Cyprus dates from EC III to MC II, based on a few White Painted II examples **[fig. 3.1: 11]**.[24] At any rate, although the context for some of the finds is uncertain, most of the Red Polished III or Black Polished duck askoi of the first group were found at Lapithos and possibly at Deneia, an inland site that had close links with the north coast (Herscher 1975; Merrillees 1979, 19 with refs), while the examples of the second group were found only at inland sites. This distribution implies that the askoi shape had a deeper impact on the Early Cypriot ceramic production of the northern coast of Cyprus, where also the few Aegean imports of this period have been found, than on the inland sites which, with respect to the duck askoi, were more deeply rooted in the local traditions.

24 Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. XXV: 1, row 2: 11, L 313 A1.113; Åström 1972, 16, VII: a, fig. V: 5; Coleman 1992, 285-6; Stewart 1992, 37-8, fig. 3: 5; Karageorghis 2007, 134-6, fig. 3.

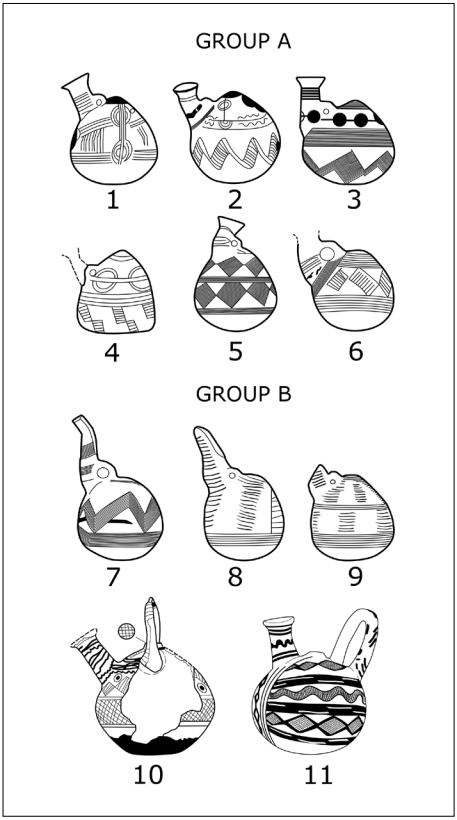


Figure 3.1
Cypriot duck askoi. Not to scale.
Redrawn by Miriam Colella

In recent years, new data have favored a reconsideration of the Aegean influence on the Cypriot production of the duck askoi, particularly with respect to production centers and means of transmission. In fact, an emphasis may be placed on the discovery by T. Marketou (2009a, 51-2, fig. 3a-b) of more than twenty dark faced incised and pattern-painted examples at Asomatos on Rhodes that date to EBA IIIB. In this regard, it is particularly interesting that duck vases are relatively common in the East Aegean, with other examples found on Rhodes; on Kalymnos, where two nearly complete examples and seven fragments have been found (Benzi 2020, 50-1); at the Seraya on Kos; and further north on Samos, at both Miletus and the Heraion, where at least twenty duck-vases have been found (Kouka 2009, 39; 2013, 574-5; Benzi 2020, 50 fn. 191, with refs). According to Marketou, Asomatos probably was "one of the most important production centres of this odd pottery shape which had previously been attributed to the Cyclades" (2009a, 52). In short, it is clear that in the East

Aegean there was a plurality of production centers. From this point of view, the occurrence on Cyprus is basically similar, with this island clearly being another area of duck askoi production located outside the Aegean. However, while in the Aegean the distribution of the duck vases is wide, with production in several places and circulation of the shape as specialized containers, on Cyprus these vases appear as a foreign and rather isolated shape, which currently lacks any imported Aegean prototype. Kouka (2009, 40) has suggested that the few Minoan imports came to Cyprus via Minoan outposts in the SE Aegean. However, no Minoan contribution seems likely in the case of duck askoi because, if we consider the plurality of their production centers in the East Aegean at the end of the Early Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Middle Bronze, the relative proximity seems to have favored direct, although sporadic, contacts between the East Aegean (especially Rhodes) and Cyprus, establishing the base for the later developments of a 'Dodecanesian connection'.

3.5 The Later Phase of Interaction Period 1

3.5.1 The Aegean Historical Background

It is well-known that the building of the palaces (or court buildings, according to the terminology preferred by some scholars) at Knossos, Malia, and Phaistos, and probably also at smaller palatial centers such as Petras in northeastern Crete, marks the Protopalatial period. In this period, settlement hierarchies and politically organized societies appeared, a sophisticated administrative system was adopted in the major centers, and great progress in material culture production occurred, as emblematically apparent from the diffusion of the highly appreciated Kamares pottery in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, an obvious implication of the noticeable developments of the Protopalatial society is the increase of Cretan contacts across the Aegean basin, from Kythera in the west as far as Troy and the East Aegean/Western Anatolian region in the east (Girella, Pavúk 2016, 18-19, Pre-Contact and Contact Stages of Minoanisation; Kouka 2019, 2, 11 fig. 12). However, it is clear that such interaction generally involved little acculturation in these regions (Pieniążiek, Pavúk, Kozal 2018, 379 with refs). Exceptions have been found on Samos, where Minoanising pottery, tripod cooking pots, and loom-weights inspired by Protopalatial prototypes were found at the Heraion (Kouka 2019, 11-13, figs 13-14), and on the Anatolian coast, where some Protopalatial imports and locally made cooking wares were found in Miletus levels IIIa, revealing a clear Minoan influence (Raymond 2001; 2005; 2009). The earliest Minoan pottery imported to Ayia Irini on Keos dated

back to MM IB; the same is true on Melos where Cretan pottery appeared in the Phylakopi II levels at the start of the MBA. At Akrotiri on Thera, the finds from the Middle Cycladic levels of Phase B show a Minoan influence, although it is limited when compared to the LBA I evidence, while the material culture of the people living at Kastri on Kythera generally looks Cretan (Papagiannopoulou 1991, 51, 83-97, 157, with earlier refs; Davis 2008). The Minoan imports from the settlement deposits on Rhodes, found in association with local material, confirm a correlation between the island and Crete in the Protopalatial period, although the presence of Minoan settlers now is dubious (Benzi 1984; Marketou 2009b, 73-4; 2010, 777-9), while on Kos, Minoan imports did not have a significant impact on the local material culture (Vitale 2016a, 77), and only two Minoanizing shapes from Kalymnos have been published since the "Middle Bronze Age is so far an elusive period" (Benzi 2020, 55) on the island.

Turning to extra-Aegean connections, Betancourt (2008a, 214) stated that Egypt and the Levant clearly were the two major partners engaging in Minoan international contacts. Egyptian interaction was documented through the study of the Protopalatial pottery from Egypt published by Kemp and Merrillees about forty years ago (Kemp, Merrillees 1980). Since then, other finds from Tell El-Dab'a (Stratum d/1) may now be considered (Caloi 2013, 366 with refs). Some ceramics from Kahun, which were analyzed with Neutron Activation Analysis, were said to be imported from Phaistos (Fitton, Quirke, Hughes 1998), and based on both a comparison of some vessels from Kahun and El Harage with Phaistian pottery and their dating to MM II, I. Caloi (2013, 366-7) stated that all the Protopalatial pottery exported to Egypt and the Levantine coast can be regarded as later than MM IIA. Taking into account the absence of foreign objects at Phaistos and Kommos before the end of MM IIB, Carinci (2000) and Caloi (2013, 366-7) have suggested that the Phaistian pottery was not exported to the Eastern Mediterranean directly from Southern Crete, but through Levantine harbors or, more probably, Knossos, which had close contacts with the Mesara. This may also be confirmed by the marked decrease in Eastern Mediterranean imports across Crete in MM IB, with the exception of Knossos, which was the only palatial site where Egyptian imports were present in the Protopalatial period. Local imitations of foreign objects, however, widely occurred on Crete, including in the Mesara (Phillips 2008, 227-30; also cf. Caloi 2013, 368).

The occurrence of Cretan imports in coastal Levantine sites is also appreciable. Sørensen's catalogue of selected MM-LM I objects from the Levant and beyond includes 81 finds of which 19 (mainly ceramic vessels) may be assigned to the Protopalatial period (Sørensen 2009b, 35-46, 20, fig. 4, for chronology). Based on this evidence, Byblos and Ugarit may be considered the major Levantine centers, but

it should also be underlined that other Protopalatial sherds have been reported at Qatna, Hazor, Tel Askhelon, Beirut, and Sidon (Caloi 2013, 365-6 with refs). Like the Minoan pottery found in Egypt, most Minoan exports to the Near East and Egypt may have been produced in the Mesara and at Phaistos (365 with refs), but according to Carinci (2000) and Caloi (2013, 366-7), this trade also developed through Knossos, and according to Caloi, the possibility cannot be ruled out that in the Protopalatial period

> the contacts between the Minoans and the Egyptians occurred outside Crete, and probably in the Near Eastern ports and especially at Ugarit. (367)

The fact that the Cretans and Cretan goods were mentioned in the archives of Mari is of course of particular interest (Cline 1994, 126-8 nos D2-D12; Sørensen 2009b, 14-17, 27-30, tabs 1-2, with refs; Wiener 2020, 282-3). Most of the relevant tablets may be dated to the reign of Zimri-Lim, but the earliest texts are probably assignable to the reign of his father Yahdun-Lim who ruled during the late nineteenth or the mid-eighteenth century BC. The texts ascribed to the reign of Zimri-Lim mentioned Cretan precious objects such as weapons, a mace, and gold and silver pouring and drinking vessels. These texts suggest the presence of Minoans at Ugarit in MM IIB or MM III when Cretans took an active role in the royal gift exchange in Western Asia; however, a contemporary commercial trade was indeed also possible (Sørensen 2009b, 22, 25). Tin imported from the easternmost sources, possibly located in Afghanistan (Muhly 1985, 281-2; Penhallurick 1986, 28-30), and sent via Eshnunna to Mari is also mentioned in these archives. Of the utmost importance is the reference to the comparably small portion of this raw material that was handed over to two Cretans in Ugarit (Dossin 1970; Malamat 1971; Sørensen 2009b, 16, 30, tab. 2, text 30). A Cretan interpreter received a relatively small amount of tin from Mari and even a royal summit meeting staged in Ugarit between the Cretans and Mariotes has been suggested (Sørensen 2009b, 16-17 with refs). Based on these texts, a tin route from Mesopotamia to Crete can be supposed, and according to Heltzer (1989, 25), the suggestion that Cyprus was an intermediate stopover is unavoidable (also see § 7.3.1, fig. 7.1). In this regard, W.-D. Niemeier (1998, 37 fig. 13) has also paid particular attention to a stone tablet, probably originally part of a box, which was found on Kythera in 1849. An Akkadian cuneiform inscription mentioning Naram-Sin, son of Ipiq-Adad, king of Eshnunna, was present on this tablet, and this rather surprising find therefore may be considered a tangible clue in the reconstruction of the very long route.

Turning to the Cyclades, where settlement centralization and various fortification systems appeared in the Middle Cycladic period,

external contacts with the mainland and Crete also increased in the Interconnection Period 1 (Barber 2010, 127), although the Minoan connections saw an even greater increase in the later phase of the Middle Cycladic Period (Overbeck 1984, 112; Davis 2008, 190, 195, 197; Barber 2010, 132). In the Protopalatial period, the connections between Crete and the Cycladic islands can be appreciated from the above mentioned Protopalatial pottery from Ayia Irini Period IV, Phylakopi II-ii, and Phase B at Akrotiri on Thera, which may also explain the influence of MM pottery on local ceramic production. Moreover, reciprocal connections are also apparent from the presence of Cycladic White pottery in an early Protopalatial context at Knossos (Barber 1987, 154).

On Mainland Greece, the Interaction Period 1, Later Phase corresponds to MH II, a period which, of course, has received far less attention than the contemporary Protopalatial period on Crete, even though the traditional perception of MH society as static is now changing in favor of a more dynamic period leading to the formation of the Shaft Grave Period and later Mycenaean societies (Wiener 2020, 279-82). Recent research has shown that changes in mortuary practices, with the appearance of extramural cemeteries, and in social development were also taking place in the MH period (Voutsaki 2010, 101). As to connectivity, the increase of inter-Aegean contacts already apparent in MH I became more noticeable from MH II onwards especially with Aegina, the Aegean islands, and Crete.[25] While the Argolid was playing a major role in this network by the early phases of the MH (Alberti, Sabatini 2012, 34), the most substantial increase in foreign relations, including those with the Eastern Mediterranean, dates to the Shaft Grave Period (Voutsaki 2010, 105-6). A pivotal role can be assigned to Aegina in the development of the Helladic culture in the MH and Early Mycenaean period,[26] and the distribution of Aeginetan pottery in mainland regions, especially in the Argolid and Corinthia, is of special importance in the Aegean network of contacts (Rutter 2001, 127 fig. 12; Gauss, Smetana 2008; Gauss, Knodell 2020). In this regard, it should also be recalled that the rich shaft grave excavated at Kolonna on Aegina, containing weapons, a gold diadem, and both Cycladic and Minoan vessels, is apparently a sort of MB II harbinger

25 Rutter 2001, 105. For more general information, cf. Felten, Gauss, Smetana 2007; Voutsaki 2010, 105-6; Alberti, Sabatini 2012, 33-4; Nikolakopoulou 2019; Hale 2023a; 2023b. For trade connections between mainland Greece and the Cyclades in the early MBA, cf. Nikolakopoulou 2007, 349 (Thera), 354 (Keos), 355 (Melos). For the presence of MH Minyan (and/or Anatolian Gray pottery) in the Heraion of Samos, cf. Kouka 2019, 10-11, fig. 10. For the diffusion of Cretan-style pottery in mainland contexts as early as the early MH, cf. Kiriatzi 2010, 685-99.

26 Gauss 2019; 2020; 2021; 2023; Gauss, Smetana 2010; Gauss, Kiriatzi 2011; Pruckner 2011a; 2011b.

of the Shaft Grave phenomenon (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997; cf. Voutsaki 2010, 107). Most of the copper used in mainland Greece in the MH period was of Aegean origin, and Cypriot copper probably came there only indirectly, given that extra-Aegean interaction is mainly apparent with the areas to the west and north (Voutsaki 2010, 106; Pieniążiek, Pavúk, Kozal 2018, 380).

3.5.2 The Cypriot Historical Background

As far as Cyprus is concerned, the view of the country as largely isolated from the wider Mediterranean world in the Middle Bronze Age has recently been called into question by some scholars, especially by Webb and Knapp (2020) in their reassessment of the archaeological record of the MC period. Their review of settlements shows a coexistence between small agropastoral villages, such as Marki, Alambra, and Politiko, and other sites, such as Pyrgos, Erimi, and Ambelikou, where workshops for the production of goods were active and operated "beyond the level of the individual household". Moreover, the copper industry was also founded in this period (Kassianidou in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 127-8). There were clear signs of interregional connectivity, but Webb and Knapp note that evidence for larger settlements is missing, while mortuary evidence shows a significant variability in burial location, cemetery size, metal wealth, and social differences. As for foreign connections, the two scholars also revise some 'minimalist' views that regarded the Cypriot involvement in long-distance exchange during the MBA as sporadic, casual, and passive. Instead, they trace the gradual internal development and the external interactions that led to the many cultural changes at the beginning of the LBA and conclude that "the widely […] acknowledged internationalism of LBA Cyprus had its antecedents in the MBA". As a matter of fact, now it is clear that tin was increasingly imported to Cyprus from MC I onward, and it was significantly used already in MC II-III.[27] Moreover, according to Webb's computation, the imported artifacts found in MC funerary deposits from Lapithos, Bellapais, and Karmi amounted to 152 items, confirming the quite substantial level of extra-island Cypriot connectivity in the MBA.[28] Considering that the vast majority were imported from the Eastern Mediterranean, the cuneiform documentary evidence from Mari dating to the nineteenth century BC is of particular interest since all the documents

27 Kassianidou 2003; Kassianidou in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 128; Charalambous, Webb 2020; Webb, Knapp 2020.

28 Webb 2018; Webb, Knapp 2020, tab. 2; 2021, 225-6, tab. 2, fig. 7. For earlier reviews of imports from north Cypriot sites, cf. Knapp 1994b, 281, fig. 9.4; Keswani 2005, 388-9, tab. 13.

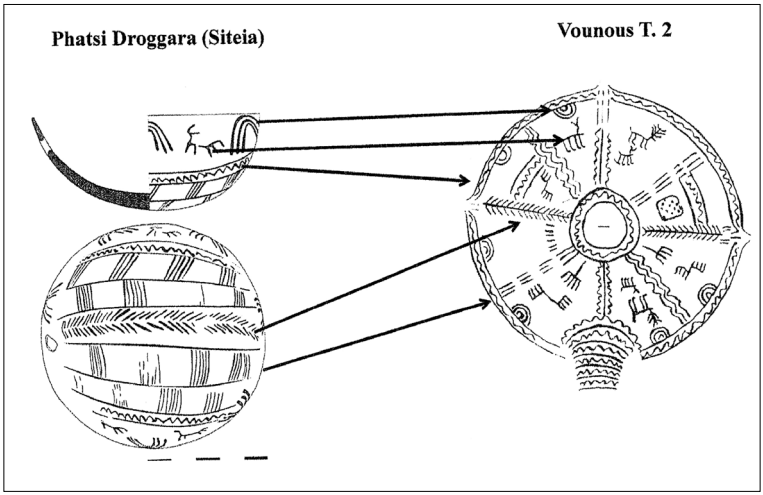
referring to Alashiya deal with metals imported to this important Syrian town (Knapp 1996b, 17-20, 30; 2008, 307-9). In Cyprus, before the beginning of Interaction Period 2, a settlement abandonment and relocation occurs in MC II and in late MC III, but there is no clear explanation for this phenomenon. This is even more remarkable if we consider that in the transitional MC III/LC IA period there were dramatic changes also in the intensity and range of international contacts (Webb, Knapp 2020).

3.6 The Evidence for Contacts in Interaction Period 1, Later Phase: The Aegean Perspective

3.6.1 The Scarce Evidence for Cypriot Pottery Imported to Crete

In the Late Phase of the Interaction Period, corresponding to the Protopalatial period, only one vase from Crete is definitively a Cypriot import. This is a Black or Brown Polished bowl that was found in a tomb located in a Subminoan-Early Protogeometric cemetery at Phatsi Droggara in the Siteia district (Graziadio 2013; also cf. Karageorghis et al. 2014, 30 no. 1). It probably was a vessel deposited in this funerary context many centuries later than its manufacture because of its special appearance. Chronologically, it likely belongs to the transitional EC III-MC I or, more likely, to MC I based on the primary diffusion of early Black and Brown Polished ware in the Mesaoria (especially at Deneia) and in the central-northern area of Cyprus in MC I and II (Brewester in Frankel, Webb 2007, 65, 138). Moreover, many of the incised motifs filled with lime in this bowl, such as simplified animal motifs, wavy bands, half circles, and herring bones, parallel the painted decoration of a White Painted bridge-spouted bowl of MC I date from Vounous Tomb 2 (Dikaios 1940, 8 no. 32, pls 2b, 55.6, 58.1; Washbourne 2000, 155-6, fig. 84) **[figs 3.2-3.3]**.

While central-southern Crete no doubt played a pivotal role in maritime contacts with Cyprus from the Neopalatial to the Postpalatial periods, as evidenced in the LC pottery imported to Kommos (Van de Moortel 2006b, 644; Rutter 2014a), in the later phase of Interaction Period 1, the evidence for ceramic imports in this region is somewhat problematic. In particular at Kommos, some sherds and a Monochrome jug from the fill of a structure named 'Northwest Building' (MM IB-IIB), as well as a large lentoid flask from 'Building AA' (MM IIB), were considered Cypriot imports by various scholars (Shaw 1998, 13-15, fig. 1; Karageorghis et al. 2014, 235 nos 76 and 78, 348 nos 3-4), but in the final publication of the material from the



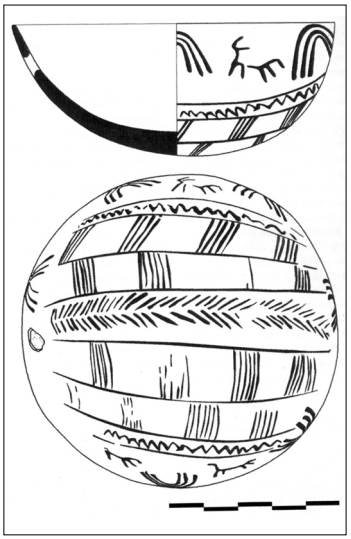


Figure 3.2
The incised decoration of the Black Polished bowl from Phatsi Doggara, Siteia (Crete) compared to the painted decoration of the White Painted I bridge-spouted bowl from Vounous Tomb 2 (Cyprus). Redrawn by Mario Epifani

Figure 3.3
Black Polished bowl from Phatsi Doggara, Siteia (Crete). Drawn by Mario Epifani

southern area, A. Van de Moortel raised some doubts on this conclusion given the lack of scientific analysis.[29] If these earlier finds are questioned, then the earliest certain Cypriot import to Kommos is a juglet of White Painted IV-V, Cross Line Ware that was attributed to MC III, but its MM III/LM I find context may also belong to the

29 For the uncertain provenance of some finds from MM contexts at Kommos, cf. Van de Moortel 2006a, 357, L/27 (C 10661), pl. 3.20, 641, 642; 287: Da/3 (C 10029) pl. 3.20; 293: H/1 (C 11372), pl. 3.20; also cf. Caloi 2009, 48; Papadimitriou 2012, 114; also cf. Rutter 2006b, 653-8, tab. 3: nos 154-5, for sherds from MM III contexts.

beginning of the Neopalatial period, when other Cypriot ceramic imports are also reported from Malia and East Crete.

3.6.2 Other Problematic Pottery from the Aegean

A similar uncertainty also exists in the Dodecanese data, despite the earlier stage of contacts with Cyprus emphasized in § 3.4.3. In fact, the provenance of a few MC vases (a White Painted III juglet, a White Painted V ovoid juglet, and a MC Red Polished bowl said to be from Rhodes and housed in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford) is dubious.[30] However, Marketou (2009a, 53) mentioned a flat gaming stone from the Middle Bronze Age settlement at Ialysos that she considered similar to Cypriot examples, therefore providing a piece of evidence for "at least indirect interconnections with Cyprus".

3.6.3 The Use of Cypriot Copper in the Aegean in Interaction Period 1, Later Phase

When we considered the use of Cypriot copper on Crete, in § 3.3.2 reference was made to the Lead Isotope analysis of copper-based artifacts from Prepalatial and Protopalatial contexts of the Mesara. The results are also relevant to the Protopalatial period. According to Stos-Gale's publication (2001, 195, 202 fig. 10.2), the ratio between the proportion of artifacts made of copper consistent with Cypriot ore shows a marked drop from 29% to 16% between the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods. In a later publication (Gale, Stos-Gale 2007, 107 figs 5-6), the same ratios for Prepalatial and Protopalatial samples made of Cypriot copper were noted (about 26% against 15%, respectively). The problems concerning these analyses have already been discussed above (also cf. Muhly in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 119-20), but if these results are accepted, it seems that in south-central Crete there was a sizeable decrease in the proportion of Cypriot copper in the Protopalatial period, possibly due to reduced availability of Cypriot copper coupled with sustained use of the main Cyclades and Lavrion sources of this raw material (Stos-Gale 2001, 201). However, aside from the Mesara, the continuing use, albeit limited, of Cypriot copper in Protopalatial Crete is confirmed by the Lead Isotope analysis of copper-based artifacts from a "workshop" in Quarter My at Malia. This suggests that in the later phase of the Interaction Period 1, in addition to Knossos, another palatial site on the north coast

30 Merrillees 1974, 5; Åström, 1988, 76, 78 fn. 8 *bis*; Graziadio 2005a, 330 fn. 64; Marketou 2009a, 53.

became involved in this trade, despite the fact that the samples made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores (spearheads and tools) from Malia are admittedly relatively few, 4 or 5 out of 19 copper-based artifacts (Poursat-Loubet 2005, 118-20, pl. 15a; also cf. Knapp 2008, 356; Muhly in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 119-21).

3.7 The Evidence for Contacts in Interaction Period 1, Later Phase: The Cypriot Perspective

Despite the Aegean links with Cyprus suggested by "examples of carinated cups in Red-on-Black and plain Wheelmade ware carinated cups" (Marketou 2009a, 53 with refs), the only ceramic evidence for Minoan contacts in the Interaction Period 1, Later Phase is provided from the famous Kamares cup found at Karmi *Palealona* Tomb 11B, an intact, single tomb named the "Seafarer's Tomb" by J. Stewart (1962b). There is, of course, a general consensus that this small cup belongs to the Protopalatial period, but scholars have suggested chronologies ranging from MM IB to MM IIA, and even a MM IIB chronology has been suggested.[31] Moreover, on account of its unusual shape and decoration, various palatial centers (Knossos, Phaistos or Malia) were identified as possible places of origin for this cup.[32] Close parallels for its shape are found in the northeast area of Crete, in particular in MM IIB cups found in the sealed destruction stratum of the hieroglyphic deposit in Petras Palace near Siteia (Tsipopoulou 2003, fig. 7; Caloi 2009, 52 and fns 79-81; Graziadio 2013, 169). However, the peculiar decoration of the Karmi cup, with a row of white dots with superimposed red line, is best paralleled at Knossos.[33] If one were to accept the parallels with the shape of the MM IIB cups from Petras, in addition to the bowl found at Phatsi Droggara in the Siteia district, the Karmi cup might be indicative of occasional contacts between Cyprus and northeast Crete in the later phase of Interaction Period 1. The peculiar decoration is, however, very similar to MM IB or MM IIA vases from Knossos and may suggest an earlier

31 Stewart 1962b; Åström 1979, 59, with earlier refs; Manning 1995, 109; Niemeier 1998, 36; Merrillees 2003, 341; Sørensen 2008,173-4 no. 2; Caloi 2009, 51-2; Webb et al. 2009, 155, 252 fig. 4: 45; Graziadio 2013, 168, with refs.

32 Knossian origin: Catling, MacGillivray 1983; Cadogan 1994, 65 fn. 40. Phaestian origin: Levi, Carinci 1988, 212-13, 306; Van de Moortel 2006b, 631. Mallian origin: Walberg 1992, 387-8, fig. 2. Also cf. Webb et al. 2009, 252 with refs, for various opinions on Minoan trade as suggested by the Minoan cup from Karmi.

33 MacGillivray (1998, 59) attributes this style of decoration to MM IB with a possible continuation into MM IIA. MacDonald and Knappett (2007, 60 no. 68, fig. 3.1: 68) have also published a Knossian MMIB goblet with this decoration. It is also important to recall MacGillivray's statement concerning the Karmi cup which "would best fit [...] in either MM IB or MM IIA and is unlikely to be later or earlier".

chronology than MM IIB, which suits more appropriately the general chronological scheme of Cypro-Aegean contacts in this period. On the contrary, a sherd from Tomb 101 at Kourion, previously regarded as coming from a Kamares vessel, is to be disregarded (Fordyke 1911, 111; 1925, 94, A 568 fig. 116; Lambrou-Philippson 1990, 87, 90 fn. 40), since it has been properly identified as a Base Ring example of LC II (Caloi 2009, 53, with refs).

Such meager evidence for pottery exchange in the Middle Bronze Age may however be counterbalanced by the results of the Lead Isotope analysis of 89 MC artifacts from Lapithos, which, according to Stos-Gale (1990), surprisingly show that 15 samples were potentially made of Aegean copper.[34] Webb (2018, 12) indeed noted that most of the analyzed Lapithos artifacts are of Cypriot type, if not strictly of local production, possibly indicating that in north Cyprus, Aegean copper was used along with copper from local ores, as also seems apparent in the previous period (see § 3.4.2).

34 Webb 2018, 11-12, fig. 12, with refs. For earlier Lead Isotope analysis results, cf. Stos-Gale 2000, 66 fig. 3.6, where only three MC artifacts are said to be made of copper from Lavrion.

4 Interaction Period 2: Contacts Between the Aegean and Cyprus from the End of Middle Bronze Age to the Early Late Bronze Age

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4.1 Cypro-Aegean Synchronisms in Interaction Period 2

As presented in chapter 2, Interaction Period 2 covers nearly all the Neopalatial period (MM III, final/LM IA-LM IB) on Crete and the MH III-LH IIA period on the Greek mainland, while on Cyprus it corresponds to the period designated here as the Urban Period I (MC III/LC I and LC I) **[tab. 2.3]**. Based primarily on the absolute chronology of the single phases, the chapter 3 discussion on Interaction Period 1 suggested that the Minoan Protopalatial period (MMIB-MMIIB) was contemporaneous with the MC I-MC III (earlier part). Based on these synchronisms, and if we accept K. Eriksson's view (2007, 12, tab. 1A, 45, 173-6) that the later part of LC IA1 and most of LC IA2 overlap with LM IA (and LH I) while LC IB corresponds to LM IB/LH

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II,[1] then the beginning of the final part of MC III through the end of LC IB may temporally correspond with the Neopalatial period (MM III-LM IB). If this is the case, it would mean that the earlier part of LC IA1 should be partially contemporaneous with MM III, i.e. the earliest part of the Neopalatial period, although MM III is uneven throughout Crete (Cadogan 2013; Platon, Gerontakou 2013). On the other hand, in Papadimitriou's Stage 2, the MC III/LC IA1-LC IB [*earlier part?*] period was equated with the MM III/LM I-LM IB/LH IIA period (Papadimitriou 2015, 424, tab. 1; also cf. Papadimitriou, Kriga 2013, 10 fig. 2.1), while in a most recent paper he distinguishes a Phase A, i.e. the period of the Minoan dominance, and equated the MMIB-LH/LM IIIA1 period with MC-LC IIA (2022, 180, tab. 1). While, from a Cypriot perspective, Eriksson's (2008, 299, tab. 1; 2009b, 122) Historical Periods 1 and 2 refer to the links between Cyprus and the Aegean during the LC IA1 and LC IA2 periods, respectively. Turning to the Greek mainland, the late MH III period overlaps with the early LM IA period, at least in the northeast Peloponnese (Graziadio 1988, 360-1, 369, 372, Late Phase I of Circle B; Dietz 1989, table on page 129); in Cypriot terms, this means that the LH I period begins in the later part of LC IA1. In summary, there is a correspondence between the Neopalatial period on Crete (MM III-LM IB) and the Shaft Grave period in the Argolid (MH III-LH IIA), while the Urban Period I on Cyprus lasts from the MC III/LCI transition to the end of LC I.

4.2 The Historical Background of Cypro-Aegean Connections in Interaction Period 2

4.2.1 The Aegean

A *communis opinio* is that after the first flowering of Minoan culture in the Protopalatial period, the apex of Minoan civilization was reached in the Neopalatial period, which is characterized by magnificent palaces, the so-called villas located in small villages and larger towns, and the establishment of urban centers, as well as by the flourishing of art and refined handicrafts. Needless to say, the cultural developments of this period have so many facets that any attempt to discuss them briefly is ineffective. For this chapter, however, emphasis can be put on Minoan connectivity, and the scenario briefly outlined below attempts to frame the Minoan and, more generally, the Aegean contacts with Cyprus.

1 Note, however, that A.H. Sørensen (2012a, 188-9) suggested that LM IA pottery arrived on Cyprus already in the early LC IA1 based on the LM IA sherds found at Maroni *Vournes* and in Tomb III, Niche, although both are from secondary contexts.

On Crete, Knossos played a primary role, not only in the internal exchange of goods, but also in the distribution of prestige objects throughout the island (Watrous 1992, 169-72; Rehak, Younger 2001, 420-1). However, in the Neopalatial period the focus of archaeologists over the last forty years has been on the long-standing question of the so-called "Minoan Thalassocracy" (Hägg, Marinatos 1984; also cf. Wiener 2020, 283-6, with refs; cf. however Knapp 1993). Over time, extensive work has been conducted on the process of Minoanization in the Aegean. The results, which have been presented in multiple workshops and conferences, have emphasized the profound influence of the Minoan lifestyle and material culture on the development of pre-existing local cultures in several Aegean regions.[2] Different degrees of 'Minoanization' have been distinguished. The strongest cases for external settlement of Minoans in the Neopalatial period are apparent at Kythera and at Miletus. As a consequence of pervasive evidence of Minoanizing traits throughout the site, for a long time Kastri on Kythera has been considered a Cretan settlement colony.[3] However, some changes are now necessary on the interpretation of the Minoan presence on the island, because C. Broodbank and E. Kiriatzi (2007) reinterpreted the data and concluded that Minoans are not to be seen as invaders, but rather "friendly newcomers" who coexisted peacefully with the pre-existing population. Miletus IV also was a very Minoanized settlement, as clearly indicated by a religious shrine of Minoan character with fragments of frescoes in the Cretan idiom, a carbonized wooden throne, and ritual vessels (Niemeier, Niemeier 1999). Equally important from this point of view, ca 95% of the pottery from the site, including overwhelming percentages of plain domestic pottery, as well as of fine and semi-coarse Cretan imports, are of Minoan character and indicate that the entirety of local pottery production was under the control of Minoan potters (Kaiser 2009). Many other Minoan features of daily life are to be added to this evidence. Loom weights were of Cretan type, as were weight systems, seals, stone vessels, and Linear A inscriptions (Raymond et al. 2016, 60-1, tabs 4.1-4.4, 62, tab. 4.5).

As a consequence of the increasing infiltration into local culture of Cretan ideas and tradition, in the Cycladic islands many aspects of the local lifestyle became 'Minoanized' at this time. Some structures, especially House A at Ay. Irini on Keos, Xeste 3 at Akrotiri on Thera, and two rooms and a large mansion at Phylakopi on Melos, show several interesting Minoan features in architecture and

2 Broodbank 2004; Davis, Gorogianni 2008; Macdonald, Hallager, Niemeier 2009; Niemeier 2009; Gorogianni, Pavúk, Girella 2016; Wiener 2020, 284-6.

3 Coldstream, Huxley 1972; 1984; also Niemeier 2009, 15 with earlier refs; Georgiadis 2012, with earlier refs for the peak sanctuaries at Ay. Georgios sto Vouno and at Leska.

decoration,[4] while Minoan influence can be seen in local pottery (Nikolakopoulou 2013; 2023). Signs of Minoanization are also apparent elsewhere on the islands, for example at Ios and Naxos, where, at the latter, a pithos with a Linear A inscription was produced for export to Knossos (Vlachopoulos 2016, 120-1, with refs). However, there are clear differences in the process of "Minoanization" between the extensive Cycladic towns and the highly "Minoanized" sites of Kastri on Kythera or Miletus. While the cultural base of the central Aegean islands remained distinctly Cycladic, despite the blending of Cretan and local elements, on the Cretan side a considerable amount of Cycladic pottery was imported into East Crete and Kommos and of Kytheran pottery to Chania (Fouriki 2021).

For the following discussion, it is also important to focus particular attention on some sites in the Eastern Aegean. As outlined above, in coastal Anatolia, Miletus was the most important settlement in terms of Minoan connections, but many other sites show clear Minoan elements, although in some cases the extent of Minoan presence remains unclear. As recently suggested (Girella, Pavúk 2016, 23), there was a "dynamically interactive relationship" between the Northeastern Aegean and Crete from the Protopalatial period to MM III-LM IA which appears, *inter alia*, in the discovery of Minoan sealings at Samothrace (Girella, Pavúk 2016, 18-23, with refs, Contact and Hybrid Stages; Pieniążiek et al. 2018, 379-80 with refs). However, a more intense and widespread interaction with Crete is apparent in the southernmost regions. Building F at Iasos has been considered a structure reminiscent of Neopalatial constructions; while evidence of 'Minoanizing' processes have also been found at Tavsan Adasi, Teichioussa, Çeşme, Bademgedigi Tepe (for relative references cf. various articles in Macdonald et al. 2009; Niemeier 2009, 11-12, 17 fn. 103 with refs; also cf. Davis, Gorogianni 2008, 394). As a consequence, it is entirely plausible that some Anatolian artifacts were distributed in the Aegean through some of the coastal Minoan stations, especially Miletus (Cline 1991; Betancourt 2008, 217).

Turning to the Dodecanesian islands facing the Anatolian coast, the evidence for the process of 'Minoanization' is generally strong. While at Tilos a deposit of conical cups was found (Sampson 1980) and some buildings with Minoanising pottery of the Proto and Neopalatial periods were excavated at Fourni on Karpathos (Melas 2009), the new soundings at the Heraion of Samos have revealed Minoan features in Late Bronze I levels with traces of cultic activity (Niemeier 2009, 11-12 with refs; Kouka 2019, 14, LM IA pottery at the Heraion of Samos). The LM IA and LM IB vases from the Daskalio Cave (Vathy) on

4 Davis 2008; Davis, Gorogianni 2008, 381-3; Abell 2016; 2021; 2023; Fitzsmons, Gorogianni 2017.

Kalymnos, including ceremonial examples imported from East Crete (Benzi 2020, 57, 88), are few, but the bulk of ceramic LBA finds (local Light-on-Dark and Dark-on-Light East Aegean pottery, plain local wares, loom-weights, tripod cooking pots, and fireboxes) show clear Minoanising features (Benzi 2011; 2020, 56-64, 88-92). The 'Minoanization' process may appear more substantial here if we accept M. Benzi's statement that all the Kalymnos finds attest to the adoption of Minoan religious beliefs and cult practices, as also suggested by the evidence from Miletus and Trianda on Rhodes.[5] At the Serraglio on Kos, there is scarce evidence of Minoan imports in the LB IA Early period (= LM IA Early-Advanced), but local pottery of this period shows both shapes of local tradition and Minoan decorative elements (Vitale 2016a, 77). In the following LB IA Mature (= LM IA final) period the quantity of Minoan imports increased, while a clear mixture between local ceramic traditions and Minoan features appears in the local Light-on-Dark and Dark-on-Light pottery, and Cretan influence on the local lifestyle, although decreasing in LM IB, is also confirmed by Minoan-type utilitarian and cooking pottery, as well as discoid loom-weights (80-2).

The most definite evidence for the process of 'Minoanization' in the Dodecanese is however provided by the long-standing excavations at Trianda on Rhodes, which was one of the most important centers in the Aegean during the period corresponding to LM IA. As at Akrotiri, the settlement of Trianda I, which also correlates with MM III/early LM IA, ended with an earthquake in the early phase of LB IA, but the rebuilt town (Trianda II), belonging to a mature phase of this period, shows a high level of 'Minoanization' with houses of Minoan appearance with polythyra, stucco floors, and wall paintings, as well as a deeply Minoanized material culture (Marketou 2010, 780, tab. 58.1). The Minoan influence is also apparent from the adoption of Minoan religious beliefs in this settlement. Meanwhile Mount Philerimos, also on Rhodes, was possibly a cult place from the Middle to Late Bronze Age I periods (Marketou 2009b, 73-6, 88-9; 2010, 781-2; Benzi 2011, 20-1). Nevertheless, while Minoanizing features were clearly adopted by the local elite, it is important to note that T. Marketou (1998a, 63-5) has repeatedly stated that Trianda can neither be regarded as a Minoan settlement colony nor a governed colony, since the local nature of the material culture is very strong and there is nothing to prove that a Minoan administration system was in place. After another earthquake connected to the Thera eruption, the town was reconstructed in LB IB (corresponding to LM IB/LH IIA), but the occupied area was smaller than in the earlier period. However, in this phase the settlement became a cosmopolitan community participating in

5 Benzi 1993, 275-81; 2011; 2020, 91; Marketou 2009b, 77.

the network of contacts between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean and interacting with Cyprus more closely than in the LB IA (Marketou 2009a, 48-9; 2010, 785, with refs; also see § 4.3.1.3).

In 1997, J. Driessen and C. Macdonald published a detailed study on Crete before and after the Santorini eruption and, more recently, M. Wiener (2020, 299-301, 304-5) discussed the impact of the Theran eruption on LM IB Crete and the increasing role of mainland Greece within and outside the Aegean in LH IIA. Wiener has pointed out the strong links between Knossos and Chania, Kythera, Messenia, Laconia, and Mycenae in this period. He has also noted, however, some changes in the Aegean trade network due to an increase in the Mycenaean role in Cycladic and trans-Cycladic exchange activities during LH IIA, which occurred at the expense of the previous Minoan predominance that was likely reduced as a result of impacts of the Theran eruption on the Aegean.

With respect to the Helladic mainland, it is well-known that in the period corresponding to the apex of Minoan civilization, the power of Mycenae increased greatly as illustrated by the rich finds from the Shaft Graves. Therefore, not many details are needed here on the social and cultural developments revealed by such extraordinary contexts. A very important role was played by Aegina in intra-Aegean trade and exchange throughout the MH and on into LH I period (Rutter 2001, 125-30, with refs and 127, fig. 12) and in the early LH period wealthy social groups and local rulers also emerged elsewhere in southern and central Greece, and in addition to the Argolid, other regions, especially Messenia, Laconia, Attica, and Boeotia, were becoming core areas for the developing Mycenaean civilization (Wiener 2020, 286-97). At Pylos, for example, it is worth mentioning the extensive Minoan influence on Pylian settlement architecture (Nelson 2017) and on Mycenaean wall painting from LH I onwards (Egan 2021); most luxury imported goods were also put in earlier tombs dating to the MH III-LH IIA period (Murphy et al. 2020, 34 fig. 2.4) and the recently found Tomb of the Griffin Warrior, with the extraordinary array of precious objects associated with a single male burial, is a highly visible expression of this process (Davis, Stocker 2016; 2017; 2018). In this context, an important role was played in the process of social stratification by direct and/or indirect contacts with the Cretan world, and it is clear that the assimilation of Minoan arts and crafts in these regions was an effect of the predominance of Minoan culture and lifestyle throughout the Aegean (Papadimitriou, Kriga 2013, 13-14, with refs). Among the status indicators used by local elites to consolidate power over their communities, Minoan imports and Minoanizing artifacts appear to be of particular importance, to an extent that O.T.P.K. Dickinson (1977, 108; 1996, 70) appropriately suggested a "special relationship" between Crete and the northeastern Peloponnesian and Messenian principalities (also cf. Wiener

2020, 293-7). Several finds from the shaft graves at Mycenae directly link the rising Mycenaean capital city to Knossos (Wright 2008, 251), and in tombs at Pylos, the Early Mycenaean burials reveal such close connections with Crete, especially in architecture, burial practices, and Minoan pottery, that "interpretation of the evidence is in no case unambiguous" (Murphy et al. 2020, 31-2, 39). Despite the Minoan connections, J. Wright (2008, 252) however noted that the emerging leaders of mainland Greece adapted many Minoan elements, including the religious ones, for their own use. In this network of contacts between the Greek mainland and Crete it seems that in the early LBA a nearly one-way role was played by the Minoans. Leaving aside the evidence outlined above, in this situation the appearance of Mycenaean pottery in the Peloponnese might prove significant. In fact, the LH I lustrous dark-on-light pottery, which drew inspiration from Minoan pottery, probably developed in Laconia, where 'Minoanizing' features are documented in the pottery at Ay. Stephanos, as well as elsewhere in the region (Hachtmann, Voutsaki 2022), including a MM III-LM I shipwreck found near Koulenti Cape (Spondylis 2012). On the other hand, it has been argued that there is no evidence to support a considerable Helladic influence on Crete in LH IIA (Wright 2008, 252), although there are signs on Crete that the mainland was playing a greater role in Mainland-Minoan exchanges in this period than during the LH I (Galaty, Rutter 2022).

While Minoan Crete played the most dynamic role in eastward connections between the Greek mainland and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Early Mycenaean period, some regions of Mycenaean Greece were also active in LH IIA after the Theran eruption (Wiener 2020, 299-301). Moreover, the Helladic mainland was also becoming part of a complex network of westward contacts involving the Central Mediterranean, especially Apulia, Sicily, the Aeolian islands (mainly Lipari and Filicudi), and the Phlaegrean islands in the Gulf of Naples (Vagnetti et al. 2014, with full refs; Van Wijngarden 2016, 351-3; Iacono 2020, 97-100 with refs). This clearly is the prelude to the development of Mycenaean trade throughout the Mediterranean in the following centuries when Minoan cultural and commercial hegemony ceased as a consequence of the political changes in the Aegean (Van Wijngaarden 2007, 457-62).

As far as Minoan trade with Egypt and the Levant is concerned, Sørensen (2009a, 269-71; 2009b, 25-6, Catalogue of MM-LM I objects on pages 35-46) noted a few Minoan objects in the Levant that may be dated to the MM III-LM I period on contextual grounds, and only ten Syro-Palestinian objects from contemporary Cretan contexts were counted by E. Cline (1999, 117, tab. 1). However, perishable goods, which do not leave any trace in the archaeological record (Knapp 1991), were no doubt traded in the Eastern Mediterranean, and valuable raw material, such as ivory, cornelian, and lapis lazuli, were

imported from the Levant and Egypt (Betancourt 2008a, 219). The impression of a limited volume and intensity of exchange in comparison with the Cretan trade within the Aegean remains (Betancourt 2008a, 218; Papadimitriou, Kriga 2013, 11). However, the evidence for contacts in the Levantine record includes a larger repertoire of Minoan objects in this period than during the Old Palace period (Sørensen 2012b, 706), with stone vases, precious objects such as fine pottery (especially including fine cups), metal vessels, and elaborated weapons interpreted as part of royal gift exchange (Sørensen 2009b, 17-24, 21 fig. 5; 2012b).

On the other hand, archaeological evidence for contacts between Crete and Egypt also increases in the Neopalatial period, especially in LM IB, and Egyptian objects markedly outnumber all the other Orientalia found on Crete, including Cypriot imports (Phillips 2008, 230-5). This could indicate that "Egyptian objects may have been more highly prized on Crete during this period than were other types of imports" and "Crete may have been the primary destination for the Egyptian imports arriving in the Aegean during this period" (Cline 1999, 117, tab. 1, 118). In Egypt, written records of the Eighteenth Dynasty (124-5, with refs), as well as the tribute bearers with Aegean characteristics represented in the Theban tombs, clearly attest to a certain familiarity with Aegean population groups (Wachsmann 1987; Panagiotopoulos 2001; Matić 2019) despite the scant evidence for Neopalatial imports (Cline 1999, 123; Rutter 2006b, 647-9). However, based on a few written texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty, some Cretan products, such as spices, medicine, oils, and perfumes, were exported to Egypt, and an Egyptian provenance is similarly very likely for some of the above mentioned exotic raw materials used on Crete in this period.

Finally, the wall paintings from Alalakh (Niemeier, Niemeier 1998; Niemeier 1991), Qatna (Pfälzner 2013, with refs), and Tell el Dabʿa (Bietak 2000; Bietak, Marinatos 1995), and the painted plaster floor at Tel Kabri (Niemeier 1991) must be regarded in this context as very important evidence of Cretan relations with Syria-Palestine and Egypt. Leaving aside all the various interpretations, these decorative elements clearly confirm a growing impact of Minoan cultural influence, a sort of 'Versailles effect', outside the Aegean.

4.2.2 Cyprus

Following the abandonment of important sites in the MC III phase if not earlier (Webb, Knapp 2020), the transition from the Middle to Late Bronze Age on Cyprus has been considered a period of social upheaval, characterized by diffuse destruction horizons, the appearance of fortresses in various regions of the island, and the apparent

occurrence of mass burials (for discussion, cf. Keswani 1996, 219; Steel 2004a, 152-6; 2014, 580). In contrast, it has been stated that the construction of the fortresses was connected to the emergence of social elites and reflected the beginning of state formation on the island (Peltenburg 1996, 29-34), despite different views on the process of these transformations (Knapp 2013a, 432-47). At any rate, in this transitional period a few higher status warrior burials are recognizable in the northeast foothills of the Troodos Mountains, where copper resources are located, while at Enkomi and Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* social and economic elites were emerging. In the time corresponding to Interaction Period 2, the distinct appearance of striking changes in the Cypriot archaeological record led B. Knapp (2013a, 348-9), in his review of Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus, to refer to six different categories of new cultural elements: urban centers, social distinctions in funerary contexts, the emergence of the Cypro-Minoan script, the production for export of copper, developments in both internal and foreign trade, and the rise in fortifications and novel forms of military equipment. In LC IA there was indeed a dramatic change in the settlement pattern with the appearance of new centers, which can be considered the earliest proper Cypriot towns with defined urban characteristics. In addition to the prominent towns excavated in the past, such as Enkomi and Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, at Hala Sultan Tekke the ongoing Swedish excavations of new quarters in the northern part of the town near the site previously excavated by Åström confirm that these areas were occupied as early as the MC III-LC I period. The new finds show that this prosperous center established close connections with the Aegean and other East Mediterranean regions in a period antedating the occupation of the previously excavated town quarters (Fischer, Bürge 2017a). New settlements were founded in the north area of the island (Webb 2022, 27) as well as in the Maroni plain near the sea (Cadogan 2018, 110-11), and an urban environment that pre-dated the LC II monumental structures has also been found in the Maroni area (Manning et al. 2014, 21, 22; also see § 2.2). A nucleation process occurred in the west of the island where, during MCIII-LC IA, Palaepaphos was founded and gradually emerged as an urban-oriented center (Crewe, Georgiou 2018). In the new towns the earliest phase of urbanization was marked by the appearance of wide areas reserved for specialized working activities. This is particularly apparent in the monumental (ca 600 m^2) Area III Building (the so-called Fortress) at Enkomi, specifically in Room 101 in Level 1A and in Rooms 103, 105, 106, and 108 in Level 1B, all of which were used for copper working (Crewe 2007b, 76-7). This large building was erected in the transitional period MC III/LC I, attesting to uninterrupted metallurgical activities throughout the LBA, and its changes followed all the stages of town development (Knapp 2013c, 115 with refs). In view of the

evidence for the key role of Enkomi in metallurgy and export of copper already in LC I, it is clearly not by chance that the first use of Cypro-Minoan script was found in this context of intense metallurgical production (Kassianidou in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 128, with refs; Knapp 2015, 21). The increasing social complexity at Enkomi is also confirmed by the contents of the tombs of this period and by its prominent role in glyptic production throughout the LBA under Oriental influence (Webb 2002, 139-40).

The organization of pottery production in the "Potters' Quarter" at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* provides additional evidence for specialized activities in the new urban centers (Vermeule, Wolsky 1990), but in the LC I period other sites, such as Maroni *Tsaroukkas* and Politiko *Phorades*, also show traces, although in non-urban contexts, of specialized activities, such as an involvement in maritime activities (Manning et al. 2002).[6] Evidence for metalworking and commercial activity has also been recently emphasized at Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* in LC I (Webb 2022, 28-30). In addition to the monumental building in Area III at Enkomi, the development in metallurgical activities in this period is indeed apparent from the workshop identified at Politiko *Phorades*, where small-scale seasonal primary smelting activity of copper occurred, likely representative of similar activities conducted in many other small sites located in mining areas in the foothills of the Troodos mountains (Knapp, Kassianidou 2008; Knapp 2013a, 409-11; Kassianidou 2013a, 133-4 with refs). In this area, many fragments of cylindrical furnaces, tuyères, and slags of a characteristic plano-concave shape were found, suggesting that the early stages in refining of copper from metallic ores took place here, while the second stage in the process of producing ingots and finished products probably took place at the coastal sites such as Enkomi.

Changes in material culture are also notable. In ceramic production, the appearance of new classes of tableware is important, since they continued to be widely produced up to the end of LC II. It is also worth underlining the earliest definite development of the local production of prestige objects reminiscent of Levantine or Egyptian examples, such as cylinder seals and gold funerary ornaments, during this period, while raw materials for small ivory objects and painted ostrich-eggs were clearly still imported from the Levant or Egypt.

Intramural chamber tombs, which continue to be constructed throughout the Bronze Age, are not only another important novelty of this period, but the occurrence of balance weights and seals in

6 L. Crewe (2007b, 41-61, 62-3) considered separately the MC III-LC IIB settlements from the LC IIC -III "urban" centers, but it is worth noting that a further distinction was made among the coastal MC III-LC IIB settlements and the contemporary "specialized sites and inland settlements". The latter group also includes Politiko *Phorades* for copper smelting and Sanidha *Moutti tou Ayiou Serkou* for pottery manufacture.

the funerary assemblages testify to the emergence of a mercantile class. In other words, an increasingly complex society appeared on Cyprus in Interaction Period 2, characterized by an emerging elite whose identity was based on the display of luxury objects and foreign goods as markers of social status (Knapp 2015, 18-19). As underlined by several scholars, this process was likely due to elite control of the developing metallurgical activities and copper trade and, consequently, its access to prestige goods and foreign imports. The increasing use of tin in the production of bronze not only improved metal working, but its import from distant countries also strengthened the status of the ruling class (Kassianidou 2003, 111).

To conclude, it is also important to stress Cyprus' active participation in international maritime trade. At the very end of MC III and the beginning of LC IA, evidence for connectivity is provided by Levantine and Egyptian objects and foreign pottery (Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware, Syrian Black Burnished and Plain wares, and Canaanite Jars) imported to Enkomi and other Cypriot sites (Crewe 2007b, 15-16 with refs; Knapp 2013a, 418-19 with refs; Webb 2022, 27-8). On the other hand, hundreds of Cypriot vases found in the Levant and Egypt confirm the intense trade connections with the mainland regions of the Eastern Mediterranean, but, equally important, they attest to a market-oriented diversification of pottery produced on Cyprus for export according to the commercial demands of different markets (Papadimitriou 2015, 425-6 with refs). It should also be pointed out that the earliest oxhide copper ingots found abroad date back to Interaction Period 2, and that some of them, made of copper consistent with production from Cypriot ores, have been discovered on Crete (Kassianidou 2014). In short, it is worth recalling Knapp's statement succinctly summarizing the main characteristics of the period through considering how mobility and connectivities between Cyprus and overseas polities impacted internal developments:

> During the Late Cypriot I period on Cyprus, elite identity and ideology were closely linked to monumentality, mortuary ritual and the consumption of exotica. (Knapp 2015, 23)

4.3 Cypro-Aegean Connections in Interaction Period 2 from the Aegean Perspective

Compared to the previous phase, there is a substantial increase in the evidence of contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus in Interaction Period 2. Crete continued to play a prominent role in the trade network, with this period representing the apex of Cretan development also in terms of connectivity throughout the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. An analytical discussion of the many facets

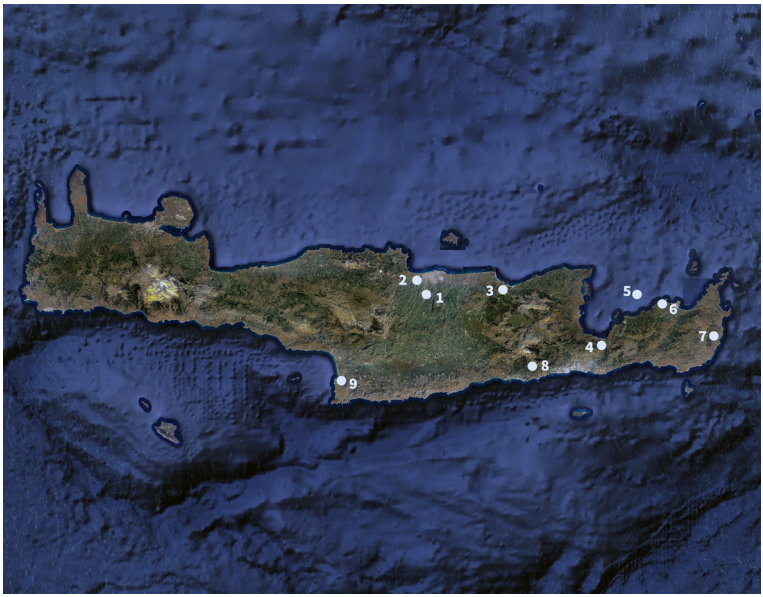


Figure 4.1 The Cretan sites of the Neopalatial Period where Cypriot imports (pottery and copper) have been found. 1: Knossos; 2: Poros-Katsambas; 3: Malia; 4: Gournia; 5: Pseira; 6: Mochlos; 7: Zakros; 8: Syme; 9: Kommos

of the archaeological record and the full range of the areas involved is, however, necessary.

4.3.1 Pottery

4.3.1.1 Cypriot Pottery Imported to Crete

When in 1994 E.H. Cline (1994, 64, tab. 37, fig. 12; also cf. Cline 1999, 117, tab. 1) listed the Cypriot objects found in secure Aegean contexts, all the imports from LM I-II contexts totaled 13 items, mostly represented by ceramic vessels, with a prevalence of examples (7) from LM IB contexts. However, the quantity of Cypriot imports identified was actually larger, when the Cypriot imports in the comprehensive catalogue "which have been found in contexts too broad for assignation to a specific period (i.e. LH/LM I-III)" (Cline 1994, 60) are also considered. On the other hand, N. Papadimitriou (2012, 116-17; 2015, 425 tab. 3) pointed out the rarity of Cypriot imports and counted less than 40 items in his discussion of the Cypriot pottery imported to the Aegean during his Stage 2 (MM III-LM IB/LH IIA), corresponding to Interaction Period 2.

The comprehensive pattern of distribution indicates that eight Cretan sites (Knossos, Poros-Katsambas, Malia, Zakros, Gournia, Mochlos, Pseira, and Kommos) took part in this trade network **[fig. 4.1]**, while only the last two sites yielded more than one imported vessel. In this period, the harbor town of Kommos began to achieve a prominent role in Cypro-Aegean interaction in terms of the number of Cypriot ceramic imports. Interestingly, the Cypriot pottery was not only scattered in the north central sector of Crete (at Knossos, Poros-Katsambas and Malia), but it also remarkably was found in the eastern part of the island (at Gournia, Mochlos, Pseira and Kato Zakros) in the same area that provided evidence for copper likely to have been imported from Cyprus. Most of the Cypriot vessels listed here were found during early excavations and their contexts are unclear, but on the offshore island of Pseira most of the Cypriot pottery was discovered in various dwellings, including the so-called "House of the Foreign Pottery", where an anomalous amount of non-Cretan vessels, including several Cypriot examples (nos 22-6), were found (Betancourt, Davaras 1995, 108-24). At Kommos only a White Painted IV juglet **[tab. 4.1 no. 1]** came from a house in the Central Hillside relatively far from the harbor, while most vessels were found in the Southern Area, within the so-called Neopalatial Civic Center, especially in association with the North and South Stoas of Building T (Rutter 2006b, 656; 2014, 212-15).

Table 4.1 Cypriot pottery imported to Crete during Interaction Period 2

No.	Site	Context	Description	Date	References
1	Kommos	House on the Hillside, Room CH51. (MM IIB-MM III)	White Painted IV-V Cross-Line juglet, C 6112, HM 48 A/65	MC III	Russell 1985, 42-50; Shaw 1998, 14 fn. 8; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 85, 231 no. 134 pl. 31; Catling 1991, 5 no. 2; Betancourt 1990, 181, 192 no. 1835, fig. 63; Caloi 2009, 48-9; Rutter 2014a, 215 no. 1.
2	Malia	Palace (MM III-LM IB)	Red-on-Black Ware, shallow hemispherical bowl	MC II-LC I, probably MC III	Cadogan 1972, 5 no. 1; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 77 no. 129; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 3; Cline 1994, 185 no. 444.
3	Zakros	Pits, Hogarth's excavations 1901 (MM III-LM IA)	White Painted IV or V Pendant Line Style jug	MC III-LC IA	Cadogan 1972, 5 no. 2; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 77 no. 128; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 258 no. 201, pl. 32; Cline 1994, 203 no. 615; Karageorghis et al. 2014, 293 no. 1.
4	Knossos	Front of the Palace and north façade of South House, 1908	White Slip I milk bowl	LC I Early (Cadogan 1972)	Popham 1963, 91-3, fig. 2, pl. 26: b; Cadogan 1972, 5 no. 3; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 143; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 86 no. 127, pl. 30; Cline 1994, 180 no. 403; Karageorghis in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 208-9 no. 2.
5	Poros-Katsambas	Psychogioudakis Plot	White Slip I milk bowl	LC I	Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2014, 269 no. 8.

No.	Site	Context	Description	Date	References
6	Kommos	Southern Area, Building T, northeast portion of North Stoa (LM IA Early=Knossian MM IIIB)	Fragmentary Cypriote jug (?) of Red Slip IV Ware, C 11744	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 399, 8/6, pl. 3: 28; 2014a, 216 no. 4.
7	Kommos	Southern Area, Trench 95A (LM IA Final)	Fragmentary Cypriote jug (?) of Red Slip IV Ware, C 10341	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 578, MI/Cy/4, pl. 3: 89; 2014a, 216 no. 5.
8	Kommos	Southern Area, Building T, Room 23 (LM IA Final)	Fragmentary jug or tankard of Red Slip IV or Proto Base Ring Ware, C 10766	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 418-19, 20/6, pl. 3: 33; 2014a, 217 no. 6.
9	Kommos	Southern Area, Building T, Room 22 (LM IA Final)	Jug or tankard of Red Slip IV or Proto Base Ring Ware, C 10777	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 424, 24/27, pl. 3: 37; 2014a, 217 no. 7.
10	Kommos	Southern Area, Building T, Room 22 (LM IA Final)	Jug of Red Slip IV or Proto Base Ring Ware, C 10778	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 424, 24/28, pl. 3: 37; 2014a, 217 no. 8.
11	Kommos	Southern Area, Building T, Room 22 (LM IA Final)	Jug of Red Slip IV or Proto Base Ring Ware, C 10779	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 424, 24/29, pl. 3: 37; 2014a, 217 no. 9.
12	Kommos	Southern Area, Trench 50A (LM IA Final)	Jug or tankard of Red Slip IV or Proto Base Ring Ware, C 11923	LC IA	Rutter 2014a, 218 no. 10.
13	Kommos	Southern Area, Building T, Space 43 (LM IA final)	Jug or tankard of Proto Base Ring or Base Ring I Ware, C 11215	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 430, 30/5, pl. 3: 39; 2014a, 213, 219 no. 14.
14	Kommos	Southern Area, Civic Buildings (LM IA Final)	White Slip Wheelmade I(?) Closed shape C 10260	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 578, MI/Cy/5, pl. 3: 89.
15	Kommos	Southern Area, Civic Buildings (LM IA Final)	Base Ring I cup or bowl C 10298	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 578, MI/Cy/3, pl. 3: 89.
16	Kommos	Southern Area, Building T, Space 16 (LM IB Early)	Jug or tankard of Red Slip IV or Proto Base Ring Ware, C 10754	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 448, 34/6, pl. 3: 40; 2014a, 218 no. 11.
17	Kommos	Southern Area, Building T, Sottoscala 5A (LM IB Early)	Jug or tankard of Red Slip IV or Proto Base Ring Ware, C 10833	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 461, 40/36, pl. 3: 46; 2014a, 218 no. 12.
18	Kommos	Southern Area, Building T, Sottoscala 5A (LM IB Early)	Jug or tankard of Red Slip IV or Proto Base Ring Ware, C 1178	LC IA	Rutter 2006a, 461, 40/37, pl. 3: 46; 2014a, 218 no. 13.
19	Kommos	Southern Area, Civic Buildings	Plain White large Jug C 11730	LC I	Rutter 1999, 169; 2006b, 655-6; 2014a, 213.

No.	Site	Context	Description	Date	References
20	Kommos	Southern Area, Building T, Sottoscala 5A (LM IB Early)	Fragmentary bottle of Red Lustrous Wheelmade, C 2753	LC IB-IIC	Watrous 1992, 156, pl. 51, fig. 70; Cline 1994, 214 no. 717; Rutter 2006a, 460-1, 40/35, pl. 3: 45; Tomlinson, Rutter, Hoffman 2010, table 2: C 2753 (unprovenienced); Rutter 2014a, 219, 15.
21	Gournia	House Bb, Room 7 (LM IB)	Spindle bottle of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware	LC I	Boyd-Hawes et al. 1908, 42, pl. VIII: 25, Cadogan 1972, 7 no. 23; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 149; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 225 no. 193, pl. 32; Cline 1994, 214 no. 718; Eriksson 2007, 118-19; Betancourt in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 64 no. 1.
22	Pseira	Building AF South, Room AF 3A/B (deposit from LM IA)	White Painted closed vessel (PS4473)	LC I	Floyd 2009, 50 no. AF 56, fig. 3, no. AF 56; Betancourt 2014, 276 no. 3.
23	Pseira	Building AC, Room AC 1 (deposit from LM IA)	Open vessel of White Painted or White Slip Ware (PS 3193)	LC I	Banou 1998a, 20 no. AC 60 pl. 10 no. AC 60; Karageorghis et al. 2014, 277 no. 6.
24-7	Pseira	Building AD Center, Room AD 6 (The House of the Foreign Pottery) (LM IB)	White Slip closed vessel (PS no. 691); White Painted closed shape (PS 718); White Painted closed shape (PS 1159); White Painted closed shape (PS 1165)	LC I	Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 400; Mantzourani, Theodorou 1991, 55 no. 16; Betancourt, Banou 1991, 108, 110, pl. XXVII; Cline 1994, 219 nos 765-8; Banou 1995, 115 no. ADC 66, fig. 50, pl. 29E; Betancourt 2014, 278 nos 10-11.
28	Pseira	Building AD Center (The House of the Foreign Pottery) (LM IB)	Flask-type jar with legs Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware (PS 618)	LC I (?)	Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 400; Mantzourani, Theodorou 1991, 55 no. 16; Betancourt, Banou 1991, 108, 110, pl. XXVII; Cline 1994, 200 no. 594; Eriksson 2003, 414 table 1; Betancourt 2014, 276 no. 1.
29	Pseira	Building BY (the House of the Obsidian Worker, Room BY 1 (deposit from LM IB)	Closed vessel of Proto-White Slip or White Slip I? (PS 3027)	LC I	Floyd 1999, 215 no. BY 37, fig. 44 no. BY 37; Betancourt 2014, 27 no. 5.
30	Pseira	Plateia (Mixed EM to LM fill)	Closed vessel of White Painted Ware (PS 1547)	LC I	Betancourt 1999, 143 BR 17, fig. 16 no. BR 17; 2014, 276 no. 2.
31	Mochlos	LM IB	Flask similar in fabric to the the flask from Pseira no. 2	LC I (?)	Eriksson 2003, 414, table 1.

The Cypriot pottery imported to Crete in Interaction Period 2, listed here in table 4.1, includes 31 examples, which, despite their limited quantity, are important when compared with the limited number of vessels exchanged in Interaction Period 1. A variety in the ceramic wares is also notable. The earliest imports, dating to the end of MC or MC III/LC IA, are the White Painted IV or V (nos 1, 3) and Red-on-Black (no. 2) vessels which were respectively found at Kommos, Kato Zakros, and Malia. It is also important to note that they included

at least two examples likely imported from East Cyprus: 1) a White Painted Cross Line juglet from Kommos (no. 1), which has been compared with examples from Kalopsidha (Russell 1985, also cf. Shaw 1998, 14 fn. 8; Betancourt 1990, 181) and 2) the Red-on-Black bowl from Mallia (no. 2), provided that this ware was manufactured in Karpas (Crewe 2007b, 38, with refs). Although it is necessary to be cautious, other vessels such as the White Painted IV or V Pendant Line Style jug from Kato Zakros (no. 3) may have been of east Cypriot production (cf. Eriksson 2009a, 61 for the eastern diffusion of this style), while the provenance of a large Plain White Painted jug from Kommos (no. 19) and of the small sherds of White Painted vessels from Pseira (nos 22-7) is uncertain.[7] Red and/or White Slip is "primarily a MC ware but continued to be manufactured in large quantities in LC I in the form of Red/Black Slip IV and V" (Crewe 2007b, 33), and the LM IA find contexts of some Red Slip IV examples from Kommos (nos 6-7) confirm the LC I chronology, but their exact provenance is unknown since Red Slip ware occurred throughout Cyprus. The same is true of several other sherds from LM IA final and LM IB early contexts at Kommos (nos 8-18) that were categorized as Red Slip IV or Proto Base Ring, if not Base Ring I (no. 13). White Slip I ware is represented by a milk bowl from Knossos (no. 4), while a sherd from Pseira is from a closed vessel of Proto-White Slip or White Slip I ware (no. 29). The list of Cypriot imports also included two Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottles from Kommos (no. 20) and Gournia (no. 21) that deserve close consideration because this very fine pottery "is extremely rare in settlement contexts and was primarily a funerary or ritual ware" (Crewe 2007b, 36 with refs); in any case, according to recent research, the Cypriot origin of all the Red Lustrous Wheelmade Wares is uncertain (see § 5.3.1.3).[8] The same may be true of two flask-type jars from Pseira (no. 28) and Mochlos (no. 31) although some doubts have been raised on their fabric (Eriksson 1993, 26; 2003, 414, tab. 1).

If we consider the chronology of the find contexts, apart from the vessels from MM III and MM III/LM IA contexts (nos 1-3), all the Cypriot imports that can be safely dated come from more advanced and

7 In addition to these examples, a jug from Building X at Kommos was originally identified as a Cypriot tankard in White Painted Wheelmade I, but it was also said that this vase probably came "from a Levantine source if not from Cyprus itself" (Rutter 2017, 39, X3: 4/6). Another jug from the same building probably was "a contemporary companion piece" (Rutter 2017, 42, X3: 7/9, "perhaps of Levantine painted ware"). [These pieces were re-identified as "perhaps […] Levantine" on the basis of Vassos Karageorghis' refusal to accept them as Cypriot White Painted Wheelmade I.]

8 The Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis of the spindle bottle from Kommos (no. 20) did not confirm its Cypriot origin (Tomlinson et al. 2010, 218) but, as noted by Knapp (2013a, 422 with refs) "the area around Kazaphani in Northern Cyprus remains the most likely source, even if southern Anatolia cannot be ruled out".

later Neopalatial contexts. In fact, while some examples (nos 7-15) were found in contexts of the LM IA Final period, even more vessels (10 out of 29) can be assigned to LM IB contexts, possibly suggesting an increase in pottery imports from the beginning of Interaction Period 2.

4.3.1.2 Cypriot Pottery Imported to the Cyclades and the Greek Mainland

Two White Slip I milk bowls from Thera and Melos are the only LC I ceramic imports to the Cyclades. The example from Thera was found in 1870 under the eruption deposits and cannot safely be connected with the LBA site at Akrotiri, although coming from the same area.[9] The chronology of this bowl, while of utmost importance to the question of Aegean absolute chronology, is very controversial, ranging from early LC IA (Manning 1999, 150-8; 2001, 83; cf. Eriksson 2001b, 61; 2007a, 81-9, 102-3) to LC IIA2 (Warren 2009, 185; also cf. Merrillees 2009, 248, Transitional LC IA/LC IB). Six sherds from a mixed layer at Phylakopi belonged to the other White Slip bowl.[10] Based on its similarity to examples from Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia*, it may have been produced in the western part of Cyprus (Eriksson 2001a, 61; Merrillees 2001, 98-9).[11]

Turning to mainland Greece, a White Painted VI jug, purchased in 1908 and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Oxford, was said to be from the "Museum Hill" at Athens.[12] At the Athenian Acropolis, some sherds, found in 1897 and alleged to be from White Slip I vessels, may actually be attributed to the later White Slip II pottery (Graziadio 2005a, 329 fn. 51 with refs). Some additional Cypriot pottery has recently been reported from the rich, elite tombs excavated around the Mycenaean palace at Pylos. In Vayenas (Grave Circle) a Cypriot Base Ring gray ware vessel and fragments from two Cypriot juglets (Murphy 2021, 220, PT.V.C.0007, PT.V.C.0039, PT.V.C.0057 respectively; also cf. Murphy et al. 2020, 34) were found. They were attributed to a period corresponding to LH II based on their proximity to LH II vessels, but it is impossible to state whether they belong to LH IIA,

9 Fouqué 1879, pl. 42 no. 6; Cadogan 1972, 5 no. 4; Cline 1994, 186 no. 455, with full refs; Manning 1999, 151 fig. 31; Fantuzzi 2024, 10; Eriksson 2024, 143-4, fig. 7.3.

10 Hogarth et al. 1904, 158-9, fig. 148; Cadogan 1972, 6 no. 5; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 140; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 384 no. 564, pl. 39; Catling 1991, 5 no. 12; Cline 1994, 186 no. 454; Eriksson 2007a, 103.

11 A Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle was also said to be from Phylakopi (Cadogan 1972, 7 fn. 2; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 150), but Cline (1994, 256 no. 1108) states that "it is not certain that this actually exists".

12 Lamb 1936, 13, pl. 484.4, SV.4; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 147; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 281-2 no. 261; Cline 1994, 255 no. 1098.

i.e. Interaction Period 2, or to LH IIB, i.e. the beginning of Interaction Period 3. Similarly, there is uncertainty over the attribution of the Cypriot pottery found in Tholos III to a specific Interaction Period. At least three Cypriot vessels were found in this burial context including a White Slip milk bowl and a spouted cup/bowl (Murphy 2021, 221, PT.T-3.C.0362, PT.T-3.C.0243 respectively). LH IIA was the first period of use of the tomb but most of the burial offerings can generically be dated to LH I-II.[13]

4.3.1.3 The 'Dodecanesian Connection' in Interaction Period 2

The largest group of Cypriot pottery found in the East Aegean comes from Troy, where 62 Cypriot vessels have been reported,[14] but no LC I pottery has been found. The quantity of Cypriot imports substantially increases in the later phases, especially in LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB (Pieniążiek et al. 2018, 386), and, according to some scholars, their absence in the north and central Aegean before these periods "means that the connections crossed the line to the north later in the Late Cypriot II period" (386-7, fig. 13). Therefore, the earliest Cypriot pottery found in western Anatolia is a Proto White Slip sherd from Miletus (Niemeier, Niemeier 1997, 234, 235 fig. 66; also cf. Todd 2001, 207), but this find must be connected to the southeast Aegean trade network in Interaction Period 2 (Pieniążiek et al. 2018, 386). In the southeast Aegean, LC I pottery included a Base Ring I juglet from Tilos (Papadimitriou 2012, 117 with refs).

The main evidence for close Cypriot connections with the Aegean in Interaction Period 2, however, is provided by the old and new excavations on Rhodes, even though some MC and LC vases at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford alleged to be from this island are actually of uncertain provenance.[15] As a matter of fact, three White Slip I bowls were found in LM IA and LM IA-B contexts at Trianda during the 1935/1936 excavations conducted by G. Monaco.[16] In the area of the Moschou Vounara cemetery, another White Slip bowl fragment was collected on the surface by H. Catling in 1953,[17] but since

13 For a further discussion on these Cypriot finds from Pylos also see § 5.3.1.

14 Åström 1980; Kozal 2003, 69; 2016, 55; Pieniążiek et al. 2018, 384-7.

15 Lambrou-Phillipson 1980, 388 no. 577; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 77 no. 127; Åström 1988, 76, 78 fn. 8*bis*; Graziadio 2005a, 330 fn. 64; Marketou 2009a, 53.

16 Monaco 1941, 58 fig. 8: 1, 2, 59 fig. 9.14, 94 fig. 41: 12, 95 no. 19; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 nos 138-9; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 393-4 nos 595-7, pl. 39; Catling 1991, 4-5 nos 5-6; Cline 1994, 186 nos 458-60; Graziadio 2005a, 330 fn. 64; Marketou 2009a, 48.

17 Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 143; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 388-9 no. 589; Catling 1991, 1-7 no. 7, fig. 1; Cline 1994, 186 no. 456.

it may date to LB III, it is considered contemporary to other Cypriot finds from the Ialysos tombs (Benzi 2009, 50). Other LC I vessels of different wares, recovered in recent excavations at Trianda carried out by Marketou, substantially enrich the corpus of Cypriot imports of this period (Marketou 1998b, 31 fn. 30, 32 fn. 35; Karageorghis, Marketou 2006). They include not only other fragmentary White Slip bowls and two Base Ring I jugs (Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 459 nos 1-4, fig. 1, pl. 1, White Slip, 6-7, fig. II, pl. 2, Base Ring), but also a rare example of a Base Ring spindle bottle found along with a Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle of possible Cypriot origin (Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 459-60 nos 8-9, fig. II, pl. 2; for the origin of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware, see § 5.3.1.2) and a White Slip II rim bowl fragment (459 no. 5, fig. 1, pl. 1). All of this imported Cypriot pottery may be assigned to the Trianda IIA phase, i.e. the period corresponding to the end of Late Bronze Age IA and IB/LM IA Late and LM IB (458).

Most notably, a group of local imitations of LC I vessels attests to a deep penetration, unparalleled in the Aegean, of Cypriot influence into Rhodian ceramic production (457; Marketou et al. 2006, 54-5). The range of this local pottery is relatively wide including three jugs imitating Base Ring shapes (460 nos 10-12, fig. 2, pl. II), five imitations of Red Slip bowls (460 nos 13-17, figs 2-3, pl. II), a spindle bottle imitating the typical shape of the Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware with a painted decoration (460-1 no. 18, fig. 3 pl. II), and finally a group of fifteen bowls showing a shape clearly inspired by the White Slip I milk bowls. A Ialysian provenance for the clay of these local imitations is indeed confirmed by NAA analysis (Marketou et al. 2006, 5, 10 nos 14-15, Ware A, pl. 1: b; 12 nos 59-63, 16 nos 141-5, 23-4, Ware F, NAA Group Rhe 1). The local imitations of White Slip milk bowls deserve particular consideration. The bodies of these bowls are hemispherical or slightly angular with ring base, while the decoration generally is abstract linear in dark matte paint. Before discussing their wishbone handles of Cypriot type, a key point in the discussion below, some preliminary considerations on the chronology of these local White Slip milk bowl imitations are necessary.

In the detailed discussion on the imitations of Cypriot pottery it was stated that

> according to their stratigraphy, the imported White Slip I and Base Ring I pottery, and their local imitations, all belong to the transitional period of mature Late Bronze IA/LM IA and Late Bronze IB/LM IA Late-LM IB. (Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 459)

Some details were added in the important article concerning the NAA analysis of the pottery from Trianda (Marketou et al. 2006). This article confirmed that the group of local imitations of Cypriot pottery

was related to Ware F (NAA Group Rhe 1 and 2) and was identified in Late Bronze IA/LM IA and LM IB/LH IIA assemblages. It further specified that, according to the stratigraphy, the imitation of Cypriot pottery might have started during the final stages of LB IA/LM IA (Marketou et al. 2006, 38 nos 141-5; 52). In fact, a Red Slip bowl and two imitations of Base Ring I jugs, which are listed in the catalogue of analyzed samples, were recovered from LM IA contexts (16 nos 141-2, 144; cf. 12 nos 59-64, Late Bronze Age 1 sherds). Even more relevant to this discussion, two wishbone-handled bowls imitating Cypriot White Slip milk bowls (9-10 nos 14-15) are characterized by the most common fabric (Ware A) from prehistoric Rhodes and may be assigned to LM IA. This means that the earliest appearance of wishbone handles of Cypriot type on Aegean bowls may be dated to the end of the LM IA period or, at latest, to the transition from LM IA to LM IB when the "tale of the wishbone handle" begins (Graziadio 1999; 2005a, 331-2).

Table 4.2 Minoan bowls with wishbone handles

No.	Site	Context	Date	References
1	Poros	Tomb Π 1986	LM IB	Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 367, 372, fig. 31 no. 16; Antonello 2017, 16. Here fig. 4.2: C.
2	Ay. Irini (Keos)	House A, Room 7	LM IB	Cummer, Schofield 1984, 57 no. 195 (K 4134), pl. 49. Graziadio 1999, 368-9 fig. 3: D. Here fig. 4.2: D.
3	Kythera	Tomb J	LM IB	Coldstream, Huxley 1972, 253-4, J: 7, fig. 92, pl. 80; Graziadio 1999, 368-9 fig. 3: E. Here fig. 4.2: F.
4	Kythera	Tomb J	LM IB	Coldstream, Huxley 1972, 254, J: 8, fig. 92, pl. 80. Graziadio 1999, 368-9 fig. 3: F. Here fig. 4.2: G.
5	Kythera	Kastri, Settlement: Deposits λ	LM IB	Coldstream, Huxley 1972, 293, 127: λ 5, pl. 32; Graziadio 1999, 369, fn. 30.
6	Kythera	Kastri, Settlement: Deposit ξ	LM IB	Coldstream, Huxley 1972, 141, ξ: 32-48, fig. 44, pl. 38; Graziadio 1999, 369, fn. 30.
7	Kythera	Kastri, Settlement: Deposit ω	LM IB	Coldstream, Huxley 1972, 192, ω: 175-83, fig. 56, pl. 54; Graziadio 1999, 369, fn. 30.
8	Kythera	Kastri, Settlement Deposit ν	LM IB	Coldstream, Huxley 1972, 136, ν 19-20, pl. 35, fig. 43; Graziadio 1999, 370 fn. 37.
9	Kommos	Building X, Pottery Group X: 2 C 9599	LM IB Late	Rutter 2017, 27-8, X2: 4/11, fig. 2.16. Here fig. 4: 2: E.
10	Poros	Liouni Plot	LM IB/ LM II	Banou 2011, 505 fig. 4: e. Here fig. 4: 2: H.

No.	Site	Context	Date	References
11	Kommos	Deposit 16	LM IB Final or LM II	Watrous 1992, 22 no. 358, fig. 19, pl. 10 (LM II); Graziadio 1999, 368 fig. 3: H, 369; Rutter 2017, 84 (sub X10: 1/44), LM IB Final; Mountjoy 2011, 423 fig. 13: 7 (LM II). Here fig. 4.2: I.
12	Kommos	Building X, Pottery Group X: 10, C 9774	LM II	Rutter 2017, 84, X10: 1, 44, fig. 2: 83.
13	Kommos	Hilltop, Room 3 C 5565	LM II	Watrous 1992, 25 no. 436, 121, pl. 11; Graziadio 1999, 370 fn. 36; Rutter 2017, 84 (sub X10: 1/44).
14	Knossos	Unexplored Mansion, Corridor L	LM II	Popham 1984, 49, 161: L 76, pls 51: e, 147: 5, 156: 3. Graziadio 1999, 368. fig. 3: B, 369. Here fig. 4.2: L.
15	Knossos	Unexplored Mansion, Room H	LM II	Popham 1984, 161, pl. 89: F. Graziadio 1999, 368, fig. 3: C, 369. Here fig. 4.2: M.
16	Knossos	Unexplored Mansion, Staircase N and O	LM II	Popham 1984, 74-5, 163-4, N 49, pls 84, b-c; 161, 6; Graziadio 1999, 368 fig. 3: G, 369. Tsipopoulou, Vagnetti 1994, 47; Girella 2009, 289-90. Here fig. 4.2: N.
17	Ayia Triada	Mixed deposit	LM II	Privitera 2015, 33, pl. XLIX: a.
18	?	Giamalakis Collection. Iraklion Museum	LM II-IIIA1	Unpublished
19	Kommos	Building X, Space X8, Pottery Group X: 8, C 7553	LM IIIA1	Rutter 2017, 74, X8: 4/11 fig. 2: 71.

Table 4.2 summarizes the distribution of the other Aegean wishbone-handled cups, which generally feature a decoration of canonical Minoan type **[fig. 4.2]**. Although the majority of find spots are located on Crete (10 out of 17), it is worth noting that some Minoan examples were also exported to western Aegean islands, namely Keos **[tab. 4.2 no. 2] [fig. 4.2: D]** and Kythera **[tab. 4.2 nos 3-8] [fig. 4.2: F, G]**. The chronological range (from LM IB to LM IIIA1) of the Minoan wishbone-handled bowls is also notable, but it is important to underline that many examples (9) belong to LM IB, which is clearly the earliest period when the wishbone-handle appeared in the Minoan ceramic repertoire. Apart from the examples exported to Ay. Irini on Keos and, in more appreciable amounts, to Kythera during Interaction Period 2, these cups occur in two limited districts of Crete, namely in the Knossos area, at Poros **[tab. 4.2 nos 1, 10] [fig. 4.2: C, H]**, and in the Mesara plain, at Kommos **[tab. 4.2 no. 9] [fig. 4.2: E]**. After the end of the Neopalatial period, in LM II, the wishbone handles continued to be

appreciated (7 examples overall) in the same districts,[18] with three examples **[tab. 4.2 nos 14-16] [fig. 4.2: L, M, N]** reported from Knossos and four from two of the most important sites in the Mesara in Interaction Period 3, Kommos **[tab. 4.2 nos 11-13] [fig. 4.2: I]** and Ay. Triada **[tab. 4.2 no. 17]**. During this period, no examples exist to indicate that this feature was exported overseas. The last period of production of wishbone-handled cups on Crete is LM II-IIIA1 when they markedly decrease **[tab. 4.2 nos 18, 19]**. In short, we can conclude that on Crete the most receptive workshops to the influence of Cypriot pottery were located in the Knossos area and on the Mesara plain.[19]

If we consider the chronological sequence of the wishbone-handled cups as illustrated in table 4.2, it is clear that there is somewhat of a chronological discrepancy between the appearance of the wishbone-handled bowls on Rhodes, where at Trianda the local imitations of the Cypriot prototype appear at the end of LM IA or in LM IA/LM IB, and the adoption of the wishbone handle on Crete, where the earliest examples may date to LM IB, but the form continued to be produced until LM IIIA1. For these reasons, it can be tentatively suggested that the adoption of the wishbone handles on Crete happened via Rhodes, with a slight delay after the initial appearance of the Cypriot type in the Rhodian pottery at the end of the LM IA period or, at the latest, at the transition from LM IA to LM IB (Graziadio 2005a, 332).

The contacts between Crete and Rhodes are apparent from the LM IA pottery imported to Trianda. The interaction, specifically with the central-southern region of Crete, one of the main production areas of wishbone-handled bowls, is seemingly further confirmed through NAA analysis, which found most of the LM IA Minoan imported pottery from Trianda, as well as one LM IB/LH IIA example, came from the Mesara (Marketou et al. 2006, 27-8, Ware C, NAA Group KNOK-Mesara, LM IA; 27, 49 no. 133, LM IB). However, we are still rather far from having a definite picture because the earliest wishbone-handled cup from the Mesara, dating to LM IB Late **[tab. 4.2 no. 9, fig. 4.2: E, from Kommos]** was imported from Knossos (Rutter 2017a, 27-8, X2: 4/11), while all the other examples from Kommos and Ayia Triada

18 Note that a cup from Kommos **[tab. 4.2 no. 9, fig. 4.1: I]** was attributed to LM II by L.V. Watrous (1992, 22 fn. 358) and Mountjoy (2011, 423), while J. Rutter (2017a, 84 sub X10: 1/44) has dated it to LM IB Final. As a matter of fact, E. Banou (2011, 505-6) noted the difficulty assigning cups to LM IB or to LM II, based on an example found in the Liouni Plot at Poros **[tab. 4.2 no. 10, fig. 4.2: I]** that was part of a group of vases which "appear to surpass the typical LM IB style and foreshadow the following LM II style".

19 Here, the suggestion of metallic prototypes for the Aegean ceramic wishbone-handled bowls (Girella 2009, 289-90) is not considered safe due to the later chronology (LC IIA to LC IIC-IIIA) of the possible Cypriot metallic prototypes, as well as the uncertain chronology of the bronze vessels with wishbone handles in the Aegean (Graziadio 1999, 371-2).

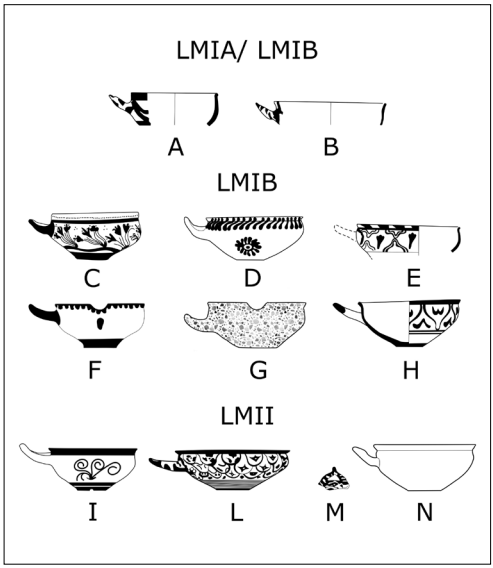


Figure 4.2
The Aegean cups with wishbone handle. Redrawn by Miriam Colella. A (Trianda): Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 466 fig. 3: 19; B (Trianda): Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 466 fig. 3: 20; C (Poros): Table 4.2 no. 1; D (Ayia Irini, Keos): Table 4.2 no. 2; E (Kommos): Table 4: 2 no. 9; F (Kythera): Table 4.2 no. 3; G (Kythera): Table 4.2 no. 4; H (Poros): Table 4.2 no. 8; I (Kommos): Table 4.2 no. 11; L (Knossos): Table 4.2 no. 12; M (Knossos): Table 4.2 no. 13; N (Knossos): Table 4.2 no. 14

belong to LM II. On the other hand, among the other LM IB wishbone-handled cups, one example has been found at Poros-Katsambas **[tab. 4.2 no. 1, fig. 4.2: C]** and the others are part of the Cretan imports to Keos **[tab. 4.2 no. 2, fig. 4.2: D]** and Kythera **[tab. 4.2 nos 3-8, fig. 4.2: F-G]**. Clear links between the Knossian and Rhodian pottery are still missing in this period, but, of course, Knossos remains an alternative place for the introduction of the Cypriot handle into the Neopalatial ceramic repertoire.[20]

In 1941, A. Furumark (1941, 626, sub FS 243) attributed the earliest imitations of wishbone handles in Mycenaean pottery to LH IIIA, but now we can consider that their appearance on the mainland may date to LH IIA. Leaving aside the bowls with handles that were regarded as "wishbone handles" of Cypriot type from MH III to LH IB contexts at Patra *Pagona* (Achaea),[21] the occurrence of the wishbone

20 In an earlier article (Graziadio 2005a, 331), I stressed the absence of wishbone handled bowls in Neopalatial contexts on Crete in contrast to their wider occurrence outside the island, but now the examples found at Poros and Kommos Building X **[tab. 4.2 nos 1-9, and possibly nos 10-11]** have provided new evidence of Cretan contexts.

21 These Achaean bowls have handles that were attached in an almost vertical position below the rim, but they have no clear connection with Cyprus. They are, however, similar to several examples occurring in a wide area extending from the northwestern Peloponnese to the west-central regions of the mainland and Ionian islands (Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Karageorghis 2003, 97-8, fig. 2, pls 1-2; Lekka 2022, 162; cf. Graziadio 2019, 23-4, with refs).

handle in mainland pottery is confirmed by a LH IIA bowl with a chessboard decoration from a tomb at Epidauros Limera in Lakonia and by a contemporaneous bowl with FM 16, reed, from Tomb VI at Kokla in the Argolid (Graziadio 1999, 371 with refs, 368, fig. 3: L-M). The Proto-Mycenaean adoption of this handle is likely connected to Minoan influence, given that, as is well-known, the developing production of Mycenaean pottery in this period is deeply influenced by Neopalatial pottery, possibly via Kythera.[22] Unlike on Crete, where wishbone-handled bowls ceased to be produced after LM IIIA1, on the Mainland, after an interruption in their production following the Early Mycenaean period, there was a revival in LH IIIA and B of wishbone handles on bowls FS 243 and FS 244 of the so-called Levanto-Mycenaean pottery, which were produced in Greece to satisfy the Cypriot demand for Mycenaean vessels inspired by shapes made throughout the long-lived, distinctly Cypriot ceramic tradition (Graziadio 1999, 375-7).

4.3.2 Oxhide Ingots and Copper-Based Artifacts

4.3.2.1 Oxhide Ingots

Taking into account changes in their production, trade, and use, in her recent review of oxhide ingots, S. Sabatini (2016, 18-21) has distinguished three periods, with the earliest period (1600-1400 BC) including ingots found on Crete at Chania, Gournia, Ayia Triada, Mochlos, Tylissos, and Zakros and dated to LM IB, "if not even earlier to the end of the LM IA" (20 with refs). However, it is well known that not all the oxhide ingots from Neopalatial contexts were made of Cypriot copper (Liard 2010, 56 tab. 1). Such is the case of the ingots found at Ayia Triada and Tylissos, as well as two out of the six ingots from Zakros, which contain Precambrian lead coming from a geologically very old ore that is inconsistent with Cypriot ores (Stos-Gale 2011, 223-4, tab. 22.2; Muhly in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 122). Since their copper came from an unknown source, using the words of J. Muhly (2009, 28), they remain "a great mystery" (also cf. Stos-Gale 2011, 225-6).

Many other contemporary examples, however, were made of copper consistent with a Cypriot origin and these provide clear evidence of trade in Cypriot copper in the form of oxhide ingots during Interaction Period 2. The case of four ingots made of Cypriot copper from Zakros is particularly interesting. These ingots were recovered from the west wing of the palace, Room XI, in association with two ingots

22 Coldstream, Huxley 1972, 302-3; Dickinson 1992, 481; 2014; 2021; Mountjoy 1999a, 21-2; Rutter 2015.

made of copper not consistent with a Cypriot provenance.[23] V. Kassianidou (2014, 310) has suggested that these ingots were stored as raw material, ready for processing at the metal workshops located in the palace. Therefore, although made of copper coming from different sources, all the ingots from this palace have a similar shape, corresponding to the first Buchholz's type (Bass 1a e 1b) with only slightly protruding handles.

Lead Isotope analysis of one of the four Zakros' ingots that were consistent with a Cypriot provenance shows that it was made of copper stemming from the site of Apliki (Liard 2010, 56, tab. 1). This matches the results of other LM IB samples from Mochlos and Gournia.[24] At Gournia, four ingot fragments were recovered, but their find spots were not recorded (Mangou, Ioannou 2000, 213: A, D; Betancourt in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 65-6 nos 2-5). At Mochlos, however, where there is strong evidence of contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean, the location of the metal finds is particularly interesting (Soles 2005, 430-3). A significant amount of Cypriot copper ore in the form of ingots (oxhide, pillow-shaped and plano-convex ingots) arrived at this site at the very end of the LM IB period, but a copper ingot and a tin ingot show that trade in metals started earlier in the LM IB period (Soles 2014). While the earlier copper ingot was put on display in a crypt below a ceremonial building (Soles 2008, 155 fig. 10; Kassianidou 2014, 310), most of the copper ingots were found in the town's ceremonial building (Building B.2) and in a private dwelling (House C.3), also identified as the House of the Metal Merchant. At each of these locations, 40 kg of copper ingots were found. Several other ingots were found elsewhere in the site, including in the Artisan's Quarter and Building C.7, which also yielded a half oxhide ingot with an incised mark. In summary, some ingots were deposited as an offering in the ceremonial building, while others were part of foundry hoards (House C.3) and trader's hoards (House C.3 and House C.6). J. Soles (2014, 250-1, 252 no. 7) pointed out that the copper was used for different purposes in each location, but that the ingots, broken in small pieces, often ready to be weighed, were "an important part of the household's wealth". Lead Isotope analysis of many samples of oxhide ingots confirmed that they were made of copper consistent with production from Cypriot ores claimed to be from the mines of Apliki, Mavrovouni, and Skouriotissa (Muhly in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 123; Soles 2014, 251, with refs). Moreover, the copper of nearly all the pillow-shaped,

23 Liard 2010, 56, tab. 1; Stos-Gale 2011, 223, table 22.1; Kassianidou 2013a, 135; 2014, 311 nos 1-4; Platon 2014, 294-5 nos 2-5, with refs.

24 Gale 1999, 119; Muhly 2009, 28; Muhly in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 123; Gale 2011, 218; Lo Schiavo et al. 2013, 55 fig. 4; Kassianidou 2012b, 23; 2014, 310.

plano-convex, and amorphous ingot fragments found at Mochlos also was consistent with a Cypriot provenance, while only a few samples were made of copper consistent with ores from Lavrion and Anatolia. The prominent role of Cyprus in the copper supply at Mochlos is therefore remarkable, and the underwater discovery of a heavy stone anchor which was considered "quite likely Cypriot" near the settlement may confirm the active participation of Cypriots in copper trade at this site (Soles 2014, 251).

The list of ingots made of copper consistent with a Cypriot origin from LM IB contexts also includes an example found at the site of the Minoan sanctuary at Syme (Karageorghis et al. 2104, 286 no. 5; for analysis cf. Stos-Gale 2011, 223, tab. 22.1; Kassianidou 2014, 310), while Chania-Kastelli also yielded three metal fragments of pure copper said to derive from different oxhide ingots which were made of copper from Apliki, but their chronology ranges from LM IB to LM IIIA.[25] Finally the recent discovery of a copper ingot in a large building on the Chryssi island by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Lassithi should be mentioned. Although preliminary information is available, it was said that two "treasures" containing many objects of precious material and foreign origin were found.[26] Metal trade at the site is also attested in the form of fragments of tin ingots, as well as in that of a copper ingot, probably belonging to the LM IB period, that was complete but broken in two parts and said to be made of Cypriot copper (Wiener 2020, 285). At the hilltop plateau of Trypeti at Poros-Katsambas, by contrast, the origin of copper of an intact oxhide ingot found together with fragmentary crucibles has not been determined (Dimopoulou 1997, 435, pl. CLXXI: a; 2012, 137-8 fig. 14: 7; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 377 fig. 31.28). Despite its mixed LM I-III find context, the early shape of this ingot (Type 1) indicates an LM IB date and it may be regarded as raw material ready to be used by bronze workers (Dimopoulou 2012, 138; Kassianidou 2014, 310). Unfortunately, no Lead Isotope analysis of the Trypeti ingot is available (personal communication by Zofia Stos-Gale). The same chronology may be suggested for two oxhide fragments from Palaikastro since they likely date back to an earlier period than the destruction of the town in late LM IB (Hakulin 2004, Appendix I.8; Evely 2000, 344 no. 34),[27] but no reference has been made to the source of the copper in question. The same is also true of an ingot fragment

25 Mangou, Ioannou 2000, 208; Stos-Gale, Gale, Evely 2000, 211, 207 nos 4-5, 8, 209; Muhly 2009, 28; 2012, 123. For Lead Isotope analysis, cf. also "Crete, Artefacts Lead Isotopes no. 193" at http://oxalid.arch.ox.ac.uk/Greece/Greece.html.

26 https://www.culture.gov.gr/el/Information/SitePages/view.aspx?nID=3022. Also cf. Sofianou et al. 2023.

27 For Lead Isotope analysis, cf. "Crete, Artefacts Lead Isotopes no. 571" at http://oxalid.arch.ox.ac.uk/Greece/Greece.html.

found in 1902 by A. Evans in the southern end of the Long Corridor at Knossos, which was said to be of LM I-II date despite its disturbed context.[28,29] Even less information is available for other reported discoveries, specifically the alleged oxhide fragments from Siteia (Cadogan 1972, 8; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 270 no. 235; Evely 2000, 344 no. 36), fragments from the area of the settlement at Zakros (Evely 2000, 344 no. 32), and an oxhide from Phaistos (Mangou, Ioannou 2000, 207 with refs).

As far as the problem of the source of metallic raw materials used on Crete is concerned, a tin ingot found in a storeroom of a large ceremonial building (B.2) at Mochlos is of great importance. The tin ingot, found in disintegrated conditions, belonged to a foundation deposit and was laid in place at the beginning of LM IB (Berger et al. 2019, 3 figs 2-3). Based mainly on Near Eastern texts and rare trade goods, the large deposits in central Asia, especially in Afghanistan, have generally been regarded as the most likely sources of tin (8-9 with refs). However, recent research has provided the scientific community with new data by means of chemical and isotopic analyses of tin ingots. While Anatolian, central Asian, and Egyptian tin deposits may be excluded as the tin sources for ingots from Uluburun, Hishuley Carmel, Kfar Samir south, and Haifa that date to the fourteenth-twelfth centuries BC, the central Asian deposits (eastern part of Afghanistan and in Tadzhikistan) could in fact have been the source for the Mochlos tin in LM IB (29, 33-5, 36, tab. 7). Most notably, the Mochlos settlement also yielded several beads of lapis lazuli that were hidden inside an ivory pyxis contemporary with the tin, clearly connecting Mochlos with central Asia (37, with refs).

Although most of the copper oxhide ingots in the Aegean region are found on Crete in Interaction Period 2, their diffusion outside Crete is worth considering. Various fragments of oxhide ingots which were found in House A at Ayia Irini on Keos and were dated to Period VII (LM I) (Cummer, Schofield 1984, 2, 54, 122, 140, pl. 41) have lead isotope ratios consistent with Cypriot ore sources (Gale 1989, 255-6, tab. 29.2, 265, tab. 29.7; 1991, 226-7, fig. 19; Mangou, Ioannou 2000, 208, 213). It is also important to note that they were associated with metallurgical debris, while a quarter of the ingots (Cummer, Schofield 1984, 54 no. 133, pl. 41) were found in Room 7 of the Western Quarter of the House, which was separated from the metallurgical area and was probably used as a domestic sanctuary (39; Caloi, 219-20). At least one of the small ingot fragments found in a hoard in the West House at

28 Mantzourani, Theodorou 199, 55 no. 7; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 128 no. 12; Evely 2000, 344 no. 33; Mangou, Ioannou 2000, 208: KN/162.

29 For Lead Isotope analysis, cf. "Crete, Artefacts Lead Isotopes no. 239" at `http://oxalid.arch.ox.ac.uk/Greece/Greece.html`.

Kastri on Kythera is said to date to the transition between the LM IA and LM IB period (Broodbank, Rehren, Zianni 2007; Sabatini 2016, 21).

Seventeen complete and two fragmentary oxhide ingots from a presumed cargo wreck found in the sea off the coast of Kyme (Euboea) should finally be mentioned because they may also belong to Interaction Period 2. These fragments feature a Type 1 shape and their lead composition is consistent with Cypriot copper ore sources.[30]

In this connection, it should finally be noted that, according to Papadimitriou (2022, 182, 185 fig. 4), this does not rule out the possibility that tubular bellows pipes used in Aegean metallurgy in Interaction Period 2 were of Cypriot inspiration.

4.3.2.2 Copper-Based Artifacts

Only a few LC I bronze artifacts from Rhodes, dating to LH IIIA1 in Aegean terms,[31] have been identified as Cypriot imports. However, Lead Isotope data concerning several artifacts found in various Aegean regions should be taken into account since there has been a long debate about the practice of re-melting of copper artifacts from different ore deposits to cast new artifacts, although this does not invalidate the reliability of Lead Isotope analysis concerning oxhide ingots (Budd et al. 1995; Gale 1997; Muhly in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 123-4).[32]

On Crete, Muhly pointed out that, according to the results of Stos-Gale's study, only approximately 16% out of the 300 analyzed artifacts from Neopalatial contexts were made of Cypriot copper (Muhly in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 123; Stos-Gale 2001, 202-3), while the majority (over 50%) "were made of what the Gales have long designated as Lavrion copper" despite the fact that some scholars stressed the many problems in identifying Lavrion as a source of Bronze Age copper, without considering that "Aegean copper sources may already have been exhausted by the early second millennium BC" (Knapp 2022, 71 and fns 56-7 for refs). More specifically, the Lead Isotope data on metal finds from Neopalatial contexts at Knossos, Ayia Triada, and Palaikastro published in 2004 show that Cypriot copper was used for very few items compared to those from other ores, especially

30 Buchholz 1959, 36-7, pl. 5 nos 3-4; Bass 1967, 61; Stos-Gale et al. 1997, 112; Jones 2007, 73, 182, 320 fn. 1462; Stos-Gale 2011, 222 fig. 22.1.

31 The LC I artifacts dated to LH IIIA1, i.e. Interaction Period 3, include a knife from Tolo near Ialysos, a fragmentary rapier of "four-wing bayonet" type, and a spearhead from Biliotti's excavations at Ialysos (Cline 1994, 226 no. 831, 229 no. 864, 231 no. 880; Benzi 2009, 50 fns 21-2 with refs).

32 Muhly (2009, 28-9), however, pointed out the inconsistency of Gales' statement that the copper used for all the post-1250 BC artifacts was not from Apliki, while the copper from Apliki was used for the production of contemporary oxhide ingots.

Lavrion (Evely, Stos 2004, 268 fig. 21.1: a, Knossos; 270, fig. 21.2: a, Ayia Triada; 271, fig. 21.3, Palaikastro). However, Muhly (Soles, Stos-Gale 2004, 46-7; Muhly in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 123) also stressed the importance of the foundry hoard found at Mochlos where a bronze bowl contained many small fragments of copper oxhide ingots made of copper coming from the Cypriot mining districts of Apliki, Mavrovouni, and Skouriotissa. This find therefore confirms the suggestion that Cypriot copper was used as a raw material on Crete in Interaction Period 2, although different possible usages of oxhide ingots must be recognized (Kassianidou 2014, 309-10). Moreover, it should be recalled that all the oxhide ingots from Zakros, including ingots made of Cypriot copper, were found near the metalworking workshops and were probably intended for use at that location. The same is true of the intact oxhide ingot from Poros-Katsambas since it was part of a foundry hoard located in a metalworking area.

According to Lead Isotope analysis, most Cycladic LBA artifacts were made of copper from Lavrion (Gale, Stos-Gale 1984, 263 fig. 6; Knapp 1990a, 132, tab. 3), but a few others, including a scale pan from Akrotiri, have an isotopic composition consistent with a Cypriot provenance.[33] It is also interesting to note that two of the 13 analyzed bronzes from Circle A at Mycenae were made of copper consistent with a Cypriot origin (Kayafa 1999, 353). Samples consistent with Cyprus are also reported from Tsoungiza and Nichoria (357, 359), but they have been dated no more specifically than to the LBA as a whole. Notwithstanding, in her discussion on the results of the Lead Isotope analysis of the MH III-LH II samples from the Peloponnese, M. Kayafa (1999, 402) stated that as many as 6% of all the artifacts analyzed exhibited composition consistent with the isotopic field of Cyprus.

4.3.3 Prestige Objects

In the past, various prestige objects found in Aegean contexts have been suggested to be Cypriot imports or items of Cypriot type dating to Interaction Period 2. For some items, however, an immediate point of origin has yet to be agreed upon. However, for some items the origin has remained undefined. This is especially the case of the two ostrich-eggs found in Room Δ16 at Akrotiri on Thera (Marinatos 1999, 35-6, color plate B, pl. 81) which H.-G. Buchholz (1987, 171 fn. 48) considered of possible Cypriot derivation, while other scholars regarded them as Egyptian or Egyptian/Syro-Palestinian in origin

33 Stos-Gale, Gale 1990, 80 fig. 16; Knapp 1990a, 131, tab. 2; Stos-Gale, MacDonald 1991, 267; Graziadio 2005a, 324-5 fn. 14 with refs.

(Doumas 1991, 25; Cline 1994, 238 nos 948-9). The same is true, of course, of the other ostrich-eggs found in the Aegean (Dickinson 1977, 120 fn. 39 with refs), including those from Circle A at Mycenae (Caubet 1983; Karo 1930-3, 114 no. 552, 116 no. 567, 573, 125 no. 651, 139 no. 774, 146 no. 828, 147 no. 832, 238, pls 141-2) which were considered "probably direct imports from Crete" although ultimately of Near Eastern origin (Dickinson 1977, 81). It is also impossible to distinguish for certain the origin of specific artifacts, such as a pierced ivory disc with a carved rosette from a LM IB context at Palaikastro, since similarly decorated examples occur in the Levant and even in the Aegean (Rehak, Younger 1998, 117 fn. 154 with refs; Graziadio 2005a, 326 fns 25-6). We should also be cautious about assigning a provenance to a small bit of gold leaf from Mavrospilio Tomb 9 which was regarded as a funerary mouthpiece of Cypriot type (Cadogan 1972, 10 with refs) despite the fact that according to Lena Åström (1972, 580 fn. 9) this object cannot be connected with Cyprus because it "does not have marked lips, and is much smaller than those found in Cyprus".

A more detailed discussion of seals may be of particular interest. In their important comments on the Near Eastern cylinder seals C. Davaras and Soles stated that

> it was probably not until the LM IB or LM II periods that the true cylinder seal was made and used in its originally intended fashion in Crete and the Aegean. (1995, 47)

However, the vast majority of the cataloged cylinder seals of the Neopalatial period are considered of Cretan manufacture (51-8) and no definitive Cypriot import is included in their comprehensive catalogue of the cylinder seals from Crete dating to Interaction Period 2, despite the fact that during the Bronze Age "more than half of the cylinders found in the Aegean (103, excluding the Kadmeion seals) come from Crete" and eight out of the twelve Cypriot or Cypro-Aegean cataloged examples were found there (49-50).[34] The main inference is that Cretans were not interested in Cypriot cylinder seals as status indicators in Interaction Period 2. On the contrary, it seems that members of the Mycenaean emerging ruling classes in the Peloponnese, who used many precious objects to show their high social

34 Indeed, only a steatite cylinder seal from the Giamalakis Collection was dated to LC I, but it is of unknown provenance (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1958, 59 no. 362, pl. XXVIII; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 77 no. 133, with refs; Davaras, Soles 1995, 51 no. 4; Graziadio 2005a, 325 fn. 22). On the other hand, this was also alternatively regarded as "Syro-Cypriote" or "Cypriote or Syrian" (Davaras, Soles 1995, 51 no. 4). Another steatite cylinder seal of possible Cypriot origin from Malia is a surface find, but it has been generically attributed to LC or LM I-III in Minoan terms (Cline 1994, 161 no. 225; Driessen, Macdonald 1987, 81).

status, may have had a certain interest in these symbols of power of exotic appearance, as suggested by cylinder seals found in their burial contexts. However, there is no clear concordance of opinions concerning the Cypriot origin of the few items from the Early Mycenaean tholos tombs (Graziadio 2005c, 5 fn. 26). Such is the case of two cylinder seals, one probably made of glass and the other of amethyst, which were found in a LH I-II and LH IIIC context in the tholos tomb at Kasarma in the Argolid, although they were stylistically ascribed to LBA I-II.[35] Moreover, another sardonyx example from a tholos tomb at Routsi in Messenia was found in association with LH IIA-IIIA materials and may be considered a seal of Minoan production but exhibiting Cypriot features.[36] It should finally be emphasized that some sealings and cylinder seals from Knossos, Mycenae, and Crete have been dated to LC I and cataloged by Portugali, Knapp (1985, 77 nos 131-3), but will be discussed in § 5.3.3.1 because they were either found in contexts postdating Interaction Period 2 or else dated purely on stylistic grounds to the Neopalatial period.

The ambiguity of the above evidence leaves the impression that in Interaction Period 2 the contacts between Cyprus and the Aegean had no significant impact on the Aegean production of prestige objects. Nevertheless, a Cypriot influence on Minoan handicrafts may be acknowledged in the local production of granulated earrings ("mulberry-type"). Goring (1983, 208 fn. 81) mentioned some examples of this type from Cretan sites, i.e. Poros and Vathypetro (sixteenth century BC), and Kamilari (fourteenth century BC). Although some doubts have been expressed about the origins of these earrings, since examples of this type were also produced in the Levant, it should be recognized that on Cyprus the production of granulated earrings ("mulberry-type") lasted a long time, from LC IB to LC IIIB, despite their original foreign inspiration (206-8; Stampolidis, Karetsou 1998, 88 no. 60; Graziadio 2005a, 325-6 fn. 24). On Crete, the local production of earrings of this type is demonstrated by a stone casting mold from the Palace or City of Knossos that is housed in the Metaxas Collection (208; Karageorghis et al. 2014, 209 no. 5), as well as other similar molds that have been found at Mochlos and in the Mesara (209 fns 83-4, with refs). The possibility that all these molds were imported from extra-Aegean sources, particularly from Cyprus, cannot be ruled out since Goring (224) found close parallels on Cyprus. However, she also noted some small differences in detail between the Cypriot earrings and the similar

35 Pini 1975, nos 583-4; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 90, 338 nos 423-4, pl. 13; cf. Porada 1979, 111 fn. 3, 115 fig. 2: a.

36 Matz, Biesantz 1964, no. 285; Lambrou-Philippson 1990, 367 no. 514; cf. Crowley 1989, 215 no. 477.

examples from Crete, suggesting a local center of production for the Cretan examples. Given that the shape of granulated earrings is very specialized, and in light of the stone molds discovered on Crete, "there is a reason to suspect a mutual awareness of types between the two islands" (224). In summary, it is very likely that the manufacture of granulated earrings on Cyprus and Crete was the result of parallel developments from a common type originating in Cyprus, ultimately suggesting Cypriot influence on the production of jewelry on Crete.[37] Moreover, the gold earrings of Goring's Type IV.3 are a very stylized representation of a bull's head that is rather common on Cyprus (213-19). Consequently, an earring of this type probably coming from Vromousa Tomb 1 (Chalkis, Euboea) has been frequently regarded as a Cypriot import (Portugali, Knapp 1985, 77 no. 136; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 91 fns 9-10, 318 no. 365; Cline 1994, 139-40 no. 67), but because it is smaller than all the other known examples, according to Goring (1983, 219) "it is not to be certain that it came from Cyprus". In this case, while it could be considered another piece of evidence for Cypriot influence on Aegean earring production, this Euboean find cannot safely be ascribed to Interaction Period 2 because its context was dated from LH I/II to early LH III (Cline 1994, 139), while all Cypriot examples date no earlier than LC IIC (Goring 1983, 219). Some other gold bucranium earrings from Aegean contexts, including the so called "Tiryns Treasure", probably date even later (Graziadio 2005c, 5, 12 fn. 27 with refs).

4.4 The Increase in Aegean Imports to Cyprus During Interaction Period 2

If we consider the archaeological evidence as a whole, Interaction Period 2 can be regarded as a period of increasing Cypro-Aegean connections also from the Cypriot perspective, especially if compared to the few links noted in the earlier period. Not only did Cypriot contexts of Interaction Period 2 yield 41 Aegean ceramic vessels, but there was also a qualitative increase that can be fully appreciated if we consider the few precious metal cups imported to Cyprus along with other status indicators, such as the seals of Aegean origin. The prominent role of Crete in these relations can easily be explained by the commercial and cultural Minoan dominance prevalence in the Aegean during the Neopalatial period.

37 As also suggested by Lena Åström (1972, 571-2).

4.4.1 Pottery

In reviewing the imported Aegean pottery, it is appropriate to consider first the vessels safely dated to LM IA, particularly those from Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* **[fig. 4.3 no. 2]**.

At this site, Tomb I (especially Chambers 1 and 3) yielded eleven LM IA vases, mainly semiglobular cups and jugs.[38] However, determining the association of these finds with the local pottery is hampered by the presence of many burials and the consequent mixture of offerings (Eriksson 2001, 62). Other LM IA vases from the site included a few fragmentary jars with banded decoration from Tomb III (Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 21; Vermeule, Wolsky, 1990, 264, 267, 425; Sørensen 2008, 180 no. 25) and three cups decorated with spirals from the settlement levels (Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 20; Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 97-8, 114; Sørensen 2008, 182-3 nos 34-6). A similar range of LM IA shapes is also apparent elsewhere on the island **[fig. 4.3]**. In addition to a shoulder sherd belonging to a jar or jug from Maroni *Vournes* (Cadogan et al. 2001, 77 fig. 3; Sørensen 2008, 180-1 no. 26), one semiglobular cup has been found in Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 104, Chamber O,[39] and one in Palaepaphos *Evreti* Well TE 118 III.[40] Courtois (1979, 163 fig. 1) also stated that a sherd from the 1971 excavations in Quarter 4E at Enkomi (LC I level) likely was of Minoan production.

With regard to later Aegean imports, examples attributed to LM IB are limited and include two open vessels, a well-preserved semiglobular cup decorated with lily flowers and "rock pattern" from *Enaerios* Feature 621-VI at Limassol,[41] and a rim sherd possibly belonging to a cup from Enkomi, Quarter 4E (Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 28; Courtois 1979, 163 fig. 1; Sørensen 2008, 180 no. 24). The list of Mycenaean vessels ascribed to LH IIA is also relatively limited with only a fragmentary cup FS 207 or 237 with lily decoration from Enkomi, British Excavations Tomb 40,[42] two alabastra from Maroni

38 Portugali, Knapp 1985, 71-2 nos 9-19; Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 219-20, 239, 381-2, 387 nos 34A-B, 340, 485, 494, 495-500, pls 167-72, 174; Sørensen 2008, 174-7 nos 4-14, with additional refs.

39 Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 22; Karageorghis 1990a, 37, 66, pl. IV (i); Eriksson 2001b, 63; 2003, 425; Sørensen 2008, 182 no. 31.

40 Cadogan 1979, 63 fn. 1; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 22; Maier, von Wartburg 1985, 110, pl. XIV: 1; Sørensen 2008, 182 no. 32; Georgiou 2016c, 191, 193, cat. no. 5, figs 1a-b.

41 Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 27; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 87 fn. 51; Sørensen 2008, 181 no. 27; Karageorghis in Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 112 no. 4, pls XLIV: 4, LXXVII, 621-VI/4.

42 Smith 1925, Part IIC b, 6 no. 29, pl. 4.29; Furumark 1941, 46 fn. 8, considered LM IB, 164 fn. 7; P. Åström 1972, 305, Type 207; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 350 no. 205; Graziadio, Pezzi 2013, 68 fn. 4.



Figure 4.3 The LC I sites where Minoan imports have been found. 1: Ayia Irini *Paleokastro*; 2: Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*; 3: Enkomi; 4: Hala Sultan Tekke; 5: Maroni *Vournes*; 6: Maroni *Tsaroukkas*; 7: Limassol; 8: Palaepaphos (Kouklia)

Tsaroukkas Tombs 3 and 6 (Manning, De Mita, 132; Manning, Monks 1998, 320, 346 figs 16, 22, pl. 64a, right; Graziadio 2005a, 329 fn. 59), and another alabastron from Enkomi, Area III, Level 1B advanced.[43] However, a LH IIA beaked jug from Tomb X at Hala Sultan Tekke, which NAA attributes to an Argolid production (Berbati), stands out for its fine decoration in Alternating Style (Fisher, Bürge 2017b, 176-7, 179 fig. 13; Fischer 2019, 241-2, fig. 10). It is also worth recalling a handful of sherds possibly of LH IIA-B date coming from settlement deposits at this site since they also included a LH IIA/IIIA2 conical rhyton with spiral/floral decoration, an uncommon Mycenaean shape (Recht, Mazzotta 2015, 65, 68 no. 1, fig. 43: a; more in general for Mycenaean rhyta in Cyprus, cf. Koehl 2006, 348-9).

Given the similarity between Neopalatial fine pottery and Early Mycenaean vessels of Minoan inspiration, the origin and chronology of other Aegean ceramic imports to Cyprus in Interaction Period 2 are

43 Dikaios 1969-71, 1, frontispiece, 230; 2, 544, 551; 3a, pl. 58/28, 86/3; Crewe 2007b, 268 no. 4102.

debated. Several vases of controversial origin may therefore be added to the above-mentioned pottery, supplementing the amount of Aegean ceramic imports during this period. Some small sherds of cups from Area III at Enkomi probably decorated with spirals and white dots or lines have been considered LM IA or LH I.[44] Another sherd of a closed vessel from this site was dubiously attributed to MM (Sørensen 2008, 177-8 no. 15; Papadimitriou 2015, 99), but it probably dates to LM IA since it was found in a level belonging to LC IA2, i.e. Area III, Level 1A end, Floor VII (Crewe 2007b, 271, tab. A3.12: no. 4282, 73, tab. 11.1, for relative chronology of Level 1A in Area III). There were also different interpretations concerning a fragmentary LH IIA alabastron FS 80 from Enkomi, Area III, Level 1B advanced, which has also been regarded as a LM IB vessel.[45] Several other Aegean vases were preserved in better condition, but they either have been regarded as Minoan or Mycenaean imports or were attributed to different periods. A cup with double axes and dots decoration from Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 105, Pit C, was attributed to LM IA,[46] but it may alternatively be considered a LM IB or LH IIA import based on its similarity to an example from Ay. Irini *Paleokastro* (Graziadio 2005a, 329 fn. 61, 333, tab. 1; see below). The same is true of a cup with double axes and lilies decoration in the Kolokassides collection which has been attributed to LM IB or alternatively considered a Mycenaean cup FS 213 dating to LH IIA.[47] A body sherd from a large vessel with a floral decoration, recovered during old excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 4?), was also considered of LM IA or Cycladic production.[48] Finally, the surface finds of a jar (Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 150; Sørensen 2008, 184 no. 42) and a possible bowl from Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* have been dated to LM I or to LM III.[49]

44 Dikaios 1969-71, 1, frontispiece, 230; 2, 445, 544; 3a, pls 58/26, 86/1, 58/27, 27a, 86/2; Cadogan 1979, 63 fn. 1.; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 71 nos 6-7; Crewe 2007b, 270, tab. A3/11, 272, tab. A3.14; Sørensen 2008, 178-9 nos 19-20, tab. A3.14; 2009a, 272, fig. 7.

45 Dikaios 1969-71, 1, frontispiece, 230; 2, 544, 551, 3a, pl. 58/28, 86/3; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 87; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 26; Cadogan 1979, 63 fn. 1; Crewe 2007b, 268 no. 4102; Sørensen 2008, 179 no. 21.

46 Karageorghis 1990a, 50-1, 71, pl. IV (vIII); Eriksson 2001b, 63; 2003, 425-6; Sørensen 2008, 184 no. 40.

47 Karageorghis 1965a, 19-20, fig. 2, pl. 29; P. Åström 1972, 356, Type 213: a (LH IIB); Cadogan 1979, 63 no. 1; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 29; Graziadio 2005a, 329; Sørensen 2008, 183 no. 37.

48 Bailey 1976, 13-14, pl. XI: d; Cadogan 1980, 380-1; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 71 no. 4; Åström 1977, 7 with refs; Sørensen 2008, 182 no. 33.

49 Vermeule, Wolsky, 1978, 310 fig. 29; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 73 no 41; Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 96; Sørensen 2008, 184-5 no. 43.



Figure 4.4
Four Aegean semiglobular cups from Ayia Irini *Paleokastro*. Redrawn by Miriam Colella

In the discussion of vessels of controversial origins, a group of cups from Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* deserves special attention.

Three small semigobular cups from Tombs 3 and 20 were regarded as Mycenaean products (FS 211) by the excavator, P.E. Pecorella, and were attributed to LH IIA. Two of them are very similar in decoration to the double axes motif that features a double-lined staff and filled discs surrounded by dots **[fig. 4.4 no. 1]**.[50] The third cup was decorated with horizontal dotted lines **[fig. 4.4 no. 3]**.[51] Pecorella considered their exterior decoration indicative of mainland manufacture, despite the fact that their interior is solidly painted, a feature of the semiglobular cups which is generally regarded as an indicator of a Minoan origin. However, in addition to some examples with monochrome interior from Kythera and the Cyclades, similar cups have also been found in the Argolid, at Mycenae and Prosymna (Graziadio 1985, 11-12 with refs; 2005, 329 fn. 57 with refs), and likely explains why other scholars have also suggested a LH IIA chronology for these cups.[52] In particular, Kanta (1998, 38) noted "a Mycenaean flavor" in the decoration of the two cups with double axes motifs from Ayia Irini *Paleokastro*, as well as in similar examples from

50 Pecorella 1971, 57-8, 62 fig. 26; 1977, 21-2: 3-16, 247 figs 30-1; 112-13: 38-9, figs 243, 269, 310; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 nos 24-5; Graziadio 1995, 8-9, fig. 1: no. 2; Kanta 1998, 38; Sørensen 2008, 178 no. 17, 183-4 no. 38; Eriksson 2024, 147 fig. 7.8, LM IB/LH IIA.

51 Pecorella 1971, 57-8, 62 fig. 27; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 23; Pecorella 1977, 22, 26: 3-29, 247-8, fig. 31, Graziadio 1995, 8-9, fig. 1: no. 7; Sørensen 2008, 178 no. 16; Eriksson 2024, 148 fig. 7.9, LM IB/LH II.

52 Dickinson 1977, 125, Ch. VII[1] fn. 5; Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 382 fn. 78; Manning, Sewell, Herscher 2002, 161 fn. 270; Keswani 2004, 122, 227, tab. 5.8.

Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, and she suggested that they "may perhaps be products of an Aegean workshop showing Minoan influence in its production". Instead, other scholars suggested a Minoan origin and a LM IA or LM IB chronology.[53] A tomb located north of the main cemetery yielded two other small Aegean vessels, i.e. another semiglobular cup with framed spiral decoration **[fig. 4.4 no. 2]**,[54] and a Vapheio cup decorated with a simple line spiral, horizontal bands, and white dots **[fig. 4.4 no. 4]**.[55] Despite their monochrome interior decoration, the excavator, L. Quilici, dated them to the LH IIA period, but Driessen and Macdonald (1997, 80 fn. 22) have stated that they were "without question LM IA" and maintained that the Vapheio cup was clearly "from a Knossian workshop", a suggestion also put forth by P. Warren (2007, 495, 498). Other scholars (Eriksson 2003, 425-6, 498; 2007a, 93-4; Sørensen 2012a, 189, and fn. 26) regarded the semiglobular cup as "most certainly" of LM IA date. To summarize, there is a wide range of suggestions on the origin and chronology of the Aegean cups from the Ayia Irini tombs, with some scholars considering them of Minoan production, although attributed to LM IA or LM IB, while others consider an alternative Mycenaean (LH IIA) origin. Concerning the three cups published by Pecorella, my original suggestion (1995; 2005a, 329) was not much different from the interpretation proposed by Pecorella, Kanta, and other scholars. However, I tentatively also suggested that all the Aegeaen cups found at Ayia Irini might have been part of a homogeneous group of cups FS 211 and FS 221 belonging to a "pseudo-Minoan class" of LH IIA date showing comparable motifs of mainland character and monochrome interior.[56] I also doubtfully attributed this group to Aeginetan production (Graziadio 1995, 9 fig. 1). To conclude, while there is

53 See the different opinions of various scholars in the discussion following the paper presented at the International Archaeological Symposium "The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean" (Nicosia, 27 March-2 April 1972) (cf. Karageorghis 1973, 305-12). Also cf. Graziadio 1995, 8 fns 8-9, with additional refs; Sørensen 2012a, 185 fn. 5 (LM/LH I, LM IA). A wheelmade plain conical cup from Tomb 3 may also belong to LM IA or LM IB (Pecorella 1977, 21 no. 15, fig. 29; Catling 1980, 4 fns 9-10; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 15; Sørensen 2008, 178 no. 18).

54 Quilici 1990, 126 no. 427, fig. 328, 348a; Cadogan 1979, 63 fn. 1; Karageorghis 1972, 1051; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 71 no. 5; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 87 fn. 46; Graziadio 1995, 10 fig. 1: 4; Sørensen 2008, 181 no. 29; 2012a, 189, fig. 9: a, b; Eriksson 2024, 145 fig. 7.4, LM IA.

55 Quilici 1990, 86-7 no. 228, 115 fig. 316: a; Cadogan 1979, 63 fn. 1; Karageorghis 1972, 1051; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 71 no. 5; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 87 fn. 46; Graziadio 1995, 10 fig. 1: 10; Sørensen 2008, 181 no. 28; Eriksson 2024, 146 fig. 7: 6, LH IIA.

56 Although the LM IA parallels for two cups published by L. Quilici are close, the framed spiral motif (FM 46) is also rather common on the LH IIA semiglobular cups FS 211 and FS 218, sometimes also showing a monochrome interior. Cf. for example, Mountjoy 1999, 93 fig. 15 no. 56, 322 fig. 108 no. 22, 650 fig. 247 no. 14. For LH IIA cups FS 211 featuring a monochrome interior decoration, cf. Mountjoy 1999, 508 fig. 180 nos 33, 35.

no scholarly consensus on the origin and chronology of all the Aegean cups from Ayia Irini, I am now inclined to acknowledge that a distinction is possible in terms of production area and chronology between the (possibly Mycenaean) cups found by Pecorella and the other (possibly Minoan) cups later published by Quilici. The tomb excavated by Quilici was located ca 150 meters north the *Necropoli a Mare* excavated by Pecorella and, according to Quilici (1990, 146-7), it was in use since LC IA, slightly earlier than the tombs in the *Necropoli a Mare.* If so, there were two distinct clusters of tombs at Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* in LC I, and this may explain the possible differences between the Aegean cups from the two distinct burial areas at Ayia Irini.[57]

To summarize all the evidence of the Aegean imports on Cyprus, a clear preference is apparent for small drinking vessels, especially for finely decorated semiglobular cups, which amounted to more than 65% of the 41 Aegean ceramic imports of Interaction Period 2. This, coupled with their funerary context in many cases, clearly indicates that a high value was placed on these vases, although they are generally regarded as table ware. The imported Aegean pottery also included some examples, such as the pseudo-Minoan LH IIA beaked jug from T. X at Hala Sultan Tekke (Fisher, Bürge 2017b, 176-7, 179 fig. 13) and the LM IB cup from *Enaerios* Feature 621-VI at Limassol (Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 112 no. 4, pls XLIV: 4, LXXVII, 621-VI/4), that were decorated in Alternating Style, a particularly sophisticated style of LM IB pottery which was also copied in the Peloponnese (Mountjoy 2004, 402, with refs). In addition to this beaked jug from Hala Sultan Tekke, the identifiable Aegean closed vessels included a few jugs and jars, as well as three alabastra, one from Enkomi, Area III (Dikaios 1969-71, 1, frontispiece, 230; 2, 544, 551; 3a, pl. 58/28, 86/3a) and the others from Tombs 3 and 6 at Maroni *Tsaroukkas* (Manning, Monks 1998, 320, 321: MT 616, fig. 22; 328: MT 467, pl. 64a, right, fig. 16).

The majority of imports on Cyprus were of Minoan production and most of them (16 vessels) were found in tombs and settlement deposits at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*. As far as the connections between this site and Crete are concerned, it is now also important to stress that, according to Sørensen (2012a), nine handmade cups of local manufacture from Tombs I and VI and from the Pot Row in C 12 at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* have a handle inspired by Minoan pottery. Published by the excavators as Proto Base Ring, Black Slip/Proto Base Ring, Base Ring I, and Monochrome cups, they may be attributed to the LC IA1 period, probably the later part, being nearly contemporaneous with the imported LM IA pottery found in

57 For the possible differences in the period of use of the two burial areas, cf. Bombardieri 2020, 66. I am grateful to Luca Bombardieri for pointing out Quilici's statement to me.

the site. Their general shapes are in fact well paralleled in the Cypriot repertoire, but the most interesting feature of these cups has been considered the high vertical strap handle attached over the rim, which "gives the impression of a hybrid cup type, i.e. a Cypriot cup with a Cretan handle" (192), instead of the typical Cypriot wishbone handle. If so,[58] Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* yielded one of the earliest examples of the phenomenon of the hybridization that is an important feature of the Cypriot culture in the following centuries, although in Interaction Period 2, the influence of Neopalatial pottery within the Aegean basin of course was far more pronounced (see § 4.3.1).

Of the other Aegean regions interacting with Cyprus in this period, two Eastern Aegean imports are particularly important because they reinforce, albeit very slightly, the close connections between the Dodecanese and Cyprus by providing evidence for trade into Cyprus from the southeast Aegean. Ten sherds originating in two different levels, Level 1A end and Level 1B end, from Area III at Enkomi probably belonged to the same large Southern Aegean Light-on-Dark or Dark-on-Light Ware closed vessel (Crewe 2007b, 126, 197 fig. A1.28). Another sherd of a jar or jug was found at Maroni *Vournes* in a Vournes Ib context, which is a later phase than the context where the LM IA sherd that was discussed above was found. The excavators, however, do not exclude the possibility that this sherd was from the Cyclades (Cadogan 2001, 79 fig. 6, 80). According to S. Vitale and T. Hancock Vitale (2013, 55 fn. 20, fig. 4: 1, a), both Eastern Aegean vessels were possibly imported from Kos.

4.4.2 Aegean Copper-Based Artifacts on Cyprus

The list of potentially imported bronze artifacts based on shape is very meager and includes a mirror and a razor from Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* (Quilici 1990, 16 no. 16 fig. 20; 65 no. 196, 148), as well as a curved razor and a fragmentary knife handle with two gold rivets from Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb 1 (Portugali, Knapp 1985, 71 no. 2; Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 222, 330, T.I 56, B 24, pl. 107; 240, 324, 332; Sørensen 2008, 189 nos 60-1). Their Aegean origin, however, seems to be uncertain (Graziadio 2005a, 327 fns 35, 40; Graziadio 2005c, 4; Sørensen 2008, 155). On the other hand, a sword in the Severis Collection may indicate early contacts between Mainland Greece and Cyprus (Catling 1980, 4 fns 11-13; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 152 with refs; Karageorghis 2010, 89 no. 124). In fact,

58 When considering in general the possible influence of Minoan semiglobular cups on the Cypriot Monochrome examples, G. Cadogan (1991, 169) concluded that their likeness in shape was generic.

the shape of this weapon is similar to the Type B short swords of the Early Mycenaean period (Dickinson 1994, 248), although they are also occasionally present in later contexts (Graziadio 2005a, 327 fn. 37 with refs; 2005c, 4). In the Lead Isotope analysis of LBA artifacts from Cyprus, however, Z. Stos-Gale (2015, 117-18) noted that 70% out of the 123 copper-based analyzed artifacts and copper slags were consistent with an origin from Cypriot ores, while very few small finds were consistent with an origin from Lavrion.

4.4.3 Prestige Objects

4.4.3.1 Precious Vessels

The fragments of one or two imported gold Vapheio cups from the British Excavations of Tomb 93 at Enkomi have interesting social implications for their find context.[59] Of the Enkomi funerary contexts, Tomb 93 is the richest in gold (amounting to around 1.430 g), and its importance is also underlined by many Orientalia and extraordinary items of jewelry. In general, the paraphernalia have been attributed to the LC IIA-IIC period, but P. Keswani (1989b, 62, 78, tab. 2; 2004, 236, tab. 5.9c) has not ruled out the possibility of an earlier LC I phase. Since a lapis lazuli "talismanic" Cretan seal from this tomb may be attributed to the Neopalatial period (see below), a very early chronology is also possible for the gold Vapheio cup(s), especially if we take into account the chronology of the gold examples found in the shaft graves at Mycenae. As in the case of nearly all the fragmentary metal Vapheio cups from Mycenae, it is however impossible to establish whether the Enkomi fragments belonged to one or two example(s) of Minoan or Mycenaean manufacture.

The British Excavations of Tomb 92 at Enkomi yielded three silver cups including a Vapheio cup that was thoroughly discussed by R.S. Merrillees.[60] The tomb was less rich than Tomb 93, with the total gold only amounting to 67 g, but it no doubt contained the burials of the elite who displayed exotic luxury goods and "other objects that were rich in symbolism and iconography" (Keswani 2004, 126, tab. 5.9b). Tomb 92 was definitely used in LC IIA-B, but an earlier period of use, dating to LC IB, is also possible.[61] Although it is impossible

59 Marshall 1911, 42 no. 641a-b; Graziadio 2005a, 326; 2005c, 9 fn. 63; Sørensen 2008, 188 no. 57.

60 Merrillees 1982, 236-7 no. 4, pl. XXI: 5 with refs. Also cf. Marshall 1911, 42 no. 641a-b; Graziadio 2005a, 326; 2005c, 9 fn. 63; Sørensen 2008, 188 no. 57.

61 Merrillees 1982, 237-8 no. 4, pl. XXI: 5 with refs; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 73 no. 44; Courtois, J. Lagarce, E. Lagarce 1986, 44; Keswani 2004, 232, tab. 5.9b; Graziadio 2005a, 326-7; Sørensen 2008, 188 no. 56.

to establish whether the silver cup was a Minoan or a Mycenaean artifact, its shape is well paralleled in the gold and silver Vapheio cups from the LH I shaft graves at Mycenae (cf. e.g. the examples from Shaft Grave V: Karo 1930-3, 122, 137, pl. CXXIII; Davis 1977, 144-8, figs 115-16), and may therefore be regarded as one of the earliest objects placed in Tomb 92, possibly belonging to a LC I burial.

4.4.3.2 Gold Roundels

About fifty thin sheet-gold roundels are part of the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. They are usually compared with the roundels found in the shaft graves in Circle A at Mycenae, but it has alternatively been suggested that they date much later to the Archaic period, seventh-sixth centuries BC (Karageorghis 2000a, 70 no. 112).

4.4.3.3 Seals

In the context of Minoan connections with Cyprus, three Neopalatial seals of the so called "talismanic" group have noteworthy importance.[62] Belonging to a category of Minoan seal stones that are almost all non-sphragistic, the 'talismanic' group seals were generally decorated with recurring motifs. These motifs have recently been divided into eleven categories (Stram 2017, 57-8), including ritual vessels, the so called "lions' masks", marine creatures such as fish or squid, double axes, pillared structures, birds, stricken animals, and heart shapes, all of which lack any attempt to appear naturalistic. According to Kenna (1969, 26), they were used for their magical power, but their actual use is undefined although it is clear that they were likely worn around the neck or wrist like other seal stones (Stram 2017, 62-8). In the Aegean they mainly occur in the north-central and east-central areas of Crete, particularly in the vicinity of Knossos and Malia (43-4, fig. 3.1, 46 fig. 3.2, 49, tab. 3.5), but no single production center may be identified (Krzyszkowska 2011, 442). It is commonly assumed that in Crete "talismanic seals" began to be used in MM III and continued as late as the LM I period (Krzyszkowska 2005b, 769), while many examples found in much later contexts, LH IIIA-C or even post-Bronze Age can be interpreted as treasured heirlooms or have been otherwise explained (769; 2011, 443 fig. 3, 444-6).

62 Onassoglou 1985, 207 no. 31, pl. II, 223 no. 13, pl. XIV, 271 no. 33, pl. LI; Pini 1992, 207-10 nos 1-3 with refs; Graziadio 2005a, 326; Sørensen 2008, 187 nos 51-3.

With respect to the three examples found on Cyprus, no exact provenance is known for two, which are made of sardonyx, while the third, a prismatic lapis lazuli 'talismanic seal' featuring an incised plant and bird (Onassoglou 1985, 271 no. 33, pl. LI), was found during the British Excavations at Enkomi in Tomb 93. Although it is possible that these 'talismanic seals' were used over long periods of time before their deposition inside tombs, passed down from earlier generations, the gold Vapheio cup(s) from British Tomb 93 may also support a very early period of use for the tomb (cf. however, Joyner, Merrilles, Xenophontos 2006, 140). Moreover, the find's lapis lazuli material is unique among 'talismanic seal[s]' (Pini 1992, 208) and contradicts the suggestion that 'talismanic' stones were made of cheap materials (Boardman 1970, 43).

Several other seals from Cyprus are worth mentioning, despite uncertainty over their context or chronology. Specifically, one steatite prismatic stamp seal from Ayia Paraskevi, is, according to I. Pini (1992, 207 fn. 8), of problematic origin although considered a MM III seal (Portugali, Knapp 1985, 71 no. 1; Kanta 1998, 34; Sørensen 2008, 186-7 no. 50 with refs). From Palaepaphos, a stamp seal and a cylinder seal are of uncertain chronology (Maier 1983, 231; Sørensen 2008, 187-8 nos 54-5), and some cylinder and conoid seals, generally without context, were assigned to LC I by V.E.G. Kenna purely on the basis of stylistic considerations (Graziadio 2005c, 5, fns 29-33 with refs).

4.4.4 Cypro-Minoan Script

Although the earliest Cypro-Minoan inscription is commonly believed to be clear evidence for the influence of Minoan Linear A on Cyprus,[63] any discussion concerning the Minoan impact on the formation of Cypriot writing is here delegated to specialists. However, the invention of this script is clearly indicative of close connections between the Aegean and Cyprus during Interaction Period 2 documented in the archaeological evidence reviewed above. Another detail which cannot be overlooked is the find location of the earliest Cypro-Minoan tablet at Enkomi, Area III, in the so-called Fortress, where there was also clear evidence for metallurgical activities. This inscription is therefore contemporary with the first 'industrial' development of metallurgy in the town and might have been connected to copper working. However, the fact that the text of this inscription remains undeciphered clearly prohibits any more detailed discussion of the link with Crete for which the Enkomi document may serve as evidence (Duhoux 2009; Ferrara 2012).

63 Masson 1969; 1974; Palaima 1989, 40-1; Olivier 2007; Morpurgo Davies, Olivier 2012, 105; Ferrara 2013b; Valério 2013.

4.5 Remarks on Interaction Period 2: Towards a Revaluation of the Period

Several scholars have stressed the scanty evidence for trade between the Aegean and Cyprus in Interaction Period 2, both in terms of LC I pottery imports to the Aegean (Niemeier 1998a, 38; Cline 1999, 118; Papadimitriou 2012, 116-17) and Aegean imports from LC I contexts.[64] Their comments are undoubtedly well-founded if one takes into account the relative amount of exchanged items compared to the local material and imports from other regions during this period, as well as the more obvious and numerous connections attested in Interaction Periods 3 and 4. At Enkomi, Aegean imports remain very few until Level IIA (LC IIA2-IIB) both in Areas I and III (Crewe 2007b, 125-6, tab. 16.14), but it is important to remember that, contrary to many LC funerary contexts, their percentage is generally low in all the Cypriot settlement deposits, including those of Level IIA at Enkomi (Crewe 2007b, 154, fig. 19.1; also see § 5.4.1.5). In this situation, however, it is helpful to reconsider the broader pattern of Cypro-Aegean contacts in light of the evidence reviewed above for Interaction Period 2.

Compared with the scanty evidence for contacts in the preceding Interaction Period 1, later phase, all the archaeological evidence shows an increase in the quantity of exchanged objects in Interaction Period 2 in both Aegean and Cypriot contexts. In fact, if we consider pottery, only two vessels (one from Crete and the other from Cyprus) were exchanged in the later phase of Interaction Period 1, although this span of time covers the Protopalatial period and the very beginning of the Neopalatial period in the Aegean when the Minoans were establishing contacts with Egypt and the Levant. On the contrary, in Interaction Period 2 the pottery reciprocally exchanged between the Aegean and Cyprus amounted to about 94 vessels.[65] Within the limits of the available evidence underlined above, the difference between the two Interaction Periods is so marked that the increase in exchanged pottery in Interaction Period 2, although relatively limited, can be considered a likely reflection of an increase in trade connections due to changing historical conditions, i.e. the consolidation

64 Knapp, Cherry 1994, 324; Driessen, Macdonald 1997, 80; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 186; Steel 2004, 170; Papadimitriou 2015, 425; 2022, 182.

65 As seen above, some vases are of problematic chronology, and this is the reason why the number of exchanged vessels is approximate. However, in the Aegean, 31 Cypriot vessels can be counted from Crete, two from the Cyclades, one from mainland Greece, five from Troy, one from Miletus, one from Kos, one from Tilos, and 11 from Rhodes; while from Cypriot sites, 41 Aegean vessels have been reported, yet their number is actually larger since an undefined handful of Aegean sherds, possibly of LH IIA-B date, came from settlement deposits at Hala Sultan Tekke (Mazzotta, Recht 2015, 60-1, fig. 37).

of the cultural development of Neopalatial Crete in the Aegean and the beginning of urbanization on Cyprus.

Some additional aspects can also be pointed out in this scenario. The first is the diffusion of reciprocal pottery imports in both areas. If we consider the evidence from the perspective of Crete which maintained the prominent role in the interchange during this period, only Kommos and Pseira yielded more than one Cypriot vessel (see § 4.3.1) **[tab. 4.1]**. However, it should be underlined that Cypriot pottery occurred in all the most important districts of central and eastern Crete: the north-central area (Knossos, Poros-Katsambas, Malia), the Mesara (Kommos), and eastern Crete (Gournia, Mochlos, Pseira, and Zakros) **[fig. 4.1]**. Moreover, the stone anchor of possible Cypriot type from Mochlos mentioned in § 4.3.2.1 may confirm the participation of Cypriot ships in trade with Crete, while the meaning of the finds on Chryssi island is, of course, to be defined with further research.

It is impossible to understand whether the Cypriot vessels found in the Cyclades (Thera and Melos) and possibly at Athens were imported via Crete or directly from Cyprus (see § 4.3.1), but whatever the case, they reflect a general increase in Aegean interest for Cypriot pottery during this period. On the other hand, it is likely that Rhodes, maintaining direct connections with Cyprus, played the most important role in the spread of LC I pottery in the Southeastern Aegean (at Kos and Tilos), while Cypriot pottery reached Miletus and Troy through the coastal route from the Dodecanese to the North Aegean (Pieniążiek, Pavúk, Kozal 2018, 386).

A comparable spread of Aegean pottery occurred on Cyprus in the same period. As evident from the Aegean vessels found at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* and Ayia Irini *Paleokastro*, the northern coast of the island continued to maintain a prominent role in relations with the Aegean favored by its location on the sea route along the Anatolian coast. A significant novelty, however, of the trade network of Interaction Period 2 is the appearance, although scattered, of Aegean imports elsewhere along the coasts, in the western region, at Palaepaphos (*Teratsoudhia* and *Evreti*); along the southern coast, at Limassol, Maroni, Hala Sultan Tekke; and in the eastern region of the island, at Enkomi **[fig. 4.3]**. This diffusion does not seem to be accidental, but it foreshadows the shift along the coast of the Cypro-Aegean trade policies in subsequent Interaction Periods.

The relative variety of exchanged wares also seems to imply the direct or indirect participation of different regions in the trade network from the beginning to the end of Interaction Period 2 **[tab. 4.1]**. On Crete, this is indicated by the Cypriot pottery found in the MM III/LM I contexts, i.e. the White Painted IV or V and Red-on-Black vessels from Kommos, Zakros, and Malia. Some White Painted sherds from Kommos and Pseira could also be included, since they were

produced in eastern Cyprus and Karpas. However, it should be recalled that the repertoire of LC I wares found on the island is relatively wide and also includes Red Slip, Proto Base Ring, Base Ring I, Proto White Slip, White Slip I, Plain White, and Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware (if this is of Cypriot production). On Cyprus, despite the difficulties in attributing some vases to Minoan or Mycenaean production, most of the ceramic imports continue to be of Minoan manufacture, but the appearance, although more restricted, of Mycenaean, Dodecanesian, and maybe Cycladic imports confirms that the trade network was becoming wider and more complex.

The increase in Cypriot imports on Crete during Interaction Period 2 should also be considered as a gradual process. The vessels dating to the earlier phases of the period are few with only three Cypriot examples, from Kommos, Malia and Zakros, that may date to MC III or MC III-LC I. More LC I ceramic imports, from Knossos, Poros-Katsambas, Kommos, and possibly Pseira, may be assigned to the later phase (LM IA in Minoan terms) based on their find contexts or their features **[tab. 4.1 nos 4-15, 22-3]** and several other Cypriot vessels from Kommos (nos 16-20), Gournia (no. 21), Pseira (nos 24-9) and Mochlos (no. 31) have been found in LM IB contexts. In other words, as already noted, most of the Cypriot imports from datable Neopalatial contexts belong to the LM IA final and LM IB periods, seemingly indicating that Cypriot trade activity on Crete intensified during this span of time. Additional evidence from Trianda reinforces this suggestion since the Cypriot imported pottery found there may be assigned to the Trianda IIA phase, i.e. the period corresponding to the end of Late Bronze Age IA and IB/LM IA Late and LM IB (Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 458). Moreover, this also is the period when a significant consolidation of the 'Dodecanesian connection' becomes apparent, with Rhodian potters producing several good quality imitations that replicate most of the characteristics of Cypriot vessels (Tracz 2021, 301-3). The production of these imitations clearly implies strong contacts between Rhodes and Cyprus in an earlier period than the first appearance (in LM IB) of Cypriot-type wishbone handles in Minoan pottery, and this may suggest a Rhodian role in the transmission of this distinctive feature to Crete.

In addition to ceramics, during the latest phase of Interaction Period 2, the appearance on Crete of the earliest oxhide ingots made of Cypriot copper marks a very important new level of interaction. As discussed previously, at least the four ingots from Zakros, as well as the other examples from Mochlos, Gournia, and Syme, are consistent with a Cypriot provenance and were imported in the LM IB period. Along with these, the Type 1 ingot from Poros-Katsambas and, possibly, other ingots from additional Cretan sites (see § 4.3.2) may be added. In this context, the granulated earrings ('mulberry-type')

should also be recalled, and the recent discovery of a MM III/LM I clay loom-weight with a possible Cypro-Minoan sign near Rethymnon may open new perspectives on the interpretation of the nature of contacts between Cyprus and Crete in this period (Papadimitriou 2022, 184 with refs).

Therefore, the cumulative evidence indicates that, from the Aegean – and specifically Cretan – perspective, in the main phase of increasing contacts with Cyprus (the LM IB period), a wider range of goods was exchanged. From this point of view, it is probably not by chance that in this period some Cretan sites, such as Gournia, Mochlos, and Pseira, yielded both Cypriot pottery and oxhide ingots made of Cypriot copper.

In assessing the Aegean evidence on Cyprus, no vessel earlier than LM IA has been found on the island in Interaction Period 2. However, it should also be recalled that LM IA vessels constituted the largest group of Minoan vessels of this period found outside the Aegean, although most of them were concentrated at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*. The three Minoan "talismanic seals" found on Cyprus may have also been imported in this period, since their main period of use in the Aegean is the earlier phases of the Neopalatial period. Moreover, the possibility that the Aegean precious metal vessels found in British Excavations of Tombs 92 and 93 at Enkomi also came to Cyprus in the same period cannot be ruled out given that there are close parallels in the shaft graves at Mycenae (see § 4.4.3.1). The same may also be true of the Type B sword in the Severis Collection (see § 4.4.2). If so, the impact of Aegean contacts on Cypriot culture in the early phases of the LC I period may be greater than commonly admitted since prior interpretations have mainly been based on the limited amount of Aegean pottery imports. In terms of pottery, however, the LM IB and LH IIA imported vessels are fewer than those dating to LM IA, but the appearance of the first Dodecanesian imports in this later period must also be considered (see § 4.4.1).

The chronology of reciprocal imports discussed above clearly shows a temporal discrepancy between Cyprus and Crete within Interaction Period 2. Most of the Aegean imports to Cyprus can be dated to the period corresponding to LM IA, while the evidence reviewed from Minoan sites seems to suggest that trade connections with Cyprus increased in the LM IB period. In light of the available evidence, it is difficult to find a clear explanation for this imbalance, but it is tempting to think that in the network of Cypro-Aegean interconnections the earliest appreciable activity of contacts was carried out by Minoans coming to Cyprus with their valuable commodities, while in the following period an active role was also played by Cypriots traveling to Crete carrying pottery and oxhide ingots.

5 Interaction Period 3: Contacts Between the Aegean and Cyprus from Ca 1450 to Ca 1300 BC

Summary 5.1 Cypro-Aegean Synchronisms in Interaction Period 3. – 5.2 The Historical Background of Cypro-Aegean Connections in Interaction Period 3. – 5.2.1 The Aegean. – 5.2.2 Cyprus. – 5.3 Cypro-Aegean Connections During Interaction Period 3 from an Aegean Perspective. – 5.3.1 Cypriot Pottery Imported to the Aegean in Interaction Period 3. – 5.3.2 Oxhide Ingots and Copper-Based Artifacts Imported to the Aegean in Interaction Period 3. – 5.3.3 Prestige Objects Imported to the Aegean in Interaction Period 3. – 5.4 Cypro-Aegean Connections in Interaction Period 3 from a Cypriot Perspective. – 5.4.1 Pottery. – 5.4.2 Aegean Copper-Based Artifacts in Cyprus. – 5.4.3 Prestige Objects Imported from the Aegean. – 5.4.4 Inspiration, Influences, and Imitations: A Further Step in Cypro-Aegean Interaction.

5.1 Cypro-Aegean Synchronisms in Interaction Period 3

The synchronisms between the Aegean and Cyprus **[tab. 2.3]** during Interaction Periods 3 and 4, i.e. the long span from the fifteenth to the end of the thirteenth centuries BC corresponding to the Mycenaean Palatial Period in Mainland Greece (LH IIB-IIIB),[1] are here re-

1 Note however that some scholars, such as, for example, Papadimitriou (2012, 94; 2015, 424 and tab. 1: Stage 4, 431), restrict the time of the Mycenaean palaces to LH/LM IIIA2-IIIB, i.e. to the period from the second half of the fourteenth century through the thirteenth century BC. Here, J. Wright's interpretation that Mycenaean "proto-palaces" already existed before this period is instead accepted (Wright 2006; 2008, 249-51; also cf. Dickinson 1994, 13 fig. 1.1, Third Palace Period from the beginning of LH

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garded as contemporaneous with Urban Periods II and III on Cyprus (LC IIA-LC IIC). On the Greek mainland, there was cultural continuity through the entire Mycenaean Palatial Period, when the Mycenaean culture became prominent in the entire Aegean. On Cyprus, however, despite the lack of any significant break in terms of material culture (Papadimitriou, Kriga 2013, 17-18), a distinction between Urban Period II (LC IIA-C early) and III (LC IIC late-end of LC IIC) is here accepted as a consequence of the important changes in settlement patterns, urban development, and administrative centers that characterized the Urban Period III (LC IIC late-end of LC IIC). Therefore, in order to correlate the two areas without implying a break in continuity in Mycenaean Greece, a distinction between Earlier (LH IIB-IIIA1 and LH IIIA2) and Later (LH IIIB) Mycenaean Palatial Periods is necessary.[2] The discussion on trade and cultural connections between Cyprus and the Aegean therefore distinguishes Interaction Period 3, which corresponds to the Earlier Mycenaean Palatial Period and Urban Period II, from Interaction Period 4, which corresponds to the Later Mycenaean Palatial Period-beginning of Postpalatial period and Urban Period III (see § 6.1) **[tab. 2.3]**. Since this chapter focuses on Interaction Period 3, it addresses the Cypro-Aegean connections during the Earlier Mycenaean Palatial Period in Mainland Greece (LH IIB-IIIA2) and Urban Period II (LC IIA-IIC early) on Cyprus.

Regarding Crete, table 2.3 gives specific importance to the end of the Neopalatial period at the end of LM IB and to the beginning of the Monopalatial Period, since this transformation, which, despite a series of key transitions (Galaty, Rutter 2022), is commonly considered the beginning of the 'Mycenaean' period at Knossos. This transition is also important in terms of synchronization with Cyprus, since it marks the beginning of Interaction Period 3. By contrast, from this point of view, a lesser emphasis is given here to the significant break which, in the history of LM II to III on Crete marks the separation between the Minoan Monopalatial and Postpalatial Periods (Preston 2008, 310-11). This break is related to the final destruction of the palace at Knossos at the transition from LM IIIA1 to LM IIIA2 or, as suggested by an increasing number of scholars, in early LM IIIA2 (Rutter 2017, 2, tab. 1.1). An alternative chronology proposed by other scholars suggests that early LM IIIB may mark the end of Knossian

IIB to the end of LH IIIB2). The definition of "palatial era" is, of course, now in considerable flux due to the discovery of monumental architecture and frescoes as early as LH I at Pylos; cf. Nelson 2017; 2022; Egan 2021.

2 It should be emphasized that my usage of the term 'Mycenaean Palatial Period(s)' refers to the conventional periodization of Mycenaean 'palatial culture' standard in handbooks published up to the present and reflected in Vitale, Van de Moortel 2020, 46, tab. 1:a and Jung, Kardamaki 2022, 24-5, tab. 1.

administration.[3] However, apart from different chronological placements of the destruction of Knossos followed by the breakdown of its hegemony, if we compare the range and intensity of Minoan and Mycenaean contacts with Cyprus during Interaction Period 3, a far smaller role can be ascribed to Crete than to mainland Greece, although the harbor town of Kommos continued to be an important gateway community in Mediterranean trade networks of this period, showing valuable evidence of contacts with Cyprus.[4]

The span of time here named Interaction Period 3 corresponds to the last phase of Papadimitriou's Chronological Stage 3 and to the earlier phase of his Chronological Stage 4, since, in his opinion, Chronological Stage 3 overlaps the LM II/LH IIB-LM/LH IIIA1 period and Chronological Stage 4 overlaps the LH/LMIIIA2-IIIB period (Papadimitriou 2012, 94; 2015, 424, tab. 2): in his most recent article he has distinguished a Phase B corresponding to the period of the Mycenaean palaces, i.e. LH IIIA2-B, which he has equated to LC IIB-C (Papadimitriou 2022, 180, tab. 1). According to the synchronims proposed by G. Cadogan (2005, 314; also see chapter 2 fn. 4), from a Cypriot perspective, Interaction Period 3 may correspond to the period from the end of LC I through most of LC IIB.

5.2 The Historical Background of Cypro-Aegean Connections in Interaction Period 3

5.2.1 The Aegean

At the end of Interaction Period 2, Minoan sites all over Crete, including palaces, towns, and villas, except for the palace of Knossos and Kommos, were affected by devastating destruction that marks the end of the flourishing Neopalatial period. Different explanations (internal unrest, natural catastrophes, invasions, and a combination of all these factors) have been suggested from Evans' time onwards (Driessen, Macdonald 1997, 105-15; Wiener 2020, 304-6). After the decipherment of the Linear B texts from the final destruction deposits of the palace of Knossos, some Mycenaean involvement in these

3 For a review of different interpretations on the Knossian destructions and the end of the Minoan Final Palatial Period, clearly connected to the destruction date of the archives of Linear B tablets, cf. Rehak, Younger 2001, 391, tab. 1, 442; also cf. Preston 2008, 311 with refs; Whitelaw 2022; Wiener 2022.

4 Rehak, Younger 2001, 454-5, 462; Betancourt 2008, 220; Wright 2022. For Cretan pottery (including transport stirrup jars) exported to Cyprus from West and Central Crete, see sections 5.4.1.1, 6.4.1; also cf. Haskell 2005, 213-14; D'Agata, Moody 2005, 13; Haskell et al. 2011.

events which affected the Minoan civilization, at least after the LM IB horizons of destruction, must be admitted. Moreover, chamber tombs, shaft graves, and pit caves with mainland-type bronzes recall the Early Mycenaean burial customs and suggest that burials of warriors proliferated in the Knossos area, as well as at Phaistos and at Chania, in the beginning of the Monopalatial Period in LM II-IIIA1. Minoan pottery also begins to show some Mycenaean elements at this time. Many scholars have therefore even referred to the Helladic conquest of Crete in LM II, implicitly regarding the Monopalatial Period as the era of "Mycenaean Crete" (Wiener 2015, 131-5; 2020, 300-6). However, the identification of intrusive mainlanders and the Mycenaean character of the island's material culture have been questioned by other scholars who think that some of the "Warrior Graves" indeed contained burials of local elites changing their habits in order to make them suitable to the new general situation in the Aegean.[5]

The impact of the disintegration of the major Minoan sites is also apparent elsewhere in the Aegean, especially at formerly Minoan or Minoanized sites in the Cyclades, Dodecanese, and along the Anatolian coast. In this scenario it is important to note that in Interaction Period 3 the Mycenaean presence replaced the Minoan cultural hegemony, with many sites, such as Miletus, changing in character from Minoan to Mycenaean. However, after the destruction of the Neopalatial sites and up until its final destruction, Knossos, although reduced in size, not only remained the largest site in the Aegean, but maintained uninterrupted foreign trade contacts, and prospered as a center of cultural innovations, even continuing to sustain contacts with Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean (Cline 1994, 9; 1999, 118; Wiener 2020, 306 with refs), despite the fact that Mycenaeans replaced Minoans as the main Aegean interlocutors in Egypt from the end of LM/LH IIIA1 onwards. Another dramatic change in the history of Crete occurred with the final destruction of Knossos in the early LM IIIA2 period. Yet, at this time, the sites of Archanes and Tylissos near Knossos continued, and were to some extent prosperous, and Ayia Triada remained an important regional center in south-central Crete. Chania reached the apex of its urban development in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC and stood out from other LM III sites also for its widespread contacts abroad (Cline 1999, 119-21; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2010, 523-4), while in the same period the harbor town of Kommos continued to play a primary role in the Mediterranean trade network also acting as a gateway community in the Aegean context (Wright 2022).

On the Greek Mainland, during the Early Mycenaean Period the evolution of settlements and the process of centralization are

5 Cf. for example, Preston 2004; 2008, 311-12; Molloy 2008; 2013; Galanakis 2022.

particularly evident in the Argolid and Messenia, but many important developments are also apparent elsewhere, in Elis, Laconia, central Greece, and in Thessaly. From LH II onwards some sites in the core area of the Mycenaean world developed monumental palace complexes that rapidly became the prominent centers of the Mycenaean system of administration and assumed great political importance in the Mediterranean context, replacing the previous Minoan hegemony. By LH IIB (LM II), Mycenaean material culture spread in the Cycladic islands and in LH IIIA1 a megaron of Helladic type was constructed at Phylakopi. Moreover, Mycenaean pottery, mostly produced in the Argolid, appeared in the Dodecanese, on Kos and on the island of Rhodes at Trianda, and in other areas where Mainlanders established new cemeteries. On the Anatolian coast, the Mycenaeans took control of the major center of Miletus, and LH IIIA pottery has been found at Iasos, Ephesos and many other sites in western Anatolia, while the chamber tombs of the cemetery at Müsgebi contained typically Mycenaean grave offerings. Such cultural expansion in the various Aegaean regions must, of course, have required major Helladic maritime capability, which is also confirmed by an extraordinary network of overseas trade contacts between the Mycenaean centers and Cyprus, the Levant, and Egypt. The most pronounced impacts of the developing Mycenaean power are however apparent on the island of Crete where, as pointed out above, the picture changed dramatically. The Linear B archives at Knossos show that the Mycenaean administration was centered there before the final destruction of the palace and its harbor towns of Amnisos and Poros-Katsambas with their shipyards and/or ship sheds (Rethemiotakis, Christakis 2022). Although there was no break in foreign connections, from LM IIIA2, just after the destruction, there was a significant drop in the quantity of Egyptian and Near Eastern imports in the Knossos area.

5.2.2 Cyprus

Information about the Cypriot towns of Interaction Period 3, which here corresponds to the Urban Period (LC IIA and B) on Cyprus **[tab. 2.3]**, is relatively scarce since few settlement deposits of this period have been excavated in comparison to those of the Urban Period III. However, after Urban Period I (Interaction Period 2), there is a continuous development in settlements, and the major urban polities increased in number and social complexity, especially along the southern and eastern coasts of the island. In the northwest during this period, the so-called Basin Building at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* was filled in with bricks and its original function changed, while the three rectangular buildings south of the ramp were refurbished with new floors, walls, and wells, and House B, the most

elaborate building, assumed the appearance of an elite dwelling. At Enkomi the major urban reorganization of LC IIC seriously damaged the LC IIA-B architectural structures, but in Area III, Level IIA, the construction of a new building comprising 21 rooms followed a new plan (Pickles, Peltenburg 1988; Crewe 2007b, 77-9), and many tombs testify to a substantial increase in the wealth of the local elite, who were clearly associated with notable residences all over the town area. The group of sites located around the bay of Larnaca became particularly prominent, because they were centered around the very important settlement of Hala Sultan Tekke. Here, the new Swedish excavations are revealing settlement layers (Strata 2-3) mainly belonging to Interaction Period 4, in addition to a cemetery in Area A with tombs of various types, including the rich Chamber Tomb X used from LC IB to LC IIC and other notable funerary structures of Interaction Period 3 (Fischer, Bürge 2017b; 2018b; Fischer 2019b with earlier refs; Fischer, Bürge 2021; for recent refs also cf. Knapp 2023). Moreover, many cemeteries found in this area (Dromolaxia, Arpera, Klavdhia, and Aradippou) were clearly associated with Hala Sultan Tekke and/or other smaller settlements in its orbit (Keswani 1996, 226-7; Leonard 2000).

In the south-central area of the island at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, excavations below (i.e. to the south) and west of the LC IIC monumental Building X revealed an architectural sequence extending back to late LC IIB. A 25 m long straight wall on a different alignment from that of Building X clearly belonged to an earlier large building that probably dated back to Interaction Period 3 and was possibly contemporary with some of the rich tombs excavated in the same area (South 1996, 46 fn. 2; 1997, 152-6, 173 fn. 12). Recent excavations at this site suggest that the earliest phase of construction in Unit 3 (Phase 1) may date back to the late LC IIB/early LC IIC (Fisher, Manning, Urban 2019, 495). At Maroni *Vournes*, on a low hill located only 6 km southeast from Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, along with a large necropolis producing many Mycenaean imports of Interaction Period 3, an enigmatic small structure consisting of a sunken basin with a paved floor was constructed in this period. Evidence of copper working at the site is also attested by LC IIB (Cadogan 1996, 15-16). On the south coast, Episkopi *Bamboula* was occupied from LC I to LC IIIB. While the typical "rectangular-tripartite" houses were built throughout the entire period (Weinberg 1983), during LC IIB a fortification wall was constructed to protect the settlement (Benson 1970, 26; Kiely 2011).

The relative scarcity of Urban Period II settlement deposits is counterbalanced by the evidence of rich intramural tombs located in the major towns of the period. French Tomb 2 at Enkomi may be cited as one of the most significant examples of the period since it yielded some of the most famous *objets d'art* (Schaeffer 1952, 111-35,

pl. XII), but British Tomb 66, the only intact ashlar built tomb, was probably also constructed in LC IIB and intended for the burial of members of an elite social group with access to "higher-order valuables" (Crewe 2009b; also cf. Keswani 2004, 126). The Urban Period II also is the main period of use of British Tomb 93 (discussed in §§ 4.4.3.3, 7.2.2; also cf. Papasavvas 2022, 46-7 with refs) with its total of around 1430 g of gold and many precious items including, *inter alia*, a glass bottle, a faience scarab, cylinder seals, and ceramic figurines. Elite prestige complexes similar to those of Enkomi are also apparent in the major sites on the south coast. As noted above, the presence of very rich elite groups at Hala Sultan Tekke is revealed by the valuable finds from various tombs excavated in the past (Keswani 2004, 129, tab. 5.11 with refs) and during the current Swedish excavations in Area A, especially Chamber Tomb X and Shaft Tomb LL.[6] In the Kalavasos region, among the Urban Period II high status tombs concentrated in the northeast area of Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, the outstanding burial assemblage of Tomb 11 contained 432 g of gold jewelry (including 12 earrings, two finger rings and other personal jewels), ivory objects, glass vessels and several exotic luxury goods, and pottery of Mycenaean and local origin. Among the large array of local vessels, many Red Lustrous Wheelmade vases and Base Ring bull rhyta stood out (Goring 1989; South 1997, 159-61; 2000, 349-53). Other rich tombs located near Building X included Tomb 13, dating to LC IIB, which yielded an unusually high proportion of Mycenaean vessels including three craters with unique pictorial scenes, and Tomb 14, used from LC IIA-IIC, which contained bronze, ivory and faience objects, gold jewelry, and Mycenaean and Levantine pottery.

These tombs provide increasing evidence for wealth and prestige differentials between the social groups occupying these towns, including differential access to economic resources (copper), exotic goods, and social status. Priscilla Keswani also noted that at Enkomi "poor" to moderately endowed tombs are likely to be underrepresented because of the inadequate reports by the British Museum expedition. She also pointed out the presence of poorer LBA burial assemblages lacking Mycenaean pictorial craters at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, which she attributes to social groups who "may have had considerable access to locally produced goods" (Keswani 1989b, 85-6). Keswani (2004, 125, 132-3, 134-6) also reviewed several burial contexts which came to light elsewhere on the island, revealing a relatively low level of mortuary expenditure. In comparison to many tombs located in coastal and inland areas that also date to Urban Phase II, a significant variety in number and quality of grave goods is apparent (Knapp 2018b), as is evidence for the degree of contact

6 Bürge, Fischer 2017; Fischer, Bürge 2017b; 2018a, 53-8; Bürge 2021.

with the Aegean based on the comparative analysis of imported Mycenaean pottery dating to the LH IIB-IIIA periods recovered from various Cypriot sites (see § 5.4).

LC I-II burial assemblages through showing status disparities by way of high-order valuables, lavish personal ornamentation and elaborate burial ceremonies attest to the development of a stratified society particularly in the major coastal towns (Knapp 2018b). According to Keswani (2004, 143), the tombs of the LC IIA-B period indicate that before Interaction Period 4 these coastal sites maintained independent exchange contacts with foreign countries. However, some scholars have challenged Keswani's view on the heterarchical sociopolitical organization of Cyprus, while others have expressed different opinions on the political structure of the island, also implying different interpretations on the long-distance trade strategies of LBA Cyprus.[7] For the purpose of this study, however, it is enough to stress the international dimension attained by *Alashiya*, i.e. the entire island of Cyprus or part of it, in Interaction Period 3, when the *Alashiya* king established friendly relations with Akhenaton (Knapp 1996b, with refs; Mantzourani, Kopanias, Voskos 2019). As demonstrated by the Cypriot merchandise conveyed by the Uluburun ship, Cyprus at this time played an increasingly important role in Eastern Mediterranean maritime trade connections (see Appendix), and Cypro-Aegean connections can be viewed within this framework.

5.3 Cypro-Aegean Connections During Interaction Period 3 from an Aegean Perspective

Compared to the previous phase, evidence for contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus increased in Interaction Period 3, but the importance of Crete in trade activities was superseded by that of Mycenaean Greece which became dominant in the Aegean after the destruction by fire of Knossos in LM IIIA2 early.

5.3.1 Cypriot Pottery Imported to the Aegean in Interaction Period 3

5.3.1.1 Cypriot Imports to Crete

Similar in importance to the discussion of Cypriot pottery found on Crete in Interaction Period 2 (see § 4.3.1.1), Rutter's study on the Cypriot pottery from Neopalatial through Postpalatial contexts found

7 Keswani 1996; 2004, 154-5; Knapp 2008, 144-53; 2013, 432-8 with refs.

at Kommos[8] also contributes to our understanding of Cypro-Cretan trade in Interaction Period 3. Rutter's extensive study on the Cypriot imports is thorough and there is no need for additional comment other than a brief comparative analysis of the Cypriot pottery imports dating to Interaction Period 3, that are defined here. Rutter (2014a, 212; cf. 2006b, 654-5, tabs 3, 104-5) reported a total of 73-5 Cypriot entries in his 2014 catalog, but, while in Interaction Period 2 the vessels from MMIII, LM IA and LM IB contexts amounted to 16 pieces **[tab. 4.1 nos 1, 6-20]**, a large percentage of vessels were published as finds from contexts attributed to the LM III and LM IIIA2-B periods, making it difficult to establish the percentage of examples belonging to Interaction Period 3 precisely. However, a gradual increase is apparent in the number of Cypriot imports over the course of Interaction Period 3. Only one vessel (Rutter 2006a, 488-9, 45/11, pl. 3.49; 2014a, 230 no. 59) comes from a LM II context, and a few LM IIIA1 items were published by L. Vance Watrous in 1982.[9] The same scarcity of imports during this period is apparent in Rutter's subsequent publications (C 10669: Rutter 2006a, 498, 51/2, pl. 3: 54; 2014a, 219 no. 16; C 10732: Rutter 2006a, 498, 51/3, pl. 3: 54; Rutter 2014a, 219 no. 17). It should also be noted that in House X no recognizable Cypriot imports are present in the LM II and LM IIIA1 deposits although other imports, from Egypt, Anatolia, the Levant, and the Greek mainland, were more common in LM IIIA1 contexts than in preceding periods (Rutter 2017a, 192-3).

The majority of chronologically defined contexts producing Cypriot imports at the site may be assigned to LM IIIA2. From this period onwards, a series of Cypriot Plain White transport, storage, and serving vessels became common, and some new Base Ring, Bucchero, and maybe Monochrome tablewares appeared throughout the site (Rutter 2014a, 213-14); some Canaanite Jars from LM IIIA2 contexts were probably also imported from Cyprus (Day et al. 2011, 532-3, 551, 553). In LM IIIA2, Cypriot new tableware and a complete pithos were also deposited in House X (Rutter 2017a, 230), and in defined contexts from this period, Rutter (2006b, 654-5, tabs 3, 104-5) reports 27 Cypriot vessels out of the total 73-5 Cypriot imports. This list of Cypriot vessels imported to the site in LM IIIA2 may actually also be enriched by other examples coming from contexts of less definite chronology, i.e. LM IIIA and LM IIIA2-B (overall 23 items). Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian transport vessels also are common in LM IIIA2.

8 Rutter 1999; 2006a; 2006b; 2006c; 2014a; 2017a; 2017b.

9 C 4249: Watrous 1982, 157 fn. 1932, pl. 51; Rutter 2014a, 220 no. 20; C 4432: Watrous 1982, 157 fn. 1933, pl. 52; Rutter 2014a, 221 no. 23; C 4773: Watrous 1982, 157 fn. 1934, pl. 53; Rutter 2014a, 221 no. 24; C 340: Watrous 1992, 157 no. 570; Rutter 2014a, 220 no. 21; C 2046: Watrous 1992, 157 fn. 1935, pls 52-3; Rutter 2014a, 221 no. 22; C 4734: Watrous 1992, 157 fn. 803; Karageorghis et al. 2014, 235 no. 77.

Rutter distinguished Cypriot imported vessels under two broad headings, i.e.

> according to whether such imports served as table wares (including all painted pottery plus the Base Ring, Monochrome and White Shaved classes) or as transport, storage and large serving vessels (Plain White Class). (2006b, 653-8, tabs 3, 104-5; cf. also 2014a, 212)

Considering the overall imports from Neopalatial through Postpalatial contexts, Rutter (2006b, 653, 654-5, tabs 3.104-3.105; 2014a, 212) stated that at Kommos the tableware is more common than the latter functional group, with a ratio of roughly 3:1 among the overall Cypriot imports. This is also true of the Cypriot imports which can be safely related to Interaction Period 3, i.e. coming from LM II, LM IIIA, LM IIIA1, and LM IIIA2 contexts, but their ratio is 13:10 in LM IIIA2 contexts (654-5, tabs 3.104-3.105), suggesting an apparent increase also in Cypriot Plain White transport pithoi,[10] storage and large serving vessels imported in this period. It should also be noted that Base Ring II cups and jugs in LM IIIA2 "were regularly used in close conjunction" (Rutter 2014a, 214; 2017a, 205) forming some drinking sets of Cypriot inspiration.

An important contribution to the identification of the Cypriot regions that were engaged directly or indirectly in the trade network comes from the results of Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis of 40 samples assigned to the Cypriot group (Tomlinson, Rutter, Hoffman 2010). As far as the tableware is concerned, most of the White Slip II milk bowls were likely produced in the Limassol area and were made with clays derived from sources located several kilometres inland from the coast, possibly from the White Slip production center at Sanidha (217). The Base Ring II jugs and cups on the other hand were manufactured in the area of Episkopi (212). Interestingly, four of the pithoi analyzed were produced in several different centers (Kition, Limassol, Enkomi) located on the southern coast of the island (209-10, 217).

As far as other Cypriot imports to Crete in Interaction Period 3 are concerned, a White Slip II milk bowl (eight sherds total) came from a LM IIIA context at Chania (Cline 1994, 185 no. 445), while a few small sherds from open and closed shapes have been found in deposits "from LM IIIA-B" at Pseira (Betancourt 2014, 277 nos 7-8, 278 nos 9, 12), and some fragmentary White Slip II bowls attributed to LC II were found in various plots at Poros-Katsambas (Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2014, 267-89 nos 1-7, with refs). However, it is worth noting

10 Note, however, that Plain White storage jars have not been considered ideal Maritime Transport Containers, although they were also used as such, as shown by the examples from the Uluburun shipwreck (Knapp, Demesticha 2017, 58).

that the first Syro-Palestinian amphora with a postfiring mark incised on its handle appeared in the LM IIIA2 period at Kommos and is indicative of Cypriot handling (Rutter 2006a, 527-8 no. 56e/9, pl. 3: 62; 2014b, 63).

5.3.1.2 Cypriot Pottery Imported to the Dodecanese

Apart from Kommos, Ialysos on Rhodes contains the largest quantity of Cypriot imports found at an Aegean site in Interaction Period 3, confirming the continuity of the 'Dodecanesian connection'. Cypriot imports however are less common than in Interaction Period 2 and the specialized workshop in Cypriot imitations ceased its activity (Karantzali 2005, 146; 2009, 358). A Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware spindle bottle found in Trianda House 1 in a context dating to Phase II B, corresponding to the LH IIB/IIIA1 period has been considered a Cypriot import (Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 148; Eriksson 1993, 135-7, 219 no. 520; Cline 1994, 214 no. 719, with earlier refs), but it can no longer be assumed that all the Red Lustrous Wheelmade vessels were made on Cyprus since scientific analysis shows that there was also a flourishing production in Anatolia (Kozal 2015; Kibaroğlu et al. 2019) which leads some scholars to consider it as an Anatolian production (Fischer, Bürge 2018b, 616; 2021, 119-20); moreover, rim sherds from 'White Slip II' bowls, fragments from bases, and body sherds from 'Base Ring I' small closed vases were found in the LH IIIA layers at the Markos plot during later excavations at Trianda (White Slip II: Karantzali 2005, 146, pl. XXIX: 89a, 1256c; Base Ring I: Karantzali 2005, 146, pl. XXIX: 1300, 19446, d; Karantzali in Marketou et al. 2006, 32, 38). However, this limited evidence is complemented by finds from the Ialysos cemeteries, where two Base Ring juglets have been found in Tombs 76 and 86 and a Base Ring bull vase and a Plain White Wheelmade jug were found in Tomb 86.[11] However, these Cypriot imports were the only finds in Tombs 76 and 86, and their typology suggests that they may be considered contemporary to LH IIIA1 and 2. Considering the peculiarity of these two tombs of unusual type which only yielded Cypriot vessels, C. Mee (1982, 22; also cf. Girella 2005, 133; Benzi 2009, 50) suggested that they belonged to Cypriots who died on Rhodes. Another Base Ring bull vase was found in Tomb 31 and was dated to LH IIIA1-2 (Benzi 1992, 11, 299-300 no. 21, pl. 55: e; Cline 1994, 133 no. 11; Nys 2001, 112 no. 123), although

11 For Base Ring juglets, cf. Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 nos 144-5; Benzi 1992, 11, 384-5, pl. 104, m, 395: 2, pl. 109: I; Cline 1994, 205 nos 638-9; Girella 2005, 133; for Base Ring bull vase and a Plain White Wheelmade jug, cf. Portugali, Knapp 1985, 78 no. 146; Benzi 1992, 11, 395: 3, pls 109: l, h, 165: g; Cline 1994, 133 no. 12, 203 no. 617; Nys 2001, 112 no. 124.

K. Nys (2001, 98) does not exclude a later chronology (first part of LC IIC1). Apart from a large flask in Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware from Tomb 49 that has been dated to LH IIIA2-B (Benzi 1992, 359 no. 18, pl. 90; 2009, 50; Cline 1994, 195 no. 538 with refs), whose Cypriot origin is not defined, as shown above, the list of Cypriot vessels from Rhodian tombs may include two examples without context, one a Base Ring bull vase housed in the Stuttgart Museum (Nys 2001, 112 no. 125, with earlier refs) and the other a Base Ring II jug housed in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Åström 1988, 77), as well as one example, the neck of a Base Ring I juglet from the Late Neolithic II/Final Neolithic cave of Koumelo at Arkhangelos in the eastern part of Rhodes, which clearly attests to a later occasional use of the cave (Marketou 2009a, 49). The absence of White Slip bowls in the Ialysos cemetery is also noteworthy (Karantzali 2005, 146), but the three bull vases from Ialysos, from Tombs 31 and 86 and the example in the Stuttgart Museum, may be indicative of the high rank of the deceased who possibly had close links with Cyprus (Nys 2001, 100-1).

As to other Cypriot vessels from Kos, apart from a White Slip II bowl from a LH IIIB context in Eleona T.19 (see § 6.3.1.2), a Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware flask from Langada Tomb 12 allegedly considered of Cypriot production cannot be precisely dated on contextual ground (Cline 1994, 195 no. 537, LH III; Benzi 2009, 50 fn. 20, LH III) and the same may be true of a fragmentary White Slip bowl from the Serraglio (Morricone 1972-3, 387 fig. 172: b; Benzi 2009, 50 fn. 20).

5.3.1.3 Cypriot Pottery Imported to the Cyclades

Only two sherds from a White Slip II milk bowl found in a LH IIIA1-2 context at Ayia Irini are evidence of contacts between Keos and Cyprus in the Interaction Period 3 (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 91, 94 fn. 42, 375 no. 535, pl. 38; Cline 1994, 185 no. 452). This may be due to the fact that during the Mycenaean Palatial Period the Cyclades were effectively excluded from participation in long distance exchange networks (Earle 2012).

5.3.1.4 Cypriot Pottery Imported to the Greek Mainland

As noted by Van Wijngaarden (2012, 66), generally in the Late Bronze Age there is scarce evidence of Cypriot ceramic imports to the Greek mainland. However, some examples recently identified from the elite tombs excavated around the Mycenaean palace at Pylos are recorded in the previous review (see § 4.3.1.2) of Cypriot ceramic imports to the Peloponnese. Since it is impossible to establish their chronology more precisely than LH II, it is unclear if they were imported in

LH IIA, i.e. in Interaction Period 2, or in LH IIB, i.e. in Interaction Period 3. Unfortunately, despite their prominent find context, such uncertainty impacts their contribution to the discussion on Cypro-Aegean connections.

Turning to other regions, a Cypriot vessel was reported from an unspecified findspot on the Acropolis at Athens, but no further detail is known (Cline 1994, 256 no. 1110, with earlier refs; Lekka 2022, 162, with refs). More details are known on the context of a jug found in the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides on the slope of the Areopagus, but the vessel was regarded as "enigmatic" by P. Åström (1998, 260-1, 261 no. 4) on account of the dual fabric, i.e. Mycenaean in the lower part and Base Ring in the upper part. The optical emission spectrometry analysis of the vessel, made by Richard Jones, showed that the composition of the clay in both parts was the same, with the best parallels to Base Ring wares from Arpera, supporting a Cypriot origin. Moreover, Rutter (2014b, 61 with refs, 65) has suggested that in LH IIIA two Syro-Palestinian amphorae from Athens, one from the Agora Chamber Tomb 1 and the other from Koukaki, may have been transported to Attica by Cypriot middlemen, since they respectively bear a post-firing incised mark and a painted red mark, consistent with the Cypriot practice. He also considers the possibility that these amphorae were imported to the Athens area either directly from Cyprus or from a Cretan harbor on ships manned by a Cypriot crew.

Mycenaean stirrup jars with undecorated shoulders were also suggested as exports from Cyprus to various Achaean sites, but they cannot be considered here because their origin and chronology are debated. Specifically, while Papadopoulos (1985, 141) included some of these vases in the group of "Cypriot objects in Achaea", asserting a degree of certainty on their "Cypriot origin (or influence)" during LH IIIA2 (cf. Graziadio 2019, 24 fn. 1), Cline (1994, 245-6) included all of them among the "Dubious or Problematic Imports" and regarded them as "possibly local Mycenaean".

5.3.2 Oxhide Ingots and Copper-Based Artifacts Imported to the Aegean in Interaction Period 3

5.3.2.1 Oxhide Ingots

While oxhide ingots were widely dispersed on Crete in Interaction Period 2, no oxhide ingots have been found in the span of time following the end of the Neopalatial period up until the appearance of some ingot fragments in LM IIIB contexts at Kommos (see § 6.3.2). The dearth of ingots in Interaction Period 3 is striking considering the noticeable quantity of Cypriot pottery found especially in LM IIIA2 contexts in the harbor town of Kommos. This is even more

noteworthy if we consider the importance of copper oxhide ingots in Mediterranean trade during this period, especially represented by the oxhide ingots in Theban tombs, the large quantity of Cypriot ingots mentioned in the Amarna tablets, and the exceptional number of oxhide ingots consistent with production from Cypriot copper found with the Uluburun shipwreck. In this regard, it should also be recognized that there is plenty of evidence for the development of metallurgical production on Cyprus (Kassianidou 2012, 129-34; Knapp 2013, 408-16) and the continued dominant role of Cyprus in copper trade with Mediterranean regions other than Crete; Stos-Gale even argues, controversially, that

> all analyzed oxhide ingots between the fourteenth and eleventh centuries [are] fully consistent with their origin from Cypriot ores. (2011, 222)

The Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts from "Mycenaean" Knossos and Postpalatial Cretan sites does not provide an explanation for the lack of oxhide ingots in this period on Crete. In fact, according to Gale and Stos-Gale (2007, 108 fig. 8), the presence of samples with copper consistent with Cypriot ores (19% of 161 analyzed artifacts), indicates the continued value placed on Cypriot ores, even occurring in LM II in the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (Stos-Gale, Gale 1990, 80; Knapp 1990a, 131, tab. 2): however, a higher proportion of analyzed objects, 44% of samples, were made with copper from Lavrion (Gale, Stos-Gale 2007, 108 fig. 8). In other words, despite the absence of oxhide ingots, on Crete, there was only a slight increase in the percentage of Cypriot copper in the bronze artifacts of this period (19%) compared to the samples consistent with the Cypriot field dating to Interaction Period 2 (16%, see § 4.3.2.2). Moreover, three artifacts consistent with production from Cypriot copper from a LM IIIA context have been analytically identified at Karpathos (Stos-Gale 1988, 276, 282 fig. 14; Knapp 1990a, 131, tab. 2) and contacts between Rhodes and Cyprus are also apparent from some bronzes imported to this Dodecanesian island, including a rapier of the 'four-wing bayonet type' from a LH IIIA1 context at Ialysos (Cline 1994, 229 no. 864; Marketou 2009a, 49 with refs; Benzi 2009, 51), a dagger with tongued haft from a single LH IIIA1 burial excavated at Theologos, Tholos (Marketou 2009a, 49 with refs), and several well paralleled Eastern Mediterranean arrowheads from mainly LH IIIA2 contexts on the island (Benzi 1992, 173, 175, 176; 2009, 51 with refs).

A LH II carinated bronze bowl from Tholos B at Katarraktis in Achaea was connected to Cyprus by T. Papadopoulos either as an imitation or directly imported, since this metal vessel has a flat handle which he considered characteristic of the wishbone handle of

Cypriot prototypes. However, many doubts have been expressed regarding the connection due to the lack of precise parallels in Cypriot metal and ceramic production (Graziadio 2019, 3 with updated refs). In the same region, at Mygdalia (Patras) a leaf-shaped LH IIIA arrowhead was found which is of a rare type in Greece, while it is more common on Cyprus (Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Paschalidis 2021, 394 fig. 17). According to Stos-Gale's Lead Isotope Analysis, local sources (Lavrion) were the principal sources of copper within the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age (Stos-Gale 2000, 63-6, fig. 3.5), and the significance of the analyses conducted on LH IIIA-C samples from the Peloponnese has shown that 43% of copper-based artifacts were made with Lavrion copper, while only 18% were consistent with Cypriot sources (Kayafa 1999, 373, 403-6, especially diagram on page 405). Since this ratio is similar to the above-mentioned data from Crete, we can consider the supply of Cypriot copper in the Aegean during Interaction Period 3 to be consistent throughout the entire area, without regionally specific peaks. The increasing Cretan interest in Lavrion ores may be explained by the strong connections between Crete and the mainland after the end of the Neopalatial period, while the predominance of Lavrion copper in the Mycenaean world was likely due to its local availability despite the increasing Mycenaean trade activity with Cyprus in this period. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Cyprus played a significant role in the spread of tin, as well as copper, in the Mediterranean (Kassianidou 2003; 2022, 80). This suggestion is reinforced by tin ingots with incised Cypro-Minoan signs discovered along with two copper oxhide ingots consistent with production from Cypriot copper in the 'wreck deposit' of Hishuley Carmel, Israel (Galili, Gale, Rosen 2013). The metal cargoes of the ships that wrecked off the Israeli coast near Haifa at the end of the fourteenth century BC (Berger et al. 2019, 3, tab. 1 with refs, 6-7, fig. 4) also included tin ingots with incised marks. If the location of these wreck deposits testifies to a Cypriot involvement in the tin trade along the Southern Levantine coast far from the Aegean,[12] then the unique tin cargo of the Uluburun shipwreck, comprising ca 160 ingots of different shapes, might be extraordinarily relevant to this discussion of the tin trade, given that the sunken ship there also carried 10 tons of copper ingots consistent with Cypriot origin and bound for an unknown but likely Aegean destination.

12 Yahalom-Mack et al. 2022 even argue that Cyprus was the main mover behind all the trade in East Mediterranean at this time, but this point appears rather contentious.

5.3.3 Prestige Objects Imported to the Aegean in Interaction Period 3

5.3.3.1 Cylinder Seals

In Interaction Period 3 the earliest evidence for Cypriot glyptic from Crete are two sealings attributed to the LM II period from the palace of Knossos, one from the doorway south of the Hall of the Colonnades[13] and the other from the Area of the Demons Seals/Archive Deposit (Pini 1980, 107 fn. 111; Cline 1994, 162 no. 233, with refs). A cuprous sulphide (?) seal acquired at Ziros (Siteia) in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, has also been attributed to a "middle phase of LC II" by I. Pini (Pini 2014, 325 no. 1), but in the context of the relations between Cyprus and the Aegean in Interaction Periods 3 and 4, particular importance should be assigned to the "Cypro-Aegean" seals that effectively express the complexity of interaction between the two areas. In fact, Pini (1979, 122; 1980, 79; also cf. Aruz 2008, 201-22) coined the term 'Cypro-Aegean' to describe a group of twenty hematite cylinder seals from Cyprus and the Aegean displaying Cypriot influence in their composition, while sharing some characteristics with Aegean styles or iconography. He also distinguished three distinct levels of Aegean involvement, but it is important to stress that he suggested that all of them were carved on Cyprus, despite the fact that Younger placed twelve of these twenty cylinder seals into native Aegean stylistic groups (cf. discussion in Weingarten 1996, 80-1). While the iconographic analysis of seals can be left to specialists, Pini's assessment of the seals as 'Cypro-Aegean' is accepted here.

The appearance of the Cypro-Aegean style probably dates to the fourteenth century BC after the destruction of Knossos (Weingarten 1996, 83), and it is worth reviewing briefly the Cypriot cylinder seals of this group that are regarded as imports to various regions of the Aegean, especially Crete (Pini 2014), during Interaction Period 3. Unfortunately, in some cases the chronology is not based on definite find contexts, but on iconographic and stylistic considerations. For instance, emblematic is the case of a hematite cylinder seal said to be from Crete, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which was dubiously attributed to LC II (CMS VI no. 290; Davaras, Soles 1995, 51-2 no. 5; Pini 2014, 327-8 no. 5, with relevant refs). On the other hand, a hematite cylinder seal dated to LM II-IIIA/LC II from House σ5 at Palaikastro is possibly one of the earliest Cypriot seals imported to

13 CMS II, 8 no. 719; Cline 1994, 162 no. 232; Davaras, Soles 1995, 55 no. 39; Karageorghis in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 209 no. 4; Pini 2014, 326 no. 2, with refs.

Crete (CMS II, 3 no. 279; Davaras, Soles 1995, 57 no. 56; Pini 2014, 329 no. 8), and the same may be true of a limestone cylinder seal found in Chamber Tomb VIIA at Mavrospilio that was ascribed to the same chronological range (LM II-IIIA).[14] Based on the iconography and style of the incised scene, a hematite cylinder from the "harbor town of Knossos", i.e. Poros-Katsambas or Amnisos, that is housed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, has been assigned to the LM IIIA period in Minoan terms (CMS XII no. 242; Davaras, Soles 1995, 56 no. 50; Pini 2014, 326 no. 3 with refs), and the same chronology has been suggested for a hematite cylinder seal from Astrakoi Pediados (CMS II, 3 no. 199; Davaras, Soles 1995, 56 no. 47; Pini 2014, 327 no. 4). Two fragments of a single sealing from a final destruction deposit of the palace at Knossos (LM IIIA2 Early) have also been discussed in detail by J. Weingarten (1996, 79-80, fig. 1, with relevant references). The find context of a cornelian seal from Building Group Gamma, Room XXV gamma, at Gouves, has been dated to the LM III (A-)B period (Chatzi-Vallianou 2014, 68 no. 1; Pini 2014, 328 no. 6). As far as the other Cypriot seals of the 'Cypro-Aegean' group imported to Crete are concerned, the provenance of some examples is known, but their chronology in Minoan terms is generally wide. Such is the case of a schist cylinder from Gouves, a surface find attributed to the LM II-III period (Chatzi-Vallianou 2014, 68 no. 2; Pini 2014, 330 no. 10). The list of cylinder seals from Crete dating to the Interaction Period 3 also includes two examples of uncertain interpretation or chronology: one is a sealing from an unrecorded context in the Area of the Demon Seals at Knossos, which may be considered of possible Minoan production (Cline 1994, 253 no. 1086 with refs), while the other is a steatite seal from a larnax burial at Palaikastro that was dubiously dated to LM III (CMS II, 3 no. 282; Davaras, Soles 1995, 57 no. 77; Pini 2014, 329 no. 9).

Despite the lack of information concerning find contexts, worth emphasizing is the presence of Cypriot seals on Crete throughout Interaction Period 3. They appeared as early as the period immediately following the end of the Neopalatial period and continued until LM IIIA2. Moreover, a prominent place in glyptic imports may be assigned to the Knossos palace and surrounding regions. The above-mentioned LM II Cypriot seals from the Palace, like all the other sealings, can be regarded as indicators of a regime change at Knossos (Weingarten in Webb, Weingarten 2012, 98), while of the other sealings connected to the Cypriot glyptic, one example comes from a final destruction deposit of the palace (LM IIIA2 Early) and another is of uncertain Cypriot connection. As mentioned above,

14 CMS II, 3 no. 33; Davaras, Soles 1995, 55-6 no. 45; Kanta 2014, 203 no. 1; Pini 2014, 328 no. 7 with refs.

Cypriot cylinder seals from the Knossos region included one LM IIIA seal that was labeled as a find from a harbor town (Poros-Katsambas or Amnisos) and another from a LM II-IIIA context in Tomb VIIA at Mavrospilio. At the site of Gouves, located on the coast a few kilometres east of Knossos, two Cypriot seals were found; while in the Pediada district, at Astrakoi Pediados, southeast of Knossos, came another LM IIIA example. It is worth noting that the Knossian connections with Cyprus in the field of glyptic are apparent in the Monopalatial period of Knossos, before the final destruction of the palace. Weingarten, in her discussion on the above-mentioned sealing from the Knossian destruction deposit in LH IIIA2 Early, suggested that

> it was the destruction of the Palace of Knossos that caused the transfer of Minoan styles to Cyprus, leading indirectly to the appearance of the Cypro-Aegean style probably in the fourteenth century. (1996, 83; also cf. Weingarten in Webb, Weingarten 2012, 99)

If so, the role of Knossos would also be reflected in the development of LC II Cypriot glyptic.

In East Crete at the sites of Ziros (Siteia) and Palaikastro, other Cypriot seals of Interaction Period 3 were found. Interestingly, despite the appreciable amount of Cypriot pottery from Kommos, there is an absence of similar finds in south-central Crete. Weingarten (1996, 83) suggested that Rhodes played a possible role as a midway stop-over in the transmission of influence from Knossos to Cyprus in LH IIIA2 after the destruction of the palace. A Cypriot hematite cylinder seal from Ialysos Tomb 67 bolsters this possibility.[15] Although found in a LH IIIC Middle context, this find may be considered an heirloom as it was assigned to Porada's Third Group of Cypriot Cylinder seals dating to the earlier half of the fourteen century BC (Benzi 2009, 53). A steatite cylinder seal regarded as a Cypriot or Syrian import was also found on Kos in Eleona Tomb 22, which, according to some scholars also contained LH IIIA1-2 pottery,[16] but recent research also suggests that it was used in LH IIIC Early (Vitale 2021, 538, tabs 2-3). In any case, in Interaction Period 3 the intermediate role of the Dodecanese in bi-directional exchange between the Aegean and Cyprus seems to be apparent in the glyptic arts.

Turning to the Greek mainland, a hematite cylinder seal was found at Mycenae Chamber Tomb 47, in a LH IIB-IIIA1 context, but

15 CMS V.2 no. 657; Benzi 1992, 206, 371, pl. 122: m; Cline 1994, 161 no. 227 with refs; Davaras, Soles 1995, 59 no. 66.

16 Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 378 no. 545; Cline 1994, 161 no. 226 with refs; Davaras, Soles 1995, 64 no. 160; also cf. Benzi 2009, 53).

it is uncertain whether it was an import from Cyprus or was engraved on Crete.[17]

5.3.3.2 Faience Vessels

A faience goblet with stylized lotus petals in relief from Chamber Tomb 49 at Mycenae[18] was identified as a Cypriot import by Peltenburg (1972, 136). Cline (1995, 91) stated that faience objects were by far the most common imports in the LH I-III contexts at Mycenae, but these included a large number of Syro-Palestinian faience vessels from a single LH IIIB context. According to Cline, faience bowls

> may have contained 'real' trade items such as fragrant oils or perfume but seem just as likely to have been imported for their own intrinsic value. (91)

In addition to these considerations, the importance of the Cypriot faience goblet vessel also derives from its chronological context (LH IIIA1), indicating that the 'capital' city of the Mycenaean world was attractive for Cypriot precious objects already by a relatively early phase within the Interaction Period 3, although the majority of Orientalia at Mycenae were found in LH IIIB contexts (94, fig. 1).

Another faience bowl with 'duck's head' spout was found on Crete in a tomb at Nea Halikarnassos (Iraklion) not far from Knossos, but it is uncertain whether it was a Cypriot or a North Syrian import and, although attributed to LM IIIA, its chronology is indeed doubtful since the tomb also contained LM II-LM IIIC objects (Cline 1994, 189 no. 487; Cline 1999, 142, Appendix 1).

5.3.3.3 Jewelry

Turning to jewelry, in some cases it is impossible to recognize differences between items of local production and imports, and in the case of examples of local production, it is not easy to distinguish possible Cypriot imitation from their Near Eastern prototypes. Bearing this caution in mind, in the Aegean, the Dodecanese, favored by its relative proximity to Cyprus, includes more precious personal ornaments (especially from the Ialysos cemetery) whether genuine

17 Pini 1980, 80-1, 101-2: C6, fig. 18; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 334-6; Cline 1994, 153 no. 179; 1995, 99 no. 22 with relevant refs.

18 Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 128, pl. 35; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 77 no. 134; Cline 1994, 197 no. 560 with refs; 1995, 102 fn. 50.

Cypriot imports or imitations exhibiting Cypriot influence, than found on either Crete or the Greek mainland.[19] Among the examples dating to Interaction Period 3, a stripe of silver foil with perforations at either end was found, but unfortunately is now missing, in a LH IIIA2 context in Tomb 51 at Ialysos, apparently near a skull (Benzi 1992, 189, 192, 341, 14B; 2009, 52). Mario Benzi also mentioned two similar gold stripes, also missing, from LH IIIC contexts in Tombs 15 and 32, and, emphasizing the similarities to Cypriot diadems, he concluded that "if not actual imports, they are a further example of Cypriot influence" (2009, 52). Forty-seven fluted spherical beads of faience which were found in a LH IIIA2 context in Ialysos Tomb 28 have been attributed to a type more common to Cyprus and the Levant than to the Aegean, and, although considered of local manufacture, Eastern Mediterranean prototypes are likely (Benzi 1992, 186, 197; 2009, 52, with refs). In any case, Benzi (2009, 52, with refs) also pointed out that other examples of this type have been found elsewhere in LH IIIA2-B contexts on Rhodes (Aspropilia Tomb 1) and on Kos (Langada Tomb 38). According to Goring (1983, 235 with refs), the only parallel outside Cyprus for the barrel beads of Cypriot origin dating to LC IIA and LC IIB-C comes from Ialysos Tomb 26 where LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-B pottery was found. Glass beads described as "poppy-head" or "lotus-seed" come from LH IIIA2 contexts on Rhodes (Ialysos T. 25) and Kos (Langada T. 57), but they cannot be identified safely as Cypriot imports (Benzi 2009, 52 and fn. 41).

While no Cypriot goldwork or jewels of Cypriot type have been found on Crete or in the Cyclades dating to Interaction Period 3,[20] some notable funerary contexts in mainland Greece provide relevant evidence and confirm the connections between the Peloponnese and Cyprus in the early phases of the period. In fact, according to L. Åström (1972, 573 with refs), two gold rings, one from the extraordinarily rich Tholos Tomb of Vapheio in Laconia (early LH IIB) and the other from a chamber tomb dated to an "early phase of LH III" in the necropolis of Prosymna in the Argolis, featured types very popular on Cyprus.

19 A silver crescent-shaped earring, found in the necropolis of Mavro Spelio, near Knossos, seems unconnected to similar Cypriot examples (L. Åström 1972, 569 fn. 8).

20 A possible exception may be represented by the granulated conical pendants from Cretan contexts dating from the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries BC, but probably they share a common scheme with Cypriot examples (Goring 1983, 211; also cf. L. Åström 1972, 570-1).

5.3.3.4 Miscellaneous Finds

A conspicuous group of six glass vessels, probably originating from Cyprus or North Syria, is reported from Rhodes. Three examples come from the Italian excavations of Tombs 56 and 62 at Ialysos, respectively dating to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA, but they are missing (Benzi 2009, 53).

A stone mortar from the acropolis of Midea in the Argolid (LH IIIA? context) is part of a category of artifacts of very uncertain origin. Although possibly originating on Cyprus (Cline 1994, 242 no. 985: "Syro-Palestine, Cyprus? Possibly Cretan or Theran"), this find provides little information. Generally speaking, the evidence provided by stone anchors is very important as a major indicator of maritime trade contacts also involving Cyprus (Knapp 2018a, 148-51 with updated refs). Over 30 stone anchors found in 1995-6 in the water at the harbor site of Maroni *Tsaroukkas* are attributed to the LC IA period (Manning, Sewell, Herscher 2002, 111-18; Sewell 2015, 188 fig. 1) and 41 additional stone anchors have recently been found in a re-survey of the anchorage in addition to eleven stone blocks and Canaanite jars, Plain White Handmade storage jars, as well as Proto White Slip, White Painted, Black slip (Reserved Slip), Red-on-Black wares, and a base of a Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglet (Atkins 2022; Atkins, Manning 2022), while there are many other similar examples among the 120 (undated) stone anchors discovered in the anchorage site at Kouklia *Achni*, although Kouklia itself was in use from the beginning of the LBA to the fourth century BC, the anchors in question might therefore be later in date (Howitt-Marshall 2012). In LM IIIA2, two examples of three-holed stone anchors were used as bases for temporary supports of the roof structure of Galley 3 of Building P, which was probably used for the storage of ships at Kommos (Shaw 2014b, 237 nos 82-3 with updated refs). Microfossils in the stone can be matched only to Ugarit and Cyprus. J. Shaw (1995; 1998, 15-16; 2014, 237) was inclined to suggest an Ugaritic origin, pointing out that in Cyprus composite anchors are commonly found in later contexts, but Votruba (2019, 232-4) has recently stated that stone-framed anchors likely first appeared on Cyprus around the fifteenth century BC and in the second half of the second millennium BC Cyprus is connected to the planar stone-frame with the three-piercings staked anchor (Votruba 2019, 218 fig. 2: PSF3SA). In this case, stone anchors from Kommos provide evidence for additional connections with Cyprus at least in terms of influences on their local production, since the geologic analysis seems to suggest their East Cretan provenance (Votruba 2019, 233 fn. 18). As far as other possible LBA examples are concerned, a perforated stone, possibly a reused stone anchor, was found above the door of Ialysos Tomb 67, which contained LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/LH IIIB pottery, but it can alternatively be interpreted as a tomb

marker (Benzi 1992, 229, 287). A final possible example is a three-holed stone anchor of unknown provenance and chronology which is stored in the Aegean Maritime Museum at Mykonos (Wachsmann 2000, 818; Sherratt 2001, 221 fn. 13).

5.4 Cypro-Aegean Connections in Interaction Period 3 from a Cypriot Perspective

In the discussion on Aegean imports to Cyprus during Interaction Period 3 and their impact on local culture, it is always necessary to take into account the location, size, and economy of the sites involved. The settlement hierarchy, which Knapp (2013, 354-9, 355 fig. 95) suggested was organized into four tiers, also is of the utmost importance, although "the proposed settlement patterns and politico-economic systems are much better substantiated for the thirteenth century BC" (Knapp 2013, 355). As explained by Knapp, this hierarchy was

> based on the differing types and arrays of material culture found at the various sites in each tier, and thus on their presumed functions, which in turn seem to reflect hierarchical social and political processes and structures. (355)

According to this settlement hierarchy, the sites of the first tiers were the coastal (or near-coastal) centers where evidence for commercial, ceremonial, administrative and productive activities has been found; the settlements of the second tier were inland sites where evidence for administrative, production, transport, and some storage activities has been found; the settlements of the third tier are smaller inland sites where evidence for ceremonial, production, transport, and some storage activities has been found; the settlements of the fourth tier are mining sites and agricultural and pottery-producing villages where evidence for production, storage, and transport activities has been found. From the point of view of Cypro-Aegean interaction, it should be stressed that imported goods have been recovered from all four tiers, but their numbers vary by site (Knapp 2013, 358).

5.4.1 Pottery

Before examining the Cypro-Aegean pottery connections, it is important to consider the approaches used to classify the ceramic functional categories. Although the functional categories have largely been developed and utilized within the framework of Mycenaean ceramic analysis, the background is presented here to facilitate the

comparison of these categories in terms of both Minoan and Mycenaean imports to Cyprus.

5.4.1.1 The Functional Classification of Aegean Imports

Although a few scholars have considered the functions of Mycenaean shapes, different systems of functional classification have been proposed since 1987, when a general ceramic functional classification was adopted by Prudence M. Rice (cf. Graziadio, Pezzi 2013, 68-9, for a review of various functional classification systems concerning Mycenaean pottery). Among the functional classification systems adopted for the Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus (Steel 2004b, 72; Papadimitriou 2012, 96-7), the functional distinctions discussed by Mazzotta and Trecarichi (2014, 89-90) and by Mazzotta and Recht (2015, 60-1) are adopted in this chapter as well as in § 5.4.1.7 where the functional classification of the Mycenaean vessels from Enkomi are considered by Mazzotta and Recht. This classification system improved an earlier functional classification used by Graziadio and Pezzi (2013) in their analysis of the Mycenaean pottery found in Enkomi tombs which, in turn, was an elaboration of Mountjoy's classification with particular reference to her funerary functional category (Mountjoy 1993, 121-8, tabs III-V).

Some further explanations are therefore necessary. Graziadio and Pezzi (2013, 69-71) first distinguished four main functional categories of vessels ("Fine Tableware", "Small Closed Shapes for Precious Commodities", "Storage Vessels (for liquids)" and "Ritual Vessels"). Further subdivisions were also suggested according to the possible functions of single shapes. In this earlier classification, within the general "Fine Tableware" category, in fact, Graziadio and Pezzi distinguished two sub-categories: the first one was represented by "Drinking Sets", including mixing vessels (kraters), pouring vessels (jugs), and drinking vessels (small bowls, cups, goblets, and kylikes); the second was represented by "Eating and Drinking Vessels" including bowls, stemmed bowls, shallow bowls and deep bowls. They also pointed out that the vessels of the second sub-category are difficult to distinguish since chemical analyses of organic residues show that some open vases found in LBA Aegean tombs have been occasionally used as containers for pulses or cereals and meat, although they usually contained fermented beverages such as wine, barley beer and honey mead (Graziadio, Pezzi 2010, 25-6, with refs). This difficulty was already emphasized by Mountjoy (1993, 121, 123-4, 128) who pointed out that the same shape may appear in both sub-categories and did not rule out the possibility that some open shapes were also used for solid food such as meat. For this reason, the heading 'Drinking/Eating Vessels' here has been only used for a few Mycenaean

shapes such as bowls 206 and 283, stemmed bowls FS 304, FS 305, deep bowls FS 284, deep conical bowls FS 290, basins FS 294, shallow bowls FS 296 and other shapes coded F1.2 in table 5.1, which are particularly common in LC IIC and LC III contexts. While this classification was conceived for the Mycenaean pottery found in Late Cypriot funerary contexts, Mazzotta and Trecarichi (2014, 89-90), as well as Mazzotta and Recht (2015, 60-1; Mazzotta, Recht, forthcoming) further refined the classification in order to discuss the Mycenaean ceramic imports found in settlement deposits during the recent excavations carried out by the New Swedish Cyprus Expedition at Hala Sultan Tekke. Within the general "Tableware" category (which was coded as F1), therefore, they are distinguishing three sub-categories: "Mixing Vessels" (F1.1a), "Pouring Vessels" (F1.1b), and "Drinking Vessels" (F1.1.c).

Turning to the second main functional category ('Small Closed Shapes for Precious Commodities'), Graziadio and Pezzi set small liquid containers apart from wide mouthed small vessels, which were regarded as viscous substance containers (Leonard 1981, 91-4). All these shapes were generally linked to the funerary sphere since they were commonly found in Mycenaean and Late Minoan tombs. In table 5.1, small containers for precious commodities are coded as F2 and two further sub-categories are distinguished: 'Containers for viscous substances' (F2.1) and 'Containers for liquid substances' (F2.2).

A significant improvement of the Mazzotta-Trecarichi-Recht functional classifications is the attention paid to the medium-sized to moderately large stirrup jars, flasks, and piriform jars which were arranged in a separate functional category of 'Storage Vessels' (F3). According to Mountjoy (1993, 122, tab. III, 123) this category of vessels was used for the conservation of liquid, but it is likely that wide-necked piriform jars were also conceived as containers of the same viscous substances which probably were appreciated for funerary use and put in smaller vessels such as alabastra, small piriform jars, small stirrup-jars, feeding-bottles and small jugs with narrow neck. In any case, it should be made clear that in this book the large Minoan 'Transport/Storage Vessels', i.e. the large Minoan stirrup jars FS 164, are also classified within this functional category.

The last category ('Ritual Vessels') was not subdivided into sub-categories.

Since the general outline of the functional categories proposed by Mazzotta, Trecarichi and Recht is followed in this book, it may be now useful to summarize all functional distinctions also referring to the main relevant Mycenaean shapes **[tab. 5.1]**.

Table 5.1 The functional distinctions within the Mycenaean pottery from Cyprus followed in this book. Modified from Graziadio, Pezzi 2013, 69-71; Mazzotta, Trecarichi 2014, 89-90; Mazzotta, Recht 2015, 60-1; Mazzotta, Recht, forthcoming

Functional categories and relevant sub-categories	Code	Shapes
FINE TABLEWARE	**F1**	
Drinking sets	**F1.1**	
Mixing vessels	**F1.1a**	Kraters: FS 7, FS 8, FS 9, FS 53, FS 54, FS 56, FS 281, FS 282.
Pouring vessels	**F1.1b**	Jugs, Juglets: FS 102, FS 105, FS 109, FS 110, FS 112-FS 116, FS 118, FS 120, FS 121, FS 132, FS 133, FS 134, FS 136, FS 139, FS 142, FS 144, FS 145, FS 149, FS 150, FS 151, FS 154, FS 155; Spouted Cups: FS 249; Spouted Bowls: FS 300, FS 301.
Drinking vessels	**F1.1c**	Cups: FS 208, FS 209, FS 213, FS 214, FS 219, FS 220, FS 225, FS 230, FS 231, FS 242, FS 245, FS 246, FS 250; Goblets: FS 254, FS 255; Kylikes: FS 256, FS 257, FS 258-FS 260, FS 264, FS 267, FS 269, FS 272, FS 274, FS 278; Feeding Bottle: FS 161; Stemmed Cups: FS 278; Mugs: FS 225, FS 226, FS 228.
Drinking/eating vessels	**F1.2**	Bowls: FS 206, FS 207, FS 210, FS 243, FS 283; Stemmed krater FS 303; Stemmed bowls: FS 304, FS 305; Pedestal bowls; FS 309, FS 310; Deep bowls: FS 284; Deep Conical Bowls: FS 290; Basins: FS 294; Shallow Angular Bowls: FS 295, Shallow bowls: FS 296.
SMALL CLOSED VESSELS FOR PRECIOUS COMMODITIES	**F2**	
Containers for viscous substances	**F2.1**	Handleless Jars: FS 77; Alabastra: FS 82, FS 84, FS 85, FS 94, FS 95; Piriform Jars: FS 28, FS 44-FS 48; Amphoriskoi: FS 59; Collar-necked Jars FS 64.
Containers for liquid substances	**F2.2**	Stirrup Jars: FS 166-7, FS 171-FS 173, FS 178-FS 180, FS 182-4; Flasks: FS 186, FS 188, FS 189, FS 190, FS 192.
STORAGE VESSELS *Minoan transport/Storage vessels*	**F3**	Piriform Jars: FS 19, FS 22, FS 23, FS 31, FS 34-FS 36, FS 39-40; Stirrup Jars: FS 170; Amphorae: FS 68, FS 69; Hydriai: FS 128. Stirrup Jars FS 164.
RITUAL VESSELS AND FIGURINES	**F4**	Ring Vases: FS 197; Rhyta: FS 199; Figurines of Various Shapes.

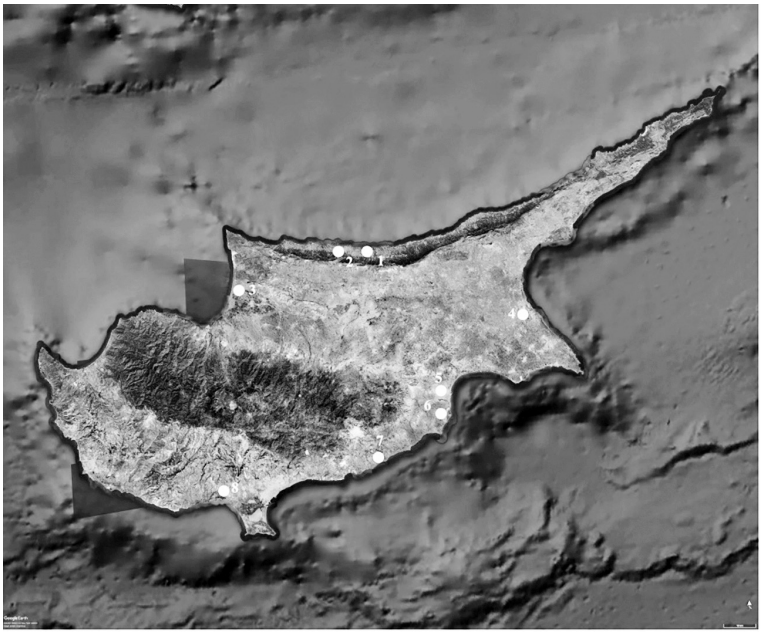


Figure 5.1 The diffusion of LM II-IIIA pottery on Cyprus. 1: Kyrenia; 2: Lapithos Ayia Anastasia; 3: Morphou Toumba tou Skourou; 4: Enkomi; 5: Kition; 6: Hala Sultan Tekke; 7: Maroni Tsaroukkas; 8: Kourion Bamboula

5.4.1.2 Minoan Pottery

Despite the destruction horizons marking the end of the Neopalatial Period, LM II to LM IIIA2 early pottery continued to be exported to Cyprus and, to a lesser extent, to the southeastern Mediterranean (Hankey 1979, 153, 155), but most of the LM III pottery from Cyprus belongs to the LC IIC and LC III periods (Antoniadou 2011, 241-2). Leaving aside some LM IIIA stirrup jars and a flask without context **[tab. 5.2]**, nearly all the Minoan pottery, as expected, was found in primary settlements on (or near) the southern and eastern coasts where some of the most important towns had already been established in the previous periods **[fig. 5.1]**.

The only exception is Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* **[fig. 5.1 no. 3]** **[tab. 5.2]**, located near the north coast, where some LM II to LM IIIA1 vessels were found. Although this site is not, of course, represented in the thirteenth century settlement hierarchy suggested by Knapp, because it flourished in earlier periods, *Toumba tou Skourou* clearly was a first tier settlement in Interaction Period 2, with significant links to the Minoan world (see § 4.4.1). Therefore, the evidence for Minoan pottery imports at *Toumba tou Skourou* in Interaction Period 3 is

not surprising and confirms that the sea route along the south Anatolian coast crossing to the northern coast of Cyprus was still used in this period. The occurrence of LM IIIA and LM IIIA2-B vessels at lower tier sites located on the northern coast **[tab. 5.2]**, such as Lapithos *Ayia Anastasia* (Keswani 2004, 109, 190, tab. 3.2 with refs) and Kyrenia (McCaslin 1980, 17, tab. 1 no. 16: LM IIIA/B stirrup jar), may be explained by the Cypro-Aegean contacts through this sea route, although a Mycenaean contribution to this trade is also likely from this period onwards (see below).

Although the main concentration of Minoan pottery throughout the LBA period was at Enkomi (Antoniadou 2011, 242 fig. 2) **[fig. 5.1 no. 4]**, a review of Minoan pottery found on the island in Interaction Period 3 is also worth discussing **[tab. 5.2]**.

Table 5.2 Select Minoan vessels of Interaction Period 3 from Cypriot contexts

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Akanthou *Moulos*	LM IIIA krater FS 56-7	Åström 1972, 404, Type 56-7 (Variant and additions): b*, with refs. Kanta 1980, 312.
Aradippou	LM IIIA amphoroid krater FS 56-7	Åström 1972, 405, Type 56-7 (Variant and additions): l*, with refs; Kanta 1980, 312.
Enkomi, British Tombs 48, 83	LM IIIA2 krater	Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 113-14 nos 12-13; Courtois 1979, 159-60 no. 2; Kanta 1980, 310; Åström 1972, 404, Type 56: a, with refs.
Enkomi, Swedish Tomb 3	LM IIIA2 krater	Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 114 no. 14; Courtois 1979, 160 no. 3; Kanta 1980, 310; Åström 1972, 404, Type 56: b, with refs.
Hala Sultan Tekke, Tomb IX	LM II krater	Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 32, with refs.
	F1.1b	
Hala Sultan Tekke	LM II jug	Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 31 (BM C685), with refs.
Hala Sultan Tekke Chamber Tomb UU	LM IIIA beaked jug	Fischer, Bürge 2023, 30 fig. 34: N709, lowest row, right.
Kition *Bamboula*	LM IIIA jugs	Yon, Caubet 1985, 69, 133 nos 297, 308 figs 64, 67-8.
Toumba tou Skourou	LM II and LM IIIA1 jugs	Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 nos 34, 35 (P605), 73 nos 37 (P619), 38 (P638), 39 (P844), with refs; Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 255 (P572), pl. 175, T. II. 53 = 255 (P605); 257, 383 (P598), pl. 175, Tomb II.80; 257 (P598), pl. 175, Tomb II: 80.
	F1.1c	
Enkomi, British Tombs 70	LM IIIA2 cups	Åström 1972, 407, Type 220: a, with refs, C 638; Smith 1925, 6 no. 7, Pl: 5: 7, C 646 (see Popham 1979, 181).

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Kition Tomb 4+5, Tomb 9	Kylikes	Karageorghis 1974, 49 no. 61, pls LIII, CXLI, attributed to LH IIIA2-B; Popham 1979, 181 fig. 2.1.
Kourion *Bamboula*, Area E	LM IIIA2 cup sherd?	Benson 1972, 106: B 1006, pls 31, 49.
Hala Sultan Tekke, Tomb SS	LM IIIA2 kylikes Lipless bowl FS 206	Fischer, Bürge 2021, 120: L121-1, fig. 17: 4; Bürge, Fischer 2022, 41: L121-1, fig. 23; 41: N 355. Fischer, Bürge 2021, 120: N 252, fig. 17: 3; Bürge, Fischer 2022, 41: N252, fig. 23.
Hala Sultan Tekke Chamber Tomb UU	One-handled goblet	Fischer, Bürge 2023, 30 fig. 34: N631, lowest row, left.
Toumba tou Skourou	LM II cup	Portugali, Knapp 1985, 73 no. 36 (P630), with refs.
	F2.1	
Hala Sultan Tekke	LM II piriform jar	Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 30 (BM A705.1,2), with refs.
Hala Sultan Tekke, Shaft Grave LL	LM II/IIIA piriform jar	Fischer, Bürge 2018a, 54: N114, fig. 20; Fischer 2019b, 213, fig. 24.
Toumba tou Skourou, House C, Well 6	LM II or LM IIIA1 piriform jars?	Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 nos 40 (P797), 42 (P936), with refs; Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 384: P 636, pl. 176.
	F2.2	
Enkomi, British Tomb 66	LM IIIA2-IIIB stirrup jar	Crewe 2009b, 29, 36 no. 38, pl. 13 (C529), with refs.
Hala Sultan Tekke, Pit	LM IIIA2 narrow-necked jug FS 120	Bürge, Fischer 2017, 154 fig. 24: 7; Fischer, Bürge 2017, 202, L46-0, fig. 35: 3.
Hala Sultan Tekke, Tomb SS	LM IIIA2-IIIB Flask Feeding bottle	Fischer, Bürge 2021, 120: N 247; Bürge, Fischer 2022, 41: N247. Bürge, Fischer 2022, 41: N254.
Kition Tomb 4+5	Stirrup jar	Karageorghis 1974, 27 no. 161, pls XIX, CXXIV.
Kition Tomb 9	Stirrup jar	Karageorghis 1974, 52 no. 93, pls XLIV, CXXXIX.
Kition Tomb 9	Flask	Karageorghis 1974, 51-2 no. 86, pls XLIX, CXXXVIII.
Lapithos *Ayia Anastasia*	LM IIIA2 stirrup jar	Åström 1972, 405, Type 166: a; Kanta 1980, 310.
Maroni-Tsaroukas T. 18	LM III Flask	Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 33 with refs (LM II) Åström 1972, 406, Type 187: a; Kanta 1980, 310.
Toumba tou Skourou, House C, Well 6 and	LM II or LM IIIA1 flask and LM IIIA1 stirrup jar	Portugali, Knapp 1985, 72 no. 43 (P937) with refs; Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 137, 384 (P937), pl. 176, globular flask; Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 137, 384 (P936) pl. 176, stirrup jar?
Cyprus, no provenance	LM IIIA flask LM IIIA stirrup jars	Kanta 1980, 310, with refs. Kanta 1980, 310, with refs.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F3	
Kourion	Stirrup jars FS 164	Haskell et al. 2011, 116-17, KOU01, possibly LC IIB.
Toumba tou Skourou	Sherd of LM II and LM IIIA2-IIIB large jar	Portugali, Knapp 1985, 73 no. 39 (P844), with refs; Vermeule, Karageorghis, 120 (P638)?; 120 (P619), LH IIIA2-B, House B, Well 2; 122 (P797)?, House B, L16.
	F4	
Hala Sultan Tekke, Tomb RR	LM IIIA figurine	Fischer, Bürge 2020, 94, 98 N204, fig. 25: 5; 2021, 101: N 204.
Myrtou *Pigadhes* well near sanctuary	LM IIIA2 rhyton	Koehl 2006, 171 no. 697 with refs.

At Enkomi some funerary assemblages produced LM IIIA2 and LM IIIA2-IIIB pottery imported in Interaction Period 3 (cf. in general, Popham 1979, 181, 185 fig. 5, for additional LM III imports; also cf. Courtois 1979), but, on the whole, Minoan vessels occurring at Enkomi and at other primary towns represent a small minority of the imported Aegean pottery in comparison to the overwhelming contemporary Mycenaean imports. Several LM IIIA2 vessels were also found in Kition tombs (in general, cf. also Karageorghis 1974, 39, 59-60; Popham 1979, 179-81) as well as in the nearby site of Hala Sultan Tekke where vessels may be attributed to a period lasting from LM II and LM II-IIIA to LM IIIA2-B.[21] An interesting find from this site is an incomplete large Minoan hollow figurine with painted decoration found in Tomb RR, the first of this type found on Cyprus, possibly dating to LM IIIA. Maroni *Tsaroukkas* possibly carried out commercial functions for other first tier towns such as Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* and Maroni *Vournes* (Knapp 2013, 357). At Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* two fragmentary LM IIIA1 jugs were found in Tomb II and in Well 2. At Kourion *Bamboula*, in addition to a krater sherd, two small sherds from closed shapes found in a LC IIA context in the necropolis area were regarded as Minoan imports by J.L. Benson (1972, 106-7: B 1005, 1007, pls 28, 34, 54). It is worth noting that at Enkomi the number of Aegean imports (including Mycenaean pottery) also is low in the settlement deposits of Level IIA (LC IIA-B) (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 100 no. 28; Crewe 2007b, 125, also cf. 5, tab. 1.2, 73, tab. 11.1 for synchronisations with the Aegean). In other settlement contexts,

21 In addition to the LM examples cataloged in table 5.2, a large Minoan sherd (L103-4) was also found in the topsoil above Tomb RR and a "Mycenaean/Minoan jug" is reported from the eastern chamber of Tomb RR (Fischer, Bürge 2019, 307: L103-4; 309, tab. 1: N 171, respectively). Another large vessel possibly dating to LM III is reported from Tomb 24 at Dromolaxia *Vyzakia* (Åström, Nys 2007, 11 fig. 9).

only the layers at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Kourion contained small quantities of Minoan imports during this period. This evidence therefore implies that LM II-IIIA2 vessels were primarily selected for funerary use, which is also confirmed by the above-mentioned complete LM IIIA examples of unknown provenance likely coming from Cypriot tombs.

Despite the limited number of Minoan vessels imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 3, they range throughout the entire period. Along with the LM II and LM II-IIIA above-mentioned piriform jars from Hala Sultan Tekke, the earliest Minoan vessels (LM II-IIIA1) from Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* attest to a continuity of contacts with the Minoan world from Interaction Period 2, although apparently there was a reduction in the amount of imported pottery.[22] As noted above, Minoan pottery from Hala Sultan Tekke covers all the phases of Interaction Period 3, while a relatively early vessel, a LM IIIA1 flask, was found at Maroni *Tsaroukkas* Tomb 18, and other occasional sherds regarded as Late Minoan coming from this site (Manning, Monks 1998, 133) also included a sherd from a closed shape from tomb MT 2 (310: MT.53I, fig. 22, LM IIIA). It should however be emphasized that most of the Minoan vessels found in Enkomi tombs (British Tombs 48, 66, 83; Swedish T. 3) and in Kition Tombs (4+5 and 9) belonged to LM IIIA2, apparently suggesting that there was an increase in Minoan imports in the latest phase of Interaction Period 3. With regard to this, it is worth recalling a Base Ring imitation of a three-handled jar with a floral motif covering the whole body like in LM II 'palace style' jars which was found in British Tomb 84 (Murray et al. 1900, 38 fig. 66 no. 1189; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 158; Crewe 2009 a, 84.34).

As discussed in § 4.4.1, the Minoan vessels imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 2 reveal a clear preference for small drinking vessels (F1.1c), especially for the finely decorated semiglobular cups, since they amount to more than 65% of the Aegean ceramic imports of the period. In Interaction Period 3, there was a marked change in the range of Minoan imports. Considering the selected recognizable shapes,[23] not only do open shapes decrease in frequency, but a change in preference for specific fine Minoan tableware (F1) is apparent. As

22 The sherds of a cup and a jug, which were dubiously attributed to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA-B by Vermeule and Wolsky (1978, 309-10, figs 26-7; 1990, 120: P638), were included among LM II imports by Portugali and Knapp (1985, 73 nos 36-7). The same is true of other fragmentary vessels **[tab. 5.2]** which were dated to LM II by Portugali and Knapp and LM IIIA1 by Vermeule and Wolsky (1990, 383) who clearly stated that "there is no LM II at Toumba tou Skourou, whatever that means about trade relations".

23 For sherds from Minoan vessels of undetermined shape, cf. McCaslin 1980, 17, tab. 1 no. 13 (alleged LM IIIA sherds from Analiondas); Cadogan 1984, 2; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 89 fn. 54 (LM IIIA2 sherds from Maroni); Vermeule, Wolsky 1978, 310 fig. 29 (LM II sherd from Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*); Fischer, Bürge 2019, 298, 307-8 (Minoan sherds from Hala Sultan Tekke).

appears from table 5.2, in this period this functional category included several amphoroid kraters (F1.1a; also cf. Courtois 1979, 159-61), as well as other components of drinking sets, represented by a few kylikes and some bowls and cups (F1.1c; also cf. Popham 1979, 181 with refs for other open shapes) as well as a few jugs (F1.1b). However, it is not possible to know whether single Minoan vessels came to Cyprus or if they were imported together with the Mycenean pottery to be included in local drinking sets (cf. Steel 2002, 109-11 for ritualized drinking on LBA Cyprus).

As stressed above, the repertoire of Minoan imports also includes a variety of closed shapes. Some examples could be assigned to the functional category F3, i.e. 'Storage Vessels', also a including stirrup jar FS 164. In Interaction Period 3, while the category of 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' (F2) is mainly represented by Mycenaean small oil/ointments containers (see § 5.4.1.3), the most common Minoan imports for precious commodities are represented by a few medium-sized to moderately large stirrup jars, as well as flasks and piriform jars of the same size.[24] Two vessels of this functional category from the New Swedish excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke deserve particular attention **[tab. 5.2: sub-categories F2.1 and F2.2]**: a complete medium-sized Late Minoan II/IIIA1 piriform jar from Shaft Grave LL, decorated with excellently executed black/reddish-brown motifs of birds and floral representations, and a narrow-necked jug FS 120 from Pit V decorated with semicircles (FM 43) and parallel arcs. As far as examples of 'Minoan Transport/Storage Vessels' are concerned, in the absence of clay analysis, Åström in his review of the Aegean pottery from Cyprus included the large stirrup jars FS 164 among the imported Mycenaean pottery, although he also mentioned some LM IIIB vessels from Enkomi suspected to be of Minoan production (P. Åström 1972, 335-6, 405). However, more recent clay analysis shows that nearly all transport stirrup jars of this type exported to Cyprus were manufactured in south central Crete; moreover, many of them bear the distinctive octopus motif that suggests a relationship between Central Crete and Cyprus.[25] Although the export of transport stirrup jars begins in LM IIIA2 (Haskell 2005, 207), a general discussion on these stirrup jars will be made in § 6.4.1 since there is only one Minoan stirrup jar from Kourion that may tentatively date to Interaction Period 3.[26]

24 In addition to the examples listed in table 5.2, cf. a Minoan pithoid jar rim fragment MT 94.23 from Maroni *Tsaroukkas*, cf. Manning, De Mita 1997, 133.

25 Haskell 2005, 211-13; 2016; Haskell et al. 2011, 116-17; Day et al. 2011; Kardamaki et al. 2016; Pratt 2016.

26 A. Kanta (response to Haskell's paper in D'Agata, Moody 2005, 230) mentioned some Minoan storage stirrup jars from Enkomi, attributing them to the "early part of Level IIB, near the middle of the fourteenth century BC" (Dikaios 1969-71, 2, 844), but

5.4.1.3 Mycenaean Pottery: An Introduction

When we compare the low occurrence of Minoan pottery on Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 with the extraordinarily high frequency of Mycenaean pottery at the contemporaneous sites, we must consider the substantial changes in the historical background of the Aegean after the end of the Cretan Neopalatial period. This time marks the rapid development of Mycenaean political and cultural power that superseded the long-lasting Minoan cultural hegemony. Given the multi-faceted aspects of the Cypro-Mycenaean connections, some background on the history of Mycenaean ceramic studies on Cyprus is provided below.

5.4.1.3.1 An Overview of Previous Studies on the Mycenaean Pottery Found on Cyprus

The considerable quantity of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus was fully realized in the final decades of the nineteenth century and acted as an important spur for continued research in this field (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 125-6). As a consequence of the long history of scholarship, the past literature on this topic is wide and only a rough outline of previous studies is given here. In his basic study on Mycenaean pottery, Arne Furumark (1941) gave great importance to the finds from Cyprus, but, as pointed out by Van Wijngaarden (2002, 125), the merits of the study of Stubbings (1941) also should not be neglected. A contribution of the utmost importance was also given by P. Åström (1972, 289-403) who published a detailed *corpus* of the Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus from the earliest archaeological explorations up to 1972. More recently, Van Wijngaarden (2002, 125-02, 346-78) devoted Part III of his book concerning the use and appreciation of Mycenaean pottery in the Mediterranean to a discussion (with three catalogs attached) on many aspects of the Mycenaean pottery from Cyprus. In 1998, Steel published a thorough study on the social impact of this pottery on Late Cypriot society, and later she discussed the distribution, context, and function of these ceramic imports on the island (2004b), while Papadimitriou (2012; 2015) recently analyzed the overseas trade in the Eastern Mediterranean from the MBA to ca 1200 BC also discussing the Mycenaean ceramic exports to Cyprus. This short review cannot be concluded without reference to the monumental recent work of Mountjoy (2018) on the decorated pottery found in twelfth century BC contexts on Cyprus and in Philistia, since this pottery is strictly connected to contemporary Aegean productions.

L. Crewe (2007, 73) states that Level IIB may be dated to early LC IIC, i.e. the thirteenth century BC (Interaction Period 4).

A real watershed to the interpretation of Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus is the scientific analyses of the composition of Mycenaean pottery from the island. Although research on this topic was already carried out in the 1940s (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 125 with refs), the origin of this pottery remained a *vexata quaestio* lasting forty more years. F. Stubbings (1951, 43) stated that Mycenaean colonies were established on Cyprus from LH IIIA2, including some potters working on Cyprus in the Mycenaean style and technique, although he also admitted that such an interpretation needed to be confirmed by scientific analyses of the relevant clays. Contrary to Stubbing's suggestion, scientific studies conducted sometime later suggested that the majority of the Mycenaean pottery from LC II Cyprus was produced in the northeastern Peloponnese (Catling, Millett 1965; Catling, Jones, Millett 1978; Steel 1998, 287 fn. 21 with refs), and the question of colonization cropped up dramatically when subsequent scientific analysis proved, beyond any doubt, that a large proportion of LH IIIA and LH IIIB pottery found on Cyprus was made in the Argolid (Jones, Catling in Jones 1986, 542-73, 589-609, especially 599-601). The same provenance has been proven for the Mycenaean pottery found in Egypt and the Levant, most of which was assigned to the Mycenae/Berbati workshop in the Argolid.[27]

A particular category of Mycenaeanizing pottery found on Cyprus, whose origin is worth considering, is represented by the so-called "Levanto-Mycenaean" or "Levanto-Helladic" pottery. In 1940, Sjöqvist adopted the term "Levanto-Helladic" to designate a pottery class intended as a "branch of the Mycenaean pottery" widespread in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially on Cyprus (Sjöqvist 1940, 65-73, fig. 18). The term "Levanto-Mycenaean" coined by Furumark (1941, 9-10) had a rather similar meaning because it was used by the famous Swedish scholar with the view of designating a "regional variant" of LH IIIA and LH IIIB pottery found on Cyprus and on the Eastern Mediterranean coasts, including Rhodes. The range of his twenty 'Levanto-Mycenaean' shapes included cups, bowls, chalices, shallow bowls, alabastra, piriform jars and amphoriskoi. Both appellations went some way towards suggesting that such pottery with an Eastern connotation was produced on Cyprus and in the Levant by Mycenaean potters. The suggestion of their Cypriot origin became even more definite when the appellation "Chypro-mycénienne" and "Cypro-Mycenaean" was preferred by other scholars as a substitute for "Levanto-Mycenaean/Helladic" (Graziadio 2017, 9-10, and esp. 10 fn. 10 with refs). However, contrary to some expectations, scientific clay analyses raised the strong suspicion that many, if not nearly all, the vases of the "Levanto-Helladic" class were specifically produced in Greece for Eastern

27 Mountjoy, Mommsen 2001; Zuckerman et al. 2010; Badre et al. 2005; Jung 2015, 244.

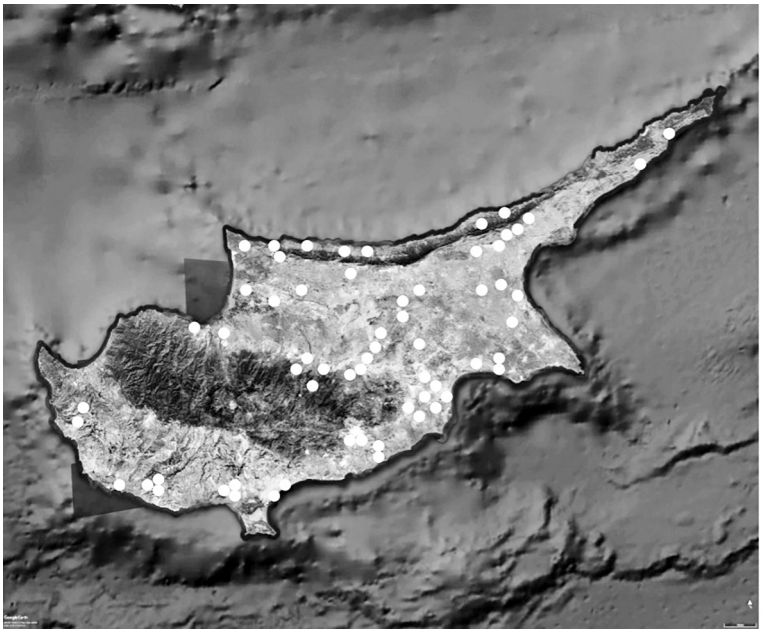


Figure 5.2 The diffusion of LH IIB-IIIA2 pottery on Cyprus. Adapted and updated from van Wijngaarden 2002, 314, Map 8, 323-5

Mediterranean markets and most of the scientific community shared the opinion that the "Levanto-Mycenaean" pottery might only be interpreted as a specific market-oriented Peloponnesian production (Graziadio 2017, 10-11 with refs). This, of course, may clearly be considered a strong argument against the presence of Mycenaean colonies in Cyprus in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, as suggested by some scholars (cf. for example, Stubbings 1951, 31-2, 37, 42-4). The whole problem of the "Levanto-Mycenaean" pottery was largely resolved by Neutron Activation Analysis and consequent studies by Mountjoy and Mommsen (2015; Mountjoy 2018, 31-62). The two scholars have been able to separate analytically the "imported Aegean Levanto-Helladic shapes" from the "local Cypriot Levanto-Helladic shapes" (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 470 figs 32-3). They also stated that the "imported Aegean Levanto-Helladic shapes" have been rarely found in the Aegean and seem to have been produced especially for export (Mountjoy 2018, 33). These shapes included

> the large piriform jar FS 36, the trefoil mouthed jug FS 139, the linear cup FS 220, the mug FS 228, the chalice FS 278, the shallow bowl FS 296 and the pedestalled bowls FS 309, 310 (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 470)

but some of them (FS 36, FS 116, FS 220 linear, FS 296 linear and FS 309, 310) were produced in Cyprus in the thirteenth century BC (470). On the other hand, the "local Cypriot Levanto-Helladic shapes" (related to FS 210, 223, 229, 232, 235, 244 and 247) have not been found in Greece and have been interpreted as possible "adaptations of Plain White Wheelmade shapes". Since all these local vessels can be dated to the thirteenth century BC, they are of no relevance to Interaction Period 3 (Mountjoy 2018, 31-3), so only a few "Levanto-Helladic" examples are considered in this chapter. In her basic study on the Mycenaean pottery imported to Cyprus, Steel (1998, 286; 2004b, 70) distinguished three main phases of contacts: the period when LH I-IIA pottery was imported corresponds to her "Early Phase", the period when LH IIB-IIIA1 pottery was imported corresponds to her "Middle Phase", and the period when LH IIIA2-IIIB pottery was imported corresponds to her "Main Phase". However, following the chronological structure of this study, the LH IIB-IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 pottery is discussed here in the context of Interaction Period 3, while the LH IIIB pottery is considered in the context of Interaction Period 4.

5.4.1.3.2 An Overview on the Diffusion of LH IIB-IIIA2 Pottery on Cyprus

The distribution map of pottery imports to Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 shows that the sites with LH IIIA pottery occur throughout the island, with the only exception in the northwestern slopes of Troodos mountains **[fig. 5.2]**. As with Minoan imports, Enkomi is the most important site in terms of Mycenaean imports, although it is also the most extensively excavated LBA site. Concentrations of coastal sites with LH IIIA pottery are found as well around the Bay of Larnaca and in the south-central coast in the Kalavasos region. In addition, the amount of Mycenaean pottery found in single sites should also be considered, since, as noted by Van Wijngaarden (2002, 186), "the differences in the Mycenaean repertoire between smaller towns and urban centers primarily concern amounts". He stressed that even in the coastal sites large quantities of Mycenaean pottery have been found in a few urban centers (Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Kition), while smaller (although significant) numbers have been found at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes*, Kourion *Bamboula*, and Kouklia *Palaepaphos* (183-4). On the other hand, it has also been repeatedly noted that Mycenaean finds are scattered and decrease in hinterland areas, and Steel (2004b, 71-2, 75-7) even stated that "the penetration of Mycenaean imports to the hinterland was largely limited to the sanctuaries" (72) (i.e. to the settlements of the third tier in Knapp's settlement hierarchy), although

> the range of Mycenaean vases found at the inland sanctuaries is very limited in comparison to the overall variety of Mycenaean vessels found in other contexts on the island. (77)

More specifically, Van Wijngaarden (2002, 186; also cf. 315, map 9) pointed out that no inland site had yielded more than 100 vessels or fragments.

To summarize, the large urban centers located along the eastern and southern coasts played a prominent role in pottery trade with the Mycenaean world, as demonstrated by the variability in Mycenaean pottery imports and confirmed by the nearly exclusive occurrence of Pictorial Style kraters, the most valued Mycenaean vessels in funerary contexts at the same primary towns (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 183-4; Papadopoulos 2011). Nevertheless, recent research at Arediou *Vouppes* suggests that some further refinement is probably needed regarding the traditional view on the exchange of Aegean pottery between the coastal sites and the smaller hinterland sites (Steel 2008, 19-21; 2010a, 141, fig. 8; 2016a, 532). To a certain extent, this may also be applied to some pieces of funerary evidence. In fact, the amount of Mycenaean pottery in tombs excavated at inland sites is usually far lower than in contemporary funerary assemblages at coastal towns, although some interesting exceptions seem to be represented by the sites located in the hinterland of Larnaca, such as Aradhippou, Klavdhia and Dromolaxia, where a variety of Mycenaean pottery, including kraters with pictorial decoration, has been found (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 201).

5.4.1.4 Mycenaean Pottery of Interaction Period 3: A Concise Review of Finds up to Åström's Publication (1972)

The contribution of Paul Åström to Cypriot Bronze Age archaeology is of the utmost importance, and although it dates back more than fifty years, his studies of the Aegean ceramic imports to Cyprus, as well as his analytical catalog of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus, merit detailed consideration (P. Åström 1972; also cf. Papadimitriou 2012, 108). Even after half a century, this work is still relevant as Åström not only listed nearly all the Mycenaean imports known at his time referring to Furumark's still fundamental classification (Furumark 1941), but also directly scrutinized the great majority of the cataloged vessels. In so doing, he included in his shape and motif catalogs nearly all the Mycenaean vessels found in the earlier excavations at Enkomi by the British, Swedish, French, and Cypriot missions, in addition to the examples coming from the funerary contexts discovered in other first tier towns, such as Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni, Kourion and in other known sites (e.g. Lapithos Ayia Anastasia, Akaki, Akhera, Dhekelia, Katydhata, Ay. Paraskevi, Laxia tou Riou etc.) of his time. Given

the great dispersion of Cypriot pottery in the world, Åström's catalog also had the merit of including many examples, generally without exact provenance, stored in museum and private collections all over the world, even promoting reconsideration of the 'hidden' Cypriot material by means of the publication of the volumes of the *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities* (Jung 2012a). Since the earliest archaeological research on Cyprus favored the funerary evidence, a marked discrepancy is however apparent in Åström's catalog between the few Mycenaean vessels coming from settlement deposits and the pottery found inside LBA tombs. As appears, for example, from the Mycenaean examples dating to Interaction Period 3 discussed in § 5.4.1.4, the finds from funerary contexts clearly represent the main body of the catalog and the vast majority of complete cataloged Mycenaean vessels. Nevertheless, despite a few gaps and some precise statements which are necessary in light of more recent studies,[28] the Mycenaean pottery cataloged by Åström is a sound sample of the Mycenaean imports to Cyprus in LBA funerary context and can be used for statistical analysis, while analysis of settlement contexts is more problematic since the excavations of the important LBA settlement deposits at Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni, Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, and Maa *Paleokastro* were carried out after Åström's publication.

5.4.1.4.1 Some Specifications on the Methodology of Analysis Employed Here

Given that an overwhelming number of Mycenaean vessels dating to LH IIIA and LH IIIB were imported during the LC IIA-LC IIC periods, it is impossible to review each Mycenaean vase, yet it seems useful to make a comparative analysis of the functions of the LH IIB-IIIA1

28 Although Åström's catalog of Mycenaean shapes undoubtedly is of the utmost importance, it should be noted that he did not review some Mycenaean vessels, especially of fragmentary shape, in detail (Åström 1972, 382-4). Moreover, some lists of vessels of indistinct shapes, such as those labelled "Other Pithoid Jars, MP [i.e. Furumark 1941] Form 7" (Åström 1972, 305-6), "Other Stirrup Jars" (Åström 1972, 349), and "Other Stemmed Cups" (Åström 1972, 267), "Other Unpublished Flasks" (Åström 1972, 353), and some fragmentary jugs (Åström 1972, 334) were not included into the analytical catalog. It should also be noted that Åström's catalogs of Mycenaean vessels did not include all the examples found inside the Enkomi tombs: for example, eight fragmentary kraters were found in British Tomb 12, while Åström listed only two of them (Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, 39 fig. 67; cf. Mountjoy 2018, 151); a Mycenaean shallow bowl FS 296 from Swedish Tomb 6 has been only reviewed by P. Mountjoy (2018, 155 no. 25 with refs). Furthermore, some kraters regarded as Mycenaean kraters FS 281 by Åström have recently been identified as Rude/Pastoral examples of local production (Åström 1972, 370: l2, cf. Mountjoy 2018, 151 no. 7; Åström 1972, 370: m2, cf. Mountjoy 2018, 151 no. 8, fig. 80 no. 8; Åström 1972, 370: n2, cf. Mountjoy 2018, 151 no. 11, fig. 80: 11).

and LH IIIA2 ceramic imports to Cyprus according to the functional categories discussed in § 5.4.1, since the range of the Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus is restricted in comparison to the well-known Mycenaean repertoire found in the Aegean (Steel 1998, 286; 2004b, 72).

Before discussing the Mycenaean pottery from Cyprus in detail, it is also important to recall that in Mycenaean terms, Interaction Period 3 corresponds to LH IIB-LH IIIA2/LH IIIB, while in Cypriot terms, it corresponds to LC IIA-LC IIC early **[tab. 2.3]**. Bearing in mind these synchronisms, in archaeological literature the LH IIIA2-LH IIIB heading refers both to the vessels of the transitional phase between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB and to those whose shapes occur both in the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB periods and cannot be assigned to either period because their shapes are coupled with simply a linear or otherwise non-diagnostic decoration. All the Mycenaean vessels belonging to the transitional period LH IIIA2-LH IIIB can be assigned to Interaction Period 3 for the sake of convenience, although in the following discussions the LH IIIA2/IIIB vessels will be attributed to a 'LH IIIA2/IIIB indistinct phase'.

In this book, the functional analysis of Mycenaean pottery begins with the Mycenaean vessels dating to LH IIB-LHIIIA1 to LH IIIB period (i.e. Interaction Periods 3 and 4) that Åström cataloged by shape in 1972. The functional analysis of the pottery discovered after 1972 is then reviewed. In my count, Åström cataloged 2051 vessels in detail.[29] It is however worth pointing out that the amount of Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus before 1972 undoubtedly was greater since this number does not include several fragmentary or unpublished vessels not cataloged in detail by Åström, but instead grouped into the categories: "Fragmentary or Unpublished jugs" (P. Åström 1972, 334), "Other Stirrup jars" (348-9), and "Unpublished Flasks" (353). Also, no details were provided for the pieces classified as "Other pithoid jars" (305-6), although Åström remarked that "most of these appear to belong to Type 45", a characteristic that should be taken into account when considering the total amount of LH imported IIIA2 pottery. Moreover, some alabastra of unspecified shape probably belonged to either FS 94 or 95 (325), but considering the chronology

29 The total number of Mycenaean vessels reported by Papadimitriou (2012, 108) is 2175/2177, which corresponds to the number of Mycenaean vessels that Åström (1973, 123) himself attributed by phase to the LH IIIA1-LH IIIB periods. This difference in counts is mainly due to the fact that Åström's catalog included the piriform jars FS 46 and FS 47 of the LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 periods, excluded here because they are considered to be Cypriot, Mycenaeanizing, products rather than Mycenaean imports (see below, § 5.4.4.1). The list of additional vessels cataloged by Åström that have not been counted here includes the Rude/Pastoral Style kraters FS 281, as well as the Aegean-type (White Painted Wheelmade III) vessels of different shapes, particularly deep bowls FS 284, shallow bowls FS 296, and a variety of matt painted small cups and bowls (FS 210, 223, 228, 231, 232, 235; 244, 247), which are not relevant to this study for the same reasons (cf. Mountjoy 2018, 54-62, 71-83; also see Georgiou in § 6.4.3).

of the two shapes and the general absence of diagnostic decoration, they have been included here in the count of LH IIIA2/IIIB vessels. The vessels collected under the general heading "Types 53-5 (Other Amphoroid Kraters, mainly Fragments)" (316-18) are also considered LH IIIA1/IIIB, although it is possible that most of them were amphoroid kraters of types FS 54 and 55 belonging to LH IIIA2. However, it should be considered that some of the vessels from British excavations not published in detail by Åström and included in the groups of the Mycenaean vessels recorded under the above mentioned general headings were indeed published by Crewe (2009) and D. Pilides (2010) in their online publications of finds from Enkomi tombs stored in the British Museum and Cyprus Museum respectively and have been therefore cataloged in table 5.3.

Turning to Åström's chronology of specific shapes, a partial reassessment is necessary due to subsequent studies. A significant difference concerns kraters FS 7 and FS 8. Although some conical to conical-piriform kraters of type FS 7 decorated with LH IIIA1 motifs can be attributed to the LH IIIA1 period and may be considered "as the characteristic LH IIIA1 krater, rather than the rare FS 6" (Mountjoy 1986, 61), Åström (1972, 290-1) followed Furumark's classification classing the LH IIIA2 early version of FS 8 as F7, although dating FS 7 to "Myc. III A2a" (cf. Furumark 1941, 586; cf. Mountjoy 1986, 84 sub FS 8). Therefore, kraters classed as FS 7 by Åström are here regarded as FS 8 belonging to LH IIIA2 early, while in this study the examples FS 8, featuring an "advanced conical-piriform shape with sharply everted rim, which is, however, less tall than that of the LH IIIA1 examples" (Mountjoy 1986, 84) are distinguished and considered FS 8 of LH IIIA2 late. Other major differences concern the piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 which, contrary to Åström's chronology (1972, 296: LH IIIA1-IIIA2 for FS 44; 297-301: LH IIIA2/IIIB for FS 45), are here considered typical of LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 respectively (Mountjoy 1986, 56, 70-2; Leonard 1994, 17-19). In addition, some vessels included in Åström's lists of kraters FS 53 and FS 54 (P. Åström 1972, 306-14, LH IIIA1/2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB) are attributed to LH IIIA2 (cf. Leonard 1994, 22-3), although a few examples are reported from Enkomi Level IIB, dating to LC IIC Early (Crewe 2007b, 73) or LH IIIB Developed-Early LH IIIC Early 1 (Jung 2015, 247 fig. 4 fn. 15, 248-9). On the other hand, in the case of many vessels of different shapes without any diagnostic decoration or contextual reference in Åström's catalog it is not possible to suggest a more precise chronological attribution than LH IIIA2/IIIB. Stirrup jars FS 171, for example, have been here included in the count of the LH IIIA2/IIIB vessels, since they mainly occur in the LH IIIA2 period (Furumark 1941, 611-12; Mountjoy 1986, 77-8) but some LH IIIB and later examples are also known (Benzi 1992, 76; Mountjoy 1986, 106). The stirrup jars FS 178 have also been considered of LH IIIA2/IIIB date,

although they are by far more common in LH IIIA2 than in LH IIIB,[30] and according to Åström's chronology, the same may also be true of the shallow cups FS 220 (cf. Mountjoy 1986, 84, 110; Benzi 1992, 121-3; Leonard 1994, 97) but examples with linear decoration are part of the Levanto-Helladic class and can be dated to LH IIIB (Mountjoy 2018, 40 fig. 10). The lentoid flasks FS 186 are more common in the LH IIIB period (cf. Mountjoy 1999, 1224; Benzi 1992, 105) than in LH IIIA2 (Åström 1972, 349-50), but they have likewise been counted among the LH IIIA2/IIIB pottery. Differing from Åström's chronology (381), all the pedestal bowls FS 309 have been counted among the LH IIIB vessels of the LC IIC period (cf. Mountjoy 2018, 49-50).[31] As noted above (chapter 5 fn. 29), the piriform jars FS 46 and FS 47 as well as some vessels of different shapes included in Åström's catalog have not been included because of their local origin (Graziadio 2017). The same is true of the Simple Style vessels, which were "extremely few" on the island but well represented in the Levant and Egypt. After Åström's publication, these were assigned to a separate class of Cypriot production, being manufactured at Kition and probably also at Hala Sultan Tekke in LC IIC (Mountjoy 2018, 63-70; also see § 6.4.3.5.2).

5.4.1.4.2 The Percentages of Mycenaean Vessels Imported during Interaction Period 3 according to Åström's Catalog

Figure 5.3 illustrates the changing percentages of the Functional Categories between LH IIB-IIIA1 and LH IIIB/IIIC based on the 2051 Mycenaean vessels individually cataloged by Åström and reconsidered here in the light of the above chronological specifications. Variations are seen in the percentages of F1 ('Fine Tableware'), F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities'), and F3 ('Storage Vessels'), while the 'Minoan Transport/Storage Vessels' have a perceptible value (ca 1%) within F3 only in LH IIIB, and the F4 ('Ritual Vessels') are not visible in the graph because their contribution is less than 1% throughout all the periods. The quantity of Mycenaean pottery varies by phase, with the lowest total percentages of Mycenaean pottery in the LH IIB-IIIA1 period (ca 6% ceramic imports), contrary to the Mycenaean pottery assigned to the LH IIIA2 (ca 34%), LH IIIA2/IIIB (ca 30%), and LH IIIB (ca 27%) periods. Therefore, the increase in Mycenaean pottery from the earlier (LH IIB-IIIA1) to the

30 Furumark 1941, 614; Mountjoy 1986, 79-81; Benzi 1992, 23-4; Leonard 1994, 59.

31 Note however that there are some exceptions because NAA also shows that some matt painted vessels of the Levanto-Helladic group can be Argive imports, while lustrous painted pieces can be locally made (Mountjoy 2018, 31).

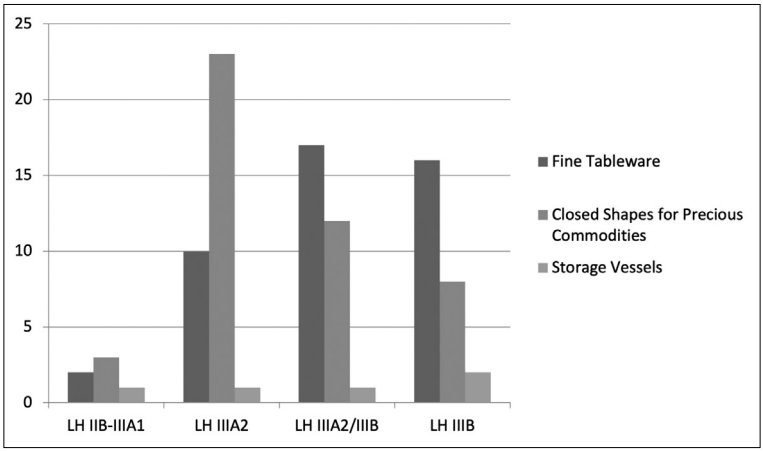


Figure 5.3 The percentage distribution of the Functional Categories for LH IIB-IIIA1 to LH IIIB pottery based on the Mycenaean vessels catalogued individually by P. Åström (1972, 289-382)

later (LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB) phases of Interaction Period 3 is very marked. LH IIIB imported pottery will be discussed in the context of Interaction Period 4 (chapter 6).

LH IIB-IIIA1 Pottery

If we consider the LH IIB-IIIA1 pottery in detail, the most common vessels are F2, 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' (ca 3% of the overall Mycenaean imports or about 60 examples). It should be noted that the examples of this period cataloged by Åström almost exclusively included wide mouthed small vessels used as viscous substance/ointment containers of the sub-category F2.1, such as alabastra FS 84 and 93 and piriform jars FS 28 and 44. In this period the F1, 'Fine Tableware' (ca 2%) is represented by the Mycenaean components of drinking sets: mixing vessels (F1.1a) such as kraters (nearly all FS 7) amount to half of the imported vessels assigned to this functional category, while the remaining half include a few pouring vessels (F1.1b), such as jugs FS 112, 132, and 149, as well as drinking vessels (F1.1c), such as stemmed cups FS 260, 255 and 264 and semiglobular cups FS 213 and FS 219. While single examples are documented of a bowl FS 243, a handleless cup FS 207, and a conical cup FS 230, the repertoire of Mycenaean shapes dating to this phase is completed by a limited number (ca 1% of overall Mycenaean imports) of F3 ('Storage Vessels') such as small to medium piriform jars FS 31, probably also used as containers for liquid or viscous substances. To summarize, Åström's evidence seems to

indicate that in the earlier phase of Interaction Period 3 the trade in Mycenaean pottery was relatively limited, almost in an embryo stage.

LH IIIA2 Pottery

Among the periods illustrated in figure 5.3, Mycenaean ceramic imports are the most common in LH IIIA2. Their prominence is marked especially considering that numerous vessels, although numerically undefined, were classified by Åström under the heading "Other pithoid jars" and 'Types 53-5 (Other Amphoroid Kraters, mainly Fragments)'. These types were counted here among the examples of the indistinct LH IIIA2/IIIB phase, but actually could be added to the LH IIIA2 examples. It should also be taken into account that the shallow cups FS 220, amounting to 157 items in Åström's catalog, have been counted among the vessels of the same indistinct LH IIIA2/IIIB phase due to difficulties precisely dating their Cypriot find contexts. In fact, in Greece the shallow cups FS 220 were produced in the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB periods (cf. Mountjoy 1986, 84, 110; Benzi 1992, 121-3; Leonard 1994, 97), but the FS 220 shallow cup, linear, from Cyprus has been attributed to LH IIIB (Mountjoy 2018, 40). In Greece, small stirrup jars FS 171 and FS 178 occur particularly frequently in the LH IIIA2 period and the many examples on Cyprus might also increase the number of F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities'), which already is the most represented functional category of the LH IIIA2 period. In summary, if we accept the data inferred from Åström's catalog, the later period of Interaction Period 3, corresponding to LH IIIA2 in Aegean terms, witnessed the peak of trade in Mycenaean pottery to Cyprus.

The most appreciated LH IIIA2 vessels belong to F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities') functional category (23% of overall Mycenaean imports) suggesting that there was a large and very significant change in the nature of Aegean trade to Cyprus in the LH IIIA2 period, possibly to be connected with a change in intra-Aegean trade subsequent to the destruction of Knossos. Slightly more than half of this functional category (ca 13% of overall Mycenaean imports) consists of containers for precious liquids of the sub-category F2.2. (stirrup jars and flasks), while the remainder (ca 10% of overall Mycenaean imports) are containers for viscous substances/ointments (sub-category F2.1), solely represented by the small piriform jars FS 45.

The contribution of F1 ('Fine Tableware') during this period is less than half that of F2, 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' (i.e. constituting 10% of overall Mycenaean imports versus 20%, respectively). Of category F1, mixing vessels such as kraters FS 53 and FS 54 with pictorial decoration (F1.1a) occur in markedly higher quantities than other shapes, and amount to ca 7% of overall

Mycenaean imports. However, because of their decorative value, this very high relative proportion may be misleading, reflecting an overemphasis of unprovenanced examples from Museum collections in Åström's catalog. While pouring vessels (F1.1b) are represented by various types of jugs (FS 113, 134, 139, 142, 151, and 154), only the small piriform jugs with cut-away neck FS 134 amount to more than 10 items overall. The drinking vessels (F1.1c) are also limited to very few kylikes FS 256, 257 and 272, as well as cups FS 225, 230, 246, drinking/eating vessels of category F1.2 are limited to bowls FS 243 and FS 283.

The functional category F3 ('Storage Vessels') amounts to only 1% of overall Mycenaean imports since the medium and large piriform jars (FS 34, 35 and 39) are few.

LH IIIA2/LH IIIB Pottery

It has already been noted above that many vessels counted in the indistinct LH IIIA2/IIIB phase were imported in the LH IIIA2 period. This may be the case for some shallow cups FS 220 (ca 8% of overall Mycenaean pottery) and to a certain extent may explain the high proportion (ca 17% in general terms) of F1 ('Fine Tableware') in this indistinct LH IIIA2/IIIB phase, although examples with linear decoration seem to belong to LH IIIB (Mountjoy 2018, 40). The predominance of this functional category may also be due to the occurrence of mixing vessels of F1.1a (ca 4% of all the vessels), specifically the kraters cataloged by Åström under the generic heading 'Types 53-5 (Other Amphoroid Kraters, mainly Fragments)', most of which probably belonged to LH IIIA2. Apart from small globular jugs FS 114 and the low beaked jugs FS 149, with a combined contribution to overall Mycenaean pottery of more than 4%, all the other jugs (FS 102, 120, and 136), as well as the cups (FS 209, 214, and 249) of the LH IIIA2/IIIB phase, are either single examples or few in number.

The functional category F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities') also is well represented in the indistinct LH IIIA2/IIIB phase (ca 12% of overall Mycenaean pottery): most of these vessels are viscous substance/ointment containers F2.1, i.e. the alabastra FS 84, 85 and 95, while liquid containers F2.2 are represented by stirrup jars FS 171 and 178 and globular flasks FS 191, but, as noted above, many of these stirrup jars likely belonged to LH IIIA2.

Only a small percentage (ca 1% of overall Mycenaean pottery) of the indistinct LH IIIA2/IIIB phase pottery has been attributed to F3 ('Storage Vessels'), represented by globular stirrup jars FS 170.

5.4.1.5 A Review of Mycenaean Pottery of Interaction Period 3 from Funerary Contexts (also Including Examples published After 1972)

In this chapter the pattern of diffusion and the regional differences in the Mycenaean pottery imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 are investigated through the integration of Åström's data, presented above, with selected pottery assemblages from other sites excavated after 1972 in various places on the island.

Van Wijngaarden (2002, 198-202) published a review of LC funerary contexts with Mycenaean pottery. In order to discuss the functions of Mycenaean pottery from Cypriot funerary contexts dating to Interaction Period 3, a selection of the main funerary assemblages is presented below. For the single functional categories and sub-categories, reference must be made to the codes above shown in table 5.1.

5.4.1.5.1 Enkomi

Enkomi, the most prominent LC town, has been the focus of extensive research from the end of nineteenth century onward. A detailed discussion on the funerary evidence from this important site is included in this book as a separate case study (Mazzotta, Recht in § 5.4.1.8) which included a discussion on the functional categories of ceramic finds.

However, first of all it is necessary to discuss some preliminary chronological problems concerning some tombs yielding Mycenaean pottery. The list of Mycenaean vessels from some tombs selected by Mazzotta and Recht such as Cypriot Tomb 19, Swedish Tomb 2, French Tomb 2/49, French Tomb 11/49 included shallow cups FS 220, piriform jars FS 45, alabastra FS 94, kraters FS 53 which are of particular importance for the chronology of the relevant ceramic assemblages and, ultimately, the period of use of these tombs **[tabs 5.14-15]**. Since all these vessels can be dated to LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2/IIIB, in fact, it can be suggested that the above-mentioned tombs were also used in LC IIB and/or in LC IIB/IIC, although their period of use was attributed to LC IIA by Keswani (2004, 232, tab. 5.9b). Many LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB vessels were also found in other select tombs such as Cypriot Tomb 10 (used from MC III/LC I to LC IIC), Swedish Tomb 19 (used from LC IA to LC IIC), Swedish Tomb 3 (used from LC I to LC IIC), Swedish Tomb 11 (used from LC IIA to LC IIC), Swedish Tomb 22 (used from LC IIB to LC IIC), French Tomb 5/49 (used from LC IB to LC IIIB), Swedish Tomb 10 and Swedish Tomb 10A (used from LC IIB to LC IIIA) **[tab. 5.14]**. This suggests that at Enkomi Mycenaean vessels were regarded as significant components of many burial assemblages dating to the period corresponding to the settlement

Level IIA, i.e. LC IIA2-IIB in terms of relative chronological phasing (Crewe 2007, 73, tab. 11.1), while in the earlier phases Mycenaean ceramic imports were incorporated in funerary assemblages more occasionally. This clearly appears also from tables 5.3 and 5.15, where all the Mycenaean pottery from Enkomi tombs, including examples from funerary contexts selected by Mazzotta and Recht, is listed. In fact, among the contexts selected in Mazzotta and Recht's study, only a tomb (French Tomb 126/57), dating to LC IA-IIA, produced a LH IIIA1 vessel, an alabastron FS 84 of category F2.1 (Courtois 1981, 85 no. 38, figs 56-7) **[tab. 5.14]**. Moreover, the earliest Mycenaean ceramic imports dating to LH IIB and LH IIIA1 are few in all the other Enkomi not selected tombs **[tab. 5.3]**. It is also worth noting that many of these vessels may also be assigned to the functional category F2.1 since they included a LH IIB alabastron FS 82, a LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 28, a LH IIIA1 handless jar FS 77, three LH IIIA1 alabastra FS 84, and six LH IIIA1 piriform jars FS 44. Other LH II-IIIA1 vessels may be assigned to other functional categories: a possible LH IIA handleless bowl FS 207 to category F1.2, a LH IIIA1 small jug FS 112 to category F1.1b, a LH IIIA1 goblet FS 255 to category F1.1c, and three LH IIIA1 piriform jars FS 31 to category F3.

Concerning the Mycenaean vessels later than LH IIIA1, both table 5.3 and table 5.15 show a marked prevalence of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-IIIB vessels in all the functional categories excepting category F1.1a where the predominance of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-IIIB vessels is less marked thanks to a high number (overall 40 items) of LH IIIB kraters FS 281. If we consider the overall Mycenaean pottery attributed to Interaction Period 3 from Enkomi tombs, a prevalence of the examples of functional category F1 ('Fine Tableware') can be noted due to the large number of the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-IIIB vessels of this functional category. However, it should also be admitted that the large numbers of the vessels attributed to the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB style such as shallow cups FS 220 as well as the many kraters cataloged by Åström under the generic heading "Types 53-5 (Other Amphoroid Kraters, mainly Fragments)" no doubt affect the computation of the vessels of category F1 of Interaction Period 3 at the expense of the other functional categories, especially F2, since their attribution to the generic LH IIIA2-IIIB style does not allow an actual distinction in the percentage of this pottery deposited into the tombs in the LH IIIA2, LH IIIA2/IIIB transition, or LH IIIB periods (see § 5.4.1.3.1). It is also worth noting that amphoroid kraters (F1.1a), mostly with pictorial decoration, are ca half of overall vessels of this category, confirming the importance of these mixing vessels as status indicators in Enkomi tombs in Interaction Period 3. Among all the other vessels of the functional category F1, drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c are by far more numerous than the pouring vessels of sub-category F1.1b and the drinking/eating vessels of

sub-category F1.2. As appear from Mazzotta and Recht's statistics of overall ceramic finds from Enkomi select tombs **[figs 5.4-5.18]**, a noticeable number of cups, bowls and jugs of local production were associated with Aegean imports and continued to be greatly appreciated.

Concerning the vessels of category F2, it should be pointed out that overall 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' from Enkomi tombs correspond to about 80% of the total number of vessels of the category F1 ('Fine Tableware'), with a small prevalence of containers for precious commodities of sub-category F2.1 over containers for liquid substances of sub-category F2.2. On the contrary, storage vessels of functional category F3 as well as ritual vessels and figurines of category F4 are comparatively few.

Table 5.3 The LH IIIA pottery from not selected tombs at Enkomi. Br. T. = British Tomb; Cyp. T. = Cypriot Tomb; Fr. T. = French Tomb; Sw. T. = Swedish Tomb

Enkomi: Tomb number	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
1-2: Br. T. 12.	**LH IIIA1 kraters FS 7**	1, 2: Crewe 2009a, 12.25, 12.26 (C 348, C 344).
1-2: Br. T. 12; 2: Br. T. 67; 3: Br. T. 69; 4: Br. T. 69; 5: Br. T. 78; 6: Br. T. 83; 7: Fr. T. 5; 8: Fr. T. 7.	**LH IIIA2 early kraters FS 8 (= Åström 1972, FS 7)**	1: Åström 1972, 291, Type 7: i* (C396); Crewe 2009a, 12.44; 2: Crewe 2009a, 12.48 (C406); 3: Åström 1972, 290, Type 7: a (C392); Crewe 2009a, 67.77; Hirschfeld 2019, 137; 4: Åström 1972, 290, Type 7: b (C415); 5: Åström 1972, 290, Type 7: d (A 1548); Pilides 2010, A 1548; 6: Åström 1972, 290, Type 7: c (C414); 7: Åström 1972, 291, Type l; 8: Åström 1972, 291, Type 7: m.
1: Br. T. 12; 2: Br. T. 54; 3: Br. T. 79; 4: Br. T. 81	**LH IIIA2 late kraters FS 8**	1: Åström 1972, 292, Type 8: d*bis* (C401); Crewe 2009a, 12.37; 2: Åström 1972, 292, Type 8: e (A 2023c?); 3: Åström 1972, 291, Type 8: a (C385); 4: Åström 1972, 292, Type 8: f (A2031).
1-5: Br.T. 12; 6: Br. T. 48; 7: Br. T. 67; 8: Br. T. 70; 9: Br. T. 83; 10: Br. T. 93; 11: Fr. T. 2, 1946 or 1947.	**LH IIIA2 amphoroid kraters FS 53**	1-5: Åström 1972, 308, Type 53: j (C 344), k (C346), l (C348), m (C 349), n (C374, C 681; Crewe 2009a, 12.26, 12.31, 12.41. 12.45.46; 6: Åström 1972, 306, Type 53: a (C372); 7: Åström 1972, 308-9, Type 53: o (C339); 8: Åström 1972, 306, Type 53: b (C340); 9: Åström 1972, 306, Type 53: c (C387); 10: Åström 1972, 309, Type 53: p (C366); 11: Åström 1972, 309, Type 53: r.
1-2: Br. T. 12; 3: Br. T. 43; 4: Br. T. 45; 5: Br. T. 45; 6: Br. T. 67; 7: Br. T. 83; 8: Br. T. 93; 9, 10: Fr. T. 2, 1946 or 1947.	**LH IIIA2 amphoroid kraters FS 54**	1, 2: Åström 1972, 312, Type 54: j2, k2; Crewe 2009a, 12.36, 12.33 (C347); 3: Åström 1972, 312, Type 54: l2; Pilides 2010, A 1649; Hirschfeld 2019, 136; 4: Åström 1972, 311, Type 54: n (C333); Hirschfeld 2019, 136; 5: Åström 1972, 310, Type 54: a (C341); 6: Åström 1972, 310, Type 54: b (C380); Crewe 2009a, 67.76; Hirschfeld 2019, 137; 7: Åström 1972, 310, Type 54: c (C377); Hischfeld 2019, 138 (dated to LH IIIA1); 8: Åström 1972, 312, Type 54: m2 (C334); 9, 10: Åström 1972, 313, Type 54: o2, p2.

Enkomi: Tomb number	Vessels according to functional categories	References
1-2: Br. T. 10 or 12; 3-21: Br. T. 12; 22-3: Br. T. 20; 24-6: Br. T. 25; 27: Br. T. 31 o T. 18; 28: Br. T. 43; 29: Br. T. 48; 30-6: Br. T. 54; 37: Br. T. 82; 38-47: Br. T. 94; 48: Cyp. T. 6.4 b-i; 49: British Excavations 1896, no tomb number; 50-62: British Excavations 1896, no tomb number.	**LH IIIA2-IIIB amphoroid kraters (mainly fragments)**	1, 2: Åström 1972, 316, Type 53-5: f, g; 3-21: Åström 1972, 316, Type 53-5: d (C367), e (C369), j, k; Crewe 2009a, 12, 19, 20, 30, 32, 34-6, 38-47, 49 (C 345, C 347, C349, C 369, C 407, C 396, C 681, C 374, C 367, C 682); 22-3: Åström 1972, 316, Type 53-5: j (A 1512), k (A 1527); 24-6: Åström 1972, 318, Type 53-5: Cyprus Museum A 2029 a-e; Pilides 2010, A 2029a; Pilides 2010, A 2023h, A 2029c; 27: Pilides 2010, A 2031; 28: Åström 1972, 318, Type 53-5: Cyprus Museum A 2026 c; 29: Åström 1972, 316, Type 53-5: h (A 2019); 30-6: Pilides A 2022a, A 2023g, 2025c; Pilides 2010, A 3023a; Pilides 2010, A 2023d; Pilides 2010, A 2023g; Pilides 2010, A 2023i?; Pilides 2010, A 2024A; Pilides 2010, A 2033c; 37: Åström 1972, 316, Type 53-5: I (A 2030); 38-47: Åström 1972, 318, Type 53-5: Cyprus Museum A 2022 a, d, e; Pilides 2010, A 2022b, A 2022d, A 2022e, A 2027a, A 2027f, A2030; Pilides 2010, A 2022c; Pilides 2010, A 2022f; Pilides 2010, A 2022g; Pilides 2010, A 2027b; Pilides 2010, A 2027d; Pilides 2010, A 2027 d, e; Pilides 2010, A 2027g; 48: Åström 1972, 318, Type 53-5: Dikaios 1969-71, 354. pl. 5-12; 49: Pilides 2010, A 2041; 50-62; Gubel, Massar 2019, 195-6, A1247-1 fig. 19, A1247-2 fig. 20, A1248 fig. 21a-b, A 1248-2 fig. 22a-b, A1248-3 fig. 23a-c, A1249 fig. 24, A1250a fig. 25, A 1250b fig. 26, A1252 fig. 28, A 1253 fig. 29a-b, A1255 fig. 31, A1256 fig. 32, A1257 fig. 33, with refs.
	F1.1b	
1: Br. T. 69	**LH IIIA1 small jug FS 112**	1: Åström 1972, 327, Type 112: a (C599).
1: Br. T. 45	**LH IIIA2 small jug FS 113**	1: Åström 1972, 327, Type 113: a.
1: Br. T. 66	**LH IIIA2 jug FS 134**	1: Åström 1972, 331, Type 134: b, fig. 46d; Crewe 2009b, 35 no. 33 (C592).
1: Br. T. 66	**LH IIIA2 narrow necked jug FS 118**	1: Åström 1972, 329, Type 118: a (C581).
1: Br. T. 4; 2: Br. T. 98.	**LH IIIA2 beaked jug FS 142**	1: Åström 1972, 332, Type 142: a, b (A 1557, A 1561); 2: Åström 1972, 332, Type 142: c; Pilides 2010, A 1568.
1: Sw. T. 3	**LH IIIA2 jug FS 151**	1: Åström 1972, 333, Type 151: b.
1: Br. T. 55	**LH IIIA2 beaked jug FS 154**	1: Åström 1972, 333, Type 154: a (A 1579); Pilides 2010, A 1579.

Enkomi: Tomb number	Vessels according to functional categories	References
1: Br. T. 4; 2: Br. T. 48; 3: Br.T. 52; 4: Br. T. 60; 5: Br. T. 69; 6: Br. T. 83?; 7: Br. T. 83; 8: Br. T. 91; 9: Br. T. 98; 10: Sw. T. 13; 11: Fr. T. 12; 12: Fr. T. 5; 13: Cyp. T. 2.	**LH IIIA2-IIIB small jugs FS 114**	1: Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: m *bis* (A 1561); 2: Åström 1972, 327, Type 114: a (C584); 3: Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: m *ter* (A 1563); 4: Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: n (C588); 5: Åström 1972, 327, Type 114: b (C585); 6: Åström 1972, 327, Type 114: h (C590); 7: Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: o (C589); 8: Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: p*, fig. 46: d (C587); 9: Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: r (A 1568); 10: Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: m; 11: Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: s, t*; 12: Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: u; 13: Åström 1972, 328 Type 114: u *bis-quater.*
	F1.1c	
1: Br. T. 94	**LH IIIA1 cup FS 219**	Pilides 2010, A 1518.
1: Br. T. 69; 2: Br. T. 84	**LH IIIA1 goblets FS 255**	1: Åström 1972, 365, Type 255: a (C 616).
1: British T. 84; 2: British Excavations 1896 no tomb number	**LH IIIA2 mug FS 225**	1: Åström 1972, 359, Type 225: a (C618).2: Gubel, Massar 2019, 195: A. 1246, fig. 18: a-c.
1: Br. T. 14	**LH IIIA2 kylix FS 256**	1: Pilides 2010, A 1643a.
1: Br. T. 79	**LH IIIA2 cup FS 230**	1: Åström 1972, 362, Type 230: a (C627).
1, 2: Fr. T. 5	**LH IIIA2/IIIB semiglobular cups FS 214**	1, 2: Åström 1972, 356, Type 214: b, c.
1-5: Br. T. 4; 6: Br. T. 43; 7: Br. T. 45; 8-12: Br. T. 66; 13: Br. T. 67; 14: Br. T. 69; 15, 16: Br. T. 78; 17: Br. T. 79; 18-21: Br. T. 83; 22-7: Br. T. 84; 28: Br. T. 86; 29-30: Br. T. 88; 31: Br. T. 94; 32-3: Br. T. 98; 34-5: Fr. T. 5; 36-8: Fr. T. 12; 39-43: British Excavations 1896, no tomb number	**LH IIIA2/IIIB semiglobular cups FS 220**	1-5: Åström 1972, 358, Type 220: e2-i2; Pilides 2010, A 1532, A 1533, A 1512, A 1515; 6: Pilides 2010, A 1531; 7: Åström 1972, 359, Type 220: j2 (C631); 8-12: Åström 1972, 359, Type 220: k2, l2, m2, n2, o2, p2 (C628, C632, C633, C634, C635, C637); Hirschfeld 2019, 136-7; Crewe 2009b, 35 nos 21 (C632), 22 (C633), 23, pl. 7 (C628), 24 (C629), 25 (C634), 26 (C635); 13: Åström 1972, 359, Type 220: q2 (C651); 14: Åström 1972, 359, Type 220: r2 (C636); 15, 16: Åström 1972, 359, Type 220: t2-v2; Pilides 2010, A 1513, 1526; 17: Åström 1972, Type 220: w2 (C640); 18-21: Åström 1972, 359, Type 220: x2-a3 (C642, C643, C644, C645); 22-7: Åström 1972, 359, Type 220: b3-f3 (C630, C646, C647, C648; A 1517); 28: Åström 1972, 359, Type 220: g3 (C650); 29, 30: Åström 1972, 359, Type 220: i3, j3 (C652, C653); 31: Åström 1972, Type 220: l3; 32, 33: Åström 1972, 359, Type 220: m3, n3; Pilides 2010, A 1523, 1534; 34-5: Åström 1972, 359, Type 220: x3, y3; 36-8: Åström 1972, 360, Type 220: t3-v3; 39-43: Pilides 2010, A 1510, A 1516, A 1519, A 1521, A 1525.

Enkomi: Tomb number	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.2	
1: Br. T. 40	**LH IIA handleless bowl FS 207 or FS 237?**	1: Åström 1972, 355, Type 207: a (C678).
1: Br. T. 69	**LH IIIA2 bowl FS 283**	1: Åström 1972, 375, Type 283: a (C620).
	F2.1	
1: Br. T. 88.	**LH IIB alabastron FS 82**	1: Åström 1972, 320, Type 82: a (C497).
1: Br. T. 17; 2: Br. T. 67; 3: Br. T. 79; 4: Br. T. 83; 5: Fr. T. 12; 6: Cyp. T. 2.	**LH IIIA1 piriform Jars FS 44**	1: Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: h (C442); Crewe 2009a, 17.3 2: Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: j (C468); 3: Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: i (C453); 4: Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: a (C454); 5: Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: k; 6: Åström 1972, 297, Type 44: g2.
1: Br. T. 50.	**LH IIIA1 handleless jar FS 77**	1: Åström 1972, 319, Type 77:a (C499).
1: Br. T. 12; 2: Br. T. 69.	**LH IIIA1 alabastra FS 84**	1: Åström 1972, 320, Type 84: h (Cyprus Museum Inv. 1958/1-10/3); 2: Åström 1972, 320, Type 84: a (C494).
1: Br. T. 34; 2: Br. T. 43; 3: Br. T. 45; 4: Br. T. 58; 5: Br. T. 65; 6, 7: Br. T. 67; 8, 9: Br. T. 68; 10: Br. T. 69; 11-16: Br. T. 77; 17: Br. T. 78; 18: Br. T. 80; 19: Br T. 81; 20-1: Br. T. 83; 22: Br. T. 91; 23: Sw. T. 13; 24: Fr. T. 12; 25: Cyp. T. 2.	**LH IIIA2 piriform Jars FS 45**	1: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: k2 (C441); 2: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: b2; 3: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: j2 (C443); 4: Åström 1972, 305: Cyprus Museum A 1694; Pilides 2010, A 1694; 5: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: h2 (C444); 6, 7: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: l2, p2 (C446, C445); 8-9: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: c2, d2 (Cyprus Museum A 1665, Pilides 2010, A 1697); 10: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: i2 (C 447); 11-16: Åström 1972, 297, Type 45: a, b, c, d, e (C448, C450, C451, C 452, C449); 17: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: e2; Pilides 2010, A 1699; 18: Åström 1972, 305: Cyprus Museum A 1670; Pilides 2010, A 1670; 19: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: q2 (C461); 20, 21: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: g2, m2 (C456, C455); 22: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: n2 (C457); 23: Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: a2; 24: Åström 1972, 301, Type 45: e6; 25: Åström 1972, 301, Type 45: p6.
1: Br. T. 76; 2: Sw. T. 21.	**LH IIIA2 (?) 'Other Pithoid Jars (MP Form 7)'**	1: Åström 1972, 305: Cyprus Museum A 1680; 2: Åström 1972, 305: Mus. Med. Ant. Stockholm (unpublished sherd).
1: Br. T. 79; 2: Br. T. 83; 3: British excavations 1896, no tomb number	**LH IIIA2-IIIB alabastra FS 85**	1: Åström 1972, 321, Type 85: c (C495); Åström 1972, 321, Type 85: d; 3: Pilides 2010, A 1709.

Enkomi: Tomb number	Vessels according to functional categories	References
1: Br. T. 10; 2-4: Br. T. 43; 5: Br. T. 45; 6: Br. T. 67; 7, 8: Br. T. 68; 9: Br. T. 69; 10: Br. T. 70; 11-12: Br. T. 78; 13: Br. T. 91; 14: Br. T. 98; 15: Fr. T. 12; 16: Sw T. 13; 17: British Excavations 1896, no tomb number.	**LH IIIA2-B alabastra FS 94**	1: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: j; Crewe 2009a, 10.1 (C488); 2- 4: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: k, l, m (A 1722, 1727); Pilides 2010, 1722; 5: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: n (C481); 6: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: o (C487); 7, 8: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: p*, q*; 9: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: r (C489); 10: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: s (C490); 11-12: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: t, u; Pilides 2010, A 1713, A 1716; 13: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: v (C491); 14: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: w; Pilides 2010, A 1715; 15: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: x; 16: Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: h; 17: Gubel, Massar 2019, 195 A1243, fig. 15, with refs.
1: Br. T. 43; 2: Br. T. 45; 3-6: Br. T. 66; 7: Br. T. 98.	**LH IIIA-IIIB alabastra FS 95**	1: Åström 1972, 324, Type 95: h *ter*; Pilides 2010, A 1726; 2: Åström 1972, 324, Type 95: a; 3-6: Åström 1972, 324, Type 95: b-e, Crewe 2009b, 35 nos 17 (C486), 18 (C484), 19 (C483), 20 (C485); 7: Åström 1972, 324, Type 95: h *bis*; Pilides 2010, A 1724.
	F2.2	
1: Br. T. 68.	**LH IIIA2 flask FS 186**	1: Pilides 2010, A 1732.
1: Br. T. 37.	**LH IIIA2 flask FS 188**	1: Åström 1972, 350, Type 188: a (C564).
1: Br. T. 27; 2-3: Br. T. 45; 4-5: Br. T. 68; 6: Br T. 69; 7: Br. T. 83.	**LH IIIA2 flask FS 189**	1: Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: o*; Pilides 2010, 1573; 2-3: Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: d, e (C566, C565); 4-5: Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: f, g; Pilides 2010, A 1572, A 1571; 6: Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: h (C568); 7: Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: i (C569).
1: Br. T. 10; 2: Br. T. 45; 3: Br. T. 67; 4: Br. T. 91; 5: Fr. T.12; 6: British excavations 1896, no tomb number.	**LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166**	1: Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: i (C507); Crewe 2009a, 10.7; 2: Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: j (C506); 3: Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: k (C508); 4: Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: l (C509); 5: Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: m; 6: Pilides 2010, A 1927.
1: Br. T. 66.	**LH IIIA2-IIIB stirrup jar 170**	1: Åström 1972, 339 Type 170: a; Crewe 2009b, 34-5 no. 14 (C528).
1: Br. T. 4; 2: Br. T. 14; 3- 6: Br. T. 42; 7- 9: Br. T. 43; 10-13: Br. T. 45; 14: Br. T. 59; 15: Br. T. 66; 16: Br. T. 67; 17: Br. T. 68; 18: Br. T. 70; 19: British Tomb 76; 20-2: Br. T. 83; 23-5: Br. T. 88; 26-7: Br. T. 91; 28: Br. T. 93; 29: Br. T. 94; 30: Sw. T. 13; 31: British Excavations 1896, no tomb number.	**LH IIIA2-B stirrup jars FS 171**	1: Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: r *bis* (A 1603); Pilides 2010, A 1603; 2: Pilides 2010, A 1617; 3-6: Pilides 2010, A 1600, A 1604, A 1607, A 1614; 7- 9: Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: r *ter*; Pilides 2010, A 1595, A 1619, A 1620; 10-13: Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: s, t, u, v; 14: Pilides 2010, A 1592; 15: Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: w; 16: Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: x; 17: Pilides 2010, A 1593; 18: Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: y; 19: Åström 1972, 348; Pilides 2010, A 1615; 20-2: Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: z, a2, b2; 23-5: Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: c2, d2, e2; 26, 27: Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: f2, g2; 28: Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: h2; 29: Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: h2 *bis*; Pilides 2010, A 1583; 30: 339 Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: p; 31: Pilides 2010, A 1588.

Enkomi: Tomb number	Vessels according to functional categories	References
1: Br. T. 12; 2: Br. T. 20; 3: Br. T. 43; 4: Br. T. 53; 5: Br. T. 66; 6: Br. T. 79; 7: Br. T. 83; 8: Br. T. 91.	**LH IIIA2-B stirrup jars FS 178**	1: Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: c; Crewe 2009a, 12.54 (C547); 2: Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: c *bis* (A 1527); 3: Pilides 2010, A 1621; 4: Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: d (C551); 5: Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: e (C553); 6: Åström 1972, 344 Type 178: a (C554); 7: Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: b (C555); Hirschfeld 2019, 138; 8: Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: f (C558).
1: Br. T. 17; 2: Br. T. 88; 3: Fr T. 12.	**LH IIIA2-IIIB flask FS 191**	Åström 1972, 1: 352 Type 191: i; 2: Åström 1972, 352 Type 191: a; 3: Åström 1972, 353 Type 191: n.
	F3	
1: Br. T. 50; 2: Br. T. 55; 3: Br. T. 59; 4: British Excavation 1896, no tomb number.	**LH IIIA1 piriform jars FS 31**	1: Åström 1972, 292 Type 31: a (C476); 2: Åström 1972, 293 Type 31: t*; Pilides 2010, A 1686; 3: Åström 1972, 292 Type 31: u (A 1928); 4: Åström 1972, 292 Type 31: b (C 475).
1: Br. T. 41; 2: Br. T. 59; 3: British Excavation 1896, no tomb number.	**LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 39**	1: Åström 1972, 295, Type 39: c; Pilides 2010, A 1652, Hirschfeld 2019, 135-6; 2: Åström 1972, 305; Pilides 2010, A 1666; 3: Pilides 2010, A 1692.
	F4	
1, 2: Br. T. 54?	**LH IIIA1 o LH IIIA2 figurines**	1: Pilides 2010, A 2023, A 2023k; Papadopoulos 2019, 123-6, fig. 4a-c; 2: Pilides 2010, A 2023o, Papadopoulos 2019, fig. 5a-c.
1: Br. T. 12; 2: Br. T. 34; 3: Br. T. 53; 4: Br. T. 69; 5: Br. T. 70.	**Conical rhyta FS 199**	1: Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: e, fig. 46: d (C606), LH IIIA2-III B; 2: Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: f, (C605), LH IIIA2; 3: Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: a, (C602), LH IIIB; 4: Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: b, (C603), LH IIIA2; 5: Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: c, (C604), LH IIIA2.
1: Br. T. 67	**LH IIIA2 bull's head rhyton FS 203A**	1: Åström 1972, 354-5 Type FS 203A: a (C607).
1: Br. T. 88	**LH IIIA2-IIIB composite vessel FS 324**	1: Åström 1972, 382 Type 324: a (C428).

5.4.1.5.2 Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*

Although Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* has been considered a First Tier site in the site hierarchy (Knapp 2013, 355 fig. 95), based on the archaeological record at the site, during Interaction Period 3 it appears to be greatly reduced in importance in comparison with the earlier periods. However, Tomb II Chamber 4 (Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 247-9, 244 fig. 36) provides some interesting elements concerning the Mycenaean pottery imported to this site in the fourteenth century BC. The latest burial in this tomb belonged to a young woman and contained a rich array of offerings, including glass, gold, and ivory objects, as well as a lapis lazuli seal with gold caps, indicating an elite burial. All the Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period

3 associated with this burial, two flasks, a stirrup jar, and an alabastron may be assigned to the functional category F2 and can be dated to LH IIIA2 (Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 260, T. II.93, 94, II.103, P. 602, 603, P. 612, 261 T. II.100, P. 609, pl. 178).

5.4.1.5.3 Kouklia Palaepaphos

Palaepaphos was founded at the beginning of the Late Cypriot period (Crewe, Georgiou 2018), corresponding to the earliest Aegean contacts, and continued until the end of the LBA (for recent discussions, cf. Georgiou 2015; Sherratt 2018). Evidence for Mycenaean imports is mainly provided by the tombs dispersed in several clusters of distinct *nuclei* that confirm the Cypriot custom of establishing tombs within residential areas (Georgiou 2015, 50-1 with refs). In the 1950's, the Liverpool City Museum and St Andrews University Expedition excavated forty-four tombs in the vast Late Bronze Age cemeteries spread over the localities of *Evreti, Asproyi* and *Kaminia* (Maier, Karageorghis 1984, 51-2; Georgiou 2015, 45-6 with refs), and their finds have been recently published (Catling 2020). Subsequent research at Palaepaphos was carried out beginning in 1966 by a Swiss-German mission under the direction of Franz G. Maier, as well as by the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus. In 2006, field work and research by the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project under the direction of Maria Iacovou began and increased considerably the archaeological knowledge of the Palaepaphos area (Georgiou 2015, 46-7 with refs). In 2021, Karageorghis and Raptou published Tomb 288 excavated at Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* which yielded funerary gifts ranging from 1650 to 1200 BC. The Mycenaean ceramics from the tombs in the area range from LC I to LC IIIB, but most belong to LC IIC-IIIA.

Regarding the Mycenaean pottery from the tombs excavated at Kouklia by the British Mission, Catling (2020, 169) noted that some cemeteries with LC II burials in central and eastern Cyprus such as those at Enkomi, Maroni, Kalavasos, Pyla and Klavdhia have produced much more pottery of this type than Kouklia. Most of these ceramic finds can be dated to the thirteenth century BC and later periods, while the Mycenaean imports of Interaction Period 3 were very few **[tab. 5.4]**.

Table 5.4 Select vessels of Interaction Period 3 from Kouklia

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Kouklia	LH IIIA2 early krater FS 8?	Åström 1972, 290 fn. 8; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 76 no. 103.
Kouklia *Evreti* TE VIII 30	LH IIIA2/IIIB amphoroid krater FS 53-5?	Georgiou 2016c, 193, cat. no. 8, figs 8 a-b.
	F1.1c	
Kouklia	LH IIIA/IIIB fragmentary kylix FS 257-8 LH IIIA2/IIIB kylix FS 256 LH IIIA2/IIIB cup FS 220	Georgiou 2016, 191-2, cat. no. 2, figs 3 a-b. Catling 2020, 34, AV: 46, pl. 81, fig. 34. Catling 2020, 176, EVII (uncatalogued sherd).
	F2.1	
Kouklia	LH IIIA2 piriform jar LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	Catling 2020, 176, EBIII (uncatalogued sherd). Karageorghis, Raptou 2021, 242 no. 175, 247 fig. 19 (Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 288).
	F2.2	
Kouklia	LH IIIA2 flasks FS 188 LH IIIA2 flask FS 190 Sherds from LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars or flasks	Catling 2020, 12, AI: 9, pl. 46; 127, SI: 2, pl. 197; Åström 1972, Type 190, 352: d, with refs. Catling 2020, 68, 175, EVII: 9, EBIII: 11, 15, pl. 135, fig. 75.
Kouklia KC 821	? fragment depicted with a female figure	Maier, Karageorghis 1984, 55, 59 fig. 37.
	F3	
Kouklia	LH IIIA piriform jar FS 35	Maier 1983, pl. 22: h.

Moreover, it is worth noting that, apart from an uncataloged sherd of a LH IIIA 1 or LH IIIA2 piriform jar (Catling 2020, 176: EIIIB), all the vessels of Interaction Period 3 may be assigned to LH IIIA2 or LH IIIA2-LH IIIB. On the other hand, the earliest Mycenaean pottery from the wells and tombs excavated by Maier dated from LH IIB-LH IIIA1 (Maier 1983, 230-1; 1997, 95, tab. 1) including stirrup jars and fragments of other closed shapes, a deep conical bowl, low kylikes, and the fragments of a krater (Maier 1983, 230-3, pl. 22: f; pl. 23: a-c fn. 11). The number of imported vessels begins to rise perceptibly in LH IIIA2 (230 fn. 14), with numerous Mycenaean sherds recovered that date to this period. However, many are small sherds from Maier's excavations "whose shape cannot be determined with certainty or which cannot be definitely attributed to one stylistic phase" being therefore attributed to the transitional LH IIIA2/IIIB phase (Maier 1997, 93, 95, tab. 1). Their repertoire included closed vessels, such

as stirrup jars, jugs, piriform jars in addition to a well preserved LH IIIA2 flask from Kouklia-Asproyi Tomb KTA 1 9 (P. Åström 1972, 350, Type 188: d; Maier, Karageorghis 1984, 55, 56 fig. 30; Maier 1983, 230 fn. 14, pl. 22: e, h), while open shapes were composed of fragments of a ritual vessel (i.e. a fine animal rhyton), bowls, kraters, and two kylikes with whorl-shell decoration (Maier 1983, 230 fn. 14, pl. 22: I; 1997, 96-7, figs 2-3; Maier, Karageorghis 1984, 114 fns 11, 13). Maier (1997, 98; Maier, von Wartburg 1985, 105, pl. XI: 1, 2) noted that in Interaction Period 3 closed shapes ranging from LH IIB/IIIA1 to LH IIIA2/IIIB were more numerous than open shapes. This seems to indicate that vessels of sub-categories F2 and F3 were particularly common at Kouklia Palaepaphos in Interaction Period 3, although this is not equally apparent from the examples published in more detail.

5.4.1.5.4 Kourion *Bamboula*

Kourion *Bamboula* has been defined as "a poorly known and inadequately recorded site" (Iacovou 2007, 14). Although relatively few funerary contexts have been found intact, the main evidence for Interaction Period 3 at the site is provided by the pottery from the tombs excavated by the British Museum expedition[32] and from forty tombs unearthen at Bamboula by the University Museum of Philadelphia (Benson 1972). The best preserved finds of Interaction Period 3 from the site are reviewed in table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 3 from Kourion *Bamboula* tombs

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Kourion *Bamboula*	LH IIIA2 early krater FS 8	Åström 1972, 291, Type 7: h ("Window Krater"), Tomb 17.
	LH IIIA2 kraters FS 54	Åström 1972, 312, Type 54: u (Tomb 34.2).
	LH IIIA/IIIB kraters FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 317, Type 53-5: t (Tomb?), 317, Type 53-5: t *bis** (Tomb 17). Benson 1972, 20-1: 15, 26 (Tomb 17). Åström 1972, 317, Type 53-5: u*, v*, w* with refs; Benson 1972, 34 nos 1-3, 5 (*Voupha* Tomb B).

32 Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, 57-86, 72-4, figs 124-7; Kiely 2009a; 2009b; Papadopoulos 2013.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1b	
Kourion *Bamboula*	LH IIIA2 jugs FS 134	Åström 1972, 331, Type 134: a (Old Tomb 57.4b); e (Old Tomb 57.a). Benson 1972, 29: 35-7, 119-20, pls 33, 50, 60 (Tomb 33).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs FS 114	Åström 1972, 327, Type 114: k (Old Tomb 89); 328, Type 114: b2 (Old Tomb 48), Type 114: b2 *bis*, with refs (Old Tomb 91): 328, Type 114: b2 *ter* (New Tomb 21). Benson 1972, 29: 35, 119 (B 1179), pls 33, 50 (Tomb 33).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs FS 149	Åström 1972, 333, Type 149: a (Old Tomb 109), e (Old Tomb 38).
	F1.1c	
Kourion *Bamboula*	LH IIIA2/IIIB cups FS 220	Åström 1972, 361, Type FS 220: a9, fig. 46: f (Tomb?).
	Cup	Karageorghis 1963, 31, pl. 26: 1; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 76 no. 100, with refs.
	F2.1	
Kourion *Bamboula*	LH IIIA1 piriform jars FS 44	Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: d, e (Tombs 30. 2, 30. 3); Benson 1972, 18: 5, B 1106, 116, pl. 50 (Tomb 13).
	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	Åström 1972, 301, Type 45: x5 (Tomb 19) (= Benson 1972, 23: 41, B 1107, 116, pl. 32), 299: v.3 *ter* (Old Tomb 29); Benson 1972, 23: 41, 24: 1, T. 22: 1, 116 (B 1108), pls 32, 50; 19-20: 46-8, B 1103, 1104, 1105, pl. 50 (Tomb 16); 29: 24, B 1102, 116, pls 50, 61 (Tomb 33); Benson 1972, 34: 7-8, 116 nos B 1100, 1101, pl. 32 (Voupha Tomb).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 85	Benson 1972, 30, 115: 33, 47, B 1093, B 1094, pl. 50 (Tomb 36).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 94	Åström 1972, 324, Type 94: a4, with refs (Tomb 5).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 95	Åström 1972, 324, Type 95: 1 *bis* (New Tomb 34); Type 95: 1 *ter*. Benson 1972, 14: 1, B 1092, 115, pl. 50 (Tomb 7).
	F2.2	
Kourion *Bamboula*	LH IIIA2 flasks FS 189	Åström 1972, 352, Type 190: e *bis* (Tomb 21).
	LH IIIA2 flasks FS 190	Benson 1972, 14: 10, 119, Tomb 6 no. 10, B 1169 (Tomb 6).
	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166	Åström 1972, 336-7, Type 166; g (Old Tomb 30.1), c2 (Tomb 37), c2 *bis*.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 339, Type 171: l (Old Tomb 55), m (Old Tomb 57.2), e3 (Tomb Old Tomb 102), e3 *bis*, *ter*, *quater* (Bamboula Tomb 12); Benson 1972, 16: 16, 18, 118, B 1154-5, pl. 33 (Tomb 12); 21: 12, 118, B 1158, pl. 33 (Tomb 18); 24: 2, 118, B 1159 , pl. 33 (Tomb 21); 30: 32, 48, 118, B 1156-7, pl. 50 (Tomb 36).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 178	Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: k* (Tomb?).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS?	Åström 1972, 349 (“other stirrup jars”) (Old Tombs 29, 40-1); Åström 1972, 349, Tombs 12, 18, 21, 36).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191	Åström 1972, 352, Type 191: l (Old Tomb 31).

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F3	
Kourion *Bamboula*	LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 31	Åström 1972, 293, Type 31: r (Tomb 22) (= Benson 1972, 24, 116, T. 22: 1, B 1108, pls 32, 50).

If we consider the vessels cataloged by Åström specifically from funerary contexts, several kraters, including some LH IIIA2 amphoroid kraters FS 7 and FS 54, LH IIIA2/IIIB kraters FS 53-5, and the well-known 'Window Krater' from Old Tomb 102 (Kourion Tomb 17) appear to stand out among the vessels of the functional category F1.1a. In addition to the relatively high frequency of kraters, among the other vessels of this functional category published by Åström, two small piriform jugs FS 134 from Tomb 57.4 and a few cups FS 220 are included. However, other LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs of category F1.1b were published by Benson, while many sherds of open shapes, such as, for example, some kylikes from Tomb 25, are too small to be dated precisely (Benson 1972, 25: 12-14, B 1055, B 1056 and B 1057, 113, pls 29-30). The limited range of the functional category F1 of Interaction Period 3 at Kourion is confirmed by the finds from the *Bamboula* settlement, since in this context most of the vessels showing defined shapes seem to belong to Interaction Period 4 (see § 6.4.2.1.3).

By contrast, the functional category F2 prevails among the Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 both in funerary and settlement deposits, despite the limits of the archaeological record. In fact, Åström's catalog included LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 44 and 45, LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166, LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171, and LH IIIA2 flasks FS 189 and FS 190, and other LH III A2 piriform jars FS 45 as well as other LH IIIA2/IIIB vessels of sub-categories F2.1 and F2.2 were published by Benson along with other LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 examples from Tombs 13, 16, and 33 **[tab. 5.5]**. In the repertoire of other shapes from the tombs are a variety of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA/IIIB vessels, including some alabastra FS 85, FS 94 and FS 96 and some stirrup jars FS 171 and flasks FS 190. A LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 31 may also be included in the category F3.

To summarize, apart from a few exceptions, such as the significant number of kraters, Keswani accurately notes that the finds from the Kourion tombs suggest a "low level of mortuary expenditure in this region of Cyprus" (2004, 133) and that elite groups here

> apparently made use of a complement of prestige symbolism similar to, but perhaps less rich than that observed at other coastal centres. (133)

This seems also to fit Interaction Period 3 evidence, although the high number of looted tombs should be taken into account and the presence of prestige objects has been recently pointed out since at least the LC IIA period (Kopanias et al. 2022, 327). From this point of view, it is therefore significant that the maximum concentration of Mycenaean vessels in a single funerary context was in Tomb 36, which was used from LC IIA to LC IIC and contained gold, ivory, glass, and bronze prestige objects (Benson 1972, 30-1), while yielding only four LH IIIA2/IIIB Mycenaean vessels, i.e. two alabastra FS 85 and two stirrup jars FS 171.

5.4.1.5.5 Limassol Area

Utilizing old rescue excavations, V. Karageorghis and Y. Violaris (2012) provide a detailed publication of tombs and other mortuary features dating between the seventeenth-thirteenth centuries BC in the Limassol area. In this work, they defined several important LC sites in the area, although synthetic and analytical work is still needed for a full comprehension of the settlement development (Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 15, 23). According to Karageorghis (242), unlike the Kouklia area, the homogenity of the LC I and II materials from the Limassol area points to a "cultural" unity that cannot be associated with any specific settlement. Having observed that the pottery is not inferior to the finds from other LC I and II tombs, he tentatively suggested that there were several prosperous communities in the Limassol area

> which may have developed sufficient independence to allow them to establish long distance trade with the rest of Cyprus and other parts of the Mediterranean. (244-5)

In this perspective, the concentration of so many sites in a relatively small zone may also suggest that a First Tier center was located in the area of the modern town.

Table 5.6 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 3 from Limassol Area

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Limassol Area	LH IIIA2 krater FS 8	Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 98 no. 3, pls XXXIII: 5, LXXII (Limassol Tomb 322).
	F1.1b	
Limassol Area	LH IIIA2 juglets FS 114	Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 119 no. 6, pls XLVIII, upper 6, LXXX (LM 1328/6 (Limassol Tomb LM 1328, Enaerios); Karageorghis, 96-7 no. 2, pl. XXXI upper, 2 (Limassol Tomb 278); 119 no. 6, pl. XLVIII, upper: 6; LXXX: LM 1328/6 (Limassol Tomb LM 1328, Enaerios).
	F2.1	
Limassol Area	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 44 LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 Fragment from a LH IIIA2 three-handled jar?	Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 97-8 no. 2, pl. XXXIV: 2 (Limassol Tomb 322); 110 no. 12, Pl XL: 12, LXXVI, 621-V/12 (Tomb 621-V Enaerios). Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 98-9 no. 10, pl. XXXIII: 10 (Limassol Tomb 322); 99 no. 18, pl. XXXIV: 18 (Limassol Tomb 322); 110 no. 14, pl. XL: 14 (Tomb 621-V Enaerios); 116 no. 2, pl. XLVI: 2 (621-VII (Enaerios). Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 66 no. 31-28 (Tomb 8 (Ay. Athanasios).
	F2.2	
Limassol Area	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166 LH IIIA2 flask FS 189	Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 110 no. 13, pl. XL: 13 (Tomb 621-V Enaerios). Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 118 no. 8, pl. XLVII (621-VIII, Enaerios).
	F3	
Limassol Area	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 39	Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 99 no. 11, pl. XXXIV: 11 (Limassol Tomb 322).

With respect to the Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 **[tab. 5.6]**, it seems that the finds from the tombs in the Limassol area shared similar features to the ceramics recovered from Kourion *Bamboula*. Most tombs used in the LC II period, such as Ay. Athanasios Tomb 9, Germasogeia Tombs 10, 11, 19, Limassol Tombs 100, 130, 324, 621-II (Enaerios), 621-IV (Enaerios), Erimi Tombs T2 CS1823, T4 CS1824, and Kandou Tomb 6, LM 1005, contained only Cypriot pottery, and when present LH IIIA2 imports generally are not more than one per tomb. The most remarkable exception is in Limassol Tomb 322 (Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 97-101), where among the 27 total finds are items such as three LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 of functional category F2.1, a LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 39 of category F3, a locally made krater imitating a Mycenaean shape (FS 7), and four daggers (including a dagger with gold-studded rivets), which

suggest that this was an elite tomb.[33] The 27 finds from Tomb 621-V (Enaerios) also included three LH IIIA vessels (two piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45, and a stirrup jar FS 166) from functional category F2.1. F2 is in fact the predominant functional category since, in addition to the above mentioned, a flask FS 189 was found in Tomb 621-VIII, Enaerios, and a three-handled jar FS 47 of Cypriot production that also comes from 621-VI, Enaerios (Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 112-13 no. 11, 231, pl. XLIV: 11). On the other hand, the LH IIIA2 'Fine Tableware' is less represented, and unlike at Kourion, no Mycenaean Pictorial Style kraters have been found. In fact, the only krater coming from the above-mentioned elite tombs was found at Limassol Tomb 322 where the above-mentioned krater of local production was also discovered (98, 232 no. 5, pls XXXIII: 5, LXXII). Among other shapes belonging to F1.1b, only three juglets FS 134 have been documented.

To conclude, Karageorghis stated that

> the relatively large amount of Mycenaean pottery found in the Limassol area is no doubt indicative of the importance of this area and the trade relations (231)

but he did not rule out the possibility that there were indirect contacts with the Aegean, admitting that Mycenaean pottery reached the Limassol area via Enkomi.

5.4.1.5.6 Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*

Although one of the better-known periods at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* is LC IIC, when the plan of the town was organized on a grid system connected to a monumental ashlar building with administrative functions, funerary evidence, mostly from preliminary reports, shows that the site actually became part of the network of Cypro-Aegean contacts as early as the initial phases of Interaction Period 3. The earliest contacts are clearly attested in the identification at the site of one of the earliest Mycenaean vessels from Cyprus, a LH IIB squat alabastron FS 82, which was found in an early level below the street west of Building X. The alabastron was recovered along with a LH IIIA1 kylix and other fine wares, probably from the remains of a looted tomb (South 1997, 157 fig. 3; 1999, 798-9; Steel 2004b, 77). In addition to a LH IIIA1 piriform jar from tomb 22 in Kalavasos village (excavations 1950-1) (South 1989, 317; South, Steel 2001, 66

33 For Mycenaean pottery, see table 5.6. For the daggers, cf. Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 100 nos 21-3, pls XXXIII: 21-3, LXXXIII (T. 322/21-3). For the local imitation of a Mycenaean krater FS 7, cf. Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 98 no. 5, pls XXXIII: 5, LXXII (T. 322/5).

with refs), other evidence of LH IIIA1 pottery of Interaction Period 3 comes from several funerary contexts in the area of Building X. Fitting within this chronology are the so called "lily krater" from Tomb 11 (South 1999, 795, 799), and probably another LH IIIA1 or LH IIIA2 early krater (from K-AD 1807B) belonging to the earliest use of Tomb 13 that has stippling within its pictorial decoration (795, pl. CLXXVII, CLXXVIII B). Several other Mycenaean vessels may be assigned to later phases of Interaction Period 3. In her review of overall Mycenaean pottery from the tombs at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, South (798-9) assigned eight vessels to LH IIIA2 Late and thirty-seven to LH IIIA2, within which she includes four LH IIIA2 vessels, i.e. a krater decorated with dolphins (K-AD 690) from Tomb 11, a krater (K-AD 1978) decorated with birds from Tomb 14 (1997, 164 fig. 7), and a flask and a stirrup jar. A LH IIIA2 cup is also reported from Tomb 18 and other Mycenaean vessels of this period have been found in Tomb 19 (169-70).[34] Eight finds from settlement layers belonging to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2 Late probably derived from tomb looting,[35] while the great majority of Mycenaean vessels from the settlement (about 80 examples), may be dated to LH IIIB (also cf. South 1999, 799).

Of the ceramic contexts, the intact and unplundered Tomb 11, where the LH IIIA1 "lily krater" and the LH IIIA2 "dolphin krater" were found, is one of richest Interaction Period 3 tombs found on Cyprus. It produced about 432 g of gold objects, as well as ivory, glass, faience, alabaster, amber and other luxury imports (Goring 1989; South, Russell 1993, 306). In addition to the two above mentioned kraters, the Aegean pottery was represented by five LH IIIA2 vessels, which can be attributed both to functional categories F1 and F2.[36] These comprise in total about 20% of the tomb's ceramic offerings. Other exceptional features of the tomb include the presence of two substantial benches cut into the rock, on which the skeletal remains of three young female adults were found, and the interments of infants on the floor.

Tomb 13, which was used throughout LC IIB and LC IIC and possibly earlier, is also particularly interesting. It contained 41 Mycenaean vessels, amounting to 45% of the total ceramics, among which South

34 A LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 85 stored in Cyprus Museum from Kalavasos should also be recorded (P. Åström 1972, 321, Type 85: l with refs).

35 Cf. LH IIIA2 stirrup jars: South, Russel, Keswani 1989, 142-3, fig. 11, K-AD 1021, K-AD 1022, K-AD 1023, 143, pl. IV, cut away spout of small juglet K-AD 1029, 143, pl. IV, closed vessel K-AD 1025, probably stirrup jar, 95, fig. 12; South, Russel 1993, 304 fig. 2, flask FS 191 K-AD 6; South, Russel, Keswani 1989, 97 fig. 12, LH IIIA2-IIIB juglet K-AD 39.

36 South 1997, 161; South, Russell 1993, 306, 308 fig. 3: a kylix FS 256 with wavy line FM 53 (K-AD 737), three piriform jars FS 45 with net pattern FM 57 (K-AD 779, 793, 814), and a pilgrim flask FS 189 (K-AD 790).

(1999, 794) reported one vessel which can possibly be dated to LH IIIA1, one dating to LH IIIA2 early, seven to LH IIIA2 late, twenty-five to LH IIIA2, and six to LH IIIB (also cf. 1997, 163-5; South, Steel 2001, 73). The presence of three Mycenaean kraters, one of which is a LH IIIA2 amphoroid krater with a chariot and a shrine topped with horns of consecration is particularly notable (Steel 1994). In Tomb 12, a stirrup jar with fish decoration (K-AD 1807A) dating to LH IIIB was found (South 1999, 793-4, pls CLXXVII, CLXXVIIIA). In addition to the amphoroid krater with an antithetical design of two large birds facing a vegetal motif (795), the rich Tomb 14 also contained several other Mycenaean vessels (Keswani 2004, 132, with refs).

Summarizing, apart from other Mycenaean shapes, South (796) mentioned about 14 Mycenaean kraters with pictorial decoration, confined to the richer tombs, at the site (also cf. South 2000, 362; South, Steel 2001, 72, for pictorial kraters from Tomb 21), and the remarkable number of kraters was also emphasized by Van Wijngaarden who wrote:

> the evidence for restricted access by the elite to Mycenaean pictorial pottery is much stronger than for Enkomi, or any of the other coastal sites. (2002, 195)

This observation seems to be also confirmed by the limited number of graves containing substantial quantities and diverse assemblages of Mycenaean drinking vessels which would have been included in burials for the highest-ranking individuals, in contrast to Enkomi where Mycenaean drinking vessels occurred more widely in funerary contexts (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 200).

5.4.1.5.7 Maroni

The site of Maroni *Vournes*, with its massive LC IIC building that served a ruling function, was not physically connected to the coastal location of Maroni *Tsaroukkas*, which lies about 400 m away. However, according to some scholars, Maroni *Vournes* and three other locations in the vicinity belonged to one large, albeit dispersed, LBA site (Manning, De Mita 1997, 126, 128). In 1897, a British Museum team excavated a large necropolis at Maroni *Tsaroukkas*, where at least 26 important LBA tombs with a large quantity of Mycenaean vessels were found.[37] In the necropolis there were also many tombs that were considered "not productive" because they only contained

37 Cadogan 1992; Johnson 1980; Manning, Monks 1998, 298, with refs; Papadopoulos 2013; for Aegean pottery, also cf. P. Åström 1972; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 73, 75.

"local wares or fragmentary pieces of pottery" (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 199), and some of the tombs with imported objects appeared to have been looted in antiquity. In addition, unfortunately only a selection of pottery from the excavated tombs was kept by the British Museum team. A more recent survey was carried out by the "Tsaroukkas, Mycenaeans and Trade Project", directed by S. Manning, aiming to provide a complete regional perspective and, *inter alia*, to rediscover this cemetery as part of the overall project (Manning, De Mita 1997; Manning, Monks 1998).

Despite the limits of the available information, the evidence for Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 from this site is remarkable and comparable with the archaeological record of other primary centers **[tab. 5.7]**.

Table 5.7 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 3 from tombs at Maroni

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Maroni, British Museum excavations	LH IIIA1 kraters FS 6	Åström 1972 c, 290, Type 6: a, with refs; Johnson 1980, 18 no. 51 (C393); Portugali, Knapp 1985, 75 no. 91 (Tomb 5).
	LH IIIA2 kraters FS 53	Åström 1972, 308, Type 53: e, with refs (Tomb 1), f (Tomb 17); Examples from undefined tombs: Åström 1972, 308-9, Type 53: g, h, x, y, with refs; Johnson 1980, 15 no. 13, 23 no. 131, 33 nos 230-3.
	LH IIIA2/-IIIB FS 54 and FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 312-13, Type 54: t (Maroni), i3 (Tomb 2), j3 (Tomb 15), k3 (Maroni), l3 (Maroni); Åström 1972, 317, Types 53-5: a2, b2, c2 (Tomb 2), d2 (Tomb 2 or Tomb 16), e2, f2, g2, h2, k2, i2, j2, l2, n2, fig. 46, d, with refs; Johnson 1980, 33 nos 232-40.
Maroni, *Tsaroukkas*, Mycenaeans and trade project	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-5	Manning, Monks 1998, 336: MT.479, pl. 64: d, fig. 18, (MT Tomb 10).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 54-5	Manning, Monks 1998, 325: MT.081, fig. 15 (MT Tomb 4).
	Other kraters	Manning, Monks 1998, 333: MT.367, fig. 17 (MT Tomb 7); Manning, Monks 1998, 333: MT.547, fig. 22 (MT Tomb 7).
Maroni, *Tsaroukkas*, other deposits	Fragments of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB kraters	Manning, Monks 1998, 343: MT.048, pl. 65, c bottom, fig. 21 (A/12); 343: MT.050 (A 12); 343: MT.070; 345: MT.070, fig. 21 (P/25); 345: MT.005, pl. 60, b centre left. P/25 (AM/21); 345: MT.080, pl. 65: c, upper, fig. 21 (P/25); 345: MT.087 (P/25); 345: MT.528, fig. 22 (P/25).
	Stemmed krater fragment FS 8	Manning, Monks 1998, 345: MT.011, pl. 60b, bottom left (Q/21).
	F1.1b	
Maroni, British Museum excavations	LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 114	Åström 1972, 327, Type 114: j, with refs (Tomb 15).
	LH IIIA2 jugs FS 132	Åström 1972, 330, Type 132: a; Johnson 1980, 18 no. 52 (C617); Portugali, Knapp 1985, 75 no. 94 (Tomb 5).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 149	Åström 1972, 333, Type 149: j (Tomb 14), k (Tomb 23).

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1c	
Maroni, British Museum excavations	LH IIIA1 one-handled cup	Portugali, Knapp 1985, 75 no. 90 with refs (C624).
	LH IIIA1 kylikes FS 255	Åström 1972, 365, Type 255: b; Johnson 1980, 18 no. 53 (C 617); Portugali, Knapp 1985, 75 no. 95 (Tomb 5).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB cups FS 220	Åström 1972, 360, Type FS 220: c8, d8, with refs (Tombs 13 and 23).
Maroni, *Tsaroukkas*, Mycenaeans and trade project	LH IIB goblet	Manning, Monks 1998, 328: MT.230 (MT Tomb 6).
	LH IIIA1 goblet FS 255	Manning, Monks 1998, 319: MT 233, pl. 60: d, fig. II (MT Tomb 3).
Maroni, *Tsaroukkas*, other deposits	LH IIIA1 goblet fragments	Manning, Monks 1998, 343: MT.047, pl. 60: d (A 12); AB/25: goblet fragment. Manning, Monks 1998, 343: MT.015, pl. 60: d.
	F2.1	
Maroni, British Museum excavations	LH IIB globular jar FS 77	Åström 1972, 319, Type 77: b (Maroni): A635; Johnson 1980, 15 no. 11 (A635); Portugali, Knapp 1985, 75 no. 97; Sørensen 2008, 184 no. 39 (Tomb 1).
	LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 28	Åström 1972, 292, Type 28: d, A 1651a; Johnson 1980, 27 no. 171; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 73 no. 52 (Tomb 23).
	LH IIIA1 alabastra FS 84	Åström 1972, 320, Type 84: d, g; Johnson 1980, 27 nos 174-5 (CM A 1707, 1706); Portugali, Knapp 1985, 75 nos 89, 96; (Tomb 23).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 94	Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: u2, with refs (Tomb 41).
	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Åström 1972, 300, Type 45: a4 (Tomb 41), y3 *bis* (Tomb 22), z3 (Tomb 22).
	LH IIIA1/IIIA2 pirifom jars FS 44/45	Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: t, u, with refs (Tomb 41).
Maroni, *Tsaroukkas*, other deposits	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	P/25: MT. 098. Sherd of shoulder of piriform jar FS 45. Manning, Monks 1998, 345: MT. 098, pl. 60: d (P/25).
Maroni, *Tsaroukkas*, Mycenaeans and trade project	LH IIIA1 Piriform jar FS 44	Manning, Monks 1998, 309: MT 099, fig. 6 b top right, fig. 6 (MT Tomb 1).
	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45?	Manning, Monks 1998, 310: MT 063, pl. 60 b, lower right, pl. 60: d, lower left (MT Tomb 2).
	Sherds possibly of LH IIIA2/IIIB piriform jars	Manning, Monks 1998, 332: MT.306 (MT Tomb 7); 342: MT.495, LH IIIA2/IIIB (MT Tomb 14).
	LH IIIA2 alabastra FS 94	Manning, Monks 1998, 325: MT.215, pl. 63: b, fig. 15, FS 94 (MT Tomb 4); 342: MT.292, pl. 60: d (MT Tomb 13).

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F2.2	
Maroni, British Museum excavations	LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166	Åström 1972, 336-7, Type 166: e (Tomb 1), h2 *bis* (Tomb 22); Johnson 1980, 15, 26 nos 12, 159.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 339-40, Type 171: k (Tomb 15), j3 *bis*; Johnson 1980, 23, 26 nos 124 (C 545), 214.
	LH IIIA2 flasks FS 188 and FS 190	Åström 1972, 350, Type 188: g, Type 190: f *bis* (Tomb 22); Johnson 1980, 26 nos 158 (CM 1569), 160 (CM 1575) (Tomb 22).
Maroni, *Tsaroukkas*, Mycenaeans and trade project	Sherds possibly from LH IIIA2 stirrup jars	Manning, Monks 1998, 310: MT 182, pl. 60 d, middle top, pl. 60: e, lower left, fig. 6 (MT Tomb 2); 333: MT 379, pl. 60 d, fig. 17 (MT Tomb 7).
	LH IIIA2? fragments of stirrup jars/piriform jars	Fragment of stirrup jar? Manning, Monks 1998, 345: MT.020, pl. 60: b centre right, pl. 60d (Q/20). Base of stirrup jar/piriform jar. Manning, Monks 1998, 345: MT.001, pl. 60: b top left, fig. 21 (Q/21).
	F3	
Maroni, British Museum excavations	LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 31	Åström 1972, 293, Type 31: e (Tomb 5), f (Tomb 5), j (Tomb 23); Johnson 1980, 18 nos 54 (C 478), 55 (C 477); 27 nos 172 (CM A1674); Portugali, Knapp 1985, 75 nos 87-8, 92.
Maroni, *Tsaroukkas*, Mycenaeans and trade project	Sherds of large closed shapes, probably LH IIIA2	Manning, Monks 1998, 333: MT.501, large closed vessel (MT Tomb 7); 325: MT.267, pl. 60: d, fig. 15 (MT Tomb 4); 340: MT.348, LH IIIA2 sherd (MT Tomb 12).
	F4	
Maroni, British Museum excavations	LH IIIA2/IIIB rhyton FS 199	Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: g (Tomb 18); Koehl 2006, 172 no. 704.
	LH IIIA1 ring vase FS 197	Stubbings 1951, 29 no. 1; Åström 1972, 353, Type 197: a (Tomb 23).
	Vase in form of a ship FS 337	Åström 1972, 382, Type 337: a (Tomb 17).

If we consider primarily the vessels published by the British Museum expedition, some items, especially from Tomb 23, can be dated to an early period (LH IIB and LH IIIA1). A globular jar FS 77, dated to LH IIB, was the earliest Mycenaean vessel of the category F2.1. This functional category was also represented by other LH IIIA1 vessels including two alabastra FS 84 and a small piriform jar FS 28. In addition, piriform jars FS 31 from Tombs 5 and 23 were probably also used as containers of valuable commodities (F3). A ring kernos FS 197 from Tomb 23 that dates to LH IIIA1 deserves mention since it is a rare example of the uncommon category F4. The category F1.1c dating to LH IIIA1 is represented by LH IIIA1 krater F6, a single one-handled cup and some early vessels (a LH IIB goblet rim fragment, a LH IIIA1 goblet FS 255) recovered during the *Tsaroukkas,* Mycenaeans and Trade Project. Along with

a LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 44 from the MT Tomb 1 and some goblet fragments among the other registered Mycenaean pottery, all these LH IIB-IIIA1 vessels clearly confirm the continuity of contacts with the Aegean world from Interaction Period 2 (Manning, De Mita, 132; Manning, Monks 1998, 320, 346, LH IIA alabastra MT.467 and MT.616; see § 4.4.1).

Turning to later Mycenaean pottery, the LH IIIA2 pottery published from 1897 excavations is not only far more common than the LH IIB-IIIA1 pottery, but the ratio between the functional categories is completely different. Vessels of category F1 markedly prevail over vessels of category F2.[38] In Åström's and Johnson's catalogs, kraters FS 53, FS 54 and FS 53-5 are markedly predominant suggesting their particular importance at this site; along with two LH IIIA2/IIIB shallow cups FS 220 (F1.1c), the only other vessel of category F1 is a LH IIIA2 jug FS 132. The same pattern is apparent from the results of the *Tsaroukkas*, Mycenaeans and Trade Project: the majority of diagnostic vessels have been dated to LH IIIA2 and kraters are the most common, nearly exclusive, Mycenaean shape among the vessels of category F1 (Manning, Monks 1998, 346).[39] Category F2.1 is represented by a variety of shapes, including piriform jars FS 45, piriform jars of more undefined shape, and alabastra, possibly used as containers for honey, herbs and viscous substances, in addition to stirrup jars apparently used for oils/perfumes and probably fine wines (Manning, De Mita 1997, 132; Manning, Monks 1998, 326-7, 349). Regarding these small containers, attention has also been paid to the examples found in Maroni *Tsaroukkas* Tombs 1, 2, 4 and 5, but the overall registered vessels of this functional category confirm that at Maroni they were a minority compared to the vessels of category F1.

Therefore, from the archaeological record it can clearly be inferred that pictorial large kraters, occurring in wealthier tomb groups, had marked connotations as status symbols for local elite group. It is indeed well known that these mixing vessels of funerary use were associated with elite drinking, but at this site the drinking ritual is also confirmed by the range of local vessels found in the tombs (Manning, De Mita 1997, 132-3, 136). According to Manning and Monks (1998, 321-2), this is particularly evident in MT Tomb 3 where the vessels associated with elite drinking and feasting formed upwards of "90% of cataloged vessels, of which three-quarters were drinking vases and a quarter for serving liquids", while the other 10% were small pouring vessels and unguent containers, made of

38 Category F2 is represented by two LH IIIA1/IIIA2 piriform jars FS 44/45: P. Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: t, u with refs. Note however that J. Johnson (1980, 30-1) only reported a Base Ring jug and a LH IIIA2-B alabastron.

39 Only a cup is reported from Tomb 3 and a kylix (MT 94.136) is mentioned by Manning and De Mita from 1994 excavations (1997, 135).

Base Ring, Mycenaean, and Red Lustrous Wheelmade wares. However, the two scholars also noted that elite burials at Maroni are furnished with Mycenaean fine tablewares especially in LC IIB-C periods, while the ceramic types associated with drinking rituals in LC IIA were of local production, especially White Slip vases (349). This explains the clear difference in the amount of LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 vessels of category F1 placed inside tombs. Finally, the presence of a LH IIIA2 vase in the form of a ship in Tomb 17 was probably not accidental given the importance of the harbor at Maroni *Tsaroukkas*, as also appears from other clay boat models from the site (Westerberg 1983, 15 no. 9, fig. 9; Knapp 2018a, 142-3 nos 2-3, 6, fig. 37a-b).

To summarize, the comparative review of Mycenaean pottery from funerary assemblages at Maroni shows that Mycenaean pottery, especially the Pictorial Style kraters reserved for elite groups,[40] was one of the most effective indicators of status competition at this site (Manning, De Mita 1997, 121). Some tombs stand out for their unusually high number of Mycenaean vessels. This is the case for Tomb 5 (British Museum excavations), which yielded 4 Mycenaean vessels. The case of MT Tomb 7 is even more striking since it contained 35 Mycenaean fragments, which compose at least 18 vessels of the two main functional categories, i.e. piriform jars, stirrup jars, kraters, and cups, although no items were restorable and the only chronologically, diagnostic sherds are all LH IIIA2 (Manning, Monks 1998, 335).

5.4.1.5.8 Hala Sultan Tekke

The earliest excavation campaigns in the LC town of Hala Sultan Tekke were carried out by the British Museum expedition in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Many tombs were looted, and a low scientific standard as well as the inadequate original documentation constitute the principal limitations of these early excavations. The knowledge of funerary evidence at the site increased substantially in 1976 with the publication of the contents of two, partly looted, rich LBA tombs (Tombs 1 and 2) located just to the west of the mosque (Karageorghis 1976a). Valuable information on other tombs containing materials related to Interaction Period 3 was provided by later Swedish excavations (see below). Under Åström's direction between the 1970's and 2005, excavations were also carried out in the settlement area, mainly in Area 8, where many buildings, mostly dating from the LC IIC to LC IIIA periods, were identified (Fischer 2019b, 193 with earlier refs). Several sherds found in an additional

40 In addition to the examples mentioned above, there are eight kraters FS 53-5 from Maroni *Tsaroukkas* of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-IIIB chronology that were included in *Tsaroukas Collection du Cyprus Survey CS 949* (Johnson 1980, 37 nos 280-7).

trial trench northwest of Area 8 brought to light the presence of a dwelling area, now corresponding to the northern part of the so-called City Quarter 1, dating from the MC III-LCIA period onwards (Åström, Nys 2001). More recently, as a result of the ongoing excavations of the Swedish project, which resumed in 2010, many new LBA chamber tombs, shaft tombs, recycled wells, offering pits, and more than one hundred circular geophysical anomalies ('pits') have been discovered and in large part excavated, especially in the so-called Area A. In addition, four city quarters have also been investigated.[41]

Since the evidence concerning Interaction Period 3 at Hala Sultan Tekke is particularly wide, a synthesis of the Mycenaean pottery found in the most important funerary contexts is presented here and is structured around the archaeological research projects conducted at the site. Relevant references are included in table 5.8.

Table 5.8 Select Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 from tombs, wells, and pits at Hala Sultan Tekke

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
British Museum excavations	LH IIIA2 late krater FS 8	Åström 1972, 291, Type 8: b.
Chamber tombs 1 and 2	LH IIIA2 kraters FS 54	Åström 1972, 311, Type 54: o (= Bailey 1976, 26-7, pl. XXXII: c, C 388).
	LH IIIA2-IIIB kraters FS 7-8 or FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 317-18, Type 53-5: h3, i3, j3, k3; Karageorghis 1976a, 72 no. 8, pls L, LXV (Tomb 1);
	LH IIIA2 kraters FS 7-8	Karageorghis 1976a, 84 nos 213-15, pls LVII, LXXIV (Tomb 2).
	LH IIIA2? Amphoroid krater	Karageorghis 1976a, 82 no. 170.
Well in trench 1/4	LH IIIA-1/2 krater FS 6-7	Öbrink 1983, 21 no. 56, figs 58, 138.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-4	Öbrink 1983, 21 no. 60, fig. 142.
Chamber tomb south-east of Tombs 1 and 2	LH IIIA2 krater FS 53	Samaes, Nys 2010, 203.
	Two LH IIIA2/IIIB fragmentary kraters FS 53/54	Samaes, Nys 2010, 203-4 with refs.
	LH IIIA2 fragmentary kraters FS 54	Samaes, Nys 2010, 204 fig. 4: 5.
	LH IIIA/IIIB krater	Samaes, Nys 2010, 204.
Tomb RR, eastern chamber	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 54-5	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 308-9, table 1: N157, fig. 27; 2022, 19 fn. 53.

41 Fischer, Bürge 2017b; 2018b; Fischer 2019a, 237-40; Bürge 2021.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Offering Pit V	LH IIIA2 krater FS 8/9 LH IIIA2/IIIB kraters FS 54/55	Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 198: L46-38. Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 198: L46-36, 206, fig. 37; 198, L46-37, 205, fig. 36: 3; 198, L46-34, 207, fig. 38: 1; 198, L46-35, 207 fig. 38: 2.
Chamber Tomb SS	LH IIIA2 krater FS 7 Kraters	Bürge 2022, 41: L121-13. Bürge 2022, 41: L133-0, L133-1, N329, L133-15.
	F1.1b	
British Museum excavations	LH IIIA1 jug FS 144	Bailey 1976, 27, pl. XXXV: a-b (C 578); Portugali, Knapp 1985, 73 no. 55; Åström 1972, 332, Type 144: a.
Chamber Tomb 2	LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs FS 114	Karageorghis 1976a, 83 nos 189-90, 192, 195, pls LVIII, LXXVI, LXXVII.
Well in trench 1/4	LH IIIA2 jug FS 109 LH IIIA1/2 FS 132/33	Öbrink 1983, 21 no. 55, fig. 57: a, b, 137. Öbrink 1983, 20 no. 37, fig. 53, 119.
Chamber Tomb south-east of Tombs 1 and 2	Three LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs FS 114 LH IIIA2/III B jug FS 145	Samaes, Nys 2010, 205 fig. 4: 9. Samaes, Nys 2010, 205 fig. 5: 1.
Tomb X (Period 2)	LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs FS 139	Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 68: L48-4, fig. 22: 2; 2017b, 170, (L48-4), fig. 23: 1.
Tomb RR, western chamber Tomb RR, eastern chamber	LH IIIA2/IIIB juglet FS 114 'Mycenaean/Minoan jug'	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 309, table 2: N159, fig. 23: 1 (cf. Mountjoy 1986, 74 fig. 85). Fischer, Bürge 2019, 309, table 1: N171.
Tomb RR, western chamber	LH IIIA2/IIIB juglet FS 114	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 309, table 2: N159, 311, fig. 26: 5.
Tomb RR, 2019, 2020-1 exc.	LH IIIA1 miniature stirrup jug FS 150/151 LH IIIA2/IIIB beaked jug FS 145	Fischer, Bürge 2021, 106, 107: N296, fig. 5.5; 2022, 18 fig. 6. Fischer, Bürge 2020, 94, 96: N 201, fig. 25: 4.
Offering Pit V	LH IIIA1 jug FS 144/145 LM/LH IIIA2 jug FS 120 LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 133 LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 114	Fischer, Bürge, 2017a, 63: L 46-33, figs. 12: 5, 15: 8; Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 198: L 46-33, 204, fig. 35: 1. Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 63-4 (L46-0), fig. 13: 1; 2017b, 198, L46-0, 204, fig. 35: 3. Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 63, L46-20, fig. 12: 6; 2017b, 198: L46-20, 204, fig. 35: 4. Fischer, Bürge, 2017b, 198: L 46-39.
Chamber Tomb SS	LH IIIA2 spouted cup FS 249	Bürge 2022, 43: N423, fig. 25.
Offering Pit B	LH IIIA2/IIIB juglets FS 114	Fischer, Bürge 2015, 45, N2 in L2, 46 N6; 45-6: N6 figs 25a: 9; 25b: 7 (Pit B); Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 167, fig. 6.
Chamber Tomb TT	LH IIIA2 jug FS 113	Fischer, Bürge 2023, 19 fig. 13: N604.
	F1.1c	
Hala Sultan Tekke	LH IIIA1 cup FS 219 (?)	Åström 1972, 357, Type FS 219: b.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Chamber Tomb 2	LH IIIA2 cup FS 230 LH IIIA2/IIIB cup FS 220 LH IIIA2/IIIB kylix	Karageorghis 1976a, 83 no. 201, pls LVII, LXXVII. Karageorghis 1976a, 85 no. 257, pl. LVII. Karageorghis 1976a, 84-5 no. 258, pl. LVII.
Chamber Tomb 1	LH IIIA2? kylix FS?	Karageorghis 1976a, 75 no. 81, pls. LI, LXVII.
Tomb XX	LH IIIA 2/IIIB mug FS 225	Feldbacher et al. 2024, 159-60: N 1015, 160, fig. 7 (N 1015).
Chamber Tomb south east of Tombs 1 and 2	LH IIIA1 cup FS 219 Nine LH IIIA2/IIIB cups FS 220 LH IIIA2/IIIB cup FS 245	Samaes, Nys 2010, 206 fig. 35: 3. Samaes, Nys 2010, 206. Samaes, Nys 2010, 206 fig. 5: 5.
Well in Trench 1/4	LH IIIA2 kylix FS 257?	Öbrink 1983, 20: no. 26, fig. 50: e, f, 108.
Tomb X (Period 2)	LH IIIA2-B cup FS 220	Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 170: L48-1, fig. 23: 2.
Tomb RR, western chamber	LH IIIA2? Two-handled cup	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 309, table 2: N162.
Tomb SS	LH IIIA cup LH IIIA2 kylix FS 256	Fischer, Bürge 2021, 110: L113. Fischer, Bürge 2021, 120: L121-1, fig. 17: 4.
Offering Pit B	LH IIIA2/III B FS 220	Fischer, Bürge 2015, 46, N7; fig. 25a: 11; 2017b, 167, fig. 6.
Tomb SS	LH IIIA2 bowl FS 206 LH IIIA2/IIIB shallow cups FS 220	Fischer Bürge 2021, 120: N252, fig. 17: 3. Bürge 2022, 41: L133-2,-5.
Chamber Tomb UU	LH IIIA2/IIIB shallow cups FS 220	Fischer, Bürge 2023, 34 fig. 30: N721.
	F1.2	
Tomb RR	Shallow bowl FS 295	Fischer, Bürge 2022, 18: N 504.
Tomb SS	LH IIIA2 bowls FS 295 LH IIIA1 or LH IIIA2 one-handled bowl FS 283 LH IIIA2 (?) cups and shallow bowls	Fischer, Bürge 2021, 120: L133-4, L133-11; Bürge 2022, 41-2: L133-1, fig. 24, L133-4, L133-11. Fischer, Bürge 2021, 120-2: L133-1, fig. 19: 5; Bürge 2022, 41: L133-1, fig. 24. Bürge, Fischer 2022, 41.
	F2.1	
British Museum excavations	LH IIIA1 alabastron FS 84 LH IIIA1 piriform jars FS 44 LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 4	Bailey 1976, 25-6, pl. XXX: a-c (C 493); Portugali, Knapp 1985, 73 fn. 54; Åström 1972, 320, Type 84: c (Tomb 9). Bailey 1976, 26, pl. XXXIIb (C 459). Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: c; 297, Type 44: r (Tomb V). Åström 1972, 305-6 (“Other Pithoid Jars”). Bailey 1976, pl. XXIX: a; Åström 1972, 299 Type 45: o3, fig. 46: a; (C 460); Åström 1976, 24, 55, 59 fig. 62.
Pottery in Cyprus Museum	LH IIIA1 /IIIA2 piriform jars FS 44 LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 94	Åström 1976, 55 fig. 62 (A 1657). Åström 1976, 55 fig. 63; 57 (A 1669) fig. 66; 57 fig. 67 (A 1693); 57 fig. 68 (A 1700). Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: l2; 325; Åström 1976, 57 figs 69-70 (A 1714).

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Chamber Tomb 1	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 44/45	Karageorghis 1976a, 74 no. 50, pls LI, LXVIII.
	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	Karageorghis 1976a, 73 no. 18, pl. LXVIII.
	LH IIIA2? piriform jars	Karageorghis 1976a, 74 nos 51, 54, pls LI, LIV, LXIX.
Chamber Tomb 2	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Karageorghis 1976a, 82 nos 166-7, 169, pls LVIII, LXXV; 83 nos 180, 186-7, pl. LXXV.
	LH IIIA2 piriform jars	Karageorghis 1976a, 84 nos 212, 218-19a, pl. LVII; 85 no. 185 + 219, pls LVIII, LXXVI.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 85	Karageorghis 1976a, 83 no. 184, pl. LXXVI.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 94	Karageorghis 1976a, 82 no. 175, 83 no. 183, pl. LXXVI.
Well in trench 1/4	LH IIIA1 jar FS 77	Öbrink 1983, 21: no. 54, figs 59, 136.
	LH IIIA1 Piriform jars FS 44	Öbrink 1983, 18, 19: 1, fig. 19: 3, fig. 87; 19 no. 4, figs 44, 85; 19 no. 5a, figs 46: b, 87; 19 no. 6, fig. 89; 19 no. 8, fig. 46, 90; 20 no. 23, fig. 49: b, 105; 20 no. 24, figs 49: c, 106; 21 no. 47 (LH IIIA2).
	LH IIIA1-2 piriform jars FS 44-5	Öbrink 1983, 19 no. 10, figs 47: a, 92-3; 21 no. 38, figs 54, 120.
	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	Öbrink 1983, 19 no. 2, figs 42, 83.
Dromolaxia-*Vizakia*, Tomb 24	LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 44	Åström, Nys 2007, 11 fig. 11.
	LH IIIA1 pirifom jar	Åström, Nys 2007, 12 fig. 13.
	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45?	Åström, Nys 2007, 12 fig. 14, 13-14 figs 18-20.
	LH IIIA1 alabastron FS 84	Åström, Nys 2007, 12 fig. 12.
Chamber Tomb south-east of Tomb 1 and 2	At least three LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Samaes, Nys 2010, 202-3.
	Sherds from LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 44/45 or LH IIIA1 FS 94 alabastron	Samaes, Nys 2010, 205.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 94	Samaes, Nys 2010, 205 fig. 4: 6.
Chamber Tomb X (Period 2)	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 94	Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 68: N68, fig. 22: 5; 2017b, 170, (N68), fig. 24: 4.
Tomb RR, eastern chamber	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 85	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 309, table 1: N172, 311, fig. 26.
Tomb RR, western chamber	LH IIIA2? Piriform jar	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 309, table 2: N153.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Tomb RR	LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 23	Fischer, Bürge 2020, 94, 96: N 223, fig. 25: 1.
	LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 44	Fischer, Bürge 2021, 106: N 236, fig. 5: 2.
	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	Fischer, Bürge 2021, 107: N227, fig. 5: 3.
	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 44/45	Bürge 2022, 18: N 505, N 227, fig. 6.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 94	Fischer, Bürge 2020, 94, 96: N 220, fig. 25: 3; 2021, 106-7, N 261, fig. 5: 6; Bürge 2022, 18: N 261, fig. 6.
Offering Pit V	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 198, L46-6, 205 fig. 36: 1; 198, L46-3.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 94	Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 198, L46-3, L 46-22.
Offering Pit B	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 94	Fischer, Bürge 2015, 45, N1 in L2, fig. 25 a: 8, 25b: 6; Fischer, Bürge 2017b 167, fig. 6.
Tomb SS	LH IIIA1 alabastron FS 84	Fischer, Bürge 2021, 120: L121-10, e.g. Fischer, Bürge 2021, 120: L121-18, fig. 17: 5; 2022, 41 fig. 13; 41: N345, N357, N266, fig. 24; Bürge 2022, 43: N407, N496, N433, N 430/431, N460, fig. 25.
	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	
	LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 44	Fischer, Bürge 2022, 43: L151-1, fig. 25.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 94	Fischer, Bürge 2021, 120: N274, fig. 19: 6; 120: N311, fig. 19: 7 (L133-9).
Chamber Tomb TT	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Fischer, Bürge 2023, 19 fig. 13: N579, N 734.
	LH IIIA2 alabastron FS 94	Fischer, Bürge 2023, 19 fig. 13: N611.
Chamber Tomb UU	LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 31	Fischer, Bürge 2023, 34 fig. 30: N660.
	LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 44	Fischer, Bürge 2023, 34 fig. 30: N742.
	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Fischer, Bürge 2023, 34 fig. 30: N650, N 651, N653.
	F2.2	
British Museum excavations	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 171	Åström 1972, 341, Type 171: z2 (= Bailey 1976, 25, pl. XXIX: c, d (C 513).
	LH IIIA2/IIIB flask FS 191	Bailey 1976, 25, pl. XXIX: b (C 574).
Tomb 1	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: y.
	LH IIIA2 flask FS 186	Åström 1972, 349, Type 186: c *bis* (Tomb 1).
Pottery in Cyprus Museum	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1976, 55 figs 59-60 (A 1605); 55 fig. 61 (A 1606). Åström 1972, 352, Type 191: k.
Chamber Tomb X (Period 2)	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 170, L48-59, fig. 24: 3; 68, L48-30; 171, L48-30, fig. 24: 2.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Chamber Tomb 2	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Karageorghis 1976a, 82 no. 171, 173-4, pl. LXXVI.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 178 or FS 180	Karageorghis 1976a, 82 no. 172, pl. LXXVI.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB flask FS 189	Karageorghis 1976a, 83 no. 193, pls LVIII, LXXVI.
Dromolaxia-*Vizakia*, Tomb 24	LH IIIA2 Flask FS 188	Åström, Nys 2007, 12 fig. 15A-b.
Chamber Tomb south-east of Tomb 1 and 2	LH IIIA2/IIIB miniature feeding bottle FS 160	Samaes, Nys 2010, 205 fig. 5: 2.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Samaes, Nys 2010, 205.
	LH IIIA2 flask 189	Samaes, Nys 2010, 205-6.
	LH IIIA2 flask 190	Samaes, Nys 2010, 205.
Tomb LL, western chamber	LH IIIA2 flask FS 190.	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 309, table 2: N181, 311, fig. 26: 3.
	LH IIIA2 feeding bottle FS 160	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 309, table 2: N161, 311, fig. 26: 4.
Tomb RR, 2019, 2020 exc.	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 171 (cf. Mountjoy 1986, 79 fig. 93: 3, for chronology).	Fischer, Bürge 2020, 94, 96: N 189, fig. 25: 2.
Offering Pit V	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 171	Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 198: L46-1.
	flask FS 190/192	Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 198: L 46-24, 205, fig. 36: 2.
Offering Pit B	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171.	Fischer, Bürge 2015, 46, N9; fig. 25a: 7, 25b: 5; N10, fig. 25 a: 10; Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 167, fig. 6.
Tomb SS	LH IIIA2 FS 188/189	Fischer, Bürge 2021, 120: N334.
	F3	
Chamber Tomb I	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 39	Karageorghis 1976a, 74 no. 49, pls LI, LXVIII; 75 nos 82-3, pls LI, LXVIII.
Well in trench 1/4	LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 31	Öbrink 1983, 19 no. 9, figs 45, 91.
	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 34-5	Öbrink 1983, 20 no. 27, figs 52, 109.
Dromolaxia-*Vizakia*, Tomb 24	LH IIB/ IIIA1 piriform jar FS 19 or FS 22	Åström, Nys 2007, 11 fig. 10: 7.
Dromolaxia-*Vizakia*, Tomb 24	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 35	Åström, Nys 2007, 13 fig. 16a-b; 14, figs 21-2.
Chamber Tomb south-east of Tomb 1 and 2	LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 31	Samaes, Nys 2010, 202.
	Several fragmentary LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/ IIIB piriform jars FS 39	Samaes, Nys 2010, 202 fig. 4: 7, 203.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Chamber Tomb X (Period 2)	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 39, most likely Cypriot	Fischer, Bürge 2017 a, 68, L48-23, fig. 22: 6.
	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 39	Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 170: L48-23, fig. 23: 5.
Offering Pit V	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 39	Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 198: L46-5, 205, fig. 35: 5; 198, L46-53.
	F4	
Offering Pit V	LH IIIA2 clay figurines	Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 208-9: N57 (Psi-figurine); N 58 (Mycenaean part of a horse, which belonged to a chariot); L46-59: L 46-60 (two fragments of horse-and-chariot figurines).
Wells D and E	LH IIIA2 (?) Mycenaean bull figurines	Fischer, Bürge 2015, 47: N21; fig. 30: 5 (Well D); 48: N19.
Chamber Tomb SS	LH IIIA2 rhyton	Bürge 2022, 41, N330.

Mycenaean Pottery of Interaction Period 3 from Other Tombs Excavated at Hala Sultan Tekke before the New Swedish Cyprus Expedition

Despite the inadequate standard of British Museum excavations and original publications, pottery of Interaction Period 3 from earlier excavations that was allocated to various museums was published by D.M. Bailey, P. Åström and other scholars in 1976 (Åström, Bailey, Karageorghis 1976; also cf. Fischer 2019b, 189-93). The authors recorded a few LH IIIA1 vessels stored in the British Museum, providing the first evidence for early contacts. They also documented a slight increase in the LH IIIA2 pottery especially in the functional category F2.

Among the stray finds and materials from the various excavation campaigns and surveys in the Hala Sultan Tekke area, several LH IIIA vessels stored in the Cyprus Museum have been published in the *Hala Sultan Tekke I* volume (Åström 1976). Category F2.1 is predominant, and the piriform jars are the most common vessels in this collection, including a three-handled jar FS 46 of local production (55-7, figs 64-5). Piriform jars also are by far the most common shapes among the Interaction Period 3 material, mostly body sherds, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, while other identifiable shapes are represented by some stirrups jars and very few opens shapes (Frankel, Catling 1976, 65-8 nos 91-153, LH IIIA2; 67-8, LH IIIA2-IIIB).

Turning to other important funerary contexts that came to light before the beginning of the New Swedish Expedition excavations, finds from Chamber Tombs 1 and 2 are relevant to Interaction Period 3, although these tombs were looted and only partially preserved (Karageorghis 1976a). A sherd deposit, F 6031, discussed in detail by U. Öbrink (1979; cf. in particular discussion on pages 14-16, table on

pages 21-3), was excavated in Area 22 and produced more than 900 Mycenaean sherds, or 23% of the total pottery. This pottery spans from LH IIIA2 to the end of LH IIIB1 or the beginning of LH IIIB2, but it was suggested that the LH IIIA2 vessels

> may have been heirlooms. If the material consists of tomb gifts, it may originate from successive burials in one tomb or from two or more tombs. (16-17, 37; also cf. Steel 2004b, 75)

The identification of only two LH IIIA2 sherds among the more than 32-40 LH IIIA2/IIIB vessels (25, tab. D) supports this possibility confirming that deposit F 6031 mainly dated to LC IIC (29).

In addition to several local vessels of different wares, 1,502 sherds of Mycenaean vessels amounting to 15% of the total vessels were found in a well opened in Trench 1/4 (1983, 28-9; also cf. Bürge 2021, 11). This material is of great importance for Interaction Period 3 since most of the vessels can be dated to early phases of the LH IIIA2 period, corresponding to LC IIA2.

In 2007, Åström and Nys published the preserved funerary goods from the looted chamber Tomb 24, located in a field of Dromolaxia-*Vyzakia* west of the mosque and southwest of Area 8 of the earlier Swedish Excavations (Åström, Nys 2007). This tomb was used from LC IB to the beginning of LC IIIA. Fragments of gold earrings, faience artifacts, and ostrich eggs confirm that the individuals buried in this tomb, as well as in some neighboring tombs, belonged to the upper strata of society (26 fig. 64, 27). A few LH IIIA2 vessels (two stirrup jars and two piriform jars) were also published by S. Lubsen-Admiraal (1982, 58) from Dromolaxia Tomb 1, which, however, mostly contained LH IIIB imports.

The contents of a chamber tomb found accidentally near the mosque of Hala Sultan Tekke, ca 50 m east of Tombs 1 and 2, have been published by M. Samaes and Nys (2010). Although this tomb was destroyed, preserved finds indicate that it was a very rich funerary context originally containing bone, faience, ivory, and metal artifacts, ostrich shells, gold jewelry, and a cylinder seal, along with a significant amount of pottery, albeit fragmentary for the most part. The ceramic finds span from LC IIA through the beginning of LC IIIA, but most of the contents should be dated to LC IIB-C.

If we compare the Interaction Period 3 Mycenaean pottery from these tombs **[tab. 5.8]**, some chronological differences are apparent. Most of the vessels from Tomb 24 at Dromolaxia-*Vyzakia* have been attributed to LH IIIA2, but, interestingly, the tomb also contained earlier Mycenaean pottery, including a LH IIB/IIIA1 piriform jar FS 19 or FS 22, a LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 44, a LH IIIA1 alabastron FS 84, and the shoulder of a LH IIIA1/2 piriform jar. The earliest phase of use of the chamber tomb found ca 50 m east of Tombs 1 and 2 is

also represented by some LH IIIA1 pottery, including a LH IIIA1 cup FS 219, but the bulk of ceramic finds (41%) belong to LH IIIA2, i.e. LC IIB. Twenty-two LH IIIA2/IIIB (20%) vessels from this tomb are also of interest, specifically several cups FS 220, a shape characteristic for LC IIB-C contexts. The assemblage found in the well opened in Trench 1/4 can be dated to the early phases of the LH IIIA2 period, corresponding to LC IIA2, while some vessels dating to LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA1-2 were probably remnants from early times, as occurs in other Cypriot contexts of this period. On the other hand, nearly all the Mycenaean pottery related to Interaction Period 3 from Tombs 1 and 2 belongs to LH IIIA2 and the range of shapes appears fairly homogeneous in the two funerary contexts. On the contrary, the Mycenaean imports of Interaction Period 3 from the sherd deposit F 6031 in Area 22, contained almost exclusively LH IIIA2/IIIB vessels.

Although some caution is necessary due to the disturbance from tomb lootings, it is worth discussing the functions of the published Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 3. Only in one chamber tomb, located ca 50 m east of Tombs 1 and 2, the proportion between F1 and F2 is comparable, with a similar prevalence of kraters and piriform jars in the respective categories. However, according to Samaes and Nys (2010, 217), the abundant number of kraters FS 53 and FS 53/53 may be due to the accumulation of grave goods over a long timespan. In the same tomb, it is also worth mentioning the occurrence of some LH IIIA2 large piriform jars, especially FS 35 and FS 39, of functional category F3. On the contrary, in Tomb 24 at Dromolaxia-*Vyzakia*, the preserved Mycenaean pottery of this period only included F2.1 and F2.2 (some piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45?, an alabastron FS 94 and a flask FS 188), as well as two piriform jars FS 19 (or FS 22) and FS 35 of category F3. No vessel from this tomb can be attributed to F1. If we consider some other contexts, such absence may not be at all fortuitous. The pottery of category F1 from Tombs 1 and 2 is far less common than that of category F2. Piriform jars were markedly predominant in the latter functional category, with a clear prevalence of small examples FS 45, but there were also alabastra FS 85 and 94, small stirrup jars FS 171 and FS 178, and a LH IIIA2/B flask FS 189. If we consider in particular the identifiable shapes from the well Trench 1/4 (Öbrink 1983, 18-24 and particularly 31, tab. 2), their range is not much different from the types found in Tombs 1 and 2: vessels of category F2 are predominant, and the most common vessels are piriform jars FS 31 (LH IIIA1) and piriform jars FS 44 and 45 (LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA 2). A LH IIIA1 small handleless jar FS 77 from this context is a very rare shape on Cyprus (cf. other examples from Enkomi and Maroni: P. Åström 1972, 319, Type 77). In this assemblage F1 is represented by a LH IIIA2 krater FS 6-7 (along with other fragmentary examples), two jugs FS 109 and FS 132/133, and a kylix FS 257. If the sherd deposit F 6031

in Area 22 originated from funerary assemblages, as suggested by Öbrink (1979, 58), the range of Interaction Period 3 shapes recovered matches the evidence from other tombs, since only a few vessels (jugs and cups) of the category F1 have been found, while there was by far a greater number of piriform jars, alabastra, and stirrup jars of the category F2 (16-17, 20-3, 25 tab. D).

Tombs, Wells and Pits Excavated by the New Swedish Cyprus Expedition

Area A at the site is located on the plateau approximately 600 m east of City Quarter 1, just southeast of a structure identified as a possible city wall or a small rampart (Fischer, Bürge 2020, 90-1). In this area the funerary deposits can be dated from LC IB to LC IIC, corresponding to the main period of cemetery use (Bürge 2021, 14). Before considering the Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 published from the funerary features found in this area, a concise overview of the find contexts may be useful. Chamber Tomb X was characterized by two chambers in the shape of a recumbent '8' joined by a single shaft and containing seventeen individuals as well as many burial goods ranging from LC IB to LC IIC. The finds included a significant array of precious imports (jewelry, scarabs, precious stones and seals) from the Aegean, Egypt, the Levant, and likely Anatolia, testifying to the high rank of the burials. Based on the position and quality of the finds, three periods of tomb use (early, middle, and late) were suggested.[42]

Another important tomb is Tomb RR.[43] Its shape resembles that of Chamber Tomb X and Offering Pit V, a feature with two connected pits located approximately 10 m to the north of Tomb X (Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 60-5; 2017b, 195-209; Bürge, Fischer 2017, 151-8). The 2019 excavations confirmed (Fischer, Bürge 2020, 91-2; 2021, 100) that precisely above the center of this tomb there was a possible tomb marker composed of many sherds of a large Minoan closed vessel (L103-4) and a Mycenaean octopus krater (L103-3). It was also ascertained that the tomb contained a total of 37 individuals and was used in the later part of LC IIA-B, possibly as late as the beginning of LC IIC, and remained undisturbed after the last burial. South of Tomb RR, Tomb SS has recently been found (Bürge 2021, 5 fig. 2; Fischer, Bürge 2021, 110-23). This is a roughly pentagonal pit of 4.5 m in diameter containing (at least) two deposits of broken pottery covering the burials. A high level of fragmentation characterized the

42 Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 67-74; 2017b, 165-92; Bürge, Fischer 2017, 124-42; Fischer 2019b, 206-8.

43 Fischer, Bürge 2019, 307-9, fig. 22; Fischer 2019a, 242-3; 2019b, 209-10; Fischer, Bürge 2020, 91-6; 2021, 100-10; 2022, 9-28.

vessels of the upper deposit (L121), while a lower deposit containing vases which were intact in most cases or broken in large fragments was preliminarily interpreted as the most recent burial level (L133) in the tomb. Skeletal remains and burial gifts have been found in a layer (L139) below. No example from L121 can be dated later than LH IIIA2 and the most chronologically relevant vessels are the piriform jars **[fig. 5.4.7]** such as L121-18 (120, fig. 17: 5), and Bürge (Fischer, Bürge 2022, 41) underlines "the high number of small piriform jars" in L121 (17 of the 32 Aegean imported vessels found in 2020-1), and in L133/139 (21 out of 53); some Minoan vessels from this deposit are listed in table 5.2. Fischer and Bürge (2021, 120: L121-10; Bürge in Fischer, Bürge 2023, 41) also emphasize some LH IIIA1 examples such as an alabastron FS 84 with a rock pattern and ogival canopy and suggest that this pottery dated from LC IIA to at least the start of LC IIC. As in L121, in L133/139 the Aegean imports are well represented by a few open shapes and mainly by small piriform jars, in addition to juglets, stirrup jars, alabastra, and a flask (Fischer, Bürge 2021, 120). However, the repertoire of finds also included

> numerous kraters, of which two are decorated with fishes (L133-0, L133-1) and two are chariot kraters of the amphoroid type (N329, L133-15), as well as a large rhyton (N330). (120)

No Mycenaean vessel has been dated later than LH IIIA2.

Another tomb, Shaft Tomb LL, contained partly burnt remains of several disarticulated human skeletons as well as a rich array of burial offerings (Bürge, Fischer 2017, 142-6; Fischer 2019a, 243-4; 2019b, 210). It is important to note that the only Aegean import found in this tomb is the above-mentioned LM II/IIIA piriform jar decorated with motifs of birds and floral representations (see § 5.4.1.2), while no Mycenaean vessels were found.

In addition to some Mycenaean figurines (Fischer, Bürge, 2017a, 60; 2017b, 208-9, fig. 31), the so-called Offering Pit V contained many broken objects. They were deposited during rituals, which very likely were performed in connection with the burials in Tomb X and/or other nearby tombs (2017a, 65). As shown by Fischer and Bürge's (2017b, 208-9) detailed discussion, the figurines from Pit V are of great importance. These include a Psi-figurine (N57), a Mycenaean part of a horse, which belonged to a chariot (N58), and two other fragments of horse-and-chariot figurines (L46-59, L46-60) not belonging to N58. Similar objects rarely occur in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially on Cyprus, and

> the combination of painted decoration of chariots on pottery and chariot figurines can be interpreted as an expression of a wealthy elite. (208-9)

Several reports and thorough discussions on other wells and pits found in Area A were published by Bürge and Fischer (2017; 2018a, 45-50; Fischer 2019a, 245; 2019b, 215-17) and individually by Bürge (2017; 2021), demonstrating that pits reflect different types of activities and rituals (Bürge 2021, 14-17). Among the features containing Mycenaean pottery, Offering Pit B (Fischer, Bürge 2015, 55; Bürge 2021, 6-10) is particularly interesting because it lacked human bones and cannot therefore be interpreted as a well or a tomb.

The Mycenaean pottery from the features in Area A is in general published and illustrated in various preliminary reports. Comparative analysis of the features of published Mycenaean pottery from Area A listed in table 5.8 shows that the greatest number of Interaction Period 3 vessels is reported from Offering Pit V, amounting to roughly 35% of the ceramic finds (2017b, 211) with a chronological range from LH IIIA1 to LH IIIA2-IIIB. However, it should also be taken in mind that in some cases such as, for example, Well in Trench 1 /4 a large number of Mycenaean sherds (1502) amounting to 15% of total ceramic finds, have been reported, most of which dating to LH IIIA2 (Öbrink 1983, 28-9), but they are not cataloged in table 5.8 because their shapes could not be accurately identified. The same is true of several undiagnostic Mycenaean sherds from the chamber tomb southeast of Tombs 1 and 2 (Samaes, Nys 2010, 203-6) and Tomb 24 (Åström, Nys 2007, 15-17, figs 25-7, 29-31, 33-4). Turning to the Aegean pottery from Chamber Tomb X, where total Mycenaean vessels amount to roughly 20% of overall ceramic finds, the earliest Aegean import is the LH IIA beaked jug discussed above (see § 4.4.1). However, for this discussion, the Mycenaean vessels deposited in the medium period (Period 2) of tomb use are also relevant. This period probably corresponds for the most part to Interaction Period 3 because the majority of the Mycenaean imports belong to LH IIIA2/III B, with the exception of a LH IIIA2 medium piriform jar FS 39, which has been considered "most likely Cypriot" (Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 170: L48-23, fig. 23: 5), and some other finds that can be dated to LH IIIB1 (175, fig. 9, 187). Moreover, most of the Mycenaean pottery from the following Period 3 can be assigned to LH IIIB, i.e. Interaction Period 4 (170-1, 175 fig. 9, 190; see chapter 6). The variety and richness of burial goods, as well as the significant number of local vessels in this feature, have also been noted (211). Mycenaean pottery was also recovered from Offering Pit B including six LH IIIA2/B vessels.

In Tomb RR the Aegean pottery found in the eastern chamber during the 2018 excavations only included a LH IIIA2 chariot krater (Fischer, Bürge 2019, 312 fig. 27; 2021, 101), an alabastron, a "Mycenaean/Minoan jug" (2019, 309, tab. 1: N171) in addition to a LH IIIB piriform jar FS 40 (309, tab. 1: N157, 311, fig. 26: 1). These clearly were a minority compared to the reported 15 vessels of local production, but the decoration of the chariot krater is striking since 13

individuals in total are depicted in the crowded scenes on the two sides of the vessel. A different ratio between local and Aegean vessels was reported in the western chamber, where the number of published Mycenaean imports (5) from the 2018 excavations is nearly identical to the number of local vessels (6). The repertoire of these LH IIIA2 vessels also included a Mycenaean-type piriform jar of local manufacture (2021, 106-7: N295, figs 5-4). In addition to the incomplete Minoan figurine recorded in section 5.4.1.1, other pottery published in 2020 and 2021 consists of Cypriot-produced wares and Mycenaean imports (2020, 94 fig. 25: 1-4) **[tab. 5.8]**.

Considering the chronology of these vessels comprehensively, it should be noted that the LH IIIA1 vessels from the mortuary features in Area A were scattered, similar to other areas of the site. One of the most interesting vessels of this period is a beaked jug FS 144/145 from Offering Pit V that has close parallels with a LH IIIA1 beaked jug found on Rhodes (Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 63 with refs). It is decorated with curve-stemmed spirals (FM 49) on the shoulder/belly and a tassel (FM 72) below the handle (63, L46-33, figs 12: 5, 15: 8; 2017b, 198, 204 fig. 35: 1). Other LH IIIA1 vessels from Tomb RR **[tab. 5.8]** possibly also included a piriform jar FS 44/45 with stacked zig-zag pattern (FM 61) which may suggest that this vessel is a Mycenaean/Minoan hybrid as appears from Achaean examples (2021, 106-7, N236, fig. 5: 2; cf. Mountjoy 1999, 411 no. 29, fig. 143). Two small LH IIIA1 vessels, a piriform jar FS 31 and a piriform jar FS 44 have also been reported from Chamber Tomb UU **[tab. 5.8]**. Although by far more numerous than the LH IIIA1 examples, the distinctively LH IIIA2 vessels are comparatively less than the LH IIIA2/IIIB examples. In fact, apart from Chamber Tombs RR and SS where LH IIIA2 pottery was particularly common, also including a stirrup jar FS 171 (Fischer, Bürge 2020, 94, 96 fig. 25: 2; cf. Mountjoy 1986, 79 fig. 93: 3, for chronology), the LH IIIA2 pottery is represented by a few vases from Offering Pit V. In Tomb X, Period 2, only a piriform jar FS 39 can be assigned to LH IIIA2, while all the other Aegean imports of Interaction Period 3 found in this context belong to the LH IIIA2/IIIB period. The same prevalence of LH IIIA2/IIIB ceramics is apparent in the other funerary features mentioned above.

If we turn to the functional categories of Mycenaean pottery, category F1 appears to be exceptionally well represented in Offering Pit V, where this functional category is predominant with a remarkable five kraters FS 54/55 and a variety of jugs, most of which date to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB. The kraters themselves also are of particular importance (Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 202 figs 36: 3, 37-8: 1, 2; more in general Bürge 2021, 16). The very detailed depiction of a female figure, wearing a sumptuous and voluminous bell-dress and standing next to a chariot and another (most likely minor) male individual, is extraordinary (Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 64: L46-36, figs 13: 2, 15:

4; 2017b, 216 fig. 27; Fischer 2019a, 245 fig. 14: 2). Two amphoroid kraters FS 53-5 were decorated with chariot scenes on both sides and with the depiction of a bird. In addition to the LH IIIA1 beaked jug FS 144/145 decorated with curve-stemmed spirals mentioned above, category F1 from this feature also included other LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs of various shapes, but particularly evocative is a narrow-necked jug FS 120, probably of LM/ LH IIIA2 date, which has been considered "an import from the Minoan sphere of culture" due to the parallels of semicircles and band decorations on a stirrup jar from LM/LH IIIA2 Karpathos/Dodecanese (Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 63-4, L46-0, fig. 13: 1; 2017b, 204 fig. 35). On the contrary, only a few small open vessels (although including some kraters) have been reported from Tomb SS (2021, 120) **[tab. 5.8]** and in Tomb RR the category F1 is also less represented than F2, but it included a chariot krater from the 2018 excavations, and, as stated above, a Mycenaean octopus krater found during the 2019 campaign above the center of the tomb along with a large Minoan closed vessel (2020, 92: L103-3, L103-4). Other reported vessels from Tomb RR and Chamber Tomb UU belong to LH IIIA2/IIIB **[tab. 5.8]**. A few kraters (some of them with pictorial decoration), juglets, bowls, and kylikes dating to LH IIIA2 are recorded in the preliminary reports of excavations of Tomb SS, although communal drinking rituals are also suggested by other finds from the tomb (Bürge 2021, 16; Fischer, Bürge 2021, 110-23). The statement that in this tomb "more than a third of the Mycenaean and Minoan imported vessels are miniature piriform jars" is clearly very interesting (also see above). Chamber Tomb X produced few vessels of category F1, while Pictorial Style kraters, so characteristic of the Mycenaean tableware from Offering Pit V, are lacking. To conclude the review of category F1, in Offering Pit B this ware is represented by some LH IIIA/IIIB vessels, two juglets FS 114, and a shallow cup FS 220, while fragmentary Pictorial Style kraters of LH IIIA2/IIIB date were found in Well YI (Fischer, Bürge 2018a, 45: L63-3, 46, fig. 14: 1, L63-4) and a possible LH IIIA2 kylix with octopus motif comes from the fill of Pit Z3 (49: L70-1, fig. 14: 7; cf. Mountjoy 1986, 89 fig. 107: 2).

Turning to the other functional categories **[tab. 5.8]**, in Offering Pit V, seven vessels fall under category F2. In addition to a LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 47 of local production (Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 63: L46-2, figs 12: 4, 15: 6), the range of other shapes, dating to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB, from this feature included piriform jars, alabastra, a small globular stirrup jar FS 171, and a horizontal flask FS 190/192. Three other LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 39 from the pit represent functional category F3. Taking into account the relatively small quantity of Mycenaean pottery from Chamber Tomb X (Period 2), it is not surprising that category F2 is only represented by two LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171 and a straight sided alabastron FS 94, although this context also contained a LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 39 of category

F3. In Tomb RR the published examples of category F2 prevail over category F1, but a LH IIIA1 piriform jar FS 23 with scale pattern of category F3, one of the earliest vessels from Area A, was also found (2020, 94, 96 fig. 25: 1). LH IIIA2 stirrup jars and alabastra are also recorded in the preliminary accounts of finds from Tomb SS. In Shaft Grave LL, containing the partly burnt remains of several disarticulated human skeletons as well as a rich array of burial offerings (Bürge, Fischer 2017, 142-6; Fischer 2019a, 243-4; 2019b, 210), the only Aegean import is the above-mentioned LM II/IIIA piriform jar decorated with motifs of birds and floral representations and no Mycenaean vessel have been discovered in this funerary context. Among the other Mycenaean vessels found in Area A,[44] published pottery of interest includes a Mycenaean (LH IIIA) alabastron from Well S (Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 59-60: L44-2), three LH IIIA2 piriform jars from Chamber Tomb UU and a LH IIIA/IIIB straight-sided alabastron FS 94 from Pit Z2 (2018a, 49: L79-4, 46, fig. 14: 5), while Offering Pit B produced an alabastron FS 94 and two stirrup jars FS 171 of LH IIIA2/IIIB date in addition to many local vessels (Bürge 2021, 10 fig. 6) and to the Mycenaean vessels of category F1 mentioned above **[tab. 5.8]**.

To summarize, the funerary evidence at Hala Sultan Tekke from Interaction Period 3 documents a somewhat gradual increase in Mycenaean pottery from the LH IIB/IIIA to LH IIIA2/IIIB periods, as also appears at several other sites. The LH IIIA1 ceramic imports are few; while Tomb 24 at Dromolaxia *Vizakia* produced a small group of vessels of this early period, in all the other tombs this period is scarcely, and likely only residually, represented. A marked increase of distinctly LH IIIA2 pottery, on the other hand, is noted in many tombs. This is apparent in assemblages such as those published by Karageorghis from Tombs 1 and 2, from the early LH IIIA2 materials found in a well in Trench 1/4, from the ceramic finds in the chamber tomb east of Tomb 1 and 2, in Chamber Tombs RR and SS in Area A. However, in many other funerary assemblages, LH IIIA2/IIIB vessels are clearly prevalent among Interaction Period 3 imports. A case in point is the Area 22 sherd deposit F 6031 that probably originated from successive burials, where only two LH IIIA2 sherds, interpreted as heirlooms, were identified among the 32-40 LH IIIA2/IIIB examples. The case of Tomb X, Period 2, is equally significant because only one LH IIIA2 vessel was published from this context, while there were five LH IIIA2/IIIB examples. In Offering Pit V and Offering Pit B there is a similar prevalence of LH IIIA2/IIIB pottery. Therefore, evidence from Hala Sultan Tekke seems to conform with the picture that emerges elsewhere on Cyprus since it attests to a marked rise in the number of Mycenaean imports from the earliest

44 Fischer, Bürge 2018a, 45-50; Fischer 2019a, 245; 2019b, 215-17; Bürge 2021, 5-6.

(LH IIB-IIIA1) to the latest (LH IIIA2-LH IIIA2/IIIB) phases of Interaction Period 3, but it is difficult to separate neatly the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB phases in terms of Mycenaean ceramic imports and, from this point of view, to define the single steps in the process of interaction with the Mycenaean world.

The pattern of the functional categories of Mycenaean imported pottery in funerary contexts is not totally uniform, but, if we consider the overall Mycenaean vessels in Cypriot pottery assemblages reviewed above, there seems to have been a preference for the vessels of functional category F2, although the preliminary nature of many publications may, to a certain extent, affect this interpretation. Piriform jars of category F2.1 are the predominant shape in Åström's catalog and in the Ashmolean Museum collection. The list of vessels published from Tomb 24 at Dromolaxia *Vizakia* only included vessels of category F2, while elsewhere (especially in Tombs 1 and 2, Chamber Tomb RR, Chamber Tomb SS, Chamber Tomb X, the well in Trench 1/4, the sherd deposit F 603 and in Area 22) the piriform jars and other vessels of the same functional category are more common than examples of category F1. However, in some assemblages there is no clear quantitative difference with published vessels of category F1. Such is especially the case of the group of vessels from the chamber tomb found ca 50 m east of Tombs 1 and 2, while in Offering Pit V, F1 is markedly predominant, and many other vessels of this functional category were also published from other features in Area A. As expected, in settlement levels, Mycenaean Fine Table ware of category F1 seems to be more common **[tab. 5.8]**.

The presence of Mycenaean imported pictorial kraters in Tombs 1 and 2, Offering Pit V, Tomb RR, Well Y1, and Tomb SS clearly is a remarkable feature of Hala Sultan Tekke in Interaction Period 3, confirming the parallels suggested by P. Keswani (2004, 129) between the valuables found in many tombs at this site and those found in some of the richest tombs at Enkomi.

5.4.1.5.9 Kition

The Mycenaean pottery published from Caveaux I-III in Area 1 included a few vessels related to Interaction Period 3, but the main evidence for this period was provided by the looted chamber Tombs 4+5 and Tomb 9 **[tab. 5.9]**.

Table 5.9 Select Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 from Caveaux I, III, Well, Tombs 4 + 5, and 9 at Kition

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Kition, Caveau I	LH IIIA2 krater FS 54	Karageorghis 1960b, 520-2 no. 1, figs 13-14 (= Åström 1972, 313, Type 54: a3, with refs).
Kition, Well	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-5	Karageorghis 1960b, 579 no. 22, fig. 128.
Kition, Tomb 4+5	LH IIIA2 late krater FS 54	Karageorghis 1974, 20 no. 104, pl. XXIV.
Kition, Tomb 9	LH IIIA2 amphoroid kraters?	Karageorghis 1974, 53, 58 no. 103, pls XLIV, CXXXVIII; 53 no. 106 A-B, pls LVI, CXLVI; 55 no. 122, A-F, pls LVI, CXLV.
	F1.1b	
Kition, Tomb 4+5	LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 139	Karageorghis 1974, 21, 36 no. 110, pls XXII, XXXVIII, CXXVIII.
Kition, Tomb 9	LH IIIA2 three-handled jug FS 151	Karageorghis 1974, 52 no. 90, pls XLIX, CXLV.
Kition, Caveau I	LH IIIA2-IIIB jug?	Karageorghis 1960b, 529 no. 15, fig. 29, 538.
	F1.1c	
Kition, Tomb 4+5	LH IIIA2/IIIB cup FS 220 LH IIIA2 kylix FS 256 or 269	Karageorghis 1974, 23, 36 no. 123, pls XXIX, CXXIX. Karageorghis 1974, 23, 35 no. 121, pls XXV, CXXVI.
Kition, Tomb 9	LH IIIA2 kylikes FS 257 LH IIIA2/IIIB kylix FS 256	Karageorghis 1974, 45-6 no. 35, pls LII, CXLI; 48 no. 60, pl. LII, CXLII. Karageorghis 1974, 49 no. 62 pls LI, CXLII.
Kition, Caveau 1	LH IIIA2/IIIB cup FS 209	Åström 1972, 355, Type 209: a with refs.
	F2.1	
Kition, Tomb 4+5	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 39 Fragmentary piriform jars	Karageorghis 1974, 21 no. 106, pls XIV, CXXIII. Karageorghis 1974, 28 no. 173, pls XVII, CXXIII; 29 no. 176, pls XVI, CXXIII.
Kition, Tomb 9	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 39 LH IIIA2 alabastron FS 94	Karageorghis 1974, 46, 51 nos 37, 45?, 81, 85, pls XLII, XLVII, CXXXVIII. Karageorghis 1974, 51, 58 no. 80, pls XLVII, CXXXVIII. Karageorghis 45 no. 29, pls XLII, CXXXVIII.
Kition, Caveau 1	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Karageorghis 1960b, 525 no. 3, figs 17-18.
	F2.2	
Kition, Tomb 9	LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166	Karageorghis 1974, 46 no. 39, pls XLIII, CXXX; 47 no. 45, pls XLIII, CXXXIX.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Kition, Caveau I	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 171 LH IIIA2 flasks FS 188	Karageorghis 1960b, 524-9 nos 7-12, 22, 24-7, figs 22-4, 26-7 (= Åström 1972, 339, Type 170: f-g; Type 171: d3, with refs). Karageorghis 1960, 525, 527 nos 4-5, fig. 19: a-b, fig. 20; Åström 1972, 353, Type 191: t*.
	F3	
Kition, Tomb 4+5	Piriform jar FS 39	Karageorghis 1974, 21, 36 no. 106, pls XIV, CXXIII.
Kition, Tomb 9	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 39 Piriform jar FS 35?	Karageorghis 1974, 45 no. 31, pls XLVII, CXXXVIII. Karageorghis 1974, 51 no. 80, pls XLVII, CXXXVIII.

In Tombs 4+5, the two chambers, which were antithetically arranged sharing a common dromos, mostly produced local LC IIC and imported LH IIIB vessels. However, an earlier group of six LH IIIA2 vases and one example dating to LH IIIA2/IIIB included four vessels of category F1, which was the most common functional category in this tomb, along with two piriform jars of category F2.1 and a piriform jar FS 39 of F3. Lower burial layer 12 in the intact Tomb 9 produced LM/LH IIIB vessels, in addition to some Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 3. This earlier pottery from Tomb 9 included several vessels of category F1 (kraters, kylikes and a jug), while category F2 was represented by some piriform jars FS 45 and an alabastron FS 94. Moreover, the context also contained storage piriform jars FS 39 and maybe FS 35 of category F3. Some LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 170 and FS 171, a flask FS 188 and a piriform jar FS 45, and a cup FS 209, in addition to a LH IIIA2 krater FS 54, were also found in Caveau I and a well yielded a LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-5 **[tab. 5.9]**.

5.4.1.6 Mycenaean Pottery of Interaction Period 3 from First Tier Settlement Deposits

L. Steel (2004b, 74) considered Mycenaean pottery "a statistically insignificant percentage of the total LC ceramic repertoire". This mainly appears to be the case from settlement deposits because, unlike that from funerary deposits, Mycenaean imported pottery of Interaction Period 3 from settlement deposits constitutes only a very small fraction of the total pottery recovered. In fact, the LH IIIB pottery found in domestic or settlement contexts at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* amounts to 1-2% (if not less than 1%) of the thin-walled sherds, being greatly outnumbered by local wares (South, Russell 1993, 303; Steel 2004b, 74). The same percentages of Mycenaean pottery have been documented in settlement deposits at Kourion *Bamboula* and Hala Sultan Tekke (Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 211), where, however, the

Mycenaean sherds that predate LH IIIB were likely also included in the count. In the First Tier settlements, limited evidence is available in general for Interaction Period 3, since the main architectural phases at some important LBA settlements, such as Kourion *Bamboula*, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes*, Kition, and Enkomi are dated to LC IIC, i.e. Interaction Period 4 and, in some cases, even to later periods. Moreover, the Aegean pottery from the Second Tier settlements (Knapp 2013, 355 fig. 95) is not discussed here, because in most of these settlements, such as Sinda, Maa *Paleokastro*, Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, the main phases likely dated back to the thirteenth century BC, i.e. Interaction Period 4 (see § 6.4.2.2). Therefore, at these sites the main evidence for Mycenaean pottery related to Interaction Period 3 is generally provided by the mortuary record discussed above. Concerning the Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 from First Tier settlements, reference may be made here to some selected finds from Enkomi. Mountjoy recently published a thorough study concerning the pottery from settlement layers dating from Level IIB (or IIIA) to the end of Level IIIC excavated by P. Dikaios and the French expedition (Mountjoy 2018, 171-451). Level IIB can be dated to LC IIC since the "Level IIB destruction at the end of LC IIC took place in CypIIIC Early 1, when LH IIIC Early 1 was current in the Aegean" (144). Regarding the LC IIC period in terms of Aegean correlations it is, therefore, important to note that according to Mountjoy "LC IIC equates both to LH IIIB Late and LH IIIC Early 1 in the Greek mainland Mycenaean pottery system" (26). As a consequence, the Mycenaean pottery that concerns Interaction Period 3 and predates the LH IIIB Late period came from Dikaios' Levels IB and Level IIA, that is LC IIA-IIB in terms of Cypriot chronology (25, tab. 2, 26, tab. 3; also cf. Crewe 2007, 73, tab. 11.1). Compared to LH IIIB imports from Levels IIB and IIIA, the Mycenaean vessels from Levels IB and IIA are fewer. In her analysis of Mycenaean vessels from Level IIA, in fact, S. Antoniadou noted that "it still occurs in low proportion compared to the Cypriot pottery" (Antoniadou 2003, 66); she also mentioned the discovery of a few fragments of amphoroid kraters and piriform jars from Area III, associated with domestic and industrial contexts, while emphasized many more Mycenaean sherds from Room 142 excavated in Area I where a certain number of sherds belonging to drinking sets and piriform jars have been found in LC IIA contexts; instead, a decreasing number of vessels showing the same range of shapes has been found in LC IIB contexts (66-8, tabs 30, 39-41). A few LH IIIA1/IIIA 2 cups and a flask have been found in lower levels in Area III, Level IIA-B, Room 5 (Dikaios 1969-71, 310 nos 1, 5-7) along with LH IIIA2 vessels (310 nos 2-4), while in upper levels all the Mycenaean pottery can be dated to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB showing a certain variety of shapes such as cups, stirrup jars, kraters and three-handled jars (310 nos 8-16,

for LH IIIA2 pottery). A similar situation is apparent in Area I, Level IIA, Rooms 142-102, where some LH IIIA1 cups were found in lower levels along with LH IIIA2 stirrup jars (308 nos 1, 7-8, pl. 61: 1-2), while only LH IIIA2 vessels (cups, kraters, kraters, three-handled jars) have been reported from upper levels (308 nos 14-16, 18-20). The discovery of two LH IIIA2 bull's head rhyta from Well 25 Room 42 and Room 13 (330, pl. 110: 2-3 and pl. 67.7, 3503/2 respectively; also cf. Mountjoy 2018, 435) should also be recalled. The presence of some LH IIIA2 survivals in Level IIB should also be noted (Mountjoy 2018, 208 no. 192, fig. 109). In sum, the chronology of these finds seems to confirm that LH IIIA2 vessels prevailed among the Mycenaean imports from settlement deposits as also appears from the funerary contexts discussed above.

Despite the overall scarcity of evidence, a review of Mycenaean imports of this period from other settlement deposits provides useful information. At Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, the LH IIIA2 sherds of two jars (Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 147: P 628, 148: P 794), a stirrup jar (150: P 274) and a pilgrim flask (73: P 935, pl. 41), along with a sherd from a closed shape (138: P1112), belong to functional category F2, while a few other LH IIIA2-B sherds of category F1 include an octopus krater sherd (96: P 274), a cup (437: P 799), and other sherds (115: P 944, 149: P 801, 150: P 845).

At Kourion *Bamboula*, Benson (1972, 107) not only noted that Mycenaean pottery formed "a small minority" in the tombs' assemblages, but also stated that "the percentage of Mycenaean (of all categories) is never greater than ± 1% in relation to its context (level) in this settlement". Considering all the Interaction Period 3 evidence, there is a general correspondence between funerary and settlement records. The settlement material cataloged in table 5.10 appears to confirm the limited range of Mycenaean F1 from tombs, since this included only a few sherds possibly belonging to kraters, while most of the vessels deriving from shapes of this functional category seem to belong to Interaction Period 4 (see § 6.4.2.1). Moreover, the relative frequency of category F2 that was noted in funerary contexts also is apparent in settlement deposits.

Table 5.10 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 3 from settlement deposits at Kourion *Bamboula*

Site	Code of functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Kourion *Bamboula*, settlement	LH IIIA2 kraters FS 54	Åström 1972, 313, Type 54: c3 (C 353), d3 (B 1070), e3 (B 1071), f3 (B 1072), g3 (B 1077), h3 (B 1078 and B 1079); Benson 1972, 114 (B 1077), (B 1078, B 1079).
	LH IIIA2-IIIB krater sherds	Benson 1972, 114-15 nos B 1074 (Sh 270), B 1075 (Sh 310), B 1076, B 1080, B 1083, 1084, pls 30-1.
	F1.1b	
Kourion *Bamboula*, settlement	Miscellaneous LH IIIA2/IIIB jug fragments	Benson 1972, 120-1 nos B 1187-91, B 1194, B 1196-7, pls 31, 50.
	F1.1c	
Kourion *Bamboula*, settlement	LH IIIA2-IIIB stemmed cups	Åström 1972, 367 (other stemmed cups).
	F2.1	
Kourion *Bamboula*, settlement	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 44-5	Benson 1972, 34, VT: 7, VT: 8, 116 nos B 1100-1, pl. 32.
	Possible piriform jar	Benson 1972, 116 no. B 1109.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron	Benson 1972, 115 (B 1097), pl. 31.
	F2.2	
Kourion *Bamboula*, settlement	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 178	Benson 1972, 118-19 nos B 1161-2, pls 30, 33.
	Sherds from LH IIIA2? stirrup jars	Benson 1972, 119 nos B 1164-5, pl. 31.
	Flask FS 189	Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: n *bis*; Benson 1972, 119 no. B 1170, pl. 33.
	Stirrup jars FS 166	Benson 1972, 117 nos B 1117-20, pls 30, 32, 54.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars?	Benson 1972, 117 no. B 1121, pl. 32.

The evidence from Hala Sultan Tekke is, of course, of the utmost importance. Most of the structures excavated by Åström from the 1970s to 2005 can be dated from LC IIC to LC IIIA, but scattered Minoan and Mycenaean pottery of earlier periods was also found throughout the settlement deposits excavated during past Åström's excavations (Åström, Eriksson, Jakobsson 1989, 124-6), but in most cases their fragmentary state hampers any safe attribution to distinct shapes and specific periods. This indicatively appears, *inter alia*, from Trench 8-Area 8 (Håkansson 1989, 21, 30, 33, tab. 1), Area 6, Trench E, 395-9 (Åström et al. 1983, 59-71), a Trial Trench at Dromolaxia *Vyzakia* (Åström 2001) and Area 22, where Mycenaean sherds amounted to 23% of total ceramic finds from Deposit F 6031, although they were in such a fragmentary state that "most of attributions to

form, type and sometimes to motifs are uncertain" (Öbrink 1979, 14-15). According to Van Wijngaarden, dinner and storage vessels were widely distributed also in the settlement, but "the proportion of storage vessels at this site seems to be relatively high in comparison to Kition and Enkomi" (2002, 184 fns 17-19 with refs).

The excavations of the New Swedish Cyprus Expedition, moreover, are still in progress, with four city quarters so far discovered. Referring to the general picture of 2019 (Fischer 2019b, 195-201), five strata have been exposed in the so-called City Quarter 1 (CQ 1), while two strata were exposed in City Quarter 2 (CQ2) and City Quarter 3 (CQ 3); recent excavations were also carried out in City Quarter 4 (CQ 4) (Fischer, Bürge 2021, 98). Taking into account the upper chronological sequence apparent in CQ1 and CQ2, Stratum 1 can be dated to LC IIIA2, while Stratum 2 contained LC IIC pottery and material which would best fit in LC IIIA1. In the lower deposits of CQ1, Stratum 3 can be dated to LC IIC and in 2019 even older strata were identified, Stratum 4 and 5, which date to the second half of the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries BC (Fischer 2019a, 237; 2019b, 195 fn. 11). The low percentage (approximately 1-2%) of Mycenaean imports usually found in the settlement deposits has been repeatedly noted (Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 211), and it is important to point out that 1149 sherds of Mycenaean vessels reported, corresponding to 1% of the total have been reported by Bürge and Fischer (2018, 250-4), but their fragmentary state "makes an exact attribution to stylistic phases or even vessels shapes problematic" (250). However, the presence of LH IIIA and LH IIIA2/IIIB pottery is apparent in all the excavated strata (250-6) including Area 8 (Mountjoy 2018, 707 no. 29, fig. 347: 29), and preliminary reports of the published material from the settlement deposits (cf. for example, Bürge, Fischer 2018, 35-42) **[tab. 5.11]** confirm close contacts with the Aegean in LH IIIA2, as also appears from funerary evidence. Some preliminary studies on the chronology and functional categories of Mycenaean pottery found in the settlement deposits excavated in past campaigns have been published by Mazzotta and Trecarichi (2014) and by Mazzotta and Recht (2015), and the role of Aegean pottery at Hala Sultan Tekke is discussed comprehensively by Mazzotta and Recht in a forthcoming article.[45] According to their preliminary analysis, most examples from settlement deposits belong to LH IIIA and LH IIIB (Mazzotta, Trecarichi 2014, 91 fig. 37; Mazzotta, Recht 2015, 61 fig. 37) and the most common Mycenaean pottery is represented by vessels of category F1 including mixing, pouring, drinking, and eating vessels (Mazzotta, Trecarichi 2014, 90 fig. 36; Mazzotta, Recht 2015, 62 fig. 38). Among

45 I am greatly indebted to Lorenzo Mazzotta and Laerke Recht for allowing me to read a draft of this unpublished article.

the LH IIIA1 and III2 vessels of Interaction Period 3 from settlement deposits CQ1 and CQ2 published by Bürge and Fisher (2018) examples of category F1, mainly kraters and cups, prevailed over vessels of category F2 **[tab. 5.11]**; an undecorated dipper from CQ1, Stratum 2 can also be added (252, fig. 3.92: 19). However, no definite comparison can be made with the funerary evidence of Interaction Period 3 discussed above, because most of the Mycenaean vessels relating to Interaction Period 3 found in Strata 1-3 (dating from LC IIC to LC IIIA2) must be considered residual (cf. for example, Bürge Fischer 2018, 256, CQ1, Stratum 2 and Stratum 1).

Table 5.11 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 3 from settlement deposits at Hala Sultan Tekke

Site	Code of functional Categories	References
	F1.1a	
Hala Sultan Tekke, settlement deposits, CQ1, Stratum 2, 3	Krater fragments	Fischer, Bürge 2015, 36, L421-2, fig. 11: 7 (Stratum 2); 41, L435-10, fig. 18: 10; Fischer, Bürge 2016, 41, L472-2; fig. 10: 2 (Stratum 1).
	LH IIIA1 krater?	Bürge, Fischer 2018, fig. 3.95: 4.
	LH IIIA2 kraters FS 54-5	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 252-3, figs 3.32: 7; 3.59: 2-3; 3.59: 4 (4).
	F1.1b	
Hala Sultan Tekke, settlement deposits	LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs FS 149	Fischer 2012, 93, 149 N46, N 48, fig. 6: 1, 6: 2; Bürge, Fischer 2018, 60 fig. 2.38; 253, fig. 3.60: 1-2.
	F1.1c	
Hala Sultan Tekke, Settlement CQ1, Stratum 2, Stratum 2, CQ2, Stratum 2	LH IIIA1 shallow cup FS 220	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 252 fig. 3.58: 3.
	LH IIIA2 shallow cup FS 220	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 252 fig. 3.58: 5.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB1 shallow cups FS 220	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 252 figs 3.92: 10; 3.107: 3.
	LH IIIA1/IIIA2 early goblets FS 254-5	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 252 fig. 3.58: 8; 3.59: 1.
	LH IIIA2 kylikes FS 257	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 252 figs 3.60: 1; 3.58: 12; 3.92: 11; 3.107: 2; fig. 3: 1281-2, 4; 3.128: 1.
	LH IIIA2-B mug FS 225-6	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 252 fig. 3.107: 1.

Site	Code of functional Categories	References
	F2.1	
Hala Sultan Tekke, Settlement CQ1, Stratum 1, Stratum 2, Tomb in Stratum 3, CQ2, Stratum 1	Miniature piriform jar	Fischer, Bürge 2015, 41, L471-1, fig. 18: 11.
	LH IIIA1-IIIA2 small to medium piriform jars (FS 44-5?)	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 253 figs 3.92: 1-3?; 3.95: 3; fig. 3.128: 5.
	LH IIIA1 (?) stirrup jars	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 253 figs 3.60: 4; 3.128: 5.
	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 253 figs 3.92: 5-6; 3.92: 7; 3.107: 4; 3.128: 6.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB1 alabastron FS 94	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 253 fig. 3.92: 4.
	F2.2	
Hala Sultan Tekke, settlement deposits	Late Helladic IIIA/B stirrup jar FS 171?	Fischer 2011, 78; 2012, 93.
	F4	
Hala Sultan Tekke, settlement deposits	LH IIIA2/IIIB conical rhyton	Fischer, Bürge 2016, 41, L490-1; fig. 10: 7 (Stratum 2).
Hala Sultan Tekke, settlement deposits	LH IIA/IIIA2 rhyton FS 199	Recht, Mazzotta 2015, 68 no. 1, fig. 43: a.
	LH IIIA2 rhyta FS 199	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 253 figs 3.32: 8 9-10254; Recht, Mazzotta 2015, 69 no. 9; 69 no. 11 (?); 70 no. 14.
	LH IIIA2 (?) rhyton FS 200 (?)	Recht, Mazzotta 2015, 69 no. 10.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB rhyta FS 199	Recht, Mazzotta 2015, 68 nos 2-3, 5-6 (funerary context?), fig. 43: b, c, e, f; 69 nos 7-8, fig. 43: g, h; no. 12; 70 nos 13, 16.

In the tombs at Kition some vessels of category F2 dating to Interaction Period 3 have been found, but category F1 is slightly predominant. At Kition settlement levels produced vessels of these categories, but Van Wijngaarden (2002, 183 fn. 3, 184 and fn. 10) pointed out that "it is unclear, however, which of these two functional types predominate".[46] Therefore, in this case no comparison between the pottery from tombs and settlement levels can be attempted. From the settlement layers at Kition a LH IIIA2 jug and possibly a krater F8 also come from deposits in Area I, Room 44, Floor IV (Mountjoy 2018, 567 no. 55, fig. 286: 55) and Room 39 (577 no. 107, fig. 289: 107) respectively. Another LH IIIA2 import is a bowl FS 283 from Area II, Room 12 (643 no. 450, fig. 321: 450).

46 Indeed, Van Wijngaarden noted that Karageorghis mentioned only 44 Mycenaean vessels, including a few items from the settlement levels, but he also counted at least 600 entries in the catalog of settlement finds at Kition referring to LH IIIA, LH IIIB or "Late Mycenaean" pottery (Van Wijngaarden 183 fn. 3 with refs). As regards this pottery, LH IIIA2/IIIB sherds such as, for example, those from kraters FS 53-5 (P. Åström 1972, 317, type 53-5: q*, r), should also be recalled in addition to two piriform jars FS 45 from Bamboula (Yon, Caubet 1985, 130-1 nos 277-8, figs 60, 63).

5.4.1.7 An Overview of Mycenaean Pottery of Interaction Period 3 from other Cypriot Sites and from Unknown Contexts

Table 5.12 shows a review of select LH IIIA and LH IIIA/IIIB pottery from lower Tiers sites, mainly referring to Åström's 1972 catalog for the sake of practical purposes. It should be first emphasized that the large majority of Mycenaean vessels listed in this table came from funerary contexts.

Table 5.12 Select Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 from other Cypriot sites

Site	Code of functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Akanthou	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-5?	Åström 1972, 316, Type 53-5: a.
Aradhippou	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 317, Type 53-5: c3.
Arpera	LH IIIA2 early krater FS 8 LH IIIA2 krater FS 53 LH IIIA2/IIIB kraters FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 290, Type 7: g. Åström 1972, 309, Type 53: v. Åström 1972, 318, Type 53-5: d3, l3.
Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*	LH IIIA2 Early krater FS 8	Åström 1972, 290, Type 7: e.
Dekhelia *Koukouphoudhkia*	LH IIIA2 krater FS 53	Åström 1972, 309, Type 53: w.
Galinoporni	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-5?	Åström 1972, 316, Type 53-5: p.
Katydhata	LH IIIA2 krater FS 54	Åström 1972, 313, Type 54: z2.
Klavdhia	LH IIIA2 Late krater FS 8 LH IIIA2 kraters FS 54	Åström 1972, 291, Type 8: c, d. Åström 1972, 311, Type 54: q, r, s.
Larnaca	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 317, Type 53-5: x, y, z.
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	LH IIIA2/IIIB kraters FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 317, Type 53-5: o2, p2, q2, r2.
Myrtou *Stephania*	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 317, Type 53-5: t2*, u2*, v2*.
Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*	LH IIIA2/IIIB kraters FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 316, Type 53-5: b*.
Pera *Kryphtidhes*	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 317, Type 53-5: s2*.
Phlamoudi *Melissa*	LH IIIA2 Early krater FS 8	Åström 1972, 290, Type 7: f.
Psilatos Moutti	LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 318, Type 53-5: l3.
Pyla *Verghi*	LH IIIA2 Early krater FS 8 LH IIIA2 kraters FS 53 LH IIIA2 krater FS 54 LH IIIA2/IIIB kraters FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 291, Type 7: n, q. Åström 1972, 309, Type 53: z, o2. Åström 1972, 314, Type 54: a4. Åström 1972, 318, Type 53-5: n3-o3.

Site	Code of functional categories	References
Rizokarpasso	LH IIIA2 early krater FS 8 LH IIIA2/IIIB krater FS 53-5?	Åström 1972, 291, Type 7: p. Åström 1972, 318, Type 53-5: "other 'kraters' in the Cyprus Museum".
	F1.1b	
Akaki *Trounalli*	LH IIIA2 jug FS 134 LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs FS 114 LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 149	Åström 1972, 331, Type 134: c. Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: v, w. Åström 1972, 333, Type 149: b.
Akhera	LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs FS 114	Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: w *bis*, w *ter*.
Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*	LH IIIA2 jug FS 113 LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 114	Åström 1972, 327, Type 113: c. Åström 1972, 327, Type 114: l.
Idalion	LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 114	Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: w *quarter*.
Kafkallia, Tomb G	LH IIIA2 jug FS 136 LH IIIA2 juglet FS 134	Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 8-9 no. 7, fig. 9. Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 9 no. 11.
Kaimakli *Beuyuk Evretadhes*	LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 149	Åström 1972, 333, Type 149: d.
Katydhata	LH IIIA2 jugs FS 113 LH IIIA2 jug FS 134 LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs FS 114	Åström 1972, 327, Type 113: c *bis*, d. Åström 1972, 331, Type 134: d. Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: x, y, z, a2*.
Klavdhia	LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 133	Åström 1972, 330, type 133: a.
Lapithos *Ayia Anastasia*	LH IIIA2 jug FS 134 LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs FS 114 LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 149	Åström 1972, 331, Type 134: f. Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: c1-f2. Åström 1972, 333, Type 149: f.
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 149	Åström 1972, 333, Type 149: l.
Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*	LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 149	Åström 1972, 333, Type 149: c.
Politiko *Lambertis*	LH IIIA2/IIIB jugs FS 114 LH IIIA2/IIIB jug FS 149	Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: f2 *bis*. Åström 1972, 333, Type 149: l *bis*.
	F1.1c	
Akhera	LH IIIA2/IIIB cups FS 220	Åström 1972, 360, Type 220: t7.
Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*	LH IIIA2/IIIB cup FS 220	Åström 1972, 360, Type FS 220: z7*.
Dhikomo	LH IIIA2? cup	Portugali, Knapp 1985, 77 no. 124; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 186.
Idalion *Ambelleri* T. I. 76	LH IIIA2 mug FS 225	Adelman 1989, 148 no. 39, fig. 11, pl. 11.
Kafkallia Tomb G	LH IIIA2/IIIB cups FS 220	Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 8 no. 6, 15 no. 58.
Kaimakli *Beuyuk Evretadhes*	LH IIIA2/IIIB cups FS 220	Åström 1972, 360, Type FS 220: b8.
Lapithos *Ayia Anastasia*	LH IIIA2/IIIB cups FS 220	Åström 1972, 360, Type 220: v7-y7.
Milea	LH IIB-IIIA1 kylikes FS 260 LH IIIA2/IIIB cup FS 209	Åström 1972, 366, Type 260: a, b. Åström 1972,355, Type 209: b*.
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	LH IIIA2/IIIB cups FS 220 LH IIIA2/IIIB stemmed cup	Åström 1972, 360, Type FS 220: e8-g8. du Plat Taylot 1957, 45 fig. 20, Form 200; Åström 1972, 367 (Other stemmed cups)

Site	Code of functional categories	References
Politiko *Lambertis*	LH IIIA2/IIIB cups FS 220	Åström 1972, 360, Type FS 220: h8.
	F2.1	
Akaki *Trounalli*	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastra FS 85 LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastron FS 95 (Cypriote imitation)	Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: a3, b.3. Åström 1972, 321, Type 85: e. Åström 1972, 324, Type 95: i.
Akhera	LH IIIA1/2 piriform jar FS 44 LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45 LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastra FS 85 LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastra FS 95 LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastron 'either FS 94 or 95'	Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: g*. Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: b3 *bis*. Åström 1972, 321, Type 85: e *bis*, e *ter*. Åström 1972, 325, Type 95: v, v *bis*. Åström 1972, 325.
Alambra	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Åström 1972, 301, Type 45: m5-t5.
Angastina	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastron FS 95	Åström 1972, 301, Type 45: f6*-k6*. Åström 1972, 324, Type 95: I *bis*.
Arpera	LH IIIA1/IIIA2 piriform jars FS 44 LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45 LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastron FS 94	Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: n, o. Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: c3-e3. Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: e2.
Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*	LH IIIA1/A2 piriform jar FS 44 LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 85 LH IIIA2/III alabastra FS 95	Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: b. Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: e, x2, y2, z2. Åström 1972, 321, Type 85: a, b, b *bis*. Åström 1972, 324, Type 95: f, g, h.
Rizokarpasso	LH IIIA1/A2 piriform jar FS 44	Åström 1972, 297, Type 44: v.
Dekhelia *Koukouphoudhkia*	LH IIIA1/A2 piriform jar FS 44	Åström 1972, 297, Type 44: q.
Sinda *Sira Desh*	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 LH IIIA2 alabastron FS 94	Åström 1972, 301, Type 45: u5, v5, w5. Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: w2 *bis*.
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Åström 1972, 300, Type 45: e5.
Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukouninas*	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron 'either FS 94 or 95'	Åström 1972, 325.
Dekhelia	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 94	Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: h3 (Steno), f3, f3 *bis*, g3 (Koukouphoudhkia). Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: h2 (Steno and Koukouphoudhkia).
Dhenia *Kafkalla*	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: i3.

Site	Code of functional categories	References
Drousha *Appiourka*	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 94	Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: h2.
Galinoporni	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 94	Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: k2.
Kafkallia, Tomb G	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 10 no. 20, fig. 13.
Kaimakli *Beuyuk Evretadhes*	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron 'either FS 94 or 95' FS 94	Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: j3-n3. Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: o2*, p2*.
Kalavasos *Mangia* Tomb 5	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	Todd et al. 1988, 210 no. 4, fig. 76.
Kalopsidha	LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastra FS 85 LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron 'either FS 94 or 95'	Åström 1972, 321, Type 85: e *quater**. Åström 1972, 325.
Kantara	LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastron 'either FS 94 or 95'	Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: q2*.
Katydhata	LH IIIA1 alabastron FS 84 LH IIIA1/A2 piriform jar FS 44 LH IIIA2 alabastron FS 94 LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 85 LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 95	Åström 1972, 320, Type 84: f *bis*; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 187. Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: s. Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: r2. Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: q3, r3, s3. Åström 1972, 321, Type 85: f*. Åström 1972, 324, Type 95: j.
Klavdhia	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastra FS 95	Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: v.3, v.3 *bis*. Åström 1972, 324, Type 95: k, l.
Kormakiti *Ayious*	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 94	Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: s2*.
Idalion *Ambellleri* T.I. 76	LH IIIA2 alabastron FS 94 LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: m2, n2*. Adelman 1989, 148-9 nos 41-3, figs 11, pl. 11, 160-1 no. 32; 149 no. 41, fig. 11, pl. 11, 161 no. 33; Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: p3.
Larnaca *Laxia tou Riou*	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 94	Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: w3, x3, y3. Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: t2.
Meniko *Khira tou Diakou*	LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastron 'either FS 94 or 95'	Åström 1972, 325.
Milea	LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastron FS 95	Åström 1972, 325, Type 95: m.
Myrtou *Stephania*	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	Åström 1972, 300, Type 45: b4.

Site	Code of functional categories	References
Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron 'either FS 94 or 95'	Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: f2*
Phlamoudi *Gouppes Sapilou*	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 94	Åström 1972, 323, Type 94: v2, w2.
Pyla Verghi	LH IIIA2/ IIIB alabastron FS 85	Åström 1972, 321, Type 85: h.
Sinda	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45?	Mountjoy 2018, 477 no. 52, fig. 245: 52.
	F2.2	
Akaki *Trounalli*	LH IIIA2 flasks 189 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 178 LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: j, k. Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: g. Åström 1972, 353, Type 191: o. Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: n2, o2.
Akanthou	LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191	Åström 1972, 353, Type 191: p.
Akhera	LH IIIA2 flask 189LH IIIA2/ IIIB Stirrup jar FS 178 LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: k *bis*. Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: g *bis*. Åström 1972, 353, Type 191: p *bis*. Åström 1972, 342, Type 171: k5-05, p5-r5.
Alambra	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: r.
Angastina	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166 LH IIIA2 flasks 189 LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: r *bis*. Åström 1972, 351-2, Type 189: k *ter*, a *bis.* Åström 1972, 353, Type 191: p *ter.* Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: o2 *bis**-*sexies**.
Arodhes	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 171	Åström 1972, 341, Type 171: a3.
Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukouninas*	LH IIIA2/III stirrup jar	Åström 1972, 348 ("other stirrup jars")
Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*	LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171 LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191	Åström 1972, 336, Type 166: c, d. Åström 1972, 339, Type 171: I, j. Åström 1972, 353, Type 191: q, r.
Bademli Bogaz	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: q2.
Dekhelia *Koukouphoudhkia*	LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166 LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 184	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: u. Åström 1972, 348, Type 184: b.
Dekhelia Steno	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 178 LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: v. Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: j. Åström 1972, 353, Type 191: s. Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: s2, t2.

Site	Code of functional categories	References
Dhali	LH IIIA1 stirrup jar FS 165	Åström 1972, 336, Type 165: a.
Dhenia *Kafkalla*	LH IIIA2 flasks 189	Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: m.
Dhikomo *Onisia*	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: u2.
Dromolaxia *Tripes*	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 171	Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: v2.
Galinoporni	LH IIIA2 flasks 189 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: m *bis*. Åström 1972, 341, Type 171: y2.
Idalion	LH IIIA1 stirrup jar LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191	Van Wijngaarden 2002, 186. Adelman 1989, 149-50 no. 43, fig. 12, pl. 12, 161 no. 35.
Kafkallia, Tomb G	LH IIIA2 flask FS 189 LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 178 LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 178? LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 171	Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 9 no. 9, fig. 9. Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 9 no. 10, fig. 10, 10 no. 18 fig. 12. Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 10 no. 15, fig. 11. Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 16 no. 16, fig. 10, 10 no. 17 fig. 12.
Kaimakli Beuyuk *Evretadhes*	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 171	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: w. Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: w2, x2.
Kalavasos *Mangia* Tomb 5	LH IIIA2 flask FS 189 LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166	Todd et al. 1988, 210 no. 3, fig. 7. Todd et al. 1988, 210 no. 5, fig. 7; 212 no. 6, fig. 7.
Katydhata	LH IIIA2 flask FS 190 LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 352, Type 190: c. Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: z. Åström 1972, 341, Type 171: b3, c3.
Klavdhia	LH IIIA2 flask 189 LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166	Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: n. Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: a2, b2.
Lapithos *Ayia Anastasia*	LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 178	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: d2-g2. Åström 1972, 341, Type 171: f3, g3. Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: l.
Larnaca *Laxia tou Riou*	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: h2, fig. 46 e.
Maa *Palaeokastro*	LH IIIA2 flask	Van Wijngaarden 2002, 192 no. 99.
Milia	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 341, Type 171: k3, l3.
Myrtou *Stephania*	LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 353, Type 191: q. Åström 1972, 341, Typ171: o3, p3, q3.
Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*	LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166 LH IIIA2 flasks 189 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 178	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: s, t. Åström 1972, 352, Type 189: b. Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: h*.

Site	Code of functional categories	References
Ovgoros	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 178	Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: l *bis*.
Paliokastro (region of Emba)	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 341, Type 171: m3.
Phlamoudi *Sapilou*	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: x.
Phoinikias	LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166 LH IIIA2 flasks 189	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: i2, j2. Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: p.
Politiko *Lambertis*	LH IIIA2 flask FS 188 LH IIIA2 flasks 189 LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Åström 1972, 350, Type 188: g *bis*. Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: o *bis*, *ter.* Åström 1972, 353, Type 191: t *bis*. Åström 1972, 341, Type 171: m3 *bis*.
Pyla *Verghi*	LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166 LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 171 LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191	Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: j2 *bis*. Åström 1972, 341, Type 171: n3. Åström 1972, 352, Type 191: j.
	F3	
Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 170	Åström 1972, 339, Type 170: e.
Pyla *Verghi*	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 34	Åström 1972, 293, Type 34: a, b.
	F4	
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	LH IIIA2 rhyta FS 199 LH IIIA2/IIIB hedgehog rhyton	Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: h, i. Koehl 2006, 81 no. 61.

However, it is also worth dwelling upon some particular sites briefly. Looking at the Aegean imports of Third Tier settlements and sanctuaries, Steel noted that

> small quantities of Mycenaean ceramics have been found at Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Athienou-*Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* but tend to be rare among the overall ceramic assemblage. (2004b, 76-7)

She also emphasized the very limited range of the Mycenaean pottery found at these inland sanctuaries. The greatest variety of Mycenaean forms was however found at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, where a prevalence of category F1 (kraters, jugs and bowls) is apparent, while vessels of category F2, commonly found in funerary contexts, such as stirrup jars and piriform jars, "are only represented by a single example". Apart from a few LH IIIA2/IIIB vessels, including a rhyton FS 187, a beaked jug FS 149, and some cups FS 220 (Catling 1957, 42-5, fig. 20, forms 187, 197, 201, 204, 206, 208), the Mycenaean pottery from this site may be attributed to LH IIIB. Most of the Mycenaean pottery found at Athienou-*Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* was similar to that at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, but less variety has been noted

overall (Steel 2004b, 76). Category F1, represented by bowls, cups, jugs, and a single krater, mostly of LH IIIB date, was predominant; two LM IIIB stirrup jars were also found (Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, 46-53 figs 12-15). The ritual function of the site is confirmed by a miniature ivory conical rhyton with crude incised decoration, some LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB rhyta, other exotica, and by a group of miniature juglets deposited with groups of other miniature votive vessels in the sanctuary courtyard (53-110 figs 17-49, 123-5 fig. 56). The finds from Ay. Iakovos *Dhima* also confirm the ceremonial nature of the site (Sjöqvist 1934, 356-61). Four LH IIIA2 Mycenaean vessels (a pair of piriform jars, a squat jug, and a krater FS 7) were found in a pit associated with a variety of objects (357-8 nos 19, 30-1, 44, pl. LXVI), suggesting that they "served in a local cultic ritual, together with other valuables" (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 190). The absence of any drinking vessel from the site is striking (Steel 2004b, 77). In the settlement of Phlamoudi *Melissa* near the north coast at the base of the Karpass peninsula, there was a large building in LC IIC, the so-called "courtyard building", with a storage function (Smith 2008, 52-3, 59). While a few Mycenaean and Mycenaean-type vessels were found at Phlamoudi *Melissa*, including a LH IIIA2 small stirrup jar (63, fig. 38), in the nearby site of Phlamoudi *Vounari*, which was considered one of the 'tertiary' sites that appeared at the end of MC III, only a single surface find of a Mycenaean vessel, possibly LH IIIA, is reported (Horowitz 2008, 18, 23).

In the Fourth Tier settlements, i.e. inland smaller villages, hamlets and farmsteads (cf. in general, Andreou 2019), the Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 is so limited in number that it is difficult to decontextualize from the few other Mycenaean imports. At the agricultural village of Analiondas *Palioklichia* only fragments of a LH IIIB small vase were recovered and were probably associated with a looted tomb (Webb, Frankel 1994, 9). Apart from two LH IIIA2/IIIB cups (Du Plat Taylour 1952, 137 fig. 6 no. 5, 164: A2: 43, 154, A1, filling, pl. 28a: 3) and a pithoid jar (P. Åström 1972, 305: "Other Pithoid Jars"), nearly all the Mycenaean pottery from Apliki *Karamallos* is of LH IIIB or later date. The main phase of occupation at Aredhiou *Vouppes* also dates to the LC IIC period, as supported by the recovery of a pictorial krater (Steel 2010a, 139, fig. 5.1; 2021, 108 fig. 9.3), a LH IIIB shallow bowl FS 292 (Steel, McCartney 2008, 19-21, fig. 13: 2), and a possible LM IIIB stirrup jar (Steel, Thomas 2008, 229 fig. 2, 241, 244), but a LH IIIA2 squat stirrup jar FS 178 was also found in Tomb 8 (242 fig. 26; Steel 2010a, 141 fig. 8). In this settlement, however, a variety of imported wares from the Aegean, Egypt and the Levant (Steel 2008; 2010a, 141) indicates that "the site was also intrinsically integrated within a wider economic network with the coastal centers" (Steel 2016a, 517), and the identification of these imports as prestige goods in Late Cypriot contexts led Steel

and McCartney (2008, 32) to suggest that "the elite of the small inland centers eagerly sought such objects, maybe exchanging them for agricultural produce".

Although the rarity of Mycenaean pottery from settlement deposits is apparent from the above review, it is clear that there was a marked difference between the First Tier settlements and the others, especially those of the Third and Fourth Tiers. This pattern was also emphasized by Antoniadou (2007, 495 fig. 7, 496; 2011, 241) who, however, in particular considered the data from the settlements of Interaction Period 4 with LH IIIB imports. Such imbalance seems to be even more marked in Interaction Period 3. In fact, considering the chronology of overall pottery of this period listed in table 5.12, a prevalence of LH IIIA2/IIIB vessels can be noted. Moreover, it is interesting to point out that, despite of a certain number of kraters, 'Fine Tableware' of category F1 is by far less represented than small vessels used for holding ointments and precious liquids of functional category F2.1 and F2.2. Generally speaking, this may mean that the small containers of category F2 were commonly available everywhere on the island also in lower Tiers sites, while Mycenaean 'Fine Tableware', especially kraters, was mainly intended for export to coastal First Tier settlements.

We can finally consider the Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 of unknown provenance and context cataloged by P. Åström (1972) and listed in table 5.13.

Table 5.13 Select Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 from unknown Cypriot sites

Code of functional categories	References
F1.1a	**LH IIIA2 Early krater FS 8** Åström 1972, 291 Type 7: o. **LH IIIA2 Late krater FS 8** Åström 1972, 292 Type 8: g. **LH IIIA2 kraters FS 53** Åström 1972, 308-9, Type 53: i, a2, b2. **LH IIIA2 kraters FS 54** Åström 1972, 312-14, Type 54: v, w, m3, p3, q3. **LH IIIA2-IIIB kraters FS 53-5** Åström 1972, 317, Type 53-5: y2, z2, a3, e2-m2; 318, Type 53-5: "other 'kraters' in the Cyprus Museum". **Amphoroid krater, fragments** Anson, Huband 2000, 24-5 nos 57-61.

Code of functional categories	References
F1.1b	**LH IIIA1 jug FS 112** Åström 1972, 327, Type 112: b. **LH IIIA1 jug FS 132** Åström 1972, 330, Type 132: b. **LH IIIA2 jug FS 113** Åström 1972, 327, Type 113: e. **LH IIIA2 jugs FS 134** Åström 1972, 331, Type 134: g, j, k, l. **LH IIIA2 jugs FS 142** Åström 1972, 332, Type 142: c, d*. **LH IIIA2-IIIB jugs FS 114** Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: g2, h2, h2 *bis*, i2, j2, k2, l2*; Webb 2001, 67 no. 146. **LH IIIA2-IIIB jugs FS 120** Åström 1972, 330, Type 120: a, b. **LH IIIA2-IIIB jug FS 133** Åström 1972, 330, Type 133: b. **LH IIIA2-IIIB jugs FS 149** Åström 1972, 333, Type 149: m, n, o, p, q (fig. 46: e), r, s*, t, u, v, w, x, y, z*, a2; Lubsen-Admiraal 2003, pl. XLI nos 359-60 (Lubsen-Admiraal 2004, 139 nos 284-5). **LH IIIA2 jug FS 102** Åström 1972, 326, Type 102: a (LH IIIA2 or LH IIIB)
F1.1c	**LH IIIA1 cup FS 219** Åström 1972, 357, Type FS 219: a. **LH IIIA1? kylix FS 264** Åström 1972, 366, Type FS 264: a, fig. 46: f. **LH IIIA1/IIIA2 cups FS 230** Åström 1972, 362, Type 230: c, d, e. **LH IIIA2 cup FS 249** Åström 1972, 364, Type 249: a. **LH IIIA2 kylikes FS 256** Åström 1972, 365, Type 256: a, b. **LH IIIA2 kylikes FS 257** Åström 1972, 365, Type 257: b, c. **LH IIIA2/IIIB cups FS 220** Åström 1972, 360-1, Type FS 220: a8, i8-k8, l8, m8-o8, p8, q8, r8, s8-u8, w8-z8, b9, c9; Karageorghis, Darrel 1974, 19 no. 31, fig. 31; Anson, Huband 2000, 24 no. 57.

Code of functional categories	References
F2.1	**LH IIB-IIIA1 piriform jar FS 28** Åström 1972, 292, Type 28: d. **LH IIB-IIIA1, LH IIIA1/IIIA2 piriform jars FS 31** Åström 1972, 293, Type 31: g, h, k, m, n, o, p, q, s. **LH IIIA1 piriform jars FS 44** Åström 1972, 296-, Type 44: f, w, y, x, z, a2, b2 (fig. 46: a), c2, d2, e2. **LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45** Åström 1972, 300-1, Type 45: c4, d4, e4, f4, g4, h4-k4, l4, m4, n4-q4, s4, t4, u4, v4, w4, x4, w4 *bis*, w4 *ter*, x4, y4, z4, a5, b5, c5, d5, f5, g5, h5, h5 *bis*, i5, i5 *bis*, k5, l5, y5, z5, a6, b6, c6, d6, l6, m6; Karageorghis, Darrel 1974, 20 nos 34-5, 23 no. 45; Robertson 1986, 12-13, 48 no. 27; Merrillees, Vandenabeele 1990, 30 no. 66 (A 26); Anson, Huband 2000, 23 no. 54; Webb 2001, 65 nos 141-3. **LH IIIA1 alabastra FS 84** Åström 1972, 320-1, Type 84: e, e *bis* (fig. 46: d), i, j, k. **LH IIB/IIIA1 alabastron FS 93** Åström 1972, 322, Type 93, Variant: a. **LH IIIA2 side-spouted jar FS 160** Åström 1972, 334, Type 160: a; Merrillees, Vandenabeele 1990, 32 no. 84 (A 1327). **LH IIIA2-IIIB alabastra FS 85** Åström 1972, 321, Type 85: i, k, m (fig. 46: d), o, p (fig. 46: d), q, r. **LH IIIA2-IIIB alabastra FS 94** Åström 1972, 323-4, Type 94: x2, y2, z2, a3, b3, c3, d3, e3, f3, g3, h3, i3, j3, l3, n3, o3, p3, z3, b4, c4, d4, e4, g4; Webb 1986, 18, 46 no. 16; Merrillees, Vandenabeele 1990, 31 no. 82 (A 1650); Webb 66 nos 144-5; Lubsen-Admiraal 2003, pl. XLI no. 357; 2004, 138 no. 282.
F2.1	**LH IIIA2-IIIB alabastra FS 95** Åström 1972, 325, Type 95: n*, o*, p, q, r, s, t, u, u *bis*, w, x, y, z*, a2-d2, f2, g2-q2, r2; Karageorghis, Darrel 1974, 19-20 no. 33, 21 no. 38; Symons 1984, 9-10 no. 21 (A.40); Anson, Huband 2000, 23 nos 52-3. **LH IIIA2-IIIB alabastra 'either FS 94 or 95'** Åström 1972, 325; Lubsen-Admiraal 2004, 139 no. 283 (miniature).

Code of functional categories	References
F2.2	**LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166** Åström 1972, 337-8, Type 166: q, m2-p2, q2, r2, s2, t2, v2, w2, x2, y2, y2 *bis*, y2 *ter*; Karageorghis, Darrel 1974, 19 no. 32; Merrillees, Vandenabeele 1990, 32 no. 86 (R 575f). **LH IIIA2 flask FS 182** Lubsen-Admiraal 2003, pl. XLI no. 355 (Lubsen-Admiraal 2004, 137 no. 279). **LH IIIA2 flask FS 188** Åström 1972, 350, Type 188: h; Fortin 1996, 29 no. 104. **LH IIIA2 flasks FS 189** Åström 1972, 351, Type 189: r, s, q*, t, t *bis*, u, v, w, x, y, z, z *bis*, a2, b2, c2, d2 (fig. 46: f); Karageorghis, Darrel 1974, 20 no. 36; Webb 2001, 48 no. 150; Başak et al. 2005, 26 no. 15. **LH IIIA2 flasks FS 190** Åström 1972, 352, Type 190: g, h, i, j, k. **LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171** Åström 1972, 340-2, Type 171: r2, r3, s3, t3, u3, v3, w3, x3, a4, b4, c4, d4, e4, e4 *bis*, *ter*, *quater*, f4-h4, i4, j4, k4, l4, m4, m4 *bis*, m4 *ter*, n4, n4 *bis*, o4, p4, q4, r4, s4, t4, u4, v4-y4, z4, a5-f5, g5, h5, s5-v5, w5 (fig. 46: 6), x5-z5 (fig. 46: e), a6-c6; Robertson 1986, 13 no. 28; Başak et al. 2005, 45 nos 123, 125. **LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 178** Åström 1972, 344-5, Type 178: l *ter*, m, n, o, o *bis*, p?, p *bis*, q, r, s*, t, u, v, w, x-z, a2, a2*-c2; Webb 2001, 67 nos 147-8. **LH IIIA2/IIIB flasks FS 191** Åström 1972, 353, Type 191: v, w*, w *bis*, x, y, z, a2, a2 *bis*, a2 *ter*, b2, d2, d2 *bis* (fig. 46: e), e2-g2, j2; Karageorghis, Darrel 1974, 20-1 no. 37; Fortin 1996, 29 no. 105; Webb 1997, 27 no. 117.
F3	**LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 34** Åström 1972, 293, Type 34: a, b. **LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 39** Åström 1972, 295, Type 39: a, b. **LH IIIA2-IIIB stirrup jars FS 170** Åström 1972, 339, Type 170: b, j *bis*, j *ter*, j *quater*, j *quinquies*, k.
F4	**LH IIIA2 animal-shaped rhyton FS 203 A** Åström 1972, 355, Type 203A: d (fig. 46: f).

These vessels from Cyprus were taking part of museum and private collections all over the world, although most of them were stored in Cypriot museums and were part of Cypriot private collections. It should be stressed that there is a general likeness with the picture of Mycenaean imports reviewed in table 5.12. In fact, the most common vessels may be related to functional category F2, with a clear prevalence of piriform jars FS 45 and LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastra FS 94 and FS 95. It is therefore also important to emphasize that such a prevalence of small ointment and oils containers is a general trend of the period which is particularly apparent in many funerary deposits

at several sites. The good state of preservation of all these vessels confirms that the Mycenaean ceramic imports taking part of Cypriot collections stored everywhere in the world came from tombs in most cases.

5.4.1.8 The LH IIIA and LH IIIB Pottery from Funerary Contexts at Enkomi: A Case Study

Lorenzo Mazzotta and Laerke Recht[47]

The following analysis considers the Late Helladic III A-B pottery belonging to ceramic assemblages found at Enkomi in selected tombs used in the Late Cypriot I and II periods in order to contribute to define the role of Aegean imported pottery in the context of overall ceramic finds and investigate the strategies of identity by social groups using a variety of wares and ceramic shapes. The Aegean vessels which were part of the ceramic assemblages of these selected assemblages have been cataloged in table 5.15, while for the sake of completeness all the other Aegean vessels listed by Åström from the remaining Enkomi tombs have been cataloged in table 5.3.

5.4.1.8.1 A Summary of Archaeological Research at Enkomi

Enkomi is the most extensively excavated site in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. The history of excavations at this town has been recently reviewed by George Papasavvas (2023). Therefore, reference must be made to this study for any investigation in depth, but a short summary of the history of archaeological research is also necessary, with particular attention to funerary evidence. Among the estimated one thousand tombs at the site, approximately two hundred have been excavated and published by official archaeological expeditions. First investigations at the site were conducted during the late nineteenth century by A. Palma di Cesnola following his brother's indications, the well-known Italian 'archaeologist' L. Palma di Cesnola, who excavated in Salamina in 1877 and 1878. Starting in 1896, the British Museum excavations discovered about one hundred tombs most of

47 Most part of the present study has been the work of Lorenzo Mazzotta, who carried out the selection and description of the Enkomi contexts as well as functional analysis, database input and data processing, text writing, graphics processing, and bibliographic research; Laerke Recht has contributed to database input.

The abbreviations used in the following discussion to indicate single tombs included a letter indicating the nationality of excavation teams (GB: British excavations; S: Swedish excavations; F: French excavations; C: Cypriot excavations) and the number assigned in the original publications.

which were plundered in antiquity (Murray, Smith, Walters 1900). British excavators erroneously assumed that the Enkomi cemetery was separated from the settlement, but the main failure of their excavations was the lack of stratigraphic methodology and adequate documentation with a consequent loss of large amounts of archaeological data and a final publication of limited scientific value. Excavation diaries, preliminary reports and letters of the British Museum archaeological expedition at Enkomi have been studied and published by V. Tatton-Brown and L. Steel (Tatton-Brown 2001, 168-82; Steel 2001, 160-7). The site was then excavated from 1927 to 1930 by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition directed by E. Gjerstad, which applied a stratigraphic method and produced adequate documentation (Gjerstad et al. 1934). Gjerstad's publications represented the first detailed classification of Cypriot antiquities allowing to establish the first synchronisms between Cypriot, Aegean and Near Eastern civilizations. The investigations carried out by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and the resulting publications still form today a basic tool for research, although the Swedish excavators did not realize that the twenty-eight tombs they unearthed were part of a settlement context. C.F.A. Schaeffer, director of the French archaeological expedition at Enkomi since 1934, discovered thirty-seven more tombs and was the first scholar to understand that the town of the dead coexisted with the town of the living (Schaeffer 1936). P. Dikaios, director of the Cypriot Antiquity Service, conducted systematic excavations at the site from 1948 to 1958, in collaboration with the French archaeological expedition. He found thirty tombs associated with settlement levels in Area I and III, recently reviewed by L. Crewe (2007). Excavations were later carried out separately by the French mission,[48] while Dikaios (1969-71) continued his activity as director of the Cypriot excavations in the 1969-71 period.

In 1986, J.-C. Courtois, J. and E. Lagarce (1986) published a synthetic discussion on Enkomi archaeological record. Despite its undisputed usefulness, the volume only focuses on the most significant tombs and the main finds without providing a complete reorganization of the funerary equipment. More recently, P.S. Keswani published an exhaustive study on mortuary ritual and society in Bronze Age Cyprus, including the evidence from Enkomi tombs (Keswani 2004). Her study also focused on the social features of the funerary contexts based on select status indicators. Grave goods have been grouped according to raw materials, regardless of their function. Apart from a few exceptions, such as Mycenaean Pictorial kraters, local and imported ceramic finds have not been discussed in detail in her analysis.

48 Schaeffer 1952; Johnstone 1971; Courtois 1981; Lagarce, Lagarce 1985.

5.4.1.8.2 Historical and Social Context of the Enkomi Tombs

The foundation of Enkomi and the appearance of its urban elite dates back to the Middle Cypriot III/ Late Cypriot I transition under the impulse of the growing copper demand and the participation in international trade. Based on funerary rituals and social transformations apparent in burial contexts, Keswani (2005) has suggested that the intensification of copper production and the Cypriot participation in trade connections during the final stages of MC was connected to a significant increase in social competition. The main change in mortuary rituals during the MC III/LC I transition is represented by the shift from extramural to intramural cemeteries, marking a clear break with the past, so that at primary sites from this period onwards tombs were in close connection with the houses of the living people. According to Keswani, this strong connection between settlements and tombs was probably due to the heterogeneous origin of the inhabitants of the new urban centers, including Enkomi, who migrated from the old, scattered settlements; therefore they "privatized" their ancestors rather than entrusting them to publicly shared burial spaces (2004, 86, 154-60). If so, it can be said that the genesis of the Enkomi tombs was determined by the convergence of heterogeneous social groups from the surrounding areas to the settlement area. Individuals and descendant groups, therefore, started to keep their burials separately, possibly near their houses and workshops. The increase in specialized initiatives in metallurgy, craft activities and long-distance trade led the new inhabitants to underline the links between the ancestral rights deriving from group ties and the productive, administrative and residential activities by means of the intramural burials (140). At Enkomi, rich tombs were not concentrated in particular areas of the settlement, thus suggesting a social stratification, a social competition and significant diversities among the elite groups living in the town (127).

General criteria universally regarded as indicators of a social stratification in funerary contexts were used by Steel to define the rank of Cypriot Iron Age tombs (Steel 1995, 201-3). The following distinctive elements can be scrutinized in the following discussion: a) type and size of burial facilities; b) wealth of grave goods; c) occurrence of symbols of authority. In addition to these features a comparative analysis of the offerings from various tombs may also be useful to underline the quantitative and qualitative differences in the composition of grave assemblages. In fact, compared to MC burial contexts, during the LC I-II period in Enkomi tombs wealth differences were no longer simply quantitative but also qualitative, since some funerary contexts produced new luxury objects made of precious materials such as gold, silver, ivory, faience, glass, alabaster and semi-precious stones (Keswani 2004, 125). The systematic concentration of

these luxury objects, clearly regarded as status indicators, in specific tombs used for several generations also suggests that the belongings of the elite were to some extent hereditary (119).

5.4.1.8.3 The Criteria for the Selection of the Funerary Contexts Relevant to This Study

The starting point for the selection of funerary contexts discussed below is the PhD thesis of E. Pezzi, which includes a comprehensive analysis of the Enkomi tombs with a detailed catalog of the objects found by the various expeditions (Pezzi 2011). A sample of fourteen tombs used in LC I-II has been selected here among the Enkomi tombs excavated by the Swedish, French and Cypriot expeditions, while the tombs excavated by the British Museum were excluded from the discussion due to the inadequate quality of their final publications **[tab. 5.14]**. Three main parameters have been considered in the selection process:

1. the tomb must have contained at least one Aegean-imported vessel;
2. the tomb must have been found intact. When a tomb was sealed after its latest burial and was not reused or looted, any disturbance in the stratigraphy does not affect the interpretation of the tomb as intact (for a discussion on intact tombs at Enkomi, cf. Graziadio, Pezzi 2009, 66-7). A case in point is when a tomb was affected by disturbances following its final sealing but was not plundered, as suggested by the fact that it still contained large amounts of precious gold, silver and ivory objects. This is particularly the case of Tomb S3, which was disturbed during the Byzantine period, but plenty of precious items were still found, indicating that the tomb was surely reopened after its latest period of use, but it was not partially or completely plundered. Therefore, Tomb S3 can be considered still partially reliable for the purposes of this study;
3. the excavation report of the tomb must contain enough details to allow the reconstruction of contexts and burial associations and permit the analysis of the functions of overall vessels. The fourteen selected tombs feature the following typologies: rock-cut chamber tombs, shaft graves, rock-cut chamber tombs with built architectural elements and chamber tombs with dromos of pit-type.

Table 5.14 The features of Enkomi select tombs

Tomb	Tomb forms	Location	Chronology	Interaction periods	Status Indicators	Nos of Aegean imported vessels. Total: 286	No. of local vessels. Total: 1554
Tomb F126/57	Chamber tomb?	Quarter 6W	LC I-IIA	2, 3	Group 2	1	46
Tomb C19	Chamber tomb	Quarter 4W	LC I-IIB	2, 3	Group 1	1	31
Tomb S2	Chamber tomb, with pit-type dromos	Quarter 3W	LC IB-IIB	2, 3	Group 2	1	66
Tomb S17	Chamber tomb	Quarter 7W	LC IB-IIB	2, 3	Group 3	7	58
Tomb F2/49	Rectangular chamber tomb, architrave and jambs made of squared blocks	Quarter 5E	LC IIA-IIB	3	Group 3	14	24
Tomb F11/49	Bilobed chamber tomb	Quarter 5E	LC IIA-II B	3	Group 2	19	152
Tomb C10	Bilobed chamber tomb	Area I	MC III/LC I – LC IIC	2, 3, 4	Group 3	58	373
Tomb S19	Chamber tomb, resulting from fusion of two tombs	Quarter 4W	LC IA-IIC	2, 3, 4	Group 3	15	114
Tomb S3	'8' shape chamber tomb, with pit-type dromos	Quarter 3W	LC I-IIC	2, 3, 4	Group 3	37	135
Tomb F5/49	Bilobed chamber tomb	Quarter 5E	LC IB-IIIB	2, 3, 4, 5	Group 3	14	257
Tomb S11	Chamber tomb (connected with shaft grave Tomb S11A)	Quarter 6W	LC IIA-IIC	3, 4	Group 3	61	189
Tomb S22	'Chimney' chamber tomb	Quarter 5W	LC IIB-IIC	3, 4	Group 1	2	8
Tomb S10 and S10A	Chamber tomb and shaft grave, connected	Quarter 8W	LC IIB-IIIA	3, 4, 5	Group 2	5, 1	43, 7
Tomb S18	Chamber tomb	Quarter 5W	LC IIB-C	3, 4	Group 3	50	51

5.4.1.8.4 Typological and Functional Classification of Cypriot and Aegean Pottery

Locally produced and Aegean-imported pottery found in the fourteen selected tombs have been classified according to typology and function. The general classification of Cypriot ceramics is based on Åström's work, which can still be considered a standardized classification of wares and shapes found before 1972 (P. Åström 1972). Each Aegean vessel has been classified according to the Furumark's system which is still universally accepted (Furumark 1941; also cf. Mountjoy 1986; 1999). Moreover, each ceramic example, both local and imported from the Aegean, has been distinguished according to the functional classification system discussed in section 5.4.1. This system, based on morphological characteristics of the vessels and some results of gas-chromatographic analyses, distinguishes four main functional categories of pottery, as illustrated in table 5.1. Of course, there was likely some overlap between the functional categories since some vessels would no doubt have been used for a variety of purposes which cannot be definitely established at the moment. A case in point is the functional interpretation of White Shaved juglets. The shape of the typical handmade White Shaved juglets (with a short neck, slightly pinched rim, vertical handle from rim to shoulder, spindle-shaped body, and pointed base) is generally considered very similar to Levantine examples (Gittlen 1977, 343; Crewe 2007, 38-9 with further refs; Vilain 2017, 197 fn. 148). Nevertheless, Cypriot White Shaved examples were very common both in Northern (Vilain 2017, 217) and Southern (Tufnell 1958, 200; Gittlen 1977, 335-6) Levant, and it was suggested that they were also produced to satisfy the demand of the Palestinian market (Gittlen 1977, 354). According to Gittlen (335-6), 76% of the examples from Southern Levant were found in funerary contexts, while in Northern Levant they also occur in settlement contexts and at Marsa Matruh, on the northern coast of Africa, a few White Shaved vessels (as well as other Cypriot wares) were probably connected to domestic activities (Russel 2002, 5). On Cyprus, where they were manufactured most likely in the eastern region, White Shaved juglets were particularly common in funerary contexts dating to LC IB-IIB (for diffusion in Cypriot sites, cf. Vilain 2017, 197 fn. 146) especially in Enkomi tombs (Crewe 2007, 39). Various scholars held different opinions about the functions of this shape. Tufnell (1958, 200) suggested that they were used as containers of commodities intended for export; according to Gittlen (1977, 335-6) they were containers of a substance similar to the content of Levantine examples whose shape they imitated; a similar interpretation was proposed by Hulin (1989, 121) who suggested that they possibly contained oil of utilitarian grade; more recently Crewe (2007, 39) stated that this ware "most probably served as

commodity containers, both exported and used in mortuary ritual". On the contrary, Vilain has suggested that the White Shaved juglets were not used as containers of specific substances, but as dippers since in her view they were not suitable for containing liquids owing to their porous clay and the difficulties in closing the mouth of the vessels. In our opinion, however, they are to be preferably interpreted as containers of some prized commodities. In fact, in Cyprus and southern Levant most of them were part of funerary ceramic assemblages and were exported as far as to Thapsos, in eastern Sicily, to be placed inside two distinct tombs along with other Cypriot and Mycenaean wares (Graziadio 1997, 683, 707). Regarding these Sicilian vessels, it is especially worth recalling the finds from the rich Tomb D which, along with local Bronze Age material, produced several imported vessels including nine LH IIIA2 examples, two Base Ring juglets, a White Shaved juglet, and a Maltese vessel of the Borg in Nadur culture (Portale 1996, 662-4). Another White Shaved juglet was found in Tomb A1 at Thapsos along with a LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45 (Voza 1973, 40-1). For these reasons, in the present discussion on the Enkomi tombs, White Shaved juglets will be cataloged as containers of precious liquid commodities related to sub-category F2.2. The easily sealable short narrow neck, the spreading mouth, and the slightly pinched rim of White Shaved juglets, in fact, seem appropriate for containing and pouring liquid or semiliquid substances such as perfumed oils, differently, for example, from Mycenaean piriform jars of sub-category F2.1 which probably were used as containers of viscous substances to be taken away through a tool or a spoon.[49]

A total of 1,840 vessels from select funerary contexts has been classified in the present study, including 286 cataloged Aegean ceramic imports **[tab. 5.15]**.

49 In order to be consistent with the classification system adopted in the present discussion, White Shaved juglets have been classified in sub-category F2.2, including small closed shapes suitable for containing precious liquid or semiliquid commodities because of their morphological features such as the easily sealable short narrow neck, the spreading mouth and the slightly pinched rim. However, it is clear that their porous clay is an unfavorable feature to contain liquid or semiliquid substances even if used as dippers. For this reason, ongoing research by Mazzotta is investigating the possibility that White Shaved juglets were used to contain prized solid commodities, in form of granules or powders. The typical amygdaloid and shaved shape may have been adopted to intentionally recall the standard content of these juglets, which might be identified in a dry powder of bitter almonds. An article focusing on this topic is going to be published in the next future.

Table 5.15 The LH IIIA and LH IIIB pottery from Enkomi select tombs

Enkomi Tomb	Code of Functional Categories	References
	F1.1a	
Tomb C10	LH III A2 Pictorial amphoroid kraters FS 54/55	Dikaios 1969-71, 367, 375 nos 23, 200, pls 203/13, 19, 204/1-4, 204a, 223/7, 12, 224, 225; Courtois et al. 1986, 50.
Tomb F2/49	LH IIIA2 Early amphoroid krater FS 8 LH IIIA2 Pictorial amphoroid krater FS 53	Schaeffer 1952, 117 (36), 122, fig. 53, pls XII: 36, XVI: 1; Åström 1972, 291, Type 8: l. Schaeffer 1952, 117 (34), 120, fig. 51, 121-2, pls XII: 34, XVII-XVIII; Åström 1972, 309, Type 53: t.
Tomb S3	LH IIIA2 Pictorial amphoroid krater FS 53 LH IIIA2 Pictorial amphoroid kraters FS 54	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 483 no. 257, pl. LXXVII, 7: 4; Åström 1972, 308, Type 53: d. Gjerstad et al. 1934, 481, 483 nos 163, 258-61, pl. LXXVII, 7: 1-7, 9; 478 no. 31, pl. LXXVII, 8: 9, 484 nos 262-4, 272, 276; 484-5 no. 278; Åström 1972, 310, Type 54: d-j, 312: y, z.
Tomb S11	LH IIIA2 Pictorial amphoroid krater FS 54 LH IIIA2 amphoroid krater FS 55	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 516 no. 33, pl. LXXXIII, 5: 5. Gjerstad et al. 1934, 517 no. 58, pl. LXXXIII, 2: 9; Åström 1972, 311, Type 55: l.
Tomb S17	LH IIIA2 Late Pictorial amphoroid krater FS 54	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 543 fn. 1, pl. LXXXVI: 3, last row, pl. CXX: 3-4; Åström 1972, 311: m; Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, 14-15, tab. III.2.
Tomb S18	LH IIIB Pictorial amphoroid krater FS 55 LH IIIB Pictorial kraters FS 281	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 555 no. 6, pl. XC, 1: 4, CXX: 2; Åström 1972, 314, Type 55: d. Gjerstad et al. 1934, 556 nos 43-9, pls XC, 1, pl. XC, 1: 2-4, 7, XCVIII: 6: last; Åström 1972, 368, Type 281: j-p.
Tomb S19	LH IIIB Pictorial kraters FS 281	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 563-4 nos 24, 66, pl. XCI, 3: 2, 4; Åström 1972, 272, Type 281: q, q3, fig. 461.
	F1.1b	
Tomb S3	LH IIIA2 stirrup jug FS 151 LH IIIA2-IIB juglet FS 114 LH IIIB juglet FS 118	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 478 no. 22, pl. XIV, 5: 12, pl. CXIX: 5; Åström 1972, 333 (b). Gjerstad et al. 1934, 480 no. 122, pl. LXXVII, 3: 8. Åström 1972, 327, Type 114: l.; Gjerstad et al. 1934, 477 no. 1, pl. LXXVII, 5: 7. Åström 1972, 329, Type 118: b.
Tomb S11	LH IIIB jug FS 116	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 516 no. 12, pl. LXXXIII, 7: 10; Åström 1972, 285, 329, Type 116: e, fig. LXXVII, 9.
Tomb S18	LH IIIB juglets FS 110 LH IIIB juglets FS 116 Jug	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 554-5 no. 5; Åström 1972, 326, Type 110: b. Gjerstad et al. 1934, 557 no. 74, pl. XC: 3: last; 553-4 nos 74, 124, pl. LXXXVIII: 1, 2: 5, pl. CXIX: 1, fig. 2: 6; 555 nos 21, 25, pl. XC, 4: 5, 10; Åström 1972, 329, Type 116: f, i. Gjerstad et al. 1934, 554 no. 113.
Tomb S19	LH IIIB juglet FS 118	Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. XCI, row 6: 4; Åström 1972, 329, Type 118: c.

Enkomi Tomb	Code of Functional Categories	References
	F1.1c	
Tomb C10	LH IIIA-IIIB cups FS 220	Dikaios 1969-71, 366 nos 3-4, 6, 8; 368-9 nos 46, 74, 76, 80; 372-5 nos 143, 154, 180-1, 183, 209, 211; 377-8 nos 252-3; 379 no. 286; 380 no. 306, 308; 383 nos 375, 378, 397, pls 203: 25-8, 32; 208: 1-9; 211: 1-3, 9-14; Åström 1972, 360; Mountjoy 2018, 102, 109-10, 173 nos 102, 109-10, fig. 92.
Tomb C19	LH IIIA2-IIIB cup FS 220	Dikaios 1969-71, 411 no. 31, pl. 216/16, 217/7; Åström 1972, 360, Type 220: s7.
Tomb F2/49	LH IIIA2-IIIB cup FS 220	Schaeffer 1952, 127 fig. 49: 5; Åström 1972, 360, Type 220: w3.
Tomb F5/49	LH IIIA2-IIIB cup FS 214	Schaeffer 1952, 189 no. 232, fig. 71: 232, pl. XXXVII; Åström 1972, 356, Type 214: c.
	LH IIIA2-IIIB cups FS 220	Schaeffer 1952, 169 no. 60, fig. 68: 60, pl. XXXVII; 193 no. 258, pl. 71: 258, pl. XXXVII Åström 1972, 360, Type 220: x3, y3.
Tomb F11/49	LH IIIA2-IIIB cups FS 220	Schaeffer 1952, 147 no. 75, fig. 61: 5; 143 no. 27, fig. 62: 17; 149 no. 110, fig. 62: 13; 150 no. 117, fig. 62: 12; 149-50 no. 115, fig. 62: 17; pl. XXVII: 27, 75, 110, 115, 117; Åström 1972, 360, Type 220: z3-d4*.
Tomb S3	LH IIIA2-IIIB cup FS 220	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 477, 479 nos 15, 65; 482 no. 197, pls LXXVII, 11: 10, 14, 11, 3; Åström 1972, 358, Type 220: x, y, z, a2.
	LH IIIA2-IIIB mug FS 228	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 478 no. 41, pl. LXXVII, 12: 16; Åström 1972, 362, Type 228: a.
Tomb S10	LH IIIA2-IIIB cup FS 220	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 508 no. 33.
Tomb S11	LH IIIA2-IIIB cups FS 220	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 516 nos 9, 16, 30; 518 nos 86, 89, 93, 110; 519 nos 113, 124, 153; 520 nos 171, 177-8; 521 nos 203, 218, 221, 240, 256, pls LXXXIII, 7: 4, LXXXII, 7: 1, 2, 4, 9, LXXXIII, 3: 18-19, LXXXIII, 7: 3, 16-17; Åström 1972, 357-8, Type 220: c-r.
Tomb S17	LH IIIA2-IIIB cup FS 220	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 544 no. 30, pl. LXXXVI: 3, 6: 8; Åström 1972, 358, Type 220: s.
Tomb S18	LH IIIA2-IIIB cups FS 220	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 554-5 nos 96, 22, pls LXXXVI: 3, 6: 8, XC, 6: 2; Åström 1972, 358, Type 220: t, u.
Tomb S19	LH IIIA2-IIIB cup FS 220	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 565 no. 88, pl. XCI, 5: 14; Åström 1972, 358, Type 220: w; Mountjoy 2018, 163 no. 58, fig. 87.
Tomb S22	LH III A2-IIIB cup FS 220	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 574 no. 4, pl. LXXXVII.
	F1.2	
Tomb C10	LH IIIB shallow bowls FS 296	Dikaios 1969-71, 366 no. 4, pl. 211/13; 369 no. 76, pl. 211/14; 374 no. 180, pls 208/6, 8, 9; 366 nos 10-11, pls 11/15, 16 (= Åström 1972, 379); 368 nos 51, 60-1, pls 211/17, 18, 25; Mountjoy 2018, 173, 111 fig. 92.
Tomb S3	LH IIIB shallow bowl FS 296	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 484 no. 265.
Tomb S11	LH IIIB shallow angular bowl FS 295	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 518 no. 85.

Enkomi Tomb	Code of Functional Categories	References
Tomb S18	LH IIIB bowl FS 244	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 555 no. 7, pl. XC, 5: 5; Åström 1972, 363, Type 244: b.
	LH IIIB shallow bowls FS 296	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 553 no. 86, pl. LXXXVIII: 1, 2: 10; 555 nos 23, 27-8; 557 nos 62, 67, 75; pls LXXXVIII: 1, 3: 10, XC, 5: 2-3, 7, 9, 6: 4; Åström 1972, 378, Type 296: k, l, n-p, r, s.
	LH IIIB stemmed shallow bowls FS 309	Gjerstad et al. 1934, tab. XC, 4: 1; 557 no. 76, pl. XC, 4: 2, CXVIII: 1; Åström 1972, 381, Type 309: d; 554 no. 115, pl. LXXXVIII: 1, 2: 8.
	LH IIIB stemmed shallow bowls FS 310	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 554 no. 4, tab. XC, 4: last; 557 no. 61, pl. XC, 4: 12; Åström 1972, 381, Type 310: c, d, fig. LXXVII: 8.
	F2.1	
Tomb C10	LH IIIA piriform jar FS 44	Dikaios 1969-71, 372 no. 147, pl. 210/44; Åström 1972, 297.
	LH IIIA1 alabastron FS 93	Dikaios 1969-71, 376 no. 218, pl. 207/41.
	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Dikaios 1969-71, 369 no. 79, pl. 210/46; 376 nos 220, 230, 233, pl. 208/15, 10, 11; 378 nos 271-2, pl. 208/14, 12; 380 no. 313, pl. 203/33; 383 no. 377, pl. 203/30; Åström 1972, 301.
	LH IIIA2/-LH IIIB alabastra FS 94	Dikaios 1969-71, 369, 371 no. 370, 371 no. 122, 372 no. 133, 380 no. 305, pls 211/26, 21, 210/49, 208/21; Åström 1972, 323.
Tomb F2/49	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Schaeffer 1952, 123 fig. 49: 6, pl. XII: 44; 133, fig. 49: 7-8; 133, fig. 50: 7, 9, 10; Åström 1972, 299, Type 45: s2.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 94	Schaeffer 1952, 123 fig. 49: 2, tab. XII: 41; Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: y.
Tomb F5/49	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 48	Schaeffer 1952, 189 (231), fig. 71: 231, pl. XXXVII: 231; Åström 1972, 304, Type 48: i.
	LH IIIB/IIIC Early alabastron FS 97	Schaeffer 1952, 196 (261), fig. 71: 261, pl. XXXVIII: 261; Åström 1972, 325, Type 97: a.
	Piriform jar?	Schaeffer 1952, 166 (41), pl. XXXVI: 41; Åström 1972, 305.
Tomb F11/49	LH IIIA piriform jars FS 28	Schaeffer 1952, 148 (96), 150 (119), fig. 62: 6, pl. XXVII: 96, 119; Åström 1972, 291, Type 28: b, c.
	LH IIIA piriform jar FS 44	Schaeffer 1952, 143 (30), fig. 62: 9, pl. XXVII: 30; Åström 1972, 296, Type 44: l.
	LH IIIA2-IIIB alabastra FS 94	Schaeffer 1952, 143 (24), fig. 62: 16, pl. XXVII: 24; 146 (68), fig. 62: 16, pl. XXVII: 68; Schaeffer 1952, 149 (106), fig. 62: 16; 150 (125), fig. 62.16, pl. XXVII: 125.
Tomb F126/57	LH IIIA1 alabastron FS 84	Courtois 1981, 85 (38), inv. no. 710a, figs 56-7.
Tomb S2	LH IIIA2/IIIB piriform jar FS 45	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 473 no. 19; Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: r.
Tomb S3	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 478 nos 17, 43, 479 no. 67, 484 no. 266 pl. LXXVII, 5: 3-4, 9, 11; Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: s, t, u, v.
	LH IIIA alabastron FS 93	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 481 no. 165, pl. LXXVII, 5: 6; Åström 1972, 321, Type 93: a.
	LH IIIA2-IIIB alabastra FS 94	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 477 nos 8, 11, pl. LXXVII, 6: 4, 11; Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: f, g.
Tomb S10	LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 508 nos 25, 35, 44, pl. LXXXI: 1, 4: 4-6; Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: x, y, z.
Tomb S10A	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 509 no. 2; Åström 1972, 298, Type 45: w.

Enkomi Tomb	Code of Functional Categories	References
Tomb S11	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 45	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 518 nos 76, 84, 520-1 no. 193, 210, pls LXXXIII, 3: 11-12, LXXXII, 4: 15; Åström 1972, 297, Type 45: h, i, k, l.
	LH IIIA2-IIIB piriform jars?	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 516 no. 26; 519 no. 112.
	LH IIIA2-IIIB alabastra FS 94	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 516 no. 13, pl. LXXXIII, 8: 9, 518 no. 101, pl. LXXXIII: 1, 7: 2, 519 no. 125, pl. LXXXIII, 3: 7; Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: a, b, c.
Tomb S17	LH IIIA2-IIIB alabastron FS 94	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 544 no. 34, pl. LXXXVI: 3, 6: 3; Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: d.
Tomb S18	LH IIIB piriform jars FS 48	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 553 no. 64, 555 no. 19, 557 no. 65, pls LXXXVIII: 1, 2: 4, XC, 3: 2-3; Åström 1972, 304, Type 48: b, c, d.
Tomb S19	LH IIIB piriform jar FS 48	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 563 no. 30, pl. XCI, 4: 10; Åström 1972, 304, Type 48: f.
Tomb S22	LH IIIA2-IIIB alabastron FS 94	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 574 no. 2, pl. LXXXVII: 4, 6; Åström 1972, 322, Type 94: i.
	F2.2	
Tomb C10	LH III stirrup jars FS 173	Dikaios 1969-71, 379, 380 nos 287, 303, pl. 208/13, 19.
	LH IIIB stirrup jars FS 180	Dikaios 1969-71, 368, 369 nos 45, 68, pls 210/45, 211/19, 20, 23.
Tomb F2/49	LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166	Schaeffer 1952, 123, 134 fig. 49: 3, 9; Åström 1972, 337 (o), (n).
Tomb F5/49	LH IIIA2-B stirrup jar FS 171	Schaeffer 1952, 170 fig. 68 (85); Åström 1972, 340 Type 171: l2.
	LH IIIB stirrup jars FS 179	Schaeffer 1952, 166-7, 189 (38), (50), (229), fig. 62: 15, 50 = fig. 81: 9-10, fig. 71: 229, pls XXXVI: 38, 50, XXXVII: 229; Åström 1972, 345, Type 179: j-l.
	LH IIIB stirrup jar FS 180	Schaeffer 1952, 167 (54), fig. 67: 54 = fig. 81: 8, tab. XXXVI: 54; Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: q.
	LH IIIB stirrup jar FS 182	Schaeffer 1952, 189, 191 (234), figs 71: 234, pl. XXXVII: 234; Åström 1972, 347, Type 182: g.
Tomb F11/49	LH IIIA2 stirrup jars FS 166	Schaeffer 1952, 141, (11), 150 (128), pl. XXVII: 2, 11; Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: p*.
	LH IIIA2-IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Schaeffer 1952, 149, 150 (103), (124), fig. 62: 14, pl. XXVII: 103, 124; Åström 1972, 340, Type 171: k2*, j2.
	LH IIIA2-IIIB stirrup jar?	Schaeffer 1952, 141, (14), pl. XXVII: 14.
Tomb S3	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 478 no. 38, pl. LXXVII, 5: 5; Åström 1972, 337, Type 166: h.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 479, 480 nos 78, 119, pl. LXXVII, 6: 5, 6; Åström 1972, 339, Type 171: n, o.
	LH IIIA2-IIIB globular flask FS 191	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 478 no. 35, pls LXXVII, 6: 8, CXIX: 4; Åström 1972, 352, Type 191: b.
Tomb S10	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 508 no. 32, pl. LXXXI: 1, 4: 3; Åström 1972, 336, Type 166: a.

Enkomi Tomb	Code of Functional Categories	References
Tomb S11	LH IIIA2 stirrup jar FS 166	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 521 no. 215; Åström 1972, 336, Type 166: b.
	LH IIIA2-IIIB stirrup jars FS 171	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 517 nos 50, 55-6, 519 nos 127, 145, 520 nos 163-4, 184, pl. LXXXII, 6: 6, 11-12, pl. LXXXIII, 3: 10, 13-14, 5: 15; Åström 1972, 339 (a)-(g).
	LH IIIB stirrup jar FS 167	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 516 no. 14, pl. LXXXIII, 7: 12; Åström 1972, 338, Type 167: b.
	LH IIIB stirrup jar FS 173	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 516 no. 11, pl. LXXXIII, 7: 8; Åström 1972, 343, Type 173: f.
	LH IIIB stirrup jars FS 179	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 516 no. 15, 517 no. 60, 519 nos 142, 149, pl. LXXXIII, 3: 8, 6: 5, 6, 7: 3; Åström 1972, 345, Type 179: c, e, f, g.
	LH IIIB stirrup jars FS 180	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 515-16 nos 1, 18, 27, 518 no. 108, 519 no. 126, pl. LXXXIII, 3: 9, 7: 5, 6, 14, 8: 15; Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: b-f.
	LH IIIB stirrup jar FS 182	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 516 no. 25, pl. LXXXIII, 7: 7; Åström 1972, 347, Type 182: c.
	LH IIIA2-IIIB globular flasks FS 191	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 519 no. 151, 521 nos 197, 213, pls LXXXII, 6: 13, 14, LXXVII: 12; Åström 1972, 352, Type 191: d-f.
Tomb S18	LH IIIB stirrup jars FS 180	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 557 nos 63-4, pl. XC, 4: 6, 7; Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: h, i.
	LH IIIB stirrup jars FS 182	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 556 no. 33, pl. XC, 4: 8; Åström 1972, 347, Type 182: d.
Tomb S19	LH IIIA2-IIIB FS 171	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 563 no. 31, 565 nos 89-90, pl. XCI, 6: 5; Åström 1972, 339 (q), 339 (r).
	LH IIIA2-IIIB FS 172	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 564-5 no. 85, pl. CXI, 5: 11; Åström 1972, 342, Type 172: b; Mountjoy 2018, 163 no. 55, fig. 86.
	LH IIIA2/IIIB stirrup jar FS 178?	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 562 no. 14.
	LH IIIB FS 180	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 565 no. 119, pl. XCI, 5: 6; Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: j; Mountjoy 2018, 163 no. 56, fig. 86.
	LH IIIB stirrup jars FS 182	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 562 no. 5, 565 no. 98, pl. XCI, 4: 13, 5: 8; Åström 1972, 347, Type 182: e, f*; Mountjoy 2019, 163 no. 57, fig. 86.
	LH IIIB globular flasks FS 191	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 563 no. 39, 565 no. 111, pl. XCI, 4: 11, 12; Åström 1972, 352, Type 191: g, h.
	F3	
Tomb F2/49	LH IIIA2-IIIB stirrup jars FS 170	Schaeffer 1952, 133 figs 49: 13, 50: 11; Åström 1972, 339, Type 170: c, d.
Tomb S3	LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 31	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 484 no. 267; Åström 1972, 293, Type 31: c.
Tomb S11	LH IIIB piriform jar FS 36	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 515 no. 5, 516 no. 24, pl. LXXXIII, 5: 4, 6; Åström 1972, 294, Type 36: c.
Tomb S17	LH III A2-IIIB piriform jars FS 40	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 543 no. 6, 544 nos 45, 55-6, pl. LXXXVI: 3, 6: 4, 6-7; Åström 1972, 298, Type 40: m-p.
Tomb S18	LH IIIB piriform jars FS 36	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 555 no. 31, 556 nos 35, 57-8, 557 no. 77, pl. XC, 3: 5-9; Åström 1972, 294, Type 36: e-i.
	LH IIIB piriform jars FS 40	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 556-7 nos 41, 59-60, pl. XC, 3: 4, 9-10; Åström 1972, 295, Type 40: b-d.
	LH IIIB stirrup jars FS 167	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 556 no. 56, pl. XC, 2: 1; Åström 1972, 338, Type 167: c.

Enkomi Tomb	Code of Functional Categories	References
Tomb S19	LH IIIB piriform jar FS 36	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 562-3 no. 20, pl. XCI, 4: 9; Åström 1972, 296, Type 36: d. Mountjoy 2018, 160 no. 54, fig. 86.
	F4	
Tomb C10	LH IIIA2-IIIB conical rhyton (ornithomorph)	Dikaios 1969-71, 370 no. 108, pl. 210/47-8; Åström 1972, 354.
Tomb F5/49	LH IIIA2-B piriform jar FS 48 (miniature) LH IIIA2-IIIB stirrup jar FS 171 (miniature) LH IIIA2-IIIB juglet FS 114 (miniature)	Schaeffer 1952, 167 (57), fig. 67: 57, pl. XXXVII: 57; Åström 1972, 304, Type 48: h. Schaeffer 1952, 170 (85), fig. 68: 85, pl. XXXVII: 85; Åström 1972, 340, Type 171 (l2). Schaeffer 1952, 169 (59), fig. 68: 59, pl. XXXVI: 59; Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: u.
Tomb F11/49	LH IIIA piriform jars FS 28 (miniature)	Schaeffer 1952, 148 (95), (123), fig. 62: 5, pl. XXVII: 95, 123; Åström 1972, 292, Type 28: b.
Tomb S3	LH IIIA2-IIIB UD juglet (miniature)	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 478 no. 33.
Tomb S11	LH IIIA2-IIIB juglets (miniature) FS 114 LH III A2-B globular flask FS 190-2? (miniature)	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 518-19, 521 nos 106, 130, 202, pl. LXXXIII, 3: 5, 4: 25, 7: 1; Åström 1972, 327, Type 114: c-e. Gjerstad et al. 1934, 519 no. 123.
Tomb S18	LH IIIA2-IIIB stirrup jar FS 171 (miniature) LH IIIB stirrup jar FS 180 (miniature)	Gjerstad et al. 1934, 552 no. 57, pl. LXXXVIII: 1, 2: 1; Åström 1972, 339, Type 171: h. Gjerstad et al. 1934, 555 no. 26, pl. XC, 4: 9; Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: g.

The selected tombs can be dated to LC I-II (Interaction Periods 3 and 4). Although selected tombs are discussed in chronological order it should be emphasized that all the Aegean imported vessels here considered only belong to the LH IIIA and LH IIIB periods, while ceramic finds belonging to burials later than LC IIC have not been cataloged as a consequence of the chronological limits of this book.

In the discussion of single tombs, special attention has been devoted to the possible indicators of the wealth and social ranking of the burials, that is prestige objects made of precious materials such as gold diadems and gold mouth-covers, gold rings and ear-rings in addition to other personal gold, silver or stone adornments, bronze mirrors, gold-plated ivory scepters, cylinder seals, ivory disks and ivory pyxides, bronze weapons and decorated metal vessels. Overall Cypriot and Aegean vessels have been organized into graphs according to their functions and a specific attention has been paid to the LH IIIA-B Mycenaean pottery.

Three main topics have been considered for the social interpretation of single tombs:

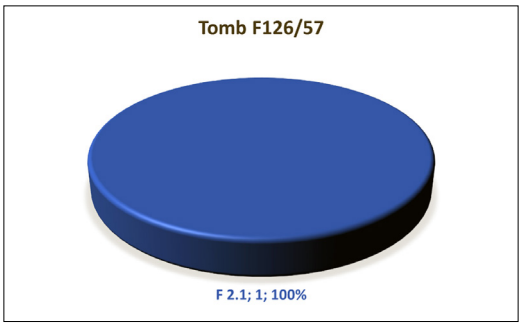
1. the number of Mycenaean imports compared to the degree of wealth displayed by the burial assemblages;

2. the ratio of Mycenaean and Cypriot vessels according to their functions;
3. the selection of Mycenaean shapes acted by different social groups to express their funerary identity.

Tomb F126/57, French Excavations 1957 (Topographic Point no. 126) – LC IA-IIA, Interaction Periods 2, 3

Tomb F126/57, a tomb of unknown type, was located in Quarter 6W. The finds and the large number of burials suggest a long period of use, from LC IA to LC IIA (Courtois 1981, 93-4; Keswani 2004, 125, 231, tab. 5.9a). The White Painted V/VI and Red-on-Black wares indicate that the first period of use of this tomb was the very beginning of LC, while Coarse Monochrome Ware, White Slip I, Base Ring I and Red Lustrous Wheelmade were typical of LC IB. In view of the presence of White Slip II bowls and a LH IIIA1 alabastron FS 84, the latest burials of this tomb can be assigned to LC IIA.

Concerning the wealth of the burials, only some precious objects can be mentioned: a gold diadem, a pair of gold earrings, a gold ring, some fragments of a gold foil which possibly covered a small case and a hematite loom weight (Courtois 1981, 85). Therefore, since this tomb contained a relatively small number of luxury objects, its degree of wealth cannot be compared to that of the richest tombs of the Enkomi elite. Tomb F126/57 also contained overall 46 Cypriot vessels and a LH IIIA1 Mycenaean alabastron FS 84 of sub-category F2.1, which amounts to 2% of all the vessels **[tab. 5.4 a, b]**. In terms of functions of overall ceramic finds **[fig. 5.4 b]**, 'Drinking/Eating Vessels' (sub-category F1.2) are more common (55%) than 'Pouring Vessels' (sub-category F1.1.b) (19%) and 'Containers for Liquid Substances' (sub-category F2.2) (17%). Mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a have not been found here. Pouring vessels of sub-category F1.1b are represented by Cypriot jugs (White Painted V/VI, Red-on-Black, Black Lustrous, Plain White Wheelmade and White Painted Wheelmade wares). A Base Ring I vessel has been classified among the drinking shapes (sub-category F1.1c) while drinking/eating vessels of sub-category F1.2 are represented by Monochrome, Plain White Wheelmade, White Slip I and II bowls. White Painted V, Black Slip, Base Ring I, Red Lustrous Wheelmade and White Shaved jugs and juglets have been cataloged in sub-category F2.2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Liquid Commodities'). A large Coarse Monochrome jug is represented among the storage vessels of category F3, while ritual vessels of category F4 are represented by a Black Slip miniature juglet. The LH IIIA1 alabastron is the only vessel of the sub-category F2.1 ('Containers for Viscous Substances').



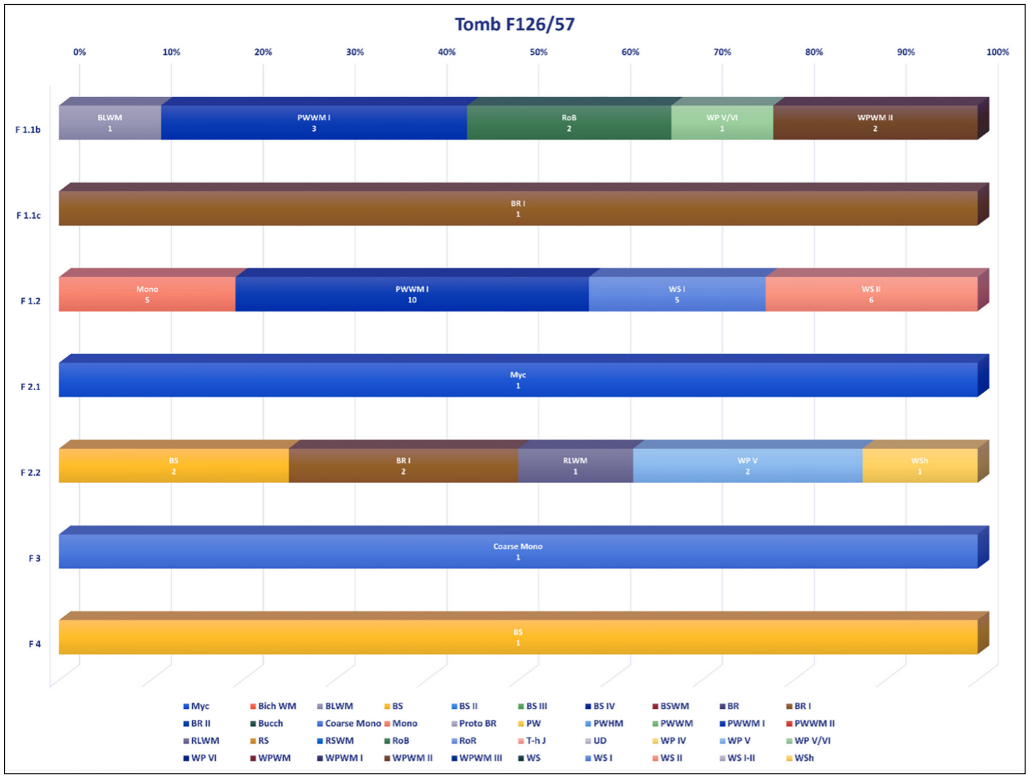


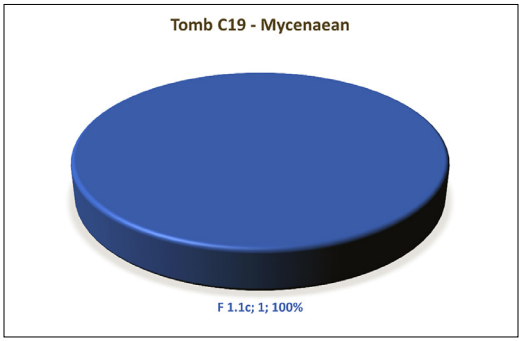
Figure 5.4 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb F126/57;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb F126/57

Tomb C19, Cypriot Excavations – LC I-IIB, Interaction Periods 2, 3

Tomb C19, a chamber tomb located in Quarter 4W, was oriented in north-south direction with the southward dromos opening. The dromos, the stomion and a single rock-cut bench located opposite to the entrance are paralleled by Tomb S11 in Quarter 6W. Tomb C19 had already been abandoned when buildings of Level II B were built in the same area and, after its last period of use, it was sealed by the floor of the Ashlar Building of Level III A. According to the excavator and Keswani, the period of use of the tomb ranged from LC I to LC II A (Dikaios 1969-71, 404-14; Keswani 2004, 95, 114, 125, 232, tab. 5.9b). However, the only Mycenaean vessel, a cup FS 220 dating to the LH IIIA-B period, suggests that this tomb was in use until the LC IIB.

Three overlapped burials were found on the bench, while the remains of a fourth burial which were scattered over the chamber floor possibly belonged to the oldest period of use of the tomb and were disturbed by three later depositions (Dikaios 1969-71, 412-13). There was a fifth burial on the floor just in front of the bench. A group of vessels from the southwest corner of the chamber cannot safely be associated with any burials. The collapse of the chamber roof, likely caused by the building activities in the area, was possibly responsible for the breaking of some ceramic materials, but pottery remained *in situ* and some finds were associated single burials (Dikaios 1969-71, 408-10, tab. 289: 7-8).

No luxury objects made of precious materials were found, suggesting that the tomb was probably used by individuals of non-elite social rank. The chamber contained 31 Cypriot vessels in addition to the LH IIIA2-B cup FS 220. Overall ceramic finds can be related to the following sub-categories **[fig. 5.5 a, b]**: F1.2 ('Drinking/Eating Vessels'), amounting to 31%, F1.1b ('Pouring Vessels') amounting to 28%, and F2.2 ('Containers for Liquid Substances') amounting to 25%. Nearly all ceramic finds, that is Plain White kraters, Black Slip and Plain White jugs, Monochrome, Plain White and White Slip bowls, Base Ring and White Shaved juglets therefore belonged to Cypriot traditional wares and shapes. Drinking vessels of sub-category F.1.1c are represented by only two vessels, a Base Ring bowl, and a LH IIIA-B Mycenaean cup FS 220.



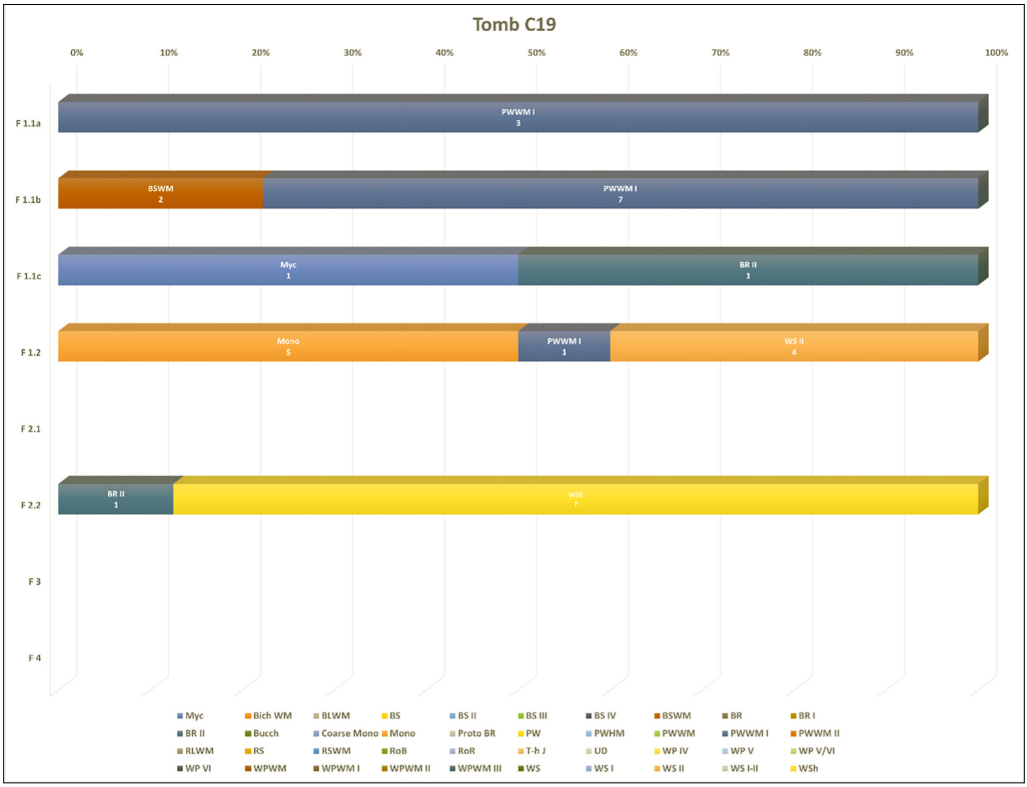


Figure 5.5 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb C19;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb C19.

Tomb S2, Swedish Excavations – LC IB-IIA, Interaction Periods 2, 3

This tomb, located in Quarter 3W, had a pit-type dromos and an irregularly circular chamber. The entrance on the right side of the tomb was found sealed by a stone slab and a pile of stones. Inside the chamber, two levels of depositions (Level 3 and Level 5), separated by a compact layer of *chavara*, corresponded to two distinct periods of use. The most recent deposit, Level 3, contained five LC IIA burials arranged along the walls of the chamber. Six additional burials belonging to the older Level 5 were dated to the LC IB period (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 470-5, 10, figs 188: 3-7, 189, pl. LXXVI: 1-2).

The periods of use suggested by the excavators as well as Keswani are LC I (for lower level) and LC II (for upper level) and correspond to LC IB-LC IIA (475; Keswani 2004, 93, 232, tab. 5.9b). However, the presence of two LH IIIA2 Mycenaean piriform jars FS 45 demonstrates that the tomb was also used as late as LC IIB **[tab. 5.15]**. This funerary context is therefore approximately contemporaneous to Tomb C19 and Tomb F126/57. In addition to the burials recovered in Tomb S17 and Tomb S19, Keswani considered the burial sequence in this tomb indicative of "collective secondary treatment possibly represented by squatting burials arranged along the chamber walls" (Keswani 2004, 101, 218). Like in the cases of the intact Tomb F3/34, Tomb C6, Tomb C17 and Tomb C19, which were "devoid of copper and most categories of imported valuables other than Mycenaean pottery", funerary rituals in Tomb S2 possibly attested to secondary treatment of the dead, collective reburial and selection of materials (125, 158).

Based on the excavator's description of stratigraphy, it was possible to isolate materials associated with some specific burials in the two levels of depositions. The "episode of collective secondary reburial" (93, 101, 103) is apparent in the earlier level, dating to LC IB, where six groups of materials have been distinguished and attributed to single burials (Pezzi 2011). In the most recent level of burials depositions dating to the LC IIA, three groups of materials, each belonging to distinct burials, have been distinguished (Pezzi 2011).

Although Tomb S2 yielded some status indicators made of precious material and symbolic value, including two seals belonging to the oldest burials, it does not seem particularly rich and it is clear that the individuals there buried did not belong to the elite groups of the Enkomi society.

Tomb S2 contained 66 Cypriot vessels and only a LH IIIA2-B piriform jar FS 45 **[fig. 5.6 a]**. Overall ceramic finds can mostly be related to the following functions **[fig. 5.6 a, b]**: drinking/eating (sub-category F1.2) (36%), pouring (sub-category F1.1b) (27%) and containing precious liquid commodities (sub-category F2.2) (15%). Mixing vessels of category F1.1 are represented by Plain White Wheelmade

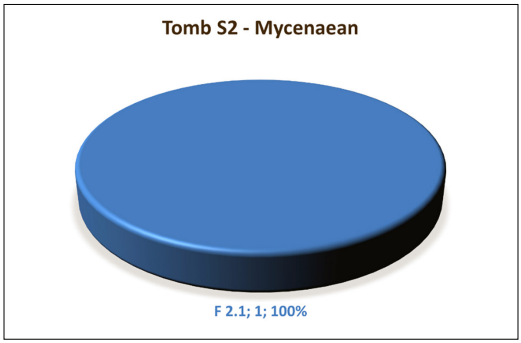
and Monochrome Ware kraters. Along Base Ring II jugs, the pouring vessels of sub-category F1.1b were represented by Plain White Handmade, Plain White Wheelmade, Black Slip, Red Slip and Bucchero vessels. Black Slip, Proto-Base Ring, Base Ring I, Base Ring II, while Plain White Wheelmade, Monochrome, White Slip I and II bowls can be interpreted as drinking/eating vessels of sub-category F1.2. Small closed shapes for precious liquid commodities (sub-category F2.2) are represented by Monochrome, Base Ring I and White Shaved juglets. On the other hand, small closed shapes for precious viscous commodities of sub-category F2.1 are exclusively represented by Mycenaean and Mycenaean-type vessels, namely an imported LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 (decorated with slightly lustrous paint), a matt painted piriform jar FS 45 (here classified as a local Aegean-type vessel because of its matt paint decoration, according to the distinctions used in the present study) and a local three-handle jar FS 47 imitating LH IIIA2 Aegean models (Graziadio 2017, 136; Gjerstad et al. 1934, 474, pl. LXXVI, row 2:1 no. 45). The category F3 ('Storage Vessels') is represented by Plain White Wheelmade and White Painted V examples while a Black Slip IV ritual miniature juglet and a White Painted V feeding bottle may be assigned to category F4.

Tomb S17, Swedish Excavations – LC IB-IIB, Interaction Periods 2, 3

Tomb S17 was found intact in Quarter 7W (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 539, 541-3, fig. 204: 5-9; Keswani 2004, 233, tab. 5.9b). As also suggested by Tombs S2 and S19, according to Keswani (2004, 101, 218) this tomb showed a "collective secondary treatment possibly represented by squatting burials arranged along the chamber walls". Like in Tomb S2, the dromos was asymmetrically placed on the right side of the chamber. The stomion was sealed by three stone slabs which were found still *in situ*. Inside the trapezoidal chamber two different levels of burials were separated by a thin layer of *chavara*.

Apart from the latest burials, in this tomb no exact connection between groups of objects and single individuals can be suggested even if some burials were found *in situ*. The last burial, which belonged to an adult male laying on his back on top of the remains of other burials, was associated with some objects of exceptional value: a gold diadem, a gold mouth-cover, a silver pin and a hemispherical gold cup and the famous LH IIIA2 amphoroid krater FS 54 known as the "Zeus Krater".[50] The upper level of burials, belonging to the later period of use of the tomb, can be dated to the LC IIA-B (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 546; Keswani 2004, 94, 233, tab. 5.9b). The lower layer produced LC

50 Gjerstad et al. 1934, 541-6, 543 fn. 1, pl. LXXXVI: 3, last row, pl. CXX: 3-4; P. Åström 1972, 311: m; Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, 14-15, pl. III.2.



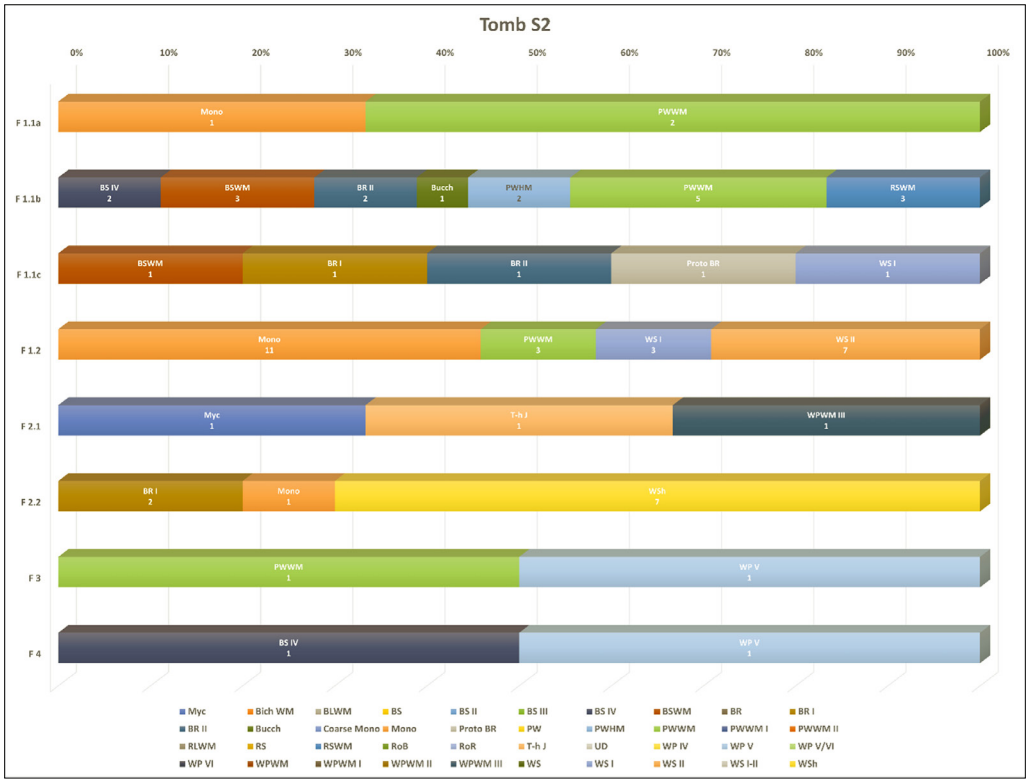


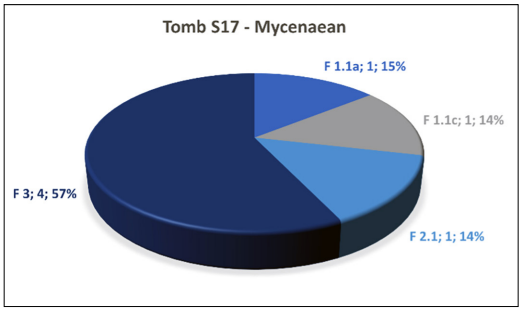
Figure 5.6 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb S2;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds in Tomb S2

IB-IIA materials and was characterized by five well-preserved skeletons in seated position.

The amount of gold objects (235 g of gold) and other precious goods found in the upper level is noteworthy and clearly illustrates the high social rank of the individuals buried in this tomb. They included two gold mouth-covers, three gold diadems, seven gold diadems or mouth-covers, an ivory pin, a gold pin and a pin made of silver and gold; other precious items are a steatite cylinder seal, two ivory discs which were part of an ivory pyxis and a fragmentary bronze knife (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 545).

Of overall 65 vessels found in this tomb, 58 were Cypriot while seven Mycenaean vessels amounted to 11% of total ceramic offerings. It is worth emphasizing that the Mycenaean vessels represented the totality of mixing vessels (sub-category F1.1a) and of large storage/transport vessel (category F3), while they amounted to 25% of drinking vessels (sub-category F1.1c) and 50% of small closed shapes for precious viscous commodities (sub-category F2.1). The majority of Mycenaean imports (57%) is represented by four storage/transport vessels of category F3, while among the other Mycenaean ceramic finds one example is a mixing vessel of sub-category F1.1a, another one is a drinking vessel of sub-category F1.1c and the last one is a small closed shape for precious viscous commodities of sub-category F2.1 **[fig. 5.7 a, b]**.

Considering overall ceramic finds, they can mostly be related to the following functions: drinking/eating (sub-category F1.2) (40%), pouring (sub-category F1.1b) (18%) and containing precious liquid commodities (sub-category F.2.2) (12%). Mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a are only represented by the LH IIIA2 Mycenaean pictorial krater FS 54 known as the 'Zeus Krater'. Black Slip IV, Plain White Wheelmade and Base Ring I jugs and juglets can be regarded as pouring vessels of sub-category F1.1b. Drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c are represented by Base Ring I and Base Ring II bowls, and by a LH IIIA2-B cup FS 220. Plain White Wheelmade and Monochrome bowls can be considered drinking/eating vessels of sub-category F1.2, while small closed shapes for precious liquid commodities of sub-category F2.2 are represented by local Black Lustrous Wheelmade, Plain White Handmade, Red Lustrous Wheelmade, Base Ring I and White Shaved vessels. On the other hand, small containers for precious viscous commodities of sub-category F2.1 are represented by a LH IIIA2/IIIB alabastron FS 94 and a rare Base Ring II pear-shaped amphoriskos which imitated Aegean piriform jars, since it had three small vertical handles on the shoulder and was decorated with dotted white band-ornaments around the rim and on the shoulder (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 554 fn. 49). The category F3 ('Storage Vessels') was exclusively represented by four LH III A2-B piriform jars FS 40. The White Painted V and Base Ring I miniature juglets and Black Slip IV feeding bottles can be classified as ritual vessels of category F4.



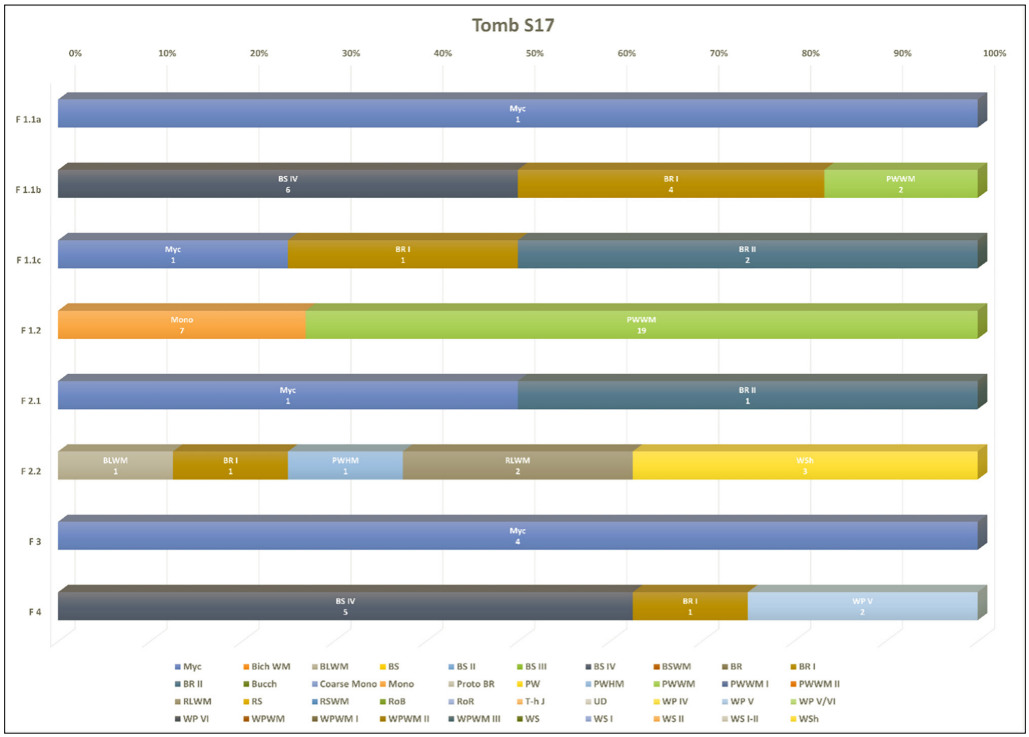


Figure 5.7 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb S17;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb S17

Tomb F2/49, French Excavations 1949 – LC IIA-B, Interaction Period 3

This tomb, which was found intact at the southern limit of Quarter 5E and associated to a single house located in Street 5, is one of the most important funerary contexts at Enkomi (Schaeffer 1952, 111-35, pl. XII; Keswani 2004, 232, tab. 5.9b). The chamber shows rectangular shape, a prerogative of the tombs reserved to high-rank individuals, possibly attempting to imitate the built isodome chambers, as suggested by the presence of architrave and jambs made of squared blocks.

In spite of the limited number of burials (three), the chamber, characterized by a bench along the southern and western walls, was significantly wide. The period of use of this tomb seems to have been very short, since it only contained very few burials, contrary to the Late Cypriot customs.

In a small pit located in the southwestern corner, both local and Mycenaean sherds were found, possibly attesting to an intentional breaking of ceramic vessels as a consequence of funerary rituals (Schaeffer 1952, 116). The presence of pits in Late Cypriot chamber tombs is extremely rare, while it is quite common in the Ugarit chamber tombs, possibly suggesting some cultural connections between the individuals which used this tomb and the people of Ugarit (Schaeffer 1939, 66, 77, 88 fig. 79, Tomb L). Other groups of local and Mycenaean pottery were found on the floor in the northern side of the chamber, while an alabaster duck-shaped pyxis and a gold diadem were discovered in the southeastern corner.

All the burials were placed on the bench with their rich and elaborated funerary equipment. As suggested by other properly excavated tombs, it is likely that the skeleton laying on the southern bench, on the left of the entrance with the head turned towards east, belonged to the oldest and most important burial, for which the tomb itself was built. Osteological analysis and the absence of any personal female ornament suggest that this burial belonged to a mature male. It is worth noting that a Mycenaean cup FS 220 was deposed near his head, in association with two White Shaved juglets, but the discovery of this Mycenaean cup FS 220 dating to the LH IIIA2/IIIB apparently does not match the suggestion that the skeleton on the southern bench was the oldest burial in the tomb. Crossed and overlapped on his chest there were a gold mouth-cover and a gold diadem of large size and fine decoration. On his right hand he wore a gold ring decorated by a seated sphynx while at the level of the abdomen there were two silver cups with wishbone handle, one put inside the other; the external one was decorated with bucrania motifs (Schaeffer 1952, 128 fn. 6/4.206, pl. XII: 7, 128 fn. 7/4.207, pl. XXII: 2-4, CXVI suppl. pl. C-D, figs 116-21). Between the legs there were a fragmentary alabaster cup and various ceramic vessels. A small alabaster

container for perfumes and precious unguents also belonged to the same burial (110, 128-30). On the same bench, a second mature man was found with the head oriented westwards in association with the remains of a gold scepter and two undecorated gold diadems (120, pl. XII: 9, 10, 11).

The western bench was occupied by the third burial, a woman lying with her head turned north and the body oriented toward the center of the chamber. Along with Mycenaean vessels and a ceramic lamp, a considerable number of precious objects, perhaps originally collected in a bag deposited near her side, were associated to this skeleton: a pair of earrings, two gold rings (one decorated by a large rosette and the other by two dogs seated near a tree), two silver rings with hieroglyphics inscriptions and one silver bead (131-3).

None of the three burials was associated with weapons. The architectural features of the tomb, the small number of individuals and the extremely rich funerary equipment, including precious status indicators of high symbolic value (more than 100 g of gold), emphasize the high social status of all these individuals, who possibly were of priestly rank in consideration of the absence of weapons. The funerary ritual is complex and cannot be completely understood. Keswani does not exclude that the burials might have undergone a secondary treatment (2004, 95).

According to the excavators, the use of this tomb is restricted to the LC IIA period (also cf. Keswani 2004, 232, tab. 5.9b). However, the presence of Mycenaean vessels dating to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-B demonstrates that this funerary context was also in use until LC IIB **[tab. 5.15]**.

The overall vessels from the tomb were 38, including 14 Mycenaean imports which amounted to 37% of total pottery **[fig. 5.8 a, b]**. Among overall pottery from the tomb, mixing vessels (sub-category F1.1a) amounted to 67%, drinking vessels to 25% (sub-category F1.1c), while it represented the totality of small closed shapes for precious viscous commodities (sub-category F2.1), 22% of small closed shapes for precious liquid commodities (sub-category F2.2) and the totality of large storage/transport vessels (category F3). Small closed shapes for precious viscous commodities of sub-category F2.1 amounted to 50% of overall Mycenaean imports, mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a to 15%, closed shapes for precious liquid commodities of sub-category F2.2 amounted to 14% of Mycenaean vessels and the same is true of large storage/transport vessels of category F3, too, while drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c amounted to 7% of total Aegean pottery. Overall ceramic finds can mostly be related to the following functions: containing precious liquid commodities (sub-category F2.2) (24%), drinking/eating (sub-category F1.2) (16%), pouring (sub-category F1.1b) (16%) and drinking (sub-category F1.1c) (11%). Uncommon Red Lustrous Wheelmade

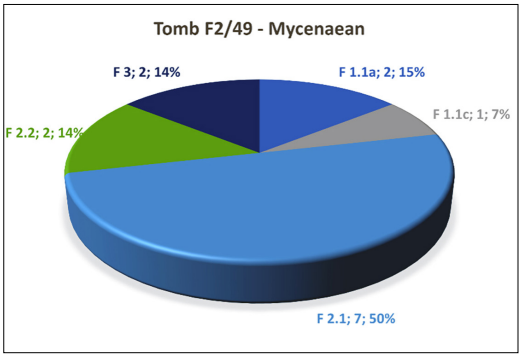
kraters and Mycenaean kraters FS 7 and FS 53 are the only vessels of sub-category F1.1 ('Mixing Vessels'). Base Ring II jugs represent the totality of the pouring vessels of sub-category F1.1b and most of the drinking shapes (sub-category F1.1c), which also included a Mycenaean cup FS 220. Drinking/eating vessels of sub-category F1.2 are represented by Plain White and White Slip II bowls associated with a Red Lustrous Wheelmade bowl. The sub-category F2.1 ('Containers for Viscous Substances') was exclusively represented by six Mycenaean piriform jars FS 45 and an alabastron FS 94. Two Mycenaean stirrup jars FS 166, four Red Lustrous Wheelmade vessels (a flask, a juglet and two spindle bottles) and three White Shaved juglets can be assigned to sub-category F2.2. Category F3 is represented by two Mycenaean stirrup jars FS 170. A rare arm-shaped vessel in Red Lustrous Wheelmade may be classified as a ritual vessel of category F4.

Tomb F11/49, French Excavations 1949/1952 – LC IIA-B, Interaction Period 3

Tomb F11/49, found intact in Quarter 5E, was a bilobed chamber tomb dating to the LC IIA-B period and was contemporaneous with Tomb F2/49, although it was used by individuals of lower social rank (Schaeffer 1952, 135-56, 50, figs 59-62, pl. XXVII; Keswani 2004, 105, 114, 125, 137, 232 tab. 5.9b). The rectangular dromos was wide with two circular niches for infant burials in the east and south sides. The niches yielded some miniature vessels and a necklace composed of seven small faience beads. In the southwestern corner of the dromos the remains of a wall were found, possibly being part of the building originally associated with this tomb. The passage from the dromos and the chamber was rather sharp, without any step.

Despite the fragility of the calcareous rock where the tomb was excavated, a squared pillar located in its northern side supported the stability of the vault. The chamber, sealed by a stone slab still *in situ*, was of quite unusual shape because of a circular central depression containing some objects and two benches on the east and west sides. On both benches there were two levels of overlapped burials with many burial goods and badly preserved human remains belonging to at least three burials on the western bench and to only one burial on the eastern bench. To facilitate the movement inside the small chamber a trench was cut on the floor along its longitudinal axis.

The precious objects from the lower level of the east bench included three gold diadems, an alabaster cup and a fragmentary large alabaster vessel. Three gold diadems, a pair of bronze earrings, the above mentioned necklace as well as a fragmentary ivory pyxis were found in the lower level of the west bench. The upper level of the west bench also produced a hemispherical alabaster cup (Schaeffer



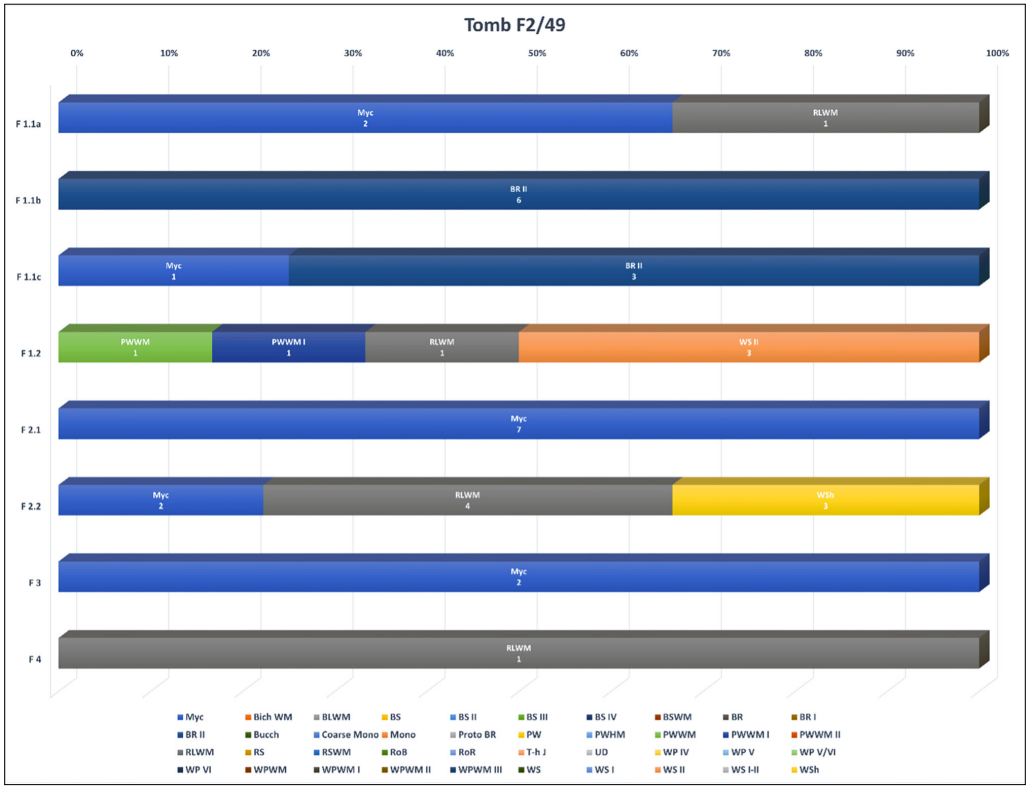


Figure 5.8 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb F2/49;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb F2/49

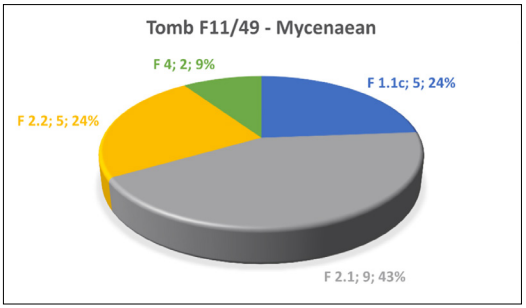
1952, 107, 147, 150, 153, 155). The high quality of these finds suggests they might have been intentionally selected for funerary purposes. Although the degree of wealth apparent from luxury objects is valuable, it is not extraordinary in comparison to other contexts. Therefore, the individuals here buried cannot be considered members of the top Enkomi elite.

According to Keswani and the excavators, this tomb was used no longer than three generations living in the first half of the LC IIA period (Schaeffer 1952, 135-56; Keswani 2004, 232, tab. 5.9b). However, the presence of imported LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-B Mycenaean vessels in the funerary assemblage demonstrates that the tomb has been used at least as late as LC IIB. 171 vessels were found inside the tomb, including 19 Mycenaean examples which amounted to 11% of overall ceramic offerings. Mycenaean vessels represented 36% of overall drinking vessels (sub-category F1.1c), 78% of 'Containers for Viscous Substances' (sub-category F2.1), 10% of 'Containers for Liquid Substances' (sub-category F2.2), and 29% of ritual vessels (category F4) **[fig. 5.9 a, b]**. Considering overall Mycenaean imports in detail, 'Containers for Viscous Substances' of sub-category 2.1 represented 43% of them, while 'Containers for Liquid Substances' of sub-category 2.2 amounted to 24%, drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c to 24% and ritual vessels of category F4 to 9% of overall Aegean pottery. The most common functions apparent from overall ceramic finds are: drinking/eating (sub-category F1.2) (29%), containing precious liquid commodities (sub-category F2.2) (28%) and pouring (sub-category F1.1b) (15%).

Tomb C10, Cypriot Excavations – MC III/LC I-LC IIC, Interaction Periods 2, 3, 4

Tomb C10 was a bilobed, relatively small chamber tomb of the same type as Tomb F5/49 discussed below, sharing the dromos with Tomb C1. Located in Area I, it has been used for a long period, from MC III/LC I to LC II C. Dikaios stated that the funerary goods substantially remained in their original position although he admitted that the context was partially disturbed by various building activities. He also distinguished four levels of depositions which produced 477 objects. Despite the long period of use and the complex stratigraphy, some groups of materials were attributed to single burials or to groups of individuals. Even if the preserved human remains were very few and in bad conditions, it is possible to suggest that the tomb was used for a minimum of 21 burials (Dikaios 1969-71, 357-94, pls 285-6; Keswani 2004, 96, 113-14, 125, 235, tab. 5.9c).

The lowest level of burials illustrated the first period of use of the tomb (MC III/LC IA-LC IB). Apart from three male adults, two of which laid in the central part of the chamber and the third one in



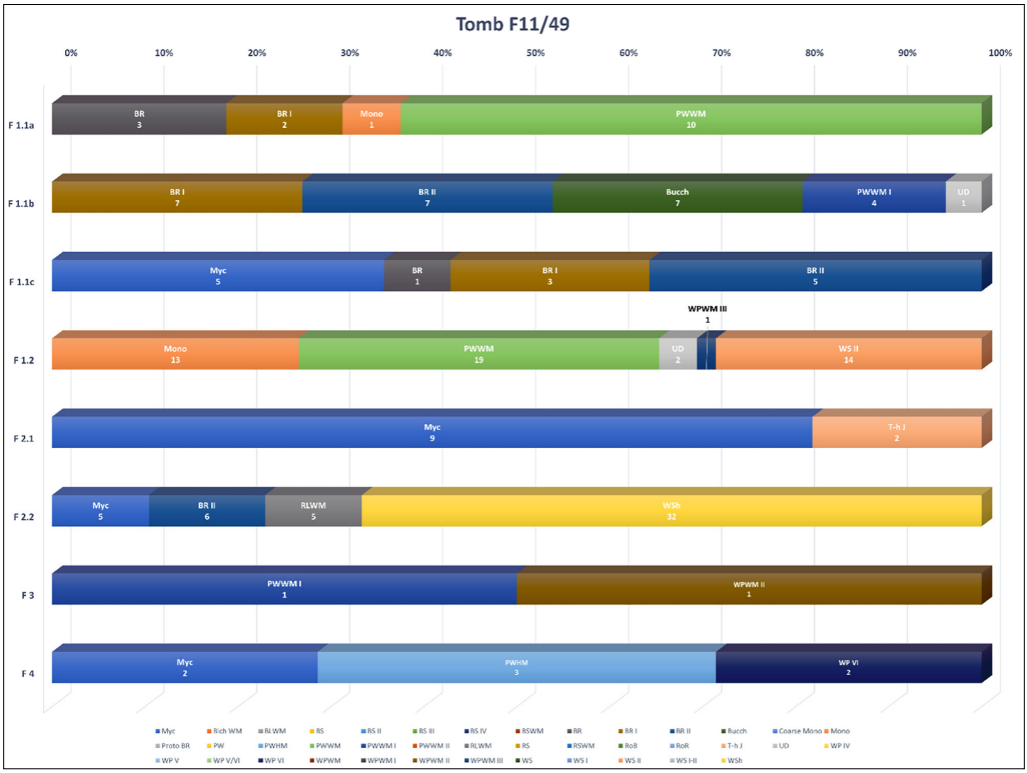


Figure 5.9 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb F11/49;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb F11/49

the northern side, it is impossible to recognize the original position of single burials (Dikaios 1969-71, 358-60, pl. 46/2-3, 286/3). Based on the excavator's account, it has been possible to isolate at least six groups of objects, characterized by MC III/LC IA wares, such as White Painted V and Black Slip II, and LC IA-B wares, such as Monochrome and White Slip I-II (Pezzi 2011).

The second level of burials can be dated to LC IIA-B. The human remains were widely dispersed, and no clear association between objects and single burials can be established. Ceramic containers were piled up all along the chamber walls and only four groups of funerary goods were isolated (Dikaios 1969-71, 360-2, pl. 46/4, 47/-2, 286/49).

The same is true of the third level of burials, where LC IIB-C offerings were placed along the chamber walls so that it was impossible to associate single objects to specific burials although the excavator was able to distinguish at least five groups of materials (362-3, pl. 286/2).

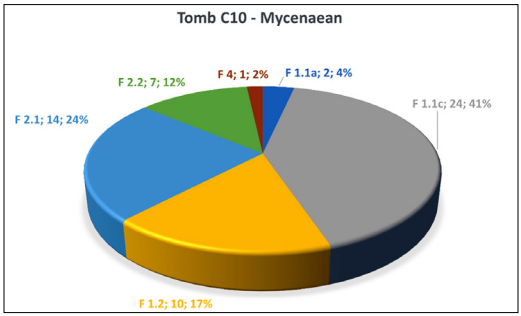
The latest level of burials in this chamber (Level four) can be dated to LC IIC due to the diagnostic pottery and stratigraphic relations with Level IIB of the settlement. According to the excavator the possibility cannot be ruled out that building activities connected with the construction of the Ashlar Building (Level IIIA of the settlement) partially disturbed the fourth level of depositions. In any case, since these building activities did not cause any removal of the materials from the chamber, it was possible to isolate at least six groups of objects (363-4, pl. 47/3-4, 286/1).

Concerning the degree of wealth of Tomb C10, it is worth mentioning a gold diadem, a pair of gold earrings, two unpaired gold earrings and a gold bead which were part of the first group of finds of the third level of burials, dating to LC IIB-C. Associated with the fourth group of the third level there were eight gold diadems, two gold hair rings, a gold necklace and an ivory pommel of a scepter. A gold diadem and two gold earrings came from the fifth group of the third level. Three gold diadems and a white faience ring were associated with the first group of the fourth level, while two gold diadems were found in the second group of the fourth level and an ostrich egg was part of the third group of finds. A gold diadem, two bronze bracelets and two bronze helmets came from the fourth group. The fifth group of the fourth level produced a bronze bracelet and two ivory scepter pommels, while the sixth group yielded a gold diadem, two gold hair rings, a gold bracelet, and a bronze ring (366-74). All these precious objects therefore belonged to the third and fourth levels of use of the tomb, clearly underlining the top social rank and the richness of the individuals buried during the LC IIB and IIC periods.

Tomb C10 contained a large amount of pottery (431 vessels), including 373 items of local Cypriot wares and 58 LH IIIA-B imports

amounting to 13% of overall ceramic offerings **[fig. 5.10 a, b]**. As regards the Mycenaean imports, drinking vessels (sub-category F1.1c) amounted to 41% of Aegean imports, 'Containers for Viscous Substances' (sub-category F2.1) to 24%, 'Drinking/Eating Vessels' (sub-category F1.2) to 17%, 'Containers for Liquid Substances' (sub-category F2.2) to 12%, while mixing vessels (sub-category F1.1a) amounted to 4% and ritual shapes (category F4) to 2% of overall Aegean pottery.

Overall ceramic finds can be related to the following functions: drinking/eating (sub-category F1.2) (37%), pouring (sub-category F1.1b) (23%), drinking (sub-category F1.1c) (18%) and containing precious liquid commodities (sub-category F2.2) (11%). Figure 5.10 b also shows that mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a are almost completely represented by Plain White Wheelmade examples, while the Mycenaean kraters were decorated in Pictorial Style. The function of pouring (sub-category F1.1b) is only represented by Cypriot wares, in particular Base Ring and Plain White jugs, confirming that Mycenaean pouring vessels were not greatly appreciated for this purpose. The Mycenaean cups FS 220 represented a considerable fraction (31%) of the drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c, approximately corresponding to the percentage of Base Ring bowls. Monochrome and Plain White were predominant among drinking/eating shapes of sub-category F1.2, while Mycenaean shallow bowls FS 296 were quite few. Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 (1) and FS 45 (8), a Mycenaean alabastron FS 94, and a local three-handled jar FS 46 and two other local jars FS 47 imitating LH IIIA models (Dikaios 1969-71, 383 no. 382, pls 203: 31, 228: 11, 371 no. 123, pl. 211: 22, 374 no. 196, pl. 208: 17; Graziadio 2017, 133, 138) were the favorite shapes to contain precious viscous substances since they represented the totality of vessels assigned to sub-category F2.1. Mycenaean stirrup jars (7) are very few (15%) if compared to the large number of White Shaved juglets belonging to sub-category F2.2, i.e. 'Containers for Liquid Substances'. Ritual vessels of category F4 are represented by a variety of local wares, such as White Painted V, Red Slip Wheelmade, Black Slip Wheelmade, Plain White, Plain White Wheelmade, Base Ring II, and by a Mycenaean rhyton.



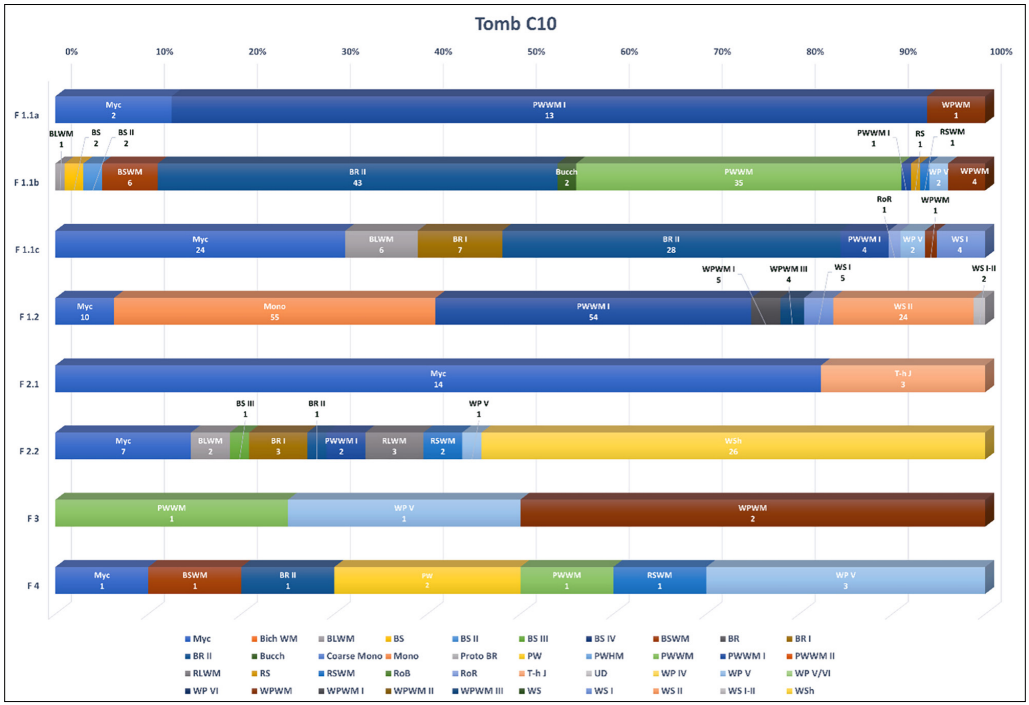


Figure 5.10 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb C10;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb C10

Tomb S19, Swedish Excavations – LC IA-IIC, Interaction Periods 2, 3, 4

The earliest period of use of Tomb S19, located in Quarter 4W, can be dated to the LC IA period, but the original structure was surely enlarged in LC IIC. The stratigraphy suggested that the tomb had been already abandoned when some buildings dating to the Level IIB were built in this area. The tomb was then sealed by the floor of the Ashlar Building of the settlement Level IIIA. The consequent collapse of the chamber vault surely damaged ceramic offerings but did not affect the composition of funerary assemblages (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 268, 558 figs 212, 213: 1-4, 214).

The architecture of this tomb was closely paralleled by Tomb S13 (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 558-62, fig. 212, 561), and from a certain period onward it had the appearance o a single chamber tomb possibly resulting from the fusion of two preexisting tombs. This can be inferred from the presence of two dromoi located in the northern and in the southern sides of the tomb which were connected to the same trapezoidal chamber.

The Dromos B forms a right angle with the chamber, possibly due to the preference for an east-west orientation of the tomb at the end of LC I period. Like Tombs S2 and S17, this tomb can be interpreted as an example of

> collective secondary treatment possibly represented by squatting burials arranged along the chamber walls. (Keswani 2004, 101, 218)

Two main phases of use, separated by a level of sterile *chavara*, have been distinguished: the older phase dated back to the LC IA, as suggested by the plentiful associated MC pottery, while the later phase dated back to the end of the LC IIC, as indicated by the discovery of Aegean-type pottery and LH IIIB Mycenaean imports. However, the discovery of LC I ceramic, such as a Bichrome jug, in the upper level of burials confirms that the continuous use of the tomb surely caused intense upheavals in the stratigraphy.

The remains of at least eleven burials (nine of which perfectly preserved) were discovered in the lower level while the remains of at least six individuals were found in the upper level in a poor state of conservation. Many precious objects were clearly indicative of the high social rank of the individuals buried in this tomb. Although no connections can be established with specific burials, it is worth mentioning many prestige objects from the older level of depositions (a gold mouth-cover, a pair of gold earrings, three pairs of bronze earrings, five gold rings, the head of a stone mallet, a bronze mirror with ivory handle decorated with a figurative scene, two bronze cups, and one faience vessel), while the upper level of burials yielded two pairs of gold earrings, four bronze earrings and a spiral silver bracelet (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 562-4).

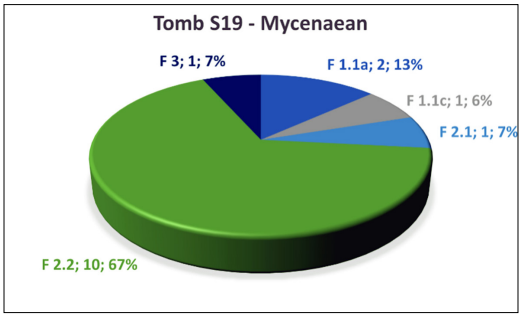
Among overall 129 vessels from the tomb, 15 are Mycenaean imports, representing 12% of ceramic offerings **[tab. 5.15]**. 'Containers for Liquid Substances' (sub-category F2.2) amount to 67% of Aegean imports, both mixing vessels (sub-category F1.1a) and drinking vessels (sub-category F1.1c) to 13%, both 'Containers for Viscous Substances' (sub-category F2.1) and 'Storage Vessels' (category F3) amount to 7%, and 'Drinking/Eating Vessels' (sub-category F1.2) to 6% **[fig. 5.11 a, b]**. In a few words, this general pattern is paralleled by other rich funerary contexts broadly dating to the LC II period, such as Tomb C10.

Concerning overall ceramic finds from Tomb S19, they can mostly be related to the following functions: drinking (sub-category F1.1c) (27%), drinking/eating (sub-category F1.2) (26%), pouring (sub-category F1.1b) (19%) and containing precious liquid commodities (sub-category F2.2) (18%). Moreover, figure 5.11 b shows that mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a are represented by Plain White Wheelmade kraters (75% of this sub-category) as well as local imitations of Mycenaean amphoroid kraters, in addition to two Mycenaean Pictorial Style kraters FS 281 (25%), similarly to the ceramic assemblage in Tomb C10. Among the drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c, the Mycenaean cups FS 220 were very few (3%) while 'Drinking/Eating Vessels' of sub-category F1.2 were only represented by Cypriot vessels. On the other hand, sub-category F2.1 ('Containers for Viscous Substances') was only represented by a Mycenaean piriform jar while eight Mycenaean stirrup jars, and two Mycenaean globular flasks amounted to 43% of 'Containers for Liquid Substances' (sub-category F2.2). Some local Plain White Wheelmade vessels and a Mycenaean large piriform jar FS 40 can be assigned to category F3 ('Storage Vessels').

Tomb S3, Swedish Excavations – LC I-IIC, Interaction Periods 2, 3, 4

Tomb S3, located in Quarter 3W, featured an unusual shape. The dromos was in fact represented by a quite large oval pit while the chamber was of circular shape and had a large niche, making the whole tomb like an '8' shape (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 475-6, fig. 188: 8-10, 191: 1; Keswani 2004, 235, tab. 5.9c).

The tomb was surely used for a long period, from LC I to LC II. Unfortunately, the burials were partially disturbed in the Early Byzantine period and neither was possible to establish safe associations between the 248 finds and single burials, possibly belonging to fifteen individuals, nor was possible to separate different burial layers due to later disturbances. Nevertheless, the excavators were able to isolate the oldest group of finds, dating to the first period of use of the tomb. It included both local and Mycenaean pottery and various precious ornaments: four gold diadems, three gold mouth covers, gold



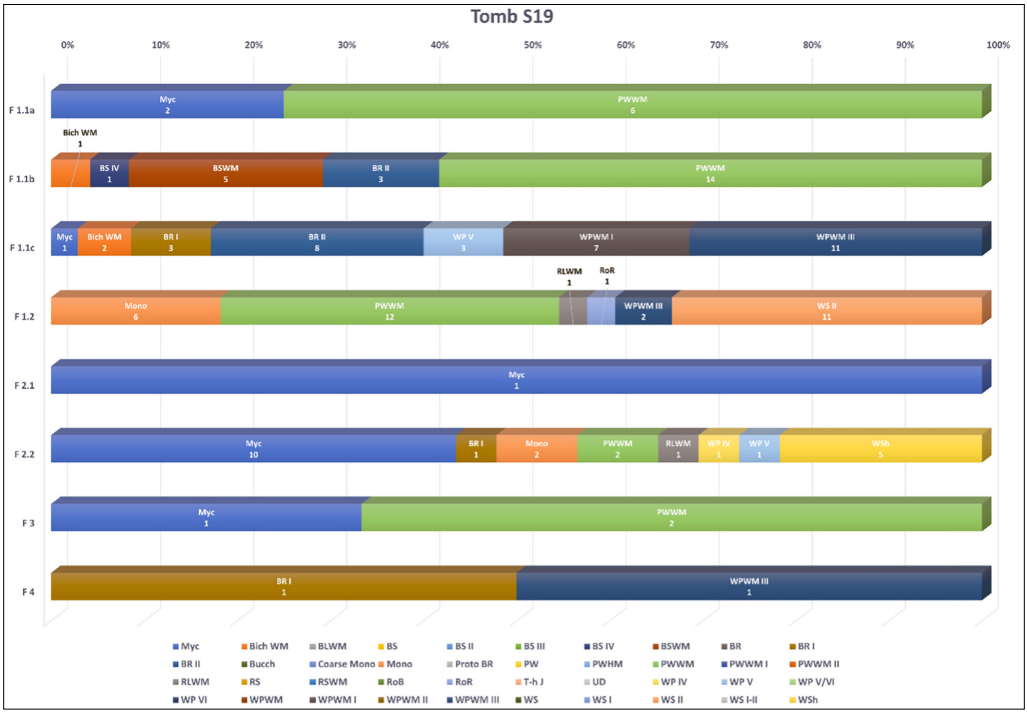


Figure 5.11 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb S19;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb S19

earrings, a gold hair ring, four gold beads, a yellow faience bead and the cover of an ivory pyxis (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 480-3).

All the other objects were piled up along the sides of the chamber and may be treated as a single group for the reasons expressed above. In addition to many local and Aegean vessels, this heterogeneous group included a significant amount of prestige objects: a gold diadem, ten gold foils, three gold rings, a gold hair ring, twelve gold earrings, forty-seven gold beads, one silver earring, at least three silver rings, three silver brooches, two ivory pins with the head in the shape of a pomegranate, eighteen faience beads, several fragments of at least three bronze daggers, three gold capsules for cylinder seals, an ivory lid, nine ivory discs, a bronze hemispheric cup with a silver foot and a faience cup (478-83). Therefore, the wealth displayed in this tomb clearly indicates that the individuals here buried were part of the Enkomi elite and had access to precious status indicators. Despite the Byzantine disturbances, the large amounts of luxury objects found inside the chamber shows that this funerary context was not plundered, making it partially useful for the purposes of the present discussion.

172 ceramic vessels were recovered in this tomb S3, including 37 Mycenaean items which amounted to 22% of overall ceramic offerings **[tab. 5.15]**. Mixing vessels (sub-category F1.1a) amounted to 38% of Mycenaean imports, small containers for viscous substances (sub-category F2.1) to 19%, containers for liquid substances (sub-category F2.2) to 13%, drinking vessels (sub-category F1.1c) to 13%, pouring vessels (sub-category F1.1b) to 8%, drinking/eating vessels (sub-category 1.2), large storage/transport shapes (category F3) and shapes for ritual purposes (category F4) to 3% respectively **[fig. 5.12 a, b]**.

Concerning overall ceramic finds from Tomb S3, they can mostly be related to the following functions: drinking/eating (sub-category F1.2) (24%), containing precious liquid commodities (sub-category F2.2) (20%) and pouring (sub-category F1.1b) (20%). Figure 5.12 b also shows that the Mycenaean Pictorial Style amphoroid kraters FS 53 (1) and FS 54 (13) are largely predominant (74%) among the mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a. For the first time there were a LH III A2 Early stirrup jug FS 151 and two LH III B Mycenaean jugs (FS 114 and FS 118) among the pouring shapes, amounting to 6% of overall pottery of sub-category F1.1b. Four Mycenaean cups FS 220 and a Mycenaean mug FS 228 amount to a large percentage (41%) of the drinking vessels of the sub-category F1.1c, while there was a Mycenaean shallow bowl among the drinking/eating vessels, representing only 7% of sub-category F1.2. All the Containers for Viscous Substances' (sub-category F2.1) were Mycenaean (64%) and Aegean-type (36%) vessels. They included an alabastron FS 93, two alabastra FS 94, four piriform jars FS 45 and four local three-handled jars FS 46 (1) and 47 (3) (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 479, pl. LXXVII, rows 5: 8, 6: 9, 6:

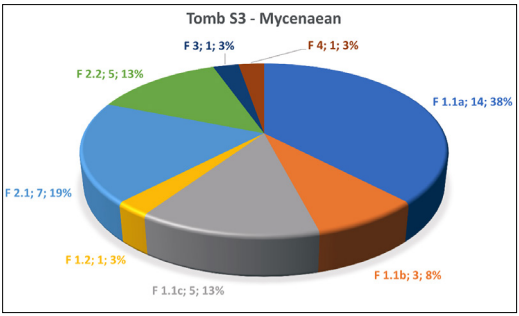
7, 5: 10; Graziadio 2017, 132, 136). Four Mycenaean stirrup jars FS 166, FS 171, and FS 180, and a globular flask FS 191 amounted to 14% of overall 'Containers for Liquid Substances' (sub-category F2.2), in contrast to the White Shaved jugs which were largely predominant among the vessels attributed to this functional sub-category; eight uncommon Red Lustrous Wheelmade vessels (seven spindle bottles and a possible juglet) were also found. A Mycenaean miniature juglet represents 8% of overall ritual vessels of category F4.

Tomb F5/49, French Excavations 1949 – LC IB-LC IIIB, Interaction Periods 2, 3, 4

Tomb F5/49 was located in Quarter 5E, three meters south of Tomb F2/49, just under Street 5 which crossed the settlement in east-west direction. It was used from LC IB to LC IIIB, but there were removals and displacements of a large number of burials producing a very complex stratigraphy. For the purposes of the present contribution, only the burials and the materials earlier than the LC IIC period can be taken into account (Schaeffer 1952, 156-229, fig. 83-4; Keswani 2004, 96, 97, 103, 105, 114, 125, 128, 234, tab. 5.9c).

This was a chamber tomb with a peculiar bilobate plan like Tomb C10. The dromos directly led to the stomion, which was sealed by a dump of large calcareous stones. The entrance to the chamber was closed by a collapsed stone slab. According to the excavator, the oldest level of burials (Stratum IV) can be dated to the LC IB period. The oldest materials were found in the southeastern corner of the chamber. This level of burials contained approximately twenty burials associated with ceramic materials and various precious objects, including four pairs of bronze earrings, at least three bronze rings and two beads of hard blue stone (Schaeffer 1952, pl. XXXVIII). The following level of burials (Stratum III), dating to the LC IIA-B period, produced many prestige objects: a gold mouth cover and a gold diadem with the same decoration, three gold earrings, a gold ring with a gold pearl, three bronze rings, a necklace with pomegranate-shaped pendant in semiprecious stone, a faience bead, a faience cylinder seal with gold capsules, a gold capsule for a cylinder seal, a steatite cylinder seal, the cover of an ivory pyxis and some fragments of ivory discs (pl. XXXVII).

The presence of a sterile level of *chavara* between Stratum III and the following level of burials (Stratum II) suggests an interruption in the use of the tomb. As a matter of fact, while burials belonging to the earlier levels had the same east-west orientation, in Stratum II the burials found along the perimeter of the chamber might have been dislocated possibly because of the construction of a new dromos. The materials associated with this group of burials can be assigned to two different phases with the oldest finds, including an



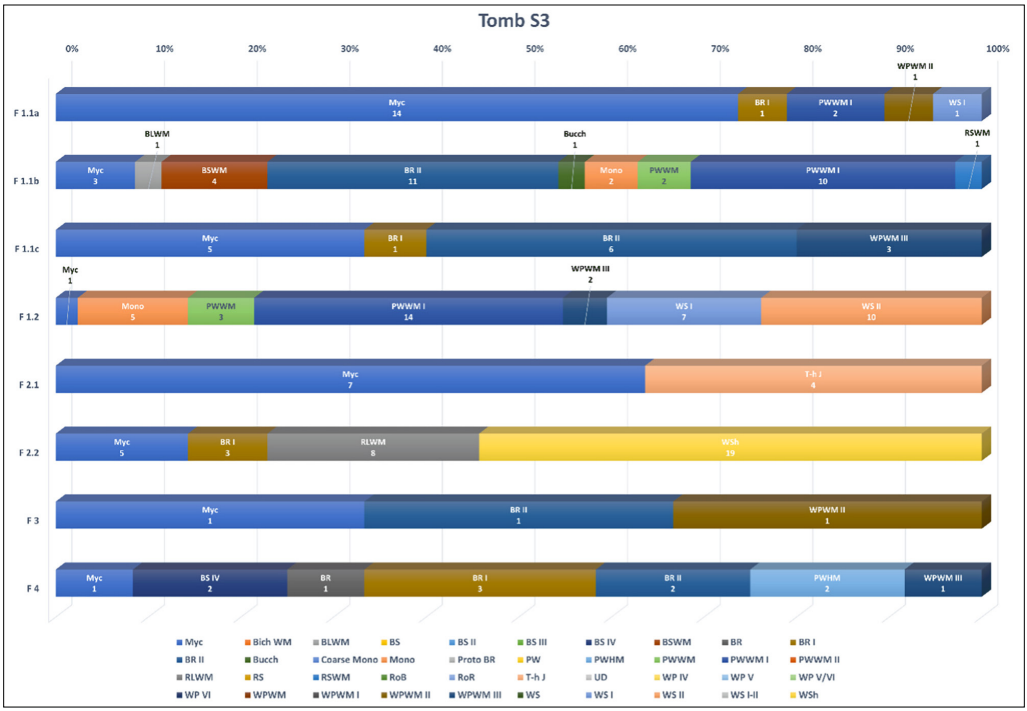


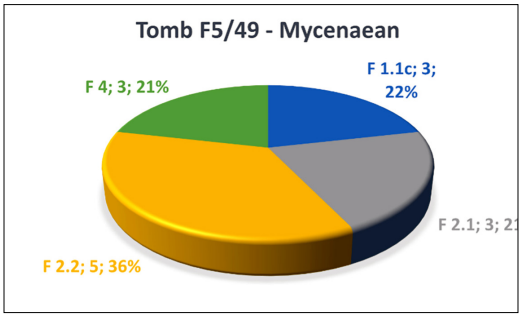
Figure 5.12 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb S3;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb S3

ivory disc and a hemispheric bronze cup, dating to the LC IIC period, while all the other objects can be assigned to the LC IIIA. The latest phase of use of the tomb (Stratum I), which can therefore be dated to the LC III A-B period, is not taken into account in the present study (pl. XXXVI).

The large amount of luxury objects made of precious materials showing a high symbolic value were mainly associated with the LC IIA-B burials, confirming the high degree of wealth and the social rank of the users of the tomb in this period.

Tomb F5/49 produced 271 vessels, including only 14 Mycenaean imports (5% of total pottery) **[tab. 5.15]**. The 'Containers for Liquid Substances' (sub-category F2.2) amounted to 36% of the Mycenaean vessels, the drinking vessels (sub-category F1.1c) to 22%, both 'Containers for Viscous Substances' (sub-category F2.1) and shapes for ritual purposes (category F4) amounted to 21% of Aegean imports **[fig. 5.13 a]**.

Concerning overall vessels of F5/49, they can mostly be related to the following functions **[fig. 5.13 b]**: drinking/eating (sub-category F1.2) (32%), containing precious liquid commodities (sub-category F2.2) (23%) and pouring (sub-category F1.1b) (23%). Figure 5.13 also shows that no mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a were part of the ceramic assemblage; all pouring vessels of sub-category F1.1b did not include Mycenaean imports, while there was a large variety of local productions. Three Mycenaean cups FS 220 and FS 214 amounted to 11% of overall drinking vessels (sub-category F1.1c). 'Containers for Viscous Substances' of sub-category F2.1 were exclusively represented by Mycenaean imports (43%) and local Aegean-type productions (57%), including a Mycenaean alabastron FS 97, a Mycenaean piriform jar FS 48, a Mycenaean piriform jar of undefined FS number and four three-handled jars FS 46 (2) and FS 47 (2) of local production (Schaeffer 1952, 180 fig. 71: 255, 193 no. 255, pl. XXXVII: 255; 183-5 no. 203, figs 70: 203, 81: 203, 173 no. 101, fig. 68: 101, 80: 12, 194 no. 324, fig. 73: 324; cf. Graziadio 2017, 132-3, 137). Three Mycenaean stirrup jars FS 179, along with two stirrup jars FS 180 and 182 only amounted to 8% of overall 'Containers for Liquid Substances' of sub-category F2.2, where local wares were clearly predominant. Three Mycenaean miniature vessels can be assigned to category F4, corresponding to 23% of overall ritual vessels.



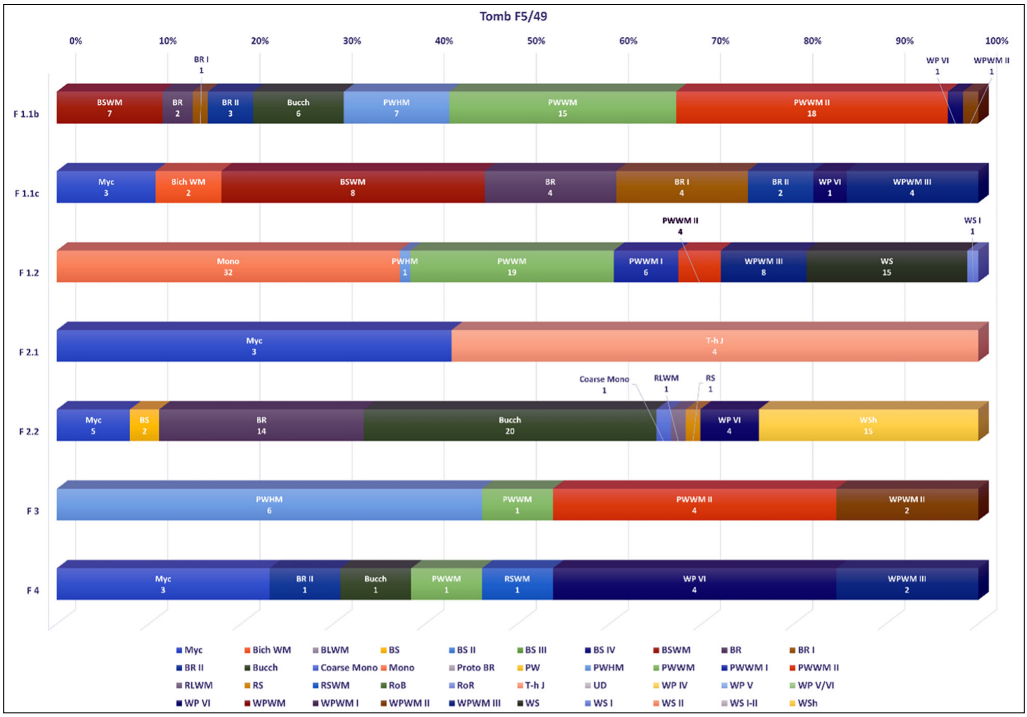


Figure 5.13 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb F5/49;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb F5/49

Tomb S11, Swedish Excavations – LC II A-IIC, Interaction Periods 3, 4

Tomb S11, located in Quarter 6W, was joined to the nearby shaft Tomb S11A. It had a small dromos, a short stomion and a rectangular chamber with a bench. Keswani suggested that the earliest period of use of this tomb was LC IIA/beginning of LC IIB and continued to be used as late as LC IIC (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 510-25, figs 195: 7-9, 198: 1-4, 199, pls LXXXII-LXXXIV; Keswani 2004, 96, 218, 235, tab. 5.9c).

The tomb was used at least for twenty-one individuals, but the exact number of burials is uncertain due to the poor state of preservation of bones. The discovery of some isolated skulls was possibly indicative of primary depositions partially removed to make room to new burials according to the ritual of the secondary treatment.

Among the 274 objects found in this tomb, only some groups can be associated with specific burials. The excavators were able to distinguish ten layers in the whole tomb, but burials and offerings were actually found in fewer layers.

The lowest and oldest layer dated back to the LC IIA/beginning of the LC IIB. It contained three groups of grave goods including some prestige objects: a gold mouth-cover, an ivory disk, two bronze cups and a faience cup (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 521-4). The following layer of burials was dated to LC IIB, but no exact correlation between burials and goods can be suggested. The last layer of burials, dating to the LC IIC period, contained five burials associated with distinct funerary offerings. On the left side of the chamber, a skull was richly provided with a gold diadem, a gold mouth-cover, a pair of gold earrings and a gold bracelet. On its right, there were two skulls respectively associated with two and three gold earrings. The skeleton arranged in a contracted position along the right side of the chamber was better preserved and associated with two ivory pyxides and one faience cup. The fifth burial belonging to the LC IIC level was arranged in the same position and was surely associated with an ostrich egg. The remaining materials from this level, which cannot be attributed to specific burials, included a gold diadem and some fragments of a faience vessel (516-17). Finally, a burial associated with few worthless objects was found in the dromos and was interpreted by the excavator as evidence of a ritual sacrifice of a servant. Keswani instead suggested that this individual was located outside of the chamber simply because there was no room inside the chamber, or that it was temporarily placed in the dromos before its final replacement in the main chamber (Keswani 1989a, 407-8).

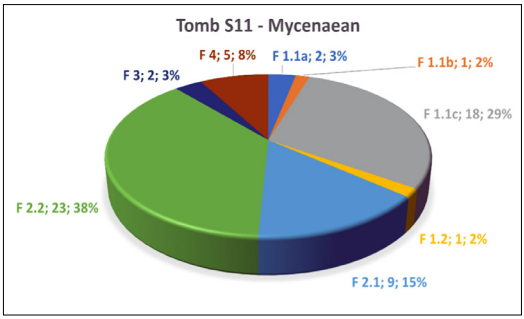
The presence of considerable amounts of precious status indicators confirms that the individuals buried in Tomb S11 belonged to the Enkomi social elite. Tomb S11 yielded 250 vessels, including 61 Mycenaean items which accounted to 24% of the total ceramic offerings

[tab. 5.15]. Of overall Mycenaean imports, 38% are 'Containers for Liquid Substances' (sub-category F2.2), 29% are drinking vessels (sub-category F1.1c), 15% are 'Containers for Viscous Substances' (sub-category F2.1), 8% are shapes for ritual purposes (category F4). Both mixing vessels (sub-category F1.1a) and large storage/transport shapes (category F3) amounted to 3%, while both drinking/eating and pouring vessels (sub-categories F1.2 and F1.1b) amounted to 2% [fig. 5.14 a].

Concerning the overall ceramic finds of Tomb S11 [fig. 5.14 b], they can mostly be related to the following functions: pouring (sub-category F1.1b) (26%), drinking/eating (sub-category F1.2) (20%), containing precious liquid commodities (sub-category F2.2) (20%), and drinking (sub-category F1.1c) (17%). Functional analysis of the Cypriot and Aegean pottery shows that two Mycenaean kraters FS 54 and FS 55 amounted to 11% of sub-category F1.1a, but this sub-category was mostly represented by Plain White examples. Plain White and Base Ring are predominant among the shapes for pouring of sub-category F1.1b, while the only corresponding Mycenaean import was a jug FS 116 (2% of overall pouring shapes). On the contrary, Mycenaean cups FS 220 amounted to 42% of overall drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c. A large number of local Monochrome, Plain White and White Slip vessels may be assigned to sub-category F1.2 ('Drinking/Eating Vessels'), while there is only one Mycenaean shallow bowl (2%). Four Mycenaean piriform jars FS 45, two Mycenaean piriform jars of undefined shape and three alabastra FS 94 amounted to 90% of all shapes suitable for viscous commodities (sub-category F2.1), while a matt painted piriform jar FS 45 (here classified as White Painted Wheelmade III because of its matt paint decoration) is the only other vessel with this function. Mycenaean imports amounted to 45% of overall closed shapes for liquid commodities of sub-category F2.2, including in particular three globular flasks FS 191 and twenty stirrup jars.[51] Local wares amount to 55% of this sub-category, including two rare Red Lustrous Wheelmade vessels (a flask and a spindle bottle), 22 White Shaved juglets and two Base Ring juglets. Category F3 ('Storage Vessels') is exclusively represented by two Mycenaean piriform jars FS 36. Mycenaean miniature shapes amount to a large percentage (42%) of ceramic containers for ritual purposes of category F4.

The close association of vessels belonging to different wares may be indicative of an intentional selection of shapes for the composition of drinking sets. A Base Ring II juglet was placed inside a Monochrome bowl, which in turn was put on top of a Base Ring II jug. Similarly, a Base Ring II cup was found inside a Base Ring II krater;

51 The following shapes are represented: one stirrup jar FS 166, one FS 167, seven FS 171, one FS 173, four FS 179, five FS 180 and FS 182.



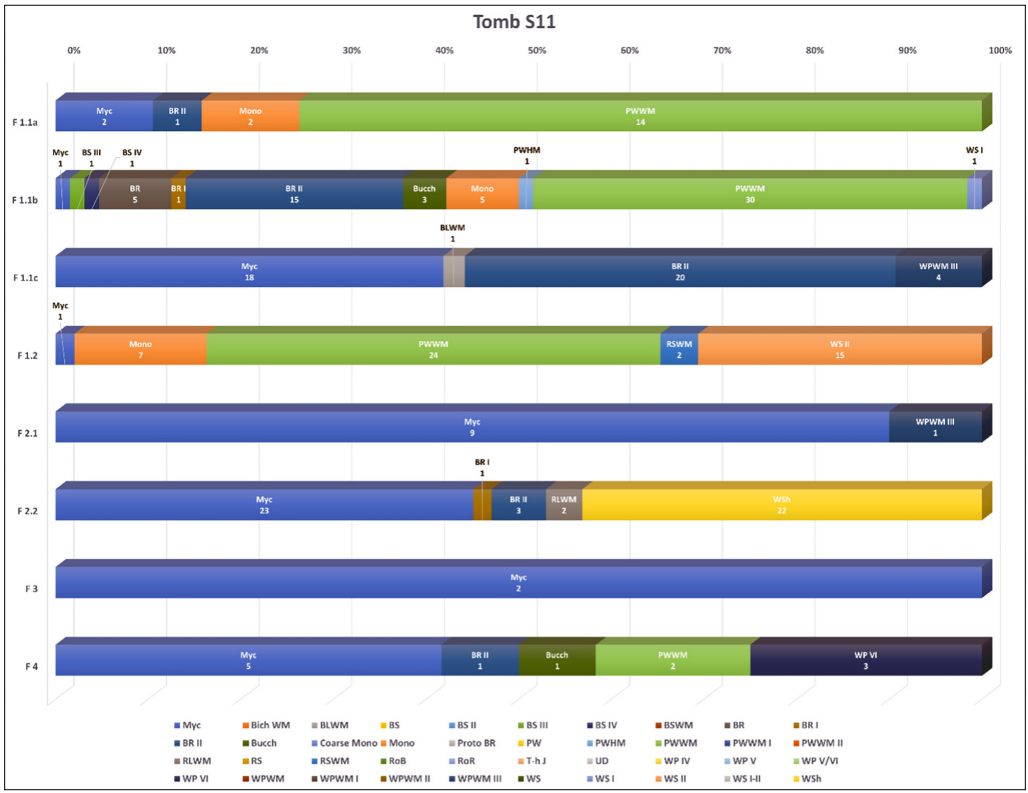


Figure 5.14 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb S11;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb S11

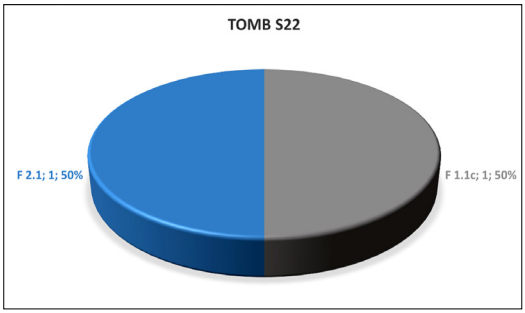
another Base Ring II juglet was placed inside a Monochrome bowl and a Monochrome jug was associated with a bronze bowl. However, considering that all these vessels belonged to the oldest burials, it is also possible that they were displaced during the secondary treatments modifying the original associations and producing new casual patterns. The scarcity of Mycenaean kraters in this tomb has also been pointed out, which were probably replaced by local Plain White Wheelmade kraters, in spite of the fact that Mycenaean pottery is well represented in this tomb (Keswani 1989b, 64, 73; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 151, 159).

Tomb S22, Swedish Excavations – LC IIB-IIC, Interaction Periods 3, 4

This intact tomb, located in Quarter 5W, can be regarded as a 'chimney tomb', since it featured a circular pit on the roof of an oval chamber which functioned as a vertical dromos. The tomb was surely damaged during the construction of the nearby Tomb S18, but the stratigraphy in the dromos indicates that it was intact.

On the floor of the chamber an adult male was buried with some vessels of local production and only one Mycenaean vessel; on the right side a burial of a child was accompanied by a White Shaved juglet. The presence of Aegean-type pottery shows that this funerary context was used in LC IIC, while the lack of precious objects suggests that these burials belonged to non-elite groups of the Enkomi society (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 549, 573-4, fig. 209: 5-6; Keswani 2004, 233, tab. 5.9c).

Tomb S22 contained only 10 vessels, which included two Mycenaean imports amounting to 20% of the ceramic equipment **[tab. 5.15]**. A Mycenaean LH IIIA2-B cup FS 220 and an Aegean-type cup FS 223 were the only drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c. The only vessel of sub-category F2.1 ('Containers for Viscous Substances') is a LH IIIA2-B alabastron FS 94, while local vessels were used for all the other functions **[fig. 5.15 a, b]**. The sub-category F1.1a ('Mixing Vessels') was represented by a Plain White Wheelmade amphoroid krater while no Mycenaean krater was found.



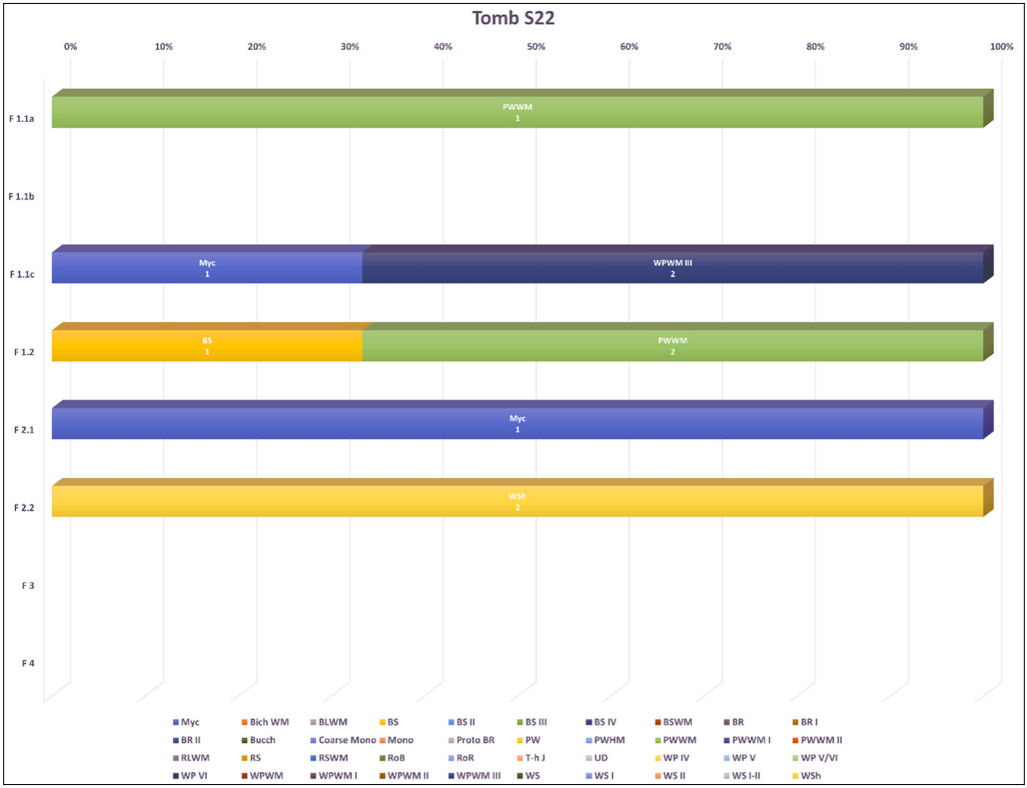


Figure 5.15 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb S22;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb S22

Tomb S10 and S10A, Swedish Excavations – LC IIB-IIIA, Interaction Periods 3, 4

Tomb S10, a chamber tomb located in Quarter 8W, featured an irregular shape. According to Keswani the whole structure of the tomb was modified after its first period of use. There were at least thirteen burials in association with 63 objects dating from the final phase of LC IIB to the beginning of LC IIIA, but the main period of use of this tomb was LC IIC. North of Tomb S10, and joined to it, there was the small rectangular Tomb S10A, which was found intact containing only one male burial associated with a few LC IIC vessels (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 505-9, fig. 195: 2-6, 196-7; Keswani 2004, 97, 233, 237, tab. 5.9c-d). Only finds dating to the LC IIB-C period are discussed here.

The oldest skeletons, at least eleven in number, were not found in anatomical connections, possibly because of the upheavals caused by the water infiltration into the lower part of the tomb. On top of this older layer, in the east corner of the tomb, two burials attesting to a second period of use of the tomb were found *in situ* together with their goods. Apart from a few objects safely attributable to them, most grave goods cannot be associated to specific burials because of the poor state of conservation of human remains. Even though the funerary assemblage of the tomb included some luxury objects such as a gold mouth-cover, a gold diadem, few gold earrings, a cylinder seal in white paste, two ivory disks and six badly preserved bronze vessels, the tomb cannot be included among the richest tombs at the site (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 508-9).

Tomb S10 yielded 48 vessels, including five Mycenaean imports corresponding to about 10% of overall ceramic assemblage of the tomb **[tab. 5.15] [fig. 5.16 a]**; among them, three piriform jars FS 45 can be related to sub-category F2.1 ('Containers for Viscous Substances'), while sub-category F2.2 ('Containers for Liquid Substances') is represented by a stirrup jar FS 166, and a cup FS 220 can be ascribed to sub-category F1.1c ('Drinking Vessels').

Only eight vessels came from Tomb S10A, including a Mycenaean piriform jar FS 45 corresponding to 13% of overall ceramic equipment **[fig. 5.17 a, b]**.

As appears from figures 5.16 a, b, and 5.17 a, b, in Tomb S10 there was no Mycenaean krater among the mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a, while the sub-category F1.1a was represented by two Plain White Wheelmade I kraters. Pouring vessels of sub-category F1.1b exclusively are of local production, Base Ring II bowls amounted to 75% of drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c, while a LH IIIA2/IIIB cup FS 220 is the only remaining Mycenaean vessel of this sub-category. Sub-category 1.2 ('Drinking/Eating Vessels') is only represented by local Monochrome, Plain White Wheelmade and White Painted Wheelmade III vessels. On the contrary, 'Containers for Viscous

Substances' of sub-category F2.1 are exclusively represented by three Mycenaean piriform jars FS 45. Since a stirrup jar FS 166 only amounts to 8% of sub-category F2.2, Aegean imports were less appreciated as containers of liquid substances and were replaced by many White Shaved juglets. Category F3 ('Storage Vessels') was only represented by local vessels. Tomb S10A did not contain Mycenaean vessels apart from a piriform jar FS 45 of sub-category F2.2 ('Containers for Liquid Substances').

Tomb S18, Swedish Excavations – LC IIB-C, Interaction Period 3, 4

Tomb S18 was found intact under the large isodomic complex called Bâtiment 18 in Quarter 5W. Based on the stratigraphy and finds, the tomb can be dated to LC IIB-C. The dromos was a rectangular pit and a step connected the stomion to the rectangular chamber. In the northwestern corner of the main chamber there was a smaller side chamber of irregularly circular shape, called Side Chamber 1. A second circular side chamber, called Side Chamber 2, was in the center of the rear wall of the main chamber, but it did not seem to have been used for any burial. The floors of these two side spaces were at a different level from the floor of the main chamber (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 547-58).

The earliest burials were found in a central depression in the main chamber and in Side Chamber 1. In the main chamber two different levels of burials were separated by a layer of *chavara*; the lower level was contemporaneous to the burials in Side Chamber 1. It was not possible to establish the exact correlations between single burials and specific groups of materials. Therefore, all the materials found in the lower level of the main chamber and in Side Chamber 1 may belong to a single assemblage. This produced large amounts of precious gold objects showing a marked prevalence of LH IIIA-B Mycenaean vessels over local wares. The list of precious objects included three gold diadems, four gold mouth-covers, two gold earrings, five gold hair rings, three pairs of earrings, two gold rings, a gold toe-ring, three ivory discs possibly belonging to pyxides, an ivory cylinder pyxis, an ivory pillar with echinus and some fragments of ostrich eggs. This assemblage also included a precious silver cup and three bronze cups (554-6).

The human remains of the upper and later level of the main chamber (named skeletons I-VII) were better preserved than those found in the older layer burials. Skeletons I-V laid side by side in the center of the chamber in dorsal position, while the remaining two skeletons had a slightly curved dorsal column. The very precious objects associated to this group of burials clearly belonged to the uppermost social rank of the Enkomi society. The recovered burial goods included 17 gold objects, two glass bottles, many different fragments of

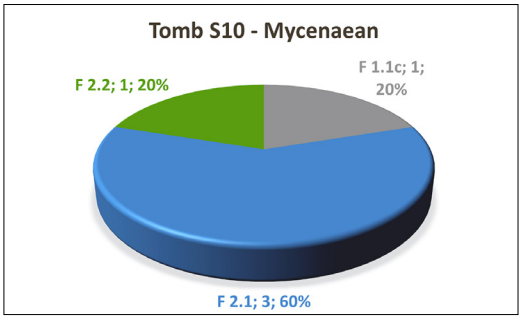
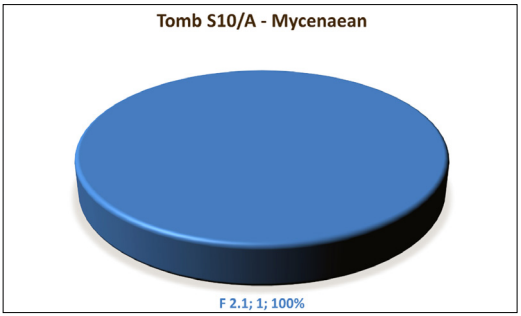




Figure 5.16 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb S10;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb S10



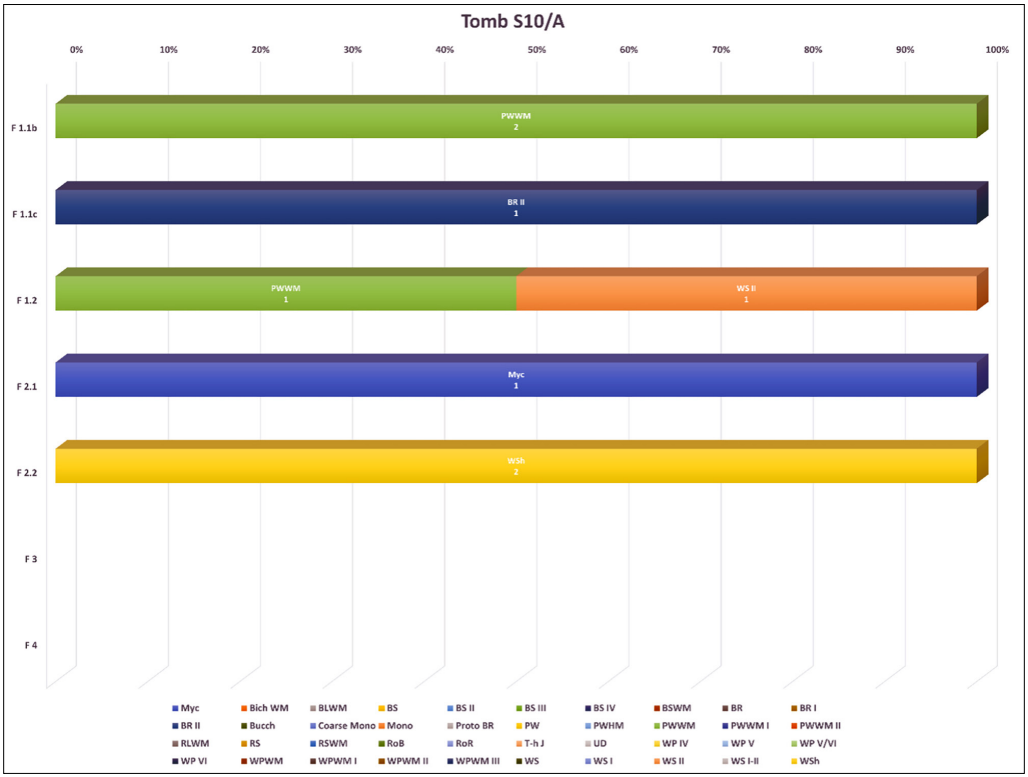


Figure 5.17 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb S10A;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb S10A

ostrich eggs, a lot of ivory objects, some steatite pestles and mortars as well as many Mycenaean vessels, some of which showed painted or incised Cypro-Minoan pot-marks. Even if Skeleton I was slightly disturbed by later burials, it was possible to isolate its grave goods. The list of precious objects included at least one gold diadem, two gold hair rings, a gold ring, a bronze sword, an ivory hair comb, an ivory disk, and a bronze cup (551). Skeleton II, laying just on the right side of Skeleton I, possibly belonged to a rich woman approximately 30-6 years old. The precious materials associated with this burial included a gold diadem, a gold mouth cover, three gold earrings, a gold necklace, three gold rings, three bronze rings, an ivory brooch, one bronze mirror, one ivory pyxis, two ivory discs, and two bronze cups (551-2). Precious objects that can be attributed to the male Skeleton III are a gold mouth-cover, a silver bracelet, an ivory disk and two bronze cups (552). An ivory comb handle and a bronze sword of Mycenaean type were found near Skeleton IV. A gold diadem was associated with Skeleton V (554), while a bronze sword, a fragmentary bronze helmet, an ivory button, a bronze cup and two glass pomegranate vessels can be assigned to Skeleton VI. A gold seal ring and a fragmentary large globular bronze jug found along the north wall of the chamber might be attributed to the Skeleton VII, although this burial was in a bad state of conservation possibly suggesting a secondary treatment (553-4). Other finds from this level of burials which cannot safely be associated with distinct burials are a gold diadem, five gold mouth-covers, two silver bracelets, a gold bead, a gold brooch, two bronze rings, one fragmentary bronze mirror, four bronze cups and a faience cup (551-3).

The ceramic evidence seems to be typical of the LC IIC Late period, when the majority of the traditional Cypriot wares were disappearing to be replaced by Aegean imported pottery and local Aegean-type vessels. Tomb S18 produced 101 vessels, including 50 Mycenaean items corresponding to 49% of the total amount of ceramic offerings. Of overall Mycenaean imports, drinking/eating vessels (sub-category F1.2) amounted to 26%, large storage/transport vessels (category F3) to 24%, pouring shapes (sub-category F1.1b) to 14%, kraters (sub-category F1.1a) to 16%, both 'Containers for Viscous Substances' (sub-category F2.1), and 'Containers for Liquid Substances' (sub-category F2.2) amounted to 6% respectively, both drinking vessels (sub-category F1.1c) and vessels for ritual purposes (category F4) to 4% of total Aegean ceramic finds **[tab. 5.15]**.

Turning to overall ceramic finds from the tomb **[fig. 18 a, b]**, they can mostly be related to the following functions: drinking/eating (sub-category F1.2) (38%), pouring (sub-category F1.1b) (16%), drinking (sub-category F1.1c) (13%) and storage/transport (category F3) (12%). Functional analysis of these finds shows the following pattern: mixing shapes of sub-category F1.1a are exclusively represented by

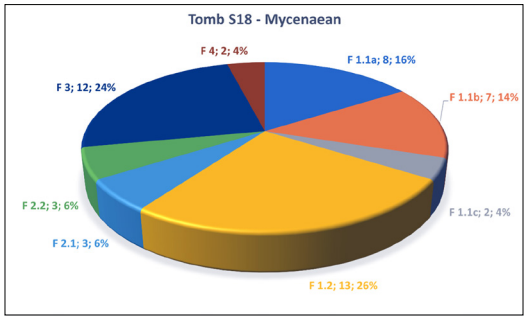
Mycenaean amphoroid kraters FS 55 (1) and bell kraters FS 281 (7), mostly decorated in Pictorial Style. Among overall pouring vessels of sub-category F1.1b the number of Plain White Wheelmade and White Painted Wheelmade III local jugs was almost equal to Mycenaean jugs and juglets FS 110 and FS 116, amounting to 44%. A low percentage (13%) of drinking shapes (sub-category F1.1c) is represented by two Mycenaean cups FS 220 and local Aegean-type cups FS 232 and FS 235 (8 and 1 respectively). 13 Mycenaean bowls (including a bowl FS 244 with wishbone handle, seven bowls FS 296, three bowls FS 309, and two bowls FS 310), amounted to 34% of overall drinking/eating vessels of sub-category F1.2, while local Aegean-type bowls FS 296 and FS 244 represent 58% of this sub-category. Sub-category F2.1 ('Containers for Viscous Substances') is only represented by three Mycenaean piriform jars FS 48 while two Mycenaean stirrup jars FS 180 and a stirrup jar FS 182 amounted to 60% of 'Containers for Liquid Substances' of sub-category F2.2. Category F3 ('Storage Vessels') is only represented by Mycenaean imports, including five piriform jars FS 36, three piriform jars FS 40, and a stirrup jar FS 167. Mycenaean miniature stirrup jars FS 180 and FS 171 amounted to 33% of overall ritual vessels of category F4, which also included four local Aegean-type feeding bottles.

5.4.1.8.5 Some Social Considerations on the Mycenaean Pottery from Select Enkomi Tombs

Based on number of status indicators, including luxury objects with symbolic meaning, the fifteen tombs here analyzed can be assigned to three distinct groups. Tombs not producing any evidence of status indicators, such as Tombs C19 and S22, may be assigned to Group 1. These tombs must have been used by non-elite groups of the Enkomi society, having a low degree of wealth.

Tombs which contained only a limited amount and variety of status indicators, such as Tombs F126/57, Tomb S2, F11/49, S10 and S10A, are assigned to Group 2. The presence of some luxury objects made of various precious materials suggests that these tombs were used by individuals belonging to rich social groups, although the degree of wealth of their burials cannot be compared to the richness of tombs of Group 3.

The tombs which yielded a large amount and a substantial variety of status indicators, such as Tombs S17, F2/49, C10, S19, S3, F5/49, S11 and S18, may be assigned to Group 3. The degree of wealth of these tombs was very high and exhibited the exclusive availability of luxury objects, often made of precious material, by individuals which surely were members of the highest rank in the Enkomi society.



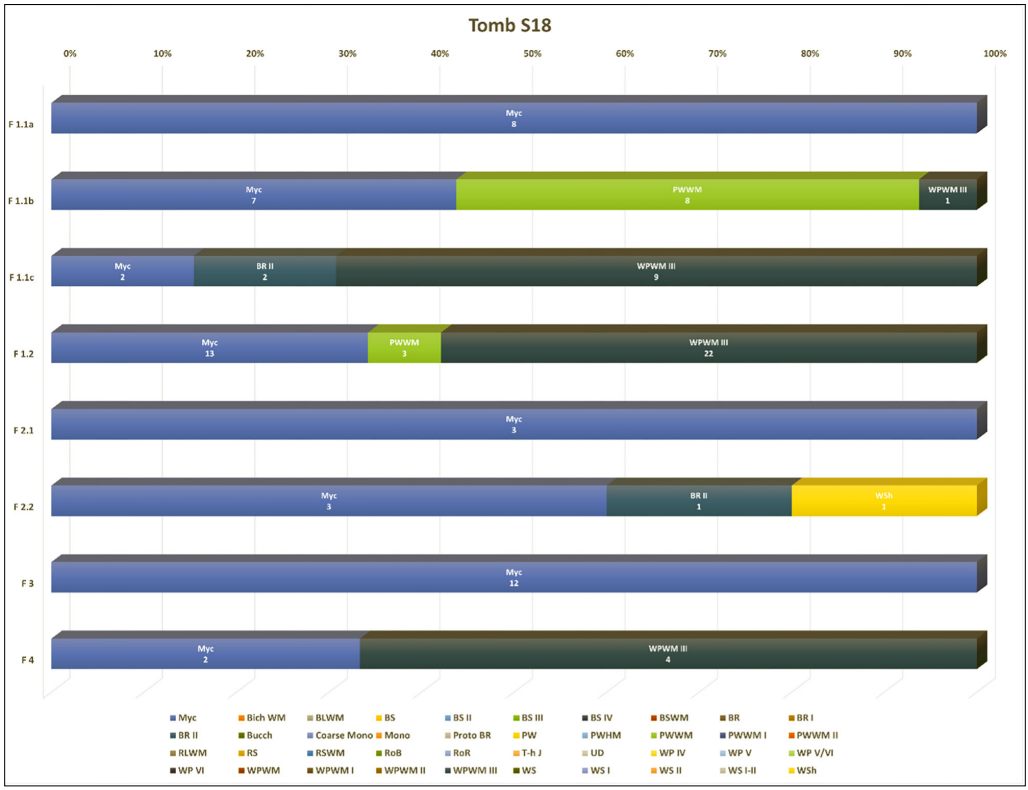


Figure 5.18 a. Functions of Aegean pottery from Tomb S18;
b. Functions of overall ceramic finds from Tomb S18

Of course, this tripartite distinction of the Enkomi tombs may appear as a simplification of a much more complex social situation, but it seems to be indicative of different strategies of displaying social identity by individuals of different rank. Functional analysis of pottery from the select tombs assigned to these tomb groups also conforms to this interpretation.

Group 1

The absence of status indicators and the small number of ceramic offerings enlighten the mortuary rituals acted by non-elite social groups of the Enkomi society during Interaction Periods 3 and 4.

Ceramic assemblages of tombs of group 1 (Tomb C19 and Tomb S22) contained a very small number (one or two) of imported Mycenaean vessels. Cypriot traditional wares were used for most of the ceramic functions. As a matter of fact, drinking sets of category F1 were mainly composed by Cypriot wares or local Aegean-type drinking vessels (as shown by the Interaction Period 4 assemblage of Tomb S22), probably as a consequence of limited access to Mycenaean pottery. No Mycenaean kraters were used as mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a, while some Plain White Wheelmade kraters of local production replaced Mycenaean imports having a similar function. In both funerary contexts of Group 1 small closed shapes for liquid commodities of sub-category F2.2 were only represented by local White Shaved or Base Ring juglets. Therefore, Mycenaean imports were only used as drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c or as small containers of precious viscous commodities of sub-category F2.1. Nevertheless, in this scenery the placement of even a single Mycenaean vessel among the burial goods may be explained by the intention of displaying the access to foreign objects in an attempt to emulate the elite participation to the interaction with the Aegean world revealed by the large number of imported vessels in the richest tombs.

Group 2

Funerary assemblages of tombs of group 2 contained some precious status indicators, suggesting that the burials belonged to individuals who were relatively rich although not of highest social rank. The degree of wealth was higher than in the assemblages of tombs of group 1, but was not comparable to the richness of the elite tombs of group 3. Therefore, these differences in the amount of luxury objects and status indicators seem to confirm that in LC I-II the Enkomi society was articulated in various social levels according to diverse opportunities of access to precious goods and different strategies of expressing their identity.

Ceramic assemblages of tombs of group 2 contained pottery ranging from LC I to LC IIC and were mainly composed by local fine wares and a relatively small number of Mycenaean imports, although these imported vessels outnumbered the Aegean examples found in tombs of group 1 and were also indicative of a wider range of functions. Their presence in tombs of group 2, therefore, strengthens the impression that they were symbolically used to emphasize the participation of owner(s) of the tomb to the network of interaction with the Aegean world, although the Mycenaean imports from these tombs did not include real status indicators such as the Pictorial kraters occurring in the tombs of groups 3. In the ceramic assemblage of Tomb F126/57 the only vessel related to sub-category F2.1 ('Containers for Viscous Substances') is a Mycenaean piriform jar, while a Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle can be considered a significant status indicator since it is an uncommon vessel of sub-category F2.2 ('Containers for Liquid Substances'); differently from the tombs of group 3, however, this assemblage did not contain any mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a, either of Cypriot or Aegean origin. Tomb S2 also produced only a few Mycenaean imports, namely two small piriform jars used as containers for precious viscous substances of sub-category F2.1, but they were significantly associated with a small locally produced three-handled jar FS 47 which imitated a LH IIIA2 shape. In this tomb, the sub-category F1.1a ('Mixing Vessels') was exclusively represented by local Monochrome and Plain White Wheelmade kraters. A comparable pattern can be seen in Tomb F11/49, where there were only mixing vessels of local production, but the Mycenaean vessels were relatively well represented, amounting to 11% of overall ceramic offerings and attesting to a relatively wide range of functions. In this tomb, the drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c were, in fact, represented by five Mycenaean cups, while four Mycenaean alabastra, three piriform jars, and two local small three-handled piriform jars FS 47 imitating Aegean shapes were the only vessels assigned to sub-category F2.1 ('Containers for Viscous Substances'). The importance of the ceramic assemblage of this tomb is also underlined by five Mycenaean stirrup jars and five rare Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottles of sub-category F2.2 ('Containers for Liquid Substances'), in addition to two Mycenaean miniature piriform jars, which could be interpreted as ritual vessels of category F4.

Tomb S10 and S10A, belonging to Interaction Periods 3 and 4, confirm the general trend of other tombs of group 2. They did not yield any Mycenaean krater of sub-category F1.1a, and the repertoire of small closed shapes for precious viscous commodities of sub-category F2.1 only included Mycenaean piriform jars. There also were some Mycenaean imports among the drinking vessels (sub-category F1.1c) and the 'Containers for Liquid Substances' (sub-category F2.2).

Group 3

The funerary assemblages of the tombs of group 3 describe the strategies of making their social identity by the elite of the Enkomi society from LC I to LC IIC. Those tombs showed a remarkably high degree of wealth, clearly indicated by many status indicators associated to specific sets of wares and shapes as well as a significant selection of Mycenaean ceramic imports. The only exception to this pattern is represented by the pottery assemblage of Tomb F5/49, since it is characterized by small amounts of Mycenaean imports (only 5% of total ceramic offerings), which did not match the general degree of wealth and the long period of use of the tomb (LC IB-LC IIIB); the absence of both Cypriot and Aegean mixing vessels is another anomalous feature of this tomb.

As far as the general range of Mycenaean shapes from the tombs of group is concerned, it includes Pictorial Style amphoroid kraters of sub-category F1.1a as well as a variety of Mycenaean drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c. Kraters probably were the most appreciated imported vessels due to their distinctive, elaborate decoration with a clear symbolic meaning, suggesting an exclusive access to these vases of the highest quality. A case in point is the rich Tomb S17, where the precious LH IIIA2 Mycenaean Pictorial Style amphoroid krater FS 54, known as the 'Zeus krater', was the only mixing vessel of sub-category F1.1a. The symbolic importance of mixing vessels for the Enkomi elite also appears from Tomb F2/49, only used in Interaction Period 3, since it produced two Mycenaean kraters (a stemmed krater FS 7 and an amphoroid krater FS 53 with Pictorial Style decoration) and an uncommon Red Lustrous Wheelmade krater. Although Tomb S3 was used for a long period (LC I-II) the discovery of 14 Mycenaean amphoroid kraters, mostly with Pictorial decoration, is most remarkable, since they amounted to 38% of all (37) Mycenaean imports and were largely predominant (74%) among overall mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a. Particularly significant also is the case of Tomb S18, the only funerary assemblage of Interactions Periods 3 and 4 which contained many Mycenaean vessels related to all ceramic functions, in marked contrast to the pattern of tombs of groups 1 and 2. In fact, here not only the totality of mixing shapes (sub-category F1.1a) was represented by Pictorial Style kraters, but Mycenaean vessels also amounted to 44% of overall pouring vessels (sub-category F1.1b), 13% of drinking shapes (sub-category F1.1c), 34% of drinking/eating vessels (sub-category F1.2); Mycenaean imports also amounted to the totality of vessels for viscous commodities (sub-category F2.1), 60% of 'Containers for Liquid Substances' (sub-category F2.2), the totality of storage/transport vessels (category F3) and 33% of ritual shapes (category F4).

Therefore, this evidence may seemingly imply that in Enkomi tombs the predominance of Mycenaean Pictorial Style kraters among

mixing shapes was indicative of the highest level in social ranking. However, Tomb C10, although used from MC III to LC IIC, does not reflect this pattern since in this tomb almost all the mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a were represented by Cypriot Plain White Wheelmade kraters, even though the only two Mycenaean kraters in this assemblage were decorated in Pictorial Style. The same can be said of Tomb S19, where mixing vessels were represented by Plain White Wheelmade kraters and fewer Mycenaean kraters, including two Pictorial Style examples, but some Plain White Wheelmade kraters were local imitations of the Aegean amphoroid kraters and confirmed the attractiveness of this shape of Mycenaean origin for the composition of Cypriot burial assemblages. Despite the large number of Mycenaean imports (25% of the total amount of ceramic offerings) and the large amounts of luxury objects, at first sight Tomb S11, used in Interaction Periods 2 and 4, also featured the presence of several Plain White Wheelmade kraters and only two Mycenaean amphoroid kraters, including an example decorated in Pictorial Style.

Apart from the symbolic importance of the Mycenaean Pictorial Style kraters, all tombs of group 3 were characterized by large numbers of small Mycenean piriform and stirrup jars used for precious viscous and liquid commodities (category F2). In the funerary assemblages of these tombs, these imported vessels, in fact, were the totality, or the vast majority of the small containers for precious viscous substances (sub-category F2.1) and were not replaced by Cypriot traditional shapes. Significantly, in LC IIB the repertoire of Cypriot vessels included several three-handled jars FS 46-7 of Aegean tradition which imitated specific LH IIIA models and were produced for relatively rich or elite social groups. However, small closed shapes suitable for viscous substances (sub-category F2.1) also occurred in several LC II tombs showing lower degrees of wealth, such as those of groups 1 and 2. Therefore, these Aegean shapes and their contents were commonly appreciated and relatively accessible to individuals of different social ranks so that their use was not strictly restricted to the social elite as much as the Mycenaean Pictorial Style amphoroid kraters. However, these vessels probably had a certain symbolic value and were included in the ceramic funerary assemblages by the members of non-elite social groups probably attempting to display their participation to the interaction with the Aegean and emulate the funerary display of Aegean *exotica* by the elite.

On the contrary, the display of Mycenaean large storage/transport vessels of category F3 seems to be a prerogative of the elite groups of the Enkomi society, since these vessels only occurred in tombs of group 3. Similarly, Mycenaean miniature ritual vessels of category F4 were especially found in tombs of group 3, with the sole exception of two miniature piriform jars from Tomb F11/49 of group 2.

To conclude, some considerations on the chronology of Mycenaean pottery occurring in the selected Enkomi tombs are needed **[tab. 5.15]**. The earliest Mycenaean vessels (LH IIIA1 alabastra) were part of assemblages containing LC I pottery, but they were remarkably few, amounting to only one example from Tomb C10 (group 3) and another from Tomb F126/57, which was assigned to group 2. The number of Mycenaean imports reached its peak in LC IIB, corresponding to LH IIIA2, namely the advanced phases of Interaction Period 3. In this period several selected tombs were used contemporaneously, but they showed some differences in their degree of wealth. In particular, tombs used in Interaction Periods 2 and 3 (MCIII/LC I-LC I and LC II A-B) have been assigned to group 1 (Tomb C19), group 2 (Tombs F126/57, S2 and F11/49) and group 3 (Tombs S17, F2/49, C10, S19, S3, F5/49). The same is true of the tombs used in Interaction Periods 3 and 4 (LC IIA-B and LC IIC), which have been assigned to group 1 (Tomb S22), group 2 (Tombs S10 and S10A) and group 3 (Tombs C10, S19, S3, F5/49, S11, S18). Tombs used during Interaction Period 5 were only assigned to group 3, but ceramic offerings dating to LC IIIA-B have not been considered in the present study. This evidence, therefore, implies that the presence of status indicators itself and the degree of wealth of funerary assemblage do not have any general chronological meaning. Moreover, several tombs which were used contemporaneously show a variability in the number of Mycenaean imported vessels, indicating that this parameter also is generally unrelated to the chronology and, to a certain extent, to the degree of wealth of the funerary assemblages. Tomb C19, for example, was used in LC IIB (Interaction Period 3), but it has been assigned to group 1 and yielded only a LH IIIA-B cup FS 220. Tomb S22, equally attributed to group 1, was used in LC IIB-IIC; it contained only two Aegean imports, although they amounted to 20% of overall vessels from the tomb. Tomb S10, attributed to group 2, produced some status indicators and 48 vessels, only including five Mycenaean imports, although it was used in Interaction Periods 3 and 4. Tomb 11/49, belonging to Interaction Period 3, also shows a certain degree of wealth (group 2) while the Mycenaean vessels amounted to 11% of overall pottery. This imbalance between the richness of the tomb and the number of Mycenaean vessels is even more marked in Tomb S17 where of overall 65 vessels there found, 58 were Cypriot and only seven examples were Mycenaean imports (2% of recovered pottery), although the tomb was rich and ca be therefore assigned to group 3. The same is true of the rich tomb F5/49 of group 3, since it produced a few Mycenaean vessels which only amounted to 5% of total pottery. In contrast, an appreciable number of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB ceramic imports amounting to 37% of total pottery was found in Tomb F2/49, equally assigned to group 3, and the percentage of Mycenaean vessels

was even higher in the rich Tomb S18 of group 3, which was used in Interaction Periods 3 and 4 and produced 101 vessels, including 50 Mycenaean items corresponding to 49% of total ceramic offerings.

While the number of Mycenaean imports often had no direct correlation with the chronology of the pottery assemblages and the degree of richness of the tombs, it seems that, in the light of the above discussion, the functions of Mycenaean ceramic imports found in the selected funerary contexts may be indicative, at least to a certain extent, of the social rank of the individuals buried inside many tombs. In fact, ceramic assemblages of tombs belonging to group 2 included pottery ranging from LC I to LC IIC, but no tomb of this group (whatever was its period of use) produced kraters of sub-category F1.1a. Instead, the tombs of group 3 show a remarkably high degree of wealth, especially indicated by large amounts of status indicators and a significant selection of Mycenaean imports. Generally speaking, the presence of Pictorial Style amphoroid kraters of sub-category F1.1a and of a variety of Mycenaean drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c can be noticed in most ceramic assemblages of tombs of group 3. It is significant, for example, that Tomb S3, which was used for a long period (LC I-II), produced 14 Mycenaean amphoroid kraters, mostly with Pictorial decoration, amounting to 38% of overall Mycenaean imports (37) and were largely predominant among all the mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a. Apart from some exceptions, the presence of Mycenaean components in drinking sets in association with other status indicators, therefore, may be considered a feature of pottery assemblages of social elite at Enkomi. These elite assemblages also included several Mycenean piriform and stirrup jars used as containers of precious viscous and liquid commodities (category F2). It is also worth noting that these small Mycenaean containers were found in all the tombs of group 3, where they represented the totality, or at least the vast majority, of the vessels of this functional category. However, they cannot be considered exclusive components of the richest assemblages, since they were also found in some tombs of groups 1 and 2 and were, therefore, relatively accessible to individuals displaying a lower degree of wealth, but their association with Mycenaean kraters was a significant mark of the elite identity.

A chronological meaning can also be attributed to some changes in the functional repertoire of Mycenaean imports to Cyprus. For example, a certain number of LH IIIB linear jugs and juglets (FS 110, 116, 118) of sub-category F1.1b were used as pouring vessels during the LC IIC period, while Mycenaean jugs were scarcely represented in the earlier periods. In the same period, the LH IIIB shallow bowls FS 295-6 became the most appreciated drinking/eating shapes of sub-category F1.2 and were also locally imitated, while the cup FS 220, a common drinking shape of sub-category F1.1c in the LC IIA-B

periods, tended to disappear. Another interesting feature of the LC IIC period was the wider diffusion of large storage/transport vessels of category F3. Finally, turning to the Mycenaean kraters, although their morphology also changed from LC IIA-B contexts (where there were LH IIIA stemmed kraters FS 7 and amphoroid kraters FS 53-4) to LC IIC (with LH III B amphoroid kraters FS 55 and bell kraters FS 281), according to the general trends in the development of Mycenaean pottery, no change was apparent in their function and role as central elements of drinking sets.

5.4.2 Aegean Copper-Based Artifacts in Cyprus

In his outstanding study on Cypriot metalwork, many decades ago H. Catling (1964, 299-300) noted "a curious dearth of metal objects in graves and occupation sites" in the LC II period, and L. Åström (1972, 565) not only shared this observation, but also pointed out that the few LC II bronzes continued the earlier types until the LC III period, when new types mainly of Mycenaean character appeared. Although there was a direct response to Catling's paradox (Knapp 1990), more recent research confirms the absence of imported Aegean bronzes and Mycenaean influence on LC II bronzework (Crewe 2009b, 30; Antoniadou 2011, 242; Papasavvas 2012, 117-20, 126). Indeed, this is rather striking if we consider the general pattern of Cypro-Aegean contacts in this period, but evidently the local tradition of bronze working was deeply rooted in Cypriot society and foreign bronze imports were not considered very attractive (also cf. Blackwell 2011, 204-7, 217-19; 2020).

5.4.3 Prestige Objects Imported from the Aegean

5.4.3.1 Precious Vessels

In addition to objects of personal adornments, in mortuary contexts, gold and silver vessels, with their convertibility and precious value "normally combined with added or/and symbolic value", were clearly among the most important items used to define and affirm the social status of their owners (Webb 2005, 178; Papasavvas 2012, 118). Two precious metal Vapheio cups found during the British 1897 excavations at Enkomi have been already mentioned (see § 4.4.3.1): a gold cup from Tomb 93 represented only by some fragments[52] and

52 Marshall 1911, 42 no. 641 a, b; Graziadio 2005a, 326; 2005c, 9 fn. 63; Sørensen 2008, 188 no. 57.

a well preserved silver Vapheio cup from Tomb 92.[53] The lack of details on their find contexts makes them difficult to date precisely, but in the above discussion it was tentatively suggested that both of them were imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 2 since most of the similar gold and silver Vapheio cups in the Aegean date back to the Shaft Grave Period (e.g. Karo 1930-3, 122, 137, pl. CXXIII; Davis 1977, 144-8 figs 115-16; also cf. Matthäus 1980, 238-51, esp. 246-7 fn. 32, LH IIA). Nevertheless, the possibility that these two vessels were handed down over generations and deposited in Tombs 92 and 93 in Interaction Period 3 as heirlooms should also be acknowledged since the main period of use of the two tombs was LC IIA-B, although both funerary contexts also yielded earlier objects.[54]

British Tomb 66, one of the wealthiest tombs at Enkomi, also yielded a gold bowl, of which approximately three quarters were preserved (Marshall 1911, 680; Goring 1983, 359 no. 729; Crewe 2009b, 29, 37 no. 58, pl. 18). This is similar to another gold hemispherical example from Swedish Tomb 17 dating to Interaction Period 3 that belonged to the final burial in the tomb and can be attributed to LC IIA2 (Keswani 2007, 524) or LC IIB (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 545 no. 61, pl. LXXXVII no. 61; L. Åström 1972, 510, 582; Goring 1983, 358). Since British Tomb 66 was used from LC IIA2 to LC IIC-IIIA, "with a quite possible use only in LC IIC" (Crewe 2009b, 30), it is also possible that this precious item was an actively utilized heirloom before being placed in the tomb. No evidence exists, however, to establish whether the two similar bowls were local products or Aegaean imports.

On the contrary there is no doubt on the chronology (second half of LC IIA) of the context of the well-known silver bowl with inlaid decoration from French Tomb 2 (Schaeffer 1952, pl. CXVI, suppl. pls C-D; for full refs, cf. Merrillees 1982, 238-9, 245, cat. no. 9), but there is no consensus on the inspiration and place of manufacture. This lack of consensus is clear from the review of Merrillees (1982, 245), who referred to the opinions by some scholars that the bowl was made in Cyprus, while other scholars suggested that it was imported from the Aegean. I, and many scholars, such as *inter alios*, Catling, L. Åström, Matthäus, Merrillees and, more recently, Mountjoy (2008, 67), share

53 Murray et al. 1900, 17 fig. 33 no. 506; L. Åström 1972, 499, 567; Matthäus 1980, 246, 247 fn. 32; 1985, 185 no. 456; Merrillees 1982, 237-8; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 73 no. 44; Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, 44; Keswani 2004, 232, tab. 5.9b; Graziadio 2005a, 326-7; Sørensen 2008, 188 no. 56.

54 For earlier finds, cf. Graziadio 2005c, 9 fn. 62: "Cretan talismanic seal" from Tomb 93; Merrillees 1982, 237: a: "BR I jugs with relief decoration of Åström's Type VIDId", from Tomb 2. Note that some scholars such as Keswani (2004, 232, tab. 5.9b) and Dalton (2007, 164-5, tab. 1a) regarded LC IA as the earliest period of use of Tomb 92 on the basis of all preserved finds. As far as Tomb 93 is concerned, Dalton (2007, 163, 164-5, tab. 1a) attributed its earliest period of use to LC IA, while Keswani (2004, tab. 5.9c) was uncertain of this chronology.

the latter opinion, with the shape of the handle being a determinant detail of its origin. This shape must be identified as a *knopfhenkel* of Aegean type since it appears both on metal (Matthäus 1980, 226-32; Graziadio 1999, 372-4 fig. 5: 3-10) and Mycenaean ceramic bowls (cf. Touchais 1982, 548 fig. 31, LHIIIB 2 cup from Tiryns), and it must be considered more similar to the handles on Aegean metal vessels than to those of Cypriot White Slip bowls (L. Åström 1972, 566 and fn. 13). Another interesting detail comes from Giumlia-Mair's (2012; 2017) analysis and personal examination, which shows that the black material used for its decoration, long regarded as niello, actually was a copper-based alloy also used for the decoration of the inlaid daggers from Circle A at Mycenae. To conclude, it should be underlined that inlaid cups and bowls occur in the Early Mycenaean Argolid (Dickinson 1977, 83 with refs), and it is well-known that the Enkomi cup has a very close parallel to an example of a cup, although of less accurate manufacture, from the Mycenaean tholos tomb at Midea which was used earlier than LH IIIA (Matthäus 1980, 227, pl. 74.10, with refs). Therefore, it should be admitted that, among the two inlaid silver bowls, the finer example was destined for export to Cyprus.

Another silver bowl from British T. 66 is very similar in its hemispherical shape and *knopfhenkel* of Aegean type to the inlaid example from French T. 2.[55] For this reason, I am inclined to believe that it is another Aegean import (Graziadio 2005c, 6), although it was alternatively stated that it was locally modeled on the White Slip milk bowls (Merrillees 1982, 245). Crewe (2009b, 41 no. 115) also attributes this bowl to LH III production.

5.4.3.2 Jewelry

Although jewelry was "one of the most overt means of elite image construction" (Keswani 2004, 138), generally speaking, in settlement contexts jewelry was absent or showed a limited repertoire, while elaborate gold jewelry was deposited in rich tombs located in the large coastal centers such as Enkomi and Kition (Antoniadou 2007, 497). Before reviewing the Aegean imported jewels in Interaction Period 3, it is important to point out that it is often difficult to establish whether single jewels from Cypriot tombs are Aegean imports or local varieties imitating Mycenaean types.[56] While there are some Aegean-type examples of possible local production, which are discussed

55 Merrillees 1982, 239, 245 no. 10; Crewe 2009b, 41 no. 115, pl. 19; Matthäus 1980, 227-8; 1985, 121 no. 143.

56 In addition to the examples discussed in greater detail in § 5.4.4.2.1, this is particularly the case for some problematic examples of unknown provenance or contexts. A case in point is the necklace in the Cesnola Collection at the Metropolitan Museum in

below (see § 5.4.4.1), very few jewels can be regarded as Aegean imports of Interaction Period 3, clearly being a minority of total jewelry found on Cyprus. Crewe (2009b, 29) stated that the high number of gold objects found in British Tomb 66 (amounting to 325 g) are "consistent with a date of LC IIB or the earlier part of LC IIC". It is also interesting that in this mortuary context only a few gold items can be classified as western and eastern imports, while local jewelry is markedly predominant. The only definitely Aegean jewel in this tomb was a ring with an oval engraved bezel (Crewe 2009b, 29, 40 no. 101 pl. 46; Goring 1983, 341 no. 683), which is of the same type as a gold example from British Tomb 100 generically dating to LC II (Goring 1983, 341 no. 684; Crewe 2009a, 100: 1). Some gold beads with stamped "sacral ivy" decoration belonged to the only imported Aegean jewel from the very rich Tomb 11 at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Goring 1989, 98-104; South 1999, 799 fn. 42 with refs). Since this tomb, used in LC IIA2 or LC IIA2/LC IIB, yielded an exceptional amount of jewelry (432 g), including earrings, hair spirals, necklaces, signet rings, and silver toe rings in addition to other valuables, the gold Aegean beads clearly are not of particular importance in quantitative terms. The motif of "sacral ivy", however, also spread east of Cyprus, with some faience beads (Matoïan 2003, 153 fig. 5.5) and seals (e.g. Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 43: R.S. 17.024) of this shape found at Ugarit.

5.4.3.3 Seals

On Cyprus, the visual images engraved on cylinder seals provide the most important repertoire of political-ideological information (Webb 2005, 179-80), although only a minority of seals come from recorded find spots and detailed contextual data is generally lacking (Smith 2002, 114). The occurrence of seals mainly on the southern and eastern coasts was probably due to the greater seal use in coastal emporia from the LC IIB period onwards. It is also important to stress that Enkomi was a major center of seal production throughout the LC period. Although seals of local production are found in the late sixteenth or the early fifteenth century tombs, the major period of seal use was LC IIC, likely indicating "the special status of the seal owner and perhaps an entitlement to goods and services" (Webb, Weingarten 2012, 87-8; also cf. Webb 1992b, 117-19). Before considering the possible interaction with the Aegean, it is important to recognize that the overwhelming influence and the majority of imported seals

New York with pendants decorated by volute-palmette motif, which may be compared with those of Mycenaean glass pendants (Karageorghis 2000a, 70 no. 113).

on Cyprus are of Oriental origin (Porada 1948). On the contrary, the seals that can be regarded as Aegean imports to Cyprus are remarkably few. In fact, the very small group of seals imported from the Aegean was reviewed by Pini (1992, with refs), of which three were Minoan talismanic seals likely imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 2, and at least one other example, i.e. the seal coming from British Tomb 93, was handed down for some time before its deposition in the tomb (see § 4.4.3.3). Only five additional Aegean seals were listed by Pini, and none of these may be safely ascribed to Interaction Period 3.

5.4.3.4 Ivory Objects

Antoniadou has emphasized

> the probable imbalance between the few imported ivories, which occurred only at the beginning of the Late Cypriot period, and the locally carved ivories found in the Late Cypriot IIC-IIIA settlement contexts. (2007, 494; cf. also 2011, 242)

In this light, no Aegean ivory artifact or local imitation can safely be attributed to Interaction Period 3.

5.4.3.5 Faience Beads

Leaving aside the faience vessels discussed below, since most of the examples found on Cyprus were probably imported from Egypt and Syria-Palestine (see § 5.4.4.1.3), it is worth considering briefly other faience finds from LBA contexts. In her concluding remarks on the faience objects from Cyprus, L. Åström (1972, 596) noted that only a few beads and pendants were possibly imported from the Aegean "along with Mycenaean vases", while most of these beads along with all the faience figurines came from other Eastern Mediterranean countries. The temporal range of the faience beads from Cypriot contexts extends from LC IB to LC IIC and includes a few types that also occur in the Aegean, such as those featuring lentoid, flat circular, and wheel-shaped shapes. However, it is not clear whether they were real Aegean imports (L. Åström 1972, 590-1).

5.4.3.6 Amber

Reviews of amber trade involving Greece in the LBA is also relevant to the Cypro-Aegean interaction (Maran 2013; Gestoso Singer 2016; Sgouritsa Polychronakou, Nikolentzos 2017, 245-8, with refs). Baltic

amber objects appeared, in substantial amounts, during the Early Mycenaean period in the southwestern and northeastern Peloponnese, where the artifacts made of this exotic substance were deposited as objects of prestige in shaft graves, tholos tombs, and, slightly later, in some chamber tombs. In the transition from LH IIB to LH IIIA1, the number of sites with amber artifacts increased in the Argolid, Messenia, Achaea, Central Greece, and in Northern Greece as far as Thessaly, while there was a sudden appearance of amber artifacts on Crete. During the LH IIIA/IIIB transition, additional amber finds are reported from other Greek regions, while in the LH IIIC period, apart from Tiryns, amber artifacts are no longer found in the earlier traditional centers with amber, but some amber finds are reported from Kephallenia, Achaea, Perati, Elatia in Lokris, Crete, the Dodecanese, and elsewhere in the eleventh century BC. During much of the LBA, the most likely trade route of imported amber in Greece seems to be along the Adriatic and Ionian seas, while in the twelfth century BC the central Mediterranean possibly took on an important role in amber trade (Bietti Sestieri 2008, 33; Sgouritsa Polychronakou, Nikolentzos 2017, 248). The appearance of amber in the Dodecanese can be dated to a rather early period, although amber objects are rare: on Kos, they occur from LB IIIA1 onwards (Harding, Hughes-Brock, Beck 1974, 160; Vitale 2016b, 271, tab. 2, 274, tab. 6), while at Ialysos on Rhodes, amber beads have been found from LH IIIA2 onwards (Harding, Hughes-Brock, Beck 1974, 160; Benzi 1992, 194, 213-14, 216, 223; Vitale 2016b, 265). Amber occurs infrequently in the Eastern Mediterranean (Bachhuber 2006, 352 fn. 90). Turning to Cyprus, amber is indeed rare, but the earliest amber finds may be dated to Interaction Period 3 and may be considered in the network of prestige imports from the Aegean. Some decades ago, Harding, Hughes-Brock and Beck (1974, 149-50) reported the discovery of amber on Cyprus in association with LH IIIA pottery, a statement confirmed by the presence of amber inside the very rich Tomb 11, dating to LC IIA2, at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (South, Russell 1993, 306). The value of amber as a status indicator is also confirmed by the discovery of amber beads in other funerary contexts at Enkomi, but their chronology is more uncertain (Gestoso Singer 2016, 256 with refs). Such is the case of the items from British Tomb 27 (Myres, Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, 184: 27; Strong 1966, 20, 40) that contained objects dating from LC IA-III (Dalton 2007, 164, tab. 1a). The same is true of the examples from British Tomb 67 (Strong, 20, 40 cat. no. 2: a), an intact tomb which was used from LC IA to LC IIC (Keswani 2004, 232, tab. 5.9b; Dalton 2007, 164, tab. 1a), while inside one of the few built tombs at the site, British Tomb 66, that has a more refined period of use between LC IIB and LC IIC, several amber beads were found along with a rich array of

other prestige goods.[57] Amber finds are also reported from Hala Sultan Tekke, but the chronology of their context has not been specified (Fischer 2023, § 4.4.6).

5.4.4 Inspiration, Influences, and Imitations: A Further Step in Cypro-Aegean Interaction

An important novelty of Interaction Period 3 is the appearance on Cyprus of local imitations of Mycenaean imports and locally produced prestige objects displaying a degree of Mycenaean influence. All these finds mark an important new step in Cypro-Aegean contacts, not only because they must be interpreted as clear reflections of the substantial increase in Aegean imports to Cyprus in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially from Mycenaean Greece, but also because they foreshadow, at least to a certain extent, the cultural developments of Interaction Period 4.

5.4.4.1 The Influence of Mycenaean Pottery on Cypriot Handicrafts

5.4.4.1.1 The Earliest Attempts to Imitate Mycenaean Pottery During Interaction Period 3

Already in 1940, Erik Sjöqvist (1940, 37, 40, 43, 57, 93) pointed out that local imitations of Mycenaean shapes occurred on Cyprus (also cf. Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 232). In the following decades attention was paid primarily to the Base Ring and White Slip II imitations of the Mycenaean piriform jars and straight-sided alabastra, including a number of fragments of Base Ring fabric from Hala Sultan Tekke featuring Mycenaean decoration, shape, and fabric, which were no doubt manufactured by Cypriot potters (Åström 1998, 260, 262 nos 4-6, with refs, also quoting P. Åström 1972, figs LI: 4-6, LIII: 8-9). While Åström (1973, 127) stated that the influx of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus began in LC IIA1, in 1986 Catling discussed the possibility of identifying local production of Aegean-type pottery on Cyprus in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC, but he admitted that this was a very complex task (Catling in Jones 1986, 598-601). Later, other scholars addressed this issue admitting that individual vases or small groups of vessels may be interpreted as evidence of a limited Aegean-type production before the appearance of White Painted Wheelmade III pottery at the end of LC IIC (Cadogan 1991, 169 and

57 Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, 43, pl. IX; Strong 1966, 20, 40; L. Åström 1972, 556; Crewe 2009b, 40 nos 106-10.

fn. 1, 170; also cf. Graziadio 2017, 11 for a review). Although Cadogan (1991, 170) wrote that "we may conclude that the influence of the Aegean on Cypriot pottery production in the period EC I-LC IIC 1 was minuscule", logically speaking, from this perspective, the above discussed "local Cypriot Levanto-Helladic shapes" defined by Mountjoy and Mommsen (see § 5.4.1.3) can be considered indicative of circumscribed development of Aegean-type pottery. However, as noted above, most of the shapes of this class may be dated to LC IIC, i.e. Interaction Period 4. If we focus specifically on the pottery of Interaction Period 3, since this constitutes the main body of this chapter, it should be recalled that Van Wijngaarden (2002, 158-9) reviewed three local imitations of LH IIIA2 vessels from Enkomi and concluded that "Mycenaean pottery was imitated as early as LC IIA". A LH IIIA2/IIIB juglet from Katydhata and eight LH IIIA2-IIIB vessels from Tomb 6 at Ayia Paraskevi are other examples of Aegean-type pottery dating to this period (Graziadio 2017, 11 with refs). In LC IIB the amphoroid krater shape was also adopted into the Cypriot repertoire in Plain White Wheelmade (Cadogan 1991, 170 with refs; 1993, 94 and fn. 37) and recent publications have indeed added new evidence for local vessels inspired by Mycenaean pottery throughout the island. Along with a Base Ring II vessel of unknown provenance that can be considered an imitation of the three-handled jar (Lubsen-Admiraal 2004, 131 no. 267), a krater of medium size imitating the shape of Mycenaean krater FS 7 was found in Limassol Tomb 322 (Karageorghis in Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 98: 5, 232, pls XXXIII: 5, LXXII: T. 322/5), and another LC IIB imitation of a Mycenaean krater is recorded from Tomb 4 at Maroni *Tsaroukkas* (Manning, Monks 1998, 325: MT.658). A Base Ring bowl of shape FS 243 was also found at Maroni *Tsaroukkas* during the British Museum excavations of Tomb 5 (P. Åström 1972, 363, Type 243: a, with refs).

In 1998, Åström (1998) provided a comprehensive discussion on the relations between Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery. In this work, he discussed the scholarly opinions on the location where vessels imitating forms of Cypriot Base Ring and White Slip, but made in Mycenaean technique, were manufactured. By recalling all the ceramic classes combining Cypriot fabrics with Mycenaean features found on Cyprus, he also drew into question the statement made by A. and S. Sherratt that "Cyprus did not on the whole attempt to reproduce piriform jars and alabastra" (Åström 1998, 261 fn. 42 with refs).

In summary, evidence clearly suggests an interesting new development in Cypriot pottery of Interaction Period 3: Mycenaean influence appears to have inspired some Cypriot potters to produce single vessels imitating Mycenaean pottery. However, the above-mentioned Base Ring and White Slip pithoid jars and squat alabastra inspired by Mycenaean shapes do not seem to be indicative of the production of Aegean-type vessels on a large scale, and the same is clearly true of

the scattered imitations of Mycenaean kraters in Plain White Wheelmade. On the contrary, this is not the case of other vessels, in particular the three-handled jars generally made of micaceous and gritty buff clay, with a slip that easily flakes off (Åström 1973, 127, pl. XX: 2-3; 1998, 261 no. 3). The comprehensive discussion of these vessels (Graziadio 2017), which in Furumark's classification are FS 46 and FS 47, shows that they form a remarkable group made up of at least 122 cataloged three-handled jars of conical or conical-piriform shape manufactured in the fourteenth century BC and inspired by LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 jars FS 44 and FS 45 **[fig. 5.19]**.

NAA analysis of a fragmentary three-handled jar from Hala Sultan Tekke confirmed that this vase was manufactured on Cyprus (Mommsen, Beier, Åström 2003, 5-10: HST 7), and recent pXRF analysis of 30 samples (Dikomitou-Eliadou, Georgiou 2017) proved that there is no significant difference in clay composition between FS 46 and FS 47 jars. Based on these results, all the small jars of both FS 46 and FS 47 may be regarded as Cypriot products. Therefore, they clearly were part of the earliest group of Mycenaean inspired Cypriot vases since their production actually began more than a century before the appearance of the so-called 'Levanto-Helladic' pottery in the late thirteenth century BC and long before the well-known Aegean-type (White Painted Wheelmade III) ware, which in the twelfth century BC replaced the traditional Cypriot pottery and became the most common ware in LC IIIA contexts (Mountjoy 2015, 542-6, fig. 11; Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 467-70, figs 31-3). These three-handled jars were found only on Cyprus and in a few Levantine and Egyptian sites and were almost exclusively recovered from burial contexts, being probably used as ointment containers for the body of the deceased.

In addition to the incorporation of Mycenaean 'out of fashion' motifs and decorative systems such for example the scale pattern filled with dots on a Mycenaean-type piriform jar of local manufacture recently published from Tomb RR at Hala Sultan Tekke (Fischer, Bürge 2021, 106-7, N 295, figs 5-4; cf. Graziadio 2017, 83, 85, 169, Decorative Schemes 8: B-D), generally speaking, the decoration of the Cypriot three-handled jars included many distinctive traits – especially reversed curved-stemmed spirals, spirals with the stems descending from the top of the coils, additional details in the running spiral decoration, panel decorations with various motifs, oblique strokes, and scale pattern with double outline – that must be considered local adaptations from the Mycenaean decorative repertoire (Graziadio 2017, 164-7; 2019, 38). A comparative analysis between these Cypriot examples and the Mycenaean pottery found in Achaea, Elis and Messenia has recently been conducted (2019). Several morphological affinities have been identified between the conical and conical-piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 from these regions and the Cypriot three-handled jars. Additional common decorative features are

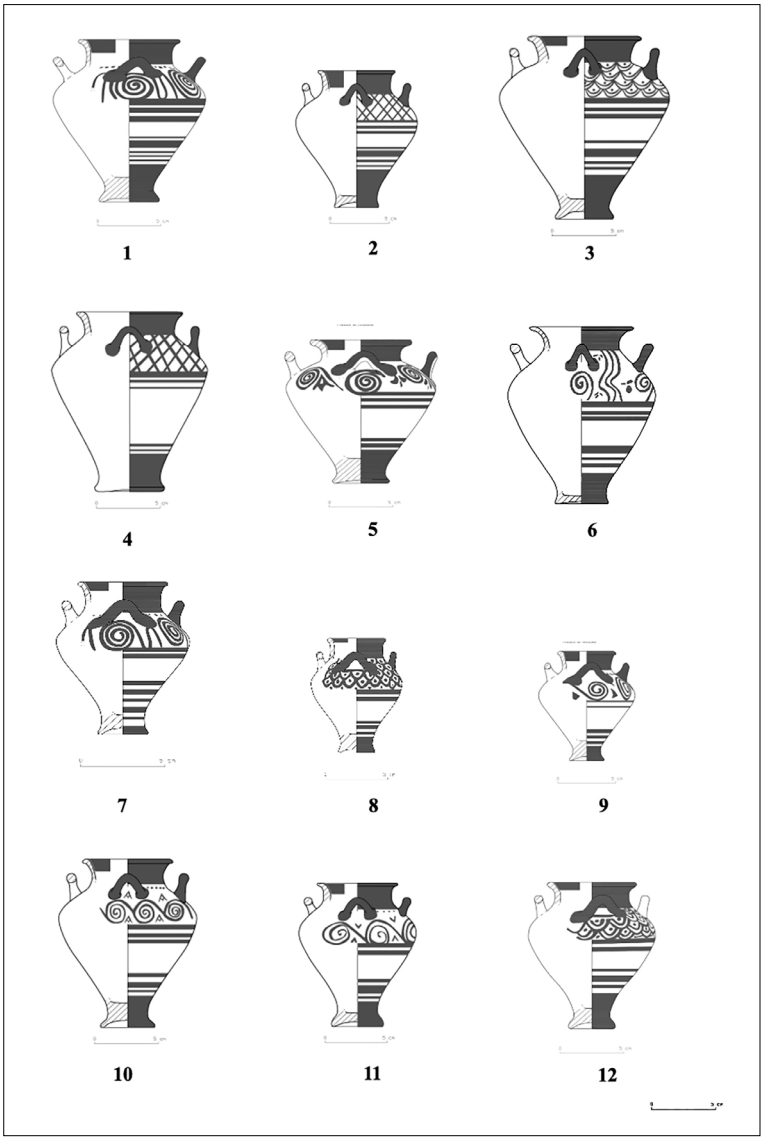


Figure 5.19 A selection of Cypriot three-handled jars FS 46 (nos 1-6) and FS 47 (nos 7-12). After Graziadio 2017, 36-7, figs 1-2

the presence of old-fashioned motifs and secondary motifs under the handles, which became some of the main decorative elements of the Cypriot three-handled jars. It has therefore been suggested that the influence of Mycenaean pottery from the western regions of the

Peloponnese played an important, although ephemeral, role on Cypriot pottery production during the fourteenth century BC. In this respect, new published data of some Base Ring vessels found at Pylos in a LH IIA or LH IIB context and two White Slip open shapes from another elite tomb at the same site (see § 4.3.1.2) further fill the gap of scarce archaeological evidence for contacts between the northwestern Peloponnese and Cyprus in the LBA (2019, 25-6). To conclude, the contacts between the northwestern Peloponnese and Cyprus in the fourteenth century BC that resulted in the appearance of three-handled jars on Cyprus can likely be attributed to the substantial development on the Greek mainland, after the destruction of Knossos, of perfumed oil and perfumed ointment production, which led to the widespread export of Mycenaean slow-pouring and unguent containers throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and, in turn, influenced the production of local pottery.

5.4.4.1.2 The Influence of Mycenaean Pottery on Cypriot Stone Vessels

In a recent review of stone vases from Cyprus, most cataloged examples date to LC III, but some shapes may also be attributed to LC II-III (Bevan 2007, 223-7). While the shapes of the footed cup and the large plate with ring base are similar to Levantine models (223: Cyp1, 227: Cyp 12), some other stone vessels may be considered Cypriot artifacts related to Mycenaean pottery since their shape was transposed from the Mycenaean pottery repertoire (223-4: Cyp2, Cyp 3; cf. Vilain 2022, 142 for the meaning of the term 'transposition'). Although it is admittedly difficult to single out specific Mycenaean ceramic prototypes (L. Åström 1972, 603), it is interesting to consider the case of the stone vessels derived from the Mycenaean alabastra and three-handled jar shapes. At least a few of the shapes cataloged by Bevan are relevant to the discussion on the impact of Mycenaean pottery on Cypriot material culture during Interaction Period 3. In fact, among the vessels having the ceramic Mycenaean alabastron as a model (also cf. L. Åström 1972, 542, 602, Jar Type 2), a limestone example from Dromolaxia stored in the Cyprus Museum (Cyprus Museum M. A203B) has been ascribed to LC IIA/B, although Pilides noted that this stone vase shows

> an amalgamation of influences from the Aegean and Cyprus as well as Egypt, as it may be imitating vases of Egyptian alabaster. (Pilides, Papadimitriou 2012, 230-1 no. 222)

While the chronological range of the burial assemblages with stone vessel shapes directly derived from Mycenaean ceramic prototypes

is wide, it is possible that at least some of them were contemporaneous with the Dromolaxia 'alabastron'. This is the case of a stone vessel with a similar alabastron shape found in British Tomb 94 at Enkomi (Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, 125: British Museum no. 97.4-1.1316). Despite the fact that the tomb was looted, the tomb finds included both LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB pottery (Van Wijingaarden 2002, 293, tab. VII, 351, cat. V nos 278-85). In addition to two unprovenanced alabaster vessels showing influence from ceramic vessels FS 94 alabastra (Karageorghis, Darrel 1974, 24 nos 48-9), two other similar gypsum or calcite vessels were found at Maroni, in Tomb 23 (Johnson 1980, 28, 60 no. 189, pl. XXXVIII, CM A212) and Tomb 25 (30, 60 no. 205, pl. XLI, CM A 202), but the period of use of these tombs ranges from LC IA to LC IIC2 (64). Turning to stone vessels featuring a shape related to the Mycenaean piriform jar (L. Åström 1972, 542, 603, Jar Type 6), at least one example from French T. 11 at Enkomi (Schaeffer 1952, 149 no. 111; L. Åström 1972, 542, Jar Type 6) may be assigned to Interaction Period 3 since the tomb was used in the second half of LC IIA (Dalton 2007, 166, tab. 1d), while an example from Ay. Iakovos may be even earlier (Gjerstad et al. 1934, pls. LXVI: 2, CLI: 14, Ay. Iakovos BAS, 53; L. Åström 1972, 542, 603 fig. 71: 48). A stone jar (probably limestone) regarded as a possible imitation of the Mycenaean piriform jar was also found in British Tomb 66 at Enkomi (L. Åström 1972, 542, 603 Type 6; Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, 125; Crewe 2009b, 42 no. 130), but the date of the tomb ranges from LC IIA2 to LC IIIA, "with quite possible use only in LC IIC" (Crewe 2009b, 30). Courtois, J. Lagarce and E. Lagarce (1986, 126) also recorded two additional stone vases from French excavations in the settlement area at Enkomi, which were considered of Aegean inspiration: a small vessel with engraved decoration alleged to be an imitation of the Minoan pithos (126, pl. XXIII: 7, Enkomi 1960. Quartier 5E, top. point 437. Inv. 13.271) and a steatite small vessel possibly related to the shape of a LH III amphoroid krater (126, pl. XXIII: 5, Enkomi 1949. Quarter 6E. Trench L, 73, top. point 7. Inv. 4.041). Their chronology, however, is uncertain.

5.4.4.1.3 The Influence of Mycenaean Pottery on Faience Vessels

The prestige and ideological importance of faience vessels has recently been pointed out by Antoniadou (2007, 492). There is no evidence for local production of these valued objects, and they were mostly imported from Egypt and Western Asia (Peltenburg 1985, 256; Antoniadou 2007, 491). The majority of faience vessels date to the LC IIC-LC IIIA periods. However, there were also probably earlier examples such as a small faience vessel which was regarded as a stirrup jar of Mycenaean origin found in French Tomb 5 at Enkomi, and another vessel

with this shape, which was actually made of glass, was found in the earlier (IV) burial level in this tomb, possibly belonging to LC IB-IIA (Schaeffer 1952, pls XXXVIII: 260, XLIII: 1, 2 and pl. suppl. B; Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, 140).[58] All the other faience stirrup jars, those from Enkomi tombs, namely Swedish Tomb 3 and British Tombs 50, 80, and 97,[59] in addition to the examples from a "tomb near Dhali", from Kourion T. 87, and from Kition-Bamboula (L. Åström 1972, 524 no. 7; Yon, Caubet 1985, 70), were found in mixed or later burial contexts. There is no doubt that the shape of the faience stirrup jars was ultimately of Mycenaean origin and was derived from the Mycenaean pottery repertoire, but the faience (and glass) examples found on Cyprus probably came from Egypt and Syria-Palestine, given that in the Aegean there were very few faience transpositions of Mycenaean pottery shapes (L. Åström 1972, 596), while the glass and alabaster stirrup jars related to this Mycenaean shape mainly occur in those countries (593; Peltenburg 1972; Yon, Caubet 1985, 70).

For faience vessels of other shapes, it is very difficult both to determine the Mycenaean pottery shapes used as prototypes and to establish precise chronological relations, especially concerning Interaction Period 3. An example is the jug attributed to Type 2 by L. Åström (1972, 524, 529 fig. 70: 29, Cyprus Museum Inv. No. G 67, 593) and considered related to FS 134, which is a LH IIIA2 shape occurring in the Eastern Mediterranean and rarely in the Aegean (Furumark 1941, 605; Mountjoy 1999a, 802-3, fig. 320 no. 29; Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 96 no. 2, pl. XXXI, upper, 2).

5.4.4.2 The Impact of Aegean Prestige Objects on Cypriot Elite Crafts

Particularly relevant to this study is the recent intense debate in anthropological and archaeological research over cross-cultural theories connected to the processes of acculturation, creolisation, syncretism, hybridisation, transculturation, emulation, assimilation, and

58 Note that in Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce (1986, 140), two faience small stirrups are reported from French T. 5, but one of these, coming from the earliest level (Schaeffer 1952, 195 no. 260, pls XXXVIII: 260, XLIII: 1), was cataloged among the glass vessels by L. Åström (1972, 530 no. 3); also cf. Van Wijngaarden 2002, 159; Cosyns 2017, 91, 95 no. 34. Schaeffer (1952, pl. XXXVIII) dated Level IV in French T. 5 to LC IA-IB, but the presence of later pottery, such as, for example, a LH IIIA2 piriform jar FS 47 (173, fig. 68: 101, pl. XXXVIII: 101) and a LH IIIB/C alabastron FS 97 (196 (261), pl. XXXVIII: 261), with LC I vessels indicates that objects were mixed in this burial level (also cf. Keswani 2004, 234, tab. 5.9c, for the LC IB-IIIB chronology of the period of use of this tomb).

59 Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, 140; also cf. L. Åström 1972, 524 no. 7; cf. Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. LXXXVIII: 3; Dalton 2007, 164-5, tab. 1 a, for chronology of these tombs.

the concepts of ethnicity and cultural identity. This debate is particularly important to Cypriot archaeology of the LC IIC-LC IIIA and B periods, where there is significant evidence for a mixture of local, Aegean, and Levantine elements within the material culture record (see § 6.5.1). The cross-cultural discussion has specifically focused on the alleged Mycenaean migration to Cyprus and the hellenisation of the island.[60] While it should be acknowledged that the main material evidence displaying mixtures of Cypriot, Aegean, Levantine, and even Egyptian form, style, motifs, and manufacturing techniques belong to LC IIC-IIIA and to the earliest Iron Age (LC IIIB), for the purpose of this chapter, the primary discussion examines the Mycenaean elements that are apparent on Cypriot objects, mainly prestige items, dating to Interaction Period 3. According to Knapp (2008, 249-80; 2013, 451-70; Voskos, Knapp 2008) these finds should be regarded as hybridised objects, while Stockhammer (2013, 17) preferred to regard them as the visual expressions of "material entanglement" and Jung (2009, 82, with additional refs) has criticized the use of the term 'hybridization' stating that, in his view, it is "premature to apply these concepts to a cultural environment like Cyprus at the end of the second millennium" (cf. however, Knapp 2012b, 33-4). However, Antoniadou (2005, 67, 74) has stated that the earliest period when hybrid products, especially ivory items, cylinder seals, and Mycenaean pottery, occur in habitation contexts at Enkomi is LC IIC; from this period onwards these hybrid objects reflect the efforts of the local society to incorporate new technology, ideas or symbols into its own tradition along with original imports. In order to illustrate the notion of hybridisation beyond pottery, Knapp (2008, 268-80; 2012b, 34-43) examined ivories, bronzes, some examples of the coroplastic art, tomb types and various items of 'cultic' equipment (shells, bull representations, bones etc.) that likely demonstrate the hybridisation of local Cypriot, Aegean, and Levantine elements in his ProBA3, i.e. the LC IIC late-IIIA period. However, Voskos and Knapp (2008, 663) also discuss some "early indicators of hybridization practice" that can be dated to the fourteenth century BC (also cf. Knapp 2012b, 44). In addition to the female figurines inspired by 'Astarte' figurines of Levantine type, they recalled two well-known objects, i.e. the inlaid silver bowl from French Tomb 2 at Enkomi and a gold necklace from Ayios Iakovos, as examples of an early mixture between Aegean and Cypriot elements (Voskos, Knapp 2008, 663-4 with refs). As discussed above, in my opinion the possibility that the Enkomi cup was an Aegean import cannot be ruled out. In addition to some prestige objects of local production inspired by Aegean handicraft, here

60 Steel 2004, 190-210; Fisher 2006; Leriou 2007a; 2007b; 2007c; 2011; Voskos, Knapp 2008; Knapp 2008, 249-80; 2013, 451-70; also see Nani's review in chapter 1.

attention can also be paid to Aegean elements apparent in other Cypriot precious items dating to Interaction Period 3, where they coexist with other elements of local tradition. Clearly produced on Cyprus to display rank in local elite burials, they and other status indicators can be considered expressions of an early stage of the hybridisation process which mainly characterizes the Cypriot culture in Interaction Period 4, as previously stated by Voskos and Knapp.

5.4.4.2.1 Jewelry

L. Åström (1972, 575) noted that the beads found on Cyprus "unlike the earrings and finger-rings [...] have many Aegean parallels". This is especially the case of some gold beads and necklace spacers in the shape of a 'figure-of-eight shield' which were found in funerary contexts at Enkomi (L. Åström 1972, 506 no. 10) and in a settlement deposit at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* (Karageorghis, Demas 1984, 60, pl. XXVIII: 2). Goring (1983, 245) noted that there is "a definite contrast between the Aegean and Cypriot versions of the type", but she also stressed that it is not easy to establish their place of production. The examples from British Tomb 93 (Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, 36 no. 580, pl. V; L. Åström 1972, 506 no. 10, 576-7) in theory may belong to Interaction Period 3, since the 'figure-of-eight shield' motif was probably incorporated into the Cypriot repertoire in LC IIB, as suggested by the chronology of some gold diadems with this decoration from other sites (see below), while all additional examples of 'figure-of-eight shield' necklace beads from Cyprus may be assigned to later periods.

The fourteen gold beads featuring 'grains of wheat' from the well-preserved British Tomb 19 at Enkomi (Marshall 1911, 45 no. 665: 1; Graziadio 2005c, 10) may also be assigned to Interaction Period 3 since the tomb was used in LC IB-IIA (Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, 42; Keswani 2004, 233, tab. 5.9b). The 'grain of wheat' motif also appears on other Cypriot objects of undefined or later chronology (L. Åström 1972, 505 no. 3, 509 fig. 65 no. 27, 575-6), and it is likely that it was adopted from the Aegean where it is very common from LM IA onwards, especially on Crete and in the Greek mainland (575-6; Goring 1983, 154; Hughes-Brock 2013, 217); in this connection it is worth noting that many gold, faience, and glass objects featuring the 'grain of wheat' have been found in LH IIIA and LH IIIC funerary contexts at Ialysos on Rhodes (Benzi 1992, 186, 197, pl. CXVII). Despite their close Aegean parallels, Goring (1983, 370) suggested that the 'grain of wheat' gold beads from British Tomb 19 at Enkomi were made locally, and it is worth noting that a diadem embossed with a 'grain of wheat' pattern was found in the same tomb, confirming that this motif of Aegean origin was assimilated in local funerary

jewelry early in Interaction Period 3 (see below). This suggestion is also confirmed by the discovery of a stone mold from Idalion with matrices for three grains of wheat beads (237, with refs). It should also be noted that the 'grain of wheat' motif also spread east of Cyprus, as indicated at Ugarit by the identification of faience beads of this shape (Matoïan 2003, 153 fig. 5.5) and similar motifs on Ugaritic seals (e.g. Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 43: R.S. 17.024). Also noteworthy are other gold spacers of Aegean production or inspiration such as 'double axe' and plaque beads, but they are not precisely dated (Goring 1983, 248-50, 370) and cannot safely be attributed to Interaction Period 3.

While the gold beads, 'figure-of-eight shield' necklace spacers, and 'grains of wheat' gold beads discussed above may be local imitations of Aegean examples, some funerary gold ornaments also illustrate other interesting aspects of the connections between Aegean and Cypriot jewelry. Cypriot diadems and mouthpieces belong to a distinct Syro-Palestinian group of strips (173-4), but in British Tomb 19 (used in LC IB-IIA) at Enkomi there is a particularly interesting gold diadem found in association with gold beads that has a local tradition and locally produced strip, decorated with the 'grain of wheat' Aegean motif (Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, pl. XXII: 9; Graziadio 2005c, 10). Decoration with S-spirals (or double spirals), associated with other motifs, are rather common on diadems and mouthpieces from Enkomi tombs, and it is important to note that on Cyprus the motif was probably adopted from the Aegean, where it had a long history (e.g. Karo 1930-3, 79 no. 278, pl. XXXVIII; Mylonas 1972, 75, Γ- 359, pl. LIX: a, 1), although double-spirals also occur in the Near Eastern glyptic (Collon 1975, 57 no. 104; Teissier 1984, 281 no. 573). If so, the gold diadems from the above-mentioned British Tomb 19 are of particular interest in this context, because they may be assigned to Interaction Period 3.[61] Two gold strips with S-spirals decoration from LC IIB contexts in Cypriot Tomb 10 also can be ascribed to Interaction Period 3 (Dikaios 1969-71, 363, 373 nos 168, 176, pl. CCVIII: 26/176, 31/168), and this motif is associated with seated sphinxes on a diadem found in Tomb 93 at Enkomi (Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, pl. VII no. 518; Marshall 1911, 7 no. 84, pl. II), which might tentatively be attributed to the same period since this extraordinarily rich tomb was used from LC I-IIA to LC IIC (Keswani 2004, 236, tab. 5.9c) and its array of precious grave goods included objects belonging to the early period of tomb use (see § 5.4.3.1). Another gold diadem with horizontal S-spirals have been recently found in Chamber Tomb RR at Hala Sultan Tekke (Fischer, Bürge 2022, 26, N512, fig. 10). The list of

61 Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, pl. VIII no. 518; Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, pl. 22: 8; cf. L. Åström 1972, 508; Graziadio 2005c, 9.

Cypriot diadems with stamped spirals, "a motif no doubt of Aegean inspiration which is often used on such objects in Cyprus" also includes an example from Tomb 14 at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* that can be dated to the fourteenth century BC (South 1999, 798 fn. 42).

There is no doubt on the Aegean origin of the 'figure-of-eight shield' motif, but the above discussion on gold beads and 'figure-of-eight shield' necklace spacers implies that the place of production of these jewels is not completely clear. However, when the 'figure-of-eight shield' motif occurs on gold strips, the mixture between the local shape of these funerary ornaments and a motif of Aegean origin is obvious (Papadopoulos 2010, 129-32; 2012, 86), although Goring (1983, 167) noted that "the interpretation [of the Aegean motif] seems to be local". It is therefore important to note that some diadems showing these features may be dated to Interaction Period 3. An example comes from the second level in Swedish Tomb 3 at Enkomi (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 509 no. 57, pl. LXXIX: 2, 57; L. Åström 1972, 507) which was "badly disturbed, but nothing in the second level seems to post-date about the middle of LC II" (Goring 1983, 167), and the finds may therefore belong to LC IIB. Another gold diadem embossed with a pattern of 16 'figure-of-eight shields' was found in a partially looted LC IIB tomb (Tomb 8) at Dhenia *Mali* (Hadijsavvas 1985; Keswani 2004, 136), and a strip with elaborate decoration with 'figure-of-eight shields' and bucrania from Tomb 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke (Walters excavations) may belong to this period or to LC IIC.[62] On the other hand, other diadems with 'figure-of-eight shield' decorations may be assigned to LC IIC on contextual grounds.

5.4.4.2.2 Seals

In addition to jewelry, other pieces of evidence for Aegean influence on prestige objects in Interaction Period 3 are provided by some seals showing Aegean elements in the iconography which were adopted in order

> to enhance and consolidate prestige authority to symbolize elite identity and perhaps also to establish interregional alliances. (Antoniadou 2011, 237 with refs)

Despite the rarity of Aegean imported seals noted above, it was pointed out that the Cypriot stone cylinders show an

62 L. Åström 1972, 510; Bailey 1976, 16, pl. XVI: a; Courtois et al. 1986, 121; Papadopoulos 2010, 130 fig. 6: 2.

> increasing use of Aegean motifs and stylistic conventions during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, particularly on seals of the Elaborate Style. (Webb, Weingarten 2012, 90)

This is no doubt true. However, when we consider the stylistic connections with the Aegean glyptic suggested in the past by Kenna (1972, 634: Class II, i, Class V, I, 635: Group A2; 646, 670, 671: Group B1, 674: Group B 3; 1973, 292-3), it should be noted that some seal interpretations appear to be subjective and disputable. This is demonstrated in the different interpretations concerning three cylinders from Enkomi Level IIB (Kenna 1970, 13 nos 1694, 1261, 1591; also cf. Kenna 1972, 674). According to Kenna, they "show stylistic traits of an Aegean character", but Porada (1971, 791-3: 4b no. 1694, 5 no. 1591, 6 no. 1261), stated that two of these examples (no. 1694 = Porada 1971, 791: 4b no. 1591, 6 no. 1261) appear to be distinctively Cypriot, while only one (Porada 1971, 792: 5 no. 1591) shows some Mycenaean iconographic details. In contrast, the presence of Aegean elements in the cylinder seals of the so-called 'Cypro-Aegean' group is more evident and widely recognized by all scholars, as appears from the above discussion (see § 5.3.3.1). In the seals of this group, elements of Aegean styles or iconography coexist with Cypro-Oriental characteristics, despite the predominance of the Cypriot component represented by the shape of the seals and the presence of Cypro-Minoan signs (Knapp 2008, 275-6). Many examples of this Cypriot produced group of seals cannot be dated precisely, possibly belonging to later periods. Such is the case, for example, of the well-known hematite cylinder seal from Enkomi with Aegean-style "Master of Animals" and "Minoan Genius" (Schaeffer 1936, 112-13, figs 48-9; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 56: Enkomi-Alasia 1.002), although Crowley (1989, 215 no. 479, 396 no. 479) assigned it to LC IB-IIB. However, in this situation at least two 'Cypro-Aegean' seals exported from Cyprus to Crete have more definite chronological implications, as indicated in § 5.3.3.1: coming from LM II-IIIA contexts (House σ5 at Palaikastro and Chamber Tomb VIIA at Mavrospilio), they testify that the transmission of Aegean iconographies into the Cypriot glyptic dates back to Interaction Period 3 and that some of the earlier Cypro-Aegean seals revealing these western iconographies were soon exported to Crete. It is therefore clear that the assimilation of Aegean elements took place on Cyprus already at that time, although the Aegean influence on Cypriot seals from settlement contexts (especially from domestic rooms) is mainly apparent in LC IIC-IIIA at Enkomi, where they were used for jewelry or amulets (Antoniadou 2007, 493 fig. 5; 2011, 242).

5.4.4.2.3 Semi-Precious Stone Beads

Among the stone beads, only the amigdaloid beads pierced through the longitudinal axis in various semi-precious stones seem to be of Aegean type (L. Åström 1972, 546, Type 7, 606, 607), but only one example from Dekhelia *Koukouphouthkia* Tomb 1 may safely be assigned to Interaction Period 3, since this tomb contained LC IIA2 pottery (Karageorghis 2014, 156-7). Some other examples, such as those from Enkomi British Tombs 66 (Marshall 1911, 679), 86 (Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, pl. XI: 756) and 93 (L. Åström 1972, 546: BM inv. nos 97.4-1605) and from Maroni T. 14 (Johnson 1980, 21 no. 108), are of uncertain chronology.

6 Interaction Period 4: Contacts Between the Aegean and Cyprus from Ca 1340 to Ca 1200 BC

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6.1 Cypro-Aegean Synchronisms in Interaction Period 4

On Cyprus, Interaction Period 4 corresponds to Late Cypriot IIC. With respect to other Cypriot chronologies, it equates with the later part of Knapp's Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 and the earlier part of Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 (Webb, Knapp 2020, tab. 1; Meyer, Knapp 2021, 437, tab. 1). From a Minoan perspective, it corresponds

mostly to the Final Palatial Period (LM IIIA2 late-LM IIIB) (Langhor 2017; 2019). However, synchronisms between Cyprus and mainland Greece, which is the most closely connected region to Cyprus during this period, require a more detailed discussion.

To clearly define these synchronisms, it is necessary to revisit the distinction between the Earlier (LH IIB-IIIA1 and LH IIIA2) and Later (LH IIIB) Mycenaean Palatial Periods made above in § 5.1 and to establish the correlation of these periods with Urban Periods II (LC IIA-IIC Early) and III (LC IIC Late-end of LC IIC) on Cyprus **[tabs 2.2, 2.3]**. The Earlier Mycenaean Palatial Period and Urban Period II on Cyprus correspond to Interaction Period 3, which was discussed in chapter 5. Chapter 6, on the other hand, focuses on the connections during the Later Mycenaean Palatial Period, which corresponds to Interaction Period 4.

There is consensus that most, if not all, of the Later Mycenaean Palatial Period (LH IIIB) is roughly contemporaneous with LC IIC on Cyprus. This corresponds to the last phase of Papadimitriou's Chronological Stage 4 since, in his opinion, Chronological Stage 4 overlaps with the LH/LM IIIA2-IIIB period (Papadimitriou 2012, 94; 2015, 424). The same synchronism is also apparent from Papadimitriou's recent article, where he distinguished Phase A, the Period of Minoan Dominance dating to MM IB-LM/LH IIIA1, from Phase B, the Period of Mycenaean Palaces dating to LH IIIA2-B and overlapping with LC IIB-C (2022, 180, tab. 1).

In Mycenaean terms, the lower chronological limits of this chapter and also this study correspond to the time of the destructions of the palaces in the Argolid, as they mark the end of the Mycenaean Palatial Period in this region. In fact, the destructions had a significant impact on interactions with Cyprus, where until this time the majority of ceramic imports, including the decorated Mycenaean pottery known as 'Levanto-Helladic', came from the Argolid (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015; Mountjoy 2018, 22; 2020, 178 with refs); while in the subsequent period, Cypriot pottery was independent of that of Mycenaean Greece, although there were influences and parallels (Mountjoy 2018, 23). The chronology of the destruction horizon in the Argolid is therefore of significant relevance to this chapter.

The various opinions concerning the LH IIIB ceramic chronology and synchronisms have recently been summarized by Vitale and Van de Moortel (2020, 11-15, 46, tab. I: a) and have also been discussed by Jung and Kardamaki (2022, 11-33, tab. 1). While the end of LH IIIB is unanimously suggested for the destructions in the Argolid, according to nearly all the scholars reviewed in Vitale and Van de Moortel's table I: a, the LH IIIB2 or LH IIIB2 Late period is a separate chronological horizon from LH IIIC. The only exception comes from Mountjoy (1999a, 36-7; 1999b, 514) who distinguished a "Transitional LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early" phase in pottery. Therefore, Mountjoy bridged "the

latest Palatial destructions and the first Postpalatial contexts of Mycenaean civilization" (Vitale, Van de Moortel 2020, 12), although she has recently placed the beginning of LH IIIC Early 1, which she dated to 1190 BC, after the destructions in the Argolid (Mountjoy 2020, 196, tab. 18.1). Rutter, on the other hand, notes that

> following the ceramically synchronous destruction horizon attested at all the three palatial sites [i.e. Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea] at the end of LH IIIB2 […] the LH IIIC period (ca 1200/1190-1050/1020 BC), during which neither literacy in the form of Linear B nor palatial architectural complexes survived anywhere in the Mycenaean world and which has, therefore, been termed 'Postpalatial', features five or six generally agreed upon sub-phases, or seven if a Submycenaean sub-phase is accepted as a distinct horizon. (2020, 209; also cf. Demakopoulou 2003; Middleton 2010, 12-13 with refs; Mühlenbruch 2020, 123, 129-30)

According to this approach, the destructions in the Argolid date to the end of LH IIIB2, while LH IIIC is regarded as a distinct Postpalatial period. However, from a wider extra-Argive perspective

> there remains the problem of relating the widespread destructions that mark the end of the palatial period and beginning of the postpalatial period to each other

and

> dates of individual destructions themselves are also sometimes problematic. (Middleton 2010, 13 with refs)[1]

How does this picture correlate with Cypriot chronology? The main question was summarized some years ago by the following words of M. Vetters:

> the dating of the end of LC IIC and the beginning of LC IIIA on Cyprus and the synchronisation of these periods with specific phases of LH IIIB and LH IIIC on the Greek mainland is still a matter of dispute. (2011, 6 fn. 41 with refs)

From the Cypriot perspective, the synchronization is also hampered by the many problems concerning the clear distinction between the

1 For general discussions on the destructions in the various regions of mainland Greece, cf. Middleton 2020; for Mycenaean destruction deposits, cf. Jung, Kardamaki 2022, 24-5, tab. 1; also cf. Maran 2022 for a very recent discussion on "the demise of the Mycenaean palaces" and Van Damme 2023, for the Athenian destruction.

materials assigned to the final stages of LC IIC and the beginning of the LC IIIA period and their correlation to absolute chronology, as discussed in detail by Artemis Georgiou in § 6.4.3. However, in considering the question, it may be useful to recall that the first correlation between the end of LC IIC and the beginning of LH IIIC was suggested by French and Åström (1980). More recently, Fantalkin, Filkenstein and Piasetzky (2015, 28, tab. 1, 33, 38, tab. 3), using a radiocarbon-based dating scheme for the Aegean ceramic sequence between the Late Helladic IIIB2 and the Middle Geometric II, suggested that LH IIIB2 corresponds to the advanced to late phase of LC IIC, while LH IIIC Early 1 correlates with the LC IIC/LC IIIA transition. On the other hand, Mountjoy has equated LC IIC both to LH IIIB2 Late and LH IIIC Early 1 in the Mycenaean pottery system and, more specifically, the end of LC IIC to LH IIIB Final and LH IIIC Early 1 (Mountjoy 2010; 2018, 26; 2019, 105). Mountjoy's conclusions clearly imply that the LC IIC period lasted beyond the destructions in the Argolid at the end of LH IIIB2 Late (dated to ca 1190) and ended in a period (ca 1185) contemporaneous with an early phase of LH IIIC Early 1 in that region (2018, 22, tab. 1, 28, tab. 4; 2020, 196, tab. 18.1). R. Jung has demonstrated that the buildings of Enkomi IIB (LC IIC) were destroyed "after the Mycenaean palatial society had already been replaced by a different social system, i.e. during LH IIIC Early" (Jung 2011a, 63) and recently insisted on this point (2022, 299, 301, 308 fig. 32; cf. Jung, Kardamaki 2022, 24-5, tab. 1).

The discovery of LH IIIC Early 1 pottery in LC IIC Final contexts at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* may confirm this short time imbalance between the end of the LH IIIB Final period and the end of the LC IIC Final period. Mountjoy (2018, 543) assigned the pottery assemblage of Pyla to LC IIC, and, possibly to a very early period of LC IIIA, while, in a very recent publication, the excavators actually stated that the site was inhabited, in Aegean terms, from LH IIIB Developed into LH IIIC Early 1, and that it was abandoned sometime at the very end of LC IIC2 in Cypriot terms (Bretschneider, Driessen, Kanta 2021a, 616-17). If the last pottery of the ceramic assemblage of Pyla can be dated to Final LC IIC, ceramics within this assemblage of particular importance to the question of synchronisms include a LH IIIC Early deep bowl (Mountjoy 2018, 543-4 with refs) along with some LH IIIB imports and local pottery. In addition to these finds, another LH IIIC Early 1 deep bowl has been published from the recent excavations in Sector 3, although it was attributed to LC IIIA in an earlier publication (Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2015, 32, 33 fig. 27), and a LH IIIC Early deep bowl was found in Sector 4, but it may be of local production (Bretschneider, Driessen, Kanta 2017, 82 fig. 54, PK 16 606). Moreover Jung (2011a, 64) has dated two deep bowls FS 284/285A from the site to the beginning of LH IIIC Early.

Elsewhere, the evidence confirms the synchronisms between the end of the LC IIC Final Period on Cyprus and the end of LH IIIB/beginning of LH IIIC Period in Mainland Greece (for further discussion see § 6.4.2.4), although the evidence apparently is indeterminate in some sites. For example, from Sinda Period II Early, which Mountjoy attributed to LC IIC Final, came some vessels which Furumark regarded as Mycenaean imports dating to his Mycenaean IIIC1a period (Mountjoy 2018, 457), but they seem instead to be Cypriot (464, 477 no. 54, 488 no. 225, 501 no. 179, from Stratum 3). At Apliki *Karamallos*, a typical LH IIIC Early linear deep bowl FS 284 was found in House A, Room 2, on Floor, Phase II (898 no. 24 fig. 466), but the chronology of this context is not definitely LC IIC Final (890: "LC IIC or early LC IIIA in Cypriot terms"). It should finally be noted that Mountjoy (28, tab. 4) has coined the name "CypIIIC Early 1" for a ceramic phase covering both LC IIC Final and an early phase of the LC IIIA (see also Georgiou in § 6.4.3.4).

6.2 The Historical Background of Crete, Mainland Greece, and Cyprus During Interaction Period 4

6.2.1 Crete

After the end of the Neopalatial Period, mainland cultural elements increase on Crete, while elements of Minoan identity continue on Cyprus throughout Interaction Period 4. In LM IIIA2 Early, at Knossos there was a violent destruction which, according to many scholars, can be considered the final destruction of the palace and the end of the palatial administration. From this perspective, the Monopalatial Period when administrative functions continued to be conducted at the palace at Knossos lasted from LM II to LM IIIA2 Early, although some later dates have been suggested for the final destruction of the palace. After the destruction, the following Final Palatial Period lasted from LM IIIA2 Late to the end of LM IIIB,[2] when the Knossian role was scaled down and its central authority and cultural hegemony disappeared (Preston 2008, 316-17 with refs). Although a number of sites declined in prosperity or at "least in elite ostentation" (318;

2 For different schemes of Palatial Periods in Late Minoan Crete, cf. Rehak, Younger 2001, 391, tab. 1 (where the Final Palatial Period lasts from LM II to LM IIIA2 and the Postpalatial Period lasts from LM IIIB to the Subminoan Transition to the Iron Age) and Manning 2010, 17, tab. 2.1 (where the Monopalatial Period lasts from LM II to LM IIIB, while LM IIIC is labeled as Final Palatial Period). For more recent chronologies, cf. Driessen, Langhor 2014; Langhor 2017; 2020; Driessen 2021; 2022; Driessen, Mouthuy 2022; Rutter 2022; Whitelaw 2018; 2022.

also cf. Langhor 2020, 8) and were largely abandoned in the course of LM IIIB, the final destruction of Knossos did not cause a general decline throughout the island. During the thirteenth century there were flourishing communities in some coastal sites "lasting around two generations in the middle of the century" (Langhor 2020, 8). In the Mesara, "the flourishing center of Haghia Triada maintained all the characteristics of a *Ville-Capitale* for most of the thirteenth century BC" (Langhor 2020, 89-90 with refs), while Kommos continued to be a harbor town of primary importance until its abandonment before the end of LM IIIB (Shaw 1998, 17; Rutter 2017b). Chania was also a prosperous settlement becoming a prominent center where an increase in Mycenaean elements, including Linear B tablets, probably point to a palace administration. This center established trade contacts with other Aegean sites, as shown by the Chaniot pottery found in the Cyclades, on the Greek mainland, and on Cyprus and by the stirrup jars with Linear B inscriptions that were produced in west Crete and found across Crete and on the Greek mainland.[3] The necropolis of rock-cut chamber tombs at Armenoi, established in LM II, also continued to be used in the Final Palatial Period. In general, frescoes and stone vases disappeared during this period, and the LM IIIB pottery repertoire reveals a fuller assimilation of many shapes of Mycenaean origin, such as stirrup jars, kraters, piriform jars, alabastra, askoi, stemmed cups, kylikes, basins, pyxides and deep bowls. In the last decades of the thirteenth century, some prominent sites such as Haghia Triada and Kommos were abandoned, the focus of settlement at Knossos seems to have shifted during or after later LM IIIB (although the total abandonment of the site does not seem to occur), and the final abandonment at other centers such as Chania occurred slightly later, dating to the early phases of LM IIIC. While there is no sign of widespread violent destructions throughout the island, the traces of administrative activity disappeared in LM IIIC and this time marks the beginning of the Minoan Postpalatial Period which continues to the Subminoan Period.

6.2.2 Mainland Greece

In LH IIIA2 the Mycenaean civilization gave rise to a flourishing economy and Mycenaean pottery spread all over the Mediterranean, extending to the coast of Asia Minor and northern Greece (Sherratt 1999; 2001). From this time until LH IIIB, Mycenaean civilization clearly reached the peak of palatial power and centralization, as well as the climax of cultural expansion across the Aegean. While

3 Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2010, 523-4; 2015; 2022a; 2022b.

the Mycenaean culture's historical development encompasses "the palatial (ca 1400-1200 BC) and postpalatial (ca 1200-1050) phases" (Rutter 2020, 209), this chapter considers only the second half of the palatial phase, i.e. the LH IIIB period (ca 1300-1200/1190 BC; also cf. Mühlenbruch 2020, 122, tab. 13.1). Even if impressive palaces and the first fortification were built at Mycenae and Tiryns in LH IIIA, most of the archaeological evidence for extensive building programs of citadels constructed in Cyclopean masonry and for the development of elite infrastructure can be dated to LH IIIB. While the Linear B tablets provide primary sources of information highlighting many aspects of Mycenaean palatial administration in this period, the political structure of Mycenaean Greece is not completely defined. In fact, although a unified political system or state under the rule of Mycenae has been suggested (Eder, Jung 2015), the arguments traditionally presented in support of this hypothesis are not completely convincing, whereas instead

> it is likely that there were many major and minor principalities in the Aegean […] which were linked in networks of alliance and dependency. (Dickinson 2006, 26-9)

The political position of Mycenaean civilization, or parts of it, among the power politics of the late fifteenth-early fourteenth to thirteenth centuries BC is closely connected to the so-called Ahhiyawa Question. This originates from the exchange of letters between the Hittite and Ahhiyawan kings. The Ahhiyawan kings, who had personal relationships with the Hittites, can be identified as individuals ruling in the Aegean basin, but the geographic identification of their territories remains controversial and the Ahhiyawa problem is still unresolved.[4] The rich bibliography on this issue, including a recent collective discussion (Bryce, 2018, 191-230; also cf. Blackwell 2021), provides a background for the following summary of various interpretations. Some scholars suggest that the kingdom of Ahhiyawa was the Hittite designation for the Mycenaean world as a whole or, more specifically, this kingdom was located in mainland Greece, with its center at either Mycenae (Niemeier 1998b, 43-5; Gander 2012, 281-2) or Pylos (Bryce 2018). Others argue that the southeastern Aegean islands, and particularly Rhodes, may be identified as plausible home bases for the kings of Ahhiyawa,[5] and even western Anatolia has been suggested as a possible region of origin (Steiner 2010, 600-1, 608).

4 Güterbock 1983; 1984, 114-15; Middelton 2010, 11 fig. 1.1; Beckman, Bryce, Cline 2011, 1-6.

5 Hawkins 1998, 30; Mountjoy 1998, 48-53; Sherratt 2001, 217-18 fn. 9; Benzi 2002, 343-85.

The importance of trade to the development of Mycenaean civilization is captured by Dickinson's statement:

> It does not seem exaggerated to suggest that the standard of living of the Aegean ruling elite, and to some extent of the population as a whole, was dependent on exchange, particularly with the Near East, which must have been the major source of several valuable materials: gold, ivory, tin, glass and even probably copper. (2006, 30)

As seen in chapter 5, contacts between the Mycenaean world and Cyprus became particularly close during Interaction Period 3, and in the first half of the thirteenth century BC there was no change in this trade network. However, the first signs of a widespread decline appear in the middle of LH IIIB, when disasters at Mycenae and Tiryns that have been attributed to earthquakes occur (Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 387-8; Mühlenbruch 2020), although this hypothesis has recently been abandoned, at least in its most extreme form (Maran 2022). In the second half of the thirteenth century BC, fortification walls were substantially extended at Mycenae and Tiryns, and at the very end of the period, alterations were made to these citadels to ensure access to water from within the wall. This suggests an external human threat to the palatial centers in the Argolid and perhaps at Athens, although these changes may also be interpreted as "primarily expressions of power and wealth" (Dickinson 2006, 41-2). At Pylos during this time, some alterations to the original plan were made that restricted access to the Main Building. In any case, in terms of overseas contacts, it is clear that there was a very marked decrease in the quantity of Mycenaean pottery being traded to Rhodes and the East Mediterranean in the late Interaction Period 4.[6] With respect to this phenomenon, Sherratt (1999, 184; 2001, 224) suggested that there was a breakdown of the earlier system of interfacing circuits, indicated, *inter alia*, by the decline of Kommos, the decrease of Mycenaean pottery reaching Rhodes in LH IIIB2, and the signs of a direct penetration of Cypriot traders in western Aegean coastal waters, particularly at Tiryns and Chania, and also shown by the Cape Iria shipwreck.

The major sites on the Greek mainland were either destroyed by fire or abandoned at or near the end of the LH IIIB phase or in LH IIIC Early 1. The identification of the causes, however, contributing to the end of the Palatial Mycenaean period remains a matter for debate.[7]

6 Benzi 2009, 54; Jung 2011a, 61 with refs; Mountjoy 2020, 178; Rutter 2020, 212.

7 Dickinson 2006, 43-57 with refs; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 390-6; Middleton 2010; 2020; Maran 2022; Jung, Kardamaki 2022.

6.2.3 Cyprus

On Cyprus, the four-tiered settlement hierarchy suggested by Bernard Knapp (2008, 144; 2013, 355) was already established in Interaction Period 3, but in large part it reflects the pattern also attested in Interaction Period 4. For example, the reorganization of some primary towns, such as Enkomi and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, on grid plans clearly confirms that Cyprus reached the apex of the urbanization process during the LC IIC period (Negbi 1986, 99-100 fig. 2; 2005). Other major innovations of the period are the monumental construction programs expressed by the "large, multi- or special purpose, usually ashlar-constructed buildings or building complexes" (Knapp 2013, 361), which marked the presence of elites at primary towns such as Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes*, Alassa *Paliotaverna*, and perhaps at Enkomi (Bâtiment 18). In addition to the ashlar tomb construction, the elaborate mortuary rituals, and the consumption of exotica, the monumentality of these buildings had a primary role in the reinforcement of the elite identity. Additional indicators of the complexity of Cypriot society are linked to administrative and commercial activities and include Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, impressed *pithoi*, seals, and balance weights. Seals and balance weights were also commonly used for mortuary display, along with jewelry worn in both daily life and as part of funerary ceremonies. Bronze rod tripods and four-sided stands also appear in the thirteenth century BC but are more common in the following century (Papasavvas 2001; 2008-12; 2013, 169-73). Therefore, it is not by chance that the process of hybridization, already noted in the prestige objects of Interaction Period 3 (see § 5.4.4.2) became more marked in Interaction Period 4, as emblematically indicated by faience objects, including the famous conical rhyton from Kition. However, by the late thirteenth-early twelfth centuries BC, a relative decrease in the number and variety of both imports and hybridized objects occurs (Knapp 2013, 462 with refs). Knapp's following statements summarize the main features of the urban towns in LC IIC, which

> shared a very similar material culture, were involved in similar production ventures, erected similar monumental buildings largely standardized in plan and construction methods, and made use of widely accepted insignia of group identity (e.g. common and elaborate style cylinder seals, Aegeanizing motifs on *pithos* seal impressions, depictions of oxhide ingots on various media, gendered representations in figurines, etc.). (2008, 245)

In addition to the primary towns and some elite tombs, ashlar masonry was probably also used in this period at both Kouklia *Palaipaphos*, where the so-called Sanctuary I was founded late in LC IIC

(Maier, Karageorghis 1984, 81-102), and in the so called "sanctuary" at Myrtou *Pigadhes,* where a monumental, stepped stone "altar" was surmounted by a pair of reconstructed horns of consecration (for a discussion on the interpretation of the site, cf. Knapp 2013, 376-8). In LC IIC, urban cult buildings appeared at Kition *Kathari,* preceding the substantial developments in religious architecture which can be seen at this site and other primary centers such as Enkomi and Kouklia *Palaipaphos* in the twelfth century BC. A number of third tier religious and ceremonial centers also appeared on the island. The climax of the copper industry on Cyprus was reached in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries (Steel 2004a, 168), a development that is particularly apparent in the industrial zone at Enkomi, where in Interaction Period 4, the metallurgical area occupied 206 square meters in the new large (1232 square meters in total surface area) two-storey building that succeeded the so-called 'Fortress'. Evidence of metallurgical activities was also found at other primary towns such as Maroni *Vournes*, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition, and elsewhere (Alassa and Athienou).

Regarding the sociopolitical organization on Cyprus in Interaction Period 4, P. Keswani (1996, 236-7; 2004, 154-5) suggested that there was a heterarchical system, admitting that several regional polities operated independently on the island at the same time. Other authorities such as J. Webb and B. Knapp maintained that there was a hierarchical, or somewhat centralized, sociopolitical system and recently Knapp suggested that "a single unified polity emerged on the island by the fourteenth century BC".[8]

There was a clear increase in Cyprus's connectivity throughout most of LC IIC, with imported goods found in varying amounts at Cypriot sites of all tiers, including some remote agricultural locations (Knapp 2013, 358; Andreou 2016; 2019), and Cypriot pottery continuing to be distributed not only in the Eastern Mediterranean but also as far as central Mediterranean. Sardinian Nuragic pottery has been found at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and Hala Sultan Tekke, despite different models of long-distance trade being suggested (see Introduction and § 7.4). Nevertheless, in the last decades of the thirteenth century BC there were some changes in the general situation, although they were not uniform over the entire island. Signs of destruction have been found at Enkomi and Sinda, while abandonments are apparent at *Toumba tou Skourou*, Maroni *Vournes*, and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. In other primary towns, such as Kition and Kouklia *Palaepaphos,* there was no apparent settlement interruption, and the short-lived settlements of Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and Maa *Palaeokastro* were

8 Knapp 2008, 144; 2013, 437, also cf. 432-47 for a detailed discussion on this topic including an analytical review of different interpretations by other scholars. For the most recent discussion on this issue, cf. Knapp, Meyer 2023, 325-8; also cf. Knapp 2023, 17-18.

actually founded during this period.[9] Although the number of LM IIIB and LH IIIB vessels imported to Pyla *Kokkinokremos* at the end of the thirteenth century BC is noteworthy, the flow of pottery exported from the Aegean to Cyprus declined after the middle of the century, likely as a consequence of instability and troubles in mainland Greece. The striking increase in the production of Aegean-type wares (White Painted Wheelmade III pottery and Rude/Pastoral Style) on Cyprus is not accidentally concomitant with the wider use of potter's wheel and the decline of handmade fine wares on the island. In the following century, Cypro-Aegean relations changed further giving rise to the discussed question of the 'hellenisation' of Cyprus, although Artemis Georgiou (see § 6.4.3.7) has demonstrated that there was "an amalgamation of various sources of inspiration for the production" of Aegean-style pottery in LC IIC, so that "the simplistic equation of ceramic transformations to population movements cannot be unambiguously maintained".

6.3 Cypro-Aegean Connections in Interaction Period 4 from the Aegean Perspective

Despite the change in the historic background of the Aegean with the developing prominence of Mainland Greece at the expense of Minoan Crete, in terms of commercial contacts in Interaction Period 4 there was no general interruption in trade between Cyprus and Crete, and Cypriot imports of various categories continued to occur on Crete and other regions in the Aegean basin, but the main evidence for trade connections was, of course, provided by the Argolid.

6.3.1 Cypriot Pottery Imported to the Aegean in Interaction Period 4

6.3.1.1 Crete

Compared to the earlier evidence for contacts with Cyprus, only a limited number of Cypriot imports have been found at Kommos in LM IIIB contexts (Sherratt 2001, 221 fn. 13), which include Post-Palatial (LM IIIA2 Developed-IIIB) deposits associated with the large Buildings N and P that were abandoned toward the end of the thirteenth century BC (Rutter 2006a, 518-30; 2017b) and smaller LM IIIB deposits associated with the poorly preserved architecture overlying

9 Georgiou 2011b; 2012; Knapp 2013, 357-8, 474; Knapp, Meyer 2020, 238, 240 fig. 23.2; Jung 2022, 289-90.

House X, a building that spanned from LM IB Late through LM IIIA2 Early (2017a, 3-4, 206-7). However, in Interaction Period 4 this harbor town continued to produce most of the Eastern Mediterranean imports to Crete, and the Cypriots may be considered the "principal carriers of trade goods into and out of Kommos" in this period (1999, 147-8). In addition to some scattered Cypriot vessels published by L.V. Watrous from LM IIIB contexts,[10] other finds have been recorded by Rutter (1999, 168; 2006a, 555: 67a/28, pl. 3.78, 569: 75/7, pl. 3.83, 3.94; 2014, 214, 229 no. 55: C10365, 232 no. 64: C8202, 234 no. 72: C11240), including a Late White Slip II milk bowl from mixed Historic and LM IIIB levels found in front of Building P, the well-known shipshed (2014a, 214, 227 no. 46: C9990). Apart from a few vessels of various LC wares from the Civic Center (1999, 168-9; 2014a, 232 no. 64, 229 no. 55: a Plain White Wheelmade krater C 8202, a Base Ring II C10365, a Monochrome jug C10649, a Plain White Pithos C11240), all the other Cypriot pottery imports of Interaction Period 4 mentioned above are White Slip II milk bowls. As pointed out in § 5.3.1.1, these bowls are likely to have been produced in the Limassol area with clays derived from sources located several kilometers inland from the coast (Tomlinson, Rutter, Hoffman 2010, 200, tab. 2: C1262, C4127, fig. 4, C2141, C6743). A Canaanite amphora was found dating to the period following the destruction of Knossos in LM IIIA2 Early. This interesting vessel has a post-firing incised mark on its handle that may be indicative of Cypriot handling (Rutter 2006a, 527-8 no. 56e/9, pl. 3/62; 2014b, 63), as suggested by other marked vessels found elsewhere in the Aegean in Interaction Period 3 (see § 5.3.1) and 4 contexts (see below).

Additional evidence for contacts between the Mesara and Cyprus in Interaction Period 4 is provided from a Cypriot wall bracket of unknown provenance from Phaistos that was dated to LM IIIB Late-IIIC Early (Girella 2010 with refs; 2014, 260 no. 4). Found in Cyprus as objects of cultic use, but also associated with domestic and burial contexts, wall brackets were very common especially in LC IIC-IIIA, and also occurred in the Aegean and in the Eastern Mediterranean in the LBA and Iron Age (Rahmstorf 2014, 191 fig. 20.4). This Phaistos example possibly reached the site from Kommos (Karageorghis 2011, 31), although the harbor town was abandoned in LM IIIB, but alternatively it could have derived from Tiryns, where more than 20 wall brackets have been published (Girella 2010, 166). It is also worth noting that two or three other LM IIIC wall brackets have been found at Phaistos from the Casa a ovest del Piazzale 1, but the possibility that they were locally made following Cypriot models (Borgna 2014,

10 Watrous 1992, 159 nos 985, 1340, 1698, 1945, pls 52, 54, 65, 168 no. 1099 pl. 50; cf. Cline 1994, 183 nos 428-30, 432; Rutter 1999, 167-8; 2006a, 547 no. 60/31, pl. 3: 73; 2014, 226 nos 42: C1262, 43: C2141, 44: C6743, 45: C4127, 234 no. 73: C 4143.

259-60 nos 1-3), similar to finds from mainland Greece, cannot be ruled out (Girella 2010, 161 with refs; Rahmstorf 2014, 192-3; also see § 6.3.1.1). Although some scholars have considered all wall brackets as Cypriot ethnic markers suggesting the presence of Cypriot individuals abroad, others have raised doubts about this interpretation (Rahmstorf 2014, 193; also see below).

Among the sites with Cypriot imports, a primary role must also be assigned to Chania, as already pointed out by Cline (1994, 61). In fact, taking into account Cypriot imports to Crete, Minoan imports to Cyprus, and the western Cretan origin of many Minoan ceramic imports to Cyprus, Cline argued that there was possibly "a specific relationship between Cyprus and Minoan Chania during the LM IIIB" (61; for the commercial role of Chania, also cf. Pålsson Hallager 1993; Hallager, Hallager 2003, 261; 2011, 375-6 fig. 97, 449-50, tabs 10-11 fig. 102). More specifically, current evidence indicates a preference for White Slip II milk bowls at this site in the thirteenth century BC. A vase of this shape was found in 1968 on the Kastelli Hill, and at least three other White Slip II milk bowls were recovered in LH IIIB contexts in this area (Cline 1994, 185 nos 446-8 with refs; Karageorghis et al. 2014, 33 nos 5, 7). Finally, as mentioned previously, two White Slip II milk bowl sherds from stratified LM IIIB1 and LM IIIB2 contexts are recorded from the Greek-Swedish Excavations at Ayia Aikaterini Square, Kastelli Hill (Hallager, Hallager 2014, 32 nos 1-2), while a handle of another White Slip II milk bowl was found in Post-Minoan strata in the same area (Cline 1994, 254 no. 1095; Hallager, Hallager 2014, 32 no. 3 with refs).

As far as Cypriot pottery found elsewhere on the island is concerned, some White Slip II sherds already mentioned in § 5.3.1.1 were found at Poros-Katsambas, but their chronology is uncertain since they can also be attributed to Interaction Period 3 (Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2014, 267-89 nos 1-7 with refs, attributed to LC II). A LM IIIB narrow-necked jug from the so-called cenotaph at Archanes is also worth noting, which A. Kanta regarded as an imitation of a Cypriot type also paralleled at Karteros (1980, 32, 316 with refs; also cf. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 188). A Cypriot handleless pithos dating to LC IIC from Elounda was also discussed by Kanta (Karageorghis et al. 2014, 57 no. 1) who stressed a similarity with Cypriot pithoi from the Cape Iria wreck. A Base Ring jug said to have come from Knossos from unknown context is stored in the Ashmolean Museum but its chronology has not been precisely established (Åström 1972, 725; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 230).

6.3.1.2 Dodecanese and Eastern Aegean

As noted in § 5.3.1.2, the Cypriot ceramic imports to Rhodes are less common in Interaction Period 3 than in Interaction Period 2 (Karantzali 2005, 146; 2009, 358), although Cypriot agents may have been buried in some tombs at Ialysos in Interaction Period 3. The reduction in ceramic connections between the Dodecanese and Cyprus is even more apparent in Interaction Period 4, possibly being also connected to the traces of a destruction at Trianda dating to the end of LH IIIA2 or the very beginning of LH IIIB and to the "sudden decline" of the Ialysos cemetery in LH IIIB, which on Rhodes is a "disappointing period, when compared with the prosperous IIIA2" (Benzi 2009, 54 and fn. 53). However, on Kos, LH IIIB was a period of wealth and expansion and the island reached a prominent role in southeast Aegean (Vitale 2021, 529-45, 553, 555). Leaving aside a Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware flask FS 186: 6 from a LH IIIA2-B context at Ialysos, Makra Vounara, Tomb 59, whose origin was already discussed in § 5.3.1.2 (Benzi 1992, 11, 105, 359 no. 18; Cline 1994, 195 no. 538 with refs), E. Karantzali (2005, 146) notes that the only similarity between Dodecanesian and Cypriot ceramics is in LH IIIB Late deep bowls and kraters. On Kos, only a White Slip II bowl from a LH IIIB context in Eleona Tomb 19 may safely be assigned to Interaction Period 4, while a Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware flask from Langada Tomb 12 and a White Slip bowl from the Serraglio cannot be precisely dated on contextual grounds. Regarding contacts with Cyprus in Interaction Period 4, it is also worth mentioning two Cypriot Simple Style stirrup jars from Langada Tomb 53 that have been dated to LH IIIC Early, although previously attributed to LH IIIB by R. Jung (Vitale 2021, 546 and fn. 45, 547 fig. 17: 2-3).

A shallow cup with a horizontal handle and a mug from a cist tomb from Emborio on Chios have been regarded as Mycenaean vessels that possibly reached the site by means of Cypriot traders, since their shapes have parallels in the repertoire of 'Levanto-Mycenaean' pottery, which is particularly common on Cyprus (Privitera 2005, 233 and fn. 58 with earlier refs). A possible role of Cypriot traders can similarly be suggested at Miletus where in Phase VI (LH IIIB-C Early) contexts a group of four Mycenaean stirrup jars with Cypro-Minoan post-firing incised signs, a feature considered evidence for Cypriot handling, has been found (Zurbach 2014, 225-7 nos 4-7, figs 10-16, 229-31). Assuming there was a trade route along the Aegean Anatolian coast connecting Cyprus and this coast via the Dodecanese (Pieniążiek, Pavúk, Kozal 2018, 395-7), Troy likely was its final destination since the site contains a comparatively high amount of Cypriot pottery dating to LC II. Specifically rich are levels Troy VIf/g-VIIA (Kozal 2006; 2016, 55; Pieniążiek, Pavúk, Kozal 2018, 383-4 fig. 11), Troy VIh/VIIA, which also yielded LH IIIA2/IIIB pottery, and

Troy VIIA, where LH IIIB pottery has been found. Among this pottery, White Slip II was predominant, while Base Ring II and White Shaved are also present. A Mycenaean stirrup jar with signs incised after firing (Pieniążiek, Pavúk, Kozal 2018, 399 with earlier refs), although locally made, should also be recalled. No Cypriot pottery has been published from Panaztepe and Liman Tepe, but some golden funnel-shaped objects, well paralleled on Cyprus, were found at these two sites (385 with refs). The interaction between Troy and Cyprus is also confirmed from the Cypriot perspective by the Anatolian Grey and Tan Wares of Trojan production that have been found on Cyprus, mainly in thirteenth century BC contexts (377, fig. 2, 389-90 with refs).

6.3.1.3 Aegina

A White Slip II bowl is reported from Kolonna, but, according to Cline (254 no. 1093 with refs), its context and chronology are unknown. However, Papadimitriou (2012, 119 with refs) argued that fragments of White Slip II bowls came from "Late Mycenaean" levels dating "until LH IIIB".

6.3.1.4 Salamis

In his discussion on the finds from Kanakia on Salamina, a site that flourished in the thirteenth century BC and was abandoned shortly after 1200 BC in LH IIIC Early, Lolos (2003, 104-15; 2009, 29-44) regarded some finds of Eastern Mediterranean origin as evidence of the "Eastern Connection". They included a bronze scale-plate from a bronze corselet of Near Eastern origin stamped with an Egyptian royal cartouche (Ramesses II), two large conical spindle-whorls of black steatite of Cypriot/Near Eastern inspiration or origin, a large fragment of an oxhide ingot made of Cypriot copper, and two ceramic finds. While the spindle-whorls and the ingot fragment are discussed below, the ceramic finds deserve some attention here. The first, a flattened handle with a suspension hole, was considered part either of a Late Mycenaean brazier or a wall bracket of Cypriote type (2009, 41 fig. 21, 43), although, according to Rahmstorf (2014, 192), this find was likely the handle of a brazier FS 312. If this fragmentary object is a wall-bracket, it must be considered in connection with the group of several wall-brackets from Phaistos and mainland Greece mentioned above. The second interesting ceramic find dates to LH IIIB2-IIIC or LH IIIC1 Early. It is a coarse ware stirrup jar FS 164 with evidence of the Cypriot-inspired marking system in the form of two horizontal parallel lines on one handle incised after firing (Lolos 2009, 42 fig. 22, 44).

6.3.1.5 Mainland Greece: Tiryns

Although more common than in earlier periods, in Interaction Period 4 the occurrence of Cypriot pottery is relatively limited in mainland Greece, especially when compared in proportion to the huge number of Mycenaean vessels exported to Cyprus. However, in the network of contacts a prominent place may be assigned to Tiryns, one of the most important harbors of the thirteenth century BC in the East Mediterranean (Maran 2015). At this palatial center, which no doubt was part of a socio-economic East Mediterranean network (Brysbaert, Vetters 2013, 204), Cypriot contacts are apparent in archaeological evidence. Most of the imported pottery from Kilian's excavations, including Minoan finds and examples of unclear origin, remains unpublished (Stockhammer 2015, 181-2), but among this material, P. Stockhammer (182, fig. 3a: LXI 39/67 XV no. 50, fig. 3b: LXII 45/29 Xa, fig. 3c: LXI 41/43 XIVc, LXI 41/63 XVb, fig. 3d: LXII 42/8 IXb R 130) was able to identify a Cypriot Plain White Wheelmade sherd along with a couple of sherds of possible Cilician origin. He also identified possible imports from southwestern Cyprus in LH IIIB2 contexts (184 and fn. 43), including a White Slip bowl from the Lower Citadel and another White Slip example found west of Building VI.[11] A White Shaved juglet was reported from Room 191 of Building VI, where there was also evidence for craft activity (Knapp 1990a, 122 fn. 54; Cline 1994, 205 no. 632; Stockhammer 2015, 181 fig. 2c). In addition to a lentoid flask, which may be a Cypriot import from House VI dating to LH IIIB (Catling 1991, 6 fn. 26), the repertoire of Cypriot pottery also included a large Cypriot transport jug found east of the passageway in Building XV (Vetters 2011, 27), as well as a few pithoi from LH IIIB2 contexts in the northern Lower Town at Tiryns (Stockhammer 2015, 178 and fn. 6) and the neck of a large Cypriot jug, probably used as a transport vessel,[12] recently discussed by Wirghowá (2022, 68 figs 10: 5, 13: 2) from a LH IIIB Final context in the northern tip of the Lower Citadel.

Other vessels, such as a so-called 'Levanto-Mycenaean' chalice FS 278 found in a LH IIIB Final context, as well as additional examples from Tiryns, Thebes and Tell Kazel in Syria, must be considered of Argive production (Vetters 2011, 26 and fn. 237; also cf. Mountjoy 2018, 40-3). 'Levanto-Helladic' shallow bowls FS 296 may also be of

11 For the White Slip bowl from the Lower Citadel, cf. Cline 1994, 180 no. 399; Vetters 2011, 25 no. 11 with refs; Brysbaert, Vetters 2015, 164-7; Stockhammer 2015, 181 fig. 2a. For the White Slip example found west of Building VI, cf. Cline 1994, no. 400; Vetters 2011, 26 no. 14 with refs; Stockhammer 2015, 181 fig. 2b.

12 Although such a function was suggested for this large container, Knapp has noted that as far as he knows "there are no 'transport jugs' in the Cypriot ceramic repertoire" (pers. comm. 3 May 2023).

local production (Mountjoy 2018, 43-9).[13] Given the intense excavations at Tiryns and the easily recognizable appearance of some Cypriot wares, we can therefore share Stockhammer's observation that

> the surprisingly small number of Cypriot White Slip and White Shaved ware sherds from Tiryns is probably representative of the rareness of these vessels at this site (2015, 178)

likely due to the preference for local Mycenaean wares by the inhabitants of Tiryns and Mycenae (178, 184).

Despite these limitations, some other finds may suggest that a small number of Cypriot natives resided at Tiryns in Interaction Period 4. The main evidence supporting this suggestion is a group of terracotta wall brackets of Cypriot shape discovered in LH IIIB Middle to LH IIIC Early stratified deposits.[14] Rahmstorf (2014, 188), who provides a comprehensive discussion of the wall brackets, showed that they occurred widely on Cyprus, in the Levant, in the Uluburun shipwreck and more rarely in the Aegean (Rahmstorf 2014, 191-2, fig. 20.4). It is striking that more than twenty examples have been found at Tiryns, but only one bracket from a LH IIIB Middle building seems to be "potentially imported from Cyprus" (Brysbaert, Vetters 2013, 203; cf. in particular, Rahmstorf 2008, no. 1829, fig. 20.3 no. 2), while finger impressions and the use of clay similar to that of local kitchen vessels apparently suggest that other terracotta brackets were of local production (Rahmstorf 2014, 191-2). Both the Cypriot wall bracket and local ones can be considered evidence for the adoption of a Cypriot and Near Eastern practice, and probably it is not by chance that wall brackets of both origins were associated with a metallurgical workshop area in the LH IIIB Middle building at Tiryns. Therefore, J. Maran rightly noted that wall brackets, as well as an ivory rod with an Ugaritic inscription from the workshop in Building XI (Cohen, Maran, Vetters 2010), cannot be designated as mere 'exotica' since

> the users seem to have been aware of the meaning attached to the objects in the East and used them in accordance with Near Eastern or Cypriote practices, thus showing their cultural affiliations. (Maran 2012, 283)

13 As to Aegean-type pottery, however, cf. Stockhammer 2015, 178, who mentions three Cypriot Simple Style stirrup jars from the early Postpalatial settlement in the Northeastern Lower Town of Tiryns that "were appropriated and used by the Postpalatial inhabitants of these buildings".

14 Rahmstorf 2008, 95-111; 2014, 188; Vetters 2011, 25 nos 1-10; Brysbaert, Vetters 2013, 203-4.

In summary, due to the particular diffusion of wall brackets in LC IIC-IIIA contexts, several scholars regarded them as indicative of the presence of Cypriot individuals in the Aegean (Rahmstorf 2014, 193 with refs); alternatively, they may suggest the adoption of foreign practices by local people who "had been exposed long enough to Cypriot and Levantine lifestyles" (Brysbaert, Vetters 2013, 204).

Other evidence of Cypriot impact is provided by the discovery of several Mycenaean vessels and imported pottery fragments marked after firing with Cypro-Minoan or similar signs.[15] It is well-known that the use of Cypro-Minoan marks after firing on vessels is a Cypriot practice which reached its peak in LC II-IIIA (Vetters 2011, 10). The main body of this marked pottery comes from Cyprus and the Near East (Hirschfeld 1992, 316), especially from the Kingdom of Ugarit (2000) and Tell Abu Hawam (Jung 2015, 252 with refs), and can be mainly dated to LH IIIB. Even at the site of Cannatello in Sicily three amphora handles of Mycenaean type were found that bear possible traces of Cypriot writing (Hirschfeld 2001). These vessels occur in a limited range of shapes and are generally less common in the Aegean than they are in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is however noteworthy that most of them occur in the Argolid almost exclusively at Tiryns.[16] Although "a Cypriot involvement can be convincingly suggested only for marked vessels", i.e. for a small proportion of the Mycenaean pottery intended for export (Jung 2015, 252), the possibility that Cypriot traders marked their pottery in Cypriot fashion as a way to designate their merchandise is more likely than the alternative suggestion that the vessels were marked by Mycenaean merchants engaged in exporting vessels to Cyprus and familiar with Cypriot practices (Hirschfeld 1996, 292-3). In any case, the vessels confirm that Tiryns played a primary role in Cypro-Aegean contacts in Interaction Period 4. The absence of Mycenaean vessels bearing incised marks on Rhodes, where people would have been familiar with the Cypriot writing system, has been considered indicative of direct trade between Tiryns and Cyprus of Mycenaean pottery featuring these characteristics (1993, 315; Jung 2015, 252). The seven handles with incised marks and the incised body sherd of a Canaanite amphorae found at Tiryns in LH IIIB contexts (Rutter 2014b, 60, tab. 5.3, 63, 65) are relevant to this connection. While these finds imply handling by Cypriot traders, Rutter (61) rightly noted that the marks do not necessarily indicate that these vessels of Levantine origin were

15 Hirschfeld 1993; 1996; 1999; Cline 1994, 54-5.

16 However, the above-mentioned coarse stirrup jar FS 164 from Kanakia, Salamina, showing two horizontal parallel incisions after firing on one handle may also be related to the Cypriot practice (Lolos 2009, 42 fig. 22, 44), while pottery marked after firing with Cypro-Minoan or similar signs has been rarely found on Crete (Hirschfeld 1996, 291, 294; 2019, 141-3).

directly delivered from Cyprus, but they do instead indicate some level of Cypriot involvement in their distribution.

The close connections between Tiryns and Cyprus are also confirmed by the fact that there was no interruption in contacts after the end of the Mycenaean Palatial Period. Cypriot and Levantine objects continued to occur at Tiryns in settlement contexts of the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town North in the LH IIIC period (Vetters 2011, 27 with refs). Although terracotta wall brackets are absent in the LH IIIC Developed workshop area, an important find of the Postpalatial period is a small clay ball with a Cypro-Minoan inscription from the Lower Citadel, which is the first example of this type found outside Cyprus (2011; Donnelly 2022). Metal artifacts also attest to relations with Cyprus and have been considered an additional clue to the possibility that a small number of Cypriot natives were resident at Tiryns in this period (Vetters 2011, 31).

6.3.1.6 Mainland Greece: Other Areas

Elsewhere, Cypriot ceramic imports seem to be more scattered, even in the Argolid. At Mycenae White Slip milk bowls are lacking (Stockhammer 2015, 181 fn. 36), but a White Shaved juglet comes from a LH IIIB fill in Room 18 in the Citadel House Area (181 fn. 38 with refs), and the discovery of a terracotta wall bracket, probably from the acropolis, is reported (Cline 1994, 221 no. 787). Among the LH III pottery at Mycenae, N. Hirschfeld (1993, 316 fn. 10) refers to a vessel with incised Cypro-Minoan signs after firing, a number of unpublished inscribed LH III sherds, a complete Canaanite jar with a mark painted (after firing?) on its upper body from the South House, and at least one handle with an incised mark recovered from a settlement context. All of these finds from Mycenae "probably reached their final inland destination by way of the harbor at Tiryns" (Rutter 2014b, 63 with refs). Another terracotta wall bracket from Kandia was thoroughly discussed by Rahmstorf (2014; also cf. Cline 257 no. 1118) who also noted some morphological peculiarities of this example. In addition to a vessel with a Cypro-Minoan inscription from Asine, two Mycenaean vessels with incised Cypro-Minoan signs have been found at Dendra (Hirschfeld 1993, 316 fn. 10 with refs), where a sherd of mottled grey color with a burnished slip from Room 2 in the Citadel was also regarded as a possible Base Ring example (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 339 no. 447; Cline 1994, 246 no. 1025). Finally, Lambrou-Phillipson (1990, 91, 94 fn. 37) recalled that several White Slip vessels were found in LH IIIA-B tombs in the Argolid.

Outside the Argolid, apart from a White Slip sherd from Orchomenos housed in the Oxford Ashmolean Museum and possibly coming from Schliemann's excavations (Merrillees 2001, 100), there are some

piriform jars from the northwestern Peloponnese that some scholars regard as Cypriot import piriform jars FS 46 and FS 47 (cf. for example, Cline 1994, 245 no. 1014: "possibly local Mycenaean"). However, these may be considered Mycenaean piriform jars FS 44 or 45 with a conical or conical-piriform body, likely of local production (Graziadio 2019, 30-1). The same is probably true of a LH IIIB 2 stirrup jar from Patras, Achaea, which Cline (1994, 246 no. 1024) considered "possibly local Mycenaean".

6.3.2 Oxhide Ingots and Copper-Based Artifacts Imported to the Aegean in Interaction Period 4

After the striking dearth of ingots in Interaction Period 3 Aegean contexts, the renewal of trade in Cypriot copper by means of oxhide ingots is a noteworthy feature of Interaction Period 4. On Crete, this evidence is limited to the harbor town of Kommos, where some fragments of oxhide ingots of copper consistent with a Cypriot provenance were found in LM IIIB contexts, indicating that elsewhere on the island the trade in oxhide ingots continued to be affected by the final destruction of Knossos.[17] However, apart from this limited but direct evidence, some fragments of clay molds of at least one bronze rod tripod stand of Cypriot type were found at Rousolakkos (Palaikastro), south of Building 5, in a pit dating to LM IIIB (Rehak, Younger 2001, 450 and fn. 461; Kanta in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 254 no. 4). Additional evidence for Cypriot connections includes a few analyzed bronze artifacts from West Crete dating to LM III, possibly LM IIIB? (Stos-Gale, Gale 1990, 80), as well as some bronze artifacts from post-palatial Knossos (Gale, Stos-Gale 2007, 108 fig. 8) that were made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores, despite the fact that the main source of copper in this period was Lavrion (Stos-Gale, Gale 1990, 88-9, fig. 19; Stos-Gale, Macdonald 1991, 266 fig. 7, b).

Unlike Crete, the discovery of oxhide ingots made of Cypriot copper in mainland Greece, especially in the main Mycenaean palatial centers in the Argolid, can be considered another important aspect of the increasing Mycenaean role in Cypro-Aegean trade in Interaction Period 4 (Sabatini 2016, 22 fig. 4, 35 fig. 5). At Mycenae, one example of undefined chronology was found during Tsountas' excavations (Gale 1991, 226-7; Cline 1995, 95; Jones 2007, 419 with refs where it is assigned to the fourteenth century BC), and twelve oxhide ingot fragments were part of the Poros Wall Hoard, probably dating

17 Muhly, Maddin, Stech 1988, 291-2; Niemeier 1998a, 38 with refs; Rutter 1999, 141, and fns 17, 18; Shaw 2006, 725-6; 2014a, 236 and no. 81; Jones 2007, 417; Sabatini 2016, 27.

to LH IIIB-C.[18] Further evidence in mainland Greece includes another oxhide ingot fragment from a small bronze hoard (Gale 1991, 227; Jones 2007, 420 with refs, attributed to LH IIIB-C) and an oxhide ingot handle fragment of uncertain chronology, possibly coming from Mycenae, housed in the Nafplion Museum (Gale 1991, 227; Jones 2007, 420). According to scientific analysis, the copper of a slab bronze ingot and an oxhide ingot from Tiryns is also consistent with the Cypriot field,[19] but these ingots were included among the "not datable and debated finds" by Sabatini (2016, 41).

The list of 'problematic' ingots also includes examples from Aegina (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 372 no. 528; Jones 2007, 419), Athens (Jones 2007, 419 with refs) and Thebes (Mangou, Ioannou 2000, 208; Lolos 2009, 40; Jones 2007, 420 with refs). Less problematic is an oxhide fragment from Salamina island, which, although without context, may share a similar chronology (thirteenth century BC) to the other Cypriot finds from Kanakia (see § 6.3.1.4). There is some consensus that all the oxhide ingots dating after the middle half of the fifteenth century BC are consistent with a Cypriot provenance and are produced from copper originating in the Apliki area.[20] Regarding bronze items, some analyzed artifacts from the Poros Wall Hoard, Menidi, the Acropolis at Athens, and Perati that have been tentatively dated to "LH III" are consistent with a Cypriot origin.[21]

6.3.3 Prestige Objects Imported to the Aegean in Interaction Period 4

6.3.3.1 Cylinder Seals

Interaction Period 4 lacks clear evidence for the import of Cypriot seals to Crete. However, some of the 'Cypro-Aegean' seals already

18 Gale, Stos-Gale 1989, 254, pl. LXV; Gale 1989, 254, 265 fig. 29.15; Stos-Gale, Gale 1990, 84; Gale 1991, 226; Knapp 1990, 131, tab. 2; Jones 2007, 420 with refs where they were dated to LH IIIB; the same chronology is accepted by Sabatini 2016, 27.

19 Gale 1989, 255-6, fig. 29.16; Knapp 1990, 131, tab. 2; Jones 2007, 420; Vetters 2011, 22 fn. 182 with ref.

20 Gale 2011; Kassianidou 2014, 309; 2021, 114; Sabatini 2016, 26, 47 with refs; cf. however Kassianidou 2008-12, 35-7, for an earlier discussion on Apliki deposits.

21 Gale 1989, 265, tab. 29: 7; Knapp 1990a, 131, tab. 2; Gale 1991, 231; Stos-Gale, Macdonald 1991, 266 fig. 7, c, 267. In general, most of the analyzed bronze objects from Greece dating between the fourteenth and eleventh centuries have lead isotope ratios "which are distinctly comparable to those of Cypriot copper ores" (Jung 2009, 74-5). However, some doubts may be raised on origin or chronology of a few specific artifacts from the Aegean. They include a bowl from Rhodia in Achaea stored in the Patras Museum (P. Åström 1972, 725; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 328) and three bronze daggers from Thasos in the North Aegean (Lambrou Phillipson 1990, 91, 94, fns 28-9).

discussed in § 5.3.3.1, such as two seals from Gouves, one a cornelian cylinder seal and the other an olive-green schist cylinder seal (Karageorghis et al. 2014, 68 nos 1-2; Pini 2014, 328, 330 nos 6, 10), are of undefined chronology and may belong to this period. The same may also be true of a few other examples from Crete (Mantzourani, Theodorou 1991, 55 no. 20 with refs).

On the other hand, if we turn to mainland Greece, a late thirteenth century BC deposit in the Kadmeion at Thebes contained a significant number of Oriental cylinder seals that appear to be of the utmost importance (Porada 1981; Cline 1994, 151 no. 164, 152 no. 166, 154-6 nos 186-94; Smith 2022, 207-11 with further refs in fn. 1). In fact, 38 cylinder seals from this deposit were published by Porada (1981), and for the purpose of this study it is important to emphasize that, in addition to Mesopotamian, Mitannian, Hittite, and Kassite seals of various chronologies, she identified eleven Cypriot seals, nine of which were made of lapis lazuli. Among the lapis lazuli Cypriot seals, Porada recognized six as modified Near Eastern seals. The different explanations for the origin of this seal deposit and the deposition of the seals in the Kadmeion were first reviewed by Lambrou-Phillipson (1990, 77-9; also cf. Davaras, Soles 1995, 48-9). More recently, according to Pini (2005, 780), their Cypriot origin may be explained as a "collection" that was sent "by a ruler on Cyprus, perhaps from Enkomi". On the other hand, Smith (2022, 210 with refs) has recently discussed Merrillees' statement that all "Cypriot" cylinder seals with 'Elaborate' forms of carving in hard stones were products of Syria, therefore implying that none of the cylinder seals found in the Aegean were carved on Cyprus. Indeed, Smith, although admitting that

> the Thebes deposit presents several problems in terms of Cypriot seals and how they might be useful for understanding Cypriot involvement outside the island (210)

uses her comparison of the lapis lazuli seals from Thebes with the Cypriot seals found on Cyprus and at Ugarit and concludes that

> it is possible that Porada correctly identified Cypriot carvers among the hands that handled the lapis lazuli seals found at Thebes. Where and when that work took place remains a subject of investigation. (220)

Other seals of an 'Elaborate' style from the Aegean have been listed by Smith (2022, 208 fns 6-7), but some of them are from LH IIIC or undatable contexts (Davaras, Soles 1995, nos 66, 77, 94), while others were modified seals that were first carved in the Near East (Davaras, Soles 1995, no. 152). In addition, a poor faience imitation of an Egyptian scarab was found in Tomb 526 at Mycenae, but its origin

is uncertain and the context can only be dated generically to LH III (Cline 1994, 146 no. 118 with refs; 1995, 99 no. 16: Cypriot or local?). Uncertainty also exists regarding the Cypriot or Syro-Palestinian origin and the chronology of four unpublished cylinder seals from the acropolis of Ialysos and one cylinder seal found in the Moschou Vounara cemetery on Rhodes (Marketou 2009a, 49). Alternatively, on Kos, a lapis lazuli (?) cylinder seal was part of a group of adornments from Langada Tomb 10 which Vitale dates to LH IIIC Early/Middle (?) (2021, 549 fig. 20: 12; also cf. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 378 no. 545 with refs) and may be considered a Cypriot seal owing to its gold caps (cf. Porada 1979, 111 fn. 3); moreover, "a steatite cylinder seal of Cypriot or Syrian origin" came from Eleona Tomb 22 (Benzi 2009, 53 with refs).

6.3.3.2 Faience Objects

There is no definitive evidence for the import of Cypriot faience objects to the Aegean in Interaction Period 4. Other than a Cypriot or Near Eastern juglet from a tholos tomb at Ktimeni (Thessaly) attributed to the Late Bronze Age (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 320), only a few faience objects with parallels to finds from Kition should be mentioned. One of these is a faience vessel from Naxos which has shared features with a faience lentoid flask from Kition Tomb 9 (Lambrinoudakis, Philaniotou-Hadjianastasiou 2001, 163, 165). Other finds from a LH IIIB context at Tiryns include fragments of at least two faience head-shaped vessels that are monkey heads or masks of the Near Eastern daemon Humbaba and are similar to a faience find from Kition Kathari Floor II, Room 12 (Vetters 2011, 26-7 fn. 238; Maran 2015, 283 fig. 2).

6.3.3.3 Ivory Objects

An ivory rod with pomegranate head of possible Cypriot manufacture was found with a necklace and a gold ring in Tomb IΘ of the Evangelistria cemetery (Nafplion) (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1973-74, 203 fig. 145: 6; Touchais 1980, 603 fig. 46; Gonzato 2012, 114 no. 59, 165-6, pl. IIIA). The chronology of this object is uncertain since the cemetery was used from LH I to LH IIIB2. Equally important are ivory plaques from Delos that can be dated to Interaction Period 4, but there are different opinions on whether their origin is Levantine or Cypriot (Crowley 1989, 216, 217 fn. 26, 397 no. 483; Kryszkowska 1991, 110 fn. 12, 116 fn. 40; Poursat 1977a, 152-8, esp. 144, 157, 158 fn. 4).

On Rhodes, an ivory plaque carved with a pair of heraldic rampant lions standing on an elaborate epistyle with their heads turned

backward was found in the votive deposit of the Athena Sanctuary on Mount Phileremos. The plaque was either fastened on a bronze mirror or to the shaft of an elaborate scepter (Marketou 2008; 2009a, 49, fig. 2). Marketou notes affinities between this plaque and products of the Mycenaean workshops associated with the Near East and regards this Rhodian ivory as an example of the

> category of luxury and prestige goods distributed in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean via Cyprus and Rhodes in the LH IIIA2/LH IIIB. (2009a, 49)

6.3.3.4 Jewellery

A gold bucranium earring of Cypriot production was part of the so-called Tiryns Treasure,[22] a group of mixed date which probably was a tomb robber's cache (Goring 1983, 218). This earring therefore cannot be safely ascribed to Interaction Period 4, and other bucranium earrings found in tombs at Perati date to the later LH IIIC period.[23] However, gold earrings possibly of Cypriot origin have been reported from a LH IIIB context in a tomb at Athens (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 401; Cline 1994, 240 no. 969 with refs), and, according to Benzi (1992, 189), a pair of gold twisted earrings from a LH IIIB context in Ialysos Tomb 53 may be Cypriot imports despite their anomalous shape (189, 346; Marketou 2009b, 49). Also at Ialysos, 18 gold pendants in the shape of a bull's head of possible Cypriot manufacture were found in Tomb 42 (Benzi 1992, 187, 328 no. 7, pl. 186: e; Marketou 2009b, 49). These however cannot be dated precisely based on the preserved pottery, although Benzi (1992, 187) does not rule out the possibility they may be earlier than LH IIIC.

6.3.4 Miscellaneous Cypriot Imports to the Aegean in Interaction Period 4

When reviewing miscellaneous objects of various typology and material, similar difficulties determining origin and/or chronology of artifacts found in the Aegean exist. For example, a silver spoon from a LH IIIA or LH IIIB context in Chamber Tomb 10 at Dendra was attributed to "Egypt or Cyprus" by Cline (1994, 163 no. 243 with refs). Similarly,

22 L. Åström 1972, 571; Cadogan 1972, 10 no. 3; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 77 no. 137; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 91 no. 502, pl. 26; Cline 1994, 140 no. 68 with refs.

23 Cline 1994, 139 nos 62, 64 with refs; for update discussions on LH IIIC exotica, cf. Murray 2017; 2018a; 2018b; 2019.

several cylindrical glass pendants decorated with net-pattern were recovered on Rhodes in Ialysos New Tombs 53 (LH IIIB) and 71 (reused in LH IIIC), on Crete in Aspropilia Tomb 1 (LH IIIA2-B), and on Kos in Langada Tomb 38 (LH IIIA2-B). These pendants find their best parallels in the Levant and on Cyprus (Benzi 2009, 52 fns 39, 40 with refs). Another example from Rhodes is a conspicuous group of glass vessels that have parallels in the Eastern Mediterranean and on Cyprus but have been assigned to earlier periods (LH IIIA and LH IIIA2) by Benzi (53 with refs; also cf. Åström 1988, 77).

Turning to other finds of Cypriot/Near Eastern appearance, two large conical spindle-whorls of black steatite with elaborate incised decoration from Kanakia, Salamina, were found in destruction or abandonment deposits dating to LH IIIC Early, but it is possible that they were imported to Salamina in LH IIIB Late (Lolos 2009, 40 figs 19-20; also see § 6.3.1.4). Two other similar stone spindle-whorls are reported from Tiryns and from Lazarides on Aegina (40 fn. 5 with refs). An uncommon find is a conical lead spindle-whorl from Kattavia on Rhodes that is reminiscent of the lead biconical spindle-whorls from Cyprus (Benzi 1992, 192 with refs) as well as the low conical stone whorls, possibly Cypriot imports, from LH IIIB contexts at Ialysos (L. Åström 1972, 599; cf. Benzi 1992, 204-5).

Other examples include some three-footed or ring-based stone mortars from the Aegean that were considered of "Syro-Palestinian (Cyprus)" or "possibly Cretan or Theran production" (Cline 1994, 241 nos 975-8, 242 nos 986-8 with refs from Mycenae; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 283 no. 266, pl. 28, from Pallini, Attica; also cf. Karageorghis 2011, 35 with refs). Some of these have been dated to LH IIIB based on their find context, while others, specifically some tripods, have been dated to the LM IIIA-C periods (Cline 1994, 243 nos 995-6, from Knossos; 244-5 no. 1009, from Kephala). Two green steatite examples from Ialysos Tomb 44 (Benzi 1992, 206, 329, T. 44: 1) and Tomb 67 (206, 372, T. 67: 5) were regarded as Cypriot imports, but their contexts date to LH IIIC. A warning is however necessary when attributing the production of these mortars to foreign origin. In her discussion on the many LH IIIB2 mortars found at Midea and Mycenae, Demakopoulou (1998, 225) noted that the volcanic stone used for their manufacture can be found on Crete and even in mainland Greece and therefore it is very likely that the examples from Mycenae and Midea were of local origin.

6.4 Cypro-Aegean Connections in Interaction Period 4 from the Cypriot Perspective

As noted above, there is a marked imbalance between the limited number of Cypriot finds discovered in the Aegean and the overwhelming quantity of Aegean artifacts found on Cyprus, a pattern that apparently begun in earlier periods, especially Interaction Period 3, when the large quantity of Mycenaean pottery found in Cypriot sites attests to the greater Mycenaean role in this relationship. In fact, in Interaction Period 3 the development of Mycenaean supremacy over the entire Aegean area also had a substantial impact on Cypro-Aegean relations, and Mycenaean trade superseded the previously predominant Minoan commercial role. Since the general historical context did not change in Interaction Period 4, in this period the evidence of trade between Crete and Cyprus is comparatively limited from the Cretan perspective. Some general comments are however necessary on the role of Minoan trade in Interaction Period 4. If we consider all the evidence of Cypro-Aegean contacts from the Cypriot perspective, it is clear that Crete continued to have close contacts with Cyprus, and in the archaeological record there is even evidence for a substantial increase in contacts compared to the previous Interaction Period 3. Early calculations determined that LM IIIB pottery amounted to 79% of all Minoan pottery found on Cyprus (Graziadio 2011, 90 with refs), a percentage that has changed with more recent research. This has also been noted by Antoniadou (2011, 241-2) who stated that most of the LM III pottery from Cypriot contexts may be assigned to the LC IIC and LC III periods. Moreover, in addition to the material culture, similarities have been suggested between the appearance of the settlement at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and some Minoan sites, especially Kastrokephala, a Cretan coastal site built "at the very beginning of LM IIIC at a time when the pottery tradition of LM IIIB was still present" (Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, 113-21, especially 119-20; also cf. Bretschneider, Driessen, Kanta 2021a, 620-1; 2023). According to Kanta, the two settlements are characterized by similar casemate architecture and the use of bedrock-cutting and ledges for wall foundations (hyposkafon technique). Karageorghis previously suggested that at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* "a sizeable portion of the population must have been foreigners, namely from Crete and the rest of the Aegean", but more recently he also admitted that Pyla was not a foreign enclave or colony and the majority of the population living at the site was of local origin (Karageorghis 2014, 159-60). At Pyla, an unusual quantity of high-quality imports from the Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean, western Anatolia, the Levant, Egypt, and even Sardinia have been found and "the ethnic mix in the material culture seems to be present in all areas of the settlement" (Bretschneider, Driessen, Kanta



Figure 6.1 The diffusion of LM IIIB pottery on Cyprus

2021a, 628; Kostopoulou, Jung 2023). In the context of the diversity of imports, the Minoan ties to Pyla should also be considered from this perspective.

6.4.1 Minoan Pottery Imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 4

In Interaction Period 4, in addition to some LM IIIB sherds (Kanta 1980, 311 with refs, from Myrtou *Pighades*; Kanta 1980, 312, from Dekhelia) and vessels without context **[tab. 6.1]**, the sites yielding LM IIIB vessels are far more numerous than in earlier periods, with most of the Minoan pottery continuing to occur in primary settlements located on (or near) the southern and eastern coasts **[fig. 6.1]**.

A common feature between Interaction Period 4 and Interaction Period 3 is the comparative scarcity of Minoan ceramic imports in the northern part of the island, although in theory this region would have been favored by the Anatolian coastal route connecting the Aegean to Cyprus, as shown by the location of sites yielding earlier evidence of favored contacts. At the only primary site in this area, Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, the LM IIIB vessels are very few, although

this scarcity may also partly be due to the limited area preserved of the original LBA town. However, the coastal or inland sites located in this region, such as Lapithos *Ay. Anastasia,* Kazaphani *Ayios Andronikos,* Akanthou *Moulos,* Myrtou *Stephania,* and Phlamoudi *Melissa,* show a similar trend, with LM IIIB imports generally represented by a single or very few vessels at each site indicating only occasional contacts.

Table 6.1 Select LM IIIB vessels from Cypriot contexts of Interaction Period 4

Site	Code of functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Enkomi, British Tombs 48, 83 Swedish Tomb 18	Amphoroid krater FS 56-7	Courtois 1979, 159 no. 1; Åström 1972, 404, Type 56-7 (Variant and additions): a (British Tomb 83); 405, Type 56-7 (?): h*, with refs; Kanta 1980, 311.
	Amphoroid Krater	Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 114 no. 15; Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 73: 21 (Level IIIA); Courtois 1979, 160-1 no. 4; Kanta 1980, 311.
Hala Sultan Tekke	Amphoroid kraters FS 56-7	Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 117-18 no. 21; Åström 1972, 405, Types 56-7 (Variand and additions): g; i, j, k (Tomb 2); Kanta 1980, 312.
Kition, settlement	Amphoroid kraters FS 56-7	Mountjoy 2018, 567 no. 59, fig. 286; 572 no. 153/3; 585 no. 188, fig. 292; 650, 652 no. 478, fig. 324; Yon, Caubet 1985, 123 no. 276, fig. 59: 276.
	Bell krater FS 282	Mountjoy 2018, 587 no. 209, fig. 293.
	Krater (sherd)	Mountjoy 2018, 660 no. 532, fig. 330.
Kition Tomb 9	Amphoroid krater FS 56-7	Karageorghis 1974, 56 no. 140, pls LVI, CXLV; Kanta 1980, 311.
Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, House B	Amphoroid krater FS 56-7	Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 107-8: P389 (pl. 177), fig. 171; Mountjoy 2018, 907.
Pyla *Kokkinokremos*	Amphoroid kraters FS 56-7	Kanta 1980, 310, 312; Karageorghis 1963, IIC, pl. 38: 4; Dikaios 1969-71, 906, pl. 237: I; Åström 1972, 405, Type 56-7, Variant and additions: c; Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 115-16 no. 17; Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 302 no. 1, fig. 1: 1-10; Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 272 fig. 6.3.22; Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 116 no. 18; Åström 1972, 405, Type 56-7, Variant and additions: d; Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 303 no. 4, fig. 4: 1-4; Catling, Karageorghis 1960, no. 19; Åström 1972, 405, Type 56-7, Variant and additions: e, Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 303 no. 3, fig. 3: 1-3; Dikaios 1969-71, 906, pl. 237: 4; Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 117 no. 20, fig. 6; Åström 1972, 405, Type 56-7, Variant and additions: f; Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 304 no. 5, fig. 5: 1-2; Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 304-5 nos 6, 7?, 8?, 9?, 10, figs 6-10: 1-2, 11: 1, 2, 12; Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, 141, Colour pl. V: 10, 83, pl. VI: 52; 141, 165-7 no. 75, Colour pl. II-III: 75; Caloi 2015, 31 fig. 25; Jans et al. 2017, 96 fig. 68; Mountjoy 2018, 545 no. 3, fig. 276, with refs (LM IIIB-IIIC Early).

Site	Code of functional categories	References
Pyla *Verghi* Tomb 1	Amphoroid krater FS 56-7	Åström 1972, 405, Type 56-7, Variant and additions: m, with refs.
	F1.1b	
Hala Sultan Tekke	'Mycenaean/Minoan jug'	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 309, table 1: N171 (Tomb RR).
Kition Tomb 9	Jug?	Karageorghis 1974, 52 no. 87, pls XLIX, CXLV.
	F1.1c	
Enkomi French Tomb 5; Level IIB	Kylikes	Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 67: 1, 3, 29 (Level IIB); Kanta 1980, 310; Mountjoy 2018, 314: no. 833, fig. 164 (Level IIB); Jung 2022, 292 fig. 21.7, 297-8, fig. 26.1.
	Cups	Popham 1979, 185 fig. 5: 4 (French T. 5 no. 233); 185 fig. 5: 2 (French T. 5 no. 232); 185 fig. 5: 6 (French T. 5 no. 115); 187 no. 8; Dikaios 1969-71, pls 80: 31, 91: 24.
	Deep bowls	Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 100: 28; Kanta 1980, 311.
Hala Sultan Tekke	Kylikes	Fischer, Bürge 2018, 35: L654-6, fig. 6: 5, (Settlement, Stratum 2).
Kition, Tomb 4+5	Cups	Karageorghis 1974, 23 no. 126, pls XXIX, CXXIX (= Popham 1979, 184, 180 fig. 5: 1); 25 no. 142 pls XXIX, CXXIX (= Popham 1979, fig. 5: 3); 24 no. 131 (= Popham 1979, fig. 5: 7); no. 100 (= Popham 1979, fig. 5: 8); 26-7 no. 159 (= Popham 1979, fig. 5: 9); no. 108 (= fig. 5: 10); 160 A, B, pls XXXV, XXXVI, CXXIX (Popham 1979, 185 fig. 5: 5, 8); 219 A (= Popham 1979, fig. 2: 2); Kanta 1980, 311; Mountjoy 2018, 595 nos 221-4, fig. 295.
	Kylix	Karageorghis 1974, 30 no. 189, pls XXVI, CXXVI (= Popham 1979, 184, 180 fig. 2: 3); Kanta 1980, 311.
	Bowl	Popham 1979, 184-5, fig. 5: 7.
Kition, settlement	Kylix, cup	Mountjoy 2018, 585 no. 189, fig. 292 (kylix); 616-17 no. 322, fig. 306 (footed cup?).
Kourion *Bamboula*	Bowl	Benson 1972, B 1006; 113-14, B 1066 (cf. Popham 1979, 187 no. 8).
	F1.2	
Enkomi, Swedish Tomb 18	Stemmed krater	Åström 1972, 407, Type 303: a, with refs (Swedish Tomb 18).
Kition, Tomb 4+5	Deep bowls	Karageorghis 1974, 24 no. 131, pls XXIX, CXXIX; Mountjoy 2018, 595 nos 225-6, fig. 295; Kanta 1980, 311.
	F2.1	
Hala Sultan Tekke	Wide-mouth jar	Karageorghis 1979, 199, pl. XX: 5.
Kition Tomb 9	Piriform jar	Karageorghis 1974, 46 no. 38, pls XLII, CXXXVIII; Kanta 1980, 311.
Kition, settlement	Pyxis	Mountjoy 2018, 654 no. 492, fig. 326.
Pyla *Kokkinokremos*	Pyxis?	Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 306 no. 18, fig. 18.

Site	Code of functional categories	References
	F2.2	
Akhera	Linear stirrup jars	Karageorghis 1965, 113 fig. 113: 7, 25, 32; Mountjoy 2018, 923.
Arpera, *Ayios Andronikos*	Stirrup jars	Karageorghis 1976c, 81 nos 1-2, pl. XIV, fig. 5; Graziadio 2011, 90.
Enkomi, Settlement and Tombs	Stirrup jars	Settlement: Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 85: 3; Kanta 1980, 310 (Level IIIC); Jung 2022, 292 fig. 21: 6 (Level IIB). Tombs: Smith 1925, IICb, 4, pl. 3: 4 (C 529); Kanta 1980, fig. 101: 3-4 (British Tomb 66); Smith 1925, IICb, 5, pl. 5: 30, 35, C 549, C 550; Kanta 1980, 311 fig. 101: 1-2, 5-6 (British Tomb 48); Smith 1925, IICb pl. 5: 20, C 555; Kanta 1980, 311 (British Tomb 83); Pilides 2010, Cyprus Museum, A 1628, Graziadio 2011, 92, table 1: 6, fig. 1: B, C (Unknown British tomb); Åström 1972, 345, Type 179: I with refs; Graziadio 2011, 92, table 1: 7, Group B (French Tomb 5); Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 227, 25 (45) (Cypriot Tomb 10); Åström 1972, 406, Type 185: Bb (British Tomb 48); Kanta 1980, 311; Graziadio 2011, 92, table 1: 2, Group B; Mountjoy 2018, 163 no. 59 fig. 86; (Swedish Tomb 19); Kanta 1980, 311 (Cypriot Tomb 10); Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. LXXXIII, Third row: 8; Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. XCI, row 5: 7-8; Kanta 1980, 311 (Swedish Tomb 11); Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. XC, row: 2: 1, 5; Kanta 1980, 311 (Swedish Tomb 18).
Hala Sultan Tekke	Stirrup jars	Fischer, Bürge 2018, 49: L 59-2, fig. 15: 7 (Offering Pit Z 6); Bürge 2021, 9 fig. 5, upper part: 3.
Idalion	Stirrup jars	Adelman 1989, 148-9 no. 42, fig. 11, pl. 11, 160-1 no. 34.
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*	Stirrup jar (?)	South et al. 1989, 103, K-AD 123, pl. IV.
Kition, Tomb 9	Stirrup jars Flask	Karageorghis 1974, 47, 50-2 nos 44, 74, 83, 93, pls XLIV, XLVII, XCIII, CXXXIX; Graziadio 2011, 90, with refs; Kanta 1980, 311. Karageorghis 1974, 51-2 no. 86, pls XLIX, CXXXVIII.
Kition, Tomb 4 + 5	Stirrup jars	Karageorghis 1974, 27 no. 162, pls XX, CXXIV; Kanta 1980, 311.
Kition, Settlement	Stirrup jars	Mountjoy 2018, 636 nos 400-1, fig. 318.
Pyla *Kokkinokremos*	Stirrup jars	Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 306 nos 15-17.
Cyprus, no provenance	Stirrup jar	Karageorghis 1963, 47, pl. 40: 6, 7; Åström 1972, 346, Type 179: b2; Graziadio 2011, 90-1.
Cyprus, no provenance	Stirrup jar	Karageorghis 1965a, pl. 12: 3; Åström 1972, 406, Type 185: c; Kanta 1980, 313, with refs; Graziadio 2011, 91.
Cyprus, no provenance	Stirrup jar	Åström 1972, 346, Type 179: c2* (LH IIIB); Vagnetti et al. 2004, 22 no. 6, fig. 5, pl. II; Graziadio 2011, 91.
	F3	
Akanthou *Moulos* (Tombs)	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Tombs: Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 120-1 nos 29-31; Åström 1972, 335, Type 164: i, j, k, l, (Mycenaean or Minoan) with refs; Kanta 1980, 312; Haskell et al. 2011, 116: AKM01-AKM03, 157.
Alambra or Dhali	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Åström 1972, 335, Type 164: m (Mycenaean or Minoan), with refs.

Site	Code of functional categories	References
Apliki *Karamallos*	Large jar? Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Settlement: Mountjoy 2018, 901: 40, fig. 448. Kling 2007, 164 no. 559, pl. 57: 5; Mountjoy 2018, 903-4: no. 50, fig. 449.
Arediou *Vouppes*	Transport stirrup jar FS 164	Settlement: Steel, McCartney 2008, 20-1, fig. 14.
Athienou	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Settlement: Dothan 1979, 174 pl. XX: 1-2; Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, 48-9, 51 fig. 15: 1-2, pl. 17: 2-3; Haskell et al. 2011, 157 (Mycenaean: Yellin 2007, table 1 no. 5, 288, Appendix B, sample 38J-5); Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, 49, 52 figs 13: 4, 15: 1, 2, 55: 6, pl. 17: 1, 2.
Dhenia *Kafkallia*	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Tomb: Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 119 no. 27; Åström 1972, 335, Type 164: n, p (Myceanaean); Kanta 1980, 312; Haskell et al. 2011, 116, 157: DHE01-DHE02. Surface find: Masson 1962, 301-2, fig. 1.2.
Enkomi	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Settlement: Level IIB: Åström 1972, 335, Type 164: h, h *bis* (Mycenaean), with refs; Dikaios 1969-71, 309, pl. 87: 48, pl. 67: 28; 311 no. 21; 312 no. 25, pl. 66/29; 318 no. 22 pl. 67/28 (Level IIB); 247, 561, pl. 66: 29, 29A; 247, 573, pl. 66: 22; 247, 572, pls 28, 87: 48; 247, 566, pl. 67: 28, 261, pl. 69: 21 (Level IIIA), 263, pl. 71: 16, 17; 267, pl. 73: 20, 22-6; pl. 112: 590/2; 312, 650, 884, 889, pls 92: 24, 160, 33, 315: 21; 318, pl. 98: 22; 671, 884, 889 nos 41, 45-6, 315: 41, 45-6; pl. 110: 7; Kanta 1980, 311; Courtois 1979, 161-2 nos 6-7; Haskell et al. 2011, 116, 157: ENK01, ENK02 (Level IIIA), ENK05 (Level IIIB), ENK07 (Level IIIA), ENK09-ENK012, ENK013, ENK016 (Level IIIA); Jung 2022, 292 fig. 21.8. Tombs: French Tomb 12: Schaeffer 1936, 91 fig. 36: 3, upper right. Cypriot Tomb 2: Dikaios 1969-71, 343 no. 160, 347, pl. 196: 16. Swedish Tomb 18: Gjerstad et al. 1934, 556 nos 53-6, pl. 90: 53-4; Furumark 1941, FS 164: 12-14, FS 167 (Mycenaean?).
Episkopi *Bamboula*	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Haskell et al. 2011, 116, 157: EP01, EP02.
Hala Sultan Tekke, Offering Pit Z6 and settlement	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Fischer, Bürge 2018 a, 35: L650-1, fig. 6: 6 (Settlement CQ1, Stratum 2), 39: L 675-2, fig. 10: 8 (CQ1, Stratum 3); 49 (Offering Pit Z6); 69, 254, 312, fig. 3.60: 8 (CQ1, Stratum 2); 254, fig. 3.32: 11 (CQ1, Stratum 3); Haskell et al. 2011, 157, with refs.
Kalopsidha	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Åström 1972, 336, Type 164: p *bis*, with refs (Mycenaean or Minoan); Haskell et al. 2011, 157.
Katydhata?	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Åström 1972, 335, Type 164: f, with refs (Mycenaean or Minoan).
Kazaphani	Transport stirrup jar FS 164	Tombs 2A and 6: Karageorghis 1972, 1011 fig. 10; Nicolaou, Nicolaou 1989, 17-18 no. 193, 90 fig. 7, pl. XIV: 193; Haskell et al. 2011, 157: KAZ01-KAZ03 with refs.
Kition, settlement	Transport stirrup jar FS 164 Amphora	Mountjoy 2018, 569 nos 902-3; 570: 550; 571: 192, 130; 573: 70?, fig. 287; 587 no. 206; 645 no. 458, fig. 321. Kition Bamboula: Yon, Caubet 1985, 140 no. 318, figs 69-70; 140 nos 319, 321-2, figs 69-70; Haskell et al. 2011, 157. Mountjoy 2018, 622 no. 348, fig. 309.

Site	Code of functional categories	References
Korovia ***Nitovikla***	Transport stirrup jar FS 164	Kanta 1980, 312; Benson 1961, 47 no. 68; Åström 1972, 335, Type 164: d (Mycenaean); Hult 1992, 56 fig. 44; Haskell et al. 2011, 157 with refs.
Kouklia ***Mantissa***	Sherds from transport/ storage stirrup jars FS 164	Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 21 nos 32-3; Åström 1972, 336, Type 164: q, r (Mycenaean), with refs; Kanta 1980, 312; Maier, Karageorghis 1984, 71, 116 fn. 32; Haskell et al. 2011, 116, 157.
Kourion ***Bamboula*****: settlement and Tomb 26**	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 118-19 nos 23 (Tomb 26), 25-6; Åström 1972, 335-6, Type 164: e (Tomb 26), u, v-s2, t (Mycenaean or Minoan), with refs; Benson 1972, 117: B 1129, 118: B 1139, pl. 33; Courtois 1979, 162; Kanta 1980, 312; Haskell et al. 2011, 116, 157: KOU01; British Excavations 1895: Murray et al. 1900, 74 fig. 128.
Kyrenia ***Mylopetres***	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Tomb: Karageorghis 1970, 207 fig. 23; Karageorghis 1972, 1012 fig. 10; Nicolaou, Nicolaou 1989, 90, pl. XIV: no. 193.
Lapithos (Ayia Anastasia Tomb 2)	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Åström 1972, 336, Type 164: t2, with refs (Mycenaean or Minoan).
Morphou ***Toumba tou Skourou***	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 108 (P392), House B, Room1; 108, 137: P392, pl. 176 (Well 6); Kanta 1980, 311; Mountjoy 2018, 907; Haskell et al. 2011, 116, 157.
Maa ***Paleokastro***	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Karageorghis, Demas 1988, 204-5, 252, pl. 155; 195, 251; 235, pl. 96, upper left, 241; 252, 254, pl. 161; pl. 166: 1954/xi, left
Pyla ***Kokkinokremos***	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164 Pithos	Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 120 no. 28; Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 238: 1; Åström 1972, 336, Type 164: t *bis*; Kanta 1980, 312; Karageorghis, Demas 1984, 35 no. 27, 76 no. 6, pls 27, 43: 27; 43 no. 133, pls 19: 133, 36; Åström 1972, 336, Type 164: s, with refs; Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 305-6 no. 14, fig. 14; Haskell et al. 2011, 116-17, 157: PYLA01; Bretschneider et al. 2017a, 79-80; Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 273 fig. 6.3.23. Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 124 no. 36, fig. 9; Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 305 no. 13, fig. 13.
Stephania Tomb 2	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Hennessy 1963, 2; Åström 1972, 405 with refs; Kanta 1980, 312; Haskell et al. 2011, 157.
Cyprus, no provenance	Transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164	Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 119 no. 24; Benson 1961, 47-8 no. 69; Karageorghis 1963, pl. 38: 1-3; pl. 40: 1; Åström 1972, 336, Type 164: u2, v2 (Mycenaean or Minoan), with refs; Haskell et al. 116, 157: CYP01, CYP02; Shapiro et al. 1995, 46.
	F4	
Pyla ***Kokkinokremos***	Mug rhyton	Caloi 2015, 32 fig. 26; Bretschneider et al. 2017, 38 (PK 14 166)

The contrast in the quantity of LM IIIB evidence between the northern region and the sites located on the southeastern coast of the island is marked, although it should be considered that no LBA site have been excavated in the northern regions over the last fifty years **[tab. 6.1]**.[24] On the southeastern coast, the greatest frequency of LM IIIB imports is found at the primary sites, although, according to Antoniadou (2011, 242), despite its small quantity and the fact that it was not locally imitated, throughout the island "Minoan pottery was not considered as a prestige item of restricted use". As shown by various scholars, LM IIIB vessels are particularly common at Enkomi where they are found both in settlement layers and in funerary contexts, such as, for example, French Tomb 5.[25]

Another primary site showing notable evidence of contacts with Crete in Interaction Period 4 is Hala Sultan Tekke, although in 1989 – that is before the beginning of the most recent Swedish research – Åström (1989b, 206) noted that the Minoan pottery from the site amounted to 0.2% of total ceramic finds. This is clearly illustrated by the limited number of LM IIIB vessels published from the British Museum excavations (Popham 1979, 187; Åström 1997, 89, 91 with refs). The amount of Minoan pottery, including LM IIIB vessels, has increased with subsequent research at the site starting from the 1990's (Håkansson 1989, 30, 33, 39, 124) and including the settlement deposits excavated by the New Swedish Cyprus Expedition (for a recent discussion on the site, cf. Knapp 2023, 18-22 with refs). Considering all these new finds, however, LM IIIB pottery still comprises only a very limited percentage of all the Aegean imports; yet, a Minoan influence has been noted on some vessels of the later local pottery from Areas 6, 8, and 22, as well as from various wells (Mountjoy 2018, 699-701, figs 344-5). Some Late Minoan vessels also come from funerary contexts at Hala Sultan Tekke, such as the eastern chamber in Tomb RR, and Tomb SS (Bürge, Morris 2021, 16), and Pit Z6.

Another primary center on the south coast producing clear evidence of contact with Crete is Kition, where LM IIIB pottery is particularly common in funerary contexts, such as Tombs 4+5 and 9, and in the settlement deposits of Areas I and II, which yielded several LM III and LM IIIB vessels. At other primary sites located on or near the south coast the quantity of LM IIIB pottery is smaller. Several sherds regarded as "LM IIIB or LH IIIB" were published from the settlement area of Kourion *Bamboula* and from Tomb 26. These clearly should be assigned to LM IIIB since they came from octopus

24 However, several LM IIIB vessels have also been found on the western coast at Kouklia *Mantissa* and Kouklia *Evreti* **[tab. 6.1]**; also cf. Maier 1983, 231; 1997, 93; Georgiou 2016c, 191-2, cat. nos 1-4, 6-7, 9-10, figs 2 a-b, 3 a-b, 4 a-b, 5a-b, 6, 7a-b, 9-10.

25 For settlement deposits cf. P. Åström 1972, 407; Popham 1979, 187; Courtois 1979, 163-6; Kanta 1980, 310; Antoniadou 2011, 242 fig. 2.

storage stirrup jars. Moreover, a certain LM IIIB influence has been pointed out on some "metopal" syntax on local style (Mountjoy 2018, 791: bowls Type 14), while some bowls from this site as well as from Kition T. 4+5 may have been imported from Chania (Popham 1979, 187 fn. 8). At Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, about 35 Minoan sherds were reported in total from both the settlement deposits in the NE Area and from Tomb 18 (also cf. Russell 1989, 8). According to South

> this might suggest that ships were not often sailing directly from Crete, or at least were not stopping near Ay. Dhimitrios. (1999, 800)

This does not seem to be the case of the short-lived site of Pyla *Kokkinokremos* where Minoan imports are more common and have been found despite the fact that the site was considered a Second Tier settlement. Indeed, its location was strategic, on top of a naturally fortified area on the southeastern ridge of the Kokkinokremos plateau that controlled the inland routes and the sea-routes of the southern coast, and especially the Larnaca Bay. Investigations at this site started in 1952 with a limited excavation by Dikaios, resumed between 1981-2, and since 2010-11 have been ongoing. As far as Late Minoan imports are concerned, the Pyla examples are important because they belong to a limited period, i.e. the span of time between the end of LC IIC and LC IIIA or, in Aegean terms, between LH IIIB Developed and LH IIIC Early (Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, 162). Karageorghis and Georgiou (2010) reviewed the Minoan pottery published from early excavations, as well as additional unpublished examples, such as the LM IIIB vessels found in the 2010 and 2011 excavations and in more recent explorations. In this context of contacts between the main sites on the Larnaca Bay (Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition, Pyla-*Kokkinokremos*) and Crete, it is probably not by chance that some scattered LM IIIB vessels were also found in the hinterland cluster of sites around the Bay at Dhekelia, Pyla *Verghi*, and Aradippou (Kanta 1980, 312).

At the site of Alassa, a First Tier site, a different picture is provided, with only a single oatmeal sherd from a Minoan stirrup jar reported (Hadjisavvas 2017, 407). The Third Tier sanctuary sites, such as Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukkouninnas*, show a similar pattern, containing only a limited number of LM IIIB imports. However, if we turn to the Fourth Tier small production sites located in the island's hinterland and connected with mining, ceramic, and agricultural activities, it is likely that foreign contacts, although sporadic and limited, probably had a certain impact on the local social structure in Interaction Period 4. The site of Aredhiou *Vouppes*, an agricultural settlement mainly dating to the thirteenth century BC, provides support for this suggestion. At this site, the discovery of a possible LM IIIB vessel along with Mycenaean pottery confirms that

the communities of the rural hinterland had access to a wide variety of imported wares (Steel 2010a, 141; for a recent detailed discussion on Aegean imports, also cf. 2021b; 2023) and that "the elite of the small inland centers eagerly sought such objects" (Steel, McCartney 2008, 20-1, 32). Therefore, considering the archaeological evidence from Aredhiou as a whole, Steel (2016a, 532) pointed out that in many respects "this agricultural production site merges squarely with the criteria Knapp set forward for secondary and tertiary centers". Some LM IIIB vessels have also been found at other inland sites such as Apliki *Karamallos* (uncertain shape: Mountjoy 2018, 890, 901 fig. 448: 40, 891 with refs), Akhera, Deneia *Kafkalla* and Katydhata (Haskell et al. 2011, 157). Moreover, the list of sites producing a few LM IIIB vessels includes other settlements in the Mesaoria such as Alambra, Idalion and Kalopsidha, but pottery of this type was also found in the periphery at Nitovikla in the Karpass Peninsula (Haskell et al. 2011, 157).

Some of the features related to the shapes of LM IIIB pottery mentioned above warrant discussion. The main characteristic of the corpus of Minoan imports of Interaction Period 4 is the frequency of large 'transport/storage' stirrup jars FS 164 showing the distinctive octopus decoration, which have been recorded at least from 15 Cypriot sites,[26] but the sites producing LM IIIB transport stirrup jars in table 6.1 are even more.[27] These jars are assigned to functional category F3. Based on the clay analysis they may be attributed to south-central or western Cretan production, with most of the examples from Cyprus manufactured in central Crete (Haskell 2005, 208, 211-13, 217; Kardamaki et al. 2016, 156 with refs; also cf. Day et al. 2011, 527, 544; for Minoan transport jars, see § 6.4.1). Interestingly, clay analysis of vessels of this type recovered at Tiryns indicate manufacturing at a variety of locations (Kardamaki et al. 2016, 146).[28] In the light of the Tiryns evidence, it is also clear that stirrup jars FS 164 continued to circulate in LH IIIC Early (Mountjoy 2018, 903 with refs). On the other hand, there also were some transport stirrup jars FS 164 of Mycenaean production, and among the complete examples eight stirrup jars have been certified Mycenaean versus nine Minoan imports (Ben-Shlomo, Nodarou, Rutter 2011, 336). On Cyprus, some Mycenaean transport stirrup jars FS 164 can be

26 Ben-Schlomo, Nodarou, Rutter 2011, 336; Haskell et al. 2011, 116-17; Haskell 2016; Knapp, Demesticha 2017, 84-6; Knapp 2022, 74-5.

27 This review of transport/storage vessels greatly profited by a discussion with Jeremy Rutter, and I would like to thank him warmly for information and suggestions. However, I take full responsibility for any possible mistake or omission.

28 According to Ben-Shlomo, Nodarou and Rutter (2011, 336), 110 transport stirrup jars, including about 20 either complete or fully restorable examples, have been recovered on Cyprus. Also cf. Knapp 2018a, 146; Knapp, Demesticha 2017, 88-93.

mentioned from settlement deposits at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*,[29] and, in addition to a linear Mycenean stirrup jar FS 164 from a pit at Athienou which was assigned by NAA to the Mycenae-Berbati chemical profile (Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, fig. 14: 8; pl. 16: 1; for a discussion, cf. Mountjoy 2018, 518 with refs), at Enkomi some transport stirrup jars from Swedish Tomb 18 probably also were of Mycenaean origin (see below), while French Tomb 12 produced both a transport stirrup jar FS 164 of probable Mycenaean origin (Schaeffer 1936, 91 fig. 36, upper left) and another of Minoan origin (see below). It is also worth noting that two stirrup jars from Kazaphani and Kyrenia *Mylopetres* are suspected of being local imitations of Minoan models (Ben-Shlomo, Nodarou, Rutter 2011, 336).

Although already imported in Interaction Period 3, on Cyprus transport stirrup jars are by far more common in LC IIC contexts, and it is intriguing that, in addition to at least 34 examples from Cyprus bearing Cypro-Minoan signs incised *after* firing,[30] an example of likely west Cretan origin coming from a LC IIC context at Kourion *Bamboula* was inscribed with Cypro-Minoan signs *before* firing (Ben-Shlomo, Nodarou, Rutter 2011, 336; also Knapp 2018a, 146-7). In this connection it is also important to note that some transport stirrup jars from Cape Gelidonya and Uluburun shipwrecks also bore post-firing marks, suggesting a re-use of those vessels and possibly implying the action of Cypriot merchants, while other marked fragments have also been found in the northern and southern Levant and at Cannatello in Sicily (Ben-Shlomo, Nodarou, Rutter 2011, 335-7). A transport stirrup jar from Cyprus even shows a painted Linear B inscription and analysis indicates a general Cretan origin (339 with refs).

On Cyprus, many transport stirrup jars have been found in settlement deposits, especially at First Tier towns such as Enkomi, Kition, and Hala Sultan Tekke **[tab. 6.1]**. At Enkomi, settlement sherd material included several examples from Level IIB, corresponding to LH IIIB Developed-LH IIIC Early 1, but there also were other examples from Level IIIA and IIIB. Many fragmentary transport stirrup jars have been found in Area 22, at Hala Sultan Tekke (Öbrink 1979, 26-7, 42 figs 115a-b, d, 117d, 143c; Åström 1989, 78, 80 fig. 141a-b), but the settlement in this Area is later than LC II (Mountjoy 2018, 733: CypIIIC Middle). At this site, other jars FS 164 were found in Area 8 (Hult 1981, 26, 33, 35 figs 56q, 57e-g, 65, 83, 76 fig. 110o, 91 fig. 165) but the pottery from relevant levels also dates to CypIIIC middle

29 Russel 1989, 7, 97 figs 11: K-AD40, 28, 63, pl. 13; 7, 110: K-AD234, 131, figs 11, 29; 7, 130: K-AD619, figs 11, 29; 7, 143; South 1999, 796.

30 Ben-Shlomo, Nodarou, Rutter 2011, 336; also cf. Haskell et al. 2011, 116; for potmarks on Mycenaean vases found at Enkomi, cf. Hirschfeld 2004, 99-100; 2019.

(Mountjoy 2018, 702); LC IIC examples, however, came to light during new excavations. Some examples from Kition *Bamboula* may belong to Interaction Period 3, although the assemblage is a mixture of settlement and tomb material, while several LM IIIB transport stirrup jars have been identified by P. Mountjoy among the sherd material from Areas I and II. It has been pointed out that

> more than half of the complete or fully restorable pieces were recovered from tomb contexts, a circumstance peculiar to Cyprus and some sites in the Levant. (Ben-Shlomo, Nodarou, Rutter 2011, 336)

In addition to Kourion *Bamboula* Old Tomb 50 which contained a complete octopus stirrup jar (Catling, Karageorghis 1960, 118 fig. 7 no. 23), at Enkomi, funerary contexts yielding Minoan transport stirrup jars included Cypriot Tomb 2 and French Tomb 12 while some transport stirrup jars from Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi contemporary to examples from Level IIB probably were of Mycenaean origin, and the same is possibly true of another example from French Tomb 12. Other transport stirrup jars have been recorded from funerary contexts at Dhenia *Kafkalla,* Kazaphani (Tombs 6 and 2A) and Kyrenia *Mylopetres*. While, among the above mentioned sites, every primary town produced a certain number of large transport stirrup jars FS 164 along with other LM IIIB imports, apart from Maa *Paleokastro* and Pyla *Kokkinokremos,* at some lower tier settlements, such as Nitovikla *Korovia*, Dhenia *Kafkalla*, Katydhata, Alambra, Kalopsidha, and Lapithos, the only Minoan imports were represented by a few items (if not by a single item) of this shape. This, however, confirms the general appreciation of these transport containers and/or their contents everywhere on Cyprus (for a general discussion on their diffusion on Cyprus, also cf. Van Wijngaarden 2002, 196-7).

A second significant feature of the LM IIIB pottery on Cyprus is the frequency of amphoroid kraters, which accounts for a large percentage of the vessels from this period discussed above. Their concentration at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* (Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 307; also cf. Mountjoy 2018, 544-5, fig. 276: 3) is particularly striking since "this is by far the largest assemblage of Late Minoan III amphorae found in a settlement in Cyprus of which only a limited area has been excavated" (Karageorghis, Georgiou 2014, 141). They remarkably include some notable items such as a unique krater decorated with a bull-hunting scene (Karageorghis in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 165-7). As to Cretan parallels, some connections with Chania have been suggested based on the triple roll handles on four kraters from Pyla (Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 308; 2014, 141; also cf. Mountjoy 2018, 826-7 fig. 407 no. 61, from Kouklia *Evreti* cemetery).

A third interesting feature of the trade between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 4 is the discovery of several Minoan small stirrup jars in various Cypriot sites, especially in Enkomi tombs dating to the thirteenth century BC (Graziadio 2011; also cf. Mountjoy 2018, 66 fig. 25). Most of these LM IIIB small stirrup jars feature a squat, conical or biconical body and various motifs on the shoulder or upper body combined with even bands on the body (Graziadio's group B), while the remainder have only even bands on the body (Graziadio's groups C). Although they mainly occur in Enkomi tombs (Graziadio 2011, 92, tab. 1), some scattered examples have been reported from Kition, Arpera *Çiftlik*, *Ayios Andronikos,* Akhera, Angastina, and Erimi *Kafkalla,* and from public and private collections.[31] These small vessels were produced on Crete primarily for the Cypriot market and are indicative of a scented oil trade for medicinal and cosmetic purposes. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the squat, conical or biconical stirrup jars only decorated with even bands on the body were Cypriot imitations of good quality as suggested by Koehl (Koehl, Yellin, 2007, 203), but analytic confirmation is necessary. It is also noteworthy that at Enkomi some examples of group B were found in both very rich tombs and in moderately rich tombs that contained precious burial offerings.

If we consider overall evidence of the Minoan pottery imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 4 from the functional point of view, it is clear that, contrary to all the other periods, functional category F3 ('Storage Vessels') is predominant due to the significant number of stirrup jars FS 164 at many sites and the Minoan pithos from Pyla *Kokkinokremos*. During this period, functional category F1 ('Fine Tableware') is the second most common in terms of vessel numbers and includes a variety of shapes, with kraters particularly common, but also a notable quantity of drinking vessels, such as kylikes, cups, and mugs. Jugs of sub-category F1.1b are remarkably rare. Squat small stirrup jars are the most representative shape of functional category F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities'), while the identification of other shapes of this category, such as pyxis from Pyla *Kokkinokremos,* is more uncertain.

Pottery connections with Crete appear even more intense if we consider that Mountjoy (2018, 791 fig. 389: 11-13, 827 no. 61, 831 no. 769, 857: 25) has regarded some motifs on local vessels as Minoan contributions, mainly inspired by imported LM IIIB open shapes. It is, therefore, worth noting the variety of vessels with these Minoan elements. They included, for example, shallow bowls from Kourion *Bamboula*, kylikes from Kouklia and Hala Sultan Tekke, a LC IIIA

31 Graziadio 2011, 90-1 with refs; for additional refs, cf. Iakovidis 1992, 211, EM 70, pl. XLII: 1α, β; Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 127 no. 1, pls LIII, lower, LXXXV; Mountjoy 2018, 633, 637 fig. 318 no. 401, 936-7, fig. 318 no. 400.

amphoroid krater with triple-roll handle from Kouklia *Evreti*, and deep bowls from Kouklia and Maa *Paleokastro,* attesting to a penetration of Cretan influence into Cypriot ceramic production of the thirteenth century that remained obfuscated by the contemporary and overwhelming Mycenaean influence. The connections between west Crete and Cyprus already emphasized by the discussion of Cypriot imports to Crete (see § 6.3.1.1) are also confirmed by visual fabric analysis conducted on ceramics recovered on Crete (cf. for example, Mountjoy 2018, 161 fig. 86: 59, 163 no. 59, stirrup jar FS 185.7), in addition to the analysis of some Late Minoan samples from the Cypriot sites of Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke (Karageorghis 1979, 201-3; also cf. Popham 1979, 184) and the analysis of the kraters with triple roll handles from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* discussed above.

6.4.2 The Mycenaean Pottery Imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 4

Before delving into the details of this section, it is worth emphasizing the overwhelming importance of Mycenaean pottery trade to Cypro-Aegean connections in Interaction Period 4.

If we compare the distribution map of pottery imports to Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 **[fig. 5.2]** with the map of the sites with LH IIIB pottery in Interaction Period 4 **[fig. 6.2]**, no significant change can be noted between the two periods in terms of relevant areas. In fact, in his review of the distribution of Mycenaean pottery from all periods on Cyprus, Van Wijngaarden (2002, 314, map 8, 323-5; for the diffusion of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus, also cf. Antoniadou 2011, 243; Van Wijngaarden 2012, 183-7) demonstrated that only 15 out of 98 sites had LH IIIB pottery without having LH IIIA ceramic finds dating to the earlier Interaction Period 3.[32] This clearly indicates that Interaction Period 3 is the initial period of the significant spread of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus, while only a few LC IIC sites became involved for the first time in the Cypro-Aegean trade network in Interaction Period 4.

6.4.2.1 A Review of Pottery of Interaction Period 4 from Selected First Tier Cypriot Sites

Taking into account the discussion of Åström's catalog of Mycenaean pottery published prior to 1972 (see § 5.4.1.4), this chapter provides an

32 Only a few additional Cypriot sites with LH IIIB pottery may be added to Van Wijngaarden's list: see, for example, the recent finds from Arediou *Vouppes* mentioned below and in § 5.4.1.2.

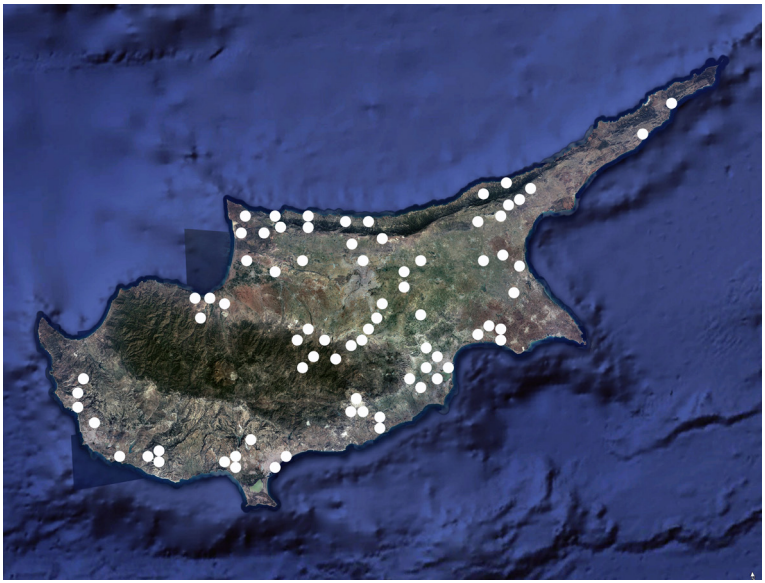


Figure 6.2 The diffusion of LH IIIB pottery on Cyprus. Adapted and updated from van Wijngaarden 2002, 314, Map 8, 323-5

updated review of LH IIIB pottery from funerary and settlement Cypriot contexts of the thirteenth century BC with particular attention to the First Tier sites that yielded the greatest quantity of Mycenaean imports.

6.4.2.1.1 Enkomi

In the discussion of the funerary evidence of Interaction Period 4 from Enkomi, we can follow the methodology employed in § 5.4.1.3.1, which includes a discussion on the LH IIIA ceramic imports of the previous Interaction Period 3 from the tombs excavated by various archaeological missions operating at this site. Therefore, also in the review of archaeological evidence of Interaction Period 4, reference can be primarily made to Mazzotta and Recht's case study (see § 5.4.1.8) since it contains a discussion on 14 selected Enkomi tombs which is integrated by a catalog of Mycenaean vessels from these tombs **[tab. 5.15]**. In order to make a functional analysis of overall LH IIIB vessels found in Enkomi tombs, at the same time this data must be combined with the contemporary imports from all the other tombs excavated at the site, especially including the numerous examples from the 1896 British Excavations which were lacking in detailed contextual information **[tab. 6.2]**.

Table 6.2 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 from Enkomi tombs

Tomb number	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
1: Br. T. 12; 2: Br. T. 51; 3: Br. T. 68.	**Amphoroid kraters FS 55**	1: Crewe 2009a, 12.28 (C 370); 2: Åström 1972, 315, Type 55: e (C 352); 3: Åström 1972, 314, Type 55: a (CM A 1646).
1-3: Br. T. 12; 4-5: Br. T. 43; 6-7: Br. T. 45; 8-10: Br. T. 48; 11-14: Br. T. 54; 15: Br. T. 66; 16-17: Br. T. 68; 18: Br. T. 78; 19: Br. T. 82; 20-1: Br. T. 83; 22: Br. T. 86; 23-6: Br. T. 89; 27: Br. T. 91; 28: Br. T. 96; 29: Br. T. 98; 30: Br. T. 98 or T. 43; 31-2: Sw. T. 7; 33-5: Cyp. T. 1; 36: Sw. T. (no number); 37-8: Fr. T. 12; 39-44: British Excavations 1896, no tomb numbers.	**Kraters FS 281**	1-3: Åström 1972, 369, Type 281: c2-e2 (C 406, C 407); 4-5: Åström 1972, 369, Type 281: f2 (CM A 1759); 370: i2 (CM A 1759); Pilides 2010, A 2026c; 6, 7: Åström 1972, 370, Type 281: j2 (C 420), k2 (C 422); 8-10: Åström 1972, 367, Type 281: a (C 397), b (C 413), c (C 411); Crewe 2009a, 136, 48.12; Hirschfeld 2019, 136 (C397); Papadopoulos 2019, 122-3; 11-14: Åström 1972, 370, Type 281: o2 (CM A 2023 or 2023a), p2 (CM A 2023e); Pilides 2010, A 2024c; A 2024g?, A 2033f; 15: Åström 1972, 367, Type 281: d; Crewe 2009b, 36 no. 35, pl. 11 (C 408); 16: Åström 1972, 370 Type 281: q2 (CM A 1760); 17: Hirschfeld 2019, 137: CM A 1646; 18: Åström 1972, 370, Type 281: r2; Pilides 2010, A 1546; Hirschfeld 2019, 137-8: CM A 1546; 19: Åström 1972, 370, Type 281: s2 (CM A 1546); 20: Åström 1972, 367-8, Type 281: f (C 416); 21: Åström 1972, 370, u2 (C 425); 22: Åström 1972, 370, Type 281: t2 (C 418); 23-6: Åström 1972, 368, Type 281: g (C 409), h (C 404); 370-1: v2 (C 417); 371: y2 (CM A 2019b); 27: Åström 1972, 367, Type 281: e (C 403); 28: Åström 1972, 371, Type 281: x2 (CM A 2020d+2021d); 29: Åström 1972, 371, Type 281: z2 (CM 2020b); 30: Åström 1972, 369, Type 281: g2 (CM 2020a + 2021a); 31-2: Åström 1972, 371, Type 281: l3, m3; 33-5: Åström 1972, 372, Type 281: o5-q5; 36: Åström 1972, 372, Type 281: s3; 37-8: Åström 1972, 372, Type 281: t3, u3; 39-44: Gubel, Massar 2019, 209 fig. 27, A.1251; 212, fig. 35 a-b, A.1259; fig. 34 A1258; Pilides 2010, A 2024a, 2024e; Åström 1972, 374, Pilides 2010, A 2024.
1: Br. T. 12; 2-4: Br. T. 54	**Fragmentary kraters FS 281?**	1: Crewe 2009a, 12. 27 (C 371); 2-4: Pilides 2010, A 2024h; A 2033g; A 2033a, d.
	F1.1b	
1: Br. T. 66; 2: Br. T. 91.	**Jugs FS 116**	1: Åström 1972, 329, Type 116: a; Crewe 2009b, 35 no. 32, pl. 10; Mountjoy 2018, 153 no. 15, fig. 81 (C 582); 2: Åström 1972, 329, Type 116: b; Crewe 2009a, 91.10; Hirschfeld 2019, 138 (C 583).
1: Br. T. 66.	**Narrow necked jug FS 118**	1: Crewe 2009b, 35-6 no. 34 (C 581).

Tomb number	Vessels according to functional categories	References
1-2: Br. T. 12; 3: Br. T. 88; 4: Cyp.T. 12.	**Cylindrical jug FS 139**	1-2: Crewe 2009a, 12.22 (C 687), 12.23 (C 686); 3: Åström 1972, 331 Type 139: a (C 577); Mountjoy 2018, 36; 4: Åström 1972, 332 Type 139: h*.
	F1.1c	
1: Br. T. 53; 2: Br. T. 83.	**Cups FS 210**	1: Åström 1972, 356, Type 210: a; Mountjoy 2018, 151 no. 12, fig. 80 (C 674); 2: Åström 1972, 356, Type 210: e (C 622).
1, 2: Br. T. 4	**Cups FS 223**	1, 2: Pilides 2010, A 1532, A 1533.
1: Br. T. 88.	**Cups FS 231**	1: Åström 1972, 362, Type 231: a (C 626).
1, 2: Br. T. 66; 2: Sw. T. 6A.	**Cups FS 250**	1: Åström 1972, 364, Type 250: a, Crewe 2009b, 35 no. 27 (C 658); 2: Åström 1972, 364, Type 250: b.
1: Br. T. 12; 2: Br. T. 66; 3: Br. T. 89.	**Kylikes FS 258**	1: Åström 1972, 365, Type 258: d; Crewe 2009a, 12.50 (C 688); 2: Åström 1972, 365, Type 258: a; Crewe 2009b, 34 no. 13 (C 610); 3: Åström 1972, 365, Type 258: b (C 611).
	F1.2	
1: Sw. T. 6A	**Deep bowl FS 284**	1: Åström 1972, 375 Type 284: a; Mountjoy 2018, 155 no. 24, fig. 83 (LH IIIB-C).
1: Br. T. 48; 2-5: Br. T. 66; 6: Br. T. 68; 7: Br. T. 87; 8: Br. T. 88; 9-10: Sw. T. 6A; 11-16: Cyp. T. 1-2, 10; 17: British Excavations 1896, no tomb number.	**Shallow bowls FS 296**	1: Åström 1972, 378, Type 296: a-c (C 663-5); 2-5: Åström 1972, 378, Type 296: d-g; Crewe 2009b, 34-5 nos 12 (C 666), 28 (C 667); 29 (C 661), 30 (C 668); 6: Åström 1972, 379, Type 296: b2; Pilides 2010, A 1537; 7: Pilides 2010, A 1743; 8: Åström 1972, 378, Type 296: h (C 669); 9-10: Åström 1972, 378, Type 296: i; Mountjoy 2018, 155 nos 25-6, fig. 83; 11-16: Dikaios 1969-71, pls 192: 13, 196: 19, 211: 13, 15-16; Åström 1972, 379, Type 296: e2+; Mountjoy 2018, 170 no. 92, 173 nos 103, 111, figs 91-2; 17: Gubel, Massar 2019, fig. 30a-b, A.1254.
1-2: Br. T. 66; 2: Br. T. 69.	**Pedestal bowls FS 309**	1: Åström 1972, 381, Type 309: a (C 602); Crewe 2009b, 34 no. 10 pl. 5; Mountjoy 2018, 153 no. 16, fig. 81 (C 609); 2: 381 Type 309: b (C 612).
1-3: Br. T. 66; 4: Cyp. T. 2.	**Pedestal bowls FS 310**	1-3: Åström 1972, 381, Type 310: a (C 614), b (C 613); Crewe 2009b, 34 nos 8 (C 614), 9 (C 615), 11 (C 613), pls 4, 6; Mountjoy 2018, 153 no. 17, fig. 81(C 614); 4: Åström 1972, 381, Type 310: f.
	F2.1	
1-2: Br. T. 43; 3: Br. T. 83; 4-6: Fr. T. 5; 7-8: British Excavations 1896, no tomb number.	**Piriform Jars FS 48**	1, 2: Åström 1972, 305, Type 48: m, n; Pilides 2010, A 1704, A 1705; 3: Åström 1972, 304, Type 48: a (C 500); 4-6: 304, Type 48: g, h, i; 7, 8: Pilides 2010, A 1934; Gubel, Massar 2019, A. 1244, fig. 16.
	F2.2	
1: Br. T. 48; 2: British Excavations 1896, 1245 fig. 17a-b.	**Stirrup jars FS 167**	1: Åström 1972, Type 167: e; Crewe 2009a, 48.17; Hirschfeld 2019, 136 (C 523); 2: Åström 1972, 338, Type 167: a.

Tomb number	Vessels according to functional categories	References
1: Sw. T. 6A.	**Stirrup jar FS 172**	1: Åström 1972, 342 Type 172: a.
1: Br. T. 79; 2-3: Br. T. 84; 4: Br. T. 91; 5: Sw. T. 6A.	**Stirrup jars FS 173**	1: Åström 1972, 343, Type 173: a; 2-3: Åström 1972, 343, Type 173: b, c; 4: Åström 1972, 343, Type 173: d; 5: Åström 1972, 343, Type 173: e.
1: Br. T. 66; 2-3: Sw. T. 6A.	**Stirrup jars FS 179**	1: Åström 1972, 345, Type 179: h; Crewe 2009b, 35 no. 15 (C 552); 2-3: Åström 1972, 345, Type 179: a, b*.
1: Br. T. 12; 2: Br. T. 66; 3: Br. T. 68; 4-5: Br. T. 88; 6: Br. T. 94; 7: Sw. T. 6A.	**Stirrup jars FS 180**	1: Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: m; Crewe 2009a, 12.53 (C 548); 2: Crewe 2009b, 35 no. 16 (C553); 3: Åström 1972, 348; Pilides 2010, A 1633; 4-5: Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: n (C 557), o (C 556); 6: Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: p; Pilides 2010, A1632; Hirschfeld 2019, 138 (A1632); 7: Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: a.
1: Br. T. 45; 2: Br. T. 48; 3: Br. T. 94.	**Stirrup jars FS 182**	1: Åström 1972, 347, Type 182: a (C 517); 2: Åström 1972, 347, Type 182: b (C 518); 3: Åström 1972, 347, Type 182: b *bis*; Pilides 2010, A 1623.
1: Br. T. 68.	**Flasks FS 186**	1: Åström 1972, 349, Type 186: c (A 1732); Mountjoy 2018, 147 no. 1, fig. 77.
1: Br. T. 94	**Flask FS 192**	1: Åström 1972, 353; Pilides 2010, A 1576.
	F3	
1: Br. T. 45; 2: Br. T. 66; 3-4: Br. T. 68; 5: Br. T. 89; 6: Sw. T. 7; 7: Cyp. T. 1; 8: Cyp. T. 2.	**Piriform jars FS 36**	1: Åström 1972, 294, Type 36: j; Crewe 2009a, 45.22; Hirschfeld 2019, 136 (C 430); 2: Åström 1972, 294, Type 36: a; Crewe 2009b, 36 no. 36, pl. 12 (C 431); 3-4: Åström 1972, 294, Type 36: m, n*bis*; Pilides 2010, A 1650, A 1650b; Hirschfeld 2019, 137 (CM A1650, A1650b); 5: Åström 1972, 294, Type 36: b (C 431); 6: Åström 1972, 295 Type 36: u; 7: Mountjoy 2018, 170 no. 91 fig. 91; 8: Åström 1972, 295 Type 36: l2.
1: Br. T. 79.	**Piriform jar FS 40**	1: Åström 1972, 295, Type 40: a (C 432).
	F4	
1: Br. T. 12; 2: Br. T. 53; 3: Br. T. 69; 4: Br. T. 70.	**Conical rhyta FS 199**	1: Crewe 2009a, 12.51 (C 606); 2: Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: a, LH IIIB (C 602); 3: Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: b, LH IIIA2 (C 603); 4: Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: c, LH IIIA2 (C 604).

The prevalence of the examples of functional category F1 ('Fine Tableware') above noted in the discussion on Interaction Period 3 is confirmed among the Mycenaean imports of Interaction Period 4. Although it should be admitted that an undetermined number of vessels of the indistinct LH IIIIA2-IIIB appearance were actually imported in LC IIC, as noted above (see § 5.4.1.4), it can be pointed out that in this period the difference between the Mycenaean vessels of this functional category and those of category F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities') is even more marked than in Interaction Period 3. In Interaction Period 4, in fact, the LH IIIB examples of category F1 are about twice the contemporary vessels of

category F2 which show a significant reduction in percentage (about 15%) compared to the previous period **[fig. 5.3]**. It is also worth noting that among the 'Fine Tableware' of functional category F1 amphoroid and especially bell kraters FS 281 (F1.1a) continued to prevail, amounting to 60 items, namely about 50% of overall vessels of this category. Since a similar pattern has been noted in Interaction Period 3, the large number of mixing vessels clearly implies that, at Enkomi, kraters, generally with Pictorial Style decoration, were one of the preferred shapes among the imported Mycenaean pottery being regarded as one of the most important status indicators both in Interaction Period 3 and 4. On the contrary, in accordance with the previous period, the pouring vessels of sub-category F1.1b (jugs FS 116, 118 and 139) are very few due to the available large numbers of pouring vessels of local production, as shown by the relevant percentages of overall ceramic finds from the tombs selected by Mazzotta and Recht (see § 5.4.1.8). For the same reasons, the other components of Mycenaean drinking sets, i.e. LH IIIB cups and kylikes of sub-category F1.1c, are comparatively few while the 'Drinking/Eating Vessels' of sub-category F1.2 are more common, amounting to 29 shallow bowls FS 296. Another important feature of the archaeological record of Interaction Period 4 is that 'Containers for Liquid Substances' of sub-category F2.2, namely stirrup jars and flasks, markedly prevail on 'Containers for Viscous Substances' of sub-category F2.1, contrary to the ratio of them in the previous period. Instead, storage vessels of functional category F3 and ritual vessels and figurines of category F4 are equally rare in the two Interaction Periods.

Turning to the Mycenaean pottery found in settlement levels, reference can be made to a recent study by Mountjoy (2018, 174-451) where "Areas I and III are discussed by Sector and chronologically by level following the arrangement of Dikaios" (174 with refs). Her monumental study of the material from the wooden trays of pottery retained by Dikaios is exceptionally important especially for the periods subsequent to the focus of the current study, i.e. Levels IIIA-IIIC, which are later than Level IIB/LC IIC corresponding to LH IIIB Developed-LH IIIC Early 1 in Aegean terms. Moreover, a synopsis of the earlier Level IA/LC IA, Level IB/LC IB, Level IIA/LC IIA-B, in addition to Level IIB/LC IIC, both in Area I and Area III has been published by S. Antoniadou in her 2003 PhD thesis integrated by a very large number of tables (60-77). Therefore, here the Mycenaean pottery from Level IIB/LC IIC is of the main interest. According to Antoniadou's reviews, during this Level, imported Mycenaean pottery was more accessible in Area I where imported Mycenaean pottery outnumbered local pottery, while in Area III local pottery was more common (99-100). Imported Mycenaean pottery consisted of container and dining vessels and was mainly associated with domestic and industrial rooms. Both in Area III and Area I, a variety of Mycenaean

shapes (bowls, cups, dishes, kraters, jars and jugs) are reported from domestic rooms, with a particular concentration in Room 142 (70-7). While according to Öbrink (1979, 43) Mycenaean pottery amounted to 15% of all ceramic finds from Level IIB (Area I), it is also important to consider the Argive imports from Level IIB recently discussed by R. Jung in addition to the statistics of open Mycenaean vessels from this level reported by the same scholar (2015, 247 fig. 4), since they attest to an appreciable presence of both amphoroid and open kraters, although the shallow bowl FS 295/296 was the prevalent shape. A certain number of LH IIIB vessels from this level have also been identified and published in detail by Mountjoy (2018), including shallow bowls FS 296 (Area I: Mountjoy 2018, 215 nos 240, 242, fig. 113, 286 no. 673, fig. 152; Area III: 314-16 nos 835-6, fig. 164, 382 no. 1211, fig. 198), piriform jars FS 36 (Area III: 324 no. 874, fig. 169), deep bowls FS 285 (Area III: 372-3 no. 1151, fig. 194), and a krater FS 281 (Area III: 435 no. 1525, fig. 224). However, some LH IIIB examples found in Level IIIA probably were LC IIC survivals (piriform jars FS 36: 316-18 no. 844, fig. 164, 195 no. 130, fig. 104, 227 no. 341, fig. 118; kraters FS 281: 339 no. 924, fig. 176; piriform jar FS 48: 217 no. 273, fig. 114; kylix FS 258: 289 no. 677, fig. 152; alabastron FS 94: 343 no. 966, fig. 179) while a shallow cup FS 220 (435 no. 1515, fig. 224) was a survival of inexplicable presence in Level IIIB.

6.4.2.1.2 Kouklia Palaepaphos

As pointed out in the overview of excavations in the Kouklia area, Mycenaean pottery at this site is not particularly common in funerary contexts of Interaction Period 3. If we consider the significant number of LBA tombs discovered in the wider Kouklia area and the abundance of Aegean pottery in the cemeteries at other coastal sites, the number of Aegean imports at Palaepaphos continued to be relatively low in Interaction Period 4, although an increase of LH IIIB pottery was underlined by Maier and Karageorghis (1984, 55-60; cf. Maier 1983, 230). However, in his discussion of the evidence from the tombs excavated by the British expedition in the 1950's, Catling (2020, 169) underlined the scarcity of Mycenaean imports stating that the "relations of Palaepaphos with the Aegean are a topic that requires full investigation", and most of the Mycenaean pottery from the tombs listed in table 6.3 seems to confirm this general impression. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that, with reference to his excavations in the settlement sites located in the Kouklia area, in 1983 Maier (1983, 230) counted no fewer than 247 LH IIIB vessels and fragments, while in the 1997 report the discovery of at least 451 LH IIIB examples was mentioned (1997, 93-5). However, only a few of these Interaction Period 4 finds were published in detail.

Table 6.3 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 from Kouklia *Palaepaphos*

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Kouklia	Fragment from LH IIIA or LH IIIB amphoroid krater FS 53-5	Åström 1972, 317, Type 53-5: s, with refs.
	Kraters FS 281, FS 282	Åström 1972, 373, Type 281: i6, j6*-m6; Georgiou 2016c, 192-3, cat. nos 4 (TE III 117), 6 (TE III 460), 9 (TE VIII 50), figs 5 a-b, 6, 9; Catling 2020, 176: EIIIB, EIV, EXI (uncatalogued sherds).
	F1.1b	
Kouklia	Jug FS 116	Catling 2020, 176: EVIA (uncatalogued sherd).
	Jug FS 139	Catling 2020, 177: EVII, EVIII (uncatalogued sherd).
	Juglet	Karageorghis 1990a, 82 no. 62, pls LXXVIII, LXXXVI.
	Jugs	Catling 2020, 24: AIV: 58+140, pl. 57; 28: AIV: 114, pl. 61, fig. 24; 28: AIV. 126, pl. 63.
	F1.1c	
Kouklia	Cup FS 208	Åström 1972, 355, Type 208A: b.
	Cups FS 231	Catling 2020,175: EVIA: 39; 176: EXI (uncatalogued sherd).
	Kylikes FS 257, FS 258	Åström 1972, 365, Type 258: j; Georgiou 2016c, 192, cat. no. 2, fig. 3 a-b, 193 (TE VIII 185a), cat. no. 10, fig. 10.
	Kylikes FS 267	Maier 1983, 230 pl. 22: c. (KD 259); Catling 2020, 175-6: EVIA: 49.
	F1.2	
Kouklia	Bowls	Catling 2020, 15: A11: 16+22, pl. 49 fig. 21; 16: A11: 30, pl. 51, fig. 20; 50: AVII: 29, pl. 107, fig. 44; 51: AVII: 42, pl. 108, fig. 44; 58: AXI: 3, pl. 117; 58: AXI: 4, pl. 117, fig. 50.
	Shallow bowl FS 295	Georgiou 2016c, 191-2 (TE III 12), cat. no. 1, fig. 2a; Catling 2020, 68 (LC IIIA?), 175: EIIIB: 9, pl. 135, fig. 75.
	Shallow bowls 296	Åström 1972, 380, Type 296: v2, w2, x2*, y2; Maier, Karageorghis 1984, 56, 60 fig. 32; Catling 2020, 19: AIII: 4, pl. 54; 36: AV: 94, pl. 84; 42:AV: 198 fig. 35; 50: AVII: 28, pl. 107, fig. 44; 50: AVII: 31, pl. 108; 58: AXI: 7, pl. 117; 177: EVIA (uncatalogued sherd); Karageorghis, Raptou 2021, 241 no. 154, fig. 12 (Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 288).
	Stemmed bowl FS 309	Åström 1972, 381, Type 309: f; Catling 2020, 32: AV: 4, pl. 75, fig. 34.
	Deep bowls FS 284	Åström 1972, 376, Type 284: c2-i2 +; Georgiou 2016c, 192, 193, cat. nos 3 (TE III 104), 7 (TE VIII 106), figs 4 a-b, figs 7 a-b; Catling 2020, 58: AXI: 6, pl. 117, fig. 50.
	Shallow bowl with short spout (similar to FS 250)	Karageorghis, Raptou 2021, 237-8 no. 61, 247 fig. 15 (Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 288).
	F2.1	
Kouklia	Alabastron	Catling 2020, 12-13: AI: 12*bis*, pl. 46, fig. 18.
	Piriform jars	Catling 2020, 176: EIIIB, EIV (uncatalogued sherds).
	Alabastron FS 94	Karageorghis 1990, 81-2 no. 61, pl. LXXVIII.
	F2.2	
Kouklia	Stirrup jars	Maier 1983, 230, pl. 22: d (M Pit 7.4); Catling 2020, 42: AV: 201, pl. 94, fig. 34; 176: E IV, EIIIA, E IIIB, EVIA (uncatalogued sherds).

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F3	
Kouklia	Piriform jar FS 36	Åström 1972, 295, Type 36: g2 with refs.

In this table, where LH IIIB pottery mainly found in funerary contexts is cataloged, the vessels of category F1 are clearly predominant over examples of the other functional categories, and this matches the general proportion of the functional categories of pottery of Interaction Period 3. Moreover, in their discussion on finds from Evreti wells, Maier and Karageorghis noted an "unusually high number of sherds from kylikes" and pointed out that

> a marked preference for a limited repertoire of shapes is illustrated by the fact that more than 80% of the recorded vessels consist of bowls and cups typical of the later Mycenaean IIIB period, and of deep two-handled bowls of Mycenaean IIIC:1 type. (1984, 65)

Such an interest in drinking/eating vessels can be easily appreciated from the noticeable occurrence of imitative shallow bowls and deep bowls of local production in all the LC IIC and LC IIIA contexts in this area (Mountjoy 2018, 811-44), to be clearly interpreted within the general trend. On the contrary, in his 1983 article, Maier (230 fn. 11, pl. 230, pl. 22: c-d) stated that in some wells and tombs excavated by the Swiss-German mission in various areas, including the Northeast Gate and the Persian Siege Mound, a majority of closed shapes such as jugs, piriform jars and stirrup jars was found (140 out of 247 LH IIIB vessels). Later, in 1997, when referring to the LH IIIA2/IIIB vessels, he specified the ratio of closed to open shapes (1997, 93-5, 98, tab. 1), namely 127 closed shapes to 41 open shapes. Concerning the LH IIIB pottery, closed shapes are also more common than open shapes, 143 to 111 respectively. The proportion however reverses in the LH IIIB/IIIC pottery with 40 closed to 57 open shapes, and in LH IIIC the difference is even greater at 233 to 447. According to Maier's 1997 computation, during Interaction Period 4 there was an increase in the number of open shapes such as mugs, deep bowls, kraters, dishes, and rhyta, i.e. vessels mostly related to functional category F1 ('Fine Tableware'). This became the predominant functional category in LH IIIC, probably also thanks to the wide occurrence of shallow and deep bowls.

6.4.2.1.3 Kourion *Bamboula*

Mountjoy (2018, 789) has pointed out that the pottery from the Kourion tombs – mostly including different bowl types and much smaller

quantities of feeding jugs, strainer jugs, and a few other shapes – "offers a useful overview of the standard set of LC IIIA burial gifts". In Interaction Period 4, the LH IIIB ceramic imports from funerary contexts **[tab. 6.4]** seem to conform to the general picture of Interaction Period 3, suggesting a moderate level of mortuary expenditure, although it should be noted that only a few tombs were found intact.

Table 6.4 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 from Kourion *Bamboula*

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Kourion	Krater FS 9	Benson 1972, 35, 113-14: B 1066, pl. 31 (Voupha Tomb no. 3); Mountjoy 2018, 792.
	Kraters FS 281, FS 282	Åström 1972, 373, Type 281: p6 (= Benson 1972, 14, 113: B 1063, pl. 32, Tomb 6 no. 7; cf. Mountjoy 2018, 793), q6, r6* (Voupha Tomb B).
	LH IIIB kraters?	Benson 1972, 20: 15, 113: B 1062, pls 32, 50 (Tomb 17-17A) (cf. Mountjoy 2018, 793, local?); 21, 114: B 1067, Tomb 17 no. 26.
	F1.1b	
	LH IIIB? Juglets	Benson 1972, 34, B.2, 120: B 1183, pl. 33, Plundered Tomb no. 2; 25 (Tomb 24 no. 1), 120: B 1184, pls 33, 54.
	F1.1c	
Kourion	Cup FS 250	Åström 1972, 364, Type 250: c with refs (Tomb 28).
	Kylix FS 258	Åström 1972, 365, Type 258: c with refs (Old Tomb 28).
	LH IIIB kylikes?	Benson 1972, 25 nos 12-14, 112: B 1055-7, pls 29-30 (Tomb 25), 113: B 1058-61, pls 29-30.
	F1.2	
Kourion	Shallow bowls FS 296	Åström 1972, 379, Type 296: z with refs (Old Tomb 89.12a), a2 (Old Tomb 89.12b), a3 (Kourion *Bamboula* Tomb 6, P 996), b3-e3 ("probably from Kourion"); Mountjoy 2018, 793 no. 37, fig. 394 (local?).
Kourion	Shallow bowls FS 295, FS 296	Benson 1972, 111-12: B1009- B 1011, pls 29-30; B 1012, 1019, pl. 49 (settlement deposits).
	F2.1	
Kourion	LH IIIB? Piriform jars	Benson 1972, 34, 116 nos 7, 8, 15: B 1100-1, B 1111, pls 31-2 (Voupha Tomb).
	Alabastron FS 85	Benson 1972, 30, 115: B 1092, pl. 50 (Tomb 7 no. 1); 30-1: 33 (= Mountjoy 2018, 791-2, 801 no. 25, fig. 390: 25), 47, 115: B 1093, B 1094 pl. 50 (Tomb 36).
Kourion	Alabastra	Benson 1972, 115: B 1095, B 1098-9, pls 30-1 (settlement deposits)
	F2.2	
Kourion	Stirrup jar FS 172	Åström 1972, 342, Type 172: d*, P2823 (plundered tomb).
	Stirrup jars FS 182	Åström 1972, 347, Type 182: *ibis*, P2770 (plundered tomb); Benson 1972, 117: B 1116, B 1118; B1125-8, pls 31-2 (settlement deposits).

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F3	
Kourion	Stirrup jars FS 36	Åström 1972, 295, Type 36: x *bis** (Kourion *Bamboula* Tomb 6); Åström 1972, 294, Type 36: v-x (settlement deposits).
	F4	
Kourion	Conical rhyton FS 199	Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: d, with refs (Old Tomb 28. 2); Koehl 2006, 158 no. 600.

Some differences however do exist between Interaction Period 3 and Interaction Period 4, particularly between the functional categories. Among the vessels of Interaction Period 4, kraters of various shapes including kraters FS 281 and 282, juglets, cups, and kylikes of sub-categories F.1.1a, b, and c, as well as shallow bowls FS 296 of sub-category F1.2 prevail, while in Interaction Period 3 the vessels of functional category F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities', i.e. piriform jars, stirrup jars, and flasks) were more common. On the other hand, the repertoire of Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 4 reported by Benson from settlement deposits included a variety of shapes related both to sub-category F1.2, such as shallow bowls FS 295 and 296, and to category F2, such as alabastra, stirrup jars FS 182?, and stirrup jars FS 36. However, vessels of a "Local Style" (Mountjoy 2018, 789-95) were of course far more prevalent among the ceramic finds both from tombs and settlement deposits dating to the LC IIC period (783, tab. 63, 788).

6.4.2.1.4 Limassol Area

The Mycenaean pottery published by Karageorghis and Violaris (2012) from various sites located in the Limassol Area was discussed for Interaction Period 3 in § 5.4.1.5. Here it is only worth emphasizing some differences between Interaction Periods 3 **[tab. 5.6]** and 4 **[tab. 6.5]**.

Table 6.5 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 from the Limassol Area

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F2.1	
Limassol Area	LH IIIB Piriform jar FS 45 or FS 48	Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 110 no. 14, pl. XL: 14 (Tomb 621-V/14).
	LH IIIB Alabastron FS 94	Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 120 no. 10, pls XLVIII (upper): 10; LXXX (LM Tomb 1328/10).
	F2.2	
Limassol Area	LH IIIB stirrup jars FS 180	Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 86 no. 17, pls XXII: 17, LXVII: (Tomb 127: 17); Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 103 no. 2, pls XXXVI (lower): 2, LXXIV (Tomb 621-I/2);
	LH IIIB Flask FS 192	Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 97 no. 6, pls XXXI (upper): 6, LXXII: (Tomb 278/6).

The differences in Mycenaean imports between the two periods are rather striking especially in terms of functional categories. Specifically, the LH IIIA2 vessels of Interaction Period 3 may be related to various functional categories, such as 'Fine Tableware' (a krater and three juglets of sub-categories F1.1 a e F1.1b respectively), 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' (five piriform jars of sub-category F2.1, as well as stirrup jars and a flask of sub-category F2.2), and 'Storage Vessels' (a piriform jar of category F.3), while there are only six LH IIIB vessels of Interaction Period 4 and they belong only to sub-categories F2.1 and F2.2 also including a stirrup jar FS 180 from Erimi T. 5 attributed to Simple Style by Karageorghis and possibly, if so, of Cypriot production (Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 127 no. 1, pls LIII lower: 1, LXXXV Erimi T. 5/1; also cf. Karageorghis, 231).

6.4.2.1.5 Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*

Excavations at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios,* one of the largest settlements on Cyprus, showed that the construction and occupation of all the excavated buildings dates to Interaction Period 4, although some remains of earlier structures have been found in the Northeast Area of the town where the monumental ashlar Building X came to light. Earlier evidence for contacts with the Aegean, mostly coming from several wealthy funerary contexts in the area of Building X, date back to Interaction Period 3; only a few LH IIIA 2 finds from settlement layers probably derived from tomb looting (see § 5.4.1.4.6). In this period the access by local elite to Mycenaean pictorial pottery as well as to substantial quantities of Mycenaean drinking vessels clearly was restricted. The site was abandoned shortly before the

end of LC IIC, while a few LC IIIA sherds seem to suggest that there was a limited occupation in that period. Therefore, the huge majority of pottery from settlement layers may be attributed to the LC IIC period **[tab. 6.6]**.

Table 6.6 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 from Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (possible tomb debris in Areas 42 and 43)	Late LH IIIA2 or early LH IIIB kraters FS 53 or FS 55	South et al. 1989, 7, 142: K-AD 1017, fig. 11 (South 1984, fig. 4: 1 A-C); 7, 142: K-AD 1018, fig. 11 (South 1984, fig. 4: 2); 7, 142: K-AD 1019, fig. 11 (South 1984, fig. 4: 3); 7, 142, K-AD 1020, fig. 11 (South 1984, fig. 4.4); 7, 143, K-AD 1024.
	F1.1b	
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (settlement)	Jug FS 114	South, Russel 1993, 304: K-AD 39, fig. 2.
	F1.1c	
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (settlement)	Shallow cups FS 220	Mountjoy 2018, 766 nos 8-9, fig. 377 (Building X), with refs.
	F1.2	
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (settlement)	Shallow bowls FS 296	South 1984, 27 fig. 4: 10; South 1988, 226 fig. 2: 1241, 1255, pl. 35.1: 1231, pl. 35.2: 1232, 3-6; South, Russel 1993, 306, pl. 42 a-c: K-AD 1231, 228, pl. XXXV: 1-2: 1232, K-AD 1232, K-AD 1233; Mountjoy 2018, 766-7 no. 19, fig. 378 (Building X); South et al. 1989, 143: K-AD 1033, pl. IV.
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Tomb 13	Shallow bowl FS 296 Pedestal bowl FS 309	Mountjoy 2018, 766 no. 14, fig. 378, with refs (Tomb 13.78). Mountjoy 2018, 767-9 no. 21 (Tomb 13.9.3) with refs, figs 16: 21, 379: 21.
	F2.1	
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (settlement)	Piriform jars	South et al. 1989, 143: K-AD 1032, fig. 12.
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Tombs)	Alabastron FS 85 Alabastra FS 94	Tomb 1: South, Russel 1989, 44, 46, 100: K-AD 84, pl. XXII, fig. 45. Tomb 6: South, Russel 1989, 55, 111: K-AD 248, K-AD 249, pl. XXX, fig. 59.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F2.2	
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (settlement)	Stirrup jars	South et al. 1989, 129: K-AD 594, fig. 11, with refs; 7, 143: K-AD 1030, fig. 11, with refs; 7, 143: K-AD 1026, pl. IV; 7; 110: K-AD 234, figs 11, 29; 7, 131: K-AD 616, figs 11, 29; 95: K-AD 7, 95, fig. 11 (South, Russel 1993, 304: K-AD 7, fig. 2).
	Flask FS 191	South et al. 1989, 95, K-AD 6: fig. 12, with refs.
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Tomb 1)	Stirrup jar	South, Russel 1989, K-AD 1093: 44, 46, 147, fig. 45.
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Tomb 12 and 13 burial complex)	Pictorial Stirrup jar FS 167	South 1999, 793-4, K-AD 1807A, pls CLXXVII-CLXXVIIIa.
	F3	
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (settlement)	Large piriform jars FS 164	South et al. 1989, 97: K-AD 40, figs 11, 28: 63, pl. 13 (South, Russel 1993, 304 fig. 2); South et al. 1989, 110: K-AD 234, figs 11, 29; 143: K-AD 1030, fig. 11; 143, K-AD 1031; 130: K-AD 600, figs 11, 29; 121: K-AD 427, fig. 29.
	Piriform jar FS 36	South et al. 1989, 127-8: K-AD 535, figs 12, 29 (South, Russel 1993, 307 fig. 2).

Among the LC IIC finds, it is worth emphasizing the pottery belonging to at least 85 restorable vessels from a shaft in Building X, Area 173, since it included a large percentage of Mycenaean vessels (South, Russell 1993, 304-6). The material from this shaft was interpreted as evidence for elite feasting clearly showing that "the groups associated with Building X had wider access to Mycenaean pottery than other groups at the site" (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 189, 193). These LH IIIB vessels included a lot of shallow bowls FS 296, a third of which constituted an unusually outstanding group of imported LH IIIB2 bowls (Mountjoy 2018, 763 with refs). Although in the earlier reports it was stated that the shapes were predominantly bowls and cups, with a smaller number of jugs and very few closed shapes, in a later publication A. South (1999, 797) definitely maintains that, unlike other sectors in the site, there was no difference in number between open and closed shapes found in Area 173 deposit within Building X.

The repertoire of LH IIIB imports from the site also included shallow cups FS 220, several large transport stirrup jars FS 164 and a pedestal bowl FS 309, but there also were alabastra, stirrup jars, and kraters from LC IIC funerary contexts and tomb debris in addition to several Levanto-Helladic vessels of Cypriot production (piriform jars FS 36, jugs FS 116, bowls FS 210, and shallow bowls FS 296) as well as Simple Style stirrup jars, Rude/Pastoral vessels and

other local vessels (Mountjoy 2018, 763-71). It is worth emphasizing that South (1999, 798, pl. CLXXIX: A) pointed out that when Mycenaean shapes from the settlement layers are counted separately from ceramic finds coming from the tombs, stirrup jars are equally represented in the two types of contexts, while piriform jars are slightly more common in tombs; cups and bowls occur especially in settlement contexts, while alabastra, juglets and flasks are more associated with tombs. The krater sherds found in the settlement layers probably derive from looted tombs. However, generally speaking, Aegean imports represent a very low percentage of all ceramic finds, even in Northeast Area where they are by far more common than elsewhere in the site (pl. CLXXIX: B; also see Georgiou's discussion on Aegean-type pottery, see below § 6.4.3).

6.4.2.1.6 Hala Sultan Tekke

The above review of the excavations in this harbor town by various missions starting in the late 1800's and continuing today with the ongoing Swedish expedition may only give an idea of the importance of the funerary and settlement evidence of Hala Sultan Tekke to the wider study of Cypro-Aegean connections. For example, recent excavations of the upper layer in Chamber Tomb RR produced 13 Mycenaean LH IIIA1-IIIB1 vessels, including two alabastra, a chariot krater (N157), a two-handled flask, two juglets, three piriform jars, a two-handled cup and a feeding bottle, as well as a jug of Grey Ware "which may possibly be imported from Crete or another Aegean region (N 150)" (Bürge in Fischer, Bürge 2022, 19). However, the quantity of Mycenaean imports from tombs and settlement deposits dating to Interaction Period 3 **[tabs 5.8, 5.11]** is markedly greater than the quantity of imported Aegean vessels from Interaction Period 4 **[tab. 6.7]**, which are discussed in detail below (cf. for example, the respective amounts of LH IIIA (62), LH IIIA2/IIIB (55) and LH IIIB (30) among the sherds stored in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford published by Frankel and Catling in 1976). While this may indicate a decisive reduction in trade connections between the Aegean and Cyprus in Interaction Period 4, other factors may, at least to a certain extent, affect this imbalance. In fact, in this study the imbalance is partially due to the incorporation of LH IIIA2/IIIB pottery in the counts of Interaction Period 3 imports discussed in § 5.4.1.4.8 (also cf. Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 63, for Offering Pit V). However, the suggestion of an actual decrease in the number of Aegean imports during Interaction Period 4 is also supported by the change in Cypriot material culture in the LC IIC late period when there is a clear and substantial increase in Aegean-type local pottery at the expense of Mycenaean imported pottery.

Table 6.7 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 from Hala Sultan Tekke

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
British Museum excavations	Kraters FS 281	Åström 1972, 369, 373, Type 281: v, y5, z5; a6, b6+ (Tombs 1 and 2).
New Swedish Expedition, Area A, Tomb X	Krater FS 281	Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 74: L48-22, figs 20: 4, 22: 3 (Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 170, 187 fig. 24: 1; Bürge, Fischer 2017, 135 fig. 7: 11; Fisher 2019b, 207 fig. 16: 2).
Chamber Tomb south-east of Tombs 1 and 2	Fragment of a LH IIIB krater	Samaes, Nys 2010, 204 with refs.
	F1.1b	
British Museum excavations	Jugs FS 139 Jugs	Åström 1972, 332, Type 139: b, c (Tomb IV); Mountjoy 2018, 38, with refs. Åström 1972, 334, Fragmentary or unpublished jugs (Tomb 2).
Settlement CQ1, Stratum 2	Juglets FS 149	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 253 fig. 3.60: 1-2.
	F1.1c	
British Museum excavations	Mug FS 228	Åström 1972, 362, Type 228: b; Mountjoy 2018, 41, 756 no. 335, fig. 372: 335 (LH IIIB2).
Department of Antiquities Tomb 1	Kylix FS 258	Karageorghis 1976a, pl. LXVII: 16; Mountjoy 2018, 758 no. 339, fig. 373: 339.
Tomb X, pit Z9	Undecorated kylix FS 267 Kylix	Tomb X: Bürge, Fischer 2017, 135, N65, fig. 7: 12 Pit Z9; 2018a, 63, table 3: L94.
Tomb RR	LH IIIB 1 feeding bottle FS 161	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 311: N 161, fig. 26: 4; 2021, 108; 2022, 19.
New Swedish Expedition, settlement CQ1, Stratum 2	LH IIIB1 shallow cups FS 219-20	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 252 figs 3.32: 5-6; 3.58: 1-2, 4, 6-7.
	F1.2	
British Museum excavations	Deep bowls FS 284 Shallow bowls FS 296 Bowls FS 210 Bowl FS 207	Åström 1972, 376, Type 284: u-x *bis* (Tomb 1 and 2). Åström 1972, 379, Type 296: u (Tomb III), v, j2, k2 (Tomb 2), l2; Mountjoy 2018, 49, 756 no. 333, fig. 372: 333. Mountjoy 2018, 756 nos 331-3, fig. 372: 331-3. Mountjoy 2018, 756 no. 334, fig. 372.
Areas 8, 22	Shallow bowls FS 296	Hult 1978, Area 8 Ly6, fig. 130; Bailey 1976, Tomb 1 no. 74, Tomb 2 nos 197, 204-7; Mountjoy 2018, 43, 712 no. 66, fig. 349: 66, 163.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
New Swedish Expedition, Tomb X, Well W, Pit V	Shallow bowls FS 296	Well W: Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 66: L47-7, fig. 11: 3; 2020, 78: L936-1, -2; Tomb X: Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 74: L48-37, fig. 20: 1; 74: L48-2; 2017b, 170, 190: L48-15, fig. 26: 8; 170: L 48-20; 171, 187: L48-37, L48-1, L48-2, fig. 23: 3; Bürge, Fischer 2017, 135 fig. 7: 10, 137 fig. 8: 9. Pit V: 2017b, 202: L 46-14 (local?).
New Swedish Expedition, Settlement CQ1, Stratum 2, Stratum 3	LH IIIB2 shallow bowls FS 296 (CQ1, Stratum 3) LH IIIB shallow Bowls FS 296 (CQ1, Stratum 2) LH IIIB/ IIIC deep bowls FS 284 (CQ1, Stratum 3) LH IIIB or LH IIIC early Deep bowl FS 284	Bürge, Fischer 2018, 250 fig. 3.32: 1-2. Bürge, Fischer 2018, 250 fig. 3.58: 9-10. Bürge, Fischer 2018, 252 fig. 3.32: 2-4. Bürge, Fischer 2018, 252 fig. 3.58: 11.
Chamber Tomb south-east Tomb 1 and 2	Deep stemmed bowl FS 305 36 LH IIIB shallow bowls FS 294-6 (some WPWM III)	Samaes, Nys 2010, 206 fig. 5: 7. Samaes, Nys 2010, 206-7.
	F2.1	
New Swedish Expedition, Tomb RR	Alabastron FS 85	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 311: N 172, fig. 26: 2; Fischer, Bürge 2021, 108.
Chamber Tomb south-east Tomb 1 and 2	Several rim sherds of LH IIIB piriform jars FS 48 LH IIIB miniature alabastron	Samaes, Nys 2010, 203. Samaes, Nys 2010, 205 fig. 4: 8.
	F2.2	
British Museum excavations	Stirrup jar FS 173 Stirrup jar FS 184	Åström 1972, 343, Type 173: g. Åström 1972, 348, Type 184: a (Tomb VIII).
New Swedish Expedition, CQ1, Stratum 3A	Flask FS 189	Fischer, Bürge 2020, 82: L89510, fig. 8: 3.
	F3	
British Museum excavations	Piriform jars FS 36	Åström 1972, 294-5, Type 36: k (Tomb IV), o, pl. 46: c (Tomb IV), p (Tomb IV), q (Tomb IV), r*, s, t, h2, with refs. Mountjoy 2018, 756 no. 330, fig. 372: 330.
New Swedish Expedition, Tomb RR	Piriform jar FS 39	Fischer, Bürge 2019, 311: N175, fig. 26: 1; Fischer, Bürge, 2021, 108.
Tomb 24, Dromolaxia *Vizakia*	LH IIIB piriform jar FS 40? LH IIIB piriform jar	Åström, Nys 2007, 15 fig. 23. Åström, Nys 2007, 15 fig. 24.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F4	
British Museum excavations	Rhyton FS 203	Åström 1972, 354, Type 203: a; Koehl 2006, 215 no. 1149.
New Swedish Expedition, Settlement CQ1, Stratum 1, CQ2, Stratum 2, Stratum 3	Rhyton FS 199 Rhyton FS 203	Recht, Mazzotta 2015, 68 no. 4, fig. 43: d. Recht, Mazzotta 2015, 70 no. 15. Bürge, Fischer 2018, 253-4, figs 3.32: 9-10, 3.92: 8-9, 3.128: 8.
Well in Trench 1/4	Mycenaean figurines, both human and animal, terracotta chariot with two figures flanking a parasol	Åström 1997, 90; Obrink in HST 6, 50 figs 61-2 (50: N6024, N6026, figs 61-4).
New Swedish Expedition, settlement area	LH IIIB (?) psi-figurine Equid (?) figurine	Fischer, Bürge 2015, 32, N239, fig. 7: b (Stratum 1); 2018b, 424, 429 fig. 4.3: 12. Bürge, Fischer 2018, 421-2, table 4.1, fig. 4.2: 3.

Table 6.7 shows the prevalence of the published LH IIIB vessels of category F1, especially in funerary contexts. More specifically, there is a predominance of shallow bowls FS 296, i.e. the drinking/eating vessels of sub-category F1.2, in some contexts such as Tomb X. It is not by chance that their shapes inspired the development of the Aegean-type pottery of the LC IIC Final period. Nevertheless, there is also a range of LH IIIB imports found in both tombs and settlement layers. For example, Offering Pit V includes a few vessels for precious commodities of category F2, such as an alabastron, a flask, and two stirrup jars, while some other LH IIIB sherds, from shallow bowls of sub-category F1.2 and from vessels for precious commodities of category F2 were found in Pit Z9 (Fischer, Bürge 2018a, 63, tab. 3). As far as the settlement material of this period is concerned, Mountjoy (2018, 694) pointed out that among the finds from the earlier excavations pottery of LC IIC "is not common at the site as excavation mostly stopped in upper layers in each area". However, four city quarters have been discovered by the New Swedish Expedition but Mycenaean pottery amounts to a low percentage (approximately 1-2%; in any case no more than 3%) of ceramic finds from these settlement deposits (Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 211; Bürge, Fischer 2018, 250; Mazzotta, Recht, forthcoming). Stratum 1 in the so-called City Quarter 1 (CQ 1) and in City Quarter 2 (CQ2) can be dated to LC IIIA2, while Stratum 2 contained LC IIC pottery and material which would best fit in LC IIIA1. The earliest stratum so far excavated is Stratum 3 which was reached in CQ1 and contains LC IIC Late and earlier pottery,

which is still being analyzed. Therefore, a clearer picture of Aegean imports of Interaction Period 4 from the settlement will be available when deeper layers are excavated in all the areas, but current evidence seems to suggest that Mycenaean imports are not numerous in this period. In general, in a forthcoming article Mazzotta and Recht point out that nearly all the Aegean sherds so far available for study are residual, with a very high level of fragmentation. They also state that the peak of Aegean imports was reached "between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB", but the Mycenaean imports of Interaction Period 4 are fewer than those of Interaction Period 3 (Mazzotta, Recht, forthcoming, fig. 5). Moreover, in an earlier preliminary review of Mycenaean imports, the number of LH IIIB imports also appeared relatively limited only amounting to 8% of Mycenaean pottery from Stratum 2 and 19% from Stratum 1 (Mazzotta, Trecarichi 2014, 92 figs 3-8). Also of relevance, Fischer recently stated that

> Stratum 3 in CQ1, which is dated to LC IIC (2?), still has LH IIIB2 (late) imports, but the manufacture of locally produced Aegean type pottery increases and culminates in Strata 2 and 1 (2019b, 218)

while

> there are sherds of LH IIIB vessels in Strata 2 and 1, but they are considered residual. (Fischer 2019b, 218 fn. 38; Fischer, Bürge 2018b, 255-7; also see Georgiou's discussion on Aegean-type pottery below, § 6.4.3)

In terms of functions, a detailed analysis of Aegean imports found in CQ1-4 during the 2013-19 campaigns is not yet available but has been included in a forthcoming article by Mazzotta and Recht. It is however worth noting that in these areas the vessels of category F1 are more common than those assigned to category F2, although imports of Interaction Period 4 have not been quantified in detail.

6.4.2.1.7 Kition

The Bronze Age town of Kition was founded in the early thirteenth century BC, but most finds date back to the end of LC IIC. Only a few LH IIIB imports have been published from Tombs 4+5 and Tomb 9 **[tab. 6.8]**, complementing the earlier evidence of contacts with the Aegean. Moreover, Mountjoy (2018, 624-9) has recently discussed LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB pottery from three tombs (Caveaux I-III) and a well excavated by Karageorghis in 1959 at Chrysopolitissa (Karageorghis 1960b), but the Mycenaean ceramic finds from these tombs are no longer extant. However, reference to nearly all these Mycenaean

vessels can be found in Astrom's 1972 catalog and in Mountjoy's study (2018, 628-30, figs 313-15). Even so, there is a large number of sherds from imported vessels of Interaction Period 4 found in settlement layers which have been classified by Mountjoy (558-675). Table 6.8 summarizes this imbalance effectively.

Table 6.8 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 from Kition

Provenance	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Tomb 4+5	Krater FS 281	Karageorghis 1974, 21 no. 108, pls XXVIII, XXXVII, CXXVII.
Tomb 9	Krater FS 281	Karageorghis 1974, 53 no. 104A-B, pls LV, CXLIV.
	Fragmentary krater (LH IIIB?)	Karageorghis 1974, 54 no. 111, pls LVI, CXLVI.
	F1.1b	
Tomb 4+5	Jug FS 105	Karageorghis 1974, 28 no. 167, pls XXIII; CXXV.
	Jug FS 116	Karageorghis 1974, 21-2 nos 109, 115, pls XXI, CXXV, CXXVIII; Mountjoy 2018, 36.
	Jugs FS 120	Karageorghis 1974, 21-2, 37 nos 111-12, pls XXII, CXXIV; Åström 1972, Type 139: d *bis*; Karageorghis 1974, 22, 32 nos 118, 206, pls XXIII, CXXVIII; Mountjoy 2018, 36-8, fig. 8 no. 233, 599 no. 233 fig. 296, LH IIIB2, local?
	Jug FS 139	Karageorghis 1974, 23 no. 127, pls XXIII, CXXV.
	Jug FS 114	Karageorghis 1974, 22 no. 114, pls XX, CXXV.
	Miniature juglet FS 126	Karageorghis 1974, 28 no. 166, pls XXIII, CXXV.
	Biconical jugs	Karageorghis 1974, 27, 29, 31 nos 163, 177, 201, pls XVI, XXIV, CXXV, CXXVIII.
	Fragmentary jugs	Karageorghis 1974, 46, 47-8, 58 nos 36, 51, pls XLVI, XCIII, CXL.
	Jug FS 105	Karageorghis 1974, 51 no. 82, pls XLVIII, CXL.
Tomb 9	Jug FS 110	Karageorghis 1974, 45 no. 30, pls XLIX, XCIII, CXL.
	Jug FS 114	Karageorghis 1974, 49 no. 68, pls XLV, CXL.
	Jug FS 139	Åström 1972, 332, Type 139: d; Karageorghis 1974, 50-1 no. 77, pls XLV, CXL (=Mountjoy 2018, 36, 599 no. 233, fig. 296).
	Jugs FS 136?	Karageorghis 1974, 51 nos 78-9, pl. XLVIII, CXLVI.
	Fragmentary jug	Karageorghis 1974, 56 no. 133, pls LVI, CXLVI.
	Feeding bottle FS 161	Karageorghis 1974, 64 no. 22, pls LXVIII, CLIV.
	F1.1c	
Tomb 4+5	Kylikes FS 258	Karageorghis 1974, 22-3 nos 119-21, 28-9 nos 169, 182, pls XXV-XXVI, XXXVII-XXXVIII, XCIII CXXVI.
	Cups FS 245/220	Karageorghis 1974, 23 nos 124-5, pls XXIX, CXXIX.
	Cups FS 220	Karageorghis 1974, 26 no. 158, pls XXXV, CXXIX.
Tomb 9	Cup FS 208	Åström 1972, 355, Type 208: e.
	Carinated cup FS 231	Karageorghis 1974, 44 no. 11, pls LIV, CXLIII.

Provenance	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	Cup with wishbone handle	Karageorghis 1974, 44, 58 no. 12, pls LIV, CXLIII.
	Cups FS 220	Karageorghis 1974, 47-8 nos 46-7, 52, pls LIV, CXLIII.
	Kylikes FS 258	Karageorghis 1974, 49-50, 52-3, 55 nos 66, 71, 89, 105, 131, pls L, LIII, LVI, XCXCIII, CXLI, CXLII.
	LH IIIB? Fragmentary kylikes	Karageorghis 1974, 52-3 nos 96-8, 101-2, pl. XLIX, LI, LII, LIII, LVI, CXXIX, CXLI, CXLII.
Caveau I	Carinated cup FS 207	Karageorghis 1960b, 521, I/2, figs 15-16. Mountjoy 2018, 627 fig. 313 no. 363.
	F1.2	
Tomb 4+5	Deep bowl FS 284	Karageorghis 1974, 26 no. 157, pls XXXVI, CXXIX.
	Shallow bowls FS 295	Karageorghis 1974, 26 nos 153-4, pls XXXV, CXXX.
	Shallow bowls FS 296	Åström 1972, 379, Type 296: m2, n2, o2; Karageorghis 1974, 24-6, 30-2 nos 132-40, 143-8, 151 A, 151B, 155-6, 186, 196-7, 205, pls XXI, XXVIII, XXX-XXXVII, CXXVIII-CXXXII; Mountjoy 2018, 593 no. 219, figs 14: 219, 295 (LH IIIB2).
	Shallow bowl on three legs	Karageorghis 1974, 25 no. 141, pls XXVIII, XXXVII, CXXVII.
	Stemmed bowl FS 309	Karageorghis 1974, 23 no. 122, pls XXVII, CXXVI.
	Stemmed bowls FS 310	Karageorghis 1974, 23-4 nos 129-30, pls XXVII, CXXVII. Åström 1972, 382, Type 310: h, i; Mountjoy 2018, 595 no. 220, fig. 295.
	Bowl FS 207	Mountjoy 2018, 39 fig. 9 no. 363, 628 no. 363, fig. 313.
Tomb 9	Shallow bowls FS 296	Åström 1972, 380, Type 296: s2*-u2 (including Aegean-type examples).
	Shallow bowls on three legs	Karageorghis 1974, 47 nos 42-3, pls LVII, CXLVIII.
Caveau I	Stemmed bowl FS 309	Karageorghis 1960b, 524, I/6, fig. 21; Mountjoy 2018, 627.
	Deep bowls FS 284	Åström 1972, 376, Type 284: y-b2 +.
	Shallow bowl FS 295	Karageorghis 1974, 55 no. 128, pls LXI, CXLV.
	F2.1	
Tomb 4+5	Piriform jar FS 40	Karageorghis 1974, 29 no. 181, pls XIV, CXXIII.
	Piriform jars FS 48	Karageorghis 1974, 28-30 nos 165, 180, 192, pls XV, XVI, XXVI, CXXIII.
	Alabastron FS 94	Karageorghis 1974, 29-30 no. 185, pls XIV, CXXVII.
Tomb 9	Fragmentary alabastron	Karageorghis 1974, 56 no. 136, pls LXIII, CXLV.
	F2.2	
Tomb 4+5	Stirrup jar FS 171	Karageorghis 1974, 22 no. 113, pl. CXXIV.
	Stirrup jars FS 180	Karageorghis 1974, 28 nos 174 (?), 175, pls XX, CXXIV.
	Flasks FS 189	Karageorghis 1974, 27 nos 164, 168, pls XVIII, CXXVIII.

Provenance	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	Fragmentary stirrup jars	Karageorghis 1974, 29-32 nos 184, 190, 198, 210, pls XVII, XIX, XX, CXXIV.
Tomb 9	Fragmentary stirrup jars	Karageorghis 1974, 52-3 nos 93A, 94-5, 99, 100, pls XLIV, XLVIII, XLIX, CXLVI, CXXXIX.
	F3	
Tomb III	Amphora FS 68	Åström 1972, 319, Type 68: a*.
Tomb 4+5	Piriform jar FS 36	Karageorghis 1974, 20-1 nos 105, 107, pls XV, XXXVII.
	Piriform jar FS 39	Mountjoy 2018, 597-8 no. 232, fig. 296: 232.
Tomb 9	Piriform jar FS 36	Karageorghis 1974, CXLVI (=Mountjoy 2018, 599 no. 231, fig. 296).

Kition (Settlement)

Provenance	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Area I, Floor IV	Kraters FS 55	Mountjoy 2018, 561 no. 2, fig. 284; Mountjoy 2018, 565 no. 46, fig. 286.
	Krater FS 9	Mountjoy 2018, 561 no. 15, fig. 284.
	Kraters FS 281	Mountjoy 2018, 563 nos 24-6, fig. 285; 567 no. 57, fig. 286; 573 no. 67, fig. 287; 575 no. 90, fig. 288; 577 no. 110, fig. 289.
	Krater? FS 281	Mountjoy 2018, 561 no. 16, fig. 284.
Area I, Floor IV-III	Kraters FS 281	Mountjoy 2018, 579 no. 132, fig. 290; 581 no. 151, fig. 290; 583 no. 161, fig. 291; 585 nos 176-8, fig. 292.
	Kraters FS 9	Mountjoy 2018, 585 no. 179, fig. 292; 587 no. 205, fig. 293.
Area I, Floor IIIA (LC IIIA1)	Krater FS 55	Mountjoy 2018, 609 no. 281, fig. 302.
	Krater FS 281	Mountjoy 2018, 611 no. 287, fig. 303.
Area II, Floor IV	Krater FS 282	Mountjoy 2018, 636 no. 387, fig. 317.
Area II, Floor IIIA (LC IIIA1)	Krater FS 282	Mountjoy 2018, 650 no. 476, fig. 324.
Area II, Floor IIIA-III	Kraters FS 281	Mountjoy 2018, 654 nos 489-90, fig. 326.
Kition *Bamboula*	Kraters FS 281	Yon, Caubet 1985, 120 nos 259, 260 a, 260 b, 261-3, figs 54-5.
	Kraters FS 54-5	Yon, Caubet 1985, 122-3 nos 273-5, fig. 54.
	F1.1b	
Area I, Floor IV	Juglet FS 114	Mountjoy 2018, 561 no. 13, fig. 284.
	Dippers FS 236	Mountjoy 2018, 565 nos 41, 50, figs 285-6.
	Jugs FS 110	Mountjoy 2018, 565 no. 47, fig. 286; 567 no. 56, fig. 286.

Provenance	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	Jug FS 116	Mountjoy 2018, 573 no. 66, fig. 287.
Area II, Floor IV	Juglet FS 114	Mountjoy 2018, 636 nos 389-90, fig. 317.
Area II, below Floor IIIA (LC IIIA1)	Jug FS 149	Mountjoy 2018, 645 no. 465, fig. 321.
	Juglet FS 114	Mountjoy 2018, 649 no. 473, fig. 324.
Area II, Floor IIIA-III	Jug FS 136/146	Mountjoy 2018, 654 no. 488, fig. 328: 488.
Area II, Floor III	Jug/Stirrup jar	Mountjoy 2018, 660 no. 531, fig. 330
Kition *Bamboula*	Jugs FS 116	Yon, Caubet 1985, 137-8 nos 302-4, 307, 309, 311-12, fig. 66-8; Mountjoy 2018, 36.
	Jugs FS 139	Yon, Caubet 1985, 133-4 nos 298-301, figs 65-6; Mountjoy 2018, 38.
	F1.1c	
Area I, Floor IV	Cup FS 220	Mountjoy 2018, 565 no. 49, fig. 286.
Area I, Floor IV-III (LC IIC-IIIA1)	Mug?	Mountjoy 2018, 579 no. 131, fig. 290.
Area I, Floor IV-III, Room 42 (LC IIC-IIIA1)	Kylikes FS 258	Mountjoy 2018, 583 no. 163, fig. 291; 585 nos 180-2, fig. 292.
Area I, Floor IIIA-III	Kylix FS 258	Mountjoy 2018, 611 no. 286, fig. 303.
Area II, Floor IV	Kylix FS 274	Mountjoy 2018, 636 no. 383, fig. 317.
	Chalices FS 278	Mountjoy 2018, 636 nos 384-6, 396 fig. 317 (LH IIIB2).
	Cups FS 220	Mountjoy 2018, 636 nos 394-5, fig. 317.
Area II, Floor IV-IIIA (LC IIC-IIIA1)	Chalice FS 278	Mountjoy 2018, 639 no. 414, fig. 319.
Temple 2. Floor IV-IIIA	Kylix FS 258/chalice FS 278	Mountjoy 2018, 639 no. 415, fig. 319.
Area II, Courtyard C Bedrock-Floor IIIA	Cup FS 220	Mountjoy 2018, 645 no. 457, fig. 321.
Area II, Floor IIIA	Mug FS 225	Mountjoy 2018, 650 no. 474, fig. 324.
	Mug FS 226?	Mountjoy 2018, 650 no. 475, fig. 324.

Provenance	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Kition *Bamboula*	Kylikes FS 274	Yon, Caubet 1985, 104 nos 225-33, figs 49-50.
	F1.2	
Area I, Floor IV	Shallow bowls FS 296	Mountjoy 2018, 561 no. 3, fig. 184; 563 no. 29, fig. 284; 565 no. 35, fig. 285; 565 no. 42, fig. 285; 567 nos 51-2 fig. 286.
Area I, Floor IV-III (LC IIC-LC IIIA1)	Deep bowl FS 284	Mountjoy 2018, 583 no. 164, fig. 291.
Area I, Floor IV	Shallow bowls FS 296	Mountjoy 2018, 43, 573 nos 68-9, fig. 287; 581: nos 133-5, 152; 581 no. 152, fig. 290; 583 no. 165, fig. 291; 585 nos 183-7, fig. 292.
Area I, Well 12	Pedestal bowl FS 309	Mountjoy 2018, 567 no. 58, fig. 286; 585 no. 187, fig. 292?
Area I, Floor III (LC IIIA1)	Deep bowl FS 284	Mountjoy 2018, 587 no. 208, fig. 293.
Area II, Temple 2, Floor IV	Shallow bowl FS 296	Mountjoy 2018, 614 no. 307, fig. 305.
	Bowl FS 210	Mountjoy 2018, 636 no. 393, fig. 317.
	Shallow bowls FS 296	Mountjoy 2018, 636 nos 397-8, fig. 317 (LH IIIB2).
	Stemmed bowl FS 305	Mountjoy 2018, 636 no. 399, fig. 317.
Area II, Temple 2, Floor IV-IIIA (LC IIC-LC IIIA1)	Shallow bowl FS 295	Mountjoy 2018, 639 no. 416, fig. 319.
	Shallow bowls FS 296	Mountjoy 2018, 639 no. 417, fig. 319; 641 no. 430, fig. 320.
Area II, Bedrock-Floor IIIA	Shallow bowls FS 296	Mountjoy 2018, 643 nos 452-3, fig. 321 (LH IIIB2).
	Shallow bowl FS 296	Mountjoy 2018, 654 no. 491, fig. 326.
Kition *Bamboula*	Shallow bowls FS 296	Yon, Caubet 1985, 104-5 no. 234 figs 49-50, 106-7 nos 239-43, figs 51-3 nos 239-44, 246-7.
Kition *Bamboula*	Pedestal bowls FS 309	Yon, Caubet 1985, 105-6 nos 235-8, fig. 49-51.
	F2.1	
Area I, Floor IV	Piriform jar FS 48	Mountjoy 2018, 561 no. 12, fig. 284.
Area I, Floor IV-III (LC IIC-LC IIIA1)	Alabastron FS 94	Mountjoy 2018, 572 no. 65, fig. 287.
	Piriform jar FS 48	Mountjoy 2018, 585 no. 175, fig. 292.

Provenance	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Area I, Floor IIIA-III	Piriform jar FS 48	Mountjoy 2018, 609 no. 285, fig. 303.
Kition *Bamboula*	Piriform jar FS 48?	Yon, Caubet 1985, 131 no. 279, fig. 60, 63.
	F2.2	
Area I, Floor IV	Stirrup jar FS 182	Mountjoy 2018, 561 no. 14, fig. 284.
	Stirrup jars FS 180	Mountjoy 2018, 563, 565 nos 28, 40, fig. 285.
	Stirrup jar FS 166	Mountjoy 2018, 565 no. 48, fig. 286.
Area I, Floor IV-III (LC IIC-LC IIIA1)	Stirrup jar FS 180	Mountjoy 2018, 579 no. 129, fig. 290.
Area II, Floor IV	Stirrup jar FS 180	Mountjoy 2018, 636 no. 381, fig. 317.
	Stirrup jar FS 171/173	Mountjoy 2018, 636 no. 391, fig. 317.
	Stirrup jar FS 182	Mountjoy 2018, 636 no. 392, fig. 317.
Area II, Floor IV-IIIA (LC IIC-LC IIIA1)	Stirrup jar	Mountjoy 2018, 639 no. 412, fig. 319.
	Stirrup jar FS 173?	Mountjoy 2018, 639 no. 413, fig. 319.
Area II, Room 127, Floor IV-IIIA	Stirrup jar FS 171/173	Mountjoy 2018, 641 no. 429, fig. 320.
Area II Bedrock-Floor IIIA	Stirrup jar FS 180	Mountjoy 2018, 643 no. 451, fig. 321.
Kition *Bamboula*	Stirrup jar FS 180	Yon, Caubet 1985, 139 nos 313-14, figs 69-70.
	Stirrup jars FS 171?	Yon, Caubet 1985, 139 nos 315, 316 (?), 317, figs 69, 81, 384.
	F3	
Area I, Floor IV	Piriform jars FS 36	Mountjoy 2018, 561 nos 1, 11, fig. 284; 636 no. 388, fig. 317?
	Jug/hydria FS 105/128	Mountjoy 2018, 563 no. 27 fig. 285.
	Piriform jar FS 36/ amphoroid krater	Mountjoy 2018, 565 no. 45 fig. 286.
Area I, Floor IV-III (LC IIC-LC IIIA1)	Piriform jars FS 36	Mountjoy 2018, 572 no. 64, fig. 287; 575 no. 89, fig. 288; 577 nos 108-9, fig. 289; 583 no. 160, fig. 291; 585 nos 172-4, fig. 292.
	Piriform jar FS 35/36	Mountjoy 2018, 581 no. 150, fig. 290.
	Jug/Hydria FS 106/128	Mountjoy 2018, 583 no. 162, fig. 291.
Area I, Floor IIIA (LC IIIA1)	Piriform jar FS 36?	Mountjoy 2018, 609 no. 280, fig. 302.
Area I, Floor IIIA-III	Piriform jar FS 36	Mountjoy 2018, 652-4 no. 487, fig. 326.

Provenance	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Kition *Bamboula*	LH IIIB Piriform jars FS 36	Yon, Caubet 1985, 130-3 nos 280-7, 290-6 figs 62-4, 81, 84.
	F4	
Area I, Floor IV-III (LC IIC-LC IIIA1)	Rhyton FS 199	Mountjoy 2018, 579 no. 130, fig. 290.
Area II, Temple 2, Floor IV	Rhyton FS 199	Mountjoy 2018, 636 no. 382, fig. 317.
Area II, Bedrock-Floor IIIA (LC IIIA1)	Rhyton FS 199	Mountjoy 2018, 645 no. 456, fig. 321.
Kition *Bamboula*	Rhyton or askos	Yon, Caubet 1985, 142 no. 338, figs 71-2.

Like the Mycenaean pottery from Kition tombs dating to Interaction Period 3, most of LH IIIB pottery from Tombs 4+5 and 9 is 'Fine Tableware' (category F1). Within this functional category, drinking/eating bowls of sub-category F1.2, especially shallow bowls FS 296, are predominant, while jugs of various shapes are unusually more common than kraters and cups **[tab. 6.8]**.[33] Very few LH IIIB vessels for precious commodities of category F2 have been found.

A detailed synopsis of excavations, architecture and finds from various areas under the modern town of Larnaca has recently been published by Mountjoy (2018, 555-681). Floor IV, dating to LC IIC, is of particular interest in this study, while floors of later date include Floor IIIA dating to LC IIIA1, Floor III to LC IIIA2, and Floors II and I dating respectively to LC IIIB and CG I. Therefore, most Mycenaean imports of Interaction Period 4 from settlement areas come from Floors IV and IV-III that dated to LC IIC and LC IIC-LC IIIA1, respectively. A few Aegean examples which were found in later layers clearly are residual.[34] Van Wijngaarden (2002, 184) stated that it is unclear which functional types among "dinner and storage vessels" predominate in the settlement layers at Kition, and, concerning finds from Area I, Antoniadou (2003, 107) noted that "it is clear that the pottery recording system is problematic and confusing". However, when we only consider Mycenaean imports from the above-mentioned Floors

33 However, Karageorghis (1974, 58) noted that in Tomb 9 there was "an extraordinary high percentage of LH IIIB kylikes (twelve out of 63 LH IIIB vases)". They included three examples with pictorial decoration and two undecorated items.

34 Note for example that many (116) LH IIIB vessels not published in detail were found in Area I, Floor IV-IIIA: Mountjoy 2018, 567-72, tab. 57.

IV and IV-III, table 6.8 shows a marked prevalence of tableware (category F1) over closed vessels for precious commodities (category F2) both in Area I and Area II, while the discovery of several storage vessels of category F3 should also be noted in Area I. Within the components of drinking sets, kraters FS 9, FS 55, FS 281, and FS 282 are rather common in Floors IV and IV-III deposits, indicating that they were still regarded as prestige objects even in settlement layers. They also appear to have been available to many people, since their counts exceed the pouring and drinking vessels of sub-categories F1.b and F1.c (especially juglets FS 114, jugs FS 116, kylikes FS 258 and FS 274, mugs 225/226 and a few cups FS 220). The frequency of drinking/eating vessels of sub-category F1.2, such as shallow bowls FS 296, matches all the other contemporary settlement assemblages, while deep bowls FS 284 as well as other shapes related to the same sub-category, such as stemmed bowls FS 305, pedestal bowls FS 309 and FS 310, are comparatively few. Piriform jars FS 36 markedly predominate storage vessels of category F3, while the number of vessels for precious commodities of category F2 such as alabastra FS 94, piriform jars FS 48 and stirrup jars FS 166, FS 171/173, FS 180, FS 182 is limited as is expected in settlement layers and is paralleled by funerary evidence. Finally, the discovery of some rhyta FS 199 from settlement contexts at Areas I, II and *Bamboula* should also be noted as they were associated with ritual activities.

6.4.2.2 A Review of Pottery of Interaction Period 4 from Other Cypriot Sites

In addition to the First Tier centers considered in detail above, LH IIIB ceramic imports have been found in many other sites where the Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 4 generally makes up the minority of LC IIC finds, while locally produced pottery, including the Aegean-type vessels discussed site by site by A. Georgiou in § 6.4.3, is by far the most noticeable component of Interaction Period 4 ceramic assemblages. This is particularly apparent at Pyla *Kokkinokremos*. An overview of the pottery found at this site up until the publication of Karageorghis and Kanta's 2014 volume has been recently published by Mountjoy (2018, 541-53 with refs), although in that work she was not able to publish a detailed treatment of architectural and stratigraphical data due to the too late publication of 2010-11 excavations (541). Moreover, additional information on the ongoing excavations can be found in the publications by Bretschneider,

Driessen and Kanta;[35] while the detailed publication of many Aegean imports, occasionally mentioned in various preliminary reports, is still in progress. As discussed in § 6.1, in the light of the presence of LH IIIC Early 1 pottery at the site, Mountjoy regarded the pottery assemblage from this site as "typical of the CypIIIC Early 1 phase of late LC IIC, that is LC IIC Final, and possibly, of very early LC IIIA" (Mountjoy 2018, 543); in fact, although a large amount of the ceramic finds consists of local pottery, including many Aegean-type vessels, the discovery of some deep bowls FS 284/285 dating to LH IIIC Early 1 pottery, demonstrates that

> the site existed in the CypIIIC Early 1 phase of LC IIC, after the LH IIIB destructions on the Greek mainland, when LH IIIC Early pottery had already begun to be produced. (2018, 543)

According to Bretschneider, Driessen and Kanta (2021a, 616-17), the site was abandoned at the very end of LC IIC, which should therefore confirm that LC IIC ended in a period contemporaneous of the LH IIIC Early 1 period.

Table 6.9 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 from Pyla *Kokkinokremos*

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Pyla *Kokkinokremos*	Kraters FS 281/282	Karageorghis, Demas 1984, pls XXXIII: 12 (See Mountjoy 2018, 543 no. 1, fig. 276, local production?); Karageorghis, Demas XXXV.1953/V-21/25 (= Mountjoy 2018, 543: 2, fig. 276: 2); Caloi 2017, 113, PK 14172, fig. 87; Bretschneider et al. 2017b, fig. 9; Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 259-60, fig. 6.3.8, PK 19-276.
	Kraters FS 55	Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, 127 no. 76, 163-5, Colour Plates pl. I, pl. I; 135 no. 118, pl. XXII; Caloi 2017, 109, PK 15 422, figs 84-6; Bretschneider et al. 2021a, 624, PK 15442, fig. 13; Bretschneider et al. 2023, 3-4, figs 1, 4; Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 260, PK 16-294, fig. 63: 11.
	F1.1b	
Pyla *Kokkinokremos*	LH IIIB spouted jug?	Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, 135 no. 119.

35 Especially 2015; 2017a; 2021a; Kostopoulou, 2021; Kostopoulou, Jung 2023; Kostopoulou, forthcoming; also see Georgiou's discussion on Aegean-type pottery below, § 6.4.3).

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1c	
Pyla *Kokkinokremos*	Cup FS 220 Kylix FS 258 Kylix FS 267 (imported or local)	Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, 124 no. 12, pl. VI: 12. Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 358-9, PK 19-236, fig. 6.3.7. Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 270, PK 18-190, fig. 6.3.20.
	F1.2	
Pyla *Kokkinokremos*	Shallow bowl FS 296 Imported? Carinated bowl FS 295 Pedestal bowls FS 310 Bowls	Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, 126 no. 56, pl. VI: 56; Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 260, PK-19-255, fig. 6.3.9. Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 271, PK17-42-1402, fig. 6.3.21. Karageorghis, Demas 1984, pl. XXXV: 74 (= Mountjoy 2018, 545 no. 5, fig. 276); Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 255, PK 19-268, fig. 6.3.6. Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, 132-3, Diagnostic Sherds nos 1, 37?
	F2.1	
Pyla *Kokkinokremos*	Piriform jar FS 48 Alabastron FS 94	Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, 127 no. 70, 141, pl. VI: 70. Caloi 2017, 102, PK14 176, fig. 77.
	F2.2	
Pyla *Kokkinokremos*	Stirrup jar FS 182 Stirrup jar FS 171/173	Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, 125 no. 27, 141, pl. VI: 27. Caloi 2017, 102, PK14 178, fig. 76.
	F4	
Pyla *Kokkinokremos*	Pictorial Rhyton	Bretschneider et al. 2017, 47 fig. 10.

Among the ceramic finds from the site it is also worth noting some LH IIIB imports (Mountjoy 2018, 543). They are primarily 'Fine Tableware' of category F1, including a comparatively noticeable number of kraters FS 55 and FS 281, as also noted by Van Wijngaarden (2012, 185), in addition to some cups, kylikes, a jug, and bowls of various shapes. On the other hand an alabastron, a piriform jar and two stirrup jars may be classified as 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' of category F2. It is also worth mentioning a LH IIIB (?) rhyton with pictorial decoration (Bretschneider et al. 2017, 47).

Turning to other sites, table 6.10 contains a catalog arranged according to functional categories of select LH IIIB imported vessels from the sites that contain minimal quantities of Mycenaean pottery dating to this period. Some of these sites deserve specific comments.[36]

36 In addition to the sites discussed in this chapter, LH IIIB pottery has been reported from some other sites, but no further details are available: cf. for example, Toti 1994, 472 nos 14 (Ayios Thyrsos *Vikla*), 15 (Dhavlos *Pyrgos*).

Table 6.10 Select Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 from other LC IIC sites

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
	F1.1a	
Apliki *Karamallos*	Krater FS 9	Mountjoy 2018, 897 no. 16, fig. 445.
Aradhippou	Krater FS 281 Krater FS 9 Krater FS 55	Åström 1972, 369, 372, Type 281: w, s5. Åström 1972, 292, Type 9: b. Åström 1972, 315, Type 55: j.
Aredhiou *Vouppes*	Krater	Steel 2010a, 139, fig. 5.1; 2021a, 108, fig. 9: 3.
Arpera	Krater FS 281	Åström 1972, 369, FS 281: x.
Ayios Sozomenos *Ambelia and Glyka Vrysi*	Krater FS 281	Åström 1972, 372, Type 281: v5 e v5 *bis*.
Dhenia *Mali*	Krater FS 281	Åström 1972, 372, Type 281: w5.
Dhikomo *Onisia*	Krater FS 281	Åström 1972, 373, Type 281: x5.
Katydhata	Krater FS 281	Åström 1972, 373, Type 281: d6.
Kazaphani *Ayios Andronikos*	Krater FS 281	Åström 1972, 373, Type 281: e6.
Klavdhia	Krater FS 55 Kraters FS 281	Åström 1972, 315, 316, Type 55: h, p. Åström 1972, 369, 373, FS 281: y, z, a2, b2, h6.
Kyrenia *Mylopetres*	Kraters FS 281	Åström 1972, 373, Type 281: n6, o6.
Larnaca	Krater FS 55	Åström 1972, 315 Type 55: g.
Maroni	Kraters FS 281 Krater FS 55	Åström 1972, 373, Type 281: s6, t6, u6. Åström 1972, 316, Type 55: q, with refs (Tomb 18).
Morphou *Ambelia*	Kraters FS 281	Åström 1972, 372, Type 281: u5, v6.
Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*	LH IIIB krater	Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 150, P 667.
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	Kraters FS 281 Kraters?	Åström 1972, 373, Type 281: w6, x6, y6. Mountjoy 2018, 916.
Nicosia *Bairaktar*	Krater FS 281	Åström 1972, 373, Type 281: z6.
Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*	Krater FS 9 Krater FS 55 Krater FS 281	Åström 1972, 292, Type 9: a. Åström 1972, 315, Type 55: f. Åström 1972, 372, Type 281: t5.
Pyla *Verghi*	Kraters FS 281	Åström 1972, 374, Type 281: a7-g7.
Sinda	Kraters FS 281	Åström 1972, 374, Type 281: h7.
	F1.1b	
Apliki *Karamallos*	Jug FS 110/116 Jugs FS 118	Mountjoy 2018, 900 no. 31, fig. 337. Åström 1972, 329, Type 118: d-h (including a White Painted Wheel-made III example).
Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukkouninnas*, Stratum III	LH IIIB2 Jug FS 139 'Miniature' jugs FS 114	Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, 49 fig. 14: 14, pl. 16: 3; Mountjoy 2018, 38, 518 fig. 8: 1, 518, 522 no. 1, fig. 264: 1. Mountjoy 2018, 518, with refs.
Dekhelia *Steno*	Jug FS 116 Jug FS 118	Åström 1972, 329, Type 116: j*. Åström 1972, 330, Type 118: m (possibly White Painted Wheelmade III).

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Dromolaxia	Jug FS 136	Åström 1972, 331, Type 136: a.
Kafkallia (Dhali)	Juglet and jug FS 116	Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 11 no. 22, 12 no. 40.
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	Jugs FS 118	Åström 1972, 329, Type 118: i, k.
Palekythro	Side spouted jugs FS 155	Åström 1972, 334, Type 155: d* (Tomb 2).
	F1.1c	
Alassa *Pano Mandilaris*	Cup FS 219	Hadjisavvas 2017, 85: T2-10, figs 3.14, 3.16 (Tomb 2).
Alassa *Paliotaverna*	Shallow cup FS 220	Hadjisavvas 2017, 229 no. PT 292; Jung 2022, 304 fn. 268.
Apliki *Karamallos*	Kylix FS 267	Åström 1972, 366, Type 267: a.
Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukkouninnas*	Kylix FS 267 Shallow cups FS 220	Åström 1972, 366, Type 267: b. Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, 46 fig. 12: 1-2, pl. 14: 1.
Ayia Irini	Kylix FS 258	Åström 1972, 365, Type 258: h.
Kaimakli Beuyuk *Evretadhes*	Cup FS 208 Kylix FS 258	Åström 1972,355, Type 208: a. Åström 1972, 365, Type 258: i (possibly White Painted Weelmade III)
Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*	Shallow cups FS 220	Mountjoy 2018, 766 nos 8-9, fig. 377: 8, 9.
Maa *Palaeokastro*	Kylix FS 267	Jung 2011a, 83, fig. 7: 8.
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	Kylix	Mountjoy 2018, 916.
Palekithro	Cup FS 208	Åström 1972,355, Type 208: d (Tomb 1).
Pyla *Verghi*	Kylix FS 274	Åström 1972, 366, Type 274: b; Mountjoy 2018, 43, 549-53 no. 18, fig. 281.
Sinda	Kylix FS 259	Åström 1972, 366, Type 259: a.
	F1.2	
Akhera *Paradhisin*	Pedestal bowl FS 310	Åström 1972, 381, Type 310: g (Tomb 2).
Alassa *Paliotaverna*	Shallow bowl FS 296 Bowl FS 210	Hadjisavvas 2017, 198 no. PT 84; Jung 2022, 305 fig. 30: 4. Hadjisavvas 2017, 198 no. PT 88; Jung 2022, 305 fig. 30: 5.
Apliki *Karamallos*	Deep bowls FS 284 Shallow bowls FS 296	Åström 1972, 376, Type 284: q-s. Åström 1972, 379, Type 296: f2 +; Mountjoy 2018, 43, 895 nos 11, 13, fig. 445; 897-8 nos 21, 25, figs 13, 446; 905 no. 53, figs 13: 53, 449.
Aradhippou	Stemmed krater FS 303	Åström 1972, 380, Type 303: a.
Aredhiou *Vouppes*	Shallow bowl FS 292?	Steel, McCartney 2008, 19, 20-1, fig. 13: 2.
Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukkouninnas*, Stratum III	Shallow bowls FS 296	Mountjoy 2018, 43, 45, 522 nos 2-3, figs 15, 264.
Idalion *Ambelleri*	Shallow bowls FS 296	Adelman 1989, 148 no. 38, fig. 11, pl. 11, 160 no. 30; Mountjoy 2018, 43, 529 no. 1, fig. 270: 1.
Kaimakli Beuyuk *Evretadhes*	Bowl FS 206	Åström 1972,355, Type 206: a*.
Klavdhia	Shallow bowls FS 296	Åström 1972, 379, Type 296: w, x, y.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Maa *Palaeokastro*	Deep bowls FS 284 Shallow bowls FS 296	Dikaios1969-71, pl. 239; Åström 1972, 376, Type 284: j 2+. Mountjoy 2018, 867 no. 72; Jung 2011a, 66 with refs.
Maroni	Stemmed bowl FS 309 Shallow bowl FS 296	Åström 1972, 381, Type 309: g (Tomb 23); Mountjoy 2018, 49, 929 no. 3, fig. 461: 3. Åström 1972, 380, Type 296: f3 (CM A 1518), with refs (Tomb 18).
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	Shallow bowls FS 296	Du Plat Taylor 1957, fig. 20: Form 204; Mountjoy 2018, 43, 916.
Nicosia	Deep bowls FS 284	Åström 1972, 376, Type 284: n 2.
Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*	Shallow bowls FS 296	Åström 1972, 379, Type 296: g2, h2.
Pyla *Verghi*	Shallow bowls FS 296	Mountjoy 2018, 549 no. 14, fig. 279.
Sinda	Bowl FS 244 Deep bowls FS 284 Shallow bowls FS 295 Stemmed bowls FS 309	Mountjoy 2018, 461 no. 2, fig. 239: 2. Dikaios 1969-71, 905, pl. 238: 2, 7; Åström 1972, 376, Type 284: p2, q2. Åström 1972, 377, Type 295: a. Åström 1972, 381, Type 309: h, i.
	F2.1	
Akhera *Paradhisin*	Piriform jars	Karageorghis 1965, 113 fig. 31: 7, 25, 32.
Apliki *Karamallos*	Piriform jar FS 48	Mountjoy 2018, 893 no. 2, fig. 445: 2.
Angastina	Piriform jar FS 48	Åström 1972, 305, Type 48: o (Tomb 5).
Dromolaxia *Tripes*	Piriform jar FS 48	Åström 1972, 305, Type 48: l (Tomb 1).
Kafkallia (Dhali)	Alabastron FS 94	Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 10 no. 19.
Idalion *Ambelleri*	Piriform jar FS 48	Adelman 1989, 148-9 no. 40, fig. 11, pl. 11.
Maroni	Piriform jar FS 48	Åström 1972, 305, Type 48: k, CM A 1654 (Tomb 23).
	F2.2	
Akhera *Paradhisin*	Stirrup jars FS 167 Stirrup jars FS 179 Stirrup jars FS 180	Åström 1972, 339, Type 167: i, j (Tomb 3). Åström 1972, 345, Type 179: v-y (Tomb 2). Åström 1972, 347, Type 180: m2 (Tomb 3).
Alassa	Stirrup jar FS 173	Hadjisavvas 2017, 117: T6.4, fig. 3: 42 (Tomb 6); Mountjoy 2018, 777 no. 5, fig. 383: 5.
Angastina	Stirrup jar FS 179 Stirrup jars FS 180	Åström 1972, 345, Type 179: z. (Tomb 5). Åström 1972, 347, Type 180: n2. (Tomb 5).
Apliki *Karamallos*	Flask FS 186 Stirrup jars FS 171/173 Stirrup jar FS 167	Åström 1972, 349, Type 186: b. Mountjoy 2018, 893 nos 5, 6 (?), fig. 445: 5-6; 901 no. 39, fig. 448. Mountjoy 2018, 905 no. 55, fig. 450: 55.
Dekhelia *Steno*	Stirrup jars FS 180	Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: r-t (Tomb 4), u-w (Tomb 3).
Dromolaxia *Tripes*	Stirrup jars FS 182	Åström 1972, 347, Type 182: i (Tomb 7).
Kafkallia (Dhali)	Stirrup jar FS 180 Stirrup jar FS 180/181	Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 9 no. 12, fig. 11, Ill. 9. Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 9 no. 13, fig. 11, Ill. 10; 9-10 no. 14, fig. 11, Ill. 11.
Kaimakli Beuyuk *Evretadhes*	Stirrup jars FS 173 Stirrup jars FS 180	Åström 1972, 343, Type 173: h (Tomb 1A), i (Tomb 4). Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: x (Tomb 1A).
Kalavasos *Mangia* Tomb 5	Stirrup jar FS 173	Todd et al. 1988, 212 no. 7, fig. 7.

Site	Vessels according to functional categories	References
Kalavasos *Mangia* Tomb 6	Stirrup jar FS 179 Flasks FS 192	Todd et al. 1988, 214 no. 44, fig. 7. Todd et al. 1988, 214 nos 45-6, fig. 7.
Kalavasos *Mavrovouni*	Stirrup jar FS 179	Åström 1972, 345, Type 179: m (Tomb 2).
Kato Arodhes	Stirrup jar FS 179	Åström 1972, 345, Type 179: n.
Klavdhia	Stirrup jars FS 167 Stirrup jar FS 172	Åström 1972, 338, Type 167: d, C 514 (Tomb 19). Åström 1972, 342, Type 172: c* (?).
Lapithos *Ayia Anastasia* Tomb 1	Stirrup jar FS 173 Stirrup jars FS 179 Stirrup jars FS 180 Stirrup jars FS 182	Åström 1972, 343, Type 173: j, k. Åström 1972, 345, Type 179: o, q. Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: y, z. Åström 1972, 347, Type 182: j-m.
Maa *Palaeokastro*	LH IIIB (?) Flask FS 188	Jung 2011a, 66, with refs.
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	Stirrup jars FS 182	Åström 1972, 347, Type 182: n; Mountjoy 2018, 916.
Myrtou *Stephania*	Stirrup jar FS 173	Åström 1972, 343, Type 173: l (Tomb 4A).
Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*?	Stirrup jar FS 178	Åström 1972, 344, Type 178: i.
Politiko *Lambertis*	Stirrup jar FS 173	Åström 1972, 343, Type 173: k *bis* (Tomb VI).
Pyla *Verghi*	Stirrup jars FS 180	Åström 1972, 346, Type 180: a2, b2.
Sinda	Stirrup jar FS 173 Stirrup jar FS 174	Åström 1972, Type 173: k *ter*. Mountjoy 2018, 461 no. 3, fig. 239.
	F3	
Akhera *Paradhisin*	Piriform jars FS 36	Åström 1972, 295, Type 36: a 2 (Tomb 1).
Apliki *Karamallos*	Piriform jars FS 35/36	Åström 1972, 295, Type 36: y; Mountjoy 2018, 33, 893 no. 1, fig. 445: 1; 905 no. 53, fig. 449.
Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukkouninnas*	Stirrup jar FS 164	Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, fig. 14.4, pl. 15; Mountjoy 2018, 518 with refs.
Lapithos *Ayia Anastasia*	Piriform jars FS 36	Åström 1972, 295, Type 36: n2 (Tomb 502).
Maa *Palaeokastro*	Piriform jars FS 36	Mountjoy 2018, 33-4; early LC IIIA examples with matt paint: 855 no. 3, fig. 425; 859 no. 33, fig. 428; 874 no. 107, fig. 435.
Maroni	Piriform jars FS 36	Åström 1972, 295, Type 36: e 2 (Tomb 2), f2 (C 683), with refs; Mountjoy 2018, 929 no. 1, fig. 461: 1 (?).
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	Piriform jars FS 36?	Mountjoy 2018, 916.
Pyla *Verghi*	Piriform jars FS 36 Piriform Jar FS 40	Åström 1972, 295, Type 36: m2 (Tomb 1). Åström 1972, 296 Type 40: k.
	F4	
Maroni	LH IIIB (?) hedgehog rhyton	Koehl 2006, 243: C1, C313 (Tomb 14).
Myrtou *Pigadhes*	Conical rhyton FS 187	Åström 1972, Type 199: h; Koehl 2006, 159 no. 607; Mountjoy 2018, 913-15: P358, 916.
Sinda	Conical rhyton FS 199	Mountjoy 2018, 477 no. 55, fig. 245: 55.

Regarding the northern region of Cyprus, Mountjoy (2018, 910) states that at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* LC IIC pottery consisted mostly of local bowls, although a few vessels published as LH IIIB imports by the excavators (Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 149-50: P 798, P 838, P 673, pls 164, 179), included vessels of category F1 (a krater, a shallow bowl FS 296, and a stemmed bowl FS 309) and some closed shapes of sub-category F2.2 (probably stirrup jars) which possibly were local examples dating to late LC IIC (Mountjoy 2018, 912).

The predominance of local pottery can also be seen at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (916-21; also 913 for a discussion on contexts), where most vessels identified as LH IIIB imports by Åström (1972) and Catling (1957; cf. Mountjoy 2018, 916 with refs), such as kraters FS 281, jugs FS 118, a kylix, and a certain number of shallow bowls FS 296 attest to a predominance of 'Fine Tableware' of category F1, while some stirrup jars FS 182 (Mountjoy 2018, 916) and possibly a piriform jar FS 36 are representative of other functional categories such as F2.2 ('Containers for Liquid Substances') and F3 ('Storage Vessels'). Finally, the discovery of a Mycenaean conical rhyton FS 187 is not surprising due to the religious significance of the site.

At Apliki *Karamallos* various LC IIC floors have been distinguished (Mountjoy 2018, 885-92), but a substantial proportion of fine pottery from the site was of local production (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 170-1). LH IIIB imports occurred especially in Area A Room 1 (Mountjoy 2018, 893-7 nos 1-2, 5, 11, 13, 16, fig. 445, 897-8 no. 21, fig. 446, 901 no. 39, fig. 448, 905 no. 55, fig. 450). As already noted by Van Wijngaarden (2002, 173, tab. 12.4), the preferred shapes at this site were dinner vessels including a krater FS 9, some LH IIIB narrow-necked jugs FS 110/116 and FS 118, some deep bowls identified as FS 284 by Åström, and several shallow bowls FS 296. There also were some vessels of sub-category F2 (a piriform jar FS 48, a flask FS 186 and stirrup jars FS 171/173 and FS 167) and category F3 (piriform jars FS 36).

At Maa *Paleokastro* the overwhelming amount of pottery from settlement deposits dating to the end of LC IIC (Period I) and LC IIIA (Period II) is of local production (Mountjoy 2018, 853-83) while only small quantities of Mycenaean imports were found in levels attributed to the earlier occupational phase. The imported Mycenaean 'Fine Tableware' of Interaction Period 4 listed in table 6.10 only included a kylix FS 267 of category F1.1c, some deep bowls FS 284 and some shallow bowl FS 296 of category F1.2, while some Levanto-Helladic piriform jars FS 36 of category F3 date to LC IIIA (34, 855, 859, 874 nos 3-4, 33, 107, figs 4, 425, 428, 435). The same overwhelming majority of local pottery is apparent in the typical LC IIC-IIIA assemblage at Alassa (773-4), while a stirrup jar FS 173 from Tomb 6 and a shallow cup FS 220 are the only vessels identified as LH IIIB imports, possibly in addition to a sherd from closed shape with pictorial decoration (Hadjisavvas 2017, 229 no. PT 270; Jung 2022, 304).

Most of the pottery from Maroni dates to LH IIIA2, but the features of LH IIIB pottery show that there is no significant change in the choice of functional categories of Mycenaean vessels imported to the site in Interaction Period 4. In fact, not only do vessels of category F1 markedly prevail over examples of the other categories, but, like in Interaction Period 3, kraters FS 281 and FS 55 continue to be well represented, maintaining clear connotations as status symbols for local élite groups. The other shapes of category F1 were stemmed bowls FS 309 and shallow bowls FS 296, while some piriform jars FS 36 were representative of category F3 ('Storage Vessels'). Significantly, only one piriform jar FS 48 appeared among the shapes for precious commodities of category F2.

At inland sites there is a general predominance of local vessels, but the diffusion of LH IIIB imports appears to be to a certain extent uneven **[tab. 6.10]**. Among the Levanto-Helladic vessels from Stratum III at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukkouninnas*, in particular Mountjoy (2018, 518, 522 nos 1-3, fig. 264) discusses three LH IIIB imports (a LH IIIB2 jug FS 139 with pictorial decoration and two bowls FS 296), two of which NAA assigned to the Mycenae-Berbati group (MY-BE), in addition to a group that also includes a large jug and some 'miniature' votive juglets FS 114 recovered from the heaps of votive vessels (Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, fig. 14: 8; pl. 16: 1; for a discussion cf. Mountjoy 2018, 518 with refs). A linear Mycenaean transport stirrup jar FS 164 (Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, 49 fig. 14: 4, pl. 15: 1, 2; Mountjoy 2018, 518 with refs for NAA analysis) as well as two linear cups FS 220, now missing from the collected finds, have been considered LH IIIB imports by Dothan and Ben-Tor (1983, 46 fig. 12: 1-2, pl. 14: 1). It is therefore worth emphasizing that all these Mycenaean vessels as well as a kylix FS 267 cataloged by Åström may be assigned to category F1.

Nearly all the LC IIC fine vessels reviewed by Mountjoy (2018, 453-14) from Sinda Periods I and II Early show matt paint decoration and can be considered of local production, although some vessels with lustrous paint where also produced on Cyprus in the latest phase of LC IIC and LC IIIA (488, *sub* narrow-necked jug no. 127 with refs, 766). Some sherds of imported LH IIIB vessels however were found in Tomb 1 and Mycenaean sherds are also stored in Cyprus Museum (455, 464). In addition to a bowl FS 244 discussed by Mountjoy (461), Åström cataloged some pottery of this period, which included mostly vessels of category F1 (a krater FS 281, a kylix FS 259, some deep bowls FS 284, shallow bowls FS 295, and stemmed bowls FS 309) and a few examples of category F2, which was represented by

an alabastron FS 94, two stirrup jars FS 173 and FS 174.[37] It is also worth mentioning a conical rhyton FS 199.

Most of the vessels discussed by Mountjoy (2018, 525-39) from Idalion *Ambelleri* are of local production, but some vessels from Period 1, such as a stirrup jar published by Ålin, a three-handled jar FS 48, and a shallow bowl FS 296 with a Mycenae-Berbati chemical profile from T. I. 76 (also containing other LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB vessels) were identified as LH IIIB imports (527, 529 with refs). Moreover, the group of unstratified vessels from Tomb G at Dhali *Kafkallia* is particularly interesting because, in addition to local pottery, it consisted of at least 26 LH IIIA2 and IIIB examples "comprising piriform jars, stirrup jars, flasks, cups and jugs, the stirrup jars being particularly popular" (531 with refs). Concerning this pottery, Overbeck and Swiny (1972, 20) regarded the complete absence of kraters as "surprising" while observed that there were 13 stirrup jars out of overall Mycenaean vessels. According to the excavators, the large quantity of Mycenaean imports indicates that it was a wealthy LC IIC settlement that became part of the wider trade network via the port of Kition (also cf. Keswani 2004, 135). Elsewhere the presence of LH IIIB ceramic imports seems more sporadic. This is the case of the few imported examples from Aredhiou *Vouppes* (see discussion in section 5.4.1.6) and Analiondas *Palioklichia* (Webb, Frankel 1994, 9), in addition to the additional vessels from other sites reviewed in table 6.10. However, the Aegean-type vessels are rather common in some tombs and settlements at inland sites (Keswani 2004, 134-6). In conclusion, the concise statement of Van Wijngaarden (2002, 186) in reference to all LBA periods is perfectly applicable to Interaction Period 4: "the differences in the Mycenaean repertoires between smaller towns and urban centers primarily concerns amounts". It should also be pointed out that table 6.10 shows a marked preponderance of Interaction Period 4 vessels of functional category F1 over those of categories F2-F4.

37 Referring to Åström's catalog, Van Wijngaarden (2002, 185) mentions "a wide variety of Mycenaean dinner and storage vessels as coming from this site".

6.4.2.3 A Review of Interaction Period 4 Pottery of Unknown Provenance from Cypriot Contexts

In his catalog of Mycenaean pottery from Cyprus, Åström (1972) listed shape by shape many vessels of unknown provenance stored in public museums and private collections. Since they generally are in good conditions it is likely that most of them have been found inside tombs. In addition to other examples reported in later publications, they are listed here in table 6.11 as a supplement to the data from Cypriot contexts discussed above in sections 6.4.2.1 and 6.4.2.2.

Table 6.11 Select Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 4 from Cyprus (unknown provenance)

Code of functional categories	Shape	References
F1.1a	Amphoroid kraters FS 55 Kraters FS 281	Åström 1972, 315-16, Type 55: i, k, r, s, t, u; v (said to be from Cyprus); Webb 2001, 68 no. 151. Åström 1972, 368-74, FS 281: r, s, u, w2 (C 419); 371, b3; 374, i7, j7, k7, l7, m7, n7, o7, p7, q7, r7, s7, t7*-v7; Anson, Huband 2000, 25 no. 62.
F1.1b	Jug FS 105 Jug FS 116 Jug FS 118	Åström 1972, 326, Type 105: a. Åström 1972, 329, Type 116: k. Åström 1972, 329, Type 118: l.
F1.1c	Mug FS 228 Cup FS 242 Chalice FS 278 Feeding bottle FS 161	Åström 1972, 362, Type 228: c. Åström 1972, 363, Type 242: d. Åström 1972, 366, Type 278: a; Tsipopoulou 1998, 27-8 no. 39. Åström 1972, 335, Type 161: b.
F1.2	Deep bowls FS 284 Shallow bowls FS 296 Stemmed bowl FS 309	Åström 1972, 376, Type 284: r2+, s 2; Lubsen-Admiraal 2003, pl. XLI no. 361 (Lubsen-Admiraal 2004, 139 no. 286). Åström 1972, 380, Type 296: h3, i3, k3; l3; Karageorghis, Darrel 1974, 21 nos 39-43. Åström 1972, 381, Type 309: j.
F2.1	Piriform jars FS 48 Two-handled alabastron FS 85	Åström 1972, 304, Type 48: e, j. Lubsen-Admiraal 2003, pl. XLI no. 358.

Code of functional categories	Shape	References
F2.2	Stirrup jar FS 167	Åström 1972, 339, Type 167: h?, k.
	Stirrup jars FS 172	Åström 1972, 343, Type 172: e, f; Fortin 1996, 28-9: 103.
	Stirrup jars FS 173	Åström 1972, 343, Type 173: l *bis*, m*, m *bis*, m *ter**?, n, n *bis*; o?; Symons 1984, 9 no. 20 (A.85); Webb 2001, 67 no. 149.
	Stirrup jar FS 179	Åström 1972, 345, Type 179: p, q, r, s, t, u, b2*, l2; c2*; Başak et al. 2005, 26 no. 16, 45 no. 124.
	Stirrup jar FS 180	Åström 1972, 346-7, Type 180: c2, d2; e2, f2, g2, h2, i2, j2, k2, l, o2-r2, s2, t2; u2, v2, w2; Karageorghis, Darrel 1974, 23 no. 46; Merrillees, Vandenabeele 1990, 32 no. 87 (A 27); Anson, Huband 2000, 23 no. 51.
	Stirrup jar FS 182	Åström 1972, 347-8, type 182: h, o, p, q, r, r *bis*, r *ter*, s, t, u, v, w, x.
	Stirrup jar FS 183	Åström 1972, 348?
	Stirrup jar FS 184	Åström 1972, 348, Type 184: c.
	Flasks FS 186	Åström 1972, 349-50, Type 186: a, d, e, f, g, i*; Karageorghis, Darrel 1974, 23-4 no. 47.
	Flasks FS 192	Lubsen-Admiraal 2003, pl. XLI no. 356 (Lubsen-Admiraal 2004, 237 no. 280); Lubsen-Admiraal 2004, 138 no. 281.
F3	Jars FS 36	Åström 1972, 294, Type 36: k, n*.
	Jars FS 40	Åström 1972, 296, Type 40: f, g, i.
F4	Rhyton FS 199	Åström 1972, 354, Type 199: j.

It is worth underlining that most of these examples of unknown provenance are stirrup jars of various shapes and may therefore be assigned to the functional category F2, contrary to the predominance of 'Fine Tableware' of category F1 above noted in many funerary contexts of Interaction Period 4.

6.4.2.4 Summary of the LH IIIB Pottery Imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 4

Before a comparative discussion of the Mycenaean pottery imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 4, a few relevant factors related to Mycenaean imports in Interaction Period 3 should be recalled. In this book importance has been attributed to the analytical catalog of Mycenaean vessels from Cyprus published in 1972 by Paul Åström. He cataloged not only all the Mycenaean ceramic finds antecedent to that date, including Mycenaean pottery from Enkomi and other First Tier towns, such as Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni, and Kourion, but also incorporated many unpublished examples that he directly scrutinized. However, Åström's catalog exhibits a marked discrepancy between a low number of Mycenaean vessels from settlement contexts in comparison to LBA tombs. This discrepancy is due to the focus of early archaeological excavations on cemeteries, and the complete Mycenaean vessels found in funerary contexts consequently constitute the main body of Åström's catalog. The data processed in figure 5.3 shows that peaks in

the number of Mycenaean imported vessels were reached in LH IIIA2 (ca 34%) and LH IIIA2/IIIB (ca 30%), while the LH IIIB vessels amount to ca 26% of the total cataloged Mycenaean pottery. This implies that in the thirteenth century BC there was a significant cut in the import of Mycenaean pottery. However, as repeatedly noted in chapter 5, although most of the examples of the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB phase are congruent with the LH IIIA2 repertoire, it should also be warned that there is no doubt that several vessels attributed to this indistinct phase were actually imported in the LH IIIB period, that is in Interaction Period 4, but their counts cannot be safely quantified.

We can now address how these data from Åström's catalog relate to the site-by-site evidence for Interaction Period 4 presented above. Although it should be taken in mind that LH IIIB imports generally amount to very low percentages of overall ceramic finds in contrast with a far greater amount of local Cypriot vessels, the updated reviews of Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 site-by-site which integrate the shape-by-shape lists published in 1972 by Åström are relatively consistent with the data processed in figure 5.3. Based on this evidence, Mycenaean imports assigned to Interaction Period 3 from burial and settlement evidence seem to outnumber Mycenaean imports dating to Interaction Period 4. This is particularly apparent in funerary contexts at Enkomi where LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-IIIB pottery markedly outnumber LH IIIB ceramic imports **[tabs 5.15, 6.2]** confirming Steel's general observation of a reduction in the number of Mycenaean imports in the thirteenth century BC (1998, 287). In other funerary contexts such as those excavated at Kouklia, Kourion *Bamboula,* and Kition, the number of Mycenaean imports dating both to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB is instead so low that no clear pattern is discernible or only a few quantitative differences between the imported pottery of the two periods can be noted. However, the reduction of LH IIIB imports also is clear when we compare the amounts of pottery assigned to the two Interaction Periods coming from unknown contexts or from sites producing isolated LH IIIB imports (compare tables 5.12 and 5.13 with tables 6.10 and 6.11).

In this context of a decrease in Mycenaean imported pottery in Interaction Period 4, the development of 'Levanto-Helladic' shapes is particularly interesting. Mountjoy and Mommsen (2015, 470 figs 32-3; 2018, 31-62; also cf. Graziadio 2017, 12-13 with refs) recently analytically separated the group of so-called "imported Aegean Levanto-Helladic shapes" from the so-called "local Cypriot Levanto-Helladic shapes". The repertoire of shapes in the first group includes the large piriform jar FS 36, the jug FS 116, the trefoil mouthed jug FS 139, the bowl FS 207, the cup FS 220, the mug FS 228, the chalice FS 278, and the shallow bowl FS 296, as well as the pedestal bowls FS 309 and FS 310 which are rarely found in Greece and seem to have been made especially for export to Cyprus. It was

also suggested that the large shapes of this category "were perhaps imported as prestige objects to impress" (Mountjoy 2018, 33). Some examples of the first group related to FS 36, FS 116, FS 220 linear, FS 296 linear, FS 309 and FS 310, however, were also produced on Cyprus in LC IIC (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 470; 2018, 33). Yet the examples of the second group distinguished by Mountjoy and Mommsen, that is "local Cypriot Levanto-Helladic shapes", can be assigned to the late thirteenth century BC. This pottery of Cypriot production included cups and bowls of small size that are related to the Mycenaean shapes FS 210, 223, 229, 232, 235, 244 and 247. Concerning Mycenaean imports in the LC IIC Final period more specifically, it should be recalled that in 1991 S. Sherratt only mentioned one or two Argive imported LH IIIB2 Group B skyphoi at Enkomi and at Hala Sultan Tekke, but she also suggested that

> imports from the Mainland, though seriously reduced, may have not ceased entirely towards the end of LH IIIB

and also added that there was

> some indication of a knowledge in Cyprus of the 'Rosette Bowl' type, possibly in both its LH IIIB: 2 and early LH IIIC forms. (1991, 193)

The presence of LH IIIB2 imports in LC IIC Late contexts is now confirmed by recent research. Mountjoy (2018, 31-53) has recently discussed and illustrated several vessels of the Cypriot-oriented ('Levanto-Helladic') Mycenaean production dating to LH IIIB from Cyprus, and it is important to note that they include vessels identified as LH IIIB2 products in Greek mainland terminology, that is late LC IIC.[38]

38 Many 'Levanto-Helladic' LH IIIB vessels (including examples dating to LH IIIB2) have been cataloged and illustrated by Mountjoy (2018, 33-53): several piriform jars FS 36, including LH IIIB2 imports, from Enkomi, Kition, Maroni and Hala Sultan Tekke (33-4, fig. 3); a jug FS 116 from Enkomi British Tomb 66 identified as a LH IIIB2 import by Mountjoy (2018, 37 fig. 7 no. 15, 153 no. 15, fig. 81); some cylindrical jugs with trefoil mouth FS 139 from Athienou (36, 38 fig. 8 no. 51, Athienou no. 1, 522 no. 1, fig. 264), Hala Sultan Tekke (36 with refs), and Kition (36-7, 38 fig. 8 no. 233 which, however, may be a local vessel, cf. 37); some shallow cups linear FS 220 from Enkomi, Swedish Tomb 18, Dikaios Excavations (41, fig. 10 no. 58, 163 no. 58, fig. 86, 173 no. 102, fig. 92, 173 no. 110, fig. 92, 40 no. 86, 169 no. 86, fig. 90?) and Kalavasos (41, fig. 10 no. 8, 41 fig. 10: 11, 766 no. 11, fig. 377, while for nos 9-10 cf. 766, comments) identified as LH IIIB2 imports; a mug FS 228 (41, 756 no. 335, fig. 372); chalices FS 278 from Enkomi (42, fig. 11: Enkomi 774, 304 no. 774, fig. 159) and Kition, Area II (42, fig. 11: Kition nos 384-6, 396, 634, 636 nos 384-6, 396 fig. 317); patterned shallow bowls FS 296 from Enkomi Swedish Tomb 6, Cypriot Tomb 2, and settlement deposits (Mountjoy 2018, 44 fig. 12 nos 25-6; 170 no. 92, fig. 91, 288 no. 675, fig. 152, 215 no. 242, fig. 113, 314-16 nos 835-6, fig. 164), Idalion (44, fig. 12: Idalion 1, 529 no. 1), Hala Sultan Tekke (44, fig. 12 no. 66, 712 no. 66, fig. 349), Pyla *Verghi* (fig. 12: Pyla *Verghi* no. 14, 549 no. 14, fig. 279), Apliki (45, fig. 13, Apliki nos 11, 21, 53, 895 no. 11, fig. 445, 897 no. 21, fig. 446, 905 no. 53,

Moreover, at least some 'Levanto-Helladic' shapes probably remained in use as late as LC IIC Final which correlates with LH IIIC Early 1, a period later than the destructions in the Argolid at the end of LH IIIB2 Late.[39] In this connection, in fact, it is worth mentioning a 'Levanto-Helladic' piriform jar FS 36 of LC IIC Final chronology from Akhera showing a LH IIIC Early Phase 1 motif (Mountjoy 2018, 33-4, 923 no. 1, figs 3, 457), but the discovery of the LH IIIC Early 1 deep bowls in the LC IIC Final contexts at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* also points to the synchronism between the end of the LC IIC period and the earliest phase of LH IIIC in mainland Greece, as noted above (see §§ 6.1, 6.4.2.2). At Hala Sultan Tekke the pottery from CQ1, Stratum 3, where LH IIIB2 shallow bowls FS 296 and deep bowls FS 284 have been found (Bürge, Fischer 2018, 250 fig. 3.32: 1-2, 252, 52 fig. 3.32: 2-4), fits well into the later part of LC IIC and latest Mycenaean imports have been assigned to LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early (255). Finally it should also be underlined that R. Jung (2022, 290-2, fig. 21 nos 1-5, 299-300, fig. 27: 1-2) has recently underlined the discovery of some Mycenaean vessels imported from the Argolid (a small bowl, two shallow bowls FS 295/296, a monochrome stemmed bowl FS 304/305, a large piriform jar FS 35-6 or amphoroid krater FS 54/55 and an alabastron FS 94-5) in Enkomi settlement deposits dating to Phase IIB which has been correlated with the period ranging from LH IIIB developed to LH IIIC Early 1 (301).

Another substantial difference between Interaction Period 3 and Interaction Period 4 is apparent in terms of functional categories of Mycenaean imports. Relevant to the general discussion, in fact, are the changing percentages of the Functional Categories dating from LH IIB-IIIA1 to LH IIIB based on the Mycenaean vessels individually cataloged by Åström **[fig. 5.3]**. As discussed in detail above (see § 5.4.1.3), a preference for the vessels of functional category F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities'), especially piriform jars, stirrup jars, and flasks dating to LH IIIA2, is apparent in some pottery assemblages of Interaction Period 3, but there are some important exceptions such as Enkomi tombs and other contexts of this period, where the vessels of functional category F1 prevailed over those of category F2. Instead, figure 5.3 shows that in Interaction Period 4 there was

fig. 449), linear shallow bowls FS 296 from Cypriot Tomb 10 and Dikaios excavations at Enkomi (46 fig. 14, 173 nos 103, 111, fig. 92, 215 no. 240, fig. 113), Kition (543 no. 219, fig. 295, 636 no. 397, fig. 317, 643 no. 453, fig. 321), Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (43 nos 14, 19, fig. 379), pedestalled bowls FS 309 from British Tomb 66 and Swedish Tomb 18 (153 no. 16, fig. 81, 49, fig. 16, 160 no. 53 fig. 85, import?) and Kalavasos (49 fig. 16, 767-9 no. 21, fig. 379), pedestal bowls FS 310 from British Tomb 66 at Enkomi (53, fig. 19: Enkomi no. 17, 153 no. 17, fig. 81), Kition Tombs 4+5 (53, fig. 19 no. 220, 595 no. 220, fig. 295), Pyla Kokkinokremos 5 (53, fig. 19, 545 no. 5, fig. 276).

39 Jung 2011a, 63; 2022, 299, 301, 308 fig. 32; cf. Jung, Kardamaki 2022, 24-5, tab. 1; Mountjoy 2018, 22, tab. 1, 28, tab. 4; 2020, 196, tab. 18.1; also see here § 6.1.

a quantitative prevalence of 'Fine Tableware' of category F1, i.e. vessels for mixing, drinking and pouring, such as kraters, juglets, cups, and kylikes of sub-categories F1.1a, 1b and 1c, as well as vessels for drinking and eating such as shallow bowls FS 296 of sub-category F1.2. According to Åström's catalog the vessels of functional category F1, 'Fine Tableware' amounted to ca 16% of overall Mycenaean cataloged pottery, with a particularly high frequency of mixing vessels, i.e. kraters FS 9, FS 55, and especially bell kraters FS 281. In fact, in Åström's catalog bell kraters are by far the most common LH IIIB vessels confirming that, generally speaking, they clearly were well appreciated for the Cypriot funerary assemblages, and the development of "Pastoral Style" kraters FS 281/282 on the island confirms this appreciation (for "Pastoral Style" kraters, mainly FS 281/82, also cf. Jung 2015, 250-1 with refs). Other components of drinking sets are less common, such as the various jugs of subcategory F1.1b (FS 110, 116, 118, 136, 139) and the cups, bowls and stemmed bowls of subcategory F1.1c which can be regarded as Mycenaean imported vessels. Shallow bowls of sub-category F1.2 ('Drinking/Eating Vessels') also are rather common. In Åström's catalog, other LH IIIB shapes, such as small piriform jars FS 48, small squat stirrup jars FS 180, conical stirrup jars FS 182 and globular stirrup jars FS 183, can be assigned to functional category F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities'), but their overall contribution to the assemblage amounts to 8%, which is half of the contribution of 'Fine Tableware'. However, some piriform jars FS 40 of category F3 were possibly also used as containers for precious substances, while the large piriform jars FS 36 of this category are relatively common components of the group of "Imported Aegean Levanto-Helladic Shapes" occurring in Interaction Period 4. Most of the updated reviews of finds from LC IIC sites does not modify substantially the pattern characterized by the prevalence of vessels of functional category F1 in Interaction Period 4 which is apparent in Åström's catalog, although a different pattern is shown by table 6.11 where the vessels of unknown provenance stored in public museums and private collections have been cataloged. The list of LH IIIB imports from Enkomi tombs **[tabs 5.15, 6.2]** significantly shows that a certain number of vessels of category F1, kraters, jugs and juglets, and especially shallow bowls of category F1.2, occurred in several tombs, while LH IIIB piriform jars and stirrup jars of categories F2.1 and F2.2 were less common, being virtually limited to only two funerary assemblages among all the tombs selected by Mazzotta (Tombs S18 and S19). At Kouklia this predominance of imported vessels of functional category F1 is marked in Interaction Period 4, and it should also be noted that, within the general category of 'Fine Tableware', vessels of sub-category F1.2 (shallow bowls FS 295/FS 296 and deep bowls FS 284) are more common than the various components of drinking sets. The same is true of the Kourion evidence, since kraters, juglets, cups,

and kylikes of sub-categories F1.1a, b and c, as well as shallow bowls FS 296 of sub-category F1.2, were the most common Mycenaean vessels in burial contexts of Interaction Period 4, while LH IIIA2 piriform jars, stirrup jars, and flasks of functional category F2 were prevalent in the earlier contexts of Interaction Period 3. According to a general evaluation of the LH IIIB ceramic evidence in preliminary accounts of recent excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke, 'Fine Tableware' vessels of category F1 are more common than those related to category F2, although the number of imports in Interaction Period 4 cannot be quantified precisely. At Pyla *Kokkinokremos,* the overwhelming majority of ceramic finds are of local production, but most imports of Interaction Period 4 belong to the category F1, including some kraters FS 55 and FS 281, while fewer examples belong to category F2. However, in Area 173 deposit within Building X, i.e. inside the most important building at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios,* no noticeable difference in number can be noted between LH IIIB open and closed shapes (South 1999, 797), although it was pointed out that at this site cups and bowls occur especially in settlement layers, while alabastra, juglets and flasks are more associated with tombs (798, pl. CLXXIX: A). Nevertheless, according to South, at Kalavasos

> shallow bowls were presumably valued as prestige table ware and pictorial kraters were an essential element in burial ritual for the elite, having been found in all the elite tombs. (799)

Therefore, the only real exception to the general pattern is represented by the Limassol area but, generally speaking, the number of Mycenaean imports recovered in the area is minimal. In this area, only six vessels are LH IIIB imports and they belong to category F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities'), which was proportionately well represented also in Interaction Period 3 when the amount of vessels of the category F1 ('Fine Tableware') was limited. The general pattern in the prevalence of vessels of the category F1 is also confirmed by the review of LH IIIB pottery from Cypriot sites producing more isolated imports **[tab. 6.10]**. The repertoire of this pottery includes many mixing vessels of sub-category F1.1a, especially kraters FS 281, since LH IIIB kraters FS 8 and FS 9 were by far less common, while both pouring and drinking vessels of sub-categories F1.1b and F1.1c are notably fewer.[40] Moreover, 'Drinking/Eat-

40 It is, in fact, significant that Åström 1972, 292 listed only eight kraters FS 8, and three FS 9 from earlier excavations, and only very few additional examples FS 9 are reported by Mountjoy (2018, 561 no. 15, fig. 284: 15, 585 no. 179, fig. 292: 179, 587 no. 205, fig. 293: 205). As far as amphoroid kraters FS 54/55 from Cypriot tombs are regarded, see the examples listed distinctly in the tables included in chapter 6, but it is also worth recalling that bell kraters clearly were well appreciated on Cyprus as the

ing Vessels' (F1.2), especially shallow bowls FS 295 and FS 296, are very common in this functional category. Therefore, there are fewer 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' of Category F2 than vessels of 'Fine Tableware', and it should also be emphasized that the piriform jars FS 48 are not only far fewer than piriform jars FS 44 and FS 45 dating to Interaction Period 3 but are also less common than LH IIIB stirrup jars of various shapes. Regarding the frequency of drinking sets on Cyprus in Interaction Period 4, Sienkiewicz (2022) has recently discussed the composition of Mycenaean drinking sets that were incorporated into pre-existing local drinking practices on Rhodes and Cyprus in the LBA, with special attention given to the practice in some cases of including Mycenaean kraters in the rich funerary contexts of the two islands. He argues that Mycenaean drinking sets not only attest to a development of shared drinking practices in the coastal communities of the two islands beginning in the fourteenth century, but also to in-person encounters and cultural exchanges between wealthy social groups of Rhodian and Cypriot society that were beyond the limits of mere commerce.

To conclude, the differences between the imports to Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 and Interaction Period 4 in terms of amount and functions of imported vessels may be interpreted as the result of a changing pattern in contacts and trade with the Aegean in the second half of the thirteenth century BC. The reduction in the quantity of imported vessels from mainland Greece may be explained by a general change in commercial stability which was connected to the complex situation in the Aegean in this period.[41] However, as pointed out above the turmoil in the Aegean gave rise to a reduction, not a break in import of Mycenaean pottery in late LC IIC. In this context, the reduction in the availability and popularity on Cyprus of Mycenaean containers for precious commodities such as unguents and perfumes likely also was a consequence of Mycenaean instability. In Interaction Period 4 these Mycenaean specialized shapes are notably less common than in Interaction Period 3, and it was probably not by chance that containers with a similar function were sought on Crete in LC IIC. In mainland Greece containers for viscous substances such as piriform jars and alabastra became rarer after the end of LH IIIA1 (Bushnell 2012, 201-2); therefore, few alabastra FS 94 and

development of "Pastoral Style" kraters FS 281/282 on the island shows. This seems to be a clear difference in Cypriot appreciation of Minoan and Mycenaean kraters. On the contrary, in settlement layers such as Level IIB (LH IIIB Developed-LH IIIC Early 1) at Enkomi, the rim count carried out by Jung (2015, 247 fig. 4) shows there were no marked differences in percentage between open kraters (FS 8/9 and FS 281/282) and amphoroid kraters FS 54/55 since both groups amounted to about 6-7%.

41 Jung 2011a, 61 with refs; 2022, 257-8 fn. 8; Jung, Kardamaki 2022, 22; also cf. Knapp 2012b, 36; Mountjoy 2020, 178.

piriform jars FS 48 are found on Cyprus in LC IIC, probably being replaced by Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottles as status indicators from the earlier periods. Nonetheless, according to Steel (1998, 295), Mycenaean 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' of category F2, probably had "a limited appeal" for Cypriot elites, and, since on Cyprus the repertoire of ceramic shapes included a variety of local juglets used for perfumed oils from LC IA onward (Bushnell 2012, 197-8), some Cypriots could have been forced to do without many exotic perfumes, instead rediscovering containers of the Cypriot tradition for the more easily available local perfumed oils. The Mycenaean 'Fine Tableware' of category F1 probably remained more available on the Mycenaean market in Interaction Period 4, and, significantly, kraters continued to be considered precious status indicators at Enkomi and other important coastal sites, although becoming less numerous than in the preceding Interaction Period 3. The persistence of Mycenaean vessels of category F1 ('Fine Tableware') in funerary contexts in contrast to the marked decrease of category F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities') probably also reflects the traditional use of elaborate drinking sets on Cyprus which was a well-established pattern of elite behavior that also integrated Mycenaean imports (Steel 1998, 290-2; 2002, 109-11; also cf. Van Wijngarden 2002, 193). Of the LC IIC settlement deposits, the Mycenaean 'Fine Tableware' found in Building X at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, especially the shallow bowls FS 296, were associated with elite feasting ceremonies, while the evidence from Apliki, Athienou, and Pyla *Kokkinokremos* suggests a "relatively wide dispersal of Mycenaean drinking vessels" in LC IIC is in contrast to the "monopolisation" of Mycenaean 'Fine Tableware' by the elite at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Van Wijngarden 2002, 193-4).

While the locally produced "Cypriot Levanto-Helladic Shapes" have not been listed in the above reviews of Mycenaean imports of Interaction Period 4 to Cyprus, this book does include a comprehensive discussion by Artemis Georgiou of the wheelmade fine vessels produced on Cyprus in LC IIC. After reviewing the wide range of terms coined in the past for this pottery ('Mycenaean IIIC:1b', 'Late Mycenaean IIIB', 'Decorated Late Cypriot III', 'Submycenaean', 'Quasi-Mycenaean Linear' ware, 'Local Mycenaean IIIC:1b', 'Painted Submycenaean ware', in addition of course to 'Levanto-Helladic', 'Rude or Pastoral Style', 'White Painted Wheelmade III' and finally 'Late Cypriot IIIC, or CypIIIC'), Georgiou prefers to utilize the collective heading of 'Aegean-style' for this local pottery, also including the Rude/Pastoral vessels.

Leaving aside the Aegean-type new wheelmade cooking vessels dating to LC IIIA,[42] the diffusion of the imported shallow bowl FS

42 Spagnoli 2010; Vaessen 2014, 126-8; Jung 2011a, 60-1; also see § 6.5.1.

295 and FS 296 in LC IIC contexts suggests a change in local eating/drinking customs also in Interaction Period 4. This is supported by the fact that shallow bowl FS 295/296, which was mainly produced for export to the Eastern Mediterranean since it "had no important role in the local Argive ceramic vessel sets" (Jung 2011a, 62), was soon adopted in Cyprus and became the most common shape in the repertoire of Aegean-type pottery in LC IIC, by far outnumbering their Mycenaean models.

In the review of Mycenaean ceramic imports in Interaction Period 4, particular attention should also be devoted to the clay figurines. In this period, they are common at Hala Sultan Tekke, where an appreciable variety of shapes in Offering Pit V and Pits D and E are found (see § 5.4.1.5) **[tab. 5.8]**. Human and animal figurines and a terracotta chariot with two figures flanking a parasol can be dated to Interaction Period 4 **[tab. 6.7]**, while a Psi-figurine comes from Stratum 1 (Fischer, Bürge 2015, 32, N239, fig. 7: b), which has been dated to LC IIIA, but this context also contained many residual Mycenaean vessels. Moreover, a possible fragment from a LH IIIB terracotta chariot group figurine comprising the leg of a horse and part of a chariot box has been found at Enkomi, Dikaios excavations (Karageorghis 2011, 16: 2.1 no. 2158/1). Some figurines, including a fragmentary female "Psi" figurine and animal figurines, should also be recalled from the settlement at Kourion *Bamboula*, but their chronology cannot safely be established (Benson 1972, 136: B 1564, 137: B 1570, B 1571, pl. 35). It is also worth noting that, like on Rhodes (Benzi 1992, 224), on Cyprus, Mycenaean figurines dating to LH IIIC have often been found inside tombs, and Karageorghis (1996; 2000) emphasized some Aegean influence on bull figurines and new types of anthropomorphic figurines on the Cypriot coroplastic production of the LC IIC and IIIA periods.



Figure 6.3 Aegean-style pottery of Interaction Period 4. 1. Map of Cyprus showing sites mentioned in the text (prepared by the Author based on data provided by the Cyprus Geological Survey Department). 2. White Slip II hemispherical bowl from Enkomi Tomb 23 (A1303) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus). 3. White Slip II-Late hemispherical bowl from Limassol, Feature 621-VI.2 (from Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, pl. XLIV). 4. Base-ring ware Y-shaped bowl from Enkomi Tomb 7 (A1025) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus). 5. Base-ring II ware jug from Enkomi Tomb 59 (A1067) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus). 6. Imported Late Helladic IIIB stirrup jar from Enkomi, Tomb 4 (A1603) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus). 7. Imported Late Helladic IIIA2-IIIB1 amphoroid krater from Enkomi, Tomb 43 (A1649) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus). 8. Rude/Pastoral style krater with bulls from Enkomi, Tomb 42 (A1759) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)

6.4.3 Local Production of Aegean-Style Pottery During the Late Cypriot IIC Period (Thirteenth Century BC)

Artemis Georgiou[43]

6.4.3.1 Introduction

During the course of the Late Cypriot (LC) IIIA period, which roughly coincides with the twelfth century BC, ceramic finewares drawing inspiration from the Aegean sphere that were produced locally on the island, became Cyprus' predominant tableware category. By the middle of the twelfth century, this ceramic class, which has been called by various terminologies (see below), eventually overturned the production of the Cypriot centuries-old, handmade finewares. The transformation of the Cypriot ceramic industry and the eventual predominance of Aegean-style, wheelmade finewares, at the expense of the long-established, handmade wares have intrigued scholars since the inception of archaeological research in Cyprus (cf. e.g. Gjerstad 1926, 220-8; Sjöqvist 1940, 73-4, 97). Since then, the phenomenon has been approached by various different angles, including the definition of the morphological and stylistic characteristics of Cyprus-produced Aegean-style finewares and their development overtime, the disentanglement of the various sources whence the potters appear to have drawn inspiration, the chronology and synchronisation of the production, fabric analysis and formation techniques of Aegean-style pottery, the mechanisms which brought about the abandonment of the traditional handmade finewares and finally the social, economic and historical implications that can be drawn by the eventual establishment of Aegean-style ceramics in the LC cultural milieu.

The present contribution attempts the challenging task of outlining the evidence for the local production of Aegean-style finewares in Cyprus during the LC IIC period, that is prior to the ware's predominance in the LC IIIA horizon. The inherent challenges entailed in this task are duly acknowledged in the discussion that follows.

28 I wish, first and foremost, to express my gratitude to Giampaolo Graziadio for the invitation to contribute to this volume with a chapter and for his support and patience throughout the preparation of this chapter. I am also grateful to the project directors allowing me to mention unpublished material from their fieldwork project: Dr Sabine Fourrier, Director of the French Archaeological Mission at Kition, Professor Maria Iacovou, Director of the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project and Professor Sturt Manning, Co-director of the Kalavasos and Maroni Built Environment Project. I am further thankful to the Director of the Department of Antiquities for providing figures 2-8, 10, 12-15, 18-19 and for the permission to illustrate them.

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It should be also stressed that this study does not claim to present all pertinent specimens from all relevant sites on the island, especially considering material from ongoing and unpublished excavations. The study has benefited immensely from Penelope Mountjoy's most recent publication (2018), where imported Mycenaean and Cyprus-made Aegean-style decorated finewares were collected, categorized and illustrated.

The study follows a regional and contextual analysis of the data, with a conclusive composition at the end. The aims of this study are manifold and include the definition of the specific forms and stylistic decorative patterns characterizing the ceramic industry of Aegean-style finewares during the LC IIC period, as well as the contextual analysis of the ware's frequency in relation to the centuries-old, handmade wares. This chapter overall aspires to contribute to the unraveling of the thread that resulted in the establishment of Aegean-style pottery in Cyprus, through the examination of the evidence for the LC IIC period and from a Cyprus-based viewpoint.

6.4.3.2 Contextualizing the Late Cypriot IIC Period

The LC IIC period roughly coincides with the thirteenth century BC, in terms of absolute chronology (start after/by 1340/1325 Cal BC, end before or by 1200 Cal BC [Manning 2013]). During this period, Cyprus was a key player in the interregional commercial strategies of the Eastern Mediterranean during the "Age of Internationalism", as a result of its strategic geographic position on the sea-routes of the Eastern Mediterranean and its wealthy cupriferous deposits.[44] The remains of the ship that sank close to the coasts of Turkey at Ulubu-run ca 1325-1300 BC (Pulak 2008), with an exceptional wealth in raw materials and finished artifacts, including ten tons of copper, consistent with Cypriot sources, testifies to Cyprus' ability to produce massive quantities of copper for export (Kassianidou 2013, 138-44). For the Cypriot harbors to be established as major exporters of copper, it was a prerequisite that the procurement, processing and export of the metal were administered by a network of special-function sites (Knapp 1997, 48-63; 2013, 432-47; Iacovou 2018). The Cyprus-specific management system emerged during the course of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) and was consolidated during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC, characterized by a "complex mosaic of industrial sites, agricultural support villages, inland towns and coastal distribution and export centres" (Webb, Frankel 2013, 224) **[fig. 6.3: 1]**.

44 Iacovou 2008a; Peltenburg, Iacovou 2012; Knapp 2013, 406-32; 2018, 178-90; Sherratt 2016, 290-6.

At the inception of the LBA, Cypriot communities developed an idiosyncratic scribal tool that is known as 'Cypro-Minoan', a distinctive syllabic script, that remains undeciphered. None of the known LC urban centers has provided evidence for the maintenance of a formal state archive (Georgiou, Iacovou 2020, 1137). As a matter of fact, long texts in Cypro-Minoan, preserved on tablets, cylinder and small boules of fired clay, are minimal, compared to the much more sizable corpus attested on various media, mostly pottery (both imported and local), cylinder seals, weights, etc.[45] This would suggest that the LC script did not develop into a standardized system, because it was not in the hands of a specialized guild of scribes (Georgiou, Iacovou 2020, 1138). Cylinder-seals, another category of material associated with the development of administration, was also employed in a culturally distinctive manner in LBA Cyprus, whereby cylinder-seals were not at all times used as sphragistic tools (Smith 2002, 10-11; Webb, Weingarten 2012, 88), but rather, as emblems of hierarchically ranked groups, who employed these devices as insignia of status and authority (Webb 2002, 128-35). Another LC idiosyncratic bureaucratic mechanism are impressions on storage vessels, created in relief when a large cylindrical object was rolled onto the vessel's surface before firing (Smith 2007; Georgiou 2016a). The practice has been interpreted as an act of marking perhaps denoting the vessel's contents, or the group of people for whom the contents were reserved or when the contents were to be consumed (Webb, Frankel 1994, 18-19; Smith 2007, 49; Keswani 2017, 380).

For their contribution to the trade in metals, the LC polities received in exchange numerous exotica, in the form of ceramic finewares from the Aegean and elaborate artifacts made of ivory, faience, silver, gold and others imported from the Near East and Egypt (Knapp 2013, 416-18). Imports included transport containers carrying products in bulk (e.g. olive oil, wine, etc.) (Georgiou 2014; Knapp, Demesticha 2017, 56-8) and smaller-sized finewares containing precious commodities (e.g. perfumed oils, etc.) (Bushnell 2016, 121-43). The majority of these exotica were deposited inside mortuary contexts, which profoundly display the emergence of competitive social groups (Keswani 2004, 157-60). It is during this period that the Mycenaean and Cypriot political economies came into close contact through commercial and other exchanges. The fourteenth and thirteenth centuries are characterized by the massive influx of imported Mycenaean fineware pottery, albeit on a restricted range of shapes, compared to the full repertoire (Steel 1998, 286).

45 Cf. Olivier 2007; Ferrara 2012; 2013; Steele 2017.

6.4.3.3 Production and Consumption of Ceramic Finewares During the Late Cypriot IIC Period

Ceramic production in the LC IIC period progressively became more standardized, in terms of the vessels' technical and morphological qualities (Steel 2010, 112). In contrast to the much more varied and regionally diverse forms of LCI-IIB production, the LC IIC period saw the restriction of wares, forms and decorative techniques. This is mostly evident in the production of the two distinctive finewares that typify Cyprus' LBA ceramic production: Base-ring (BR) and White Slip (WS) wares. BR vessels are characterized by their almost vitrified surfaces and metallic-like texture (P. Åström 1972, 137-97; Vaughan 1991), while vessels of the WS class were covered with a thick coat of fine smooth slip (Popham 1972; Eriksson 2007). The two pottery classes stand out for their long duration of production and use (from the seventeenth century to the beginning of the twelfth century BC) and their handmade manufacture. Both primary and secondary forming of WS and BR vessels were carried out without the use of Rotative Kinetic Energy, even though explicit traces on the vessels' surfaces denote the limited use of turntables for secondary forming procedures and, occasionally, also for the compaction of the vessels' surfaces for reducing wall thickness or for the fashioning of bases and rims (Vaughan 1991, 122; Georgiou 2018a, 182). Centuries after the spread of wheelmade technology in the Eastern Mediterranean, and even after the introduction of wheelmade techniques on the island in the mid-seventeenth century BC (Crewe 2007a, 213), handmade and slow-wheel pottery production remained predominant in Cyprus, supported by internal and external market demand (Crewe 2007b, 149).

During the LC IIC period, the shape repertoire of WS ware vessels was restricted to hemispherical bowls with a horizontal wishbone handle **[fig. 6.3: 2a, b-3]**, while other forms, such as kraters, jugs and tankards, became much less frequent (Popham 1972, 464-71). At the same time, decorative treatment became increasingly standardized: the elaborate and carefully drawn frames filled with cross-hatching, flanking rows of dots or chained lozenges (cf. Popham 1972, fig. LXXX-IV: 1-3), that typified WS production in the LC IIA-B periods gave way to a standardized decoration with a simple, often hastily drawn cross-hatched band, suggesting that the vessels were decorated rapidly on a turntable (Steel 2010, 112). The final production phase of WS ware, dating to the end of the thirteenth century, and perhaps into the earliest phases of the twelfth, is the so-called WS II-Late ware, which is characterized by hasty decoration in the form of multiple, parallel bands painted in a careless manner on the vessels' rim, and by the poor quality of the slip **[fig. 6.3: 3]** (Russel 1989, 3; South, Steel 2001, 68 fig. 5).

The regional variations of WS ware were also somewhat persevered during the LC IIC period. The regional variant of the southwestern

part of the island, referred to as WS IIA ware, is exclusively represented by bowls, which are typified by squatter forms, a thick and lumpy horizontal wishbone handle and a rather crude decoration featuring a framed row of large cross-hatched lozenges or a thick, zig-zag line, embellished by a highly stylized motif of a palm tree (Popham 1972, 445-7; Karageorghis 1990a; Georgiou 2015, 52-3). Another regional class of WS II ware is the 'Parallel Line Style', which seems to be at home in the south-central coast and dates to the most part of the LC II phase, possibly also into the LC IIC period (South, Russel, Keswani 1989, 42-3). The characteristics of this class include an elaborate banded decoration on the rim, consisting of rows of chained, cross-hatched lozenges, or dotted zigzags/festoons (Russel 1989, 2-3). The perseverance of subtle distinctions of style, despite the apparent standardization, evoke questions regarding the organization of the ceramic industry in LBA Cyprus. Was the production centralized and controlled by the urban centers, or did small-scale production within village workshops persist (Knapp, Cherry 1994, 159-61)? While no industrial ceramic workshops have been identified within the major urban centers, the large monumental buildings dominating the LC urban landscape with their apparent administrative and redistributive roles could have regulated an exchange network for the ceramic production of multiple regional workshops, such as those attested at Sanidha (Todd, Pilides 2001), Athienou (Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983) and *Toumba tou Skourou* (Vermeule, Wolsky 1990).[46]

The production of BR ware is also characterized by an apparent decline in the LC IIC period. During the ware's earliest production, BR I ware, which roughly coincides with the LCI-IIA period, the potters employed an exceptionally plastic clay, which enabled the construction of remarkably hard, eggshell-like vessels, that were subsequently burnished or polished before being fired in high temperatures to produce their distinguishing metallic-like texture and prominent luster.[47] As in the case of WS ware, by the thirteenth century BC, the ware's range of shapes was confined to jugs, juglets and the distinctive Y-shaped bowl with a horizontal wishbone handle **[fig. 6.3: 4-5]** (P. Åström 1972, 137-97). The intricate and time-consuming relief decorative patterns, characterizing BR I production, gave way to the much more expedient decorative treatment in added white paint **[fig. 6.3: 5]** (153; Artzy 1985, 96). In the latest production phase, the fabric of BR vessels deteriorated to a coarser-grained paste, with a less lustrous to matte surface, while their surfaces were simply smoothed, wiped and dipped in a matte slip or were even left entirely unslipped, as a

46 Cf. discussion in Keswani 1993; Vaughan 1994, 91; Knapp, Cherry 1994, 159-61; Steel 2010, 109-12.

47 P. Åström 1972, 137; Vaughan 1991, 122; 1994, 87; Georgiou 2018a, 182.

result of the diminishing expenditure of care (Vaughan 1991, 124). Evidently, the workshops producing BR ware could not sustain the high degree of investment in time and risk entailed in the ware's production and "could not withstand the forces of mass production" (Steel 2010, 112).

During the final stages of the LC IIC period and the beginning of the LC IIIA, in an evident attempt to catch up with the continuous demand for mass production, BR ware workshops began experimenting with a less plastic and less refined type of clay to produce plain versions of the typical carinated cup that could be thrown on the wheel (Jones, Catling 1986, 595; Steel 2010, 112). Such plain and wheelmade bowls in the sharp carinated shape of BR ware production were unearthed in various contexts across the island, but the most prolific evidence comes from the two sacred areas of Enkomi, the Sanctuary of the Horned God and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1971, 240-50, figs 93-5; Dikaios 1969-71, 196-7, pls 35, 35A, 36: 1-3; Webb 1999, 96, 107), where hundreds of such vessels were unearthed.

Cypriot communities were importing Mycenaean vessels from as early as the inception of the LC period. By the fourteenth and during the earliest phases of the thirteenth century BC, Mycenaean finewares were found on the island by the hundreds (Steel 1998, 286; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 291). These were predominantly, though not exclusively, manufactured in the northeast Peloponnese (Immerwahr 1993, 219). The corpus of imported Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus includes slow-pouring closed vessels, mostly stirrup jars, imported as receptacles for their contents (possibly scented oils or unguents) (Leonard 1981, 91-6; Bushnell 2016) **[fig. 6.3: 6]**. In addition, Mycenaean imported vessels in Cyprus included the drinking set, which encompassed a large variety of drinking bowls and cups, kylikes and kraters of the pictorial type. During the course of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC, the Mycenaean drinking set was endorsed to a great extent by the Cypriot elites. In fact, the restriction of the local BR and WS ware to only a few forms is not unrelated: mixing and serving utensils (kraters and tankards) that were common in the local, handmade fabrics during the previous periods, were largely replaced by the imported Mycenaean finewares (Steel 1998, 292; 2016, 83; Van Wijngaarden 2002, 198).

Mycenaean amphoroid- and bell-kraters, often decorated with elaborate pictorial scenes depicting chariots or animals in procession, became an essential component of LC feasting activities **[fig. 6.3: 7]** (South 1995, 194). As the centerpiece of social gatherings or mortuary rituals, these elaborately decorated vessels functioned as an emblem of the prominence and the consolidation of power attained by the island's social elites (Steel 1998, 291-2; Van Wijngaarten 2002, 198; Keswani 2004, 142-3). The proliferation of the amphoroid krater in the contexts of the Eastern Mediterranean, compared to its sparse

presence in the Greek mainland (Mountjoy 1993, 73, 137; Immerwahr 1993, 218-19) may indicate the operation of an export market specifically targeting Eastern Mediterranean clientele (Steel 1998, 287). Indeed the marking of Mycenaean finewares (Hirschfeld 1992, 316)[48] and their distribution pattern in the Levant, which is almost identical with that of BR and WS wares, may be suggestive of the involvement of Cypriot merchants in the circulation of Aegean ceramics in the Eastern Mediterranean (1993, 311-18; Sherratt 1998, 296).

6.4.3.4 Local Production of Aegean-Style Pottery in the Late Cypriot IIC Period

During the course of the thirteenth century BC, wheelmade fineware pottery largely drawing inspiration from various Mycenaean shapes that were imported to Cyprus were produced locally on the island. While the main source of inspiration can undeniably be traced to the Aegean, these wheelmade finewares incorporated elements from the local Cypriot ceramic industry (Kling 1989a; 1989b; Georgiou 2016b, 99) and, to a lesser extent, from the Levant. This ware, which by the end of the century became overwhelmingly popular, until its full prevalence over the centuries-old handmade forms by the middle of the twelfth century, did not reproduce the entire Mycenaean shape-range, rather only a limited number of shapes, mostly open shapes and much fewer closed forms.

6.4.3.4.1 History of Research and Problems in Terminology

The terminology, classification and interpretation associated with the corpus of Aegean-style pottery in Cyprus has been perplexed and loaded with interpretative models.[49] In the early work of researchers dealing with the final stages of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus, the production of wheelmade pottery of Aegean inspiration on the island was considered to mark a divide, which eradicated the production of the centuries-old BR and WS vessels of handmade manufacture (Gjerstad 1926, 280-1; Sjöqvist 1940, 130-1; Dikaios 1969-71, 518) and signified the presence of Mycenaean populations on Cyprus (Sjöqvist 1940, 208-9; Furumark 1965, 111-12; Catling 1975, 64-6). This divide was propagated by the employment of the term "Mycenaean IIIC:1b",

48 Some of these marks may be identified with signs of the local Cypro-Minoan script (Hirschfeld 2019, 141-3).

49 Discussed among others in P. Åström 1972, 276; Kling 1989a; 1989b; Sherratt 1991; Cadogan 1993, 95-6; Jung 2012, 83-4; Iacovou 2013, 589-90; Georgiou 2016b, 79-81; 2018b, 33-4; Mountjoy 2018, 19; Fischer, Bürge 2018, 232-45.

which was introduced to Cypriot archaeology by Arne Furumark for the material he unearthed at the excavations of Sinda (Furumark 1944, 202; 1965, 114), and was also employed by Dikaios, the excavator of Enkomi's Areas I and III (Dikaios 1969-71). In this context, the occurrence of deep bowls was considered as the marker for the initiation of the "Mycenaean IIIC:1b" ware, during Enkomi's Level IIIA, while the much fewer quantities of Aegean-style pottery of the previous Level IIB, mostly in the form of shallow bowls, were referred to as "Late Mycenaean IIIB" (249-52). However, subsequent excavations at other LC centers presented a much more complicated picture (cf. discussion in Sherratt 1991; Iacovou 2013, 593-606). Over the years, scholarship has struggled to comprehend the distinction that is implicated by the term "Mycenaean IIIC:1b" and its differentiation to "Mycenaean IIIB" or "Late Mycenaean IIIB" (cf. discussion in Cadogan 1993; Sherratt 1991; Yasur-Landau 2010, 242). The perplexity becomes clear if we consider that the same vessels were termed Mycenaean IIIC:1b in one publication and Late Mycenaean IIIB in another (cf. Karageorghis 1984, 20; 1990b, 9).

Additional attempts to classify and distinguish Aegean-style decorated fine-ware vessels in Cyprus generated an abundance of different terms, such as 'Decorated Late Cypriot III', 'Submycenaean', 'Quasi-Mycenaean Linear' ware, 'Local Mycenaean IIIC:1b', 'Painted Submycenaean' ware and others.[50]

A special mention should be made to the terms 'Levanto-Helladic' (Sjöqvist 1940, 65-73) or 'Levanto-Mycenaean' (Furumark 1941, 9-10), which were employed to define specific shapes and decorative patterns of the Mycenaean pottery of Cyprus during the LC IIC. As it has been recently confirmed by chemical analyses, some of these vessels were produced in the Greek mainland, while others were products of Cypriot workshops (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 470; Mountjoy 2018, 31-62). The shapes were rarely found in Greece, and it is evident that the vessels produced in the Aegean were especially made to be exported to the eastern markets. This phenomenon provides important insights on the connectivity maintained between the Mycenaean and Cypriot communities during the LC IIC period. It has not been straightforward to definitively outline the forms that are classified under this ceramic category (problems discussed in Kling 1989a, 91-2; Leonard 1994, 6-7; Mountjoy 2018, 40, 55-7).

Another class of locally produced Aegean-style pottery, which has also been treated under a distinctive nomenclature are the so-called 'Rude or Pastoral Style' vessels. This category encompasses locally produced ring-base kraters, characterized by a smaller shape and

50 Cf. Gjerstad 1926, 281-5; Sjöqvist 1940, 73-4, 131; Benson 1972, 80, 107-11; Furumark, Adelman 2003, 91-103.

narrower rim, compared to the LH IIIB bell-kraters imported to Cyprus (Mountjoy 2018, 71). This ceramic style was originally referred to as 'Rude Style' by Furumark to denote inferior quality (1941, 465) and distinguish it from mainland pictorial decorative treatment. It was subsequently renamed 'Pastoral Style', on the basis of the frequency of pastoral compositions, such as grazing bulls (Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, 59-60).

Recent scholarship has endorsed the term 'White Painted Wheelmade III' (WPWm) for the description of Aegean-style pottery produced locally in Cyprus. It was first introduced by Åström (1972, 276), as an umbrella term for all the different classificatory terms proposed (cf. also Kling 1991; 2000). The term undoubtedly simplifies the classification of this pottery, eradicates historical connotations and dismisses the break imposed by other terms, while stressing the continuity in the Cypriot ceramic sequence. However, it should be underscored that the numerical 'III' is again misleading, since it alludes to an association with the LC III period and is therefore problematic when discussing the production of Aegean-style pottery from previous phases (cf. also discussion in Jung 2011a, 173-6).

In the most recent publication by Mountjoy, who has collected the evidence for imported Mycenaean and Aegean-style pottery from Cyprus and the Levant, the author employs the term "Late Cypriot IIIC (or CypIIIC)" with further subdivisions, for the nomenclature of Aegean-style pottery in the late LC IIC and the LC IIIA-B periods (2018, 19-21). This is rather perplexing, since this does not correspond to a chronological division of the Cypriot timeline; rather it appears to be a merge of the local designation for Late Bronze Age Cyprus (i.e. Late Cypriot) with the Aegean terms (i.e. the Late Helladic IIIC period), which again promotes a Mycenaean-centered perspective of this material. Mountjoy refers to locally produced Aegean-style from Cyprus as "Local IIIB" for the former part of the thirteenth century (equivalent to Enkomi Level IIB), "Late Cypriot IIIC (or CypIIIC) Early 1" for both the end of the LC IIC period and the earliest phases of the LC IIIA (equivalent to Enkomi Destruction of Level IIB and Early Level IIIA contexts), "Late Cypriot IIIC (CypIIIC) Early 2" for the early part of the LC IIIA period (equivalent to Enkomi Level IIIA), "Late Cypriot (CypIIIC) Middle" for the latter part of the LC IIIA period (equivalent to Enkomi Destruction Level IIIA and Level IIIB early) and "Late Cypriot (CypIIIC) Final" for the LC IIIB period (equivalent to Enkomi Level IIIB late) (cf. Mountjoy 2018, tab. 4). Mountjoy's detailed recording of stratified data from Enkomi and other sites negates Dikaios' straightforward association of Enkomi's destruction episodes and occupation levels with ceramic developments, which was also the result of Sherratt's early research on this material (1991, 186-7).

For the purposes of this study, I use the term 'Aegean-style' pottery to describe wheelmade finewares produced in Cyprus in the

period under consideration. This terminology acknowledges the undeniable influence deriving from Mycenaean Greece, while accommodating the impact of elements from other areas of the Aegean (e.g. the Aegean islands and Crete). It also embeds the impact of the local wares in this largely fluid and transformative production sequence. With this term, the vantage point remains Cypro-centric, describing a Cyprus-made, predominantly Aegean-inspired ceramic class, unlike "CypIIIC" (Mountjoy 2018) or 'local Mycenaean', which denotes a Myceanean-centered perspective. This terminology also bridges the production of these wares between the LC IIC and the LC IIIA periods (thus avoiding the use of 'III' as in 'White Painted Wheelmade III').[51] Where it is possible to distinguish the production of the two phases, I use the term 'Aegean style-IIC' and correspondingly 'Aegean style-IIIA'. I also occasionally use the term 'White Painted Wheelmade' to describe the ware and showcase continuity of production within the Cypriot ceramic sequence.

6.4.3.4.2 Problems Defining between the LC IIC and LC IIIA Horizons

Several reasons have thus far blurred a clear distinction between the material assigned to the final stages of LC IIC and the beginning of the LC IIIA period and its correlation to absolute chronologies. First, the cases of clear stratigraphic sequences of settlement strata attesting to the transition from the LC IIC to the LC IIIA are limited to Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition and Alassa. In the case of Enkomi, the material of the French Mission has not been adequately published, while the stratification sequence set up by the excavator of Enkomi's Areas I and III has been questioned in relation to the straightforward association with chronological phases.[52] Subsequent studies on the levels of Enkomi have even determined that the stratigraphic phasing between the two excavated regions, set at a distance from one another, does not clearly relate to each other (e.g. Crewe 2007b, 72; Mountjoy 2018, 29).

A second aspect deterring the clear assigning of stratigraphic data to relevant and absolute chronologies is the pronounced regional elements in the island's material culture. Cypriot regionalism has been acknowledged as an inherent element of life on the island on a diachronic level and has been understood to refer primarily to geographically distinct differences in material culture, specifically pottery (Frankel 2009). Even during periods of increasing social complexity and floruit of urban forms, such as the LC IIC period, the

51 Although this term is occasionally used throughout this study to describe the ware.

52 E.g. Iacovou 1988, 10-11; Kling 1989a, 36-7; Crewe 2007b, 73; cf. Jung 2011a, 60-3.

discrepancies observed in the production and consumption of pottery among the different regions of Cyprus make it exceedingly difficult for archaeologists today to confidently correlate with the archaeological strata from various sites (cf. discussion in Manning, Sewell, Herscher 2002, 106; Bell 2006, 84; cf. also discussion in Webb, Frankel 2013, 59).

Thirdly, the transition from the LC IIC to the LC IIIA horizon has been acknowledged as a transformative period, characterized by substantial developments in the island's settlement pattern and material culture (cf. Iacovou 2013; Georgiou 2018a; Meyer, Knapp 2021, 440-8). As is often the case with archaeological remains from transitional periods, material culture of the LC IIC-IIIA is highly transformative, fluid and varied, and cannot be easily classified nor can it be straightforwardly assigned to chronological phases.[53]

The production of Aegean-style pottery or certain types within this ceramic class, particularly and especially the deep bowl, have been employed as a marker of chronological phasing (cf. discussion in Sherratt 1990; 1991). While this practice is methodologically legitimate, we find ourselves placing too much attention on the presence or absence of certain ceramic types/elements in the island's archaeological assemblages, disregarding factors such as the experimental nature of the period's ceramic industry, regional variations within discrete 'culture zones', etc. More often than not, types assigned to a later date than the contexts in which they occur are considered 'intrusive', whereas types assigned to an earlier date than their contexts are considered 'residual'. The flaws in this 'procrustean method' are evident.

Considering the above-mentioned parameters, this study acknowledges the transformative and transitional nature of the LC IIC-IIIA period on the island, and that the attempts to explicitly distinguish between the ceramic production of the two periods runs the risk of oversimplifying or extrapolating erroneous conclusions. The chapter addresses, where possible, the material relating to the LC IIC period, especially as regards sites that were abandoned at the close of this period (i.e. Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes*, Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*) and clarifies instances of material concerning the transition from the late LC IIC to the early LC IIIA period.

53 Also discussed in Kling 1989a, 71-87; Sherratt 1991; Iacovou 2013; Georgiou 2018a.



Figure 6.4 Aegean-style pottery of Interaction Period 4. 9. Rude/Pastoral Style krater with bulls from Enkomi (BM C420) (Illustrations from Karageorghis, Vermeule 1982, VI.43). 10. Rude/Pastoral style krater with goats from Enkomi, Tomb 96 (A2020g) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus). 11. Rude/Pastoral style krater from Enkomi with goat feeding leaves and attacking bull (illustration from Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, VI.1). 12. Rude/Pastoral style krater with birds from Enkomi, Tomb 68 (A1760) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus) 13. Rude/Pastoral style krater with birds (Side A) and spiral motif with goat (Side B) from Enkomi, Tombs 98, 96, 12 (Nos A2020a, e, A2021a-c, l, A2023i, j). (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus). 14. Rude/Pastoral style krater with spiral from Enkomi, Tomb 96 (A 2020c+2020d+2020j+2020h+2020k+2021d) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus). 15. Rude/Pastoral style krater with running spiral from Enkomi, Tomb 98 (A2019, b-c) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus). 16. 'Zigzag' style krater from Enkomi, French Tomb 110 (illustrations from Courtois 1981, figs 121-3). 17. a. Hemispherical bowl with lug-handle (FS 247) and b. two-handled shallow bowl (FS 296) from Enkomi, French Tomb 110, No. 286 (left), 285 (right) (illustrations from Courtois 1981, figs 158.1-2). 18. Shallow bowl from Enkomi, Tomb 87 (A1743) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)

6.4.3.4.3 Fabric and Manufacture Technology of Aegean-Style Pottery

Aegean-style finewares produced locally in Cyprus bear salient indications for the use of a high-speed turning device, which utilizes Rotative Kinetic Energy to raise the vessel's walls, fashion its form and expedite further modifications (cf. Courty, Roux 1995). The vessels are characterized by a fine light-colored calcareous clay,[54] mostly light pinkish/orange/brown. Fabric purity ranges from fine to semi-coarse, with the addition of small, sub-angular, multi-colored grits, especially for the construction of larger vessels. The vessels' texture varies from smooth to powdery or chalky. The slip is usually light yellowish/buff and painted decoration ranges from black to dark/light brown to reddish/orange brown even on the same vessel (Georgiou 2016b, 81-2). As a general rule, the slip and color of Cyprus-made Aegean-style finewares is matt (Kling 2000, 82), which sets them apart from the lustrous slip and paint that characterizes the ceramic production in the Greek mainland, by and large. Although this distinction stands true for most cases, it is certainly not unambiguous, considering that variations in the quality and luster from both the Aegean and Cyprus are abundant.[55]

The operation of multiple production centres of Aegean-style finewares in Cyprus has been corroborated by extensive scientific analyses.[56] The most recent and extensive interdisciplinary studies with the contribution of Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA), conducted by Mommsen, in collaboration with Mountjoy's morphological studies, have identified the chemical profile of eight different production centers in Paphos, Kourion (Episkopi), Alassa, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition, Enkomi and Sinda (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 425-7). It should be noted that these refer predominantly to the production of Aegean-style pottery from the twelfth century BC horizon.

54 The study of Choleva, Jung and Kardamaki (2020) suggests that pottery production of Mycenaean pottery was a complex technological phenomenon, predominantly assocated with the wheel-coiling technique, rather than wheel-throwing.

55 Kling 1989a, 91; 2000, 282; 2007, 151; Mountjoy 2018, 31-3.

56 Anson 1980; Jones, Catling 1986, 603-9; Knapp, Cherry 1994, 50, 61-2; Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015.

6.4.3.5 Geographical Distribution of Aegean-Style Pottery During the LC IIC Period

6.4.3.5.1 The Eastern Coast and the Mesaoria Plain

Enkomi

The settlement of Enkomi, situated at the flow of the Pedhiaios river on the eastern coast of Cyprus, stands out as the most extensively excavated LC site, with ample stratigraphic data spanning the time of its establishment in MC III to its abandonment during the LC IIIB period. Several segments of the town were unearthed by two fieldwork projects, the Cyprus Museum Expedition (Dikaios 1969-71) and the French Mission (Schaeffer 1936; 1952; 1971; Courtois 1981; Lagarce, Lagarce 1985), which exposed the monumental wall encircling the town, numerous edifices and mortuary facilities coexisting with the residential units. Despite the fact that Enkomi is the most extensively excavated LC town, the correlation of the stratigraphic sequences with chronological horizons remains a thorny issue (cf. discussion above and Crewe 2007b, tab. 11.1; Mountjoy 2018, 173-91), as is the association of the stratigraphic sequence produced by the Cypriot and the French missions (Ionas 1984).

The majority of the material discussed in this section comes from mortuary remains excavated by the British Mission, the French Mission, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and the Cyprus Museum. Several burials among the vast mortuary record of Enkomi can be safely assigned to the LC IIC period, including Tombs 1-2, Tomb 7 of the Cyprus Mission, which went out of use in Level IIIA and were sealed by construction activities (Dikaios 1969-71, 334-47, 354-6). In presenting the Aegean-style ceramics dating to Enkomi's LC IIC mortuary sphere, this study has benefited from the recent publication of Mountjoy (2018, 147-74), who studied and disseminated material that were otherwise unpublished or poorly illustrated. The research has also benefited from Keswani's contextual analyses of the Enkomi tombs (2004) and by the digitization projects of the Cyprus (Pilides 2010), the British and the Louvre[57] Museums (Crewe 2009a).[58]

The LC IIC mortuary corpus of Enkomi contained significant numbers of complete and fragmentary ring-based bell kraters (FS 281), of the so-called 'Rude/Pastoral Style'. Kraters of this stylistic class have a rather elongated form, an everted rim (as a rule) and a deep, ovoid body, occasionally with a soft carination below the handle zone, a pair

57 https://collections.louvre.fr/.

58 https://www.britishmuseum.org/.

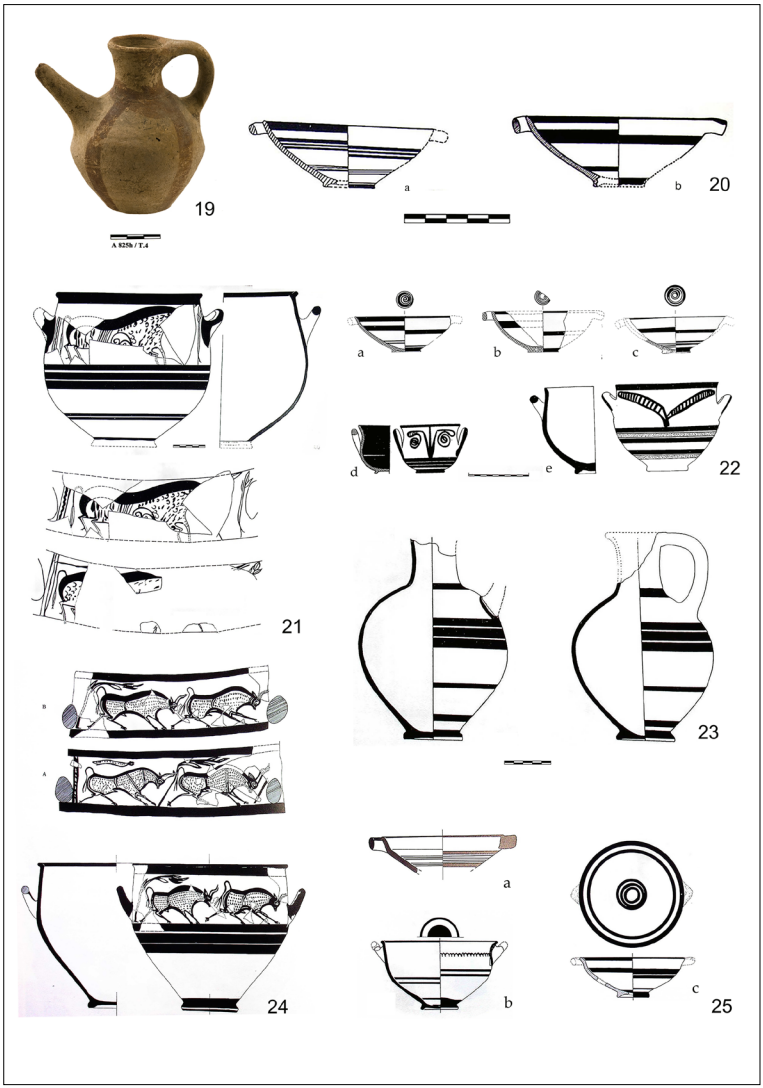


Figure 6.5 Aegean-style pottery of Interaction Period 4. 19. Feeding jug from Enkomi, Tomb 4 (A825h) (illustration provided by the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus). 20. Linear, shallow bowls from Kition Tombs 4+5 (No. 188 left, No. 199 right) (illustrations from Karageorghis 1974, pl. CXXIX). 21. Rude/Pastoral Style krater from Kition Tomb 9 Lower Burial (illustration from Karageorghis 1974, pl. CXLIV). 22. Kition, Tomb 9: a-c. two-handled shallow conical bowls (FS 296) (Nos 50, 57-8) (Lower Burial), d-e. deep bowls (FS 284) (Nos 339, 138) (Upper Burial) (illustration from Karageorghis 1974, pls. CXLVII, CLVII). 23. Medium-sized jugs (FS 116) from Kition Tomb 9 Lower Burial (illustrations from Karageorghis 1974, pl. CXL). 24. Rude/Pastoral Style krater from Kition-Bamboula, Sondage 13 (Illustration from Yon, Caubet 1985, fig. 56). 25. Bowls from Kition-Bamboula, Sondage 13: a. shallow angular bowl (FS 296/295), b. squat variant of the deep bowl, c. two-handled shallow bowl with carination (Type 9) (Illustrations from Yon, Caubet 1985, fig. 53.246, .251, .248)

of horizontal loop handles and a narrow ring-base. They were most commonly decorated with pictorial scenes, featuring animals, spirals and linear motifs (Karageorghis 1965b, 232-3; Anson 1980; Mountjoy 2018, 71-2). The LC IIC burials of Enkomi contained Rude/Pastoral Style kraters decorated with bulls feeding from trees/bushes.[59] Other pictorial Rude/Pastoral Style kraters from the Enkomi tombs were decorated with goats[60] and birds.[61] A fragmentary Rude/Pastoral Style krater from Enkomi shows two male sphinxes on either side of a tree motif (Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, VI.16). There were also ring-based kraters decorated with elaborate or stemmed running spirals.[62] The corpus also included a few kraters decorated with broad zigzag bands on the handle-zone (Zigzag Group) (Swedish Tomb 19: Mountjoy 2018, fig. 87.60), including pedestal kraters (French Tomb 110: Courtois 1981, no. 209, figs 121-3; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 89.75) **[fig. 6.4: 16]**.

The mortuary contents of Enkomi also included small-sized bowls and cups classified under the 'Levanto-Helladic' category such as: i) the single-handled shallow carinated/rounded bowl FS 244;[63] ii) the small, hemispherical, handleless bowl FS 210;[64] iii) the hemispherical bowl with a lug-handle FS 247;[65] iv) the two-handled shallow con-

59 E.g. British Museum C427 (Karageorghis 1965b, 250, pl. XXVIII.1); British Tomb 42, A1759 (fig. 54, of the style of bull with thickened upper part) **[fig. 6.3: 8a-b]**; British Museum C420 (Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, VI.43 with a pair of bulls on one side and a goat on the other) **[fig. 6.4: 9]**.

60 E.g. British Tomb 98, CM A2020g, CM A 2020+2021a (Karageorghis 1965b, 245, pl. XXV.3-4; Mountjoy 2018, figs 77.3, 78.4) **[fig. 6.4: 10]**; Cypriot Tomb 1 (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 192.15: 12); Tomb 19.66 (Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, VI.1 depicting a goat feeding with a leave and a bull) **[fig. 6.4: 11]**.

61 E.g. British Tomb 45 (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 79.7); British Tomb 68 A1760 (Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, pl. VI.32) **[fig. 6.4: 12a-b]**; Tombs 98, 96, 12 A2020a, e, 2021a-c, l, A2023i, r, depicting a pair of birds flanking a tree on side A, and an elaborate spiral with a goat(?) on Side B **[fig. 6.4: 13a-b]**.

62 E.g. British Tomb 45 (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 80.8); British Tomb 78, A1550 (Karageorghis 1965b, 255, pl. XXXVIII.8); British Tomb 96, CM A2020d+A2021d (255, pl. XXVIII.5) **[fig. 6.4: 14]**; British Tomb 98, CM A2019b (pl. XXVIII.9) **[fig. 6.4: 15]**; Swedish Tomb 19 (Mountjoy 2018, 163 fig. 87.61); French Tomb 1907 (Lagarce, Lagarce 1985, no. 237, fig. 41e-f) and Cypriot Tomb 1 (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 192.12; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 90.85).

63 E.g. British Tomb 84 (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 82.191); Swedish Tomb 6 (figs 84.39-45); Swedish Tomb 19 (figs 88.69-70); French Tomb 5 (Schaeffer 1952, fig. 71 no. 237, inv. 4987); French Tomb 1907 (Lagarce, Lagarce 1985, no. 180, fig. 34g); Cypriot Tomb 1 (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 192.10, 13; Mountjoy 2018, figs 90.87-8); Cypriot Tomb 7 (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 200.11-12, 13-14; Mountjoy 2018, figs 91.96-7); Cypriot Tomb 10 (Dikaios 1969, 180-1, pl. 208.6, 9, pl. 211.15, 17, 25; Mountjoy 2018, figs 92.99-100, 104, 106-7).

64 E.g. Swedish Tomb 6 (Mountjoy 2018, figs 83.30-3); Swedish Tomb 10 (fig. 85.50), Cypriot Tomb 2 (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 196.21; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 91.93).

65 Swedish Tomb 19 (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 88.71); French Tomb 110 (Courtois 1981, nos 286-7, figs 155.8, 158.1, 160.2, 779) **[fig. 6.4: 17a]**; French Tomb 1907 (Lagarce,

ical bowl FS 296.[66] Cups are much more limited in numbers. They include the shallow carinated cups FS 223, such as those from British Tomb 89 (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 82.20), Swedish Tomb 6 (figs 83.35, 84.49), Swedish Tomb 19 (fig. 87.62), and the shallow straight-sided carinated cups FS 232 and FS 235, such as those from Swedish Tomb 6 (fig. 83.38) and Swedish Tomb 19 (163, figs 88.66-8). Other types of cups, such as the carinated cup with flaring sides FS 231 from Swedish Tomb 6 (fig. 83.36-7) and the squat mug FS 229 from Swedish Tomb 19 (fig. 87.64-5) are not so common.

Mortuary contexts of Enkomi identified as LC IIC contained significant numbers of various Aegean-style bowl variants, that include: i) the small, handleless bowl with flaring conical sides with carination on the lower body (Type 3);[67] ii) the two-handled shallow angular bowl with sharp carination (Type 8) (e.g. Mountjoy 2018, fig. 85.52, from Swedish Tomb 10); iii) the two-handled shallow bowl with conical lower body and carination (Type 9).[68] There were also pedestalled shallow bowls with linear decoration (FS 309-10).[69] A fragmentary deep bowl (FS 284) decorated with a spiral was contained within Tomb 1, which is assigned to the LC IIC period (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 192.5; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 90.90).

A point of reference are vessels encapsulating the merging of the Cypriot tradition with the new technology and fabric of Aegean style ceramics. For instance, a hemispherical, handleless bowl (Type 5 variant), from Cypriot Tomb 1 preserves the decorative syntax of WS II-Late bowls (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 192.1; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 90.89) **[fig. 6.3: 3]** and another bowl from Cypriot Tomb 7 features a wishbone handle and is again decorated in WS II-Late style (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 200.2; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 91.98). The mortuary corpus of LC IIC Aegean-style pottery from Enkomi also contained a few unpainted fineware bowls (FS 210 and Types 5 and 12).[70]

Lagarce 1985, no. 181, fig. 34h); Cypriot Tomb 10 (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 211.17; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 92.108).

66 Swedish Tomb 19 (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 88.72); French Tomb 5 (Schaeffer 1952, fig. 70.224, fig. 72.308); French Tomb 110 (Courtois 1981, no. 285, figs 141.4, 158.2; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 89.80) **[fig. 6.4: 17b]**; French Tomb 1907 (Lagarce, Lagarce 1985, no. 233, fig. 41a), Cypriot Tomb 10 (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 208.8; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 92.99).

67 E.g. British Tomb 53 (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 80.13-14); Swedish Tomb 10 (fig. 85.51); French Tomb 5 (Schaeffer 1952, figs 72.305, 73.311).

68 E.g. Swedish Tomb 6 (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 84.45); French Tomb 5 (Schaeffer 1952, fig. 67.58); British Tomb 87 A1743, decorated with three birds on the outside and pattern motifs with zigzag and row of cross-hatched triangles on the inside **[fig. 6.4: 18a-b]**.

69 E.g. British Tomb 45 (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 80.9); Swedish Tomb 6 (fig. 84.44); Swedish Tomb 18 (fig. 85.53); Cypriot Tomb 2 (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 195.47; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 91.95).

70 E.g. from Swedish Tomb 6 (Mountjoy 2018, figs 83.33, 84.46-8); Swedish Tomb 10 (fig. 85.50); Swedish Tomb 19 (fig. 88.73).

Closed vessels are not as common in the LC IIC mortuary contexts of Enkomi. There were a few feeding jugs decorated with series of thick vertical bands **[fig. 6.5: 19]**.[71] The tombs also contained small numbers of medium-sized jugs with the characteristically long and concave neck typifying local production (FS 116) (e.g. Mountjoy 2018, fig. 83.28-9, Swedish Tomb 6). Stirrup jar no. 244 from French Tomb 1907 (Lagarce, Lagarce 1985, fig. 39e) probably corresponds to a 'Simple Style' vessel, decorated with thick horizontal bands on the entire body surface.

Moving now to the settlement contexts of Enkomi, the most pertinent attestations for assessing the LC IIC horizon derive from the publication of Areas I and III by Dikaios, specifically Level IIB, which is largely acknowledged to correspond to this period (Dikaios 1969-71, 451-7; Kling 1989a, 87). Level IIB suffered destruction and rebuilding activities were initiated after a possible, brief gap in the following Level IIIA, which is assigned to the earliest part of the LC IIIA period (Dikaios 1969-71, 486; Mountjoy 2018, 144; cf. Jung 2011a, 63). The typology of Aegean-style pottery from Level IIB is comparable to the LC IIC burial contexts, examined above, but the corpus is significantly more confined in terms of numbers. The material mostly concerns bowls of varying types, e.g. the small handleless-bowl with hemispherical body and concave base (FS 210) (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 113.239), the shallow rounded/carinated bowl FS 244 (fig. 204.1259), the shallow rounded lug-handled bowl FS 247 (Jung 2011b, 194, fig. 5.3; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 195.1167) and the two-handled, shallow, conical bowl FS 296 (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 98.20 no. 1962/1.2; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 113.240). Level IIB also contained various of the bowl types classified by Mountjoy as corresponding to the production of the LC IIC-IIIA periods, such as the small, handleless bowl with hemispherical body (Type 2) (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 123.8 no. 624), the small hemispherical bowl with flattened base/low ring-base or indentation (Type 5) (Mountjoy 2018, figs 139.548b, 161.79), the two-handled shallow bowl (Type 8) (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 67.22 no. 1344; Jung 2011b, fig. 5.5; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 223.1506) and the one-handled bowl with grooved rim and a single lug-handle (Type 12) (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 97.3 no. 623; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 109.196). Other fragmentary Aegean-style bowls from Level IIB cannot be classified from the published illustrations only (Dikaios 1969-71, pls 66.20-1).

Compared to the burial contexts, the settlement strata of Enkomi contained very few fragments of ring-based kraters (FS 281). A body fragment preserves a bull feeding from tree-leaves (pl. 67.26 no. 2889/2), and other such examples are decorated with running spirals (pl. 110.9

71 E.g. Swedish Tomb 6 (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 83.27); French Tomb 5 (Schaeffer 1952, fig. 71.228); French Tomb 12 (1936, fig. 36.24); French Tomb 110 (Courtois 1981, nos 289-90, figs 130.2, 155.6-7; Mountjoy 2018, figs 89.76-7); Cypriot Tomb 1 (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 192.11; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 90.84); British Tomb 98, French Tomb 410 (`https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010132051`).

nos 6274.1, 5344/1,3,4;[72] Mountjoy 2018, figs 139.548a, 173.906). A stray find from the French excavations corresponds to a Rude/Pastoral Style krater that depicts what appears to be a sphinx (perhaps one of a pair) (Karageorghis 1965b, 242, pl. XXIV.3). There were also a couple of fragments of kraters decorated with large zigzag lines (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 125.3: 3190/1; Mountjoy 2018, figs 181.980, 218.1427).

Enkomi's Level IIB levels also contained a fragmentary deep bowl (FS 285) (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 67.27 no. 1157). According to Mountjoy, it is lustrous, which could imply that it is imported, but the dot-filled joining semi-circles in the triglyph are considered a Cypriot particularity (2018, 373 fig. 194.1151). Jung (2011, 62-3, fn. 11) also notes that it is not Argive and may not be Aegean at all. If indeed local, it constitutes one of the earliest attestations of locally produced deep bowls. Another example of a deep bowl in Level IIB is a small rim fragment from Court 64 (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 98.18 no. 1989/2). It has been considered intrusive in Level IIB (Mountjoy 2018, 213 fig. 113.237; cf. also Jung 2011a, 62, fig. 5.3).

Closed vessels from Enkomi's LC IIC settlement contexts are very few and include a feeding jug (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 113.238]) and a globular jug (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 64.6 no. 4085/1). A fragment identified as a lid is decorated with sets of multiple vertical bands (pl. 67.25 no. 1716), perhaps in imitation of WS II Late decorative treatment (Mountjoy 2018, 304 fig. 159.775).

Sinda

Sinda is situated in the heart of the Mesaoria plain, approximately 15 km to the west of Enkomi. The LC settlement was established on the highest part of a rocky plateau (*Sira Tas*), perhaps in association to Enkomi's copper-acquisition flow (Karageorghis 1990b, 13). Archaeological excavations were initiated by the Swedish Expedition in 1947-8 under Furumark (1965, 100), exposing only a fraction of the site's estimated extend (cf. Iacovou 2007, 10), specifically in the Northwest area (including Tomb 1), the Gate Area and the South Area (Furumark, Adelman 2003). Three building phases were identified: the earliest occupation horizon, Sinda I, corresponds to the LC IIC period. During this period a massive Cyclopean-style fortification wall was established around the town. Period I ended in destruction (63). The town was rebuilt in the succeeding Sinda II period, which also suffered destruction, followed by limited rebuilding activities corresponding to Sinda III, the final phase before abandonment.

72 Both of these fragments derive from Level IIB-IIIA contexts and their association with LC IIC is questionable.

Aegean-style pottery assigned to Period I (= LC IIC) is scarce, but, in general, this phase produced very limited material from few deposits. Furumark has assigned a fragmentary shallow angular bowl (FS 296/295) from the Gate Area (Furumark, Adelman 2003, 92, pl. 7. P74; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 253.196) and a rim fragment of a shallow angular bowl (FS 295) to the level of Sinda I destruction (Stratum 4b) (Furumark, Adelman 2003, pl. 7.px34; Adelman 2003, pl. 1).

There were also several examples assigned to the settlement's transitional phase between the destruction of Period I and Period II, assigned to the Late IIC-early IIIA phase, cataloged under Ware O (Rude/Pastoral Style Mycenaean IIIB ware) and Ware P (Quasi-Mycenaean Painted Wheelmade III ware) (Furumark, Adelman 2003, 175). This level includes a fragmentary Rude/Pastoral Style krater decorated with a bull (Tomb 1, various contexts: Furumark, Adelman 2003, 175, pl. 7.P36; Mountjoy 2018, 461) and a carinated conical cup (Furumark, Adelman 2003, 92, pl. 7.P43; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 252.149). A large bowl in Rude Style was identified as Minoan 'oatmeal' fabric (Furumark, Adelman 2003, 91, pl. 7. px33; Adelman 2003, pl. 30), but could correspond to the grittier variant of the local production. Aegean-style pottery becomes much more popular during the subsequent Strata II-III of Sinda.

Angastina

Another relevant context from the Mesaoria region is the LC necropolis that was excavated in 1962 near the village of Angastina. Among the numerous WS II, BR II and imported Mycenaean finewares, Tomb 1, dating from the LC IIA to the end of the LC IIC period (Nicolaou 1972, 90), contained no less than seven ring-based kraters of Rude/Pastoral Style (FS 281). Two of the kraters were decorated with elaborate pictorial decorations: one depicts a bull on one side (of the style with thick upper line) and two goats on the other (T1/9, 63, pl. XV.1-2, fig. 4) and the other shows two confronting lions (T1/193, 77, pl. XV.4, fig. 4; Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, VI.22). The other kraters show geometric designs, such as 'spiral trees', dotted scales flanked by net patterns, a stylized tree, cross-hatched triangles one with spirals, concentric circles between spirals and running spirals (Nicolaou 1972, nos 1, 192, 195, 195+6, 197, pls XV.3, 5-6, pl. XIV.2). Tomb 1 also contained a "Zigzag style" krater (T1/132, 71, pl. XIV.1, fig. 4).

The Angastina tombs also contained various types of bowls,[73] such as the handleless bowl (FS 210) with string-holes on the rim (Nicolaou 1972, no. 157, pl. XIV.8, fig. 6: Tomb 1), the single-handled shallow rounded bowl (FS 244) (Nicolaou 1972, no. 50, fig. 12: Tomb 3; Karageorghis 1964, no. 10, fig. 3.10: Tomb 5), the two-handled shallow conical/rounded bowl (Type 7) (Karageorghis 1964, no. 70, 10, fig. 3.70: Tomb 5), the two-handled shallow angular bowl with sharp carination (Type 8) (Nicolaou 1972, nos 1A, 37, 42, 57, 168, pl. XIV.10, 12-13, 15, fig. 6: Tomb 1), the two-handled shallow bowl with conical lower body and soft carination (Type 9) (nos 83, 134, 160, pl. XIV, 11, 14, fig. 6: Tomb 1), the carinated bowl with conical lower body and a horizontal loop handle (Type 13) (nos 133, 162, pl. XIV.9, fig. 6: Tomb 1) and other bowls of unspecified morphology (nos 136, 156, 159, 161: Tomb 1; nos 24, 26: Tomb 3).

Tomb 1 also contained a small feeding jug with vertical bands (T1/38, 65, fig. 6.38). One of the tombs presents an interesting example of a Mycenaean-shaped pyxis (FS 96) in BR ware (Karageorghis 1964, 5, 15 fig. 4.13).

Athienou *Bamboullarin tis Koukounninas*

The site is situated in the Mesaoria plain and has been identified as an intermediary of the copper route from the mining villages to the port-of-export at Enkomi. The site was excavated by Dothan and Ben-Tor in the early 1970s and revealed four different strata. The earliest (Stratum VI) corresponds to the MC III-LCI horizon, the second (Stratum III) to the LC IIA-IIC period and the third (Stratum II) to the LC IIIA. The site was re-occupied in the Iron Age (Stratum I) (Dothan, Ben Tor 1983, 139). Excavations unearthed hundreds of miniature votive vessels deposited during Stratum III, particularly during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC (53-110), corresponding to ritual practices that coexisted with metalworking activities. The transition from Stratum III to II was not marked by destruction. There was, however, an apparent shift in the settlement's function from ritual and copper-processing to large-scale storage of agricultural produce (Webb 1999, 285).

The material pertinent to this study corresponds to Stratum III and was mostly found in pits (Dothan, Ben Tor 1983, 46). Aegean-style pottery from this level is limited and comprises a one-handled bowl (FS 244) (46-9 nos 3111, 3120, 3131, fig. 12.3) and a fragmentary

73 Nicolaou (1972, 84) and Karageorghis (1964) enlist these examples as Mycenaean IIIB1; however, judging by fabric descriptions (no mention of 'glossy paint' for the bowls listed here) and comparable examples from other sites, it is more likely that they represent local products.

ring-based krater (Rude/Pastoral Style) decorated with running spirals (46-9, fig. 12.3). Stratum III also included a deep bowl (FS 284) with simple, linear decoration (no. 3042/2, fig. 53.1, pl. 36.1), characterized by a rather squat form. Kling has suggested that part of Stratum III could belong to the later period (Stratum II) and considers the fill to date to the transitional LC IIC-IIIA period (1989, 84). Mountjoy suggests that the Stratum III deep bowl indeed dates to the latest phases of the LC IIC period and constitutes one of the earliest examples of this shape on the island (2018, 519, 522 fig. 264.6). Two two-handled shallow bowls (FS 296), identified by the excavators as possible local productions (Dothan, Ben Tor 1983, 49 figs 13.3-4), are in fact Mycenaean imports (Mountjoy 2018, 518).

6.4.3.5.2 The Larnaca Bay

Kition

The settlement at Kition presents continuous occupation from the time of its earliest establishment during the LC IIC period until nowadays; as such, archaeological research at the site is exceptionally challenging, and our knowledge of the early occupation horizons is very patchy. Remains pertinent to this study were unearthed within mortuary (Tombs 4+5, Tomb 9), residential (Area I-*Chrysopolitissa*, Kition *Bamboula*) and religious (Area II-*Kathari*) contexts. There has been much discussion on the stratigraphic correlation of the deposits within Tombs 4+5, the two distinct burial levels of Tomb 9 (Lower and Upper Burial) and the stratigraphic sequence of the settlement strata in Areas I and II.[74] The analysis of stratigraphic data is beyond the scope of this contribution. The present study focuses on Floor IV deposits, Tombs 4+5 and the Lower Burial of Tomb 9, which are dated to the LC IIC, while also briefly examining the evidence from Floor IV-IIIA and Tomb 9-Upper Burial, which is considered as late LC IIC and early IIIA.

Tombs 4+5 are two chambers antithetically arranged on either side of a common dromos in Area I. The material was thoroughly disturbed, but the final deposition dates to the very end of the LC IIC period (Karageorghis 1974, 41). Most of the remains from these contexts are WS and BR ware vessels, as well as imported LH IIIB wares. Aegean-style pottery from Tombs 4+5[75] included at least two fragmentary ring-based

74 Cf. Karageorghis, Demas 1985, 42-4, 263-78; Kling 1989a, 75-9; Sherratt 1991, 190, fn. 7; Mountjoy 2018, 588-93, tab. 58.

75 Most of which is referred to as "Rude Style" or "Late Mycenaean IIIB" by the excavator (Karageorghis 1974, 39).



Figure 6.6 Aegean-style pottery of Interaction Period 4. 26. Jugs from Kition-Bamboula, Sondage 13 (Illustration from Yon, Caubet 1985, Nos 303, 306). 27. Rude/Pastoral krater fragment depicting bird and tree motif, from Kition-Bamboula, Sondage 10 (No. 847) (photo by the Author, published by permission of the ©French Mission at Kition). 28. Amphoroid pedestalled krates of Zigzag Style from Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb 1 (illustration from Karageorghis 1976, pl. LXIX, Nos T1.2/87). 29. a-c: two-handled shallow/deep bowls with conical/rounded body (Types 6-7), d. two-handled shallow bowl with subtle carination (FS 296/295), e. handleless bowl with hemispherical body (Type 5), f. handleless bowl with wide, flat base (Type 3 variant), g. stirrup jar decorated in Simple Style, h. stemmed shallow bowl (FS 310) and i. deep bowl (FS 284) from Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb 1 (illustrations from Karageorghis 1976, pls. LXVII, LXIX, LXX, Nos 6, 56, 33, 60, 78A, 46, 27, 80, 16). 30. Rude/Pastoral style krater from Klavdhia, BM C421 (illustration from Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, VI.11). 31. Aegean-style vessels from Pyla-Kokkinokremos: a. shallow angular bowl (FS 296/295), b. two-handled conical shallow bowl (Type 7), c. small, handleless ring-base bowl (Type 2), d-e. juglets (Illustrations from Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, pl. VIII.63, .55, .105, .47, .71). 32. Deep bowls from Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Illustration from Karageorghis, Demas 1984, pl. XXXV.1952/22-3)

kraters (Rude/Pastoral Style), decorated with bulls and trees (31 nos 200, 211A+B, pls. XIII, CXXII). As with other contexts, the majority of the locally produced Aegean-style pottery from this context are bowls, specifically, the linear shallow bowl (FS 296/295) **[fig. 6.5: 20]**: e.g. nos 143, 145-50, 188, 199 (Karageorghis 1974, 25, pl. XXXII-IV, CXX-IX-CXXX) and the two-handled, shallow angular bowl (Type 9): e.g. nos 152, 191 (Karageorghis 1974, 26, pl. CXXX: 152A). Karageorghis also mentions a fragmentary kylix, with matt paint, but it is unclear whether this is indeed local (Karageorghis 1974, 30 no. 193, pl. XXVI). Closed vessels from this context include feeding jugs (Karageorghis 1974, nos 202-3, pl. CXX), piriform jars (FS 36) (e.g. Karageorghis 1974, no. 195, pl. XV) and significant numbers of medium and small-sized jugs (FS 116 and variants) (e.g. Karageorghis 1974, nos 111, 115, 117, 177A+B, 194, 214A-C, 218, pls XXII, XVI, XVII CXXIV, CXXV, CXXVIII).

Tomb 9 is a trilobe, undisturbed, chamber tomb, with two distinct burial levels: the Lower (confined to the eastern part) and Upper Burial, divided by a layer of sandy soil. The tomb contained a profusion of Aegean-style material, mostly in the form of bowls (cf. Mountjoy 2018, 87, tab. 6). As mentioned above, for the purposes of this study, only the material from the Lower Burial will be considered thoroughly, as clearly corresponding to a LC IIC date. There were six fragmentary Rude/Pastoral ring-based kraters found in this context: three decorated with bulls (with thick outline of the bull's upper body) **[fig. 6.5: 21]** (Karageorghis 1974, nos 40, 124, 130, pls LV-LVI, CXLIV, CXLVI), two decorated with running spirals (Karageorghis 1974, nos 109-10, 53-4, pls LV, CXLIV) and one body fragment with linear decoration (Karageorghis 1974, no. 129, pl. CXLVI).

Locally produced Aegean-style pottery from Tomb 9-Lower Burial comprise mostly bowls. These include specimens of the two-handled shallow bowl with conical sides (FS 296) featuring linear decoration **[fig. 6.5: 22.a-c]**.[76] There were also examples of the two-handled, relatively shallow, bowl with conical body (Type 6) such e.g. bowl no. 49 (Karageorghis 1974, pl. CXLVII; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 297.245). There were also locally made kylikes of the conical form (some slightly angular in the middle of the bowl) (FS 274), decorated by running spirals and horizontal wavy/zigzag band, on the handle zone (e.g. nos 61, 69, 70, 88: Karageorghis 1974, 49-50, pls LI, LIII, CXLI-II). Closed vessels comprise medium-sized jugs (FS 116) **[fig. 6.5: 23]** (Karageorghis 1974, nos 27-8, 45, 84, 92, pls XLVI, XLVIII, CXL, CXLV). A noteworthy find from this assemblage is an imported Mycenaean bowl, which evidently emulates the Y-shaped form and the characteristic

76 E.g. nos 50, 57-8, 76, 117-18, 126, with patterned decoration inside (Karageorghis 1974, pls LIX-LXI, LXIII, CXLVII; Mountjoy 2018, figs 297.238-9) or with soft carination on the upper part (FS 296/295) such as e.g. bowl no. 59 (Karageorghis 1974, pls LX, CX-LVII; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 297.240).

wishbone handle of BR wares **[fig. 6.3: 4]** (Karageorghis 1974, no. 12, pls LIV, CXLIII).

Aegean-style pottery from the Upper Burial is much more plentiful. There was a remarkable concentration of bowls of varying forms (cf. Karageorghis 1974, pls. CLV-CLXII; Mountjoy 2018, tab. 6), including two deep bowls of small size **[fig. 6.5: 22.d-e]**. One has curve-stemmed antithetic spirals springing from the lower band (Karageorghis 1974, 81-2, pl. CLVII.339) and the other has a floral-motif (70, pl. CLVII.138). They are both rather oddly made (especially no. 339, a miniature), perhaps suggesting a period of experimentation.

From Kition's residential and workshop contexts in Area I (*Chrysopolitissa*), a few LC IIC Aegean-style vessels have been published from Floor IV, preserved in a rather fragmentary state. In addition to the publication by Karageorghis and Demas (1985), Mountjoy's recent publication includes several fragments that were known only as groups of tray material in the original publication. Open vessels from this level concern sherds of ring-based kraters of Rude/Pastoral Style, decorated with bulls (Karageorghis, Demas 1985, pl. IX; Mountjoy 2018, figs 284.17-18, 286.60; Karageorghis et al. 1981, no. 1135, pls III.33, VIII.10), possible goats (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 285.306), spirals (Karageorghis, Demas 1985, pl. IX; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 284.19) and unidentifiable motifs (Karageorghis, Demas 1985, 6 no. 1140, pls IX, XXXIX; Mountjoy 2018, figs 284.20, 286.54, 62). Floor IV also included two-handled shallow bowls with conical sides (FS 296) (Mountjoy 2018, figs 284.9, 286.63), with soft carination (FS 296/295) (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 284.21) and with shallow rounded/conical body (Type 7) (Mountjoy 2018, figs 284.10, 285.30). There was also an angular bowl, with a single horizontal loop handle (Type 13) (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 285.37), a fragment of a cup (FS 232) (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 284.8) and of a basin (FS 294) (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 284.7). Floor IV in Area I contained a fragment of a deep bowl in an early form (FS 284) with linear decoration (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 285.39, from Room 43+43A). Other fragments of Aegean-style pottery, mostly deep bowls of the Wavy Line Style, are considered contaminations from succeeding floors (Mountjoy 2018, 558-60). Closed vessels from Floor IV of Area I comprise feeding jugs (Mountjoy 2018, figs 284.4-6) and a small fragment of a trefoil-mouthed jug (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 286.60, from Room 44).

At the site of *Kathari*, Floor IV corresponds to the earliest occupation phase, when two temples were constructed in between an open-air area, identified as a sacred garden (Karageorghis, Demas 1985, 24-38). There were no Aegean-style finewares published in the original publication of Floor IV at *Kathari*, but Mountjoy's re-examination has recorded a corpus of fragmentary material that includes fragments of deep bowls (FS 285) (2018, figs 318.405-11), and of a bowl (possibly Type 7) (2018, fig. 318.403). Floor IV also contained

fragments of of a cup (FS 215) (2018, fig. 318.404) and of a dipper (FS 236) (2018, fig. 318.402).

The locally made Aegean-style material found in Floor IV-III in both areas increases in numbers and in repertoire. Open shapes include deep bowls (FS 285), bell kraters (FS 281-2) and a wide range of bowl types (Karageorghis, Demas 1985, 9-19, 93-6; Mountjoy 2018, 572-88, 638-9).

Aegean-style pottery of the LC IIC period was also contained in the trench excavated by the French Mission at Kition *Bamboula*, known as Sondage L-N 13, specifically within Locus 314, with material dating from the LC IIB-IIIA periods (Yon, Caubet 1985). The corpus contained no less than eleven ring-based kraters in the Rude/Pastoral Style:[77] an almost complete vessel, depicting a pair of running bulls on either side of the vase, with a schematically drawn snake on one side (Yon, Caubet 1985, no. 264, figs 56-7) **[fig. 6.5: 24]** and more fragments showing bulls (Yon, Caubet 1985, nos 266, 269, figs 57-8), a fragmentary krater with a possible goat motif (Yon, Caubet 1985, no. 265, figs 57-8),[78] two fragments depicting birds, including one showing a pair of birds on either side of a floral motif (Yon, Caubet 1985, nos 267-8, figs 58-9), one with stemmed spirals (Yon, Caubet 1985, no. 270, figs 58-9), while the rest are too fragmentary to discern motifs (Yon, Caubet 1985, nos 271, 272a-c, fig. 59).

This context also contained several complete and fragmentary bowls, such as the shallow angular bowl (FS 296/295) (Yon, Caubet 1985, fig. 53.246) **[fig. 6.5: 25.a]**, the small, handleless bowl with flaring conical sides and carination on the lower body (Type 3) (fig. 53.247 and a possible variant, fig. 53.252), the two-handled shallow bowl with conical lower body and soft carination (Type 9) (Yon, Caubet 1985, fig. 53.248) **[fig. 6.5: 25.c]** and the two-handled deep angular bowl (Type 10)[79] (Yon, Caubet 1985, fig. 53.245). The same context included a squat variant of the deep bowl (Yon, Caubet 1985, fig. 53.251) **[fig. 6.5: 25.b]**. There were also several fragments of medium-sized jugs with long, concave neck (FS 116) (Yon, Caubet 1985, nos 303, 305-6, 309, figs 67-8) **[fig. 6.6: 26]**.

The renewed excavations at the site of *Bamboula* by the French Mission at Kition (Fourrier 2018) present a comparable picture. To the safely assigned layers of the LC IIC phase, belong a few Aegean-style finewares, that include, among others, shallow angular bowls (FS 295/296) and Rude/Pastoral style ring-based kraters with bull and bird motifs **[fig. 6.6: 27]** (Georgiou, Georgiadou, Fourrier 2022-3).

77 Some of these fragments could belong to the same vessel.

78 The excavators identify the fragmentarily preserved animal as a bull; however, the posture and the horns suggest that this is more likely a goat.

79 The type appears to mostly correspond to LC IIIA contexts elsewhere on the island.

These will be included in the conclusive publication of the excavation, currently under preparation (Fourrier et al. forthcoming).

Hala Sultan Tekke

Hala Sultan Tekke was another major LC center within Larnaca Bay, located at just a short distance from Kition. It was founded during MC III and flourished as a cosmopolitan harbor town as a result of its sheltered harbor, nowadays corresponding to the Larnaca Salt Lake. It was systematically investigated under Paul Åström between 1971-2005 (cf. latest volume Åström, Nys 2007), and is currently the focus of fieldwork research by a New Swedish Cyprus Expedition, directed by Peter Fischer (Fischer, Bürge 2018).

The material unearthed by Åström was exceptionally fragmentary and most of it has been assigned to the final phase of occupation, dating to the LC IIIA period. The results of these long-term expeditions were published in a series of detailed, yet preliminary reports, without straightforward stratigraphic correlations, which makes it difficult to clearly discuss material deriving from LC IIC strata. These early missions at Hala Sultan Tekke brought to light fragments of ring-based kraters decorated in Rude/Pastoral Style, featuring bulls (e.g. Åström et al. 1977, fig. 41.1-5) and birds (e.g. Åström et al. 1983, fig. 351).

The contents of two tomb-groups were collected by the Department of Antiquities in 1952 and 1967, following works by the Irrigation Department (Karageorghis 1976, 71-2). Tomb 1 dates to the LC IIB-IIC period and Tomb 2 to the LCIB/IIA-LC IIC (Keswani 2004, tab. 5.11). Aegean-style remains from these burial contexts[80] include complete and fragmentary vessels in Rude/Pastoral Style. One example is characterized by an elongated shape and is decorated by the motif of a bull feeding from a tree, shown on either side of the handle-zone. The animal is drawn in outline, with a much thicker upper part (Karageorghis 1976, T.1.22, pls L, LXVI). A second krater is embellished by a pair of messily drawn goats facing right, flanking a tree, on either side of the vessel (T.1.86, pls L, LXVI). A third krater has a squat shape and is decorated by six stylized tree motifs, vertically arranged on a panel on either side of the vessel (T.1.88, pl. L, LXVI).

There were also large amphoroid kraters with thick vertical bands extending from rim to shoulder, and featuring a tall pedestal base, which find parallels in Plain White Wheelmade I (PWWm) examples or

80 It is difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty which of these vessels are in fact local products and not imports, as most are indicated as 'Myceanean IIIB' (otherwise listed as 'Decorated Wheelmade ware' or 'White Painted Wheelmade II ware'). Comparable shapes and fabric description, as well as the excavator's comments, are taken into consideration (Karageorghis 1976, 76, 86).

may draw from metallic prototypes. They are of the Zigzag style, decorated by rows of thick zigzag bands and multiple bands on the lower body[81] (Karageorghis 1976, T.1.2, T.1.87, pls LIII, LXIX) **[fig. 6.6: 28]**.

The corpus also included bowls of various types. The two-handled bowl with a shallow or relatively deep, rounded body (Types 6-7) was especially popular in this assemblage (Karageorghis 1976, T.1.6, 20, 24, 32-3, 59, 61-70, 72-3, pls LXIX) **[fig. 6.6: 29.a-c]**. There were also a few examples of the shallow bowl with subtle carination (FS 296/295) (Karageorghis 1976 T.1.36, 60, pl. LXX) **[fig. 6.6: 29.d]**, the handleless bowl with concave sides and a wide, flat base (Type 3-variant) (Karageorghis 1976, T.1.46, pls LI, LXIX) **[fig. 6.6: 29.f]**, the hemispherical handleless bowl with flattened base (Type 5) painted solid (Karageorghis 1976, T.1.78, 78A, pl. LXIX) **[fig. 6.6: 29.e]**, and the two-handled shallow angular bowl (Type 8) (Karageorghis 1976, T.1.71, pl. LXX). The context also included a deep bowl (FS 284) decorated with a horizontal wavy line on the handle-zone (Karageorghis 1976, T.1.16, pls LI, LXVII) **[fig. 6.6: 29.i]** and a high-pedestal bowl (FS 310) (Karageorghis 1976, T.1.80, pl. LXIX) **[fig. 6.6: 29.h]**.

Closed vessels from Tombs 1-2 at Hala Sultan Tekke include a stirrup jar in the so-called 'Simple Style' decorated by thick horizontal bands on the entire surface[82] (Karageorghis 1976, T.1.27, pl. LXIX) **[fig. 6.6: 29.g]**. There were also several medium-sized jugs, characterized by a globular body with flat base and a narrow, concave neck (Karageorghis 1976, T.1.38, 84, T.2.188,[83] pls LIII, LXIX, LXI, LXXXII).

The contents of another tomb, discovered in close proximity to Tombs 1-2, have been dated from the LC IIA to the beginning of the LC IIIA period, but the majority of this assemblage dates to the LC IIB-C phases (Samaes, Nys 2010, 215). The corpus includes 25 fragments of Rude/Pastoral Style kraters, including one decorated with a bull (Samaes, Nys 2010, 208) and 52 fragments of shallow bowls, including a handleless, hemispherical bowl with ring-base (possibly Type 5) (Samaes, Nys 2010, T.1/17, fig. 6.2), a shallow bowl with rounded sides (possibly Type 7) (Samaes, Nys 2010, T.1/19, fig. 6.3). The corpus also includes a miniature closed vessel, which was published as an imported LH IIIB alabastron (Samaes, Nys 2010, T.1/11, fig. 4.1), but was re-considered as a miniature carinated jug, with bichrome decoration by Mountjoy (2018, fig. 374.346). A few locally produced Aegean-style vessels possibly date to the LC IIIA (e.g. fragments of piriform jars, and a conical kylix: Samaes, Nys 2010, figs 5.8-10, 6.1).

81 They were published as "White Painted Wheelmade II ware" (Karageorghis 1976, 76).

82 A second vessel of this type is described as having "glossy paint" and could be an import (Karageorghis 1976, T2.181).

83 Decorated in 'simple style' according to Mountjoy (2018, 758 fig. 374.345).

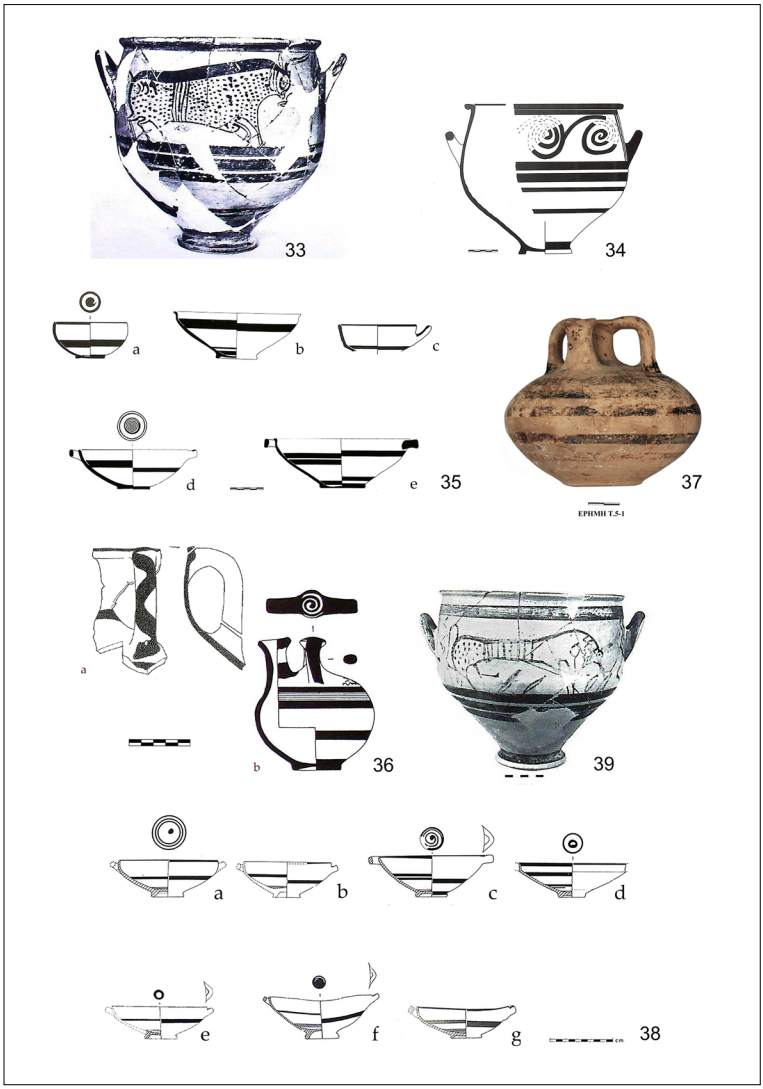


Figure 6.7 Aegean-style pottery of Interaction Period 4. 33. Rude/Pastoral style krater from Pyla-Verghi, Tomb 1.47 (illustration from Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, VI.13). 34. Krater with running spiral from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (illustrations from South et al. 1989, fig. 13). 35. a. Small handleless bowl (FS 210) (KAD1048), b. two-handled shallow, conical bowl with rounded carination (FS 196/295) (KAD1035), c. small, angular bowl with one horizontal handle (Type 13), d-e. two-handled, shallow conical bowls (FS 296) (KAD1036-7) from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (illustrations from South et al. 1989, fig. 12). 36. a. Jug with linear decoration (KAD1080) and stirrup jar (KAD15) from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (illustrations from South et al. 1989, figs 13-14). 37. Stirrup jar in Simple Style from Erimi Tomb 5, possibly produced in Cyprus (Illustration from Karageorghis, Violaris 2012). 38. Bowls from Palaepaphos-Teratsoudhia (Types 6-9): a. K47, b. K48, c. M2, d.M6, e. O1, f. O11, g. O12 (Illustrations from Karageorghis 1990b, pls. XLVII, XLIX). 39. Rude/Pastoral Style krater from Kazaphani-Ayios Andronikos (illustration from Nicolaou, Nicolaou 1989, pl. XIV)

From the New Swedish Cyprus expedition at Hala Sultan Tekke, the material concerned in this study corresponds to Stratum 3 (late LC IIC period), which was excavated only in segments (Fischer, Bürge 2018, 36, 255). Aegean-style vessels in WPWm ware include a fragment of a possible Rude/Pastoral style krater (Fischer, Bürge 2018, fig. 3.29: 5) and several types of bowls, e.g. the small, handleless bowl with flaring upper body (Type 2) (Fischer, Bürge 2018, fig. 3.28: 4), the two-handled, carinated, shallow bowl (Type 9) (Fischer, Bürge 2018, figs 3.28: 6-7, the latter being a possible patterned example), a base fragment of a possible shallow-handleless bowl with solid paint inside and outside (Type 1) (Fischer, Bürge 2018, fig. 3.28: 5) and a fragmentary mug (FS 229?) (Fischer, Bürge 2018, fig. 3.28: 8). Stratum 3 also contained several deep bowls (Fischer, Bürge 2018, figs 3.29: 1-4, 6).

Dromolaxia

The LC site at the village of Dromolaxia, near the Hala Sultan Tekke settlement, was investigated on behalf of the British Expedition in 1897-8 at the localities *Kremnos*, *Angathia*, *Vounaropoulos* and *Trypes* (Witzel 1979). Subsequent excavations conducted by the Department of Antiquities exposed part of a cemetery at the locality *Trypes* (Lubsen-Admiraal 1982), and fieldwork by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition recorded two wells and three tombs in this area (Åström 1977; Witzel 1979, 182).

The material recovered from the two wells did not contain any Aegean-style finewares, but the excavated tombs produced a few examples.[84] These included fragments of two Rude/Pastoral Style kraters,[85] one decorated with four waterbirds and the second with a bull lowering its head to feed from a tree (Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, T.1.104-5, pl. V.4, fig. 5). There were also 28 "Late Mycenaean IIIB dishes" in "Mycenaeanising fabrics" (Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, nos 19, 49, 83-9, 102 and 116.s) (Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, 51). The types that can be identified from the illustrated specimens are the shallow, rounded bowl (FS 244-no handle preserved) (Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, T.1.83, pl. V.10) and the two-handled shallow conical/angular bowl (Types 7/9) (Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, T.1.85, pl. V.7-8)

84 The term 'Mycenaean IIIB' is used for the imported, as well as for the locally produced ceramics, making it difficult to determine which of these vessels are indeed of local production.

85 Lubsen-Admiraal considers a third fragment (1982, no. 16, fig. 5, pl. V.3) as a Rude/Pastoral Style krater, but its decorative syntax would suggest that this is probably a Late Helladic IIIB imported vessel.

Klavdia *Tremithos*

A MC and LC cemetery was excavated by the British Mission in 1899 at the locality of *Tremithos* near the village of Klavdia (Malmgren 2003). The latest burials date to the LC IIC period (110-11). Among the many burial gifts, is a complete Rude/Pastoral Style krater depicting a bull with an elongated body, shown in outline, with a thicker upper part (BM C421) (Karageorghis 1965b, 239-40, pl. XXIV.6) **[fig. 6.6: 30]**.

Pyla *Kokkinokremos*

The settlement of Pyla *Kokkinokremos* is located on top of a rocky plateau overlooking the Dhekelia bay. The site stands out for its very short duration and the plethora of imported finds from Mycenaean Greece, Minoan Crete, the Syro-Palestinian coast and Egypt. *Kokkinokremos* has been the focus of multiple excavations (Dikaios 1969-71, 896-07; Karageorghis, Demas 1984; Karageorghis, Kanta 2014), and is currently being investigated by a multi-institutional team (Bretschneider, Driessen, Kanta 2021; Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2023). The inhabitants abandoned the settlement in haste leaving behind large and smaller-sized vessels, as well as a number of hoards. This single-period site was never reoccupied and its excavation provides a rare glimpse onto the period. The site dates to the final stages of the LC IIC period and perhaps very early into LC IIIA (cf. Mountjoy 2018, 547).

Pyla *Kokkinokremos* has produced a substantial number of locally made Rude/Pastoral Style vessels, including two rare examples in the form of amphoroid kraters. The first is decorated with a row of vertical double spirals on the shoulder and a bull figure on the main body (Karageorghis, Demas 1984, no. 1953/V-21-5; cf. recent joints in Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 268-70). The second, found during the latest expedition at the site, depicts a pair of trees (olive trees?) separated by a vertical panel (Kostopoulou 2021, PK17 774, fig. 38). The rest of the Rude/Pastoral Style kraters recovered from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* are of the commoner, ring-based type FS 281. There are several examples known so far, most of which show bulls, with a thick upper part, eating from trees[86] and one showing short-stem spirals springing from panels and joining semicircles (Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2015, 32 fig. 27; Kostopoulou 2021, PK13 175, fig. 27; Caloi 2023, 228 figs 6.1.1, 6.1.8).

The bowl types represented at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* include the two-handled shallow bowl with slight carination (FS 296/295) with

86 Karageorghis, Demas 1984, no. 96; Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2015, 30 fig. 23-4; Karageorghis 2018, fig. 6; Kostopoulou 2021, PK14-56, 14-57, 14-86, PK15-390, figs 20-2, 26.

bichrome decoration (Karageorghis, Georgiou 2014, no. 63, pl. VIII) **[fig. 6.6: 31a]**, a small, handleless bowl with low ring-base (Type 2) (Karageorghis, Georgiou 2014, no. 105, pl. VIII) **[fig. 6.6: 31.c]**, the two-handled shallow conical bowl (Type 7) (Karageorghis, Georgiou 2014, no. 55, pl. VIII) **[fig. 6.6: 31.b]**, the relatively deep bowl, with concave upper body (Type 8) (Karageorghis, Georgiou 2014, no. 31, pl. VIII) and a substantial number of other fragmentary shallow bowls (Georgiou 2012, tab. 7, pls 26-73; on the recently excavated material, cf. Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 268). There was also a shallow straight-sided carinated cup (FS 232) (Kostopoulou 2021, PK17 1232, fig. 42; Kostopoulou, Jung 2023 fig. 6.3.13B).

Pyla *Kokkinokremos* also contained a few deep bowls, of the FS 284 type, with a rather straight profile (Dikaios 1969-71, 1952.22-3; Karageorghis, Demas 1984, no. 1952.22-3, 91; L), two of which are decorated by antithetic short-stemmed spirals **[fig. 6.6: 32]**. The renewed excavations at the site also included a few deep bowls, again decorated with antithetic spirals (Kostopoulou 2021, PK16 606, fig. 25), and one decorated by a clumsily drawn running spiral (Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 266 fig. 6.3.16).

Locally produced Aegean-style closed vessels from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* include a large amphoroid krater, decorated by vertical panels filled with joining festoons/zigzags (Karageorghis, Demas 1984, no. 105), small-sized juglets (108; Karageorghis, Georgiou 2014, nos 47, 71) **[fig. 6.6: 31.d-e]**, a slender juglet of FS 136 form (Caloi 2023 fig. 6.1.3) and a jug with a slender neck (Karageorghis, Demas 1984, 1952/21). The site also included piriform jars of possible local production (Karageorghis, Georgiou 2014, nos 1-2, color plate IV; Kostopoulou 2021, PK14 376, fig. 23) and a shoulder-handled amphoriskos (Kostopoulou 2021, PK17 1097, fig. 40). Preliminary reports also mention the occurrence of other, locally produced Aegean-style vessels, such as a stirrup jar (PK14178) and an alabastron (PK18 1203) (Bretschneider, Kanta, Driessen 2015; Kostopoulou 2021).[87] Among the assemblage of closed vessels from Pyla-Kokkinokremos stands out a fragmentary stirrup jar in 'Simple Style' covered in thick horizontal bands (Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 266 fig. 6.3.13C), as well as a large amphoroid krater with two vertical handles, decorated by a large zigzag motif on the shoulder zone (Kostopoulou, Jung 2023, 264 fig. 6.3.13A), in analogy to 'Zigzag kraters', known from other LC sites.

87 Some of the specimens have been also referred to as Mycenaean imports (cf. PK14-78, Caloi 2023, 228).

Pyla *Verghi*

In the wider Pyla region there were also several other sites excavated that pre-date or are contemporary to the *Kokkinokremos* settlement (Masson 1966), including a plundered chamber tomb at Pyla *Verghi*. Five Rude/Pastoral Style kraters were contained in this burial context, three of which are decorated with bulls featuring exaggeratedly elongated bodies, shown feeding from trees (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 234.46, 47, pl. 233.3) **[fig. 6.7: 33]**. A fourth krater depicts tree/bush motifs with a triangular patch (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 233.4; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 280.16) and the fifth one shows running spirals on the handle-zone (Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 234.1; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 280.17).

6.4.3.5.3 Central Cyprus

Idalion

The acropolis of Idalion, situated at the locality of *Ampileri*, was established during the course of the late thirteenth-early twelfth century BC, possibly as a result of the agglomeration of communities in the wider region (e.g. Agios Sozomenos). LC IIC occupation at the ridges of *Ampileri* has been attested by the evidence provided by several mortuary contexts, such as Tomb 1.76 (Stager, Walker 1989, 119-201), *Petrera* and *Ayios Georgios* (Hadjicosti 1999, 36), and the necropolis of Idalion *Kafkallia* (Overbeck, Swiny 1972). Limited LC IIC pottery scatters were also found on top of the acropolis (Gjerstad et al. 1935, 624).

Aegean-style vessels from Tomb 1.76 include a small number of bowls, such as: a two-handled shallow bowl with subtle carination[88] (FS 296/295) (Adelman 1989, no. 36, fig. 10, pl. 10), a handleless, semi-globular bowl with flaring sides and ring-base (Type 2) (Adelman 1989, no. 32, fig. 9, pl. 9), two one-handled bowls with grooved rim (Type 12) (Adelman 1989, nos 30-1, fig. 9, pl. 9) and a few examples of the two-handled bowl with conical body and incurving rim (Type 6) (Adelman 1989, nos 33-5, figs 9-10, pls 9-10). There was also a feeding jug with a basket handle (FS 161) (Adelman 1989, no. 37, fig. 10, pl. 10).

From looted Tomb G at the *Kafkallia* cemetery, which was in use from the MC III period, a small number of Aegean-style pottery were unearthed, alongside LH IIIA-B imports and BR I-II, WS I-II, Plain and Coarse ware vessels. Since no stratification was apparent (Overbeck, Swiny 1972, 7), the Aegean-style remains cannot be safely assigned to

88 This specimen is unusual in that the handles are set below rim, instead of on the rim.

the LC IIC period, although the specimens preserved are largely consistent with LC IIC forms noted from other sites. The corpus includes an almost complete Rude/Pastoral Style krater with birds flanking a tree on one side and a bird and a highly schematized bull on the other (14 no. 53, fig. 25-6) and a second specimen decorated by running spirals (Overbeck, Swiny 1972, no. 101; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 272.16). Another krater has a rather squat form and features vertical handles and a panel with messily drawn lines (Overbeck-Swiny 1972, no. 39; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 271.14). Tomb G also contained several types of bowls, such as the one-handled bowl (FS 244) with rounded body (Overbeck-Swiny 1972, nos 43, 103; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 271.7-8), and conical body (Overbeck-Swiny 1972, nos 30, 42; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 271.9-10), the high pedestal bowl (FS 310) (Overbeck-Swiny 1972, nos 37-8; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 271.11-12), the two-handled bowl with a relatively deep and rounded body (Type 6) (Overbeck-Swiny 1972, nos 25, 41; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 273.17-18), the two-handled bowl with a relatively deep body and carination on the upper part (Type 8) (Overbeck-Swiny 1972, nos 23, 27-8; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 273.19-21) and the one-handled bowl with angular profile (Type 13) (Overbeck-Swiny 1972, nos 26, 29; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 273.22-3). Closed vessels include a small straight-sided alabastron with pierced lug-handles (Overbeck-Swiny 1972, no. 44, fig. 22). Chemical analyses of sampled Aegean-style pottery from Idalion assigned it mostly to CypI (Enkomi), with fewer cases assigned to CypT (Hala Sultan Tekke), CypF (Alassa) and the unspecified profiles X077-8 (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 425-7).

The excavations by the Swedish Expedition on top of the *Ampileri* hill revealed several extremely fragmentary Aegean-style vessels, assigned to three strata I-III (Ålin 1978), which all seem to be assigned within the LC III period. The Department of Antiquities' excavations within and close to the administrative building of the first millennium BC produced important data for the town's LC IIC-IIIA horizon (Hadjicosti 1999, 37-8). The Aegean-style remains known from preliminary reports include a fragment of a Rude/Pastoral style krater[89] with a depiction of bull/goat and tree (1997, fig. 4). Other fragments of pictorial kraters and of shallow and deep bowls illustrated in these preliminary reports are probably of LC IIIA date (1997, figs 5-7). This material is currently under study for publication.

89 Published as a closed vessel (Hadjicosti 1997, fig. 4), which could be an amphoroid krater.

Agios Sozomenos

Within the nowadays abandoned village of Agios Sozomenos, lay the remains of several LC sites scattered across this diverse landscape, that have been recently investigated by an integrated fieldwork project (Pilides 2018). Two settlement clusters that accommodated large-scale storage and industrial facilities were identified at the sites of *Tzirpoulos* and *Ampelia* and two fort sites were traced at *Barsak* and *Nikolides*. Occupation in these localities ceased by the end of the thirteenth century BC (84-6), possibly in relation to the foundation of Idalion. Preliminary reports mention the occurrence of WPWm III finewares at *Ampelia* (84) and additional information will be drawn from the conclusive publication of this project.

Akhera

Three intact pit tombs were excavated by the Department of Antiquities in the locality *Chiflik Paradisi*, two of which (Tombs 2 and 3) date to the LC IIC periods (Karageorghis 1965; Keswani 2004, 135). In addition to BR and WS vessels, the two tombs contained significant numbers of imported vessels from Mycenaean Greece. Three stirrup jars from Tomb 2 feature broad horizontal bands covering the entire surface of the vessel (Karageorghis 1965b, nos 7, 25, 32, fig. 31), a decorative syntax that typifies vessels in the so-called 'Simple Style', some of which were evidently produced in Cyprus (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 471-4). Mountjoy, who has examined the Akhera 'Simple Style' stirrup jars, suggests that they comprise imports and possibly acted as prototypes for local production (2018, 65-6).

Aredhiou *Vouppes*

The settlement of *Vouppes* at Aredhiou was a LC rural community in the Cypriot hinterland, initially occupied during MC III-LCI, but the main evidence for occupation is the LC IIC (Steel 2016). According to the excavator, the preferred vessels for consuming wine were shallow bowls imported from the Aegean, but also local imitations of these forms, in addition to the common BR carinated cup and WS hemispherical bowl (527).

Other LC sites in central Cyprus

Several entries in the Cyprus Museum Inventory mention finds in the villages of Mathiatis, Ayia Varvara, Alambra, Sha, Lythrodontas,

Kataliondas, Analiondas, Margi and Kotchiatis, although it is not clear whether these refer to LC remains (Hadjicosti 1991, 88-9, tab. 3). A tomb excavated in the vicinity of the Politico village (ancient Tamassos) did not contain any Aegean-style wares, even though its latest burials date to the LC IIC period (Karageorghis, Kenna, Ducos 1965). At the neighboring village of Mathiatis, a poorly preserved tomb was excavated (Tomb 2), dating to the LCI-IIC period. Again, no Aegean-style finewares were reported from this context (Hadjicosti 1991). A LC looted tomb, excavated in the area of Dheneia, that dates to the LC IIB period, contained very few burial gifts, without any locally produced Aegean-style vessels (Hadjisavvas 1985).

6.4.3.5.4 The South-Central Coast

Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*

The monumental ashlar-built remains excavated at the site of Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* correspond to the urban and administrative center that dominated the Vasilikos Valley from the fifteenth century to the end of the thirteenth century BC. This well-planned settlement accommodated large-scale storage and administrative functions, as well as wealthy intra-mural tombs. The Aegean-style remains presented in this section derive from preliminary and conclusive publications of settlement and mortuary data (South, Russel, Keswani 1989; South 1996; 2006, 133-4), in anticipation for the forthcoming comprehensive publication of the finds from *Ayios Dhimitrios*.

A large group of pottery found in a deep shaft inside the large administrative Building X included 56% Mycenaean and local Mycenaean styles, mainly cups and bowls (South 1988, 227-8; 2002, 61), but no additional information is provided. The corpus of known Aegean-style pottery included a few fragmentary Rude/Pastoral Style kraters, some showing animals, identified as bulls (Russel 1989, fig. 13: 1041-2A-B; South 1991, fig. 2: 1388; 1997, fig. 9: 2247). There was also an almost complete krater with a running spiral on the handle-zone (Russel 1989, fig. 13.536) **[fig. 6.7: 34]**.

Bowl shapes represented at Kalavasos are the small handleless bowl (FS 210) (Russel 1989, fig. 12: KAD1048; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 377.3-7) **[fig. 6.7: 35.a]**, the small, handleless bowl with flaring conical sides (Type 3) (South 1988, 226, KAD 1268, fig. 2) **[fig. 6.7: 35.b]**, the two-handled, shallow, wide conical bowl (FS 296) (Russel 1989, KAD1036, 1037, fig. 12; South 1997, T13.78, pl. XV.3; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 378.14-20) **[fig. 6.7: 35.d-e]** and FS 296/295 with rounded carination (South 1988, KAD1257, fig. 2; Russel 1989, KAD1035, fig. 12) **[fig. 6.7: 35.c]**, and its development into Types 6 and 7 (South 1997, pl. XV.4, right; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 380.30-2), a fragmentary hemispherical

handleless bowl (Type 5) (South 1984, KAD-83-128, fig. 4.18), as well as few examples of the one-handled bowl with angular profile (Type 13) (Russel 1989, KAD1038, fig. 12; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 380.35-6). The corpus also included several shallow cups (FS 220) and carinated cups (FS 232) of possible local production (e.g. South 1988, KAD 1250, 1259, fig. 2; Mountjoy 2018, 766 fig. 377.9-13). Notably, no deep bowls have been published from Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* so far.

Closed vessels of Aegean-style from Kalavasos include jugs (FS 116) (e.g. South 1988, 226 fig. 2;[90] Russel 1989, pl. 5: 1053-4, fig. 14: 1080) and stirrup jars **[fig. 6.7: 36]**, one of which is decorated with a triangular scale motif (Russel 1989, fig. 13.1043),[91] while others are assigned to the Simple Style, decorated with series of broad bands throughout the vessels' body (KAD 15, fig. 13; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 379.22-3). There was also a small feeding jug with the typical decoration in vertical bands (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 380.28).

Based on chemical analyses, some of the Aegean-style pottery from Kalavasos were consisted with production centers at Kition/Hala Sultan Tekke, Enkomi and Kouklia (766).

Maroni *Vournes/Tsaroukas*

At a close distance from the monumental structures at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* lay the remains of another urban center, at the village of Maroni. The most substantial remains were found at the site of *Vournes* (Cadogan 1996), while the coastal site of *Tsaroukas* probably functioned as a port (Manning, Sewell, Herscher 2002). The site was abandoned before the end of the LC IIC period, perhaps slightly earlier than Kalavasos (South 2002, 65).

A fragment of a Rude/Pastoral Style krater was excavated inside a tomb at Maroni, showing two horned animals, identified as either goats or stags (British Museum no. 1898,1201.304; Johnson 1980, no. 197, pl. XL). Another fragment[92] of a Rude/Pastoral Style ring-based krater depicts birds on either side of a tree motif (Karageorghis 1965b, 247, fig. 5/2; Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, VI.40). A fragmentary amphoroid krater depicting four wild goats feeding from trees was identified as a locally produced vessel of the Early Pastoral Style by Vermeule and Karageorghis (VI.8), but has been determined as

90 NAA analyses suggest that this vessel was produced at Kouklia (Mountjoy 2018, 764 fig. 377.2).

91 Mountjoy considers this to be a piriform jar rather than a stirrup jar. NAA have determined it to belong to the Kition/Hala Sultan Tekke group (Mountjoy 2018, 764).

92 The fragment is currently at the Manchester University Museum and it was registered under Amathus. However, Karageorghis considers this to have derived from the British Expedition's excavations at Maroni (1965, fn. 6).

a LH import by the British Museum curator.[93] Another pictorial vessel from Maroni depicting heralding lions, published under "Middle Pastoral" (Karageorghis 1965b, 244-5; Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, VI.24), has been considered an import (Johnson 1980, no. 225).

Preliminary reports from the unpublished excavations at *Vournes* illustrate only a few locally produced Aegean-style vessels, such as a globular jug with linear decoration (Cadogan 1986, pl. 9: 3) and also mention (but do not illustrate) the occurrence of very few Aegean-style deep bowls, shallow bowls and Rude/Pastoral Style vessels (1984, 8; Cadogan et al. 2001, 85; Bell 2015, 208). Recent fieldwork by the Kalavasos and Maroni Built Environment Project (KAMBE) has also produced a small number of fragmentary Aegean-style finewares, including shallow bowls.[94]

Limassol Tombs

In a publication collecting data originating from decades of archaeological salvage excavations in the town of Limassol (mostly from tombs), Karageorghis and Violaris (2012) succeeded to disseminate the MC-LC horizon in this poorly known region. The 30 tombs and mortuary features included in this volume mostly contained BR, WS, Monochrome and other local wares, with very few imports from Mycenaean Greece. The corpus of locally produced Aegean-style finewares is very limited, but it should be stressed that the majority of the tombs included in this publication date from the MC III to the LC IIA period, with very few cases of LC IIC contexts. The only safely assigned locally produced Aegean-style vessel is a medium-sized krater (FS 7) with vertical strap handles, embellished by a messily drawn running spiral in the handle-zone (Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, T.322.5, pls XXXIII.5, LXXII). This krater was found inside Tomb 322, with finds dating to the LC IB-LC II period (233).

6.4.3.5.5 The Kouris River Valley

Alassa *Paliotaverna/Pano Mantilaris*

During the latter part of the LC period, the Kouris River valley was dominated by Alassa, the only settlement with urban and administrative characteristics that is located inland. Two sites, *Paliotaverna*

93 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1898-1201-149.

94 The excavated ceramics from this mission are currently under study for publication by the Author.

and *Pano Mantilaris*, were excavated at a distance of around 250 m to each other by the Department of Antiquities (Hadjisavvas 2017).

There were several fragments of Aegean-style pottery included in the settlement's conclusive publication (Jacobs 2017, tab. 7.5), although the finds cannot be associated with stratigraphically distinct levels to be able to safely discuss the material of the LC IIC period (cf. Jacobs 2017, 403). The early deposits at *Pano Mantilaris*, i.e. Locus 003-4, did not contain any Aegean-style pottery, and all other finds date from the settlement's final phase of occupation in the LC IIIA period (Hadjisavvas 1991, 177; Jacobs 2017, 407). The Aegean-style pottery from this phase, the examination of which is beyond the scope of this paper, consists of various bowl-types and a notable accumulation of strainer jugs with tubular spouts (Hadjisavvas 1991; Jacobs 2017, 400-12). It is noteworthy that deep bowls from Alassa *Paliotaverna* and *Pano Mantilaris* are minimal and correspond to only a handful of fragmentary specimens (Jacobs 2017, 409, 450 fig. 7.7).

Tombs 6 and 7 from *Pano Mantilaris* were assigned to the LC IIC horizon. These contexts contained a feeding jug with vertical bands on the body (Hadjisavvas 2017, fig. 3.42: T6-2) and a stirrup jar decorated with festoons on the shoulder (Hadjisavvas 2017, fig. 3.42. T6-3). There was also a pyxis in the fabric of WPWm vessels that was handmade or produced on the slow wheel (Hadjisavvas 2017, fig. 3.45-6: T7-6).

Petrographic analyses on selected pottery from Alassa, indicated that some examples may be local, while others could represent imports from elsewhere on the island (Hadjisavvas 1991, 179; Jacobs 2017, 400). This is consistent with recent chemical analyses that confirm local production of Aegean-style pottery at Alassa (CypF), in addition to the introduction of vessels from elsewhere still within Cyprus (mostly CypG-Kouklia) (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 426).

Erimi *Pitharka/Kafkalla*

An intriguing site within the Kouris valley is Erimi *Pitharka*, an inland settlement with a series of underground establishments and evidence for large-scale storage (Vasiliou, Stylianou 2004; Papanikolaou 2012). Long-term excavations at the site by the Department of Antiquities yielded several Aegean-style shallow bowls and kraters, assigned to the LC IIC-IIIA periods. The material includes fragments of a Rude/Pastoral style krater with running spirals (Vassiliou, Stylianou 2004, 186). Another krater[95] featuring a bird motif has been dated to the LC IIIA period (Vassiliou, Stylianou 2004,

95 Identified by the authors as an amphoroid krater, but this is probably a bell-krater.

P5.22, fig. 12). More Aegean-style pottery has been reported from the most recent excavations at the site,[96] including a ring-based krater (Papanikolaou 2012).

In close proximity to *Pitharka* is the cemetery of Erimi *Kafkalla*. The site is mostly known as an EC-MC burial ground, but a few tombs of the LC period were excavated in the southern part of this necropolis (Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 53-4). A possible locally produced Aegean-style vessel is a stirrup jar with globular, depressed body decorated in Simple Style **[fig. 6.7: 37]** (Erimi Tomb 5.1-CS1825), featuring multiple thick horizontal bands covering the entire surface (Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, T5.1, pls LIII, LXXXV).

Episkopi *Bamboula*

The LC settlement and necropolis of *Bamboula* is situated near the coast, facing the Kouris river valley. It was established at the dawn of the LBA and continued to be occupied until the Cypro-Geometric/early Archaic period. Excavations were undertaken by the Pennsylvania University Museum in the 1930s. Additional soundings were undertaken by Grace and Weinberg in the 1940s and 1950s (cf. Weinberg 1983, 1-2; Benson 1972, pl. 1), and by the University of Cincinnati, more recently.

The clarification of the stratigraphic sequence at the settlement of *Bamboula* is challenging. LC IIC occupation at *Bamboula* corresponds to Level D:1 in Area A, Level C:1-3 in Area B, Level C:1-2 in Area C, Level A in Area D and Level C in Area E (Benson 1969; 1970, 41; cf. also Kling 1989a, 19). The few Aegean-style remains contained in these levels included fragments of bowls and jugs, designated as "Inferior Mycenaean" or "Decorated LC III" (Benson 1969, 21; 1970: pls 2B, 6B, 7B, nos B494-5, B433, B616, B438, B496, B599, B478, B525; 1972: pl. 21, no. B525). These specimens are poorly illustrated and no further associations can be made.

Aegean-style vessels have also been identified within some of the tombs of LC IIC date excavated on the northwestern and northern ridges of the *Bamboula* hill, specifically Tombs 6, 12-13, 26, 28, 34, 36 (Benson 1972, 10-35; Keswani 2004, tab. 5.11). Several specimens described as Mycenaean III could in fact be local products, such as a large ring-based krater, in the characteristically elongated form of the Rude/Pastoral Style kraters, with linear decoration[97] (Benson 1972, T.6.7, B1063, pls 32, 50). The shallow and deeper bowls with rounded/conical profile from this context and from Tomb 28,

96 The material is currently under study for publication by the Author.

97 This is also considered to be a local product by Mountjoy (2018, 793 fig. 394.36).

designated as "Mycenaean III" vessels (Benson 1972, T6.8-9, B1008, B1013, pls 32, 49, T.28.3-4, B1014-15, pls 32, 49), could also in fact correspond to locally made Aegean-style vessels. The corpus also included two straight-sided alabastra/pyxides, with a pair of pierced lug-handles (Benson 1972, T.34.5, B581, pl. 22, T.36.34, B580, pl. 45).

Aegean-style pottery from settlement and mortuary contexts assigned to the LC IIIA period is much more plentiful and presents a much more varied repertoire (Benson 1972, 45-53). It is noteworthy that deep bowls, which characterize contemporary assemblages elsewhere on the island, appear to be absent from *Bamboula*. This may reflect a regional preference, considering also the very few quantities of deep bowls from Alassa.

6.4.3.5.6 The Paphos Region

Palaepaphos

Archaeological remains of Palaepaphos, extending within the limits of the village of Kouklia, have been the focus of expeditions since the nineteenth century. Various sites within this center were excavated by a British Mission in the 1950s (Catling 1979; 2020), a Swiss-German Mission by F.G. Maier from 1966 (Maier, von Wartburg 1985), the Department of Antiquities (e.g. Karageorghis 1990a; Karageorghis, Raptou 2021) and by the ongoing expedition by the University of Cyprus in the frame of the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project (Iacovou 2008b).

As a result of the continuous occupation of the area from the time of its foundation at the close of the MC period (Georgiou 2019) until nowadays, very limited *in situ* settlement strata have been unearthed. The Swiss-German mission succeeded in identifying *in situ* strata, corresponding to the earliest construction of the monumental sanctuary at around 1200 BC[98] (Maier 1976, 96 fig. 16a-b; Georgiou 2017, 213). The only context associated with residential activities at Palaepaphos is the material deposited within the two disused wells of *Evreti*, TE III-VIII. The contents of the wells were excavated in 1966-7 but were recently published in a conclusive volume (von Rüden et al. 2016). The material corresponds to the remains of feasting activities and ivory-processing. The Aegean-style pottery was plentiful and included deep bowls, multiple types of shallow bowls and very few numbers of closed vessels (Georgiou 2016b). The act of deposition is assigned to the beginning of the LC IIIA period and therefore

98 The LBA ceramic remains excavated by Maier in the Sanctuary and other sites at Palaepaphos is currently under study for publication by an Author.

the material of these crucial contexts cannot be discussed in relation to the LC IIC production. Among the material, a hemispherical bowl with indentation below base (Type 5 variant) stands out, decorated in the syntax of WS II-Late vessels (Georgiou 2016b, cat. no. 26, TE IIII 28, figs 30, 75).

Other finds from the wider *Evreti Asproyi* area assigned to the LC IIC period are known only from preliminary reports and include a Rude/Pastoral Style krater depicting a bull feeding from a tree (Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, 207, VI.2) and a pedestal bowl (FS 310) (Maier 1997, fig. 3f; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 406.44).

The most substantial evidence for LC IIC in the area of Kouklia comes from tombs, found in distinct clusters at various localities. Safely assigned LC IIC contexts from the recently published catalogs of the British Expedition are Tombs *Asproyi* I, III, X and *Evreti* V, VI, XII, that do not seem to continue into the LC IIIA period (Catling 2020, 9). Aegean-style pottery in these contexts includes handleless bowls with flattened base (FS 210) (Catling 2020, pl. 54, fig. 22: *Asproyi* III.3), the two-handled shallow bowl with linear decoration (FS 296) (Catling 2020, pl. 115, fig. 48: *Asproyi* X.15), a deformed angular bowl with single horizontal loop handle on the rim (Type 13) (Catling 2020, pl. 115, fig. 48: *Asproyi* X.7) and various types of shallow bowls[99] (e.g. Catling 2020, pl. 54: *Asproyi* III.4; pl. 115: *Asproyi* X.14a, 16). Another significant Aegean-style find by the British Mission is a jug with elaborate pictorial decoration from the lowest levels of Tomb I at *Marcello*, showing two bulls and three birds (Catling 2008, figs 262-3; 2020, MI.33, pl. 174). It was assigned to the Middle Pastoral Style by Vermeule, Karageorghis (1982, VI.10), but Catling proposed to disassociate it from this stylistic class: he considers this to be the product of a Cyprus-based painter, who was active in the thirteenth century (Catling 2008, 210). Mountjoy has re-assigned this vase to the LC IIIA period, as well as the entire context (2018, 829).

The numerous tombs from the *Teratsoudhia* locality, which were continuously used from the LCI period, produced a few Aegean-style bowls, especially the two-handled shallow variants, assigned to the late LC IIC-early IIIA horizon (Types 6-9) (Karageorghis 1990a, K47-8, M1-2, M6, N24, N35-6, N41-2, N94, O1, O11-12, O17, B14, B16-17, B49-51, pls XLVII-XLIX, LXVIII) **[fig. 6.7: 38]**. The assemblage also included a few fragments of Rude/Pastoral Style kraters showing parts of bulls and trees (e.g. Karageorghis 1990a, pl. IV, Pit C [iii-vi]). The corpus also contained a footed bowl (FS 309) (Karageorghis 1990a, B210, pl. LXVIII), a handleless bowl with convex base and linear decoration (Type 3 variant) (Karageorghis 1990a, N43, pl. XLVIII) and

99 It is difficult to provide further classifications of these vessels, since only photographs are published.

a wide shallow bowl with a single wishbone handle raising above rim-level (Type 14) (Karageorghis 1990a, N26, pl. XLVIII), perhaps one of the latest vessels of this assemblage, dating to the LC IIIA period. There were also a few fragmentary deep bowls and kraters (Sherratt 1990, fig. 1, pl. A); however, Sherratt notes that it is unclear whether this material was part of the burial gifts or the result of secondary deposition, infiltrating these contexts (117). A recently published tomb group from *Teratsoudhia*, Tomb 288, tells a similar story, with a number of two-handled, shallow conical/angular bowls in WPWm (Types 6-9)[100] (Karageorghis, Raptou 2021, nos 4, 19, 23, 25, 67-9, 71, 106-7, 119-20, 123, 125, 127, 159, figs 13-14), a handleless hemispherical bowl (Type 5) (Karageorghis, Raptou 2021, no. 105, fig. 14) and a single-handled bowl (Type 13 variant) (Karageorghis, Raptou 2021, no. 129, fig. 21). The context also contained a fragmentary deep bowl (Karageorghis, Raptou 2021, no. 178, fig. 14). There were also two examples of bowls, associated with LC IIIA contexts at other sites: the deep angular bowl (Type 10) (Karageorghis, Raptou 2021, no. 106, fig. 13) and the wide, shallow bowl with a single, tall, wishbone handle (Type 14) (Karageorghis, Raptou 2021, no. 128, fig. 21). As in the case of the previously excavated *Teratsoudhia* tomb groups, these finds occur alongside many of the centuries-old handmade BR, WS and other wares (Karageorghis 1990a; Karageorghis, Raptou 2021, tab. 1).

Tomb 119 from *Eliomylia* also contained a large number of two-handled shallow bowl variants (Karageorghis 1990a, nos 7, 17, 19-20, 22, 35-6, 43, 46-7, 49, 54 pl. LXXXVII), which were produced/used during the LC IIC-IIIA span. The occurrence of some vessel types associated with LC IIIA contexts (e.g. Karageorghis 1990a, nos 18, 48, 52, pl. LXXXVII), including a miniature deep bowl (no. 15) and an undecorated deep angular bowl (Type 10) (Karageorghis 1990a, no. 57, pl. LXXXVII; Sherratt 1990b) suggest that the latest burials date to the LC IIIA period (Karageorghis 1990a, 87).

The material deposited within a shaft at the *Mantissa* locality, has been identified by Karageorghis as deriving from a cleared tomb in this area (1965, 157-84). The corpus contained a single deep bowl with relatively straight sides and rather squat profile (FS 284) (Karageorghis 1965b, fig. 39). The majority of this assemblage consisted of Aegean-style bowls of various types. While it is likely that some of these were produced in the LC IIC period, the latest examples seem to date to the early LC IIIA period.

Excavations by the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project at several localities uncovered fragments of Aegean-style vessels. Among

100 As these are only illustrated with photographs, it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish among bowl variants.

the finds of *Marcello* were three almost complete vessels, including a feeding bottle with vertical banding, a two-handled shallow carinated bowl (Type 8) and a wheelmade unpainted bowl in BR-shape and Plain ware fabric (Sherratt 2018, 31-2). The publication of the Aegean-style pottery from the sites of *Hadjiabdullah*, *Laona* and *Mantissa* by the Author is forthcoming.

Chemical analyses have identified three different groups associated with Palaepaphos, perhaps corresponding to more than one workshop at/in the vicinity of Kouklia (CypG, CypS and X080) (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 426). NAA has further shown that pottery produced at Kouklia was exported to other sites on the island and abroad to Anatolia and the northern and southern Levant (426-7; Mountjoy 2018, 812).

Yeroskipou

The LC horizon in the area of Yeroskipou is only known through salvage excavations. Two chamber tombs were exposed during water supply works at the locality of *Asproyi*. Tomb 1 contained an impressive number of bronze objects, mostly hemispherical bowls (Nicolaou 1983, 144-6). Among the ceramic burial gifts were two Aegean-style shallow angular bowls[101] (Type 9) (Nicolaou 1983, nos 22-3, pl. XX). Tomb 2 of the same locality did not contain any Aegean-style pottery.

Five more looted tombs were unearthed in the vicinity, at the locality of *Pladjeri*, which was possibly part of the same cemetery (Maier, Karageorghis 1982, 104). The preliminary report only mentions the presence of "Myceanean IIIB small vases" (104), but it is not clear if these comprise locally produced vessels and of what form.[102]

Maa *Palaeokastro*

The settlement at Maa-*Palaeokastro* was founded from scratch on top of a promontory on the southwestern coast of Cyprus. Like Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, it was a short-lived settlement that was abandoned a couple of generations after its foundation. The excavators have dated the establishment of the settlement to the end of the LC IIC period. The earliest occupation phase, Floor II, suffered substantial destruction and the rebuilding phases, corresponding to Floor I, were assigned to early LC IIIA period (Karageorghis, Demas 1988, 266).

101 Mountjoy suggests that these two bowls should be considered LC IIIA (CypIIIC Early 1) (2018, 831).

102 The material is currently under study by the Author.

Based on stylistic analyses, Mountjoy considers the foundation of Maa at LC IIIA (possibly at around 1170 BC) and the settlement's abandonment at around the middle of the twelfth century BC, thus minimizing the duration of the settlement's occupation (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2019, tab. 1, 296-7). Mountjoy is correct to point out that the predominance of Aegean-style finewares at Maa, already in Floor II,[103] is noteworthy. It is also noteworthy that the earliest occupation level, Floor II, contained fragments of deep bowls and other elements that typify Aegean-style assemblages of the LC IIIA period, elsewhere on the island. However, the presence of substantial percentages of the traditional, handmade, LC wares, mostly BR (19% of the entire ceramic assemblage of all phases, 35% of the corpus of finewares; Georgiou 2012, tab. 12), suggests that it is possible that the site was indeed founded at the very end of the LC IIC period. The large numbers of BR and the fewer numbers of WS ware vessels, cannot be considered as residual from earlier occupation strata,[104] considering that Maa was a new foundation. Could we suggest that the production of Aegean-style finewares became more popular or that certain types were produced at an earlier stage on this part of the island? Or is it possible to distinguish finer phasing within Maa's occupation phases, to isolate material from the settlement's foundation horizon within Floor II strata, or even to suggest that some of the material preserved in Floor II levels are intrusions from the succeeding Floor I? This is another case indicating the challenges posed by the high degree of regionalism in Cyprus and the intricacies entailed in fine-tuning typo-chronological correlations among sites.

Material from Maa *Palaeokastro* that is comparable to that of LC IIC contexts is rather limited. It includes a few two-handled shallow bowls with subtle carination (FS 296/295) (Karageorghis, Demas 1988, nos 60, Room 8/5-6, pls CXVIII, CCXIX), two-handled bowls with relatively deep body and conical/rounded sides (Type 6) (Karageorghis, Demas 1988, nos 98, pls CLII, CLXX), two-handled, shallow bowls with angular sides (Type 9) (Karageorghis, Demas 1988, 1954/xi, Area 87/13, pl. CCLIII), and small, angular bowls with a single horizontal loop handle (Type 13) (Karageorghis, Demas 1988, no. 573, pl. CXLIII, CCXXXV). Other open vessels include an example of an undecorated, low ring-base cup with flaring sides (FS 235) (Karageorghis, Demas 1988, no. 349, pl. CXCII). It is noteworthy that these

103 24% of the corpus of Aegean-style pottery at Maa is assigned to Floor II, 25% to Floors I-II and 30% to Floor I. A large percentage (21%) is either unstratified or derives from Dikaios' excavations, where no floors had been assigned (data from Georgiou 2012, tab. 12). Aegean-style wheelmade finewares correspond to 35% of the entire ceramic corpus from all levels.

104 Although we cannot certainly eliminate the possibility that these were brought by the inhabitants from their places of origin.

possibly late-LC IIC specimens are found within the same contexts as deep bowls (FS 285) and deep angular bowls (Type 10) that typify LC IIIA assemblages at other LC sites.

Based on NAA analyses, it does not appear that Maa produced its own Aegean-style finewares,[105] even though one unassigned group (X140) could represent the local chemical profile (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2019, 289). Sampled Aegean-style finewares from the settlement are consistent with various LC sites, predominantly Palaepaphos (CypG and CypS), but also Alassa (CypF), Sinda (CypH), Hala Sultan Tekke (CypT) and Kition/Hala Sultan Tekke (CypJ) (280-8).

6.4.3.5.7 Northwestern Cyprus

Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*

The site was established on a mound in the MC III period and was abandoned before the end of the LC IIC period (Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 122-3). The mound suffered extensively from modern bulldozing activities. Systematic excavations at the site exposed poorly preserved industrial facilities associated with the production of mudbricks, storage vessels and copper (397-400).

Aegean-style remains from *Toumba tou Skourou*, published as "Late Cypriot IIB Decorated ware" were found in a fragmentary state, at various parts of the town, mostly outside the area of the old mound, with poor excavation contexts (Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 376). The corpus includes a complete two-handled shallow bowl (FS 296) with triangular, dotted, scale-motifs painted on the inside of the bowl (114-15, P635, pls 63, 164), a pedestal bowl (FS 309) with paneled short-stem spirals (119, P616, pl. 179) and a fragmentary amphoroid krater, possibly in WPWm ware (115, P945).

There were also numerous fragments of shallow conical or angular bowl variants (e.g. Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 119, P636, 138, P663, 151, P674 [group of 32 fragments], P675 [group of 28 fragments], P850 [group of 51 fragments], 152, P1124) and a wishbone handle with a knob projection at its terminal, which could correspond to a wide shallow bowl (Type 14) (151, P671). Within groups P675 and P850, a few possible jugs or jars are mentioned, without any additional information.

105 Previous chemical analyses of selected wares from Maa also suggested that some were imported from other sites on the island (Enkomi, Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke) (Bryan et al. 1997, 38-9, 56).

Akaki *Trounalli*

An extended necropolis spanning the entire LC period was partly excavated at Akaki *Trounalli*. The results of these excavations are only known through preliminary reports (Karageorghis 1960, 293; 1970, 205). One of the tombs contained "decorated bowls of the LC III period" (1960, 293), but no further information, nor illustrations are provided. The mortuary gifts from this burial ground included two cylinder seals and bronze bowls.

Apliki *Karamallos*

The small mining settlement at Apliki *Karamallos* was excavated by Joan du Plat Taylor (1952) and the material from these excavations was re-examined and more thoroughly published by Muhly and Kling (2007). Material collected from Area A was assigned to three phases:[106] the construction phase (LC IIC period), Floor I (early occupation phase in late LC IIC) and Floor II (destruction level marking the abandonment of the site in LC IIC-IIIA) (du Plat Taylor 1952, 142-4; Muhly, Kling 2007, 38, tabs 15-18). For the purposes of the present study, only the material assigned to the construction phase and Floor I are considered.

Two fragments from the construction level in Area A, that were published as locally produced Aegean-style vessels (du Plat Taylor 1952, pl. XXVIIIA.2; Kling 2007, 165, 167 nos 576, 598), were recently re-classified as LH IIIB imports[107] by Mountjoy (2018, fig. 445.1). From the early occupation phase in Room A2 (Period 1), six local, Aegean-style fragments were identified in the publication of the material, although some were proven to be imports by NAA analyses (Mountjoy 2018, 895). This corpus includes a fragmentary example of the shallow carinated cup (FS 223),[108] which du Plat Taylor assigned to the Mycenaean A fabric (imported) (1952, 154), but was considered as local by Kling (2007, no. 508, pl. 53.1). This later classification was corroborated by NAA analyses which assigned it to CypG group (Kouklia) (Mountjoy 2018, 897). There was also a fragmentary

106 While du Plat Taylor distinguished between Phase I and II in Area I structures (1952, 142-4), Muhly and Kling could only trace an early occupation level in Room A2 (2007, 38).

107 The handle of piriform jar no. 576 was inscribed by a mark, a common practice for imported wares.

108 Kling, following du Plat Taylor, assigns this specimen to FS 214 (2007, 151, 159, pl. 53.1).

hemispherical bowl with a raised flat base[109] (Type 5) (Kling 2007, no. 519, pl. 53.8), painted solid inside and outside (Mountjoy 2018, fig. 446.22). Floor I levels contained a fragment of a medium-sized jug (FS 116) with linear decoration (Kling 2007, no. 564) and a fragmentary small vessel (possibly a strainer jug) with pictorial decoration, showing a bull (Kling 2007, no. 577, pl. 59.5, 60; Mountjoy 2018, fig. 446.18). The level also includes a deep bowl (FS 284) with solid interior (Kling 2007, no. 531, pls 53.3, 60). Mountjoy considers this to be intrusive from the upper levels (2018, 892).

The documentation of the material recovered from Site B was not as detailed (Muhly, Kling 2007, 41, 63). Aegean-style remains of the LC IIC levels were mostly found inside a pit in House B1, and include shallow carinated cups (Kling 2007, no. 509,[110] pl. 53.2 no. 510,[111] pl. 53.3 no. 513) and small shallow bowls (FS 210) (Kling 2007, nos 515, 517, pl. 53.4,6). A rim fragment from a bowl, published as a stemmed cup by Kling (2007, no. 555, pl. 57.3), is probably a pedestal bowl (FS 310), as suggested by Mountjoy (2018, fig. 449.49). There were also several fragments in WPWm ware of uncertain shape (Kling 2007, nos 512, 544, 589, 590-1, 593).

Katydhata

A MC-LC cemetery was excavated at Katydhata, situated within the fertile Solea region and in close proximity to the Skouriotissa mines in the northern Troodos foothills. Several tombs from this necropolis were unearthed over the years. The material was collected by Åström and was presented in a volume (1989), regrettably with few illustrations and little additional information. Åström mentions a few locally produced Aegean-style finewares, such a shallow bowl (Tomb 11.57: Åström 1972, 383; 1989, 12-14), two handleless hemispherical bowls (possibly FS 210) (T.11.58: Åström 1972, 278; 1989, 12-13), a cup (T.11.56: Åström 1989, 18), a juglet (T.83.2: Åström 1989, 51) and a piriform jar (T.11.13: Åström 1989, 13).

109 NAA analysis determined that it was produced at Enkomi (CypI) (Mountjoy 2018, 898).

110 Published as FS 215 by Kling and FS 223 by Mountjoy (2018, fig. 449.47).

111 Published as FS 220 by Kling and FS 232 by Mountjoy (2018, fig. 449.48).

6.4.3.5.8 The Northern Coast and the Karpas Peninsula

Myrtou *Pigadhes*

The site is situated on the southern foothills of the Pentadaktylos range. It is considered a sanctuary-site, but it is likely that the religious contexts were incorporated within a larger settlement. The focal point of the cult was a stepped altar made of ashlar blocks and crowned by a pair of horns of consecration made of stone (du Plat Taylor 1957; Webb 1999, 44-53). The strata concerned in this study correspond to Period V (transition LC IIB-IIC), VI (LC IIC) and into the VII Period (LC IIC-IIIA) (du Plat Taylor 1957, 10-23; Webb 1999, 35).

Locally produced pottery of Aegean-type is mostly (but not exclusively) identified as "Fabric B"[112] (Catling 1957, 47-8). Catling mentions the occurrence of 20 such fragments but enlists only eight (nos 210-17). The corpus includes a fragmentary Rude/Pastoral Style ring-based krater, decorated by a pair of birds facing each other (Catling 1957, no. 191, fig. 20). Two other krater sherds are mentioned, one decorated with a spiral, and a sherd of a possible Rude/Pastoral Style krater with linear decoration (sherd k) (Catling 1957, 44, 46). There were also several small-sized shallow bowls (FS 210, FS 296) (Catling 1957, nos 202, 210, 217, fig. 20), a few two-handled shallow bowls with angular sides (Types 8-9) (Catling 1957, nos 211-13, fig. 20), and the small, angular bowl with a single loop handle (Type 13) (Catling 1957, no. 216 and possibly no. 214, fig. 20). Other Aegean-style pottery vessels from Myrtou *Pigadhes* include the small, shallow cup with linear decoration (FS 220) (Catling 1957, nos 206, 215, fig. 20). Catling also illustrates a fragmentary deep bowl, which he considers to be a Mycenaean import (1957, no. 203, fig. 20), although it is not unlikely that this comprises a local product (cf. also discussion in Kling 1989a, 88 and Mountjoy 2018, 917). There were also several closed vessels, such as small and medium-sized jugs (Catling 1957, nos 194-5, 198, fig. 20) and a jug with strainer base (Catling 1957, no. 199, fig. 20).

Lapithos

Several tombs dating to the LC period were excavated in the area of Lapithos, within the localities of *Kylistra* and *Ayia Anastasia* (Diakou 2018, 2-3). One of the tomb groups excavated on top of the *Ayia Anastasia* plateau, Tomb 2 (502), contained two burial levels: a low one dating to the LC II period (Pieridou 1966, 1-2), and a later one

112 Mountjoy has re-examined some of this material and has determined that what had been classified as 'Fabric A', i.e. Mycenaean imports, by Catling are in fact local products (2018, 916-17).

assigned to the Early Iron Age. Among the LC material were several Aegean-style vessels, designated as "Decorated Late Cypriote III ware". The corpus includes shallow bowls with a rounded/conical body (Type 7) (Pieridou 1966, nos 100, 104, 105, pl. II), a hemispherical bowl (Type 5) (Pieridou 1966, no. 101a, pl. I), a semi-globular bowl with flaring sides and ring-base (Type 2) (Pieridou 1966, no. 101b, pl. I), a shallow bowl with flaring sides and a wide, flat base (Type 3) (Pieridou 1966, no. 102, pl. II) and a shallow bowl, with angular upper part (Type 8/10), (Pieridou 1966, no. 103, pl. I). The corpus also contained six feeding jugs, four of which have a basket-handle, while the rest have the commoner for the LC IIC period, rim-to-shoulder vertical handle (Pieridou 1966, nos 44-50, pl. II).

Keryneia *Mylopetres*

A LC cemetery was traced at the site of *Mylopetres* close to Keryneia, of which only a tomb was excavated (Karageorghis 1970, 206-7). Among the many burial gifts, that include local finewares and Mycenaean imports, there was a Rude/Pastoral Style krater, decorated with a bull with a thick upper outline, shown eating the leaves of a tree (side A), and by short-stem spirals springing on either side of a vertical line (side B) (Karageorghis 1970, figs 21-2). The corpus also contained a locally made stirrup jar (FS 164) with zigzag decoration (208, fig. 23), but it is possible that this is, in fact, a LM III transport stirrup jar of 'oatmeal' fabric, since this type of jar is not known in the local repertoire.

Kazaphani *Ayios Andronikos*

The Department of Antiquities excavated a tomb with two funerary chambers in this location (Tomb 2A-B). The tomb stands out for its longevity, spanning from the end of the MC to the LC IIC period and for the sheer numbers of funerary gifts deposited within (Nicolaou, Nicolaou 1989). Among the 480 and 584 registered entries from Chambers A and B respectively, only a handful of Aegean-style wares were recorded (Courtois 1989, 104-5). The corpus includes a complete ring-based krater, with a bull on either side of the handle-zone (Nicolaou, Nicolaou 1989, no. 288, fig. 9, pl. XIV) **[fig. 6.7: 39]**. The animal has an elongated body and is schematically drawn. It is of a different style than the more common bull-motifs, shown with a thickened upper body outline. There were also WPWm ware bowls with a shallow rounded/conical body (Nicolaou, Nicolaou 1989, no. 342, pl. XIV no. 213d, pl. XXXVII) and a complete example of a small, shallow rounded bowl with a single loop handle (FS 244) (Nicolaou, Nicolaou 1989, no. 491, pl. XXXVII).

Phlamoudhi

Phlamoudhi is located on the Karpass peninsula. Columbia University excavated at the localities *Melissa* and *Vounari* from 1970 to 1974, and the material was re-examined in recent years by Smith (2008, 3-4). The settlement at *Melissa* was founded in MC III and was abandoned by LC IIC. Smith mentions the occurrence of Aegean-style pottery among the destruction-strata of the Melissa building. This class includes two shallow bowls (Smith 2005, figs 27a-b), a cup perhaps of the shallow carinated type FS 232/235 (Smith 2005, fig. 27c), a Rude/Pastoral Style bell krater decorated with running spirals (Smith 2005, fig. 27g) and an amphoroid krater with upright double spirals (Smith 2005, fig. 27h). Other vessels known from this site are two feeding jugs with vertical banding (Smith 2005, fig. 27e-f) and a small, closed vessel, identified as an alabastron (Smith 2005, fig. 27d). Smith suggests that perhaps some were made at Enkomi (2008, 63).

6.4.3.6 An Overview: Morphological and Decorative Characteristics of Aegean-Style Pottery of Cyprus in the Thirteenth Century BC

The above outline of the contextual occurrence of Aegean-style finewares in Cyprus during the LC IIC period (ca thirteenth century BC), on a regional, island-wide perspective provides precious insights on the forms, decorative treatment and the manufacture technology characterizing the Cypriot production of this period, prior to the establishment of Aegean-style ceramics in the LC IIIA period. The present overview only dealt with material from contexts that can be safely assigned to the LC IIC period, but, in most cases, the explicit distinction between the late LC IIC and early LC IIIA contexts has been challenging.

An unequivocal class of the LC IIC production of Aegean-style finewares in Cyprus is the so-called 'Rude/Pastoral Style'[113] **[e.g. figs 6.3-6.7: 8-15, 21, 24, 27, 30, 33-4, 39]**. Rude/Pastoral Style kraters concern almost exclusively bell-shaped, ring-based vessels (FS 281) of a rather elongated form.[114] Amphoroid kraters in Rude/Pastoral Style are much rarer, which is unexpected, considering the popularity of imported LH IIIA2-IIIB1 pictorially decorated amphoroid kraters in the LC II contexts. Vermeule and Karageorghis (1982) have divided

113 The style possibly continued into the earliest part of the LC IIIA (Kling 1989a, 123-3; Mountjoy 2018, 81).

114 Karageorghis 1965b, 231-59; Anson 1980; Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, 59-68; Lekka 2015, 116-20; Mountjoy 2018, 71-82; Karageorghis 2018.

the corpus of Rude/Pastoral Style kraters into an early, middle and late phase, even though this classification has not been straightforward. During the early phase, scenes include animals as central figures (bulls, goats, lions), frequently in association with trees or bushes. During the middle phase the rendering of anatomical details is done with thin lines, while in the final stage, the figures are rendered rather carelessly and sketchily (cf. Karageorghis 2018).

Rude/Pastoral kraters are, as a rule, decorated with pictorial motifs, but abstract/linear styles are also well represented. The most common motif is the bull, often shown with an exaggerated long body and embellished by ancillary motifs. One or more workshops seem to have produced vessels decorated with bulls featuring a very thick outline of the animal's upper body **[e.g. figs 6.3-6.6: 8-9, 21, 24, 30, 33]**. Examples of such distinctively portrayed bulls were found at Enkomi, Angastina, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Klavdia *Tremithos*, Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, Keryneia *Mylopetres* and Kazaphani *Ayios Andronikos*. Bulls are occasionally shown grazing from trees/bushes (from Enkomi [mortuary contexts], Kition [Tombs 4+5, Tomb 9UB, *Chrysopolitissa*, Floor IV], Hala Sultan Tekke [Tomb 1], Dromolaxia, Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, Pyla *Verghi*, Palaepaphos *Evreti*, *Teratsoudhia* and Keryneia *Mylopetres*). These floral motifs are often schematically portrayed, with individually drawn leaves **[e.g. figs 6.3, 6.5, 6.6: 7, 21, 30, 33]**. An interesting example from Kition *Bamboula* features running bulls with a snake on the upper part **[fig. 6.5: 24]**. Other kraters (from Enkomi, Idalion Tomb G, Idalion *Ampilleri* and Dromolaxia) show bulls with birds or goats **[e.g. fig. 6.4: 11]**.

Bird motifs are also rather common depictions in Rude/Pastoral Style kraters **[e.g. figs 6.4, 6.6: 12-13, 27]**. They are schematically drawn, often shown with a raised wing. In some instances, birds are depicted alongside trees/floral motifs, such as at Idalion *Kafkallia*, Kition *Bamboula* and Maroni. Other animals represented on Rude/Pastoral Style kraters are goats **[e.g. fig. 6.4: 10-11, 13.b]** (from Enkomi, Kition *Chrysopolitissa*, *Bamboula*, Angastina, Hala Sultan Tekke and Maroni). Goats are again often depicted in association to tree motifs. Much more rare pictorial depictions in Rude/Pastoral Style are sphinxes, including a well-preserved krater from Enkomi, showing two heraldically placed male sphinxes and a small fragment showing the body and wing of a sphinx, again from Enkomi (see above). To these, we may add the fragment of an amphoroid krater showing part of a sphinx found in Levels IIIA-III (and thus of a post-LC IIC context) of Kition (Karageorghis, Demas 1985, pl. CXV).

Kraters were also decorated with spirals **[e.g. figs 6.4, 6.7: 13.b, 14-15, 34]**, in the form of running spirals, as agglutinative spirals (stemmed spirals with other motifs added, to form an elaborate composition) or tree-spirals (stemmed spirals springing antithetically from triglyphs to form trees) (motifs analyzed in Mountjoy 2018, 77).

Karageorghis has rightly pointed to the stylistic affinities between the depiction of Rude/Pastoral Style kraters and ivory carvings (1965, 234). Mountjoy has indicated the influence of Mycenaean Pictorial Style in the depiction of bulls and of Minoan elements in the depiction of birds in Rude/Pastoral Style vessels (2018, 71, 75). I would also add that the choice of motifs, mostly bulls, also relates to impressed friezes on LC storage vessels dating to the late thirteenth and early twelfth century BC, where bulls are the most common motif, shown either as a fighting pair, or as the prey of a chariot hunting scene (Smith 2007; Georgiou 2016a).

Analytical studies on several examples of Rude/Pastoral Style kraters suggest that they were produced at several locations on the island, namely Enkomi, the wider Larnaca region and Palaepaphos.[115] A few Rude/Pastoral Style vessels are known from Syria-Palestine, identified as Ras Shamra, Minet el-Beida, Byblos, Beirut, Akko, Tell Abu Hawam, Beth Shan, Tell Gezer, Ashdod and Tell esh-Shari'a (Leonard 1994, 9, 114-15).

Another type of kraters occurring in LC IIC contexts are the so-called 'Zigzag kraters', found in bell-shaped and amphoroid forms **[e.g. figs 6.4, 6.6: 16, 28]**. They are characterized by squatter forms with thicker walls, a bulging upper body and elongated handles. The amphoroid kraters step onto a high pedestal base. They are decorated by a very thick zigzag band on the handle-zone. The distribution of Zigzag kraters is small and is concentrated on the eastern part of the island (Enkomi, Angastina and Idalion). Mountjoy has rightly considered the form to have derived from comparable PWWm II kraters (2018, 947; cf. P. Åström 1972, fig. LXIII; Keswani 1991, fig. 1).

Other examples of locally produced Aegean-style vessels in LC IIC contexts are small bowls and cups, of the so-called 'Levanto-Helladic' class, even though, as specified above, the boundaries of this class are rather vague. The small, handleless bowl (FS 210) **[e.g. fig. 6.7: 35.a]** with a hemispherical profile, flat/raised concave base and an incurving rim (on most specimens), is relatively popular. The production of this form is not standardized, and several variations can be observed. Examples have been noted in several of the Enkomi tombs and within the settlement's Level IIB contexts, as well as at Angastina, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Palaepaphos *Asproyi*, Apliki and possibly also at Myrtou *Pigadhes*. It has been suggested that the derivation for this shape are the small, handleless bowls in PWWm (class 2) (Mountjoy 2018, 54; cf. Keswani 1991, fig. 1.E-F).

The small bowl with a single handle (FS 244) is also rather popular in the LC IIC levels. Its form is not standardized and bowls of

115 Anson 1980, 14-16; Bryan et al. 1997; Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 474-5; Mountjoy 2018, 81-2.

this type either have a rounded body or a carination on mid- or lower-body (cf. Furumark 1941, 626; Mountjoy 2018, 59-62). The single horizontal handle can be a short, strap-handle, attached on/below the rim, or a longer, loop-handle, attached at carination point. The form of the handle leaves no doubt that the inspiration comes from the Cypriot ceramic tradition of Monochrome, PWWm, BR and WS one-handled bowls. Examples of this bowl type were found at Enkomi (Level IIB and several burials), Idalion (Tomb G), Angastina (Tombs 1 and 5), Dromolaxia and Kazaphani. The small, hemispherical bowl with a single lug handle (FS 247) is not so common **[e.g. fig. 6.4: 17.a]**. Bowls of this type have an incurving rim, with a lug handle attached to, or on, the rim and a raised concave base. Lug handles were similarly attached on the rim of bowls within the PWWm, Monochrome and more rarely the WS and BR ware sequence (e.g. Georgiou 2016b, 90).

Locally made Aegean-style cups are not as common. They are present in a variety of forms: the most widespread within LC IIC contexts is the small, shallow, straight-sided cup with carination on the lower body, raised concave base and a vertical handle (FS 232). Examples of this type were found at Enkomi, Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, Kition, Kalavasos, Apliki and Phlamoudhi. There are also small numbers of other variations of cups, such as small hemispherical cups, shallow cups, shallow carinated cups, and the squat mug (FS 229).

Bowls of various forms and attributes are undoubtedly the most popular shape in the locally produced Aegean-style sequence of the LC IIC period. One of the most popular types are the shallow bowls FS 296 with a wide, rounded profile, a low concave base and a pair of strap handles attached on the rim (Furumark 1941, 636-7) **[e.g. figs 6.4, 6.6, 6.7: 17.b, 22.a-c, 35.d-e]**. The Mycenaean sphere of inspiration for this shape is unmistakable: bowls of comparable form were imported to the island during most of the LC IIC period. In addition to differences in fabric, the imported and locally produced shallow conical bowls can be distinguished in terms of their decorative syntax: while the LH IIIB bowls often feature patterned decoration on the inside (usually in added white paint), the Cypriot products have, as a rule, linear decoration on the interior and exterior, and occasionally a spiral on the base inside. Locally produced vessels in LC IIC contexts were found across the island, at Enkomi, Kition, Kalavasos, Palaepaphos, *Toumba tou Skourou* and Myrtou *Pigadhes*. Associated to the two-handled shallow bowl FS 296 is the distinctive FS 296/295, which seems to have developed locally (Mountjoy 2018, 114-16). It is distinguished by a characteristically soft carination on the upper part of the body, and a more conical lower part, with a flat, concave or low ring-base. Examples of this shape were found at Idalion, Kition, Sinda, Hala Sultan Tekke, Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* and Maa *Palaeokastro.* Decoration is linear, often with

a spiral on the base inside. An example of this type from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* has bichrome decoration (see above).

In describing the typology of Cypriot-made, Aegean-style bowls, I follow the most recent and comprehensive classification by Mountjoy, who has divided the corpus of LC IIC-IIIB bowls into 14 different types (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 475-80; Mountjoy 2018, 83-142), with a profusion of sub-categories and variations, illustrating the fluidity of pottery production on the island during this period. Of these categories, only eight forms appear from as early as the LC IIC period. Mountjoy's Type 1, which comprises wide, shallow bowls with conical profiles and a distinctive ridge on the rim, are not present in LC IIC contexts.[116] They occur in LC IIIA contexts and, judging from their predominance at Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke, they were probably produced in the Larnaca area (Bürge 2023, 250-2).

Type 2 bowls, which are small, handleless, hemispherical vessels with flaring sides and a ring-base, are rather rare in the LC IIC record **[e.g. fig. 6.6: 31.c]**. This type is considered a development of the small handleless bowl FS 210, with parallels in the PWWm shapes (Mountjoy 2018, 91; cf. also Kling 1989a, 137). Bowls of Type 2 have so far been found in Level IIB of Enkomi, Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, Hala Sultan Tekke (Stratum 3), Idalion Tomb 1.76 and Lapithos (Tomb 502) (a single example per site). The results of chemical analyses on selected vessels are consistent with two profiles: CypS (Kouklia) and CypI (Enkomi) (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 476).

Bowls of Type 3 are small, handleless vessels, with flaring, conical sides, a characteristically sharp carination on the lower part of the body and a concave or ring-base. There are several variants of this form, including shallower bowls with a wide, flat base **[e.g. fig. 6.6: 29.f]**. The vessels are normally decorated by thick parallel bands covering the entire body inside and outside or are painted solid. The overview of the LC IIC contexts indicates the occurrence of Type 3 bowls at Enkomi, Kition *Bamboula*, Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 1), Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* and Lapithos (Tomb 502). NAA analyses on a few samples indicate the Kition/Hala Sultan Tekke area (CypJ) and Alassa (CypF) as their production regions (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 476). No vessels of Mountjoy's Type 4 have been recorded from this study of LC IIC contexts. This class encompasses bowls with a carinated deep body, the upper part of which is straight, while the lower is conical (Mountjoy 2018, 100).

Type 5 bowls, with a hemispherical body, a straight rim and a low ring-base, or a flattened base, with a characteristic indentation below base (and other variants), are present in LC IIC contexts and continue

116 The possible example recorded from Hala Sultan Tekke Stratum 3 (Fischer, Bürge 2018, fig. 3.28: 5) is an exception and could correspond to an intrusion from later strata.

into the LC IIIA **[e.g. fig. 6.6: 29.e]**. As suggested by Karageorghis, the base could imitate that of metallic prototypes (1965, 174-5). Decoration can be either linear or monochrome with reserved bands. Bowls of Type 5 correspond to Types A2-3 by Karageorghis based on the typology for the *Mantissa* material (1965). The shape draws from the long local tradition of hemispherical bowls, most profoundly, the WS hemispherical 'milk-bowls'. It is thus not incidental that a few Type 5 bowls feature the decorative treatment of WS-Late bowls, e.g. from Enkomi (Cypriot Tomb 1) and Palaepaphos *Evreti*. Other examples of this type within LC IIC levels were found at Enkomi (Level IIB), Hala Sultan Tekke (Tombs 1 and 2), Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Apliki *Karamallos*, Lapithos (Tomb 502). The sampled Type 5 bowls indicate production at various centers, including CypI (Enkomi), CypN (Kourion) and CypG (Paphos) (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 478).

Bowls assigned to Type 6 by Mountjoy have a relatively deep (> 5.5 cm in height) conical/rounded body, two opposed vertical strap handles attached on the rim and a ring-base **[e.g. figs 6.6, 6.7: 29.a, 38.c]**. As with other categories, there are numerous variations in the depth, diameter and general form of this bowl-type. They are at all times decorated with multiple linear bands. The type is equivalent to Karageorghis's Type A8 (1965) and to Maier's Type I (1985, fig. 14). Based on the overview of this study, Type 6 bowls were found at Idalion (Tomb 1.76 and Tomb G), Kition (Tomb 9UB), Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 1), Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* and Maa *Palaeokastro*. NAA analyses on several sampled pieces have demonstrated that this type was widely produced on the entire island (consistent with chemical profiles for Enkomi, Kition/Hala Sultan Tekke, Kouklia, Kourion and others) (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 478). Type 7 bowls are essentially the shallow version of Type 6: they are two-handled shallow bowls (< 5.5 cm in height) with rounded/conical body and linear decoration, a few patterned specimens notwithstanding **[e.g. fig. 6.6: 28.a, b, e-g, 29.b-c]**. Variations can be noted in the form of the body, and the shape and attachment of the handles (Mountjoy 2018, 110-14). The type corresponds to Karageorghis' Types A7, A9 (1965) and to Maier's Type IV (1985, fig. 14). The shallow conical bowl is very popular in the LC IIC levels, found at Kition *Kathari* and *Chrysopolitissa*, Idalion (Tomb G), Angastina, Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 1), Dromolaxia, Pyla *Kokkinokremos,* Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* and Lapithos (Tomb 502).

Bowls assigned to Type 8 in Mountjoy's classification entail relatively deep vessels (> 5.5 cm in height) with an angular profile, comprising a short, upright/flaring upper body and a conical lower body, two opposed horizontal strap handles and a raised concave or low ring-base. Decoration is linear, often with a spiral or concentric circles on the interior. The type corresponds to Karageorghis' A9-10 (1965) and Maier's Type II (1985). From this overview, it appears that Type

8 bowls are very popular and occur at Enkomi (Level IIB and burials), Angastina (Tomb 5), Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 1), Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia*, Myrtou *Pighades* and Lapithos (Tomb 502). Chemical analyses on selected samples assigned this type to CypI (Enkomi) and CypN (Kourion) (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 478). Type 9 bowls constitute the shallower version (< 5.5 cm in height) of Type 8 vessels, again comprising of a short upright/flaring upper part, sharp carination, and conical lower part **[e.g. figs 6.4, 6.7: 18, 38.d]**. They match with Karageorghis' A9 of the *Mantissa* material (1965) and Maier's Type II (1985). The decoration of these shallow angular bowls is again linear, although a few patterned examples are present. The shallow angular bowl (Type 9) is found at various sites across the island, including Enkomi, Kition (Tombs 4+5), Angastina (Tomb 1), Hala Sultan Tekke (Str. 3), Dromolaxia, Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia*, Yeroskipou and Myrtou *Pigadhes*. It has been acknowledged that the influence for the production of the shallow angular bowls Types 8-9 can be traced to both the Mycenaean ceramic production, in accordance to the form and decorative syntax of bowls FS 295 (Furumark 1941, 636) and the local Base-ring Y-shaped bowls and PWWm carinated bowls (1944, 236; Kling 1989b, 164; Mountjoy 2018, 114-16).

No vessels of Types 10, the deep angular bowl, and 11, the deep conical bowl, were contained in the LC IIC level, and it appears that these two types characterize production of the following period.[117] The final categories concern one-handled bowls. Type 12 is divided into two variants: bowls with a wide shallow rounded body, and bowls with a relatively deep, hemispherical body. Both types have a horizontal pierced lug handle and have an incurving rim that is commonly grooved on the exterior. The influence of local traditions is apparent in the use of the lug handle. The shape is not so common in LC IIC levels. It was found in small numbers at Idalion (Tomb 1.76) and Enkomi (Level IIB).

Bowls assigned to Type 13 (corresponding to Type A4 by Karageorghis [1965] and V by Maier [1985, fig. 14]) are relatively small vessels, characterized by slightly slanting upper body, carination at lower level and a raised concave/low ring-base. They have a single horizontal loop handle attached at carination point and bear linear decoration **[e.g. fig. 6.7: 35.c]**. Variations of this type have a more conical profile and/or shallower body (Mountjoy 2018, 139). The shape draws from the local tradition of one-handled bowls (BR, WS, Monochrome and PWWm) (Furumark 1941, 626; Kling 1989b, fig. 20.1.e-f; Mountjoy 2018, 134-9). Type 13 in LC IIC levels was found at Kition *Chrysopolitissa*, Idalion (Tomb G), Angastina Tomb 1, Kalavasos *Ayios*

117 The only case of a Type 10 bowl occurring in otherwise LC IIC contexts was found at Kition *Bamboula* (Sondage 13).

Dhimitrios, Palaepaphos *Asproyi* and Myrtou *Pigadhes*. NAA analyses on a few Type 13 bowls suggest that the main production area was Enkomi (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 480). Finally, no vessels assigned to the Type 14 bowl category, characterized by their shallow and wide form with a single wishbone handle rising above rim-level, can be safely assigned to the LC IIC horizon.

The LC IIC strata also contained a few fragments of locally produced shallow stemmed bowls (FS 309/310) **[e.g. fig. 6.6: 29.h]**. They entail shallow bowls with either a rounded/conical or carinated profile, stepping onto a tall stem that can be either solid with wide base or hollow. Locally made specimens within LC IIC levels were found at Enkomi, Idalion (Tomb G), Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 1), Palaepaphos *Evreti/Asproyi*, Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia*, *Toumba tou Skourou* and Apliki *Karamallos*. Numerous LH IIIB stemmed bowls were imported from the Greek mainland to Cyprus (Mountjoy 2018, 49-53), but they are exceptionally rare in the Greek mainland, and it is not unlikely that these forms were made for export. The addition of a high foot is relatively common in Cypriot ceramic tradition, with plentiful examples in BR, WS, Monochrome and PWWm wares (e.g. Maier, Karageorghis 1982, fig. 94; Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, pl. 165; Nicolaou, Nicolaou 1989, pl. XX.266, 110, 177, 200).

A special mention should be made on the occurrence of locally produced deep bowls in the LC IIC horizons. As indicated above, the deep bowl (or skyphos) has long been considered as the turning point in the LC ceramic industry, its local production equated with the inception of Mycenaean-inspired shapes on the island. Deep bowls contained within the LC IIC contexts are of the FS 284 type,[118] characterized by a flaring rim, bell-shaped body, a pair of horizontal loop handles and a ring-base **[e.g. figs 6.5, 6.6: 25.b, 29.i, 32]**. They are decorated with spirals (short-stem spirals springing from handle-zone) and other linear motifs. The majority of the deep bowls from the LC IIC contexts are rather crudely made, with bulkier parts and a straighter profile compared to the specimens from later contexts. Deep bowls were found in LC IIC levels at Enkomi (Cypriot Tomb 1), Kition *Chrysopolitissa* (Floor IV), Kition *Bamboula*, Athienou (Stratum III), Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 1) and Pyla *Kokkinokremos* (at least five examples). In the following LC IIIA, the deep bowl (FS 285) became the prevalent open shape to the expense of the numerous bowl variants (Georgiou 2018b, 37).

Other types of open vessels are very rare in the corpus of Aegean-style finewares from LC IIC contexts. There were fragments of a couple of conical kylikes, a basin (FS 294) and a dipper, all from Kition.

118 The two specimens of possible FS 285 from Kition *Kathari* Floor IV and Enkomi Level IIB cannot be unquestionably associated with these levels and, on present evidence, cannot be used as evidence for the production of this evolved type in the LC IIC period (Jung 2011, 61-2).

Turning now to the closed shapes, the most common form is the feeding jug, characterized by a vertical handle extending from rim to shoulder and a side-spout on the shoulder **[e.g. fig. 6.5: 19]**. The characteristically Cypriot element of this production are the sets of vertical bands decorating the body of the vessel, as opposed to the horizontal parallel bands, that typify Mycenaean production. This feature finds parallels from much earlier local production, such as the WP VI ware of the LCI period (Kling 1989b, 162; cf. P. Åström 1972, fig. XLI.8-9). Feeding jugs of this type were found across the island. The two feeding bottles with a basket handle attached on the rim from Idalion Tomb 1.76 and Lapithos Tomb 502 could in fact correspond to vessels of the succeeding LC IIIA phase, when this variant became more popular (cf. also Mountjoy 2018, 938-40).

Another popular closed shape of the Aegean-style LC IIC production are jugs of FS 116 type and variants **[e.g. figs 6.5-6.7: 23, 26, 36.a]**. These are medium-sized vessels with a globular/semi-globular shape, a relatively tall cylindrical/concave neck, rounded rim and a vertical, round handle extending from rim to shoulder. Decoration is generally linear. Several imported vessels of this type were found on the island, evidently the prototypes for the local production, even though Mountjoy (2018, 36) considers PWW jugs to have also contributed to this form, in view of the characteristically high neck. Examples of Aegean-style jugs from LC IIC strata were found at Enkomi, Kition (Tombs 4+5), Kition *Bamboula*, Hala Sultan Tekke (Tombs 1-2), Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes*, Apliki *Karamallos* and Myrtou *Pighades*. A variant with a slender neck was excavated at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and a jug with strainer base was found at Myrtou *Pigadhes*.

An intriguing ceramic class is the so-called 'Simple Style', characterized by linear decoration in broad parallel bands covering the entire surface of closed vessels, namely stirrup jars, piriform jars and lentoid flasks **[e.g. figs 6.6, 6.7: 29.g, 36.b, 37]** (Furumark 1941; Leonard 1994, 7-8, 55-64; Mountjoy 2018, 63-70). The origin of this production has long been debated. The use of wide bands in LM IIIB pottery was considered to indicate a Minoan element in its manufacture (Koehl, Yellin 1982). However, NAA analyses presented the possibility that, at least some of these vessels, were produced in Cyprus (Koehl, Yellin 1982). Additional chemical analyses corroborated a Cypriot origin for some of the vessels with this stylistic treatment (Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 471-4). Stirrup jars in Simple Style from LC IIC levels were identified at Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 1), Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* and Erimi *Kafkalla*.

Other Aegean-style closed vessels from LC IIC contexts are much rarer. They include straight-sided alabastra with a pair of pierced handles, instead of the three round handles (Furumark 1941, 599-600), found at Idalion (Tomb G), Alassa and Episkopi *Bamboula*. There was also a carinated jug from Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb MLA 1173)

and a possible lid from Level IIB of Enkomi, possibly following a WSII decorative syntax.

6.4.3.7 Conclusions

The local production of Aegean-style pottery in Cyprus during the final stages of the LBA has received an impressive amount of scholarly attention over the years, and has been loaded with interpretative frameworks, relating to the movement of populations. While this class became the prevalent fineware type of the island by the LC IIIA period (roughly the twelfth century BC), Aegean-style vessels of various forms occur already in the LC IIC period (thirteenth century BC), as evidenced by the present study. It should also be noted that small-scale local production of Aegean-style finewares is testified even earlier than the LC IIC period: the earliest production is assigned to the late LC IIA and IIB phases (roughly the fourteenth century BC). This early production concerns small, three-handled piriform jars (FS 46-7), most commonly decorated with reverse curve-stemmed spirals on the shoulder zone (Graziadio 2017). Their local production has been confirmed by several scientific methods (cf. Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 470-1; Graziadio 2017, 117-29).

The detailed overview of the evidence provided by the examination of Aegean-style pottery production in the LC IIC contexts on a regional scale and from a Cypriot perspective, addressed in this study, allows for several critical observations. First of all, it appears that, during the LC IIC period, the production of this ceramic class was limited in terms of both the shape repertoire represented, but also in terms of sheer numbers. It is certainly noteworthy that the selective range of shapes mostly pertain to open vessels, such as ring-based kraters, small cups and a profusion of bowl types. Indeed, it appears that Aegean-style vessels of the LC IIC period in Cyprus relate to feasting activities, especially as regards the consumption of food and drinks. The remarkably limited range and numbers of Aegean-style closed forms in the LC IIC and the perseverance of Base-ring ware for the production of jugs and juglets are indicative of the selective incorporation of shapes in the local repertoire, and the complex mechanisms underlying the transformation of the local ceramic industry during this period. Another element indicating the selective nature of the Cypriot ceramic industry is the extremely limited number of undecorated tableware pottery present in the Cypriot strata of the LC IIC-IIIA horizons, unlike the popularity of this class in the contemporary Mycenaean contexts (Georgiou 2018b, 44). This would suggest the appreciation of decorated Aegean-style finewares by the Cypriot communities and underscores the incorporation of only a range of Mycenaean ceramic traits in the local, Cypriot sphere.

A second crucial observation concerns the amalgamation of various sources of inspiration for the production of this ceramic class. The inspiration of Mycenaean ceramics is undeniable, in terms of the morphological characteristics and decorative syntax. However, LC IIC (and LC IIIA) Aegean-style finewares do not seem to copy from a single production area of the Aegean. Indeed, beyond the core production in the Argolid, Cypriot-made Aegean-style finewares present affinities with the production of the East Aegean, the Cyclades and Minoan Crete.[119] Aegean-style finewares of the LC IIC period also incorporate, to a great extent, elements from the local Cypriot industry, specifically in terms of shape, and less so in terms of decoration. Characteristic forms within the handmade BR, WS and Monochrome, as well as the wheelmade PWWm and WPWm I-II ceramic sequences, or certain elements that are intrinsically linked to Cypriot ceramic production, such as the single wishbone handle on bowls, the sharp carination on the upper part of wide, open vessels, the hemispherical body with a rounded/flattened base, are all attested in the production of wheelmade, matt-painted finewares of the late thirteenth century BC on the island.[120] Much more infrequent, yet still present, are the influences from the Levant, especially as regards decorative treatment, such as the rare occurrence of bichrome vessels (Immerwahr 1956, 140-1; Kling 1989a, 139). Beyond ceramics, Aegean-style finewares in Cyprus evidently drew inspiration from other media, such as from the form of metallic vessels, as well as from the iconography of ivories and impressed friezes on storage vessels, as indicated above.

It has been repeatedly suggested by previous scholarship that Aegean-style pottery of the LC IIC and even the LC IIIA periods is characterized by ceramic fluidity, experimentation with various techniques and integration of various stimuli (cf. Sherratt 1991; Georgiou 2018b). The admirably arduous categorization of LC IIC and LC IIIA Aegean-style bowls by Mountjoy into several types is undoubtedly effective in classifying this shape, but we should always keep in mind the plethora of variants within each of these categories, in terms of the morphology and specific attributes (e.g. handles, bases), which would again suggest that this ceramic class concerns a phase of experimentation and of transformative nature.

Finally, in examining the impetus for the local production of Aegean-style finewares in the LC IIC period, and the eventual transformation of the Cypriot ceramic industry during the course of the

119 Cf. Sherratt 1991; Mountjoy 2009; 2018, 1259-65; Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015, 485; Graziadio 2011.

120 Cf. Furumark 1944, 235; Kling 1989b; Georgiou 2016b, 91-3; Mountjoy 2018, 73, 88, 144.

following period, we need to embrace a holistic, contextual and macrohistoric approach and to consider the interplay of multiple agents. It is evident that the ever-growing nucleation of the LC communities in urban centers during the LC IIC and LC IIIA periods impacted progressively on the ceramic production of handmade finewares to expedite and 'industrialize'. This is evident by the efforts of turning traditional handmade wares on the wheel and by incorporating morphological and decorative elements of the traditional LC handmade wares in vessels of WPWm III ware (Georgiou 2018b, 46). At the same time, the need to fill the void left by the export crisis of Argolid-made ceramic finewares during the second half of the thirteenth century BC must have stimulated and encouraged Cypriot production of Aegean-style finewares (Sherratt 1998, 298; 2003, 45), especially of the pictorial kraters in the characteristic Rude/Pastoral Style (Mountjoy 2018, 66). Finally, it is not unlikely that Aegean populations, including skilled craftsmen, migrating to Cyprus during the late thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC contributed to the flourishing of this ceramic class, even though their establishment remains elusive, meaning that we are unable to securely identify a single residential or burial context as the remains of an intrusive individual or community of Aegean origin. Regardless, the transformation of the Cypriot ceramic industry does not seem to have been imposed by an exogenous agent and the simplistic equation of ceramic transformations to population movements cannot be unambiguously maintained, especially considering the selective and formative nature of this ware and its integration in the LC cultural milieu (Georgiou 2018b, 43-4).

During the course of the LC IIIA period, which largely corresponds to the twelfth century BC, the wheelmade, Aegean-style finewares flourished at the expense of the local handmade wares and eventually prevailed in numbers and through the incorporation of additional shapes. By the middle of this period, the Cypriot industry was completely transformed and, for the first time in the island's history, Cyprus' ceramic production was dominated by tablewares of wheelmade manufacture.

6.4.4 Other Aegean Raw Material and Objects Imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 4

Leaving aside Mycenaean pottery, a reduction in other types of imported objects from the Aegean, especially bronze artifacts and jewelry, can also be noted, but this is counterbalanced by the development of locally produced objects where Mycenaean influence is apparent. However, it is interesting to note the use of raw materials of Aegean origin. For example, according to provenance analysis two oval bun silver ingots from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* were made of silver

from Lavrion (Kassianidou 2022, 74 fig. 1 with refs, 82 fn. 116 with refs). In addition, lead consistent with a Sardinian provenance has been found at Maa *Paleokastro*, Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and several other Cypriot sites (Sabatini, Lo Schiavo 2020, 1507), and lead isotope analysis shows that at least seven lead finds and five bronzes found at Hala Sultan Tekke could have been made of metal from Sardinia (1508). This possibly indicates that troubles in the Eastern Mediterranean (Knapp 1990a; Kassianidou 2022, 83) pushed Cypriot traders toward the west in search of raw materials, while Sabatini and Lo Schiavo strongly suggest an involvement of Nuragic communities in the long-distance metal trade in the Mediterranean (Sabatini, Lo Schiavo 2020, 1509-11; cf. Russell, Knapp 2017; Knapp, Russel, Van Dommelen 2021 for different views on mechanisms and routes of the exchange). Whatever the interpretations may be for the nature and mechanisms of any trading network between Cyprus and central Mediterranean, including Sardinia, the discovery of some ceramic Nuragic vessels at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and Hala Sultan Tekke[121] provides further evidence supporting the importance of this network of connectivity and mobility.

6.4.4.1 Miscellaneous Aegean Copper-Based Artifacts on Cyprus

Bronze artifacts on Cyprus are almost absent in contexts before Interaction Period 4, possibly because other imported luxury artifacts were preferred as status indicators (Papasavvas 2012, 117-18; Papasavvas, Kassianidou 2015, 232). In LC IIC copper production reached its peak,[122] and bronze artifacts of local production are displayed in funerary contexts, including high value objects such as rod tripods, four-sided stands, and hemispherical bowls. With the intensified copper production on Cyprus and the increase of commercial Cypriot activities connected with copper (Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 131-2), not only can a reduction in Mycenaean imported pottery be noted in the second half of the thirteenth century BC, but also a limited amount of Mycenaean bronze imported artifacts are found, although imported bronze objects are difficult to distinguish from local objects reflecting Aegean or Near East influence (Matthäus 1982, esp. 189) and it is difficult to safely attribute objects to LC IIC contexts. For example, a Type 2 jug (L. Åström 1972, 564), a stem of a possible kylix of Mycenaean type (Catling 1964, 150: E1, pl. 19: c; L. Åström 1972,

121 Karageorghis, Kanta 2014, 124 no. 13, pl. IV, 144-5; Bürge, Fischer 2019; Sabatini, Lo Schiavo 2020; Fischer 2021; Kanta 2021.

122 Papasavvas 2004, 49; 2012, 119; Papasavvas, Kassianidou 2015, 232-3; Kassianidou 2021, 114.

564), in addition to two bronze vessels from Enkomi, British Tomb 66, were regarded as LC IIC-III or LM III (Crewe 2009b, 36 nos 46-7, pls 21-2 with refs; also cf. L. Åström 1972, 493 fig. 63: 27), and there were one or two hemispherical bronze bowls from Swedish Tomb 18 (Jung 2009, 76 with refs) while all the scale pans were attributed to LC III (L. Åström 1972, 563-4). However, some objects, such as a mirror from Enkomi, British Tomb 66, may be considered of Aegean type (Catling 1964, 224 no. 1, pl. 40: a; L. Åström 1972, 487, Mirror Type 1, 562; Crewe 2009b, 37 no. 49, pl. 31: LH III).

Concerning military equipment on Cyprus, according to L. Åström (1972, 480, 561), greaves such as those from Enkomi, British Tomb 15 (Catling 1964, 140: 2, pl. 18: b, c) and Swedish Tomb 18 (L. Åström 1972, 480 fig. 61: 1; Catling 1964, 140: I, pl. 18: a) that date to final LC IIC came from the Aegean. In light of more recent research, comparable examples from Greece contained Cypriot copper and were "most probably western Greek products", but there are also parallels in Calabria, southern Italy (Jung 2009, 76 with refs). L. Åström also regarded a fragmentary bronze helmet from Cypriot Tomb 10 at Enkomi as possibly of Aegean origin (1972, 560-1; Catling 1964, 137: 1, 2, pl. 17: a-d; Karageorghis 2011, 40 no. 12.299). A spearhead with fully cast socket from Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi as well as socketed spearheads with cast socket from settlement strata at Enkomi were interpreted by Jung (2009, 75-7; Karageorghis 2011, 40 no. 1.4505) as new weapons that were adopted from Italy at the end of LC IIC Late together with the first Naue II type swords, indicating that the ruling class at Enkomi had "a strong interest" in Italian military technology (Jung 2009, 77). Therefore, all the new weaponry which appeared near the end of Interaction Period 4 may be the Cypriot response to changing military tactics "or the appropriation of exotic weaponry by elites to enhance their military prowess" (Knapp 2012b, 37; Steel 2004a, 196). Jung (2009, 82), however, stressed that the military innovations of Italian origin appeared on Cyprus "before the destruction of Enkomi IIB" and although stating that

> the Italian weapon technology was transferred to Cyprus in a different way from that in which it was transferred to the Aegean and the central Levantine coast,

he admitted that the available archaeological evidence does not allow us to establish whether it

> was transferred to Cyprus via the southeastern Aegean regions, or if it arrived directly from the Mycenaean centres in the Peloponnese. (78, 82)

6.4.4.2 Prestige Objects Imported from the Aegean

Precious Vessels

A silver bowl from British Tomb 66 at Enkomi was already discussed in § 5.4.3.1 in connection with the precious vessels of Interaction Period 3. Its hemispherical shape and *knopfhenkel* of Aegean type are similar to the features of the well-known silver bowl with inlaid decoration from French Tomb 2 which can be dated to the second half of LC IIA. However, British Tomb 66 was used from LC IIA2 to LC IIC-IIIA, but also could have "a quite possible use only in LC IIC" (Crewe 2009b, 30). In this case, the bowl should be considered an Aegean import possibly dating to Interaction Period 4, but based on the parallels of its shape, it is possible that it was used earlier before being placed in the tomb as an heirloom in this later period, as also suggested for a gold bowl found in the same funerary context.

Personal Ornaments

In § 5.4.3.2 the problems concerning the origin, whether Aegean or local, of single jewels of Aegean appearance from Cypriot tombs have been mentioned. Specifically referring to Interaction Period 4, personal ornaments of likely Aegean manufacture are therefore very few in funerary contexts, representing a clear minority of the total jewelry found on Cyprus. Special attention can however be devoted to two finger rings, one made of gold-plated bronze[123] and the other made of gold with filigree and granulation.[124] Both have been considered Aegean imports based on their Aegean parallels and may be dated to LC IIC if not to late LC IIC, since they were found in Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi. Among the typical array of personal ornaments of indeterminate chronology from the wealthy British Tomb 66 at Enkomi, a gold finger ring with engraved oval bezel has been regarded as a LH III import (Goring 1983, 1, 341 no. 683; 2, 218 no. 683 with refs; Crewe 2009b, 29, 40 no. 101, pl. 46), but its attribution to Interaction Period 4 is not certain. The same is probably also true of another gold ring with engraved bezel found in British Tomb 100 at Enkomi (Goring 1983, 1, 341 no. 684; 2, 218 no. 684 with refs).

Another gold artifact regarded as an Aegean import is a gold bead shaped like a short cylinder with horizontal globules soldered to the

123 Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. CLV: 22; L. Åström 1972, 503, Type 3, 573; Goring 1983, 1, 340 no. 681: "of Mycenaean workmanship, but has been made in Cyprus"; 2, 216-17 no. 681.

124 Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. LXXXVIII: 2; L. Åström 1972, 503, Type 5, 573; Goring 1983, 1, 323-4, 374 no. 652, fig. 9c; 2, 202-3 no. 652.

outside (L. Åström 1972, 505, 576, Type 7 bead with refs; Goring 1983, 1, 241 no. 548; 2, 164 no. 548). It was discovered in Swedish T. 18 where other Aegean objects (bronzes and other jewelry items) were found (see above) and can probably be dated to LC IIC Late. No other beads can safely be regarded as Aegean imports. The quadruple conoid beads from Swedish Tomb 3 at Enkomi are "superficially similar to Aegean examples" (Goring 1983, 1, 242 no. 7; also cf. L. Åström 1972, 506, Type 9, 576, fig. 65: 30). The Aegean origin of beads made of gold and semi-precious stones in the shape of 'grains of wheat' was discussed in § 4.4.2.1, but this shape was already assimilated in local funerary jewelry early in Interaction Period 3. Concerning other semi-precious stone beads, L. Åström remarked that

> no object of semi-precious stone is either unique to Cyprus or can be said definitely to be of Cypriote origin. (1972, 607)

She further observes that their material generally was Egyptian or Levantine, with the possible exception of amygdaloid beads which may have come from the Aegean (546, 606).

Seals

It has already been stressed that at Enkomi the main period of seal use was LC IIC (Antoniadou 2007, 492-4, fig. 5), coinciding with the major urban reorganization at this town, the development of other First Tier settlements, and the substantial increase in the wealth of the local élite testified by funerary evidence. However, the huge majority of seals of this period, mainly used for jewelry or as amulets, were of local production, while the overwhelming influence and the majority of imported seals on Cyprus are of eastern origin. In this context imported Aegean seals dating to Interaction Period 4 are very few. The seals of the so-called 'Cypro-Aegean' type discussed above (see § 5.3.3.1) must be left aside here because they feature elements of Aegean styles or iconography coexisting with Cypro-Levantine characteristics and Cypriot components. A few other examples of this period showing Aegean influence are also not discussed here because of their Cypriot production (see § 6.5.2.3).

Ivory Objects

In § 5.4.3.4 the rarity of locally carved ivories in Late Cypriot IIC-IIIA settlement contexts was already emphasized, while ivory was presumably imported as a raw material from Syria or Egypt. From LC IIC there is evidence for the working of local ivory, but in settlement

levels at Enkomi most of the ivory artifacts were found in Levels IIIA and IIIB and are later than the period considered in this book (Antoniadou 2003, 258-90). However, part of the ivory head of a man wearing a boar's tusk helmet was found in British Tomb 16 at Enkomi (Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, pl. II no. 1314; L. Åström 1972, 608-9; Kryszkowska 1991). This is an Aegean-style or, most likely, an Aegean imported artifact. Unfortunately, the context of this find is unknown, but it probably can be attributed to the end of LC IIC or LC IIIA (Kryszkowska 1991, 119-20). Another possible Aegean import is a round ivory pyxis from British Tomb 75 at Enkomi, where a person and a sphinx are represented (Courtois, Lagarce 1986, 128-9, pl. XXV: 10; Poursat 1977a, 159, pl. XVII: 4). Reference was also made to the Aegean for other ivory objects such as a rectangular comb with teeth on one side only and a similar comb handle from Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi (Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. LXXXIX: 1; L. Åström 1972, 549: Comb 2a, 610). It is also worth noting that a small ivory mirror-handle carved on one side with a "recumbent stag with its antlers" and on the other side with a wild goat was found in the same tomb (Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, 32 no. 1339, pl. II no. 1339: A-B), but if it was locally made it should be considered a 'hybridized' artifact like the other ivory objects discussed below (see § 6.5.2.1). In fact, as pointed out by L. Åström (1972, 615, 620), the repertoire of ivory objects imported from the Aegean is limited to a few examples, while the Aegean contribution is more apparent in other ivory objects of Cypriot production where influences of various origins can be seen (cf. for example, L. Åström 1972, 611-12).

Faience

Concerning faience objects possibly imported from the Aegean, no addition can be made to the discussion in § 5.4.3.5 where their rarity on Cyprus has been emphasized also in LC IIC contexts. For ivory 'hybridized' artifacts, including the famous faience rhyton from Kition *Chrysopolitissa* and faience vessels showing Egyptian and Levantine features (Knapp 2013, 461-2), see below (§ 6.5.2.2).

Amber

A general review of amber finds from Cyprus was provided in § 5.4.3.6 where it was suggested that they can be considered in the network of prestige imports from the Aegean. However, as already pointed out, the chronology of amber finds from British Tombs 27 and 67 at Enkomi cannot be safely established, while the five amber beads from the rich Tomb 66 can possibly be assigned to Interaction Period 4

along with other precious objects such as the silver bowl mentioned above.[125]

Miscellaneous Finds: Bone Comb

Most bone objects found on Cyprus have been considered of local manufacture (L. Åström 1972, 608), but a likely exception seems to be a bone comb from Apliki that is comparable to many examples found on the Greek mainland and on Crete. It therefore can be regarded as an Aegean import dating to the thirteenth century BC (547, 607-8 with earlier refs).

6.5 Aegean Influences and Imitations Apparent on Cypriot Handicrafts in Interaction Period 4

In § 5.4.4, the appearance on Cyprus of local imitations of Mycenaean imports and locally produced prestige objects displaying a certain degree of Mycenaean influence was regarded as an important novelty of Interaction Period 3. Clearly it is an effect of the substantial increase in Aegean imports, mostly from Mycenaean Greece, during this period and foreshadows the developments of this process in Interaction Period 4, when it becomes especially apparent in the field of pottery.

6.5.1 The Influence of Mycenaean Pottery on Cypriot Handicrafts

6.5.1.1 Aegean-Type Pottery

As discussed in § 5.4.4.1.1, an influx of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus began in LC IIA1 and individual vases or groups of vessels, such as the local LC IIB three-handled jars, may be interpreted as evidence of a limited Aegean-type pottery production before the widespread appearance of the Aegean-type pottery at the end of LC IIC. In fact, the production of Mycenaean inspired vessels on a large scale is marked by the appearance of the wheelmade fine Aegean-type (White Painted Wheelmade III) ware in the late thirteenth century BC which was the most marked and widespread expression of Mycenaean influence on Cypriot culture in Interaction Period 4. In the twelfth century BC this pottery replaced the traditional Cypriot pottery and became the

125 Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, 43 and pl. IX; Strong 1966, 20, 40; L. Åström 1972, 556; Harding, Hughes-Brock, Beck 1974, 169; Crewe 2007b, 40 nos 106-10.

most common ware in LC IIIA contexts. In LC IIC final contexts this pottery of local production also was sometimes found in association with LH IIIB Final and LH IIIC Early 1 imported vessels (see § 6.1). In this study this Aegean-type pottery dating to the late LC IIC period is discussed by Artemis Georgiou in detail (see § 6.4.3). Apart from some influence of Mycenaean shapes on some local wares,[126] here instead, some short comments are needed regarding the cooking pots found in Level IIB at Enkomi which equates with LC IIC (LH IIIB Developed-LH IIIC Early 1 in Mycenaean terms).

As shown by Jung (2011a), these pots are handmade and related to Cypriot types, while new wheelmade shapes of Aegean origin, such as jugs FS 65 and two-handled cooking amphorae FS 66, appeared in LC IIIA. At least at Maa *Palaeokastro* and Enkomi, this new pottery is smaller and replaced the larger traditional handmade pots, suggesting that different quantities of food were cooked in Enkomi IIB and in IIIA (60-1). The cooking vessels from these two periods also show different morphological features, indicating a possible change in food preparation (2012b, 113). In the final LC IIC at Pyla *Kokkinokremos,* the unpainted pottery of Cypriot type has a conservative character and is handmade like all cooking pots from the site. At Maa *Palaeokastro,* however, handmade cooking pots of local Cypriot tradition have been found in Floor II contexts (2011a, 66-7, 69), but there also was a

> predominantly Mycenaean typology of kitchen vessels together with the large quantities of locally produced Mycenaean table ware

and the Mycenaean cooking pots

> were clearly the dominant cooking vessels throughout the settlement history of Maa. (67, 69)

Within this discussion of ceramics and Aegean contacts, the so-called Handmade Burnished Ware which appears at the end of LC IIC should be mentioned due to the various interpretations of its origin (Karageorghis 1986, for a review). Pilides (1991; 1994; also cf. Steel 2004a, 194-6, for a general discussion) provides a discussion in detail of the Handmade Burnished Ware from Cypriot contexts, where it dates from LC IIIA to LC IIIB or even Cypro-Geometric I. However, although

126 In Interaction Period 4 such seems to be the case of a Base Ring II straight-sided alabastron from Tomb 1 at Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* (South, Russell 1989, 46, 100, K-AD 89, fig. 45), which shows a profile inspired by the Mycenaean alabastron FS 94, although featuring a basket handle. It is worth recalling that, in addition to local three-handled jars of Aegean-type discussed above, the influence on local wares is clearly apparent already in Interaction Period 3 (see § 5.4.4.1).

this ware has also been found over a vast area from the Central Mediterranean to the Levant and in southeast Europe, this ceramic category may be connected with the south Italian Recent Bronze Age pottery (Jung 2009, 78 with refs; 2012b, 109 with refs). Jung also pointed out that it is characterized by a new technology which must have been introduced from Italy, either directly or via the Aegean. This evidence supports what Knapp stated ten years ago: Handmade Burnished Ware "should never be used to argue for an Aegean colonization of Cyprus" (2012b, 35).

6.5.1.2 Bronze Vessels

The shape of the bronze amphoroid kraters was probably introduced in the repertoire of Cypriot bronze work in the thirteenth century BC (Papasavvas 2015, 390-1), but all the few preserved examples date later than a krater from a Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* tomb that is the earliest excavated example and dates to the early part of LC IIIA (389, fig. 7). Yet, as Papasavvas points out,

> they were for the most part kept over several generations and perhaps in different places before they were eventually deposited in tombs as revered heirlooms. (2013, 177)

Here, regarding the chronology, it is important to note that the shape of these bronze vessels clearly imitated that of clay Mycenaean kraters of the LH IIIA-B period, but Cypriot craftsmen continued to produce these "much more sophisticated" bronze vessels when the shape had gone out of fashion in Aegean ceramic production (177).

6.5.1.3 Faience Vessels

There is no evidence for local production of the highly valued faience vessels. Therefore, all the examples inspired by Mycenaean pottery can be considered imports from Egypt and Syria-Palestine. Only a few vessels of this type may safely be assigned stratigraphically to Interaction Period 4, since nearly all items from Enkomi and other LBA sites were found in mixed or later burial contexts (see § 5.4.4.2), although in some cases, the shape of the vessels is particularly indicative of their chronology. The extraordinary well-known polychrome rhyton from Kition *Chrysopolitissa* features a Mycenaean shape and deserves particular consideration. With its mixture of elements of different origin, it can be characterized as one of the 'hybridized' artifacts of the LC IIC-IIIA periods repeatedly discussed by Knapp. However, other faience vessels can also be mentioned here on account of

their Aegean inspiration (cf. in general, Matoïan 2003, 155-6 fn. 17 with refs; also cf. Peltenburg 1976, 107). Among the many faience vases from Tombs 1 and 9 at Kition, for example, Knapp (2012b, 42 with refs; 42-3) mentions a fragmentary small stirrup vase or juglet from Tomb 1, "which betrays Aegean inspiration in its shape", although it may be of Cypriot or north Syrian production. Moreover, two faience vases supposedly found near Idalion and currently part of the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, have been dated to the end of the thirteenth century BC and feature shapes inspired by the repertoire of Mycenaean pottery: a flask with figural (or pictorial) decoration and another flask with a shape recalling that of a Mycenaean stirrup jar, but lacking the two handles (respectively Foster 1979, 52 no. 339, 51 no. 321; Karageorghis 2000a, 62 no. 98, 63 no. 100). L. Åström (1972, 524-5, Type 3 jug, 593-4, Type 1 Amphorae) suggests that faience vessels found on Cyprus show the influence of the LH IIIB narrow necked jugs FS 118: 4 and piriform jars FS 49 dating to LH IIIC Early. Finally, Knapp (2012b, 42-3 with refs) does not rule out the possibility that horizontal bands of zigzags on a faience bottle in the form of a pomegranate from British Tomb 43 at Enkomi reveal Aegean influences.

6.5.1.4 Stone Vases

As discussed in § 5.4.4.1.2, most of Bevan's (2007, 223-7) cataloged examples date to LC III, while the shape of only a few stone vessels produced on Cyprus mirror the Mycenaean pottery repertoire. This is the case of a group of three-handled alabastra from Enkomi, Maroni, Kalavasos *Mangia*, Dromolaxia and other unknown contexts (223, Cyp2) that imitate the shape of Mycenaean alabastron FS 94. The chronology of some of the stone vases from Dromolaxia, Enkomi (British Tomb 94), and Maroni has already been discussed in detail in § 5.4.4.1.2 where they were tentatively attributed to Interaction Period 3, although, according to Bevan, the group overall dates to LC II-III. If so, in addition to perhaps an example from Kalavasos *Mangia* Tomb 1 (Karageorghis 1976b, 852: b) and, more likely, another one from Kalavasos *Mangia* Tomb 6 (Todd et al. 1988, 220 fig. 9.56, pl. XXXIII), the group may date to Interaction Period 4 based on the presence of LH IIIB finds in these tombs (Kalavasos *Mangia* Tomb 1: Karageorghis 1976b, 852: b; Kalavasos *Mangia* Tomb 6: Todd et al. 1988, 214 nos 44-6, fig. 7). It is possible that other stone alabastra from the Cyprus Museum and in other collections mentioned by Jacobsson (Todd et al. 1988, 220) that lack definitive contexts may also belong to Interaction Period 4.

Other Cypriot stone vessels featuring a shape related to the Mycenaean ceramic piriform jar include examples from Ayios Iakovos,

Enkomi (British Tomb 66, French Tomb 11, and an example without context), Kition (Tomb 9, upper burial: Karageorghis 1974, 62-3, 83, 92 nos 3, 10, 14, 353, pl. LXXX, CLXIII) and an example in Uppsala Museum (Bevan 2007, 223-4, Cyp3). While the examples from French Tomb 11 at Enkomi and from Ayios Iakovos may be assigned to Interaction Period 3 (see § 5.4.4.1), at least the example from Tomb 66 at Enkomi (L. Åström 1972, 542, 603 Type 6; Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, 125; Crewe 2009b, 42 no. 130) along with four stone vessels from Kition T. 9 (Karageorghis 1974, 62-3, 83, 92 nos 3, 10, 14, 353, pls LXXX, CLXIII) may be dated to LC IIC. To conclude, despite some chronological limitations, the Mycenaean ceramic repertoire continued to exert an uninterrupted influence on the local production of stone vessel shapes from LC IIA/B to LC III.

6.5.2 The Impact of Aegean Prestige Objects on Cypriot Elite Crafts in Interaction Period 4

The impact of Aegean prestige objects on Cypriot arts and crafts during Interaction Period 3 (see § 5.4.4.2) continued in Interaction Period 4, providing further evidence of the mixing of local and foreign (Aegean and Levantine) elements that initially appeared during the LC II-III period. As pointed out in the previous chapter, specific reference must be made to the various reviews of the items regarded as "hybridized" objects by Knapp.[127]

6.5.2.1 Ivory

According to Knapp, ivory provides some striking examples of "hybridized" Aegean, Levantine and local Cypriot elements.[128] However, he has argued that

> ivories may have had a privileged but not restricted usage, and were not regarded as prestigious objects in the same way that precious metals were (2012b, 494 with refs)

since most ivory objects from Cypriot contexts of the LBA period that were reviewed by Antoniadou came from domestic deposits (2012b, 494 with refs). The ivory objects discussed in detail by Knapp include a rhyton from Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, three pyxis lids from Kouklia *Evreti*, a flat disk and a bathtub shaped pyxis from

127 Knapp 2008, 268-80; 2012b, 34-43; 2013, 454-70; Voskos, Knapp 2008, 663-75.

128 Knapp 2012b, 34-8; 2013, 457-9; Voskos, Knapp 2008, 672; also cf. Feldman 2002; 2006.

Tomb 9 at Kition, a plaque from Kition Area III, a pyxis from British Tomb 24 at Enkomi, and some handles of bronze mirrors from Swedish Tomb 19 and British Tomb 17 at Enkomi and from Kouklia *Evreti* Tomb 8.[129] Regarding their chronology, in his discussion on the contexts of these ivory objects (2012b, 40-1, tab. 5.4), only the rhyton from Athienou is tentatively dated to the thirteenth century, while all the other ivory artifacts have been attributed to LC IIIA. However, the lower burial in Tomb 9 at Kition where a flat ivory disk engraved with a tree motif and the head of a lion was found (Karageorghis 1974, 42-3, 61, pls 65, 180) may also belong to the very end of LC IIC, as suggested by the excavator (93-4). The same chronology may also apply to the ivory handle of a bronze mirror found in the chamber of Swedish Tomb 19 at Enkomi (Gjerstad et al. 1934, 565 no. 91, 568, pls 92: 2, 152: 7) since the tomb was used in LC IA, LC IB, and LC IIC (Keswani 2004, 234, tab. 5.9c).

6.5.2.2 Faience

Some faience objects dating to Interaction Period 4 belong to the category of precious items showing a mixture of elements of various origin, including Aegean derivation. Among these is the famous LC IIC polychrome faience rhyton from the area just outside Tombs 4+5 at Kition *Chrysopolitissa* that is decorated with hunting scenes, bulls, a goat, stylized flowers and two hunters and was possibly made on the Syrian coast or in the southern part of Cyprus (Koehl 2006, 245-6: C10 with refs; Knapp 2008, 161, 269-70 with refs; 2012b, 42-3). As noted above, a clear Aegean feature of this precious object is its shape, but the vertical running spirals depicted in the lowest register are also derived from the Aegean. Also exhibiting a Mycenaean inspiration are some paste or faience beads showing a 'grain of wheat' shape from Kouklia (Catling 2020, 49-50: AVII: 13-14, 18). Gold beads of this shape are discussed below, but the adoption of this motif dates back to Interaction Period 3, when it also appeared on gold diadems (see § 5.4.4.2). Moreover, it is worth noting that similar faience beads are well represented on Rhodes (Hughes-Brock 2013, 217 with refs). Even so, Peltenburg (1976, 107, pls LIV, LXXIII) pointed out that the motive of running spiral on a faience vessel from Tomb 1 at Hala Sultan Tekke, although of possible Aegean origin, may instead be indicative of an Egyptian provenance of the object.

129 Knapp 2008, 269-70; 2012b, 39-41; 2013, 457-9; 2022, 76; Voskos, Knapp 2008, 672.

6.5.2.3 Seals

Seals "served as functional mechanisms within a redistributive system of wealth and staple finance" (Webb 2002, 139). On Cyprus, cylinder seals dating from Interaction Period 3 onwards show Aegean elements assimilated in the iconography of engraved scenes. However, as noted by Knapp (2008, 276; 2012b, 43), the main problem is precisely defining the development of Cypriot glyptic throughout the Late Bronze Age due to the lack of a secure provenance of the find contexts of many seals, including some examples featuring Aegean elements. This problem also affects the seals of the Cypro-Aegean group repeatedly discussed by Pini.[130] A case in point is the hematite cylinder seal in Elaborate Style found in 1934 by the French Mission in Trench 37 at Enkomi (Schaeffer 1936, 112-13, figs 48-9; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 56: Enkomi-Alasia no. 1.002; Webb 2002, pl. 1: 3). Its carved decoration shows many Aegean elements: a male figure wearing an Aegean kilt, the representations of the so-called 'Minoan Genius' holding an ewer, the lions in a heraldic posture with fore legs laying on an object recalling the altar of Aegean type, and the motif formed by two connected drillings that recalls the 'figure-of-eight shield' in Aegean glyptic. A twin seal identical in style and composition, mixing Aegean and Near Eastern elements, is stored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Aruz, Benzel, Evans 2009, 398 no. 253). The twin seals, although dated to the fourteenth century BC, illustrate well the "increasing use of Aegean motifs and stylistic conventions during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries" (Webb, Weingarten 2012, 90). However, the iconography of the 'Minoan Genius' first appeared on Cyprus in an Aegean hematite lentoid seal dating to an early phase of the LBA, and the seal may have been important to the assimilation of this iconography on Cyprus (Kenna 1967, no. 126, cf. XIX for suggested LM II chronology; Pini 1992, 208 no. 4). Also worth noting is the occurrence of this fantastic figure on a Cypriot stamp seal and on a conoid of the LC IIC-IIIA period (Gill 1964, 15 no. 4, pl. I: 9; Mantzourani 1991, 113 no. 1; Graziadio 2004, fig. 10), as well as other representations of 'Minoan Genii' from Cypriot contexts of undefined chronology that have been reviewed by Gill, Mantzourani, Papasavvas and other scholars (Gill 1964, 17 no. 18; Mantzourani 1991, 113-14 nos 3, 6-8 with refs; Papasavvas 2015, 395-6 with refs). Finally, possibly coming from the site of Kourion and now at the Nicosia Museum is a handle of a bronze krater with the figure of the 'Minoan Genius' holding a libation jug, a prestige object which scholars have attributed to different, even later, periods (Graziadio 2004, 224-6; Weingarten 2010, 96-7; Papasavvas 2015, 392-5, 397-400). It is clear from this

130 1979; 1980; 2014; also see § 5.3.3.1.

review that Aegean iconographic connections themselves generally do not facilitate the precise dating of seals in the absence of adequate contextual data. Such limitations also greatly affect the study of the glyptic of Interaction Period 4. As a result, many LC IIC seals showing Aegean elements cannot easily be distinguished from seals with the same characteristics dating to LC IIIA.[131] Consequently, nearly all the seals from settlement contexts (especially from domestic rooms) at Enkomi showing Aegean influence of some kind may be dated to LC IIC-IIIA (Antoniadou 2007, 493 fig. 5; 2011, 242).

While the assimilation of some Aegean elements can be regarded as a continuous, yet increasing, feature of the Cypriot cylinder seals dating to the LC II and LC III periods, an important novelty of the late LC IIC period is the appearance of motifs of Aegean origin on the conoids. Specifically, in this period a new typology of stamp seals which "seems to be a local innovation of the period" develops. While unique, these conoid seals were sometimes found together with cylinder seals in administrative, industrial and funerary contexts (Webb in Webb, Weingarten 2012, 91; also cf. Reyes 2001, 10, 13). Reyes (2001, 10; 2002, 216) considers the conoid seals, which span from the end of LC IIC to the beginning of LC IIIA, as "the most prolific and most enigmatic" seal shape attested on Cyprus. Of the engraved decoration, certain motifs on the conoid seals derive from the iconographic tradition of earlier cylinder seals, where elements of Near Eastern inspiration prevail (2001, 13-15, fig. 15; 2002, 215-16; 2005, 204). However, there are also Aegean elements on LC IIC final-LC IIIA conoids, although, of course, they cannot be considered evidence for an Aegean migration (Webb in Webb, Weingarten 2012, 91). Reyes (2001, 14, 17: "the Aegeanising Style", fig. 14; 2002, 217 fig. 3) mentioned examples with these characteristics from Enkomi, Idalion, Kourion and Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*. More specifically, according to Kenna (1968, 149), the main elements of Aegean origin in the repertoire of Aegeanizing motifs are "animal studies, attack motifs and studies of warriors". The comparison between the motifs on the conoid Cypriot seals and their possible Aegean prototypes (Graziadio 2004, 221-3), however, shows that the human figures in the glyptic of the two areas do not exhibit any convincing affinity, while in addition to the 'Minoan Genius' discussed above, animal figures and attack motifs have close Aegean parallels (221-3; also cf. Catling 2020, 37, 218, AV: 111, pl. 96).

Another interesting innovation of the thirteenth century BC is the use of large wooden rollers over a band of added clay applied on the surface of large storage jars. This is relevant to the discussion of the

131 However, some cylinder seals showing Aegean elements can safely be dated to the twelfth century (Knapp 2008, 276-7).

Aegean influence on seal-impressions, although the practice of rolling seals on vessels is not only attested in the Aegean in the Early Helladic II period (Lindblom, Nordquist, Mommsen 2018), but also in Southern Anatolia and the Near East, despite the fact that the use of large wooden seals seems to be a Cypriot invention (Georgiou 2016a, 135, 140 with refs). A number of pithos fragments with these impressions have been discussed in various publications of ceramic finds from coastal and inland sites of the thirteenth century BC, such as Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kourion, Kouklia, Maa *Palaeokastro* on the coast, and Alassa, Analiondas *Palioklichia,* and Athienou inside the island (Webb 2002, 127; Webb in Webb, Weinberg 2012, 90; also cf. Knapp 2008, 167-8 with refs). These pithoi are particularly concentrated at Alassa (Hadjisavvas 2017, 279-321 with a contribution of Priscilla Keswani), Kourion *Bamboula*, Kouklia, and Maa *Palaeokastro* (Georgiou 2016a with earlier refs), but are remarkably absent at Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* and Maroni. It is not by chance that their appearance in the thirteenth century is contemporary with the evidence for centralized regional administration because they were connected with large-scale storage and were possibly used to identify certain pithoi containing foodstuffs for special purposes or as markers of elite consumers (Webb, Frankel 1994, 18-19; Webb 2002, 131; Georgiou 2016a, 139-40). The pithos impressions give shape to friezes in relief depicting chariot scenes, animal compositions including fighting bulls, hunting scenes, heroic combats, griffins, and (at Alassa) non-figurative motifs such as tassels and chevrons. For the purposes of this book, it is important to refer specifically to the examples with chariot hunts depicted in Aegeanizing style (Feldman, Sauvage 2010, 141-2), since chariot scenes are paralleled by figurative decorations on many Mycenaean Pictorial Style kraters, while parallels for other iconographies can also be found in the Eastern Mediterranean (Porada 1988, 303-4; Feldman, Sauvage 2010, 86-7, 95-9, 101-4, 110-13: chariot scenes on Cyprus; Georgiou 2016a, 137-8). Webb and Frankel (1994, 12-14, fig. 5) discuss in detail an example of Aegeanizing influence on a pithos fragment from Analiondas *Palioklichia* that depicts a chariot hunting scene with various animals such as a bull, a cow and a calf. However, other interesting fragments of pithoi with chariot hunts occur elsewhere (Georgiou 2016a, 135 with refs) and are particularly common at Alassa (Hadjisavvas 2017, 283-99: "Thematic Group 1: Chariot and Bulls"; Feldman, Sauvage 2010, 142 with refs) and at Maa *Palaeokastro* (Georgiou 2016a, 130-1, tab. 8.1, fig. 8: 5-7, 12-14). For example, in the latter site another fragmentary frieze on a pithos fragment depicts a chariot scene with the animals in a "flying gallop" (Porada 1988, 301-6, pl. A no. 109; Georgiou 2016 a, 132, fig. 8: 5-6).

6.5.2.4 Jewelry

Among the gold signet-rings which can be dated to LC IIC-III, an example from Evreti Tomb VIII at Kouklia is particularly interesting because, according to Crowley (1989, 237, 400, 500 nos 516-17 with refs), its form is paralleled by rings from Enkomi, while the design in the bezel with two bulls *couchant* and two Cypro-Aegean signs clearly is of Mycenaean inspiration (Catling 2020, 85, EVIII: 28 with refs, 186-7, 218). According to Knapp (2022, 75, fns 114, 115 with refs), the gold rings with cloisonné bezels from the same tomb also may betray Aegean influence.

The particular importance of gold beads and necklace spacers in the shape of a 'figure-of-eight' shield of Aegean origin has already been emphasized in § 5.4.4.2 where some examples possibly dating to Interaction Period 3 have been discussed. However, there are also similar examples dating to the end of LC IIC. They come from Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi (Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. 88: 2; Goring 1983, 2, 163 no. 547A) and from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* (Karageorghis, Demas 1984, 60, pl. XXVIII: 2), while six examples have been found in Swedish Tomb 3 at Enkomi and were attributed to LC IIB-C (Gjerstad et al. 1934, pl. 78: 3; Goring 1983, 1, 245, 403 fn. 28). Other gold spacers of Aegean production or inspiration such as 'double axe' and plaque beads cannot be dated precisely (Goring 1983, 1, 248-9, 370), but from the above discussion (see § 5.4.4.2.1) it is clear that the shape of the gold beads featuring 'grains of wheat' was adopted from the Aegean and was locally imitated in Interaction Period 3. However, at least nine gold beads with this shape from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* (Karageorghis, Demas 1984, 61 no. 10, 62, pl. XXVIII: 10; Goring 1983, 2, 165 no. 553) may safely be assigned to LC IIC, while a certain number of similar examples have also been cataloged from Enkomi (British Tombs 19, 40, 79, and unknown British tomb; Swedish Tombs 3 and 11), Maroni (Tomb 19), Klavdhia, and Akhera, in addition to three beads of unknown provenance. Unfortunately, none of these can be dated precisely due to the inadequate publication of the British excavations, in the case of Enkomi, or to the mixing of grave goods within the funerary contexts (Goring 1983, 2, 151 no. 509B, 154 no. 517A, 156 no. 522A, 158 no. 529C, 161 no. 539C, 165 no. 553, 165 no. 555B, 166 no. 556A, B; also cf. Karageorghis, Demas 1984, 62 fn. 3).

Section 5.4.4.2.1 presented other motifs on Cypriot gold diadems and mouthpieces that reflected Aegean influence. The 'figure-of-eight shield' motif on these funerary ornaments is particularly interesting for the mixture of local gold strip shape and Aegean decoration. The adoption of this motif on funerary ornaments seems to date back to Interaction Period 3, as suggested by some LC IIB diadems from various sites, but the motif remained in the Cypriot decorative repertoire of funerary ornaments at least as late as the LC IIC period. This is clearly demonstrated by the diadem decorated with two

horizontal rows of eight-shaped shields from the fourth stratum in Cypriot Tomb 10 at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969-71, 364, 372 no. 149, pl. CCXI: 36/149). Another strip decorated with a motif recalling the Aegean 'double axe' or "simply a variant" of the 'figure-of-eight shield' motif came from the same context and can be dated to LC IIC (Goring 1983, 1, 167 no. 11; 2, 69 no. 199, pl. 6B; Dikaios 1969-71, pl. 211: 36). The same time span may be suggested for the decoration with a spiral motif probably adopted from the Aegean, which is rather common in funerary strips already in Interaction Period 3. Nevertheless, Goring (1983, 1, 367) noted that, like palmettes and some of the rosettes, the origin of the spiral motif is less clear than the 'figure-of-eight shield' motif since they "could be local interpretations of motifs from a variety of artforms". Examples of spirals of various types present in Aegean handicrafts (single spirals, S-spirals, bow spirals) were found in Swedish Tomb 11 (Level III) and 18, belonging to the end of LC IIC (Goring 1983, 1, 132-5). Moreover, some diadems with spiral decoration found in Enkomi tombs excavated by the British mission, such as the funerary ornaments from British Tomb 79 (Marshall 1911, 7 nos 76-7, 9 no. 97, pl. 1: 76; L. Åström 1972, 508; for the LC IIA?, LC IIB-IIC chronology of the tomb, cf. Keswani 2004, 235, tab. 5.9c), may indeed belong to Interaction Period 4, as could many other examples with spiral decoration from indefinite LC IIA-C contexts.

Despite the fact that rosettes are also attested in the Near East, Goring has noted that

> some of the rosettes on the Cypriot diadems are very close in form to those found on Minoan and Mycenaean pottery, with petals outlined or in a double row, and with a ring of dots around the central circle. (1983, 1, 137)

However, generally used as a subsidiary element in the decoration of diadems, most examples are difficult to date exactly as already noted above in the discussion on many items of jewellery. Some possible Aegean influence can also be seen in the front representations of bull heads with curling downwards horns since they are paralleled by the features of the bull represented on the well-known silver bowl with inlaid decoration from French Tomb 2 at Enkomi (Schaeffer 1952, pl. CXVI, suppl. pls C-D; for full refs cf. Merrillees 1982, 238-9, 245, cat. no. 9), as well as by other Aegean representations including the bull heads depicted on a LH IIIB Pictorial Style krater (Karageorghis, Vermeule 1982, V.102). At least one diadem with bull (or ram) heads from the second layer in Tomb 9 at Kition (Karageorghis 1974, 76 no. 242, 88, pl. XC: 242) may be attributed to Interaction Period 4, while other diadems and mouthpieces with similar representations from Enkomi tombs (Marshall 1911, 15, 16 nos 145-6, 157-60; L. Åström 1972, 507, 510) cannot be dated precisely.

6.5.3 Other Possible Cultural Elements of Aegean Origin on Cyprus in Interaction Period 4

In addition to the cases discussed above, some other cultural elements have been considered indicative of the arrival on Cyprus of a substantial number of immigrants from the Aegean. Nevertheless, since the appearance of nearly all of these 'Mycenaeanizing' elements can be dated to LC IIIA and B, a thorough discussion of them is beyond the chronological limits of this book. Regarding Interaction Period 4, in addition to the Aegean-type pottery, Steel (2004a, 191, tab. 7.1) assigns only the appearance of ashlar masonry, ceremonial halls with a central hearth, and horns of consecration to LC IIC-IIIA, while a bronze wheeled stand in the British Museum shows a chariot scene recalling the pictorial representations discussed above (Feldman, Sauvage 2010, 143 fig. 44, 144), but it cannot be safely assigned to this period due to its unknown find context. Concerning ashlar masonry, Steel (2004a, 197-9; also cf. Hult 1992b; Crewe 2009b, 28-9) nevertheless pointed out that the use of this technique can be dated back to Interaction Period 3 and the built tombs at Enkomi, and it is apparent in the construction of impressive façades of public buildings of Interaction Period 4 at Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios,* Maroni *Vournes*, Alassa *Palaeotaverna*, and in the first phase of construction of Building 18 at Enkomi, in addition to some buildings at Maa *Palaeokastro* dating to the end of LC IIC. She also noted some differences in the use of ashlar masonry between the Aegean and Cyprus, which suggest "close cultural contacts between Cyprus and Ugarit" (Steel 2004a, 198-9; also cf. Hitchcock 2008, 22-4; Knapp 2022, 77 fn. 136 with refs). Therefore, this interpretation clearly is in contrast with the sudden appearance of ashlar masonry on Cyprus in LC IIC-IIIA, and even its Aegean origin appears to be questionable (Fisher 2020).

The Aegean connection has also been suggested for architectural features, including the halls with central hearths, of some monumental and more modest Cypriot buildings (cf. for example, Hadjisavvas, Hadijsavva 1997) dating already to LC IIC (Yasur-Landau 2010, 143 with refs, for LC IIC, 145-6, for LC IIIA evidence), but the similarities with the Aegean buildings are superficial (Voskos, Knapp 2008, 666-7; Knapp 2022, 77-8) although the hearth rooms certainly illustrate new social customs (Steel 2004a, 199; also cf. Jung 2012b, 116, concerning the new hearth installations of Enkomi Level IIIA regarded as a novelty). In this connection, also clay and limestone bathtubs and bathrooms dating from LC IIC to the beginning of the Iron Age can be mentioned because in the past they were associated with the arrival of Aegean people (Karageorghis 1983, 437-8; 2000b, 266-74), but Knapp (2008, 263; 2013, 463) and Collard (2008, 114-16, 118) more recently rightly noted that there is no reason to regard them as innovations derived from the Aegean. Finally, turning to the so

called horns of consecration, Steel (2004a, 203-4) and other scholars (Voskos, Knapp 2008, 667; Knapp 2013, 463; 2022, 78) discussed the supposed Aegean origin of this cult furniture, but the earlier tradition for the importance of bulls on Cyprus and some differences in the shape of horns between Aegean and Cypriot examples indicate that there is no well-founded argument in favor of their introduction into Cyprus by Aegean immigrants.

7 Conclusions: The Development of Cypro-Aegean Interaction from the Third Millennium BC Until Ca 1200 BC

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7.1 A General Overview

The archaeological synopsis of Interaction Period 1 clearly elucidates the prerequisites that contributed to the increase in contacts between Crete and Cyprus that characterized Interaction Period 2 when the apex of Minoan civilization was reached in the Neopalatial period. In Interaction Period 3, Mycenaean Palatial society developed and, *inter alia*, gained trade hegemony within the Aegean. In this period

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on Cyprus, stratified urban society was consolidated and the commercial and cultural links with the other Mediterranean countries were strengthened. In Interaction Period 4, Mycenaean civilization reached its climax of cultural expansion across the Aegean, maintaining trade dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean until it eventually collapsed when the major sites on the Greek mainland were either destroyed by fire or abandoned. In this period the role of Crete in Cypro-Aegean contacts, which had been particularly active until the beginning of the Monopalatial period, was clearly superseded by the dynamic activities of the Mycenaeans in the Mediterranean, but the relationship did not disappear completely since Crete maintained contacts with Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The following section synthesizes the interaction between the Aegean and Cyprus through a regional approach, but it should be underlined that, for the sake of brevity, references of specific objects are available in the detailed discussions in relevant chapters and are not repeated in this section.

7.2 Crete and Cyprus

7.2.1 The Beginning of Contacts Between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1

This study has distinguished an Early Phase and a Late Phase within Interaction Period 1. The Early Phase corresponds to the very beginning of contacts in the final phase of the Prepalatial period on Crete and EC IIIB or EC III-MC I on Cyprus (see §§ 3.2-3.4), while the Late Phase corresponds to the Protopalatial period (MM IA-MM IIB) and the beginning of the Neopalatial period (MM III) on Crete and roughly to MC I-MC III on Cyprus (see §§ 3.5-3.7).

Many scholars repeatedly point out the lack of archaeological data illustrating the connectivity between the Aegean and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1.[1] While this is true, there is broad consensus that interesting elements exist which are worth discussing. In the Aegean, Knossos was one of the main sites that established trade relationships with various countries of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Prepalatial period (Sørensen 2009b, 11-13 with earlier refs, 20, fig. 4), and it is important to note that it began to play a primary role in Cypro-Aegean connections from this period onwards. This is clear from the identification of the Cypriot fragmentary Red Polished III amphora in the palace area and further confirmed by the likely Knossian

1 Knapp 1990b, tab. 3; 2013, 307, 309-10; Keswani 2005, 387; Webb, Knapp 2020.

production of the Minoan bridge-spouted jar found in Lapithos Pennsylvania Tomb 6A (Wilson 1994, 41 fn. 132 with refs, either MM III or MM IA; Momigliano 2007, 103).

The limited evidence in terms of imported artifacts, however, is mitigated by the Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts. Mediterranean trade in Cypriot copper began very early, and this explains why some EM artifacts made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores were found in the necropolis at Ayia Photia in northeast Cretan contexts that can be considered contemporary with the Chalcolithic period on Cyprus (Stos-Gale, Gale 2003, 91-2, tab. 5; Peltenburg 2011, 6). Although the main copper sources for Early and Middle Bronze Age artifacts from Greece and the islands were located in the Cyclades (Stos-Gale 2000, 63 fig. 3.4), Lead Isotope analysis suggests that Cyprus was the second largest copper source used for the production of Cretan tools and weapons in the Prepalatial period, when Cretan copper samples consistent with production from Cypriot ores clearly surpassed the amount of artifacts made of copper from Laurion or other more distant sources (Stos-Gale, Macdonald 1991, 267 fig. 7a; also cf. Stos-Gale 2001, 195, 200-1, fig. 10.2; Sørensen 2008, 157). Despite some inaccuracy in the past publications, Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts from the Mesara plain seems to suggest that south-central Crete, where the important Prepalatial site of Phaistos is located, probably also became part of the Cypro-Aegean trade network. The lack of imported Cypriot artifacts in this area, however, makes it difficult to determine if contacts between the Mesara and Cyprus were direct or indirect, involving other centers such as Knossos, which had already established trade contacts with the Mesara in the Prepalatial period (Wilson, Day 1994; Whitelaw 2004, 238-42). At any rate, it is clear that Cypriot copper was transported to Crete as far back as the very beginning of Cypro-Aegean contacts, and this is probably the main reason for the incipient participation of the two islands in a common trade network (Betancourt 1998b).

From the Cypriot perspective, material evidence from early contacts is also not plentiful. The most renowned find is the Prepalatial bridge-spouted jar from Lapithos Pennsylvania Tomb 6A (= 806A), which probably was of Knossian manufacture, but different chronologies have been suggested for the context, although MC I is the preferred date. It should also be pointed out that this tomb, particularly rich in metal artifacts, belonged to an elite group. In addition to a Minoan three-sided prism seal and a possible link between some of the goldwork from Lapithos and some gold foil 'leaves' from Mochlos on Crete, the list of Minoan imports to Cyprus also likely includes daggers and additional bronzes from tombs excavated at Vounous and Lapithos. For a long time, they were considered Cretan imports, and this possibility has been recently reinforced by Lead Isotope Analysis

which confirms that a dagger from an EC III context at Lapithos was imported from the Aegean.

Concerning the location of Minoan finds on Cyprus, many decades ago, J. Stewart (1962a, 297-8; cf. Webb, Knapp 2020) emphasized the importance of the north coastal strip of Cyprus to external interactions in the EBA and in the MC I based on the concentration in the area of the most important sites of the period, as well as the relevant evidence for contacts. This interpretation has not changed significantly, but J. Webb has made recent contributions to the understanding of the

> relationship between site location, resource procurement and political economy in the context of three localised centres of settlement – Vasilia, Vounous, and Lapithos. (2018, 1)

Despite some recent criticisms (Mina 2013, 39-41), Webb has made clear beyond doubt that, in the Early and Middle Bronze Age, the main northern sites acted as gateway communities, benefiting from their advantageous position in a key region for long distance trade that was connected to the inland copper producing areas.[2] The Pentadaktylos range was not an insuperable barrier along the north coast of Cyprus, especially if we consider that there were ceramic connections between Lapithos and the mineral zones such as the Ambelikou area, where new mining villages were established in MC I probably as a result of the increasing foreign demand for Cypriot copper (Webb, Knapp 2020). Lapithos also established connections with other inland sites, such as Deneia and the necropolis at Ayia Paraskevi in Nicosia (Webb 2013, 66-7; Georgiou 2013, 88-9). The importance of the north coastal region is indeed reflected in the quantity of metal deposited in the tombs at Vounous and Lapithos during EC III-MC I, although the peak of the deposition of metal artifacts at Lapithos was reached in the following MC period (Webb 2018, fig. 9). It is therefore very likely that EC and MC copper came from the Skouriotissa area to the north coast through the Panagra pass, while the raw material of the ore bodies in the NE Troodos was conveyed through the Agirdha pass (2013, 66-7; 2018, figs 15-16; also cf. Frankel, Webb 2007, 155-60). Even if available evidence attests to more sporadic than systematic trade relations (Keswani 2005, 387; Knapp 2013c, 114), at least in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, the northern coastal sites may be regarded as the starting points for the westward copper trade, going towards Rhodes and the Southeast Aegean and then on to Crete and elsewhere in the Aegean. Referring to the long-distance Eastern and Western imports occurring in the northern

2 Webb et al. 2009, 249-51; Webb 2013, 59-67; 2018; Webb, Knapp 2020.

zone of Cyprus, Webb (2018) also regarded the suggested number (40) of all the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean imports reported from Cyprus in the period from the Philia phase to MC II as a "significant underestimate" because some earlier calculations were clearly misleading, taking into account only the metal finds from the cemeteries at Lapithos, Bellapais and Karmi (Webb, Knapp 2020, tab. 2).

Within the narrow limits of the available data, all the evidence of the earliest contacts both from the Aegean and Cypriot perspectives not only shows that Crete was the main Aegean trade partner, but also that Knossos likely played a prominent role, although the Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts from the Mesara plain seems to suggest that this area of Crete was involved in the Cypro-Aegean trade network directly or indirectly via Knossos. Returning to Webb (2018) for the Cypriot perspective, it is not by chance that in this period the main evidence for Aegean (and Eastern Mediterranean) contacts was concentrated in three localized settlement centers (Vasilia, Vounous, and Lapithos) that acted as gateway communities on the north coastal strip of Cyprus, which was a key region for long distance trade because of its connections to the inland copper producing areas. Therefore, this coastal area of Cyprus offered the starting points for the westward copper trade, where crucial importance can also be assigned to Rhodes and the Southeast Aegean, as suggested in the discussion on the earliest phase of the 'Dodecanesian connection' (see § 3.4.3) summarized below. Although the evidence for Minoan contacts in the north sector of Cyprus dating from Interaction Period 1 to Interaction Period 3 clearly is primarily indicative of Cypro-Aegean trade, it should also be considered that the coastal route from the Aegean to Cyprus was the westernmost course of a longer sea route linking the Aegean, primarily Crete, to the northern Levant.

Considering the substantial cultural and economic developments on Crete during the Protopalatial period, as well as the relative presence of Minoan pottery in the coastal sites of the Eastern Mediterranean, the scarce evidence for pottery exchange between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1, Later Phase, is rather surprising (see § 3.6.1). Only a Cypriot vase from Phatsi Droggara in the Siteia district of eastern Crete may be recognized as a Cypriot product likely dating to the Protopalatial period, although its archaeological context was much later. However, it should be recalled that from MM IIA onwards a Protopalatial palace was located at Petras near Siteia, and in the same area there are Prepalatial sites, such as Ayia Photia *Kouphota* (with evidence of metallurgical activities) and Chamaizi (Ayia Photia *Kouphota*: Tsipopoulou 2007; Chamaizi: Xanthoudides 1906; Lenuzza 2011). Moreover, in northeast Crete, Mochlos acted as "a major Minoan port open to Eastern and especially North Syrian trade" from the EM period onwards (Davaras, Soles 1995, 31). In

the Mesara, Lead Isotope Analyses of copper-based artifacts from Prepalatial and Protopalatial contexts also show a marked drop between the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods suggesting a sizable decrease in the proportion of Cypriot copper in the Protopalatial period in contrast to an increase in the use of copper coming from the Cycladic and Laurion sources. However, the Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts from a 'workshop' in Quarter My at Malia no doubt shows that in the Protopalatial period Cypriot copper was used elsewhere on Crete, although in a limited quantity.

The scarcity of contacts is also seen in the Cypriot archaeological record, where the only Minoan vessel found is the Kamares cup from Karmi (see § 3.7). This vessel cannot definitively be attributed to a specific place of production, but based primarily on its shape, it may tentatively be considered an import from the Siteia district. If the cup is of Knossian production and dated to MM IB or MM IIA, as its decoration strongly suggests, this would provide additional confirmation of the pivotal role of Knossos in the infrequent contacts with the north coast of Cyprus, although Kommos may also have been an important harbor (Van de Moortel 2006b, 630-3). Caloi (2009, 45-7, 51-6) suggested that the Levantine peoples living in coastal sites acted as middlemen for the trade between Crete and Cyprus and that the few Minoan objects found on Cyprus were exchanged in the Levant. However, if the Karmi cup belongs to MM IB or MM IIA while all the Protopalatial pottery exported to Egypt and the Levantine coast can be dated from MM IIA onwards, as suggested by Caloi herself (2013, 366-7), contacts between Protopalatial Crete and the mainland countries of the Eastern Mediterranean possibly developed after the placing of the Kamares cup into the Karmi tomb. P. Keswani (2004, 76) did not note any peculiarity in the evidence of the "Seafarer's Tomb" at Karmi. However, a later analysis of this burial by Webb et al. (2009, 246-7) has underlined the unique characteristics of the buried individual, who was older than sixty and had a congenital defect that would have impeded mobility from birth. The study also emphasized the presence of unusual grave goods and suggested that the deceased was a prominent individual, although for indeterminable reasons. Therefore, even if there is limited direct evidence to suggest elite exchange between Crete and Cyprus in this period, the unusual character of the contexts of the two vases attests to reciprocal contacts.

Since the artifacts reciprocally exchanged between the Aegean and Cyprus are very few in both phases of Interaction Period 1, any statistical comparison is admittedly impossible.[3] Notwithstanding,

3 Rehak and Younger (2001, 427) noted that "the evidence for Protopalatial contacts with Cyprus, and Cypriot copper, seems slight", while Keswani (2005, 387-91) used the term "sporadic" to define all the long-distance trade in the MC I-II periods, but this

circumstantial evidence suggests that, after the beginning of contacts in the earlier phase, during the later phase of Interaction Period 1, trade between the Aegean and Cyprus did not substantially develop in proportion to the increase of international commerce involving Crete and Cyprus. The Kamares pottery was appreciated (and imitated) in Egypt and was exported to the Levant, while a cuneiform text from Mari refers to contacts with Crete, and in MM IB-II, Knossos had access to some fine luxury goods from Egypt (Caloi 2013, 368 with refs). Connections between Egypt and Phaistos also are apparent in the Protopalatial period (Carinci 2000, 36; Caloi 2013, 366), although Caloi wondered if

> the Phaistian products found outside Crete first arrived in Knossos and then were exported from here to Egypt and to the Levantine coasts. (2013, 368)

As far as Cyprus is concerned, it has repeatedly been stated that the sites located on the north coast were particularly active in copper trade and were the primary destination for foreign goods intended as rank indicators. The review of imports found in the northern sites shows that in the same period the island also took part in the trade networks of the Eastern Mediterranean (Keswani 2004, 79-80; Knapp 2013a, 309; Webb, Knapp 2020).

In this context, the impression of limited trade between Crete and Cyprus in the later phase of Interaction Period 1 however should be determined by more than strictly considering the rarity of reciprocal pottery imports. As recently pointed out by Webb,

> this was primarily a trade in metals which does not involve luxury ceramics or the movement of goods in ceramic containers. (2018, 11)

The Lead Isotope Analysis seems to show that in the Mesara there was a more limited use of Cypriot copper in the Protopalatial period than in the Prepalatial period (see § 3.3.2), whereas the copper industry in Cyprus was established from the MC I onwards and developed in the period corresponding to the Minoan Protopalatial period (Kassianidou in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 127). In this context of limited evidence for contacts with Crete, however, the results of the Lead Isotope Analysis of 89 MC artifacts from Lapithos appear rather astonishing since they show that 15 samples of Cypriot type were potentially made of Aegean copper possibly indicating that Aegean

view may be changed in light of Webb's more recent research (Knapp 2018a, 100), at least regarding the connections with the Eastern Mediterranean.

copper was used in north Cyprus along with copper from local ores. Therefore, the Cypriot copper used to manufacture a few of the artifacts found at Malia and the Cypriot artifacts recovered at Lapithos, which were possibly made of Aegean copper just during this period, only partially mitigate the general impression of a limited increase in trade during Interaction Period I, Later Phase. In sum, if the main Cypriot goods exported to Crete were represented by raw copper, the return trade admittedly included only comparatively few Aegean finished objects.

7.2.2 The Development of Trade Between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 2

Following the earlier trend in Cypro-Aegean contacts, in Interaction Period 2, Crete, which reached the apex of its development in the Neopalatial Period, maintained a prominent role in the Aegean trade network, including continued contacts with Cyprus.

From the Cretan perspective, there is a significant increase in Cypriot ceramic imports at the beginning of Interaction Period 2, with nearly all the Cypriot imports of secure chronology coming from advanced and later Neopalatial contexts (see § 4.3.1.1). Not only are Cypriot vessels found at eight sites (Knossos, Poros-Katsambas, Malia, Zakros, Gournia, Mochlos, Pseira, and Kommos), but the harbor town of Kommos began to play a prominent role in Cypro-Aegean interaction, while on the offshore island of Pseira, Cypriot pottery came from various dwellings, including the so-called 'House of the Foreign Pottery'. We can note, therefore, that Cypriot pottery occurred in all the most important districts of central and eastern Crete: the north-central area (Knossos, Poros-Katsambas, Malia), the Mesara (Kommos), and eastern Crete (Gournia, Mochlos, Pseira, and Zakros). However, the range of Cypriot open shapes found on Crete in Interaction Period 2 is very limited, including only a Red-on-Black hemispherical bowl from Malia and two White Slip I milk bowls, one from Knossos, Poros-Katsambas and the other possibly from Pseira. This relative rarity may imply that on Crete the Cypriot open shapes were not considered very attractive, while the wishbone handles so characteristic of Cypriot bowls were appreciated and imitated in quite elaborately decorated small cups (see § 4.3.1.3) **[tab. 4.2] [fig. 4.1]**. Residue analysis of the contents of Cypriot White Slip bowls shows that they were multi-purpose serving dishes, sometimes used as containers of hot, cooked meals of meat and vegetables, sometimes as drinking bowls for resinated wine (Beck et al. 2005). Despite the fact that the form was greatly appreciated inside and outside the Aegean, on Crete White Slip bowls probably could not compete with local cups and bowls, which were of excellent

quality and to some extent functionally equivalent. Instead, most of the Cypriot imports to Crete consisted of pouring vessels such as jugs or tankards, as clearly evident in the finds from Kommos and Pseira, the two Minoan sites yielding the largest number of Cypriot imports in this period **[tab. 4.1]**. To these closed vessels, an earlier White Painted IV or V jug (MC III-LC IA) from Zakros should also be added, while a large Plain White jug found at Kommos "was the first [...] in a series of Plain White transport, storage, and serving vessels" which occur more commonly in LM III contexts **[tab. 4.1 no. 19]** (cf. Rutter 2014a, 213). While the Base Ring I juglets are remarkably absent in the Minoan contexts of this period, the spindle bottles and the flask-type jars of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware from Kommos, Gournia, Pseira and Mochlos stand out from the other Cypriot imports since their relatively widespread diffusion in the Aegean, on Crete, and in the Dodecanese (on Kos and Rhodes) in this period clearly is related to "the wide appeal of a luxury commodity" (Steel 1998, 295; 2004b, 73, 77; 2018, 198-9).[4] Although all the Red Lustrous Wheelmade examples do not originate on Cyprus (see § 5.3.1), these vases were highly valued in their homeland and abroad (Eriksson 2003, 414-16, tab. 1; 2007b, 51-2; South, Steel 2007, 188-9) and were generally used as containers of valuable substances in Cypriot elite burials, while in the Aegean these vases were found in settlement deposits, with the exception of a lentoid flask from a tomb at Langada (Kos) belonging to Interaction Period 3 (see § 5.3.1.2). The shape of the two-legged flask-type jars at Pseira and Mochlos **[tab. 4.1 nos 28, 31]** is even rarer than that of spindle bottles (Eriksson 1993, 26). The local imitation of the shape of the typical Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle with painted decoration from Trianda (Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 460-1 no. 18, fig. 3, pl. II) clearly is further proof of the Aegean appreciation for this pottery and probably for the contents of the vessels.[5] It is impossible to understand if other Cypriot vases of different, primarily closed, shapes were imported to Crete for the sake of their contents, but finds from Kommos suggest this may have been a factor in the Minoan appreciation for some LC vessels. Rutter (2006b, 656; 2014, 213) noted that only bases and body sherds of Red Slip IV (or other Cypriot wares) containers, i.e. medium-sized to moderately large pouring vessels, survived at Kommos, especially in association with the North or South Stoas of Building T. He therefore stated that

4 For the Red Lustrous Wheelmade bottle from Kommos, however, see § 4.3.1.1 fn. 8.

5 See Rutter 2007, 185-90 for a possible second example of a painted Aegean imitation of a spindle bottle, although J. Rutter ultimately decided that it was more likely to be an imitation of an Egyptian prototype (pers. comm.).

> this anomalous pattern of preservation seems unlikely to be entirely coincidental

and

> it is tempting to connect these imported jug fragments with drinking ceremonies celebrated early in the Neopalatial era in both the North and South Stoas of Building T. (Rutter 2006b, 656)

In this pattern of increasing Cypriot ceramic imports, particular importance must be assigned to the appearance of Minoan cups characterized by a wishbone handle of typical Cypriot origin while the decoration generally is of canonical Cretan type. Although in the context of the so-called 'Dodecanesian connection' Rhodes played a role as an intermediary in the adoption of this handle on Crete (see § 4.3.1.3), the observation that the Minoan ceramic repertoire was enriched by an 'exotic' morphological element is of particular importance since no comparable phenomenon can be traced in the development of Minoan pottery until the appearance of the Mycenaean influence in some ceramic shapes dating to the Monopalatial and Final Palatial periods. The earliest wishbone-handles in Minoan ceramic cups appeared in LM IB when, probably not by coincidence, most of the Cypriot vessels are found on Crete. Although the Minoan wishbone cups were admittedly few, the earliest examples occurred in two limited districts of Crete, namely in the Knossos area, at Poros, and in the Mesara plain, at Kommos, but in this period they were also exported to Keos and Kythera and the wishbone handles continued to be appreciated after the end of the Neopalatial period as late as the LM II-IIIA1 period.

The above evidence should be considered in relation to the reassessment of Cypro-Aegean interaction in this period attempted in § 4.5. Aside from the imported Cypriot pottery, there is broad consensus on the prominent role Cypriot copper trade played in the development of Cypro-Aegean commercial relations. The appearance of oxhide copper ingots at several sites including Chania, Gournia, Ayia Triada, Mochlos, Tylissos, and Zakros is another significant novelty of the LM IB period (see § 4.3.2). However, Lead Isotope Analysis showed that some of the oxhide ingots from these Neopalatial contexts, specifically all the ingots from Ayia Triada and Tylissos, and two out of the six ingots found at Zakros, were not made of Cypriot copper, while all the other ingots were made of copper claimed to be from the Cypriot mines of Mavrovouni, Skouriotissa, and especially Apliki. Additional examples made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores, such as the ingots from Syme and from a large building on the island of Chryssi (Lassithi), may be dated to LM IB, but the number of contemporary ingots made of Cypriot copper might have been even

larger, although there are still problems regarding provenance and dating. For example, the context of three oxhide fragments made of copper from Apliki found at Chania-Kastelli ranges from LM IB to LM IIIA, while the source of the copper of an intact oxhide ingot from Poros-Katsambas, as well as oxhide fragments from Palaikastro and the Long Corridor at Knossos, are uncertain. Other discoveries of ingots are reported from Siteia, from the area of the settlement at Zakros, and from Phaistos, but no further details are available.

Despite these uncertainties, the diffusion of Cypriot copper on Neopalatial Crete is no doubt remarkable and must be considered within the wider network of trade in metallic raw materials which also included the Cyclades and the Greek mainland (see below). The maritime character of this trade is clear from the coastal or sub-coastal location of the sites as well as from the discovery of a copper ingot on Chryssi island. A heavy stone anchor which was considered "quite likely Cypriot" (Soles 2014, 251; also see § 4.3.2.1) found near the settlement of Mochlos may suggest the active participation of Cypriots in copper trade at least at this site. As discussed above, the archaeological record leaves no doubt that some ingots were connected with active metal processing, although the find contexts of others may also reflect hoarding or use as ceremonial offerings (Kassianidou 2014, 309-10). At Ayia Triada, the eighteen oxhide ingots made of non-Cypriot copper were not found within a palatial complex nor were they associated with a bronze workshop, making this extraordinary store "hard to understand" (310 with refs).

Of the oxhide ingots consistent with a Cypriot provenance, those from Mochlos seemingly served multiple purposes, as an offering in a ceremonial building, as part of traders' hoards in houses, and also as part of foundry hoards. At Zakros, all the ingots, including those made of Cypriot copper, were stored as raw material ready to be used, and the intact oxhide ingot found at Poros-Katsambas was discovered in an area devoted to metalworking, even if the Cypriot origin of the copper has not been analytically ascertained. Therefore, in this period the Minoan interest in Cypriot copper was determined by a variety of considerations, including ceremonial, economic (hoarding), and utilitarian (metal production), but, at least from a theoretical point of view, metallurgical activities may have been the primary motive for acquiring Cypriot ingots.

However, Gales' results of Lead Isotope Analyses of Minoan artifacts indicate that the dominant source of the copper used in Neopalatial Crete was Lavrion (Gale, Stos-Gale 2007, 108 fig. 7), and copper from the Taurus Mountains was also utilized more than Cypriot copper. J. Muhly (Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 123) stressed the contrast between the widespread diffusion of oxhide ingots made of Cypriot copper on Crete and the low percentage of Minoan artifacts containing Cypriot copper. In this light the interesting question arises whether

the possible ceremonial and hoarding uses of Cypriot copper were equally or more attractive to the Minoans than its metallurgical uses.

This question might be of particular importance especially once the preliminary interpretation of the cargo from a sunken ship discovered off the shores of the Kumluca district not far west of Antalya is confirmed. According to the available information, this ship carried round plano-convex 'bun' ingots and a lot (ca 100) of oxhide ingots of the earliest type, amounting to 1.5 tons of copper, which, according to H. Öniz (2019), belong to a period contemporary with Interaction Period 2.[6] Öniz also suggests that the ingots might be of Cypriot origin and that the ship was traveling from Cyprus to the Aegean. Unfortunately, Lead Isotope Analysis and further submarine research are still necessary to confirm whether the ship was engaged in the trade of Cypriot copper to the Aegean. If so, at the time of the shipwreck a considerable quantity of Cypriot copper was being transported to the Aegean. This may also have implications for the interpretations discussed above of trade in oxhide ingots. The rich copper cargo of the ship implies that in the Aegean the most common use of oxhide ingots was connected to metallurgical activities.[7]

Considering all the evidence provided by pottery and copper, it is clear that both Cypriot vessels and metal were greatly appreciated in the Aegean in Interaction Period 2, but it is also worth considering other evidence of contacts. The granulated earrings ('mulberry-type') from several Cretan sites suggest a Cypriot influence (see § 4.3.3) and confirm contacts linked with prestige objects. In this regard it is important to note that several mulberry-type earrings were also found at Poros, in Tomb Π 1967, as well as in Tomb Π 1986, where some seals and a necklace with six gold beads were found along with a LM IB cup with a wishbone handle **[tab. 4.2 no. 1]** (also cf. Antonello 2017, 16 with refs). The presence of mulberry-type earrings near Poros might gain even more importance if S. Antonello's (2017) recently formulated hypothesis that the multi-chambered tombs in the necropolis at Mavrospilio and in other cemeteries in the Knossos area, including the necropolis at Poros, were inspired by earlier Cypriot tombs is correct. Also relevant is the gold leaf from Mavrospilio Tomb 9 which was interpreted as a funerary mouthpiece of Cypriot type,

6 Also cf. https://nauticalarch.org/projects/kumluca-bronze-age-shipwreck-excavation/; https://www.dailysabah.com/history/2019/04/08/turkish-archaeologists-discover-worlds-oldest-bronze-age-shipwreck-off-antalya-coast; Öniz 2020.

7 Further information on the trade in copper involving Crete is also to be expected thanks to current research on the recent excavations at Chyssi island (https://www.culture.gov.gr/el/Information/SitePages/view.aspx?nID=3022), while the long-known group of oxhide ingots from a presumed wreck found in the sea off the coast of Kyme, (Euboea) (Buchholz 1959, 36-7, pl. 5 nos 3-4; Stos-Gale et al. 1997, 112) may be indicative of copper trade involving other Aegean regions in this period.

although this interpretation was questioned. In any case, the association of Minoan cups with wishbone handle with oxhide ingots, mulberry-type earrings, and maybe the multi-chambered tombs in the Knossos area seems to suggest that in Interaction Period 2, Knossos maintained the same prominent role in the interaction with Cyprus as it had, although to a lesser extent, in Interaction Period 1. Since no definitive imported Cypriot cylinder seals dating to Interaction Period 2 are documented on Crete, in this period Cretans probably were not interested in Cypriot cylinder seals as status indicators, unlike the emerging Mycenaean ruling classes in the Peloponnese who were importing seals at this time.

Turning to the Cypriot archaeological record, it is beyond doubt that Crete was the main supplier of Aegean pottery, continuing the earlier tradition of contacts between the two islands. It is not by chance that Cyprus has yielded by far the largest quantity of Neopalatial vessels outside the Aegean. The most prominent site in terms of Minoan imports is Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* where eleven LM IA vases, mainly semiglobular cups and jugs, were found in Tomb I and a few fragmentary jars and cups came from Tomb III and the settlement levels. At this site, the majority of Minoan imports on Cyprus were semiglobular cups, amounting to 16 examples, but the importance of Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* in the Cypro-Aegean interaction is also shown by a phenomenon which may be comparable to the adoption of the wishbone handle in the Minoan ceramic repertoire. In fact, in contexts dating to the LC IA1 period, probably the later part, when LM IA pottery was imported to the site, there were nine handmade cups of local wares (Proto Base Ring, Black Slip/Proto Base Ring, Base Ring I, and Monochrome) which, instead of the typical Cypriot wishbone handle, had a high vertical strap handle attached over the rim that A.H. Sørensen (2012a) considered of Minoan inspiration. In brief, these vessels seem like Cypriot cups with Cretan handles, although according to G. Cadogan (1991, 169) the likeness in shape between the Minoan semiglobular cups and Cypriot Monochrome examples is generic. Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* yielded one of the earliest examples of hybridization which is an important feature of Cypriot culture in the following centuries.

Other fragmentary LM IA vessels were found elsewhere on the island (at Maroni *Vournes*, Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 104, Palaepaphos *Evreti* Well TE 118 III, and at Enkomi Quarter 4E) while the scarcity of imports safely dating to LM IB (from *Enaerios* Feature 621-VI at Limassol and Enkomi, Quarter 4E) apparently is contrary to the evidence of Cypro-Aegean contacts from Crete where the closest contacts with Cyprus can be dated to the late Neopalatial period. It should however be noted that, given the similarity between Neopalatial fine pottery and Early Mycenaean vessels of Minoan inspiration,

the origin and chronology of other Aegean ceramics imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 2 are debated and, in theory, several vases of controversial origin might be added to the above mentioned Neopalatial pottery. In many cases, there are uncertain chronological attributions to LM IA or LH IIA, but in other cases the chronology of the vessels varies from LM IB to LH IIA according to different scholars, as shown, for example, by the cup with double axes and lilies decoration in the Kolokassides collection.

In these controversial chronologies a case in point is represented by three small cups found in Tombs 3 and 20 at Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* **[fig. 4.4]**. Taking into account their exterior decorations, the excavator, P.E. Pecorella, and several other scholars regarded three semigobular cups as LH IIA cups FS 211, despite their interior solidly painted decoration, a feature which is generally regarded as an indicator of Minoan origin; in the Aegean, semiglobular cups with monochrome interior were also found in Kythera, the Cyclades, and the Argolid (Mycenae and Prosymna). The same monochrome interior features another semiglobular cup with framed spiral decoration and a Vapheio cup, which were found in a tomb located ca 150 m north of the main cemetery (the Necropoli a Mare). While the excavator, L. Quilici, stated that they were LH IIA imports, other influential scholars attributed them to LM IA, sometimes even suggesting a Knossian manufacture. Comparing all these small vessels from Ayia Irini *Paleokastro*, a distinction can be suggested in terms of production area and chronology between the (possibly Mycenaean) cups found by Pecorella and the other (possibly Minoan) cups published by Quilici. According to the excavator, the tomb excavated north of the Necropoli a Mare was in use since LC IA, slightly earlier than the tombs of the main cemetery. If so, the existence of two distinct clusters of tombs at Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* in LC I may explain the possible differences between the Aegean cups from this two distinct burial areas.

Compared to the range of Cypriot vessels imported to Crete, Aegean vessels imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 2 are predominantly open tableware (65% of the 41 Aegean ceramic imports of Interaction Period 2), consisting of fine semiglobular cups. This preference for Aegean open vases was already noted by G. Van Wijngaarden when he stated that

> a relatively wide variety of vessel types appears to have been present at the island, with a rather high proportion of dinner vessels. (2002, 186)

This was clearly due to the good quality and fine appearance of both LM I (A and B) and LH IIA cups and indicates that they were appreciated as valuable components of local drinking sets (also cf. Sørensen 2012b, 706).

Turning to the evidence for contacts other than pottery in Interaction Period 2, it should be pointed out that even though no bronze artifacts can safely be considered potentially imported from Crete based on shape, some interesting considerations on the high-level trade with the Aegean in LC I can be drawn from the discovery of precious vessels in Enkomi tombs. The singularity of the Enkomi finds, however, deserves special attention. A few small sherds of LM IA (or LH I) cups were found in Area III, but, apart from a fragmentary handleless LH IIA cup from the British Excavations of Tomb 40, in the Enkomi tombs no other Aegean cups were reported from MC III/LC I and LC I mortuary deposits (Graziadio, Pezzi 2009, 69 fig. 1: D), while at this site, 14 LH IIB-IIIA1 vases from selected burial contexts have been counted in the subsequent period, i.e. at the beginning of Interaction Period 3 (68). However, most notably, one or two gold Vapheio cups and another similar silver cup were found in the British Excavations of Tombs 92 and 93, two of the richest tombs at Enkomi, and these may be dated to Interaction Period 2 because of their close parallels in the rich burial assemblages of the Shaft Grave period in Greece. If so, it is possible that, considering the increasing importance of the newly founded town and the symbolic value of the mortuary paraphernalia in the Enkomi tombs, they were used as status indicators by the members of the local emerging elite active in international trading systems. These elite connections can also be inferred from the discovery of a small group of Neopalatial seals of the so called 'talismanic' group which were likely imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 2, including a lapis lazuli example from the wealthy British Tomb 93 at Enkomi in addition to two seals of unknown provenance. These seals may be considered contemporaneous with the precious vessels from Tombs 92 and 93, since the period of use of these seals began in MM III and continued as late as the LM I period, although it is impossible to know their use-life before their deposition in tombs. In her discussion on the possible use of the 'talismanic seals' in Greece, Stram, when specifically discussing a Cretan example, noted that it

> has a radius of 10 mm, [and] the carving would have been difficult for anyone, including the owner, to see unless very close up. The other examples [i.e. other 'talismanic seals'] are made of materials that obscure the image. (2017, 67)

If so, the talismanic seals imported to Cyprus were appreciated not only for their material (especially in the case of the lapis lazuli seal from Enkomi), but also for their strange and exotic appearance with incised decoration that could only be seen with difficulty. In the Aegean, seals were "evidently worn as items of adornment, some may have been prized or even flaunted as signs of wealth or status" (Krzyszkowska

2011, 437), while on Cyprus these 'talismanic seals' were likely used as precious adornments since for the local people their decoration probably did not have any special meaning or practical use for sealing purposes. At the same time, they were regarded as status indicators of the utmost importance, and high status individuals probably considered them at least of the same symbolic value as the cylinder seals imported from other regions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

To conclude this review of reciprocal imports during Interaction Period 2, it should be emphasized that, despite the limited quantity of exchanged goods, both the Aegean and Cyprus show signs of reciprocal appreciation for specific commodities and selective reciprocal trade.[8] In addition to Trianda, several prominent Cretan sites were the primary destination for Cypriot imports arriving in the Aegean during this period, while a more limited range of imports is apparent in Mainland Greece and in the Cyclades.[9] On Cyprus, the trade network included some important coastal sites where wealth and status differentials attest to the emergence of elite groups (Keswani 2004, 121-2, 125; Knapp 2013, 386-7, 435-6), especially at Enkomi, Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Ayia Irini *Paleokastro*, and this may explain the appreciation of some specifically Aegean commodities that had a symbolic value as status indicators. Therefore, leaving aside a few extreme views, such as the suggestions of a possible Cypriot colony at Trianda or a Minoan colony at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*,[10] in my opinion there are several reasons to reevaluate the importance of reciprocal connections in this period, as also implicitly stated by K. Zeman-Wiśniewska (2020) albeit in a more generalized form. In this perspective, the Cretan and Cypriot archaeological record reviewed above may offer an explanatory framework for the appearance of the Cypro-Minoan script since this phenomenon may be seen as a remarkable expression of the Minoan contacts involving developing elites at Enkomi (Powell 2002,

8 The list of exchanged commodities may of course have included many archaeologically invisible goods imported to the Aegean from Cyprus, such as, for example, high quality timber, finished wooden objects in cedar, and/or possible other organic materials (Graziadio 2005a, 325 with refs).

9 In the discussion of Cypro-Aegean trade connections, a lead disk weight from Phlamoudi cannot be neglected, especially if Porada's statement is well-grounded that it is similar to LB I Kean examples and is "a small indication of trade between Cyprus and the Aegean area" (Porada 1973, 366; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 71 no. 3; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 87 fn. 43; Kanta 1998, 38; Graziadio 2005a, 327 fn. 40; Sørensen 2008, 189-90 no. 62).

10 For a rebuttal of the possibility of the presence of a Cypriot colony at Trianda, cf. T. Marketou's remarks in Macdonald, Hallager, Niemeier 2009, 273, while W.-D. Niemeier (Macdonald, Hallager, Niemeier 2009, 276) did not exclude the presence of Cypriot groups living at this center. For the suggestion of a Minoan colony at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, cf. Hankey, Leonard 1998, 32 (cf. Sørensen 2012a, 184-5), while a Minoan presence there is supported by P.P. Betancourt (2008a, 218).

240; Kassianidou in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 128 with refs; Knapp 2015, 21). It should be recalled, therefore, that the earliest Cypro-Minoan tablet was found at Enkomi, Area III, in the so-called Fortress, one of the most important buildings of the period which produced clear evidence of metallurgical activities, thus being contemporary with the first 'industrial' development of metallurgy in the town. In this context, the recent discovery of a possible Cypro-Minoan sign on a clay MM III-LM I loom-weight at a site near Rethymnon is of potential importance for the comprehension of the process of transferring script (Tzigounaki, Karnava 2020, 324-5, cat. no. 6; Papadimitriou 2022, 184).

7.2.3 The Development of Trade Between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3

In his discussion on the eastern and western Aegean imports from "good LBA contexts", Cline (1994, XVI-XVII, 60-7) counted a total of 176 Cypriot objects, mainly pottery, but did not include many other Cypriot artifacts which cannot be assigned to a single phase of the LH/LM I-III period (60). He also pointed out that Crete in LH/LM IIIA continued to be the main trade route destination in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, there was a substantial change after the fall of Knossos in early LM IIIA2, since in LH/LM IIIB (Interaction Period 4) the number of 'Orientalia' found on Crete decreased substantially and fewer imports from the east arrived on the island (XVII, 10-11). Only 7 examples of eastern imports were counted from LH IIIB contexts, and none were identified in LM IIIC contexts, indicating that LM IIIA2 was the last period when a perceptible number of such goods was imported to Crete (1999, 119). Therefore, the destruction of the Neopalatial sites at the end of LM IB and the beginning of the Monopalatial Period marks a significant change throughout the entire Aegean with Mycenaean presence replacing Minoan cultural and commercial hegemony. As is evident from the smaller role of Minoan Crete compared to mainland Mycenaean Greece in the range and intensity of contacts with Cyprus during Interaction Period 3, this change clearly also significantly impacted Cypro-Aegean trade connections.

On Crete in Interaction Period 3 the diffusion of Cypriot pottery is more scattered than in Interaction Period 2 since, apart from at Kommos, it is only found at Chania, Pseira and Poros-Katsambas, although Knossos remained the largest site in the Aegean until its final destruction and maintained uninterrupted foreign trade contacts (see § 5.3.1.1). More generally, Papadimitriou (2012, 118) also emphasized the scarcity of Cypriot imports in his Stage 3 of contacts (LM/LH IIB-IIIA1) between the Aegean and Cyprus.

A significant exception was represented by Kommos, the main entrepôt to Crete, where there was a gradual increase in Cypriot imports from the LM II to the LM IIIA2 periods. In LM II and LM IIIA1 contexts, at this site Cypriot imports were far less numerous than imports from LM IIIA2 deposits, although "the site reached its acme as an entrepôt in LM II-LM IIIA2 Early" when it "served as the principal southern port of the Knossian administration" (Tomlinson, Rutter, Hoffman 2010, 194). While in LM IIIA2 the inhabitants at this location were the active recipients of the tablewares and the transport, storage, and large serving vessels imported from Cyprus, evidence is not sufficient to suggest that Cypriots were residents in large numbers (219).

Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis on 40 samples from Kommos assigned to the Cypriot group shows that most White Slip II milk bowls were likely produced in the Limassol area, while Base Ring II jugs and cups were manufactured in the area of Episkopi, and four analyzed pithoi were produced in various locations (Kition, Limassol, and Enkomi) on the southern and eastern coast of Cyprus (Tomlinson, Rutter, Hoffman 2010, esp. 209-10, 212, 217). Moreover, at Kommos the first Levantine amphora with a post-firing mark incised on its handle, an indicator of Cypriot handing, appeared in the LM IIIA2 period. The two three-holed stone anchors from LM IIIA2 Gallery 3 of Building P are another piece of evidence confirming the strong connections between Kommos and the Eastern Mediterranean, but petrographic analyses suggest a more likely provenance from the area around Ugarit than Cyprus (Shaw 1995; 2014b, 237 with refs; also cf. Sherratt 2001, 221 fn. 3 with refs for other stone anchors from the Aegean).

During Interaction Period 3, Kommos also likely played an important role as a trading station between Cyprus and the central Mediterranean, with evidence of connections attested by the identification of a few Cypriot vases in tombs with LH IIIA2 (and LH IIIB) pottery at Thapsos and Syracuse in Sicily (Graziadio 1997, 683-4 with refs; Alberti 2008, 133-4; Tanasi 2020). A direct route from Cyprus to the central Mediterranean, ending in Sardinia, has been suggested, but recently this possibility has been deconstructed and a series of overlapping regional trade systems rather than individual points has been proposed (Knapp, Russel, Van Dommelen 2021 with refs). Whether Kommos was a stopover in the long journey from Cyprus to Sicily or the center of an important regional trade system, this harbor was likely involved in the transmission of a limited amount of Cypriot pottery to the central Mediterranean.

While oxhide ingots were widely scattered on Crete in Interaction Period 2, no oxhide ingots have been found on the island in the span of time following the end of the Neopalatial period up until the appearance of some ingot fragments at Kommos in LM IIIB (see § 6.3.2).

Since Kommos was the center of a revived import of oxhide ingots made of Cypriot copper, it is rather striking that in LM IIIA2 this harbor town imported a noticeable amount of Cypriot pottery, but no ingots, in spite of the development of metallurgical production on Cyprus and the importance of trade in oxhide ingots made of Cypriot copper in the Mediterranean in this period. Nevertheless, the Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts from 'Mycenaean' Knossos and Postpalatial Cretan sites shows that 19% of samples were consistent with production from Cypriot ores, while more than half of analyzed samples were made with copper consistent with production from Lavrion, which was the principal source of copper within the Aegean. Instead, Cyprus possibly played a significant role in the spread of tin in the Mediterranean. This is primarily suggested by the discovery of some tin ingots with incised Cypro-Minoan signs in the 'wreck deposit' of Hishuley Carmel, Israel, which also contained two copper oxhide ingots consistent with production from Cypriot copper. Also important in this regard is the unique cargo of the sunken ship at Uluburun that contained ca 160 tin ingots of different shapes along with 10 tons of copper ingots consistent with Cypriot origin.

Prestige objects of Cypriot origin or influence found on Crete are also significant indicators of Cypro-Minoan contacts during Interaction Period 3, with imported seals of particular importance, since goldwork or jewels showing Cypriot influence have not been found on Crete in this period (see § 5.3.3). For example, some sealings from Knossian Final Palatial contexts may suggest the use of imported seals from Cyprus as early as the period following the end of the Neopalatial period and continuing until LM IIIA2. The interpretation of the 'Cypro-Aegean' cylinder hematite seals dating to Interaction Periods 3 and 4 is even more complex, since these seals embody both the category of imports and the category of objects showing foreign influences. In fact, although all these seals share some characteristics of Aegean styles or iconography, it is very likely that all of them were carved on Cyprus. Some of these 'Cypro-Aegean' seals were found on Crete as early as the fourteenth century BC, after the destruction of Knossos, although some of them were attributed to this period based on stylistic considerations.

To summarize, it is probably not by chance that Cypriot seals, along with sealings from Cypriot cylinder seals and some examples of the so-called 'Cypro-Aegean' seals, were concentrated at the palace of Knossos, as well as at important sites in the surrounding region, such as Poros-Katsambas or Amnisos, Mavrospelio, and Gouves, and also in smaller numbers in eastern Crete. They are however remarkably absent in south-central Crete at Kommos where the majority of Cypriot pottery has been found. The diffusion of these prestige objects in prominent areas, therefore, is likely indicative of a regime change at Knossos, and it is possible that the development of the LC

II Cypriot glyptic in the fourteenth century BC also reflects the role of Knossos after the destruction of the Palace. The list of prestige objects of foreign origin from the Knossos region also includes a faience bowl with 'duck's head' spout from a tomb at Nea Halikarnassos (Iraklion), but the area of production is uncertain (Cyprus or North Syria) and the chronology also is doubtful.

When we compare the above picture with the evidence of Cypro-Minoan contacts from a Cypriot perspective, some correspondence is immediately apparent. The review of LM II to LM IIIA2 pottery from Cyprus **[fig. 5.1] [tab. 5.2]** shows that, after the fall of Knossos in early LM IIIA2, several Minoan vessels continued to be exported to Cyprus, especially to the First Tier settlements located on (or near) the southern and eastern coasts. Nevertheless, Minoan pottery represents only a very small fraction of the overall Aegean pottery found everywhere on the island, while the contemporary Mycenaean ceramic imports form the overwhelming majority. Despite the minimal occurrence of Minoan pottery, the context and distribution of LM II to LM IIIA2 pottery on Cyprus are of interest. At Enkomi, several Minoan vessels were part of funerary assemblages (British Tombs 48, 66, 70, 83, 84; Swedish Tomb 3), whereas Aegean imports are very scarce in the settlement deposits of Level IIA (LC IIA-B). The tombs excavated at Kition contained several LM IIIA2 vessels, and additional Minoan imports related to Interaction Period 3 were found at Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni *Tsaroukkas*, Kourion *Bamboula*, and Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, while other minor sites on the northern coast also contained some scattered vessels of the period.

As a result of the extensive, recent excavations, Hala Sultan Tekke appears to have been the most important site in terms of chronology and variety of Minoan pottery. Minoan ceramic imports at the site cover a span of time from LM II to LM IIIA2-B, and also include an incomplete large Minoan hollow figurine with painted decoration from Tomb RR, possibly dating to LM IIIA. If we consider the chronology of Minoan vessels identified at other sites, the examples with secure chronology found at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, Maroni *Tsaroukkas* and Kourion *Bamboula* belong to the early phases of Interaction Period 3, indicating a continuity of contacts with the Aegean from Interaction Period 2. Therefore, it is tempting to suggest that these finds were imported to Cyprus before the fall of Knossos. Yet, contrary to Popham's early "working hypothesis" of a temporary cut-off in Cretan exports to Cyprus after the destruction of Knossos (1979, 181), most of the Minoan pottery found inside the tombs at Enkomi and Kition belongs to LM IIIA2. They therefore confirm that reciprocal exchange of pottery between Crete and Cyprus did not stop in the later phases of Interaction Period 3, after the fall of Knossos, as was indicated on the Cretan side by the chronology of Cypriot imports found at Kommos.

The overall review shows that the Minoan vessels found on Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 contexts were generally selected for funerary assemblages. It is probably not by chance that two vessels from Hala Sultan Tekke, a LM/LH IIIA2 narrow-necked jug FS 120 from Pit V and a medium-sized Late Minoan II/IIIA1 piriform jar from Shaft Grave LL, stand out for their fine decoration. The appeal of selective interest for Minoan pottery seems to also be confirmed by the range of Minoan pottery of category F1 ('Fine Tableware') in Interaction Period 3. The small drinking vessels, which were by far the most prevalent among the Minoan vessels imported in Interaction Period 2, are found in tombs and occasionally in settlement layers in Interaction Period 3 and appear to have been replaced to some extent by Minoan kylikes, bowls, cups, jugs, and especially kraters, the last probably intended as status symbols like the Mycenaean kraters. Nevertheless, in this period the most common Minoan shapes are the moderately large stirrup jars, as well as flasks and piriform jars of the category F2.2, clearly imported for funerary use like the small vessels which are very common among the Mycenaean pottery imported to Cyprus in the same period. The Minoan 'Storage Vessels' (F3) on Cyprus are generally represented by the large stirrup jars FS 164 found in Interaction Period 4, but only a few examples may be assigned to Interaction Period 3, although LM IIIA2 'Storage Vessels' stirrup jars FS 164 probably were more common than suspected (personal communication by J. Rutter).

Before the destruction of Knossos, a Late Minoan II/IIIA1 piriform jar with pictorial decorations recently found in Shaft Tomb LL at Hala Sultan Tekke provides some information on the Cretan areas involved in Cypro-Minoan connections in Interaction Period 3. This vessel, which was undoubtedly well appreciated on Cyprus for its fine appearance, has excellent parallels in the area of Knossos (Fischer, Bürge 2018, 54 fns 39-40; Fischer 2019b, 210) where it possibly originated. Another Cretan region connected with Cyprus was the Mesara, and a special relationship has even been suggested between this region of Crete and the southern coast of Cyprus (D'Agata 2005, 116-18 with refs). Some vessels from Cyprus may also provide information concerning the sea route followed in the transmission of Minoan pottery to Cyprus via the Dodecanese (see below), confirming that, like in the previous periods, the Dodecanese continued to play an important role in the connections between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3.

The above evidence gives rise to questions on the transport of Minoan wares in Interaction Period 3. Were complete Minoan drinking sets, including kraters, small open shapes, and jugs as well as precious commodity containers occasionally imported from Crete independent from the contemporary Mycenaean trade, or were they transported to Cyprus in close connection with the overwhelming

flow of Mycenaean imports? Generally speaking, the problem remains unsolved, because virtually all the sites producing Minoan ceramic imports contained far greater quantities of Mycenaean pottery. However, the possibility exists that, at least in the early phases of Interaction Period 3, there were separate connections between Crete and the northern area of Cyprus, especially Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, continuing the links of Interaction Period 2 through the traditional south Anatolian coastal route, although Mycenaean pottery also clearly came to this area, particularly from Lapithos *Ay. Anastasia* Tomb 1.[11]

Contrary to Antoniadou's suggestion (2011, 242), the local elite probably appreciated Minoan vessels as much as Mycenaean vases. Mycenaean kraters with Pictorial Style decoration were undoubtedly "incorporated within elite feasting practices and high status funerary display" (Steel 2004a, 170), but there is no reason to suggest a different interpretation for the Minoan kraters. Actually, Cypriot appreciation for Minoan pottery can be inferred from the richness of most funerary contexts at Enkomi where Minoan vessels were found along with Mycenaean imports. British Tomb 66, probably used from LC IIA2 to LC IIC-IIIA (Crewe 2009b, 30), was one of the few built tombs at the site and contained a rich array of prestige goods including a Pictorial Style bell krater, many other Mycenaean vessels, and a LM IIIA2-B globular stirrup jar (34-6, esp. 36 no. 38, pl. 13). Swedish Tomb 3, used in the same span of time, was one of the largest chamber tombs at Enkomi and, although looted, yielded 248 objects, among which were gold objects (weighing more than 150 g), other precious goods (Keswani 2004, 235, tab. 5.9c,), and pottery finds, including many LH IIIA2 Pictorial Style kraters and a LM IIIA2 amphoroid krater (Åström 1972, 404, Type 56: b). It is not clear whether the rich British Tomb 48 was a chamber tomb or a "tholos" tomb used in LC IIB and LC IIC (Keswani 2004, 115; Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, 45), but it contained five Mycenaean Pictorial Style vessels, a LM IIIA2 piriform krater with bird decoration (Åström 1972, 404, Type 56: a), and other prestige objects (Van Wijingaarden 2002, 292, tab. VII, cat. V, 348, 350 nos, 125, 134-5, 221). LH IIIA2-IIIB pottery, including a Pictorial Style krater and a conical rhyton as well as a cup with Cretan decoration of possible LM IIIA2 production (Åström 1972, 407, Type 220: a) were also found in British Tomb 70,

11 For Aegean pottery in this area, cf. Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 384 (LH IIIA2 vessels associated with the late burial in Tomb II Chamber 4 at *Toumba tou Skourou*); Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: c2-f2; 331, Type 134: f; 333, Type 149: f (LH IIIA2-B jugs); 337, Type 166: d2-g2; 341, Type 171: f3; 344, FS 178: l (LH IIIA 2 and LH IIIA2-B stirrup jars); 360 Type 220: v7-y7 (LH IIIA2-B cups); McCaslin 1980, 17, tab. 1 no. 16 (LM IIIA/B stirrup jar from Kyrenia); Åström 1972, 373, Type 281: n6, o6 (LH IIIB bull kraters FS 281 from Kyrenia *Mylopetres*). For a LM IIIA stirrup jar from Lapithos *Ayia Anastasia* Tomb 1, cf. Åström 1972, 405, Type 166: a, fig. 46: f (possibly Minoan); Kanta 1980, 310.

along with gold jewelry and other prestige objects (Van Wijingaarden 2002, 292, tab. VII, cat. V, 349 nos 157-62). The same is true of British Tomb 83, where many Mycenaean vessels, including two Pictorial Style kraters and a krater FS 8, were found in addition to a LM IIIA2 krater (Åström 1972, 404, Types 56-7: a), jewelry, faience, and alabaster vessels (Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, 47-8, 83). This association between rich burials and LM IIIA pottery was not limited to Enkomi but appears to be widespread on the island. In addition to partly burnt skeletal remains, Shaft Tomb LL at Hala Sultan Tekke also yielded complete vessels, jewelry, and other rank indicators as well as the above mentioned Late Minoan II/IIIA1 piriform jar (Fischer, Bürge 2018, 60-2; Fischer 2019b, 210). Tomb 4+5 at Kition was looted but the preserved finds suggest that it was a rich tomb, and Tomb 9 (possibly intact) was no doubt extraordinarily rich (Keswani 2004, 242, tab. 5.11). However, as noted above, the imported Minoan vessels from these Kition tombs, although dating to LM IIIA2, were possibly put into the tombs in a later period at the beginning of or during Interaction Period 4.

Leaving aside Minoan pottery, there is little further evidence of Cypriot connections with Crete in Interaction Period 3. In this period only a few metal objects were found on Cyprus, and no copper-based artifacts can be related to the Minoan world. As far as prestige objects are concerned, only a gold hemispherical example from Swedish Tomb 17 can safely be attributed to a LC IIA2 or LC IIB burial while, as already discussed in the review of Interaction Period 2 finds, the provenance of two precious Vapheio cups and the period of their deposition inside British Tombs 93 and 92 at Enkomi are uncertain. The same is true of a gold bowl found in British Tomb 66, one of the wealthiest tombs at Enkomi. While no Aegean seal may be safely ascribed to Interaction Period 3, some jewels, such as two gold rings with oval engraved bezels from British Tombs 66 and 100 and some gold beads with stamped 'sacral ivy' decoration from the very rich Tomb 11 at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* possibly belonged to this period, but their origin can generically be considered 'Aegean' and there is no safe argument to regard them as Minoan imports. While no Aegean ivory artifact or local imitation can safely be attributed to Interaction Period 3, a few faience beads and pendants as well as rare amber beads were perhaps imported from the Aegean, but the possible role of Crete in their diffusion to Cyprus is not clear.

7.2.4 A Synopsis of Trade Between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 4

During the Final Palatial Period (LM IIIA2 Late-end of LM IIIB2), the central authority and cultural hegemony of Knossos disappeared on Crete, but some prominent sites such as Haghia Triada, Kommos, and Chania continued to flourish and were only abandoned in the last decades of the thirteenth century BC or in the beginning of the twelfth century BC (i.e. in the early phases of LM IIIC), a time without any evidence of widespread violent destructions across the island. Although the Minoans maintained some trade contacts with other Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean regions, the role of Crete was superseded by the dynamic activities of the Mycenaeans. Compared to the earlier evidence of contacts between Crete and Cyprus from the Minoan perspective, in fact, only a limited number of Cypriot ceramic imports has been found on Crete. However, in Interaction Period 4, Kommos continued to produce most of the Eastern Mediterranean imports to Crete, and the Cypriots can be considered the "principal carriers of trade goods into and out of Kommos" in this period (Rutter 1999, 147-8). This clearly appears from Cypriot pottery found in LM IIIB contexts at this harbor town, also including some imports from the Limassol area (Tomlinson, Rutter, Hoffman 2010, 200, tab. 2: C1262, C4127, fig. 4, C2141, C6743). A significant role in trade with Cyprus must also undoubtedly be assigned to Chania (Cline 1994, 61). Such an observation is not only based on several White Slip II milk bowls found on Kastelli Hill, but also on the observation that a significant number of LM IIIB vessels found on Cyprus can be attributed to west Cretan production (also see § 6.3.1.1). Evidence of contacts between the Mesara and Cyprus is also provided by some clay wall brackets from Phaistos, one of which was regarded as a Cypriot example, possibly imported via Kommos or alternatively via Tiryns (Karageorghis 2011, 31; Girella 2010, 166), while two or three others found in the Casa a ovest del Piazzale 1 in a LM IIIC context possibly were locally made following Cypriot models. Elsewhere on Crete, imported Cypriot pottery, such as some White Slip II sherds found at Poros-Katsambas and a Base Ring jug said to have come from Knossos, appear of uncertain chronology, while a LM IIIB narrow-necked jug from the so-called cenotaph at Archanes was considered imitative of a Cypriot type also paralleled at Karteros, and a Cypriot handleless pithos was reported from Elounda. From the Minoan perspective this limited amount of Cypriot pottery imported to Crete can therefore be interpreted within the pattern of the scarce evidence of contacts with Cyprus apparent in the Final Palatial Period, that is from LM IIIA2 Late to the end of LM IIIB.

After the striking dearth of ingots in Interaction Period 3 Aegean contexts, a renewal of trade in Cypriot copper by means of oxhide

ingots occurs in Interaction Period 4. However, while oxhide ingots consistent with production from Cypriot copper especially appear in the main Mycenaean palatial centers in the Argolid, on Crete this evidence is limited to some fragments of oxhide ingots only found in LM IIIB contexts at the harbor town of Kommos. This probably is the result of the general change in Cypriot trade to the Aegean, but a few analyzed bronze artifacts from West Crete possibly dating to LM IIIB and from post-palatial Knossos show that copper consistent with Cypriot ores was still used in Interaction Period 4, although the main source of copper in this period was Lavrion. Imports of Cypriot artifacts were also suggested by some fragments of clay molds of at least one bronze rod tripod stand of Cypriot type found at Rousolakkos (Palaikastro).

Interaction Period 4 also lacks clear evidence for prestige objects possibly imported from Cyprus to Crete, because no faience objects or jewels can definitively be regarded as Cypriot. However, some of the 'Cypro-Aegean' seals discussed in § 5.3.3.1, such as two seals from Gouves, one a cornelian cylinder seal and the other an olive-green schist cylinder seal, may belong to this period along with a few other examples from Crete.

In contrast to the limited archaeological evidence on Crete for contacts with Cyprus, from the Cypriot perspective there is a marked increase in LM IIIB ceramic imports to Cyprus in Interaction Period 4 compared to Interaction Period 3, when LM IIIA vessels are found at only a few sites **[fig. 6.1]** **[tab. 6.1]**. In fact, LM IIIB pottery amounts to an overwhelming majority (about 79%) of overall Minoan ceramic finds recovered on Cyprus throughout the Bronze Age (Niemeier 1998, 38, quoting Guzowska's statistics). However, generally speaking, Minoan pottery admittedly amounts to a very limited percentage of the overall Aegean imports to the island, as clearly appears from the ratio of Minoan to Mycenaean pottery at some important sites such as, for example, Hala Sultan Tekke or Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. In any case, the quantity of LM IIIB vessels implies a greater demand for Minoan pottery on Cyprus in Interaction Period 4 than in the earlier periods. Leaving aside the vessels without context, the proliferation and widespread distribution of sites with LM IIIB pottery is rather astonishing since for the first time the sites yielding LM IIIB vessels occur throughout the main inhabited areas of the island. The exception is only a scattered and limited diffusion of Minoan imports in the northern part of the island, possibly due to a reduction in the importance of the Anatolian coastal route connecting the Aegean to Cyprus, although this trend may also be a function of excavation bias, since no LBA sites have been excavated in the northern regions over the last fifty years. Several LM IIIB vessels have been found on the western coast at Kouklia *Mantissa* and Kouklia *Evreti*, but Minoan ceramics are mainly concentrated in primary settlements

located on (or near) the southern and eastern coasts. At Enkomi, both settlement layers and funerary contexts produced several LM IIIB vessels, and concentrations of LM IIIB vessels also occur around Larnaca Bay, at Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* as well as in hinterland sites (Dhekelia, Pyla *Verghi*, Arpera Çiftlik *Ayios Andronikos*, and Aradippou). In addition to the sites mentioned above and some scattered items from Alassa and Erimi *Kafkalla*, Minoan imports of this period are found in a variety of site types: sanctuaries (Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukkouninnas*), hinterland sites connected with mining, ceramic, and agricultural activities (Aredhiou *Vouppes*, Apliki *Karamallos*, Akhera, Deneia *Kafkalla* and Katydhata), Mesaoria settlements (Alambra, Idalion, Angastina and Kalopsidha), and even peripheral locations (Nitovikla in the Karpasia Peninsula). Although Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, a site located in a strategic position, is considered a Second Tier settlement, this short-lived site yielded a significant number of Minoan vessels belonging to a limited period, i.e. the span of time between the end of LC IIC and LC IIIA.

Of the LM IIIB imports to Cyprus, the majority are large transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164 of the functional category F3 generally characterized by a distinctive octopus decoration, confirming the general appreciation of these containers and/or their contents everywhere on the island. Clay analysis shows that many transport/storage stirrup jars were produced in south-central or western Crete, although most examples exported to Cyprus were manufactured in central Crete. At least some Minoan transport stirrup jars from Cyprus bore Cypro-Minoan post-firing signs (see discussion in § 6.4.1), while an example of likely west Cretan origin from Kourion *Bamboula* is of particular interest since it was inscribed with Cypro-Minoan signs before firing (Knapp 2018a, 146-7 with refs). Amphoroid kraters which also represent a significant percentage of the Minoan finds are particularly common at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* where, significantly, some examples show morphological connections (such as triple roll handles) with examples found at Chania (Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 308; 2014, 141). An additional interesting category of Minoan vessels dating to Interaction Period 4 is represented by several small squat, conical or biconical stirrup jars found at various Cypriot sites and especially in Enkomi tombs containing burials of the thirteenth century BC. These small vessels were produced on Crete primarily for the Cypriot market and were clearly indicative of a scented oil trade for medical and cosmetic purposes. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that the examples decorated only with even bands on the body were good quality Cypriot imitations of the Minoan vessels (Koehl, Yellin 2007, 203), but analytic confirmation is necessary.

In terms of functions, a novelty of Interaction Period 4 is the predominance of category F3 ('Storage Vessels') determined by the

significant number of stirrup jars FS 164, but there also are numerous vessels of category F1, i.e. 'Fine Tableware' (with the relative exception of jugs), and of 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' (category F2), which are primarily represented by the small squat stirrup jars discussed above. Mountjoy (2018, 791 fig. 389: 11-13, 827 no. 61, 831 no. 76, 857: 25) identifies decorative and morphological elements on local Cypriot vessels of various shapes and provenance as inspired by imported LM IIIB vessels, while on Crete the shape of LM IIIB jugs from Archanes and Karteros has been regarded as an imitation of a Cypriot type.

To conclude, we can suggest that, despite the deep changes on the Aegean scene, the marked imbalance between the number of reciprocal imports to Crete and to Cyprus indicates that Interaction Period 4 Minoans continued to maintain a relative autonomy in their exports to Cyprus while Cypriot goods made their way preferentially to the Mycenaean world. Moreover, two sites, Chania on Crete and Pyla *Kokkinokremos* on Cyprus, are emblematic of the new interaction between Crete and Cyprus in the thirteenth century. At Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, the abundant and high-quality Minoan imports are also linked to parallels with Cretan sites in the architectural features, especially casemate architecture and the use of bedrock-cutting and ledges for wall foundations (*hyposkafon* technique). However, it is clear that the majority of the population living at the site was of local origin, even though an unusual quantity of high-quality imports from the Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean, western Anatolia, the Levant, Egypt, and even Sardinia attests to a considerable opening of the site to foreign contacts.

7.3 The Dodecanese and Cyprus

7.3.1 The Beginning of the 'Dodecanesian Connection' in Interaction Period 1

A role of primary importance can be assigned to the Dodecanese in Cypro-Aegean contacts probably to a large extent due to its intermediate location between Cyprus and Crete. From this point of view, it seems appropriate to define the archaeological evidence illustrating this important role as a manifestation of the 'Dodecanesian connection'. In looking at the 'Dodecanesian connection', which begins in Interaction Period I, Earlier Phase, the chronology and context of the so-called duck askoi of the Early and Middle Aegean Bronze Age in the Aegean and Cyprus are of particular importance (see § 3.4.3). For a long time the duck askoi shape had been considered of Cycladic origin even if it spread largely in the Aegean (in the Argolid, Aegina,

Central Greece, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, and western Anatolia). However, now duck askoi are known to have been locally produced throughout the East Aegean in the Early and Middle Bronze Age, on Kalymnos, at the Seraya on Kos and, further north, on Samos, at both Miletus and the Heraion. In addition to these locations, the discovery by T. Marketou (2009a, 51-2, fig. 3a-b) of more than twenty dark faced incised and pattern painted examples of duck askoi at Asomatos on Rhodes dating to EBA IIIB is particularly important since it indicates a production center of duck vases in this site.

In terms of Cypro-Aegean relations, the manufacturing of a few duck askoi, clearly inspired by Aegean prototypes, on Cyprus in the EC and MC periods is relevant, although, generally speaking, they were given less consideration than the few Early and Middle Bronze Age finished artifacts. Specifically, six Red Polished III duck vases of the EC period and a Black Polished example possibly of MC I date were found at Lapithos and possibly at Deneia, which is an inland site that had close links with the north coast (Herscher 1975; Merrillees 1979, 19 with refs). It is worth noting that all of them featured a general Aegean shape with a few elements (mainly the rounded base) adapted from the local tradition. Interestingly, five other Cypriot askoi that were found only at inland sites appear to have been more deeply rooted in the local ceramic traditions, since while they have a shape recalling the Aegean prototypes, they show more features derived from the Early Cypriot ceramic tradition, such as basket handles and cut away necks instead of tubular necks. Considering that Rhodes likely provided a regular stopover on the route from the Aegean to Cyprus throughout the Bronze Age, Asomatos may be considered one of the best candidates for the transmission of such influences to the sites located on the northern coast of Cyprus since it was the most important EBA site where duck vases were being produced in the Dodecanese.

In Interaction Period 1, Later Phase, some Minoan imports from the settlement deposits on Rhodes confirm a correlation between the island and Crete in the Protopalatial period, but, despite the beginning of a 'Dodecanesian connection' in the previous phase, the Dodecanese did not show any definite sign of interaction with Cyprus in Interaction Period 1, apart from vague speculation that some bronzes from Kos are consistent with Cypriot copper and that the tin trade route may have involved Kos and Rhodes (see § 3.3.2). Even if available evidence attests to more sporadic than systematic trade relations (Keswani 2005, 387; Knapp 2013c, 114), at least in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, the northern coastal sites can be regarded as the starting points for the westward copper trade through the sea route going towards Rhodes. The sea routes connecting the Aegean and Cyprus will be discussed in detail from a nautical perspective in the appendix by Angiolo Querci, but some considerations on

the sea routes connecting the Aegean and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1 are here necessary.

Taking into account the direction of streams and winds, some scholars have suggested a circular counterclockwise sea route which connected Crete to Egypt, to the Levantine coast, to Cyprus, and then returned again to the Aegean (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 11-20; Wachsmann 1998, 295-9; Carinci 2000, 33). However, regarding Cypro-Aegean trade, it is important to evaluate the beginning of the 'Dodecanesian connection' in Interaction Period 1, Earlier Phase, in connection with the reciprocal seaborne exchange, albeit limited, of copper in this period. These phenomena may only be explained by admitting that a direct route connecting Cyprus and the Aegean was reciprocally used and was preferred to the far longer counterclockwise route (also cf. Watrous 1992, 172-3, 175-8, figs 10-11). The use of this shorter sea route which runs eastward from Rhodes is also implicitly admitted by O. Kouka (2009, 40 with refs) when she states that the Karmi cup reached Cyprus through Kos, Rhodes, or other sites in the East Aegean, and from this point of view, it is probably not by chance that Kamares pottery was found at Trianda on Rhodes (Marketou 2009b, 82-3 fig. 14: b). The same is true of the direct sea route which runs in the opposite direction, i.e. westward from Cyprus to the Aegean along the South Anatolian coast, which likewise took advantage of the presence of important stopovers on the islands of the Dodecanese.[12] It is of particular interest that all the sea routes mentioned by ancient geographers confirm that Rhodes always was a stopover of primary importance on these routes (Arnaud 2005, 212), functioning as both a gateway into the Aegean for ships sailing from Cyprus (Watrous 1992, 175-6; also cf. Portugali, Knapp 1985, 52-3) and as the main point of support for the ships sailing from the Aegean. Moreover, Manning and Hulin (2005, 277 fig. 11.1, 278), who discussed coastal visibility in the sea routes connecting the Aegean to the East, regarded the coastal sea-route, although long, as the easiest because Anatolian and Cypriot coasts are visible to sailors and the ships did not venture into the unknown (also cf. Arnaud 2005, 210; Sauvage 2007, 203; Graziadio, forthcoming). Some decades ago, E.K. Manzourani and A.J. Theodorou (1991, 50-1, fig. 9), however, admitted that this coastal sea route was only followed for the trip from Cyprus to Crete, while they suggest that an open sea route directly linked Crete to Cyprus, taking advantage of the favorable wind and current regimes. As a matter of fact, open sea westward sailing from Cyprus to the Aegean would have been very difficult due to strong opposing winds in summer. Other scholars, taking into account the possibility

12 For the possibility of sailing from east to west (and in the opposite direction) in the Eastern Mediterranean, cf. McCaslin 1980, fig. 36, route II; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 53 fig. 4-3; Watrous 1992, 177-8; Cline 1994, 91; Van de Moortel 2006b, 644-6.

of night-sailing,[13] also reconstructed open sea routes between Crete and Cyprus and suggest that only a very segmented route and probably night-sailing were possible, although resulting in a very fragmented and long journey (Arnaud 2005, 223; also cf. Tartaron 2013, 209-10 fig. 6: 3 with refs).

The seaborne transport of all the foreign goods found on Cyprus is, of course, quite obvious, and the occurrence of Western and Eastern imports in the EBA and MBA cemeteries of the north coast of Cyprus (Knapp 2018a, 72-4; also cf. Keswani 2005, 388-9, tab. 13) clearly was not substantially hampered by the factors limiting seafaring in this area, such as anchoring a ship in bad weather, the prevailing northwest winds, and other possible constraints (Knapp 2018a, 71-2). Therefore, the evidence for Minoan contacts in the north sector of Cyprus dating from Interaction Period 1 to Interaction Period 3 clearly is primarily related to Cypro-Aegean trade **[fig. 7.1]**, but it is worth considering that the coastal route from the Aegean to Cyprus also was the westernmost course of a longer sea route linking the Aegean, primarily Crete, to the northern Levant.[14] The entirety of this sea route was probably followed by the Minoans when they went to Ugarit for tin supplies (see § 3.5.1) and by the Ugaritic merchant Sinaranu when he came back to Ugarit from Crete in the thirteenth century BC (Nougayrol 1955, 107-8; Heltzer 1988; 1989). The geographic position of the northern coast of Cyprus, of course, also made it an important stopover on this long trip. On the other hand, the Alashiyan copper mentioned in the Mari texts was exported from Cyprus through the easternmost course of this long coastal route, which was also followed in the opposite direction by the merchants carrying Levantine goods to Cyprus. The limited archaeological evidence for contacts between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1, Later Phase, might therefore be explained in this light.

Contrary to previous opinions, the new excavations on Rhodes show that, after the devastating flood and the abandonment of the settlement at Asomatos on Rhodes in the Early Bronze Age III, town planning and large building construction was initiated on the northern part of the island in the MBA (Marketou 2009a, 52). Therefore, the suggestion of a temporary slowdown in maritime connections along the coastal sea route due to the EBA III disaster can be ruled

13 Berg 2007, 399 with refs. For a discussion on the possibility of open-sea voyages and sailing at night undertaken by the Mycenaeans, cf. Tartaron 2013, 110-13, where it was also stated that "the use of celestial navigation for nighttime voyages on the open sea is virtually certain for the Aegean Bronze Age".

14 Mantzourani, Theodorou 1991, 39, where, however, the northern coast of Cyprus is regarded as a Minoan staging post during the journey from Crete to the East in Interaction Period 1, while from the Protopalatial period onwards direct communication between Crete and Cyprus is acknowledged (41).

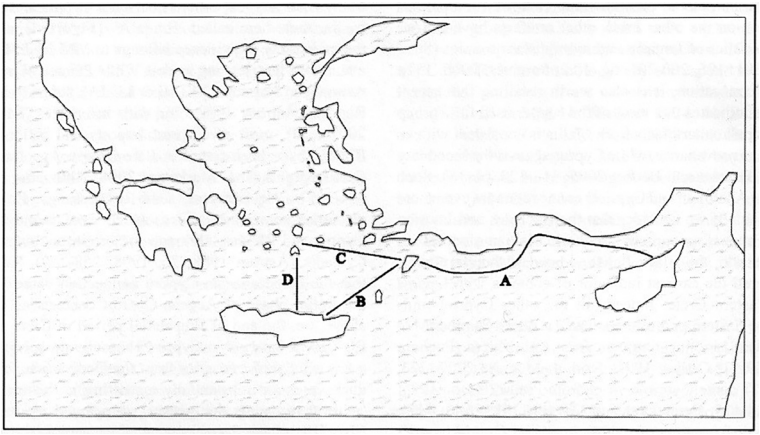


Figure 7.1 The possible sea-routes connecting Cyprus and Crete in the Early and Middle Bronze Age. Drawn by Mario Epifani. After Graziadio 2013, 170 fig. 6

out. Instead, the slowdown in coastal maritime connections between Crete and Cyprus may be explained by the increase in trade relations between the Aegean and Ugarit in the late Protopalatial period and particularly by the growing Aegean demand for tin from the Orient, as a consequence of the developments of Aegean metallurgy in the Protopalatial period. As a result of this commercial trend, during the Protopalatial period the importance of Cyprus as a copper supplier did not increase as much as expected, given that the bulk of copper used in the Aegean at that time was from local sources. While "Cyprus was already involved in the regional exchange system(s) that brought tin to the island" (Knapp 2018, 74 with refs), and therefore had an independent tin supply, the amount of Eastern imports found in the northern cemeteries of Cyprus, particularly in the "proto-harbour" of Lapithos (Webb, Knapp 2020), may suggest a rising Cypriot interest in overseas trade towards the East to the detriment of the partially not completely established trade with the West, especially with Crete. Crete, in turn, became more oriented toward easterly markets bypassing, from the commercial point of view, Cyprus which in this period probably also lost some of its importance as a stopover along the coastal trade route from the Aegean to the northern Levant.

For all these reasons, during the Bronze Age the southern coast of Anatolia is acknowledged here as the preferred trade route over the far longer counterclockwise route, and it was favored due to the location of the island of Rhodes as a stop-over point of primary importance **[fig. 7.1: A]**. It is admittedly difficult to trace the stretches of this route westward from Rhodes, and reference to a previous study (Graziadio 2013, 170-1) is enough here concerning the earlier phase

of Interaction Period 1. A direct route linking Rhodes and East Crete is represented by the island chain (Saria, Karpathos, and Kasos) (Niemeier 1998, 29 with refs) **[fig. 7.1: A-B]**. However, in the earliest phase of Cypro-Aegean contacts, the Cycladic involvement in this trade network is also possible, as suggested by Webb and other scholars (2009, 252 with refs). Therefore, it is very likely that an important, albeit indirect, route also connected Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades **[fig. 7.1: A, C]**. This is also suggested by the fact that, from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age onwards, the Dodecanese established firm trade connections with the Cyclades (Benzi 1997, 390-2; Davis 2001, 91, fn. 374 with refs; Voigländer 2009, 114). Moreover, the final stretch of this indirect route from the Cyclades to Crete **[fig. 7.1: D]** is well known from the Early Bronze Age,[15] and there is also evidence for close contacts between the Cyclades and some Cretan districts, specifically the Knossos area, where the harbor site of Poros-Katsambas was located, and the Siteia region in northeast Crete, where there was also some evidence for links with Cyprus in the later phase of Interaction Period 1.

7.3.2 The Development of the 'Dodecanesian Connection' in Interaction Period 2

In Interaction Period 2, the earliest Cypriot pottery found in the Eastern Aegean is a Proto White Slip sherd from Miletus which can be connected to the southeast Aegean trade network in this period (Pieniążiek, Pavúk, Kozal 2018, 386), while a Base Ring I juglet is reported from Tilos. It is likely that Rhodes, maintaining direct connections with Cyprus, played the most important role in the spread of LC I pottery in the Eastern Aegean. In fact, the main evidence for close Cypriot connections with the Aegean has been provided by excavations on Rhodes which illustrate the important development of the 'Dodecanesian connection' in this period.[16] A review of Cypriot imports found in old and recent excavations on this island, especially at Trianda and in the area of the Moschou Vounara cemetery, is presented in § 4.3.1.3. Interestingly, they included several vessels dating to the Trianda IIA period, i.e. the phase corresponding to the end of Late Bronze Age IA and IB/LM IA Late and LM IB: White Slip bowls, Base Ring I jugs and

15 Graziadio 2013, 171; also cf. in particular Carter 1998; Wilson, Day, Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 71-3; Doonan, Day 2006, 6-8 with refs; Wilson, Day, Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2008, 82-3 with refs; Mangou, Ioannou 1998, 94, fn. 14 with refs.

16 A few LC I bronze artifacts from Rhodes have been identified as Cypriot imports (Cline 1994, 226 no. 831, 229 no. 864, 231 no. 880; Benzi 2009, 50 fns 21-2 with refs) but they cannot be considered in this section since they were dated to LH IIIA1 in Aegean terms.

a rare example of a Base Ring spindle bottle, in addition to a Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle of possible Cypriot origin.

Even more important for defining the intermediary role of Rhodes between Cyprus and Crete is the discovery of a group of vessels which can be regarded as local imitations of LC I vessels. They included several examples made of clay of Ialysian provenance which imitated the shapes of Base Ring jugs, Red Slip bowls, White Slip I bowls, and of a Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware spindle bottle, which anomalously shows a painted decoration. In addition to the importance of these finds themselves, which testify to a Cypriot influence on Rhodian ceramic production that is unparalleled in the Aegean, it is worth underlining that some local imitations of White Slip milk bowls were characterized by the wishbone handles of Cypriot type. Since two wishbone-handled bowls imitating Cypriot White Slip milk bowls may be assigned to LM IA, it is clear that the earliest appearance of wishbone handles of Cypriot type on Aegean bowls may be dated to the end of the LM IA period or, at the latest, to the transition from LM IA to LM IB, that is to the period when local imitations of Cypriot vessels were said to be produced at Trianda (Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 459).

As discussed in detail in § 4.3.1.3, 10 out of 17 Aegean wishbone-handled cups have been found on Crete, especially in the Knossos area and on the Mesara plain, and the earliest period when the wishbone-handle appeared in the Minoan ceramic repertoire was LM IB, while the last period of production of these cups on Crete was LM II-IIIA1. If we consider that there is ample evidence attesting to contacts between Crete and Rhodes also including LM IA pottery from Trianda, it is likely that the adoption of wishbone handles on Crete happened via Rhodes, with a slight delay after their initial appearance in the Rhodian pottery at the end of the LM IA period or, at the latest, at the transition from LM IA to LM IB.

From the Cypriot perspective, there also is some evidence confirming that the Dodecanese interacted with Cyprus in this period. These Eastern Aegean imports are represented by some sherds, possibly imported from Kos, belonging to two vessels: a Southern Aegean Light-on-Dark or Dark-on-Light Ware closed vessel from Area III at Enkomi and a jar or jug found in a Vournes Ib context at Maroni *Vournes*. In sum, in Interaction Period 2 the Rhodian archaeological record, coupled with the limited number of Dodecanesian imports to Cyprus, may suggest an increase from previous periods in the 'Dodecanesian connection'.

7.3.3 Another Phase of the 'Dodecanesian Connection' in Interaction Period 3

Although the overall archaeological evidence shows a decrease in contacts between the Dodecanese and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3, it is clear that the 'Dodecanesian connection' continues from the previous periods. In fact, while Cypriot imitations were no longer manufactured on Rhodes, the settlement of Trianda contained some White Slip II and Base Ring sherds in addition to a Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware spindle bottle of possible Cypriot production. Other Base Ring, Red Lustrous Wheelmade and Plain White Wheelmade vessels were found in the Mycenaean tombs at Ialysos. The most interesting novelty of the period is however represented by the Cypriot vessels, including a Base Ring bull vase, found in Tombs 76 and 86 in the Mycenaean cemetery at Ialysos. Since these tombs contained only Cypriot pottery, it has been suggested that they belonged to Cypriot individuals. Another Base Ring bull vase comes from Ialysos Tomb 31, possibly dating to LH IIIA1-2, and a similar vessel, also from Rhodes, is in the Stuttgart Museum. These three Cypriot bull vases may indicate a special component of the connection between Rhodes and Cyprus in this period. Nys (2001, 100-1) suggested that they were possibly associated with a particular Cypriot social stratum, and on Rhodes they may have been indicative of the high rank of the deceased. While the Cypriot pottery found on Kos cannot safely be assigned to Interaction Period 3, the role of Ialysos as a trade junction in the route between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean is still apparent especially in LH IIIA2 (Benzi 1996, 950-1; Marketou 2009b, 49-51). Sienkiewicz (2022, 228-9) has recently discussed the composition of Mycenaean drinking sets on Rhodes and Cyprus in the fourteenth century BC, when kraters appeared on both islands, but, according to him, shared drinking practices, which are more common in the following Interaction Period 4, attest to in-person encounters and cultural exchanges between wealthy social groups of Rhodian and Cypriot society.

Other Cypriot vessels from Kos, including a Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware flask from Langada Tomb 12 allegedly considered of Cypriot production and a fragmentary White Slip bowl from the Serraglio, cannot be precisely dated on contextual ground.

In addition to Cypriot pottery, the occurrence of bronze artifacts, a rapier, a dagger with tongued haft, and several arrowheads has been regarded as evidence for Cypriot imports to Rhodes, and three artifacts made of Cypriot copper from a LM IIIA context analytically identified at Karpathos confirm that in the Dodecanese there was still an independent demand for Cypriot copper despite the greater availability of Lavrion sources (see § 5.3.2.1). Although sporadic, some prestige objects from the Dodecanese can also be considered

additional evidence of contacts with Cyprus (see § 5.3.3). This may be the case of a Cypriot hematite cylinder seal from Ialysos Tomb 67 and possibly of a steatite cylinder seal from Eleona Tomb 22 on Kos, which also contained LH IIIA1-2 pottery. LH IIIA2 burial contexts at Ialysos also produced precious personal ornaments imported from Cyprus and local items possibly revealing a Cypriot influence. They included a stripe of silver foil from Tomb 51 and forty-seven fluted spherical beads of faience from Ialysos Tomb 28. The faience beads have been attributed to a type common on Cyprus and in the Levant, while other examples of this type have also been found in LH IIIA2-B contexts elsewhere on Rhodes (Aspropilia Tomb 1) and on Kos (Langada Tomb 38). The only Aegean parallels for the barrel beads of Cypriot origin dating to LC IIA and LC IIB-C have been found in Ialysos Tomb 26, which contained LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-B pottery, while the 'poppy-head' or 'lotus-seed' glass beads from LH IIIA2 contexts on Rhodes (Ialysos T. 25) and Kos (Langada T. 25) cannot be safely considered Cypriot imports.

Moreover, six glass vessels, probably originating from Cyprus or North Syria, were reported from Rhodes, and it is important to note that three of them were found in Ialysos Tombs 56 and 62, respectively dating to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA. To conclude, M. Benzi (1992, 229, 287; also see § 5.3.3.4) mentioned a perforated stone, possibly a reused stone anchor of Cypriot type, which was found above the door of Ialysos Tomb 67 containing LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/LH IIIB pottery, but, alternatively, he did not rule out the possibility that it was a *sema*.[17]

It is not easy to understand what Cyprus received in return from the Dodecanese. The Cypriot archaeological record of this period is not very informative from this point of view since the main evidence is only provided by Offering Pit V at Hala Sultan Tekke. A LM/LH IIIA2 narrow-necked jug FS 120 decorated with semicircles from this feature is of Minoan appearance (Bürge, Fischer 2017, 155 fig. 24: 7; Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 202, L46-0, fig. 35: 3), but it was regarded as "an import from the Minoan sphere of culture" specifically from Karpathos/Dodecanese. Moreover, a beaked jug FS 144/145 decorated with stemmed spirals FM 49 and a tassel FM 72 has been considered similar to a LH IIIA1 beaked jug from Rhodes (Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 63, L46-33, figs 12: 5, 15: 8; 2017b, 198, 204 fig. 35: 1), and according to Popham, a globular flask FS 191 of unknown provenance probably was "Cretan or Rhodian under strong Cretan influence" (Åström 1972, 406 Type 191: a with refs). Despite the rarity of vessels with possible Rhodian features among the Aegean pottery

17 For the discovery of multi-holed stone anchors at various sites, including Antalya, along the sea route from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Aegean, cf. Öniz 2014, esp. 65, figs 1-2.

from Cypriot contexts of this period, it is likely that Rhodes played an intermediate role in the spread of Mycenaean pottery from the Argolid to Cyprus since Neutron Activation Analysis shows that the most common Mycenaean pottery found both on Rhodes and on Cyprus has the Mycenae/Berbati signature.

A possible role of Rhodes as a midway stop-over in the transmission of glyptic influence from Knossos to Cyprus in LH IIIA2 after the destruction of the palace has also been suggested, while the possibility of a Dodecanesian role in amber trade from the Aegean to Cyprus, where it has rather rarely been found, is only supposed.

7.3.4 The Interconnections Between Cyprus and the Dodecanese in Interaction Period 4

If we compare the evidence for contacts between the Southeast Aegean, especially Rhodes, and Cyprus during Interaction Period 2 with the archaeological record of Interaction Periods 3 and 4, a reduction in terms of the number of exchanged objects can be noted in the two later periods at least from the Aegean perspective. In Interaction Period 4, the traces of a destruction at Trianda, dating to the end of LH IIIA2 or the very beginning of LH IIIB, and the 'sudden decline' of the Ialysos cemetery in LH IIIB likely had a significant negative impact for interaction with Cyprus. These events were probably also connected with the reduction of LH IIIB Late pottery on Rhodes (Sherratt 1999, 184; 2001, 224) and the end of trading contacts between Rhodes and the Mainland "somewhere during LH IIIB" (Benzi 2009, 54 with refs), which in turn reduced contacts with Cyprus. However, as noted above, Sienkiewicz's recent contribution (2022) introduces new arguments to the discussion on the contacts between Rhodes and Cyprus focusing his discussion on shared drinking practices on the two islands beyond the limits of mere commerce. In his opinion these in-person encounters and cultural exchanges can mainly be attributed to the thirteenth century BC.

The lack of LH IIIB 2 style pottery did not affect Kalymnos (Benzi 2009, 54 fn. 56 with refs; 2020, 111, 171, pls 17q, 42l: VA 262), and, unlike on Rhodes, on Kos LH IIIB was a period of wealth and expansion and the island held a prominent role in the Southeast Aegean (Vitale 2021, 529-45, 553, 555). Despite its prosperity, Cypriot ceramic imports are scarce. However, this is not at all surprising because evidence for contacts between Kos and Cyprus is also relatively limited in the earlier periods, probably due to the less favorable location of Kos compared to Rhodes for sea route connections with Cyprus.

Contacts between the Dodecanese and Cyprus are also attested by a few prestige objects possibly of Cypriot origin (see § 6.3.3.1), such as two cylinder seals from Tomb 10 at Langada and Tomb 22 at

Eleona on Kos. Some jewels from Ialysos tombs, such as a pair of earrings from a LH IIIB context in Tomb 53, may also be Cypriot imports, while several gold pendants in the shape of a bull's head, although of possible Cypriot manufacture, are of more uncertain chronology; Cypriot parallels have also been suggested for cylindrical glass pendants from Rhodes and Kos and conical spindle whorls from Rhodes. Finally, an ivory plaque carved with a pair of heraldic rampant lions from Mount Philerimos may be an example of the luxury objects "distributed in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean via Cyprus and Rhodes in the LH IIIA2/LH IIIB [periods]" (Marketou 2009a, 49).

The general impression does not change substantially from the Cypriot perspective although

> Dodecanesian imports have been identified or suspected at sites such as Maa-Paleokastro, Sinda, Enkomi, Kition and Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Sherratt 1991, 193 and fn. 13 with refs)

while some bowls standing on three legs from Kition tombs can be compared to some examples from Rhodes (Karageorghis 1974, 38 no. 141, from Tombs 4+5, and nos 42-3, from Tomb 9).[18] However, R. Jung referred to a link between the Southeast Aegean and the settlement phase IIB at Enkomi, where some southeastern Aegean pottery was found (2009, 79 fig. 3.3) We can also refer to some analogies between ornaments recovered from Ialysos tombs and from Cyprus and to some faience beads showing a 'grain of wheat' shape that were discovered at Kouklia.

Despite the limited archaeological evidence for connections between Cyprus and the Dodecanese in Interaction Period 4, scattered finds suggesting contacts with Cyprus can be noted along the coastal sea route leading to Troy, particularly at Emborio on Chios and Miletus. They indicate that Troy, where an appreciable number of Cypriot imports was found, likely was the final destination of the trade route along the Aegean Anatolian coast connecting Cyprus and this coast via the Dodecanese which was used from LH IIB (Troy VI f) to the period corresponding to Interaction Period 4. The 'Trojan connection' is

18 It should also be recalled that the collection of the Mycenaean vessels stored in the museum at Laon, France, in addition to several Cypriot ones, included some examples, such as a 'Levanto-Mycenaean' chalice FS 278 (Tsipopoulou 1998, 27-8 no. 39) **[tab. 6.11]** and possibly others which were imported to Cyprus. However, there are other Aegean vessels, including a fragmentary Minoan krater and Mycenaean vessels suggesting Dodecanesian connections (Tsipopoulou 1998, 39 no. 53: Minoan krater, 40-1 no. 55, 40-1 no. 55: three-legs vessel with basket handle FS 319, 41 no. 56: kalathos FS 301) which cannot safely be considered among Mycenaean imports to Cyprus, because no information is available about their finding place and the provenance of all the other Aegean vases of this interesting collection. For these reasons, none of them has been included in the tables of this book.

further confirmed by the presence of Anatolian Grey and Tan Wares, probably of Trojan production, in the Eastern Mediterranean and on Cyprus, mainly in thirteenth century BC contexts.

7.4 The Cyclades and Cyprus

In the third millennium BC, the Cycladic islands engaged in very dynamic trade relations, benefiting from their geographical location which encouraged regular contacts with the Greek Mainland, the East Aegean, and Anatolia. In this context, there is enough evidence for exchange of raw materials between the Cyclades and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1 and even earlier in the third millennium when the Cyclades became part of the so-called 'Anatolian Trade Network', along with Anatolia, the islands of the East Aegean, and mainland Greece, while the role of Cyprus in this network is not completely clear (Knapp 2008, 78). In this period the Cycladic islands were active in indirect relations between mainland Greece and Cyprus. In this framework, therefore, connections between the Cyclades and Cyprus date back to the third millennium BC even providing evidence for bidirectional trade relationships. In this period, possible Cypriot imports to the Cyclades are represented by rat-tail spearheads, while results of Lead Isotope Analysis that found copper in EBA-MBA artifacts from Amorgos and Syros consistent with production from Cypriot ores have been questioned. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that there was an increase in the use of Cypriot copper during the Early Cycladic IIIA.

On Cyprus, the so-called 'Philia culture' was a time of developing external contacts, especially with Anatolia, as well as between the north coast of the island, especially the key-site of Vasilia, and the Cyclades and southeastern Anatolia (see §§ 3.2.2, 3.4.2). Some artifacts of the Philia phase from Vasilia implied contacts with the Cyclades since they were made with copper from Kythnos; at this site a rat-tail dirk from Tomb 1, belonging to the later Philia phase or EC I-MC period, also was consistent with copper ores at Lavrion or Kythnos, and imported Aegean copper was used for the manufacture of two weapons, although they were probably cast on Cyprus. Lead Isotope Analysis also shows that several EC copper artifacts from Lapithos were made of copper from the Cyclades and Lavrion and, later on, Cycladic copper was used for the manufacture of other artifacts found on Cyprus, including a knife from Karmi Palealona T. 2.

Regarding Interaction Period 1, reference has frequently also been made to the Cyclades in connection with the adoption of the Aegean shape of duck vases on Cyprus. However, as discussed above, the prototypes of Cypriot examples can probably be found in the Dodecanese, where such peculiar containers were locally made, with the

site of Asomatos on Rhodes probably being one of the best candidates for the transmission of such influences to the sites located on the northern coast of Cyprus.

In Interaction Period 2, the increasing infiltration of Cretan Neopalatial elements into Cycladic culture and the predominant role of Minoans in the Aegean trade network affected the nature of contacts between Cyprus and the Cyclades. In this scenario, it should be recalled that several fragments of oxhide ingots from House A at Ayia Irini on Keos dating to Period VII (LM I) had lead isotope ratios consistent with Cypriot ore sources, but Lead Isotope analysis of copper-based artifacts shows that the exchange in raw materials disintegrated during Interaction Period 2 (see § 4.3.2.1). It is clear, in fact, that local copper was preferred and circulated within the Aegean, and there is evidence for an increase in local metalworking on Cyprus. Therefore, most Cycladic LBA artifacts were made of copper from Lavrion, and only a few finds, including a scale pan from Akrotiri, have an isotopic composition consistent with a Cypriot origin. A similar situation is apparent in the pottery (see § 4.3.1.2): Cypriot ceramic imports to the Cyclades are limited to two White Slip I milk bowls, one from Thera and the other from Melos, possibly imported from the western part of Cyprus. Of course, it is impossible to know if these few Cypriot vessels were imported via Crete or directly from Cyprus. On Cyprus, most of the ceramic imports were of Minoan manufacture, while the list of Cycladic imports is restricted to some problematic sherds, such as those belonging to a jar or jug found at Maroni *Vournes* which was probably imported from Kos, as well as a finely decorated body sherd from a large vessel with a floral decoration which was recovered during old excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 4?) and was alternatively considered of LM IA production.

In Interaction Periods 3 and 4, when Mycenaean presence replaced Minoan cultural hegemony, the Cyclades were probably excluded from participation in long distance exchange networks (Earle 2012). This explains why evidence for contacts between Cyprus and the Cyclades in Interaction Period 3 is very limited (see § 5.3.1.3). In addition to a composite stone anchor in the Aegean Maritime Museum at Mykonos that is of unknown provenance and chronology, in fact, only two sherds from a White Slip II milk-bowl found in a LH IIIA1-2 context at Ayia Irini are evidence of contacts between Keos and Cyprus in the fourteenth century BC, while no Cycladic copper-based artifacts were made of Cypriot copper and no Cypriot goldwork or jewels of Cypriot type have been found in the Cyclades in Interaction Periods 3 and 4. The same is true of the archaeological record from Cyprus dating to these periods suggesting that nearly all the Aegean merchandise, especially pottery, was in the hands of Mycenaean merchants or Cypriot merchants coming to Mainland Greece.

7.5 The Greek Mainland and Cyprus

7.5.1 The Earliest Contacts Between the Greek Mainland and Cyprus

In the third millennium BC, small-scale complex societies emerged in some regions of the Greek mainland and the MH culture developed in the first centuries of the second millennium BC. Considering these developments, it is not at all surprising that in the second half of the third millennium mainland Greece became part of the so-called 'Anatolian Trade Network', which has been repeatedly mentioned above. The sporadic presence of Cypriot copper in EH metal artifacts from the Peloponnese indicates that the Cycladic islands probably played a role as an intermediary in the relations between Cyprus and mainland Greece, although Lead Isotope Analysis clearly confirms the absolute prevalence of copper-based artifacts made of copper consistent with the Cycladic isotopic field throughout the Greek mainland (see § 3.3.2). Therefore, even if the mainland was probably involved in Cypriot copper trade only indirectly, Lead Isotope Analysis of finds on Cyprus confirms Cypriot involvement in the earliest trade connections, with an EC III rat-tail dagger having a lead isotope ratio consistent with Lavrion ores and several EC copper artifacts from Lapithos containing copper from either Lavrion or the Cyclades (see § 3.4.2).

7.5.2 Some Changes in the Nature of Connections Between Mainland Greece and Cyprus in Interaction Period 2

Although Crete no doubt played a key role in promoting trade contacts with Cyprus, the earliest evidence for interaction between Cyprus and the Mycenaean world is not to be underestimated, especially if we consider the increasing role of Helladic Greece in the Aegean already in LH IIA, after the Theran eruption (Wiener 2020, 299-301). In this context a few Cypriot imports from mainland Greece dating to Interaction Period 2 deserve comment (see § 4.3.1.2). In this period Cypriot pottery found in the Aegean mainly came from Neopalatial Crete. Apart from problematic vessels from Athens, the list of imports includes a few Base Ring and White Slip examples which were found in rich, elite tombs (the so-called 'Grave Circle' at Mycenae and Tholos III near the Mycenaean palace at Pylos), although it is not clear whether they belonged to LH IIA, i.e. Interaction Period 2, or to LH IIB, i.e. the beginning of Interaction Period 3. A certain imbalance between Crete and mainland Greece can also be noted concerning the trade in oxhide ingots (see § 4.3.2.1). This is well illustrated by the discovery of several ingots in various Cretan sites, while in the

mainland area the only evidence is represented by some complete and fragmentary oxhide ingots found in the sea off the coast of Kyme (Euboea), although they seem indicative of a cargo wreck dating to Interaction Period 2 since they feature a Type 1 shape and their lead composition is consistent with Cypriot copper ore sources. Despite this scarce evidence, it is worth noting that, according to Lead Isotope Analysis, two of the 13 analyzed bronzes from Circle A at Mycenae were made of copper consistent with a Cypriot origin, and as many as 6% of all the MH III-LH II samples from the Peloponnese have a composition consistent with the isotopic field of Cyprus. It is also worth discussing the possible Cypriot origin of some prestige objects since the members of the Mycenaean emerging ruling classes in the Peloponnese used many precious objects to show their high social status (see § 4.3.3). This perspective may therefore explain why some cylinder seals of exotic appearance, clearly considered symbols of power, were part of the burial assemblages of high-status individuals. A case in point is represented by two cylinder seals found in a LH I-II and a LH IIIC context in a tholos tomb at Kasarma in the Argolid, but their possible Cypriot origin is debated, and another sardonyx seal probably of Minoan production showing some Cypriot features was found in a tholos tomb at Routsi in Messenia in association with LH IIA-IIIA finds.

Like in the previous periods, in the spread of Aegean objects to Cyprus the prominent role was, of course, played by Crete which reached the peak of its cultural and commercial development in the Neopalatial period, but some imports from mainland Greece also are of interest. While the suggested strong Mycenaean parallels for the four or five tholos tombs excavated at Enkomi are unsubstantiated because they may simply be considered Cypriot adaptations of foreign, Aegean or Levantine, prototypes (cf. in fact, Keswani 2004, 114-15; Knapp 2013a, 383), the presence of some "Proto-Mycenaean" objects illustrate the variety of the finds especially dating to the late phase of Interaction Period 2. The Mycenaean vessels ascribed to LH IIA were relatively few but they were dispersed in three of the major First Tier towns. They included three alabastra probably containing valued viscous substances, one from Enkomi, Area III, and two from Maroni *Tsaroukkas* (Tombs 3 and 6); a fragmentary cup FS 207 or 237 with lily decoration from Enkomi, British Excavations Tomb 40; a beaked jug with a fine decoration in Alternating Style from Tomb X at Hala Sultan Tekke, which NAA attributes to an Argolid production (Berbati); and a handful of sherds possibly of LH IIA-B date also from Hala Sultan Tekke, which included uncommon Mycenaean shapes such as a LH IIA/IIIA2 conical rhyton with spiral/floral decoration. However, as noted above, the semiglobular cups from funerary contexts at Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* as well as other vessels of debated origin and/or chronology, such as for example the cup with

double axes and lilies decoration in the Kolokassides collection, may be added to this list. Concerning these Early Mycenaean vessels, it can be noted that alabastra probably contained new commodities that had hitherto been unavailable on the island where the local repertoire included many functionally equivalent shapes. These vessels were probably used as containers for viscous substances, similar to their use in Aegean tombs (Mountjoy 1993, 127-8, tab. V; Cavanagh 1998, 36; Gallou 2005, 94-5, 97-8). Since, as noted by Steel (2004b, 73), they "have no parallel within the indigenous Cypriot ceramic repertoire", we can safely suggest that exotic ointments were becoming a widely available Aegean commodity from this period onward, remaining a very common article of trade in Interaction Periods 3 and 4 (77; Graziadio 2011). A significant difference between Aegean and Cypriot contexts containing imported pottery should also be noted. In the Aegean, all the Cypriot imports have been discovered in settlement deposits, with the only possible exception of the Cypriot vessels found in the elite tombs at Pylos, if they belonged to Interaction Period 2. However, it is important to note that on Crete, outside of the Knossos area, tombs of the Neopalatial era (especially LM IA-B) are rare. Contrary to the Aegean evidence, in Interaction Period 2 only a minority of the Aegean semiglobular cups recovered in Cyprus came from settlement deposits, though the pattern is undoubtedly affected by the fact that fewer settlements than tombs dating to this period have been excavated on Cyprus. Even considering this warning, a clear discrepancy is apparent at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* where the settlement levels yielded three semiglobular cups out of the eleven LM IA vessels from the site. Other Aegean semiglobular cups from settlement deposits have been found at Enkomi (Quarter 4E and Area III) and there are other potential examples from settlement deposits at Hala Sultan Tekke among the few sherds of possible LH IIA-B date (Mazzotta, Recht 2015, 60-1 fig. 37). All the other Aegean (Minoan or Mycenaean) cups from Cyprus, mainly of semiglobular shape, have come from funerary contexts. Such is the case for the semiglobular cups found at Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tombs 104 and 105, Palaepaphos *Evreti* Well TE 118 III, and Limassol *Enaerios* Feature 621-VI (which was a complex mortuary feature: Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 48), the four semiglobular cups and the Vapheio cup from Ayia Irini *Paleokastro*, and the semiglobular cup in the Kolokassides Collection.

Turning to prestige items, as repeatedly noted above, it is impossible to establish whether the gold and silver cups from Tombs 92 and 93 at Enkomi were Minoan or Mycenaean artifacts, but their shapes are well paralleled in the precious metal cups from the LH I shaft graves at Mycenae. Another noteworthy find which recalls the finds of the Shaft Grave Period at Mycenae is represented by the Type B sword in the Severis collection since its shape is well paralleled in

the extraordinarily rich graves in Circle A (see § 4.4.2). Therefore, despite the limited number of reciprocally imported objects, the above reviewed evidence, especially the Cypriot sherds found in elite Mycenaean funerary contexts at Pylos (if attributable to Interaction Period 2), the bronzes from Circle A at Mycenae made of Cypriot copper, and the Proto-Mycenaean finds from Cyprus, may suggest a reciprocal exchange among the higher levels of society (also cf. Van Wijngaarden 2007, 461-2). If so, the early contacts between Mainland Greece and Cyprus may be regarded as a harbinger of the close connections between the two worlds that are apparent after the end of the Neopalatial Period in Crete, even if during Interaction Period 2 they probably touched only a limited number of the respective elites.

7.5.3 The Apex of Contacts Between Mainland Greece and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3

In Interaction Period 3, mainland Greece played an increasingly important role in contacts with Cyprus due to the changes in the historical scenery, specifically the development of Mycenaean power in the Aegean. However, if we consider the evidence for Cypro-Mycenaean interaction primarily from a mainland perspective, this phenomenon is relatively limited as suggested by the observation that in mainland Greece imports and exotica attesting to contacts with Cyprus are far fewer in number than imports from the Levant (Van Wijngaarden 2012, 66). More specifically, apart from the Cypriot pottery from funerary contexts found in the Agora at Athens, the evidence from other contexts is problematic (see § 5.3.1.4). For example, the Cypriot vessels found in the Pylos tombs probably were earlier than Interaction Period 3, while a vessel from the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides on the slope of the Areopagus at Athens was considered "enigmatic", albeit probably of Cypriot manufacture. However, the Mycenaean pottery marked after firing according to a Cypriot custom also points to a connection between the Argolid and Cyprus, although in the Aegean marked vessels are comparatively few, show a limited range of shapes, and mostly date to Interaction Period 4. Hirschfeld (1993, 312; 1996) in fact suggested that Cypriot merchants, engaged in pottery exports to Cyprus, traveled to the Argolid, particularly to Tiryns, with the aim of checking Mycenaean pottery for export to Cyprus, and, in Cypriot fashion, marked/incised the vessels to be exported to the Eastern Mediterranean. Concerning other regions of the Peloponnese, while the interpretation of the allegedly "Cypriot" stirrup jars from Achaea is problematic, contacts between northwestern Peloponnese and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 are shown by Mycenaean and local ceramic finds from Cyprus (see § 5.4.4.1; also see below).

Cypriot metal objects occurred rarely in Interaction Period 3 (see § 5.3.2.1). In fact, doubts have been raised over the Cypriot provenance of a LH II carinated bronze bowl from Tholos B at Katarraktis, but there is a leaf-shaped LH IIIA arrowhead from Mygdalia (Patras) that is well paralleled on Cyprus. Moreover, no copper oxhide ingots have been found in Mycenaean contexts of Interaction Period 3, when Lavrion was the predominant copper supplier in the Aegean. Since Cypriot copper has generally been considered the main return good for the Aegean pottery exported to Cyprus, in theory the prevalent use of local copper may explain the limited number of Cypriot imports to mainland Greece. Indeed, Lead Isotope Analysis indicates that there was not a marked difference in the percentage of Cypriot copper in copper-based artifacts from Mycenaean Greece compared with those found in Crete, suggesting that in Interaction Period 3 the limited interest for imported copper was a general phenomenon throughout the Aegean. This is also confirmed by the lack of copper ingots even on Crete in this period and the rarity of foreign bronze objects in the Aegean. The absence of imported Aegean bronzes on Cyprus in LC II (see § 5.4.2) therefore suggests that in this period both Cypriot and Aegean merchandise mainly consisted of other goods.

Despite the limited number of prestige objects mutually exchanged during Interaction Period 3, the presence of Cypriot precious artifacts in high status burials in prominent Peloponnesian sites has no parallel elsewhere in the Aegean and seems to attest to a certain interest, albeit rather occasional, for Cypriot prestige objects by some members of the Mycenaean social elite who were involved in trade connections (see § 5.3.3). Apart from a hematite cylinder seal of uncertain origin from a LH IIB-IIIA1 context in Chamber Tomb 47 at Mycenae, there are two gold rings likely imported from Cyprus in Interaction Period 3, one recovered from the extraordinarily rich tholos tomb of Vapheio in Laconia (early LH IIB) and the other from a chamber tomb at Prosymna, while a faience goblet with stylized relief lotus petals was found associated with a LH IIIA1 burial context in Chamber Tomb 49 at Mycenae. It should therefore be emphasized that the presence of these few Cypriot luxury objects is apparent as early as the LH IIB and LH IIIA1 periods when Mycenaean trade began to replace Minoan trade with Cyprus.

Regarding the precious goods exported from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Aegean, attention must, of course, be paid to the Uluburun shipwreck since great insight into LBA trade in the late fourteenth century BC is offered by its extraordinary cargo. It contained a considerable number of Cypriot copper and tin ingots, glass and cobalt ingots, precious jewelry, metal vessels, ivory, wood, and Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery in addition to many other commodities which

were in great demand.[19] It is difficult to assign a specific home port for this ship, possibly Tell Abu Hawam (Pulak 2008, 299), but at least an intermediate call on Cyprus is very likely during the last voyage of the ship. When the ship sank, it was sailing west of Cyprus apparently heading to the Aegean. The possibility that its final destination was Crete is unlikely since after the final destruction of Knossos in the early LM IIIA2 period this island was probably less attractive for international trade. It is more likely that, after a stop on Rhodes, the ship's final destination was a Mycenaean palace on the mainland, probably Mycenae and/or Tiryns (300; Tartaron 2013, 26). However, the absence of copper oxhide ingots and the rarity of Cypriot precious goods in mainland Greece seems incongruous to the large quantities of metal and precious commodities in the cargo of the ship.

Turning to the evidence for contacts in Interaction Period 3 from the Cypriot perspective, the contrast between the relative scarcity of Cypriot imports to mainland Greece and the tremendous quantity of Mycenaean pottery exported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 is striking, but it should be kept in mind that there was also likely trade in many goods, such as wood, perfumed oils, wine, honey, aromatic herbs, purple, spices, incense, cloths, salted fishes and even animals, which do not leave any clear archaeological traces and were not mentioned in Linear B texts (Knapp 1991, 41; Sauvage 2012, 91, 179). In order to illustrate the dynamics of the connections between mainland Greece and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3, a review of Mycenaean pottery from Cypriot funerary and settlement contexts of this period may also offer some explanation for the appreciation of ceramic imports and the market choices for Aegean vessels related to specific functional categories (see §§ 5.4.1.4-5.4.1.5).

Before discussing this evidence in more detail, it is important to recall that Neutron Activation Analysis of ceramics shows a special relationship existed in Interaction Period 3 between the Argolid and Cyprus. Specifically, the vast majority of LH IIIA and IIIB ceramic imports on Cyprus were produced in the Argolid, with a clear predominance of the so-called Mycenae/Berbati Group and a minority with the Tiryns/Asine signature (Bryan et al. 1997, 40-2, tab. 9; Mommsen, Beier, Åström 2003; Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015). However, the predominance of Mycenae/Berbati Group pottery has also been noted for the Mycenaean pottery imported to many extra-Argive areas including the Dodecanese, although other centers of production on the mainland have also been identified (Marketou et al. 2006, 48-9, 54). Therefore, in theory it is possible that to a certain extent various regions acted as intermediaries in the diffusion of the Argive pottery to Cyprus. In this period, the northwestern Peloponnese also

19 Pulak 1997; 2005a; 2005b; 2008; Yalçin, Pulak, Slotta 2005.

established some important, although ephemeral, contacts with Cyprus. As discussed more in depth in § 5.4.4.1, these connections have not been substantiated by any archaeometric analysis but are based on some morphological and stylistic parallels between the regional Mycenaean pottery of this wide area of the Peloponnese and several Mycenaean vessels imported to Cyprus. It is also important to note that the northwestern Peloponnesian pottery imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 inspired a local production of three-handled jars.

Turning to Mycenaean ceramic imports more specifically, in § 5.4.1.3 the extraordinary importance of Paul Åström's catalog of Mycenaean vessels has been emphasized even half a century after its publication (1972). In fact, Åström listed all the Mycenaean imports known at his time, including nearly all the Mycenaean vessels published from earlier excavations at Enkomi by the British, Swedish, French, and Cypriot missions as well as examples coming from other First Tier towns and other sites. He also cataloged shape by shape many examples generally without exact provenance stored in museums and private collections all over the world. Therefore, generally speaking, his list of any single Mycenaean shape contains a large percentage of unprovenanced vessels as well as items without any reference to the find contexts. For example, in the list of LH IIIA2 amphoroid kraters FS 53, the unprovenanced vessels and kraters without any reference to the find contexts amount to 45% of all the examples of this shape, and there also is a similar percentage (46,6%) of LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 lacking provenance. In general terms, however, this clearly does not invalidate the comparative value of Åström's catalog even today. Figure 5.3 uses the Mycenaean vessels cataloged individually by P. Åström in order to show the percentage distribution of functional categories according to different chronological phases. In this graph, the limited percentage (ca 6% of overall pottery) of LH IIB-IIIA1 vessels clearly contrasts with the percentages of Mycenaean pottery assigned to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB (ca 34% and ca 30% respectively) indicating that there was an increase in Mycenaean pottery from the earlier (LH IIB-IIIA1) to the later (LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB) periods. The Mycenaean vessels of the LH IIIA2 period were clearly predominant in terms of percentage, and this is particularly marked if we consider that, as noted in § 5.4.1.3, many vessels counted in the indistinct LH IIIA2/IIIB phase were imported in the LH IIIA2 period. Figure 5.3 also shows that the main variations throughout Interaction Period 3 occur in all functional categories, while F3 'Storage Vessels' has a perceptible value (ca 1%) only in LH IIIB and vessels of category F4 appear in very low percentages (less than 1%) throughout all periods.

In § 5.4.1.4, the data provided by Åström's catalog have been integrated with the discussion of selected pottery assemblages from other sites excavated after 1972 in various places on the island. As a

result, tables 5.3-5.15 refer both to vessels cataloged by Åström and more recent selected finds containing lists of Mycenaean imported vessels site by site. These lists, therefore, update Åström's work and modify, when necessary, the observations derived from it.

If we begin the review of Mycenaean ceramic imports dating to Interaction Period 3 from the LH IIB-IIIA1 examples, it should be noted that, according to Åström's data processed in figure 5.3, the most common vessels (ca 3% of overall Mycenaean imports) are viscous substance/ointment containers related to the category F2.1, i.e. alabastra FS 84 and 93 and piriform jars FS 28 and 44, while in this period, category F1 amounts to ca 2%. Interestingly, in the latter category a significant proportion of kraters can be noted, amounting to half of the relevant pottery, while all other shapes included only a few pouring and drinking vessels. The small to medium piriform jars FS 31 (category F3), probably also used as containers for liquid or viscous substances, amount to an even smaller percentage (1%). Despite the limited number of LH IIB-IIIA1 items, the examples cataloged by Åström represent a small corpus, although partial, of the early Mycenaean imports to Cyprus, while vessels of this span of time are more scattered among Mycenaean pottery published later than 1972. For these reasons the functional categories of overall LH IIB-IIIA1 pottery resulting from such different sources cannot be compared.

Turning to LH IIIA2 vessels, in the light of tables 5.3-5.15 we can state that they are the most common Mycenaean ceramic finds throughout all the reviewed periods. Mycenaean pottery published later than 1972 also indicates that it is indeed LH IIIA2 pottery that marks the peak in Mycenaean pottery trade on Cyprus. Such a prominence of LH IIIA2 pottery was also underlined by Papadimitriou[20] who stated that

> a considerable increase can be observed in the earlier part of LH IIIA2, to be followed by a real influx in LH IIIA2 *late*-B, perhaps with a small recession in LH IIIB (Papadimitriou 2012, 108)

while Cline (1994, 61) asserted that "Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus reaches a peak in LH IIIA1-2". At Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* the importance of the site as early as the early phases of Interaction Period 3 is illustrated by a LH IIB squat alabastron FS 82 and some LH IIIA1 vessels, including *inter alia* a kylix, a piriform jar, a krater, and possibly another krater, found in well preserved tombs or possibly looted tombs. However, more Mycenaean vessels may be assigned to later phases of Interaction Period 3 (LH IIIA2 and LH

20 Papadimitriou 2012, 108; 2022, 184 fig. 3, where overall Mycenaean pottery of Phase B, Mycenaean Palaces, i.e. LM/LH IIIA2-B period, is counted.

IIIA2-IIIB), as clearly appears from A. South's (1999, 798-9) review of Mycenaean pottery. The funerary evidence relevant to Interaction Period 3 provided by the various excavation campaigns at Hala Sultan Tekke attests to a somewhat gradual increase of Mycenaean pottery from the LH IIB-IIIA to LH IIIA2-IIIB periods. Apart from Tomb 24 at Dromolaxia *Vyzakia*, the LH IIIA1 imports are occasional or in some cases residual finds like in settlement deposits. On the other hand, a marked increase of distinctly LH IIIA2 pottery is apparent in the tombs, but in some features, such as Chamber X (Period 2), Offering Pit V, and Offering Pit B, LH IIIA2-IIIB published vessels are prevalent among Interaction Period 3 imports **[tab. 5.8]**, although these published data are not sufficient to determine the percentage of Mycenaean pottery imported in the LH IIIA2, LH IIIA2/IIIB transition, or LH IIIB periods. The prevalence of LH IIIA2 pottery seems to be even more marked if we consider the question of the pottery attributed to the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB style. In fact, as noted above, many vessels with this heading possibly were actually imported in the LH IIIA2 period, although, admittedly, their undetermined chronology does not allow an effective distinction in the percentage of Mycenaean pottery imported in the LH IIIA2, LH IIIA2/IIIB transition, or LH IIIB periods. However, it is important to recall now that, in Interaction Period 3, LH IIIA2-IIIB vessels have been cataloged both in functional category F1 (F1.1a: fragments of amphoroid kraters; F1.1b: spouted jugs FS 102, small jugs FS 114, narrow-necked jugs FS 120, and globular jug FS 136; F1.1c: semiglobular cups FS 214 and semiglobular cups FS 220) and in category F2 (F2.1: alabastra FS 85, alabastra FS 94, alabastra FS 95; F2.2: stirrup jar 170, stirrup jars FS 171, stirrup jars FS 178, flasks FS 191). Nevertheless, it is clear that the discovery of the vessels of the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB style may have some important implications on the interpretations of general data. For example, the high proportion (ca 17% in general terms) of category F1 among the LH IIIA2-IIIB vessels cataloged by Åström **[fig. 5.3]** may be an antecedent to the wide occurrence of this functional class in LH IIIB, but it is also likely due to the considerable number of vessels, such as shallow cups FS 220 as well as kraters cataloged by Åström under the generic heading "Types 53-5 (Other Amphoroid Kraters, mainly Fragments)". On the other hand, apart from the small globular jugs FS 114 and the low beaked jugs FS 149 (contributing more than 4% to the whole), all the other jugs (FS 102, 120, and 136) and the cups 214 of the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB phase are few if not singletons. The vessels of category F2 also are well represented in this indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB phase (ca 12% of overall Mycenaean pottery), although they are less common than those of category F1 and it is likely that several stirrup jars FS 171 and FS 178 were indeed produced in LH IIIA2. Most of these vessels are viscous substance/ointment containers, i.e. the alabastra FS 84,

85 and 95, while liquid containers are represented by stirrup jars FS 171, FS 178 and globular flask FS 191. The category F3, represented by globular stirrup jars FS 170, have been attributed to the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB phase, but their percentage is small (ca 1% of overall Mycenaean pottery).

Regarding functional categories, it is worth noting that according to Åström's catalog the most appreciated LH IIIA2 vessels from Cyprus were the closed shapes for precious commodities of category F2 (23% of overall Mycenaean imports), which amounted to more than double the 'Fine Tableware' of category F1 **[fig. 5.3]**. In category F2 there were slightly more (ca 13% of the assemblage) containers for precious liquids (sub-category F2.2) than viscous substance/ointment containers of sub-category F2.1 (ca 10% of the assemblage). Common containers of precious liquids were the stirrup jars FS 166 as well as the flasks FS 188, 189 and 190, but vessels of some shapes, such as, for example, the cylindrical stirrup jars FS 184, were almost insignificant in number or are singletons. The substance/ointment containers were generally represented by the small piriform jars FS 45. In sum, in Åström's catalog the vessels related to the fine Mycenaean tableware of category F1 were fewer than those of category F2, amounting to ca 10%. Mixing vessels, such as kraters FS 53 and FS 54 with pictorial decoration, markedly prevailed in category F1 amounting to ca 7%, although such a relatively high proportion of kraters may be partially due to the emphasis in various publications given to the unprovenanced examples in museum collections. Pouring vessels were represented by various types of jugs (FS 113, 134, 139, 142, 151, and 154), but except for the small piriform jugs with cut-away neck FS 134, fewer than 10 examples were documented for each type. The amount of drinking vessels listed by Åström was also limited, being represented by a few kylikes FS 256, 257 and 272, as well as cups FS 225, 230, 246, while drinking/eating vessels of category F1.2 were represented by bowls FS 243 and FS 283.

If we compare these data with post-Åström evidence, it is confirmed that, in several funerary contexts, vessels of category F2 prevailed over other functional categories in several sites. At Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* all the Mycenaean pottery associated with an elite burial in Tomb II, Chamber 4, may also be assigned to functional category F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities'). At Kouklia *Palaepaphos* evidence of contacts with the Aegean is provided by several dispersed tombs in the area (Catling 2020), but the comparative analysis of the pottery found by the Swiss-German excavations shows that in Interaction Period 3 closed shapes were by far more numerous than open shapes, probably implying that the vessels of category F2 (especially stirrup jars, piriform jars, and flasks), and other larger storage vessels were more common than examples of category F1 such as bowls, kylikes and kraters. The same is true

of Kourion *Bamboula* where several Mycenaean kraters are reported, but other vessels of functional category F1 are remarkably few in tombs of Interaction Period 3, therefore contrasting with the number and wider range of vessels (alabastra, piriform jars, stirrup jars, and flasks) that can be assigned to category F2. The list of storage closed vessels is also reinforced by two LH IIIA1 piriform jars FS 31 and two LH IIIA2 stirrup jars of functional category F3, possibly used as containers of valuable commodities. Some Mycenaean vessels relevant to Interaction Period 3 were found in LC tombs and other mortuary features in the Limassol area, including the elite Limassol Tomb 322. The general picture emerging from Karageorghis and Violaris' 2012 publication of Mycenaean pottery shares some features with Kourion *Bamboula*, not only in terms of the ratio between local pottery and imports, but also for the functional categories relevant to Mycenaean ceramic imports, with a predominance of vessels of category F2 over those of category F1, which in the Limassol area, unlike at Kourion, did not include any Pictorial krater. At Hala Sultan Tekke even though the pattern of Mycenaean imported functional categories in funerary contexts is not totally uniform, vessels of category F2, mainly represented by piriform jars, are to a small extent more common than vessels of the other categories.

The functional categories of Mycenaean vessels cataloged by Åström in 1972 and the picture provided by several post-1972 funerary contexts may therefore explain why some scholars (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 153; Papadimitriou 2012, 108; 2022, 186) have emphasized the general prevalence of Mycenaean stirrup jars and piriform jars over imported cups and kraters in funerary contexts of Interaction Period 3, while Steel has emphasized the occurrence of unguent containers inside tombs. She also stated that based on their distribution, which was restricted to a small number of Cypriot elite burials, the Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware vases were regarded as a luxury commodity containing highly valued exotic unguents although, as noted above, their Cypriot origin is not always certain (1998, 294-5; 2004b, 72-3). On the other hand, in her opinion Mycenaean unguent containers were not considered an elite commodity and were available to a wide cross-section of society and the appeal of these vessels for the Cypriot elite was more limited (1998, 295; 2004b, 77). She further suggests that the Mycenaean unguent containers

> were adopted by those members of Cypriot society who chose to emulate the elite but who did not have access to the more highly valued Red Lustrous perfume bottles (1998, 296)

while examples of the sub-category F2.2, such as small stirrup jars and flasks, were more appreciated in Cyprus for their precious contents (scented oils) than for their intrinsic value (286; cf. Cadogan

1993, 93). In the latter case, the increase of these containers matches the contemporary development of production of perfumed oils and wine in Mycenaean palaces (Leonard 1981, 94-100; Papadimitriou 2015, 433 with refs; 2022, 186).

Nevertheless, there are some noticeable exceptions to the pattern of the predominance of category F2 in Interaction Period 3. At Kition, a few Mycenaean vessels dating to Interaction Period 3 were published from Caveaux I-III in Area 1, while the looted chamber Tombs 4+5 mostly produced LC IIC and LH IIIB vessels, in addition to six LH IIIA2 vessels and one example dating to LH IIIA2/IIIB, and a few other Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 3 were found in Lower Burial layer 12 in intact Tomb 9. However, if we consider overall Mycenaean imports from this site listed in table 5.9, the vessels of category F1 slightly exceed those of category F2. At Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* a striking number (14) of Mycenaean kraters with pictorial decoration from rich tombs gives some parallels with Enkomi funerary evidence provided by high-status ceramic assemblages, although the access to these status indicators by the local elite seems to have been more restricted than at Enkomi. At Maroni, the archaeological record also shows additional aspects contrasting with the prevalence of category F2 since in Interaction Period 3 both the tombs recovered by the British Museum in 1897 and the funerary contexts discussed by the *Tsaroukkas*, Mycenaeans and Trade Project produced many more examples of functional category F1 than the other functional categories, especially F2, which, albeit fewer in number, was represented by a variety of vessels. The archaeological record of Hala Sultan Tekke also is interesting from this point of view because, despite the small general prevalence of vessels of category F2 noted above, there are vessels of category F1 in several funerary features of Area A, especially among LH IIIA2/IIIB pottery from Offering Pit V. It should also be pointed out that category F1 from Hala Sultan Tekke included a significant number of Mycenaean Pictorial kraters, indicating that many individuals living at the site adopted the same Mycenaean status indicators as those found in higher rank tombs at other coastal primary towns.

In light of the above review, we can conclude that it is impossible to single out a ratio of Mycenaean containers of different shapes and functions which can be considered sound for all the funerary contexts of Interaction Period 3. This clearly appears from Mycenaean imports of Interaction Period 3 from Enkomi tombs. A broader consideration of this evidence provides a more comprehensive understanding of cultural contexts. Mazzotta's analysis **[tabs 5.14, 5.15]** of selected tombs shows that the number of Mycenaean imported vessels appears generally unrelated to the degree of wealth of the funerary assemblages. Instead, the shapes and functions of the Mycenaean vessels recovered appear more likely to correlate to the social

rank of the buried individuals. This is especially clear when considering LH IIIA pottery from selected tombs [tab. 5.15] combined with contemporary ceramic imports from the remaining Enkomi tombs [tab. 5.3]. This combined data shows a prevalence of examples of functional category F1 ('Fine Tableware'), with a particular occurrence of kraters, which is contrary to the prevalence of vessels category F2 apparent from the other contemporary burial assemblages discussed above, in spite of the fact that Van Wijngaarden noted that the high proportion of dinner vessels from early excavations

> may partly [be] due to a bias in the archaeological data due to the attention paid by early explorers to pictorial kraters. (2002, 184)

If we also consider overall vessels of the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB style listed among the vessels of both category F1 and F2, Mycenaean kraters of sub-category F1.1a not only are around half of overall vessels of category F1 but also markedly prevail over all the other Mycenaean shapes of the period. Even more important is Mazzotta's remark (see § 5.4.1.8) that Pictorial Style amphoroid kraters and a variety of Mycenaean drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c appear in most ceramic assemblages of tombs of group 3, i.e, the selected funerary assemblages showing the highest degree of wealth. This is apparent from many high status indicators associated to kraters confirming that these funerary assemblages belonged to the members of the social elite at Enkomi. Clearly kraters were well appreciated for their fine appearance and were considered social status indicators of great symbolic value. Steel (1998, 293-4) also emphasized the aristocratic connotations of their painted scenes, which suggest that a kind of Mycenaean 'marketing strategy' was reflected by chariot kraters, intended to satisfy the ideological needs of the urban 'sub-elites' (Sherratt 1999, 187-8). Moreover, it is worth noting that these vessels, which were by far more common in Cyprus and the Near East than in the Aegean (Steel 1999, 804), show signs of damage and probably were used for some time in Cypriot settlements before their deposition in tombs (1998, 287 with earlier refs) becoming, in the final stage of their usage, the central elements of many Cypriot drinking services of funerary use (293; 1999; 2004b, 77-8). Contrary to the kraters, Mycenaean small closed shapes for precious viscous and liquid commodities (category F2) were relatively accessible to individuals of different social levels and their use was not restricted to the social elite, although in several ceramic assemblages some imported containers of precious viscous and liquid commodities also were associated with Mycenaean kraters while no local containers of precious viscous and liquid commodities were included in these ceramic assemblages. Although also used by the members of non-elite social groups, in these cases Mycenaean vessels

of category F2 possibly also functioned as means of displaying the participation of their owners in Aegean interactions. Vessels of category F1 also played a further role in Cypriot funerary contexts. As considered previously, Steel (1998, 286-7, 290-2; 2004c, 172) not only discussed the symbolic importance of elaborate drinking sets found in the wealthier LC tombs, but she also emphasized the frequency of local pottery, especially White Slip and Base Ring vessels as part of these services. This patterning clearly suggests that Mycenaean components of drinking sets were often considered luxury imports to be incorporated into local drinking sets. Nevertheless, this does not seem to be the case for all the Mycenaean shapes of category F1 of Interaction Period 3. Even though it was suggested that there was a prevalence of cups among the Mycenaean pottery imported to Cyprus (Papadimitriou 2012, 108 with refs), stemmed cups, for example, are scarce both in Åström's catalog and in Enkomi funerary contexts, while locally made open vessels, especially Base Ring cups, are very common in ceramic assemblages of LBA tombs (Steel 2004b, 78). Such rarity is remarkable because goblets and kylikes were essential elements of funerary drinking services in the Aegean, where they are often found associated with jugs and storage vessels (Graziadio, Pezzi 2013, 71-2 with refs). On Cyprus, Mycenaean pouring vessels also amount to a very small fraction not only of category F1 examples listed by Åström, but also of the selected funerary contexts at Enkomi (72) and the other Interaction Period 3 contexts reviewed in § 5.4.1.4. In these contexts, however, the repertoire of local wares included a wide range of vessels particularly well-suited to this function, as clearly appears from their percentages in the Enkomi tombs selected by Mazzotta and Recht. We can therefore reiterate the statement that

> it is clear that Enkomi inhabitants did not use Mycenaean drinking/eating sets for funerary rituals in their typical Aegean configuration. (74)

Most notably, this is a general phenomenon on the island, as stressed by Steel herself when she wrote, in general terms, that

> once these artifacts move from their indigenous environment to a new cultural setting, they will be attributed new functions and imbued with new meanings (Steel 1998, 285 and fn. 3 with refs; also cf. Stockhammer 2019)

Although representing a less common functional category in LH IIIA2, vessels of category F3 should also be considered since they amount to 1% of overall Mycenaean imports of Interaction Period 3 in Åström's catalog. Relatively few medium and large piriform jars

(FS 34, 35 and 39) are documented in both Åström's catalog and in the funerary contexts dating after 1972 reviewed above in § 5.4.1.4.

Finally, when we turn to the settlement material in more detail, it should be recalled that in § 5.4.1.6 it was repeatedly pointed out that Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 generally is remarkably rare in Cypriot settlement deposits. However, a clear difference between the First Tier settlements and the others, especially those of the Third and Fourth Tiers, is apparent in term of number of Mycenaean ceramic imports of this period. If we consider that in the First Tier settlements Mycenaean pottery generally amounts to not more than 1-2% of all pottery, its percentage becomes almost insignificant in the settlements of lower Tiers (Steel, 2004b, 74). In the Third and Fourth Tier settlement levels, Myceanean pottery becomes very sporadic, especially in Interaction Period 3. It is therefore clear that Mycenaean vessels were mainly (although not exclusively) imported to Cyprus for funerary use. S. Antoniadou (2011, 240-1) noted that the range of Mycenaean shapes found in LC IB-IIIA2 settlement contexts at Enkomi, Kition, Maa, Pyla, Episkopi, Myrtou, and Athienou is mainly represented by dinner and storage pottery, which, in her opinion, included jars, flasks, pyxides and alabastra, in addition to ritual vessels. However, this pattern is particularly apparent in Interaction Period 4, given that most of the pottery scrutinized by her dated to LH IIIB and later periods. Nevertheless, in settlement deposits at Enkomi the cataloged Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 occurred in appreciable numbers, especially in Area I (Level IIA) and Area III (Rooms 142-102), in Level IIA-IIB (Room 5) and in Area III (Fortification Wall, Level IIB, Northeast Casemates). Based on this evidence, the most common vessels were amphoroid kraters, including examples decorated in Pictorial Style, in addition to pouring, drinking and eating/drinking vessels of category F1, although small closed shapes for precious viscous and liquid substances (piriform jars and stirrup jars of sub-categories F2.1 and F2.2) also occurred in the site and large storage/transport vessels of category F3 occurred in all the areas. Category F1 also was predominant in some settlement levels at Hala Sultan Tekke and other sites, such as Myrtou-Pigadhes, Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, at the expense of category F2. However, when some Mycenaean vessels of special value concluded their circulation in life, they were sometimes put in high rank burials (Steel 2004b, 77 with refs). There seems to be some apparent exceptions to the predominance of Mycenaean vessels of category F1 dating to Interaction Period 3 in settlement levels. For example, at Kourion *Bamboula* vessels of category F2 are the most common imports both in tombs and in the settlement, but at this site Mycenaean pottery is only a small fraction of the ceramic finds.

To summarize the above discussion in a few words, while in settlement deposits Mycenaean fine tableware of category F1 was as a

rule predominant, no homogeneous pattern of functional categories is apparent in Cypriot tombs since different functional categories prevailed depending on different sites, although vessels of category F2 prevailed in most sites. Nevertheless, leaving different functional categories out of consideration, a common feature of the major First Tier towns, such as Enkomi, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Kition, is the discovery of Mycenaean Pictorial kraters in several tombs as indicators of high-status burial assemblages, often coupled with other Mycenaean tableware vessels or integrated in drinking sets comprising local components.

If we compare the few prestige objects found in mainland Greece in Interaction Period 3 with those found on Cyprus in the same period, between the two areas there is a little discrepancy in terms of range of goods, which is by far less marked than the discrepancy between Mycenaean Greece and Cyprus in the field of reciprocal imports of pottery. Unlike in the Greek mainland, prestige objects imported to Cyprus included some precious metal vessels, such as gold and silver cups and bowls from British Tombs 66, 92, and 93, Swedish Tomb 17, and French Tomb 2, some of the richest tombs at Enkomi. However, caution is necessary when considering the Aegean vessels found in British Tombs 66, 92 and 93, since, as pointed out in sections 4.4.3.1 and 5.4.3.1, they may have been imported in Interaction Period 2 and handed down over generations before their deposition in funerary assemblages as status indicators of utmost importance. There is no question about the chronology (second half of LC IIA) of the well-known silver bowl with inlaid decoration from French Tomb 2, a real *objet d'art*. Different places of manufacture have been suggested, but based on various arguments this bowl can be considered a Mycenaean import like another silver bowl of similar shape from British T. 66. Turning to jewelry, only in a few cases is it possible to establish whether single jewels from Cypriot tombs were Aegean imports or local varieties imitating Mycenaean types. The list of jewels definitively manufactured in the Aegean only includes two rings with oval engraved bezels from British Tombs 66 and 100 at Enkomi and some gold beads with stamped 'sacral ivy' decoration from the very rich Tomb 11 at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. The evidence for Mycenaean glyptic in Cyprus also is scarce, being limited to only eight seals. Moreover, none of these seals can safely be ascribed to Interaction Period 3, although at least one of three Minoan talismanic seals, from Enkomi Tomb 93, may have been handed down over generations before its deposition in this tomb. As far as the faience objects from Cyprus are concerned, only a few beads and pendants were possibly imported from the Aegean, while the Aegean origin of other faience beads is uncertain. In Cyprus, the appearance of amber beads, likely transported through Mycenaean intermediaries, may be dated to Interaction Period 3, but these objects have rarely

been found in the Eastern Mediterranean, although a few items have been found in elite tombs at Enkomi (Tombs 27, 66 and 67) and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Tomb 11).

Apart from various Mycenaean imports (especially pottery) to Cyprus dating to Interaction Period 3, one of the most interesting aspects of the cultural connections between the Aegean and Cyprus in this period is the appearance on Cyprus of a range of local objects which imitate Mycenaean prototypes or reveal the incorporation of Aegean elements in the production of eclectic prestige artifacts (see § 5.4.4). Since this phenomenon clearly depends on the imported models, it is not surprising that some of the most common Mycenaean ceramic shapes inspired the production of Mycenaean-type products. The adoption of singular shapes, such as piriform jars, alabastra, and amphoroid kraters, from the Aegean repertoire can be seen in Base Ring, White Slip and Plain White Wheelmade wares, but this is a limited phenomenon. On the contrary, a more common Mycenaean-type pottery is represented by a new category, although rather ephemeral, of vessels inspired by some Mycenaean piriform jars from the northwestern Peloponnese (Achaea, Elis and Messenia), namely the three-handled jars showing common features in fabric, shape, and decoration; they have been discussed in detail in § 5.4.4.1. Found in several LC IIA and B funerary contexts, they appear as supplementary or alternative funerary goods to the LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 prototypes. Some stone vessels dating to Interaction Period 3 from Enkomi tombs and other sites can also be added as examples characterized by shapes (alabastra and piriform jars) derived from the ceramic Mycenaean repertoire. On the other hand, the origin of some faience and small glass stirrup jars from Enkomi is more uncertain, although their shape was ultimately inspired by Mycenaean pottery.

The Aegean influence, however, is not limited to the field of pottery and other related crafts, but it can interestingly also be traced to other finds of Interaction Period 3, indicating a penetration of Aegean elements into the local repertoire of prestige objects (see § 5.4.4.2). Most of them consist of jewelry made on Cyprus and added to other status indicators as displays of rank for members of the local elite. In particular, some locally made gold beads and necklace spacers are so similar in appearance to the Aegean examples that they have sometimes been regarded as imports from the Aegean (also see § 5.4.3.2). Such is especially the case of gold beads and necklace spacers in the shape of a 'figure-of-eight shield', gold beads featuring 'grains of wheat', and the amigdaloid beads in various semi-precious stones pierced through their longitudinal axis. The case of some diadems is to a certain extent different because they are characterized by a shape typical of a category of funerary ornaments of local tradition that occur on Cyprus as early as the beginning of the LBA, but these shapes combined with decorations, including elements, such as the

'grains of wheat', the 'figure-of-eight shield' motif, and S-spirals (or double spirals), that have been adopted from the Aegean decorative repertoire. A similar phenomenon can be seen on the glyptic where cylinder seals of local production show some Aegean iconographic details in the incised decoration, commonly also associated with local and Oriental iconographies. In this connection, it should be recalled that the appearance of Aegean elements in the cylinder seals of the so-called 'Cypro-Aegean' group can already be assigned to Interaction Period 3. To conclude the review of Cypriot elite prestige objects showing a combination of local and Aegean elements, it should be emphasized that they may be considered the earliest expressions of the hybridization process which mainly characterizes the Cypriot culture in the following Interaction Period 4 and in later periods.

7.5.4 The Changing Evidence of Contacts Between Mainland Greece and Cyprus in Interaction Period 4

As apparent from the above discussion about trade dynamics and connections between Greece and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3, a striking feature of the archaeological evidence of the period is the marked disproportion between the limited number of Cypriot artifacts found in mainland Greece and the large quantity of Mycenaean objects, especially pottery, imported to Cyprus (see above; also cf. Papadimitriou 2015, 425, tab. 3, 432; in order to compare amounts of reciprocal imports in this period, also cf. Cline 1994, 15, tab. 5, fig. 4 and 64, tab. 37). This is also a feature of Interaction Period 4, but in this period the archaeological record shows some important changes from the earlier Interaction Period 3, both from the Mycenaean and Cypriot perspectives. In the Argolid, several major LH IIIB sites, such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Kandia, Asine, and Dendra provided evidence of contacts with Cyprus, possibly via the harbor at Tiryns. The repertoire of ceramic finds attesting to contacts with Cyprus from these sites is varied, including White Slip, White Shaved, terracotta wall brackets, Mycenaean pottery with incised Cypro-Minoan signs after firing, and possibly Base Rings. It should also be pointed out that scattered finds have been recorded from island sites such as Kolonna on Aegina (White Slip II) and Kanakia on Salamina (metal and ceramic objects), while some Mycenaean vessels allegedly regarded as Cypriot imports from northwest Peloponnese likely were of local production. In this scenario, however, Tiryns should be attributed with a major role in the interactions with Cyprus. Apart from the wide variety of Cypriot wares found in this center, which in theory might simply be indicative of close trade connections, the discovery of a group of terracotta wall brackets in LH IIIB Middle to LH IIIC Early stratified deposits was said to support this suggestion,

particularly because some wall brackets of local and Cypriot origins were associated with a metallurgical workshop area in a LH IIIB Middle building. Moreover, the discovery of several Mycenaean vessels and imported pottery marked after firing with Cypro-Minoan or similar signs has been considered another clue pointing to the same conclusions since this is a Cypriot practice. According to some scholars, based on this evidence it is possible that a small number of individuals native to Cyprus were resident during Interaction Period 4 in this palatial center that also acted as one of the most important harbors of the thirteenth century BC in the Eastern Mediterranean (Papadopoulos 2022, 239, 245).[21] It has even been suggested that there was direct trade between Tiryns and Cyprus given the absence of Mycenaean vessels bearing incised marks on Rhodes or at other sites located on the likely route connecting the Aegean with Cyprus (Hirschfeld 1993, 315; Jung 2015, 252). Since Cypriot and Levantine objects continued to occur at Tiryns in settlement contexts of the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town North in the LH IIIC period, contacts with Cyprus were clearly not interrupted after the end of the Mycenaean Palatial Period.

Other interesting peculiarities of Interaction Period 4 include the renewal of trade in oxhide ingots and the increased importance of the Argolid in Cypriot copper trade, in contrast with the striking dearth of ingots in Interaction Period 3 Aegean contexts. The findspots of these oxhide ingots at Mycenae and Tiryns, two of the main Mycenaean palatial centers, must be underlined since they indicate that copper trade with the Argolid superseded the earlier prominence of Crete, where in Interaction Period 4, ingot fragments were only found in the harbor town of Kommos. Moreover, while some examples from Aegina, Athens and Thebes have been considered problematic, an oxhide ingot fragment from Salamina island, albeit without context, may be assigned to the thirteenth century BC based on the occurrence of other Cypriot finds at the Salaminian site of Kanakia. Concerning other bronze finds, some LH III bronze artifacts from various sites (Poros Wall Hoard at Mycenae, Menidi, the Acropolis at Athens, and Perati) were made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores, despite the fact that the main source of copper used in the Aegean in this period was Lavrion.

The change in the direction of Cypriot contacts from Crete to mainland Greece is also suggested by the distribution of prestige objects of high symbolic value. In this context, particular importance may be assigned to the Cypriot seals (including nine examples made of lapis lazuli) found at the site of Kadmeion at Thebes, a well-known

21 Note however that, according to Bernard Knapp (pers. comm. 3 May 2023), the prominence of Cypriot material at Tiryns in no way suggests a Cypriot presence there.

prominent Mycenaean palace, along with a significant number of Mesopotamian, Mitannian, Hittites, and Kassites seals of various chronologies. However, the Cypriot examples cannot be clearly put in the general context of Cypriot 'Elaborate Style' seals imported in this period, since in the list of these seals from mainland sites, including Mycenae, there are several examples that possibly date later than Interaction Period 4 or cannot be precisely dated. The same is unfortunately true of seals from the funerary contexts in the Dodecanese. The importance of other prestige objects such as faience and ivory artifacts also cannot be properly evaluated due to their rarity in Interaction Period 4 or to uncertain chronology. Turning to different finds of Cypriot/Near Eastern appearance, two large conical spindle-whorls of black steatite with elaborate incised decoration from Kanakia, Salamina as well as other similar stone spindle-whorls are reported from Tiryns and Aegina, while some three-footed or ring-base stone mortars from the Aegean including LH IIIB examples are of uncertain interpretation since they were considered of "Syro-Palestinian (Cyprus)" or "possibly Cretan or Theran production" (Cline 1994, 241 nos 975-8, 242 nos 986-8; also see § 6.3.4).

To summarize, considering this evidence on the whole, an impression arises that on the Greek mainland Interaction Period 4 was a time of burgeoning contacts with Cyprus. A ship of likely Cypriot origin transporting pottery (Cypriot pithoi and LH and LM IIIB2 vessels) that sank at Cape Iria in the Argolid Gulf in ca 1200 BC[22] highlights what may be the role of Cypriots in this trade. Although not definitively related with Cypriot trade to the Aegean, another ship which sank near Cape Gelidonya in Turkey was transporting specialized cargo, including copper ingots and many metal artifacts (Bass 1967). Moreover, despite many problematic aspects, the possibility that, in addition to Tiryns, some people native to Cyprus were resident at Mycenaean centers during the thirteenth century BC should be also discussed. It is well known that the term *Ku-pi-ri-jo* appears in Linear B texts from Pylos,[23] but it is not clear whether it refers to a personal name corresponding to the Greek κύπριος or to an ethnic adjective referring to **kupros* (i.e. 'Cyprus'), a name unattested elsewhere (Graziadio 2019, 25 with refs). Some Pylian tablets refer to metals and their working, and texts of the Jn series contain lists of materials and craftsmen, including bronze workers. In these texts one bronze worker was named *Ku-pi-ri-jo* (Cline 2007, 199; Knapp 2008, 305 with refs), which might be of particular importance considering the links between Cyprus and metallurgy.

22 Phelps, Lolos, Vichos 1999; Lolos 1999; 2001; 2003; 2005.

23 Cf. for example Cline 1994, 60-1; Shelmerdine 1998, 295-6; Knapp 2008, 303-7; Papadopoulos 2022, 244.

However, two shepherds and a prominent official of the Pylian state were also named *Ku-pi-ri-o*, so the uncertain meaning of this term makes this philological evidence inadequate for proving that Cypriot people were living and working in the Pylos area during the Mycenaean Palatial Period.

Turning to the evidence from Cyprus, some differences can be emphasized between Interaction Periods 3 and 4 in the dynamics of Aegean pottery trade. Beginning with the connections between Crete and Cyprus, in Interaction Period 4 the few Cypriot imports to Crete apparently suggest that contact was limited between the two islands. This contrasts with the increased quantity of Cypriot imports to Mainland Greece. The decrease in Cypriot imports to Crete is not at all surprising because in the thirteenth century BC the Mycenaeans had already superseded the Minoans in trade with Cyprus. Instead, if compared to Interaction Period 3, what is rather surprising is the marked increase in LM IIIB ceramic imports to Cyprus in Interaction Period 4, when LM IIIB pottery became the overwhelming majority (about 79%) of overall Minoan ceramic finds from Cyprus throughout the Bronze Age, even though in general terms Minoan pottery amounted to a very limited percentage of the overall Aegean imports to the island.

A different pattern is apparent from the Mycenaean pottery imported to Cyprus. Having distinguished the Mycenaean pottery dating to the fourteenth century from imports belonging to the thirteenth century, in the present study (§ 7.5.3) it has been noted that

> it is indeed the LH IIIA2 pottery that marks the peak in Mycenaean pottery trade on Cyprus at least during Interaction Period 3

while a decrease of LH IIIB imports has been noted by several scholars including Steel (1998, 287 with refs), Antoniadou (2007, 497), Cline (2007, 191, 196), Jung (2011a, 61 with refs; 2015, 250-1), Knapp (2012b, 36; 2013, 462) and Papadimitriou (Papadimitriou 2015, 434). In this regard, it is also important to note that the burial and settlement evidence at Hala Sultan Tekke attests to a decrease in LH IIIB imports from the second half of the thirteenth century BC (cf. for example, Fischer 2023, 12-13) and in this site Aegean imports probably ceased at the end of LC IIC (Fischer, Bürge 2018b, 613). The reasons for this apparent reduction of Mycenaean imports on Cyprus and even on Rhodes during the LC IIC period (Sherratt 1999, 184; 2001, 224) have often been identified in the Aegean context from the middle of LH IIIB, when troubles began on the Greek mainland, to the end of the Mycenaean palatial economic structure (Dickinson 2006, 41-2; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 190). Therefore, a breakdown of the earlier system of interconnected circuits and a decline of overseas communications in the second half of the thirteenth century have frequently

been suggested, although different interpretations have been also proposed. In fact, contrary to the general assumption of a decline of contacts between the Mycenaean world and the Eastern Mediterranean in the second half of the thirteenth century BC, in light of the evidence from Tiryns, according to J. Maran and other scholars, trade connections and shared practices were maintained between this Mycenaean center and Cyprus in LH IIIB2 (Vetters 2011, 27 fn. 140 with refs).[24] Whatever was the cause of the decrease of LH IIIB2 imports to Cyprus, this fall can be considered contemporary with the beginning of the production of a local Aegean-type pottery including local versions of several imported Mycenaean shapes (Mountjoy 2015, 533, 536; 2020, 178). However, as discussed in § 6.4.2.4, despite the very few LH IIIB2 vessels mentioned as imports to Cyprus in the past (Sherratt 1991, 193 with refs), it should now be admitted that there was a reduction, not a break, in import of Mycenaean pottery in late LC IIC since recent research confirms the presence of LH IIIB2 imports in LC IIC Late contexts. This is the case of a certain number of 'Levanto-Helladic' vessels dating to LH IIIB2 imported to several Cypriot sites such as Enkomi, Kition, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni and Hala Sultan Tekke (see § 6.4.2.4 fn. 38). At least some of these 'Levanto-Helladic' shapes probably remained in use as late as LC IIC Final which correlates with LH IIIC Early 1, a period later than the destructions in the Argolid at the end of LH IIIB2 Late, as also suggested by the discovery of the LH IIIC Early 1 deep bowls in the LC IIC Final contexts at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and the identification of some Mycenaean imports from the Argolid in Enkomi settlement deposits dating to Phase IIB (LH IIIB-LH IIIC Early 1 in Mycenaean terms) (see §§ 6.1, 6.4.2.2).

Regarding functional categories, some differences between Interaction Period 3 and Interaction Period 4 also exist in terms of functions. Concerning the pottery of Interaction Period 3 from Cyprus (see §§ 5.4.1.4, 7.5.3) **[fig. 5.3]**, the range of LH IIIA vessels cataloged shape by shape by Åström in 1972 and complementary Mycenaean pottery published after Åström's catalog from some funerary contexts, such as Tomb II, Chamber 4, at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, some tombs at Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, Kourion *Bamboula*, Limassol area, and many tombs at Hala Sultan Tekke, apparently suggest that the most appreciated LH IIIA2 vessels in Cypriot funerary

24 It is worth noting that Maran (2009, 246 fn. 29) suggested that the marked decrease in the export of Mycenaean pottery after the middle of the thirteenth century was probably due to the shifts in the interest for this pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean, and Jung (2015, 251) has also regarded the general decline in trading activities between Mycenaean Greece/the Argolid and Cyprus, as well as with the Levantine coast, during LH IIIB Developed and LH IIIB Final as an outdated interpretation, being instead inclined to attribute the end of the export-oriented pottery production in the Argolid to internal developments in this region.

assemblages were the closed shapes for precious commodities of category F2, particularly piriform jars, stirrup jars, and flasks. However, this is not the case of LH IIIA pottery from Enkomi tombs **[tab. 5.3]** including the selected tombs **[tab. 5.15]**, since there was a prevalence of examples of functional category F1 ('Fine Tableware') among the ceramic imports found in funerary contexts at this site where a particular occurrence of kraters can indeed be noted, especially in the richest Enkomi tombs. A similar situation also is apparent in some funerary contexts at other First Tier sites, such as, for example, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni, Kition, and in some deposits at Hala Sultan Tekke such as Offering Pit V. The main inference, therefore, is that in funerary contexts of Interaction Period 3 the ratio of Mycenaean vessels of different shapes and functions is not uniform while it may vary according to sites and the social rank of the buried individuals. On the contrary, according to Åström's catalog itself, in Interaction Period 4 most Mycenaean pottery from funerary contexts is from functional category F1, 'Fine Tableware', with frequent components from drinking sets, especially kraters FS 9, FS 55 and bell kraters FS 281, as well as jugs of sub-category F1.1b (FS 110, 116, 118, 136, 139), in addition to cups, bowls and stemmed bowls of sub-category F1.1c, which are however less common than kraters (also cf. Thomas 2005; Stockhammer 2011, for LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early drinking ceremonies). The vessels of functional category F2, including small piriform jars FS 48, small squat stirrup jars FS 180, conical stirrup jars FS 182 and globular stirrup jars FS 183, instead amount to about half of the vessels of category F1 **[fig. 5.3]**. The updated review of overall Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 4 from Cyprus confirms that, with the exception of the Limassol area, the most common ceramic import in this period was dinnerware, namely vessels for mixing, drinking and pouring liquids such as kraters, juglets, cups, and kylikes, as well as vessels for drinking/eating, i.e. shallow bowls FS 296 of sub-category F1.2 (also cf. Jung 2015, 247 fig. 4, for type statistics of Mycenaean open vessels in Enkomi Level IIB, corresponding to LH IIIB Developed-LH IIIC Early 1 in mainland Greek terms). It is also important to underline that in Enkomi tombs, in Interaction Period 4, vessels of category F1 are by far more numerous than those of category F2 **[tabs 5.15, 6.2]** and kraters of sub-category F1.1a are rather common. In the Near East, amphoroid kraters have been interpreted as vessels for presentation and perhaps for mixing liquids that were probably used during banquets by members of the Levantine social elite (Jung 2015, 259-60). Moreover, as also appears from Interaction Period 3 evidence, in Cypriot tombs they should generally be interpreted as status indicators

of the highest social class.[25] Furthermore, in his discussion on the evidence from selected Enkomi tombs, Mazzotta regarded this recurrent link as a distinctive feature of his tomb group 3, which included tombs showing a remarkably high degree of wealth, clearly apparent from many status indicators associated with specific sets of wares and shapes (see § 5.4.1.8). Concerning this evidence, despite the troubles afflicting mainland Greece in the second half of the thirteenth century, in this period the presence of Mycenaean kraters in Swedish Tomb 19 and especially in Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi and other important coastal sites suggests that on Cyprus they continued to be considered vessels of a noticeable importance for the composition of funerary ceramic assemblages, although they were less popular than in the preceding periods. In general, the demand for Mycenaean vessels of category F1 ('Fine Tableware') selected for funerary use evidently continued the deep-rooted tradition of elaborate drinking sets at First Tier sites since this was a well-established pattern of elite behavior (Steel 1998, 290-2; 2002, 109-11; also cf. Van Wijngaarden 2002, 193). However, a tendency to use more local kraters than Aegean imports can also be noted since in Swedish Tomb 19 Plain White Wheelmade kraters and some local imitations of Mycenaean amphoroid kraters prevailed on Mycenaean examples amounting to 75% of category F1.1a; a similar pattern can also be seen in Cypriot Tomb 10 where kraters are almost completely represented by Plain White Wheelmade examples amounting to 88% of category F1.1a (see § 5.4.1.8) **[figs 5.10: B, 5.11: B]**.

As far the 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' of category F2 are concerned, Bushnell (2012, 198-203) stated that perfumed oil may not have been a Mycenaean tradition until the start of LH IIIA2, while Cyprus had an earlier and more deeply rooted tradition in its production, as demonstrated by the wide variety of local juglets used for local perfumed oils from LC IA onward. Moreover, according to Steel (1998, 295; 2004b, 77) the appeal of Mycenaean unguent and perfumed oil containers for Cypriot elite was limited since they were not considered an elite commodity of restricted use being available to a wide cross-section of society. This is particularly apparent in Interaction Period 3 since, as discussed above, according to Åström's catalog the small vessels of category F2 were by far the most common Mycenaean imports dating to LH IIIA2 (Interaction Period 3), amounting to 23% of overall Mycenaean imports. On the contrary, in Åström's catalog LH IIIB vessels of the same category only amounted to 8% **[fig. 5.3]**. The comparison between the LH IIIA and LH IIIB vessels of category F2 from Enkomi tombs listed in table 5.3 and table

25 Also cf. Van Wijngaarden 2002, 194-6; Keswani 2004, 126; Feldman, Sauvage 2010, 95-9, 106; Jung 2015, 261-3 with refs.

6.2 makes clear such reduction in the number of Mycenaean vessels of this category in Interaction Period 4, especially concerning those of sub-category F2.1 ('Containers for Viscous Substances') since LH IIIA piriform jars FS 44 and especially FS 45 are by far more than LH IIIB piriform jars FS 48. On the other hand, the discrepancy between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB small stirrup jars of sub-category F2.2 ('Containers for Liquid Substances') seemingly is less marked and some tombs such as Swedish Tombs 11 and 18, produced small Mycenaean stirrup jars dating to LH IIIB **[tab. 5.15]**, suggesting that Mycenaean small stirrup jars continued to be relatively used in LC IIC, especially for funerary use, more than alabastra and piriform jars. However, it should be considered that in Interaction Period 4 an appreciable number of containers for liquid substances was imported from Crete and possibly imitated locally in the context of the revival of Minoan trade following the decrease apparent in Interaction Period 3. These LM IIIB small stirrup jars have been found in several tombs at Enkomi (British Tombs 48, 66, 83, British excavations: unknown tomb number, French Tomb 5, Cypriot Tomb 10, Swedish Tomb 19) and elsewhere on the island (Akhera, Arpera *Ayios* Andronikos, Idalion, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke and Pyla Kokkinokremos as well as some unprovenanced examples) but in addition to these vessels (Graziadio 2011, 90-1, 92, tab. 1: Group B) **[tab. 6.1]**, Enkomi tombs produced even more conical, biconical and squat small stirrup jars exclusively decorated with even bands on the body. In theory, they may be added to the list of LM IIIB imports to Cyprus (91-3, tab. 1: Group C), but the possibility that all (or some) of them were local imitations of Minoan vessels cannot alternatively be ruled out as a consequence of the lack of scientific analysis. It should also be pointed out that in some funerary assemblages, such that of Swedish Tomb 19, both Mycenaean and Minoan small stirrup jars dating to Interaction Period 4 coexisted **[tabs 5.15, 6.1]**, and it is also important to note that in this period Aegean imports related to categories F2.1 and F2.2 were supplemented by many local vessels, including the more highly valued Red Lustrous Wheelmade bottles taking part of high status funerary assemblages.[26] An exception to the general pattern is provided by the LH IIIB vessels from unknown Cypriot contexts which are stored in public museums and private collections all over the world since the cataloged stirrup jars of various shapes of functional category F2.2 are predominant in table 6.11.

In comparison with the evidence from Interaction Period 4 funerary assemblages, the social value of Mycenaean pottery indeed seems more fluid in contemporary domestic contexts. Antoniadou (2005, 72

26 For example, in Tomb S 19 at Enkomi local vessels amounted to 57% of all the examples of sub-category F2.2 **[fig. 5.11: B]**, while in Tomb S 18 Mycenaean vessels of the same functional sub-category amounted to 58% **[fig. 5.18: B]**.

fig. 9.4: a) reported that in Area III, Level IIB (corresponding to LH IIIB Developed- LH IIIC Early 1 in Aegean terms), Mycenaean pottery amounted to 30% of ceramic finds, although in these contexts local Cypriot pottery was more than double Mycenaean-type vessels (also see § 6.4.2.1). Instead, in Level IIB in Area I, the number of Mycenaean imports amounted to 50% of total ceramic finds, being "marginally greater than local Cypriot pottery", and indicates that "the imported Mycenaean pottery in Area I was as frequently used as the local pottery" (Antoniadou 2005, 72-3, fig. 9.4: b; also cf. Antoniadou 2003, 77 fig. 39). Considering the diffusion of Mycenaean pottery in all domestic, industrial and craft-working contexts, Antoniadou (2005, 74, 75; 2007, 495-6; 2011, 243) has consequently stated that, unlike the earlier periods, in LC IIC at Enkomi IIB Mycenaean pottery was not regarded as "an object of prestige or as an item of restricted use in everyday life" (Antoniadou 2003, 99-100). We can admit that, generally speaking, the pattern of Mycenaean imports at Enkomi was very different from other sites, but it should be pointed out that in LC IIC the high proportions of Mycenaean imports in some settlement deposits at Enkomi (especially in Area I) markedly contrast with the low percentages of Mycenaean pottery in domestic contexts of Interaction Period 4 at other First Tier towns. At Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, the LH IIIB pottery found in domestic or settlement contexts amounts to 1-2% (if not less than 1%) of the thin-walled sherds, being greatly outnumbered by local wares (South, Russell 1993, 303; Steel 2004b, 74). At Hala Sultan Tekke, in an earlier preliminary review of Mycenaean imports it was stated that the number of LH IIIB imports only amounted to 8% of Mycenaean pottery from Stratum 2 and 19% from Stratum 1 (Mazzotta, Trecarichi 2014, 92 figs 37-8), while a lower percentage (approximately 1-2%) of Mycenaean imports from settlement deposits has been noted in more recent publications (Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 211; also Fischer 2019b, 218 fn. 38; Fischer, Bürge 2018b, 255-7). As appears from the review of the evidence of Interaction Period 4 pottery from the other Cypriot sites (see § 6.4.2.2), in Second Tier settlements the contrast between the overwhelming majority of local pottery over Mycenaean imports is even more marked. The scarcity of Aegean imports can be noted in Period I, Floor II, at Maa *Paleokastro* dating to the end of the LC IIC-LC IIIA (Antoniadou 2003, 123, 127-8; Mountjoy 2018, 851), and at Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, like at Maa, the bulk of pottery from LC IIC-IIIA deposits was Plain White ware and the White Painted Wheelmade III vessels were the majority of finewares (Georgiou 2012b, 73-4). The number of imports of Interaction Period 4 cataloged from all the sites, although relatively uneven, is limited **[tab. 6.10]** and it is worth noting that this is also true for sanctuary sites of the Third Tier such as Athienou and Myrtou *Pigadhes*, although several LH IIIB and LM IIIB vessels, associated with LH IIIC, were found in certain deposits at Myrtou (Antoniadou

2003, 138 with refs, 140 and tab. 351). At Apliki *Karamallos*, a mining site classified as a Fourth Tier site by Knapp (2013, 355 fig. 95), there was a certain variety of Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 especially of functional category F1 and at Aredhiou *Vouppes*, where the main phase of occupation also dates to the LC IIC period, a few Aegean imports suggest that "the site was also intrinsically integrated within a wider economic network with the coastal centers" (Steel 2016a, 517; also see discussion in § 5.4.1.6). Therefore, we can share the suggestion that

> the limited repertoire of imported Mycenaean vessels in secondary and tertiary sites might be partly a result of the relationship between local elites and urban sites and of the local network exchange, but it is also a consequence of the limitations of the material. (Antoniadou 2007, 496)

Turning to the range of shapes of Mycenaean vessels from settlement deposits of Interaction Period 4, it should be noted that, like in some funerary contexts, in Level IIB at Enkomi, both amphoroid kraters FS 54/55 and open kraters FS 8/9 and FS 281/282 occurred in perceptible numbers among table ceramics (Jung 2015, 247-8, fig. 4; also see below). Indeed, Van Wijngaarden also mentioned some Pictorial vessels found in settlement deposits at this town stating that

> it seems that vessels with pictorial decoration were not restricted to certain social groups or to specific activities. In non-funerary situations, these vessels do not seem to have served in strategies of consumptive display. (2002, 149-50)

An appreciable number of vessels of category F1 is also apparent in Areas I and II at Kition **[tab. 6.8]** where it was noted that in LC IIC levels of Area II

> eating and drinking vessels are used for everyday as well as for ritual activities, whereas the conical rhyton and the chalice (kylix) are exclusively associated with ritual contexts. (Antoniadou 2003, 112)

In other LC IIC settlement deposits, such as those found in Building X at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, several shallow bowls FS 296 of subcategory F1.2 were associated with elite feasting ceremonies (Van Wijngarden 2002, 193 with refs). Although the evidence from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and some Second and Third Tier sites such as Apliki and Athienou has been considered indicative of a "relatively wide dispersal of Mycenaean drinking vessels" in LC IIC (193-4), it is also worth stressing the discovery of a comparatively considerable number of Mycenaean kraters FS 55 and FS 281 at Pyla *Kokkinokremos*

along with Minoan kraters, a rather exceptional phenomenon in LC IIC settlement deposits in sites of non-urban character [tab. 6.9]. In fact, another interesting phenomenon of the period which must also be taken into account is the contemporary diffusion of LM IIIB amphoroid kraters in various sites as an indicator of the revitalized Minoan trade (see above). This revival of Minoan trade, contrary to the general decline in Mycenaean imports to Cyprus, can probably also be related to the fact that during the long LM IIIB period Crete was not affected by as much destruction as the Greek mainland but by constantly changing settlement patterns indicated by abandonments (Langohr 2017; Rutter 2022, 222-3, tab. 1) which did not interfere with trade with Cyprus.[27]

In summary, considering the funerary evidence compared to settlement finds, on Cyprus the symbolic value of Mycenaean ceramic imports in Interaction Period 4 seems to have varied at a certain extent, according to finds from different sites, the nature (tombs or settlement) of find contexts, the place of deposition within the site as well as the repertoire of Mycenaean vessels. In this context the case of Enkomi therefore seems to be even more exceptional.

Despite the close connections between the Mycenaean world and Cyprus in the field of pottery, in Interaction Period 4 there are comparatively few other Aegean imports providing further evidence of contacts. Provenance analyses suggest that two oval bun silver ingots from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* were made of silver from Lavrion, but it is not clear whether the two ingots were imported from the Mycenaean world or whether silver was imported by Cypriot or Mycenaean traders as a raw material. In LC IIC there was an increase in local copper production and Cypriot copper commercial activities (Kassianidou 2012, 131-4; Papasavvas 2012, 117, 119-20; Sabatini 2016, 26, 29, 49 with refs), possibly explaining why few imported bronze artifacts were found in Enkomi tombs. These finds included a jug, two bronze vessels, a mirror, and some pieces of military equipment, including greaves and helmets. However, Jung (2009, 77) stated that new weapons such as socketed spears with cast socket and greaves with S-shaped wire fittings arrived on Cyprus from Italy at the end of LC IIC Late together with the first Naue II type swords, although he admitted that, based on the available evidence, it is impossible to establish whether the new weapon technology of Italian origin

> was transferred to Cyprus via the south-eastern Aegean regions, or if it arrived directly from the Mycenaean centres in the Peloponnese. (82)

27 I wish to thank Jeremy Rutter for reminding this possible explanation in a private communication.

In this connection, the so-called Handmade Burnished Ware should also be mentioned because of its appearance over a vast area from the Central Mediterranean and southeast Europe to the Levant, including Cyprus, and the connections between the Italian *ceramica d'impasto* and Handmade Burnished Ware found in Mycenaean Greece, but it is worth emphasizing that, on Cyprus, it appeared in LC IIIA, i.e. the Mycenaean postpalatial period, and there are still some unsolved problems concerning this pottery.[28]

Other Aegean prestige objects also are uncommon (see § 6.4.4.2). The silver bowl from British Tomb 66 at Enkomi already interpreted as an Aegean artifact of Interaction Period 3 (see § 5.4.3.1) alternatively may be the only precious container imported in Interaction Period 4. In funerary contexts of this period personal ornaments of Aegean appearance also are few and represent a clear minority of the total jewelry produced on Cyprus. Moreover, the above discussion has shown that there are various problems concerning the origin and chronology of single jewels from Cypriot tombs. While Antoniadou (2007, 490) rightly remarked that "most jewelry items were found in LC IIIA1, but primarily in LC IIIA2 contexts", special attention can be devoted to two finger rings from Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi, which, based on their Aegean parallels, have been considered imports dating to the LC IIC Final period; two gold finger rings from the wealthy British Tomb 66 and Tomb 100 at Enkomi possibly also belonged to Interaction Period 4 (see § 5.4.3.2). Turning to the beads of Interaction Period 4, an Aegean origin may only be suggested for some examples above reviewed. Although the main use of seals on Cyprus was in LC IIC, the Aegean seals dating to Interaction Period 4 are very few. The majority of seals dating to this period were of local production, while most of the foreign seals found on the island were of Near Eastern origin and this influence was predominant on Cypriot glyptic. For these reasons the seals of the so-called 'Cypro-Aegean' style discussed above must be considered 'hybridized' examples because they show a mixture of elements, with Aegean origin, Near Eastern characteristics, and Cypriot components. Ivory was imported to Cyprus as a raw material from Syria or Egypt, and locally carved ivories rarely occurred in Late Cypriot IIC-IIIA settlement contexts, although there is evidence for local ivory working in LC IIC. While the Aegean influence is apparent on some ivory objects of local production from funerary assemblages, the number of ivory artifacts imported from the Aegean is limited even in Enkomi tombs. The ivory head of a man wearing a boar's tusk helmet and a few other objects of possible Aegean origin (two ivory combs and a pyxis) from Enkomi may be attributed to Interaction Period 4. At

28 Karageorghis 1986; Pilides 1991; 1994; Jung 2009, 78.

this site, British Tomb 75 also produced a small ivory mirror-handle carved with animal figures, possibly a 'hybridized' artifact of local production, while a bone comb from Apliki may also be considered an Aegean import dating to the thirteenth century BC owing to its Mycenaean and Minoan parallels.

The discussion on contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus in Interaction Period 4 cannot be concluded without a brief review of the impact of LH IIIB imports on local pottery and handicrafts (see § 6.5). Concerning local ceramic production, the limited number of Aegean-type vessels preceding the wide diffusion of Aegean-type pottery from the latest phases of LC IIC onwards has already been discussed above in connection with Interaction Period 3 evidence. Instead, it is clear that the impact of contacts with the Aegean was particularly strong in the field of local ceramic production in the latest phases of Interaction Period 4 and in LC IIIA. In fact, Georgiou's thorough analysis of Aegean-type pottery dating to the late LC IIC period highlights the phenomenon which marks a new phase in the development of Late Cypriot pottery, that is the appearance of the wheelmade fine Aegean-type (White Painted Wheelmade III) ware which was produced on a large scale. This phenomenon can be put in the context of the general decrease in Mycenaean pottery imported to Cyprus in the second half of the thirteenth century BC which in turn has often been connected with the signs of instability in the Aegean basin and specifically in the southeastern Aegean area. For example, specifically referring to Rhodes, which is midway along the direct sea route leading from the Aegean to Cyprus, M. Benzi noted "the lack of LH IIIB 2 style pottery in the East Aegean" (2009, 54), but it is clear that this does not apply to Kalymnos (54 fn. 56 with refs; 2020, 111, 171: VA 262, pls 17:q, 42l) and especially not to Kos (Vitale 2021, 535 fig. 7, 541, Langada Tombs 21 and 46, LH IIIB2 Late). It should also be considered that now more LH IIIB2 imports can be mentioned than in the past in Cypriot sites (see § 6.4.2.4).

In LC IIIA, Aegean-style pottery became the predominant tableware category on Cyprus, and in this book, following a regional and contextual analysis of the data, Georgiou has showed that in LC IIC Aegean-style pottery of local production was well appreciated by Cypriot communities. However

> the production of this ceramic class was limited in terms of both the shape repertoire represented, but also in terms of sheer numbers. (§ 6.4.3.7)

Since Aegean-type pottery and imported Mycenaean wares were found in the same contexts as indigenous Cypriot wares, it can be suggested that "there was little differentiation in the purposes for which they were used" (Knapp 2012b, 36). LC IIC bowls of various

forms were no doubt the most popular shape in Aegean-style production, and shallow bowls inspired by Mycenaean shape FS 296 were particularly common, while locally produced shallow stemmed bowls FS 309/310, deep bowls FS 284 and other types of open vessels occur more sparsely. In fact, in addition to the new wheelmade cooking vessels dating to LC IIIA,[29] during Interaction Period 4 a change in local eating/drinking customs is suggested by the diffusion in LC IIC contexts of imported shallow bowls FS 295 and FS 296 of subcategory F1.2 which were mainly produced for export to the Eastern Mediterranean, since "they had no important role in the local Argive ceramic vessel sets" (Jung 2011a, 62) and on mainland Greece increased in numbers from LH IIIC Early onward. This may also be confirmed by the swift adoption of these shallow bowls in the Aegean-type repertoire, becoming the most common shape within this class, far outnumbering their Mycenaean models. Among the Aegean-type closed shapes, the feeding bottle was the most common shape, but there also were jugs of FS 116 type as well as stirrup jars of the so-called 'Simple Style'. Other examples of locally produced Aegean-style pottery in LC IIC contexts are represented by the vessels of the 'Levanto-Helladic' group which, in Mountjoy's terminology (2018, 31-62), included the "local Cypriot Levanto-Helladic shapes" which form a different group from the so-called "imported Aegean Levanto-Helladic shapes". The examples of this group of local production occurring in the late thirteenth century BC included small size cups and bowls corresponding to the Mycenaean shapes FS 210, 223, 229, 232, 235, 244 and 247. In this book the so-called 'Rude/Pastoral Style' has been discussed in detail by Georgiou who considers it an "unequivocal class of the LCIIC production of Aegean-style finewares in Cyprus" (see § 6.4.3.6). It is also worth emphasizing that Mountjoy has also recently shown that the decoration of some vessels dating to late IIC

> is a blending and adaptation of LH IIIB Mycenaean motifs with White Slip ware motifs. One manifestation of this mixture is the Rude or Pastoral Style, which continues into LC IIIA. (2019, 109)

Moreover, a special mention must be made to the thorough study recently published by I. Kostopoulou (2021), where the relations between the Rude/Pastoral Style and the Mycenaean Pictorial Style are analyzed in the light of some kraters from Pyla *Kokkinokremos*. Therefore, along with other external connections, these vessels may be used to fill the gap of the missing 'IIIC Early Phase' corresponding to the transition from LC IIC to LC IIIA equated with the end of

29 Spagnoli 2010; Vaessen 2014, 126-8; Jung 2011a, 60-1; 2017, 25; also see below.

LH IIIB and the beginning of LH IIIC Early on the Greek Mainland (Mountjoy 2019; also cf. 2019, 105 fn. 3 for IIIC terminology).

Also worth recalling is the occurrence of new Aegean elements in local pottery, for example wheelmade cooking pots showing shapes of Aegean origin, such as jugs FS 65 and two-handled cooking amphorae FS 66, which at Enkomi appeared in LC IIIA. In the final LC IIC period, at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* the unpainted pottery of Cypriot type is handmade like all cooking pots from the site and has a conservative character, but at Maa *Palaeokastro*, Mycenaean-type cooking pots were in use in the period contemporary with LC IIIA at Enkomi.

Apart from Cypriot pottery, the influence of the Aegean ceramic repertoire on other local artifacts seems much more limited. This is true of bronze vessels since some preserved bronze amphoroid kraters dating from LC IIIA onwards imitated the shape of LH IIIA-B clay vessels, probably indicating that the shape was already adopted in the repertoire of Cypriot bronze work at least in LC IIC. Turning to faience vessels, the few examples inspired by Mycenaean shapes (stirrup jars, flasks and narrow necked-jugs) that were found on the island have been considered imports from Egypt and Syria-Palestine because of the lack of evidence for local faience production on Cyprus. However, the famous polychrome conical rhyton from Kition *Chrysopolitissa*, although featuring a Mycenaean shape and spiral motifs of Aegean origin, must be considered within the category of 'hybridized' artifacts of Cypriot production. A group of stone alabastra showing a shape transposed from the Mycenaean pottery repertoire has been dated to LC II-III, but some examples, especially those found in Kalavasos *Mangia* Tombs 1 and 6, probably belonged to Interaction Period 4. The same is likely true of several Cypriot stone vessels featuring a shape related to the Mycenaean ceramic piriform jar since they were found in LC IIC funerary contexts at Enkomi and Kition, although the shape was already adopted in Interaction Period 3.

Although there is no doubt that in Interaction Period 4 the impact of the Aegean influence was by far stronger on the local ceramic production than all the other handicrafts, it is worth considering the Aegean features apparent on some Cypriot prestige artifacts, since they confirm the elite character of objects showing foreign influences and provide further evidence of the fusion of local and foreign (Aegean and Levantine) elements during the LC II and LC III periods (see § 6.5.2; also see § 5.4.4.2). From this point of view, local jewelry is of particular interest as it demonstrates that Cypriot craftsmen were particularly receptive to foreign elements, even if, generally speaking, the huge majority of jewels from Cyprus were of local type. Therefore, the Aegean components incorporated in the production process during Interaction Period 4 clearly appear in a variety of local gold jewels, including a gold signet-ring and other rings with cloisonné decoration from Evreti Tomb VIII at Kouklia, gold beads and

necklace spacers in the shape of a 'figure-of-eight shield' of Aegean origin found in LC IIC contexts at Enkomi (Swedish Tombs 3 and 18), and nine gold beads featuring 'grains of wheat' of Aegean inspiration from the 'jeweler's hoard' at Pyla *Kokkinokremos*. Moreover, other gold spacers of Aegean production or inspiration such as 'double axe' and plaque beads cannot be dated precisely and unfortunately this is also true of other gold 'grain of wheat' beads which were relatively common elsewhere in LC funerary contexts. As already noted in the discussion on funerary ornaments of Interaction Period 3, in Interaction Period 4 the same attitude can be detected toward the inclusion of Aegean motifs (especially 'figure-of-eight shield', some types of spirals and rosettes, and perhaps the front representations of bull heads with curling downward horns) into the decorative repertoire of local gold diadems and mouthpieces, some of which, such as examples from Enkomi, can be dated to LC IIC.

Several ivory objects were discussed in detail by Knapp,[30] but, apart from a few possible exceptions, nearly all these ivory artifacts can be attributed to LC IIIA. The list of 'hybridized' ivory objects showing Aegean elements in Interaction Period 4, however, may include a rhyton from Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, which has been tentatively attributed to LC IIC, in addition to a flat disk dating to the very end of LC IIC from the lower burial in Tomb 9 at Kition, and the handle of a bronze mirror from Swedish Tomb 19 at Enkomi whose last burials belonged to LC IIC.

Among faience objects, the famous polychrome faience rhyton from Kition *Chrysopolitissa*, decorated with hunting scenes, bulls, a goat, stylized flowers and two hunters, no doubt is the most important 'hybridized' find of the period revealing the Aegean influence on both shape and design, with vertical running spirals depicted in the lowest register. The faience 'grain of wheat' beads from Palaepaphos, where a local production of gold and faience beads of this shape of Aegean origin was suggested, have been repeatedly discussed above.

In the glyptic the main problem is to precisely date the cylinder seals featuring Aegean elements in the engraved scenes, although, generally speaking, the assimilation of some Aegean elements can be regarded as an increasing feature of several Cypriot cylinder seals dating to the LC II and LC III periods. Such difficulties are emblematic of a hematite cylinder seal in Elaborate Style found during the French excavations at Enkomi in 1934 as well as from a twin seal stored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Both of these are characterized by the representation of the so-called 'Minoan Genius' holding a libation jug and other motifs of Aegean origin. However, in the thirteenth century there are two important novelties which

30 Knapp 2008, 269-70; 2012b, 39-41; 2013, 457-9; 2022, 76; Voskos, Knapp 2008, 672.

deserve particular attention. The first is the appearance of motifs of Aegean origin (especially animal figures and attack motifs) on the conoids, which are a new type of stamp seals beginning at the end of LC IIC. The second LC IIC innovation is the use of large wooden rollers over a band of added clay applied on the surface of large storage jars in order to obtain a decoration with figurative scenes on the bands themselves. The chariot hunts depicted in Aegeanizing style are of particular interest here since they were probably inspired by the figurative scenes painted on the Mycenaean amphoroid kraters decorated in Pictorial Style which were rather common on Cyprus, while parallels for other iconographies can also be found in the Eastern Mediterranean.

7.5.5 Epilogue

The period around 1200 BC witnessed dramatic changes both in the Aegean and on Cyprus. In the Aegean the most important events affected the Greek mainland, where the major sites were either destroyed by fire or abandoned at or near the end of the LH IIIB phase or the transitional phase between LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early. This marks the end of the Palatial Mycenaean period, but the identification of the causes of destruction or abandonment remains a matter for debate. On Cyprus, in the last decades of the thirteenth century BC there was a decline in prosperity and severe disruption to LC society, although such events were not uniform over the entire island. There were signs of trouble with traces of destruction at Enkomi and Sinda and abandonments at *Toumba tou Skourou*, Maroni *Vournes*, and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, while in other primary towns, such as Kition and Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, there was no apparent settlement interruption, and the short-lived settlements of Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and Maa *Palaeokastro* were actually founded some time before the end of the LC period. In this book, while the earliest phase of LH IIIC Early 1 overlaps LC IIC Final (Mountjoy 2018, 26 tab. 3; see §§ 6.4.2.2, 6.4.2.4), the late Minoan Postpalatial period (LM IIIC) on Crete and the later phases of Mycenaean Postpalatial period (Later Phase of LH IIIC Early 1-LH IIIC Late/Submycenaean) in the Argolid correspond to LC IIIA-LC IIIB, which has been named Interaction Period 5 (see § 2.3) **[tab. 2.3]**.

However, Interaction Period 5 is not discussed in detail here because in this study the unsettled times around 1200 BC have been considered the end of a long-lasting process of Cypro-Aegean contacts that predated the social and cultural changes during the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC, both in the Aegean and on Cyprus. These changes had an important impact on interaction and trade between the two areas. In the Aegean, the turbulence brought an end to the

heyday of Mycenaean palace civilization, and the Mycenaean Post-palatial period was a time of marked instability. In this period, the large-scale construction and monumental building ended, as did the writing system and, consequently, the administrative system along with palatial features such as frescoes and trade in luxury crafts (Murray 2017). The homogeneity of the Palatial periods was also lost leading to the development of regional and local cultural elements. However, various Helladic sites, especially Tiryns, provided evidence for inter-Aegean contacts (cf. for example Kardamaki et al. 2016, for transport stirrup jars from various Aegean regions spanning from LH IIIB 1 to LH IIIC Developed) and continued to have international contacts including trade relations with Cyprus (Murray 2018; 2019). In 1994, Cline noted that

> not a single ceramic vessel from Cyprus appears in LH/LM IIIC contexts, which is quite a change from the earlier LH/LM IIIA and LH IIIB periods (62)

and the interpretations of some objects can be considered problematic; moreover, having noted that no Cypriot imports were found at Mycenae and Thebes during the LH IIIC period, in 2007 Cline stated that

> this may imply some sort of selective distribution or importation either on the part of the exporting Cypriots, the importing Mycenaeans or whoever was transporting these goods. (195)

Nevertheless, now it is clear that, in addition to a fragmentary oxhide ingot and a small bronze ingot containing Cypriot copper (Vetters 2011, 22 fn. 182), during the LH IIIC period a relatively wide range of Cypriot and Levantine objects specifically found in the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town North[31] actually underwent a revival (Maran 2016). As far as other Mycenaean regions are concerned, despite the lack of ceramic vessels imported from Cyprus, a variety of Cypriot imports including earrings, several seals, and a tripod stand came from the Perati tombs in Attica (Cline 2007, 195; Polichronakou-Sgouritsa 1997) as well as a fragment of an oxhide ingot from Salamis and Cypriot copper from Western Greece (Vetters 2011, 22 fn. 182 with refs). Some connections, including the import of Cypriot copper, have been suggested between Cyprus and northwestern Peloponnese, particularly Achaea, but some doubts have been raised about the origin of shapes and the decoration of some Mycenaean vessels from Achaea (Graziadio 2019, 24-5 with refs). Among bronzes

31 Cline 1994, 140 no. 68 with refs; Vetters 2011, 24, 27-30 with refs; Rahmstorf 2014; Brysbaert, Vetters 2015, 170; Donnelly 2022.

of alleged Cypriot origin found at Anthedon in Boeotia, some items were considered "problematic imports, possibly local Mycenaean" (Cline 1994, 214 nos 722-3, 251 nos 1063-5).

After ca 1200 BC, in Crete there was probably a breakdown in social order and part of the population seems to have moved to safe and more defensible sites, but this did not hamper contacts with Cyprus which were maintained, though scattered, in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC when interconnections seem to have involved specific areas of the two islands (D'Agata 2005b, 9-14). The list of Cypriot imports to Crete includes a few prestige objects, such as a gold earring from Krya in the district of Siteia (Kanta in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 244 no. 1 with refs) and a gold pendant imitating LC earrings in the Metaxas collection (Kanta, Kontopodi in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 300 no. 5). Moreover, the fragments of a LM IIIB/IIIC bronze four-sided stand (Papasavvas in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 320 no. 11) and a clay four-sided stand imitating Cypriot examples from Karphi (Kanta in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 94 no. 1; Papasavvas in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 323 no. 17) can be added. It is also worth mentioning some interesting finds from the Mesara. Three (or two) fragmentary wall brackets of Cypriot type dating to LM IIIC have been found at Phaistos but the possibility cannot be ruled out that they were of local production (Borgna 2014, 259 nos 1-3), while another wall bracket from this center was considered of possible Cypriot origin and imported via Kommos (Girella 2010; 2014, 260 no. 4). Other interesting finds from Ayia Triada included a LM IIIC half ingot recovered amongst the materials excavated at Piazzale dei Sacelli in 1903 and a quarter ingot held at the Florence Archaeological Museum, which confirm that trade in Cypriot copper continued in the Aegean in the twelfth century as they match the isotopic compositions characteristic of the Apliki region (Cucuzza, Gale, Stos-Gale 2004; Lo Schiavo et al. 2013). From the Cypriot perspective it should be noted that in the past only a few LM IIIC vessels were reported from Cyprus (Popham 1979, 190-1; Kanta 1980, 313), but now it is clear that, following earlier evidence, there was no interruption of trade in Minoan coarse stirrup jars after 1200 BC (Maran 2005, 416). Apart from material culture, cult elements often held to be of Cretan derivation have also been suggested on Cyprus in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC (cf. D'Agata 2005b, 4-9 with refs for a detailed discussion).

Concerning the periphery, some islands such as the Dodecanese, Samos and Chios provided evidence for contacts with Cyprus. Rhodes and Kos maintained an active role in contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus (Karantzali 2005, 149-50; Marketou 2009a, 49-50; Vitale 2021, 545-9, esp. 546, fig. 17: 2-3), while Samos yielded various Cypriot bronzes dating to LH IIIC or later periods (Cline 1994, 133 no. 9, 215 no. 726, 224 no. 814 with refs). Moreover, a fragment of an oxhide ingot from Emborio on Chios has a particular importance

since its copper is consistent with the Cypriot field (Knapp 1990a, 131, tab. 2 with refs; Stos-Gale, Gale 1990, 82 fig. 10; Gale 1991, 227) and confirms the use of Cypriot copper in the Aegean in LH IIIC.

On Cyprus a "dramatic reconfiguration of the social, political and economic organisation of the island" (Steel 2004, 187; for a more recent review, cf. Meyer, Knapp 2021) is apparent in the twelfth and early eleventh centuries BC. The LC IIIA and IIIB periods were characterized by a seeming decrease in population and the establishment of fortified strongholds and fortification of the surviving urban centers. This therefore reflects the unsettled conditions prevalent during the twelfth century BC, but the centers with continued occupation such as Enkomi, Palaepaphos, and Kition, flourished, reaching a high level of cultural development and economic prosperity and participating in international trade. General changes during LC IIIA appear in many fields, especially in the ceramic record, funerary customs, domestic architecture, and religious practices, in addition to the use of various metal types and elite craft production, but the climax of cultural transformations was reached in LC IIIB which definitively marks the beginning of the Iron Age. Following the collapse of Mycenaean palaces, it was frequently suggested that most of these changes related to the arrival of a new population group from the Aegean, and LC III was, therefore, considered the period of the Mycenaean colonization of Cyprus. On the contrary, as appears from the above discussion, the 'Aegeanisation' of certain traits of the Cypriot culture, most significantly the ceramic repertoire, in Interaction Period 5 must be interpreted within the process of syncretism of foreign influences which has its roots in the preceding Interaction Periods. As an example, we can refer to one of the most characteristic features of LC culture, namely the process of 'hybridization' apparent in Cypriot prestige objects displaying mixtures of local and foreign form, style, and motifs with Aegean elements as important components along with Cypriot, Levantine, and even Egyptian elements. Although many 'hybrid' prestige objects can be dated to LC IIIA,[32] it is not surprising to find hybrid examples with Aegean components in Interaction Period 4 due to the signs of continuous development from LC IIC to IIIA, but for the sake of cultural continuity it is likewise important to recall the discovery of a few objects with these characteristics in Interaction Period 3. However, the key question for the historic interpretation of LC IIIA is represented by changes in the ceramic record of this period. These changes are represented by the marked increase in local production of Mycenaean-type pottery which in the past was regarded as an ethnic marker of Aegean people arriving after the turmoil in the Aegean. The appearance of

32 Voskos, Knapp 2008, 670-2; Knapp 2008, 268-80; 2012b, 34-43; 2022, 76-7.

Mycenaean-type tableware was contemporary with the use of cooking pots belonging to the Mycenaean tradition and the gradual disappearance of traditional LC tableware. However, the presence of local Aegean-type vessels was already apparent, even though in a more limited scale, in a late phase of Interaction Period 4, before the disruptions believed to relate to the arrival of a displaced Mycenaean population. Moreover, it should also be recalled that the development of a local production of pottery of Mycenaean inspiration has some antecedents, albeit short-lived and in a different form, in Interaction Period 3. The gradualness of all these processes well illustrates the deeply rooted propensity of Cypriots to assimilate and adapt Eastern and Western cultural elements within their own productive system and, ultimately, to their own ways of living. In this background of continuous contacts, therefore, it is the great ability of both Aegeans and Cypriots in seafaring and trading which explains why the encounters of these different peoples led to such interesting phenomena in the Mediterranean context.

8 Appendix
An Examination of Cyprus-Aegean Connections Based on Nautical Considerations

Angiolo Querci

Summary 8.1 Introduction. – 8.2 Background. – 8.2.1 Ancient Ship Construction and Sea Worthiness. – 8.2.2 Sea Conditions. – 8.2.3 Textual Evidence on Sailing Seasons. – 8.3 Discussion. – 8.3.1 The Sailing Season. – 8.3.2 The Routes from Crete to Cyprus. – 8.3.3 The Route from Cyprus to Crete. – 8.3.4 Sailing Towards the Mainland: The Argolid and the Peloponnese. – 8.4 Conclusions.

8.1 Introduction

This book has provided detailed evidence for the increased interaction between Cyprus and the Aegean in the third millennium BC. To travel from Cyprus to Crete, ancient mariners would have had to sail a sea route of no more than 430 NM depending on the starting location and the final destination. For longer trade voyages, such as between the Aegean and the Levant, Cyprus would have served as a natural steppingstone. This chapter aims to examine the possible sea routes that would have contributed to the establishment of these connections. It addresses not only the feasibility of sea travel, but also the complexities associated with different routes. Inspired by Knapp, Russel and Van Dommelen, who appropriately point out that

> a true maritime perspective requires more than simply asserting the dominance of Sardinian, Cypriot or Aegean traders on the basis of some exchanged commodities (2021, 80)

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this chapter employs a nautical approach that relies on the current understanding of ancient navigation.[1] It begins with a brief background that includes some information on the construction and seaworthiness of ancient ships, the climatic and sea conditions of the Aegean region, and the historic textual evidence regarding sailing seasons. Possible sailing routes from Crete to Cyprus and from Cyprus to Crete are then explored in detail. A cursory discussion on the sailing considerations for travel to the Argolid and the Peloponnese is presented before the section is concluded with some brief statements.

8.2 Background

8.2.1 Ancient Ship Construction and Sea Worthiness

Examining ancient navigation requires deconstructing the combination of factors that would have influenced the activity in the past. The construction of ancient ships and their seaworthiness is of particular importance. Unfortunately, it is not possible to comprehensively discuss this component here. However, previous research has proposed that both Aegean and Cypriot ships were light displacement ships, built in shell-first technique with only one mast positioned roughly in the middle of the hull on which a boom footed, square sail was mounted (Querci 2023, 56-120). Moreover, they probably were not equipped with a true keel; the Uluburun wreck – the only Late Bronze Age wreck that yielded significant hull remains – was equipped with a sort of protokeel protruding more inward than outward from the hull (Pulak 1997, 217). Such a keel would not be useful to prevent leeway, which is the angular deviation from the scheduled route. Boats like these seem to have been suitable mostly for running and reaching sailing with a beam reaching as a superior limit, i.e. with an angle with the wind between 180° and 90°.

8.2.2 Sea Conditions

Weather, wind patterns, and currents all contribute to the sailing conditions faced by ancient mariners in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. Reconstructing Bronze Age wind patterns is a critical issue for research dealing with ancient seafaring, but unfortunately there has been a lack of study concerning this issue.

1 Concerning the importance of geography, climate, and ships' seaworthiness in defining connectivity during the Bronze Age, also cf. Papageorgiou 2009, 199-222; Safadi, Sturt 2019, 1-15; Tartaron 2018, 61-92.



Figure 1 Average annual trend of the winds in the area of interest for this study

In this paper, this *vexata quaestio* will not be addressed in detail, and instead the safe working assumption that Bronze Age Mediterranean wind and sea conditions were comparable to contemporary conditions is adopted (cf. Querci 2021a; 2023, 133-6 with previous bibliography).

The sea-basin of interest for the present contribution includes two sub-basins: the Aegean Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean. The Aegean Sea is delimited by the Peloponnesian coast to the West, the Macedonian coast to the North, the Turkish coast to the East and the Northern coast of Crete to the South. The Eastern Mediterranean basin is located to the south of the Aegean Sea and is roughly comprised of the area between the southern coast of Crete, the North African coast and the Levantine coast of Turkey.

The temperate Mediterranean climate occurs across this entire region and is characterized by its two dominant seasons: winter and summer. Winters are generally cool and rainy, while summers are dry and warm. Wind intensity and direction also vary by season. While the prevailing winds are from the north throughout the year, in winter, there is variability and "an almost equal proportion of northerly and southerly winds can be expected" (Heikell, Heikell 2018, 29), with a greater frequency of gales (Ritossa 2011, 71). Aegean gales can easily produce very rough seas with "choppy, short frequency", and high waves (Tartaron 2013, 101). Cloud cover is also greatest in winter months. During summer, on the other hand, the weather is stable, and winds mainly blow from the north. Both Greek and Anatolian

coasts, due to their hillocky morphology, can be affected by katabatic winds, which, according to Heikell and Heikell, can blow "off steep mountain slopes" especially at night with a strength up to 5-6 Beaufort (Bft) (2018, 29).

While the climatic characteristics are shared by the Aegean Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean, unique wind conditions occur in each area. In the Aegean Sea, summer is also the season of the Meltemi, a northern wind **[fig. 1]** which ancient Greeks called ἐτήσιος, due to its annual seasonal character. It is created by a

> low-pressure system that extends from Turkey to northwest India and of a high-pressure center in the central and south Europe. (Poupkou et al. 2011, 459)

It usually starts to blow in June, reaching its full strength in August and dies at the end of September/early October. It often reaches 5-7 Bft, and it is also not uncommon to blow at 8 Bft. Meltemi can blow with a strength that reaches Egypt (Morton 2001, 48) and sometimes it causes true gales in sunny weather that can interrupt ferry travel (Poupkou et al. 2011). Its strength usually varies during the day, reaching its maximum in the afternoon (Anagnostopoulou et al. 2014, 1820). While occasionally of formidable force, for mariners the predictability of the Meltemi winds can be considered a reliable feature of the summer navigation season. Poupkou et al. (2011) indicate that during the same season it is possible to have up to 45 Meltemi days, and Anagnostopoulou et al. (2014, 1834) argue for the possibility that 80% of summer days can be characterized by this wind. Hesiod (Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, 663-5) had stated that the true sailing season only lasts 50 days after summer solstice, and it is very tempting to correlate this statement to the mean number of Meltemi days in the summer season (Janni 1996, 111).

In the Eastern Mediterranean basin, like in the Aegean Sea, the winds mostly blow from north to northwest, with greater variability during winter. Winter bad weather, however, usually does not last for a long time. Summer here is also a season of stable weather. In this period, wind usually blows from north to west/northwest and from the west along the Levantine coast. However, the Meltemi winds, which are generally confined to the Aegean Sea, when strong can possibly spread southeastward and penetrate into the Eastern Mediterranean basin (Ritossa 2011, 80).

Near Cyprus, which is in the Eastern Mediterranean basin, the summer wind tends to blow from the west following the shape of the coastline. It typically picks up at noon, reaching no more than 3-6 Bft. Offshore, it also follows the profile of the coast and tends to blow from west to west/southwest (Heikell 2007, 325). Useful information can also be inferred from wind roses (Ritossa 2011, 114), which present

the average wind speed and direction over specified time periods. During summer, along the southern coast of Turkey, it is common to experience western winds which blow with an average strength of 4 Bft. In front of the African coast, the wind tends to blow from the northwest with a mean strength of 3 Bft. While along the Levantine coast, it usually blows from the west at the same average strength of 3 Bft. The odds of experiencing calm weather conditions are low almost everywhere except along the Levantine coast during the month of June, when there is a 13% possibility of windless conditions. However, the information provided by wind roses is not necessarily accurate; the rose only gives mean values but says nothing about the daily variability of wind strength. Additionally, both in the Aegean and in the Eastern Mediterranean, land and sea breezes can play a major role in shaping wind patterns. Land and sea breezes are thermic winds generated by the different heating rate between land and sea (Gallino 2015, 160-200). They blow perpendicular to the coastline, with sea breezes blowing during the day from the sea toward land and land breezes blowing at night from the land toward the sea. Sometimes these winds blow with such strength that they overwhelm the prevalent winds that conform to the coastline.

Sea currents, which can impact cruising speed, are another factor that can affect sailing. Occasionally, the strength of sea currents can even prevent sailing, such as in the Dardanelles, where the current can sometimes flow up to 7 knots making a Black Sea connection impossible even for modern sailing boats. Both in the Aegean and in the Eastern Mediterranean the currents flow in a counterclockwise direction, and therefore flow northward along the Levant, westward along the southern coast of Turkey, northward along the Aegean coast of Turkey, and southward along the eastern Peloponnese and through the Cyclades. Near Cyprus, the current tends to follow the profile of the coast, flowing eastward along the southern coast and westward along the northern coast (Mediterranean Pilot, 181).

8.2.3 Textual Evidence on Sailing Seasons

Long distance sailing and, particularly, open-sea sailing relies on the possibility of taking advantage of predictable and reliable winds, i.e. winds that blow with such a continuity to allow planning the voyage (Arnaud 2005, 17; Broodbank 2000a, 94) and it is probable that sailing activity was greater during times when conditions were optimal. This does not necessarily rule out the possibility of sailing throughout the whole year, and it is unrealistic to imagine the Mediterranean as completely devoid of ships for a part of the year. However, winter would likely have been a less suitable season for long distance sailing. In fact, Hesiod (*Op.*, 641-2) recommends to his brother: Τύνη δ',

ὦ Πέρση, ἔργων μεμνημένος εἶναι ὡραίων πάντων, περὶ ναυτιλίης δὲ μάλιστα, which translates as 'Perseus, everything has to be done in the proper season, and above all sailing'. Although Hesiod wrote his poem during the seventh century BC, it provides early textual evidence on the importance and consideration given to sailing season. Analyzing his words in more detail, the poet defines the sailing time frame in the following way (*Op.*, 663-5):

> Ἥματα πεντήκοντα μετὰ τροπὰς ἠελίοιο,
> ἐς τέλος ἐλθόντος θέρος, καματώδεος ὥρης,
> ὡραῖος πέλεται θνητοῖς πλόος
>
> Fifty days after the solstice,
> Towards the end of the laborious summer,
> That is the proper sailing time for mortals

As mentioned above, he argues for a fifty day-long sailing season beginning after the summer solstice. The exact period to which the poet refers is unclear and scholars have proposed many hypotheses (e.g. Medas 2004, 36); however, this time frame seems to match with the mean number of Meltemi days and it seems possible that the poet is referring to this weather phenomenon. However, it is equally likely that he was simply stipulating that it is possible to safely sail only for fifty days during summer, without giving any specific calendar information (Medas 2004, 36).

Additional information can be traced in other historical sources. Vegetius, who wrote his *Epitoma Rei Militaris* in the fourth century BC, calls (4.39) for a sailing season which runs from May 27th to September 14th, but he also states that, accepting more dangerous periods, it is also possible to sail from March 10th to May 26th and from September 15th to November 10th. During the other months he considers the sea as clausum. Moreover, the *Codex Theodosianus* preserves an edict enacted by emperor Gratianus on 6 February 380 AD which prevented the ships of the *corpus navicolariorum africanorum* from setting their sail before April 13th and after October 15th. Demosthenes (*Lacr.* 10) and Lucian (*Tox.* 4) confirm that sailing after the autumnal equinox was considered dangerous. The same can be inferred from the Acts of the Apostles (27:9) in which Saint Paul's sailing is considered dangerous because it was taking place at the end of October.

The written sources from the eighth century BC to the fourth century AD all seem to suggest a similar time frame for safe sailing. But what about the Late Bronze Age? Even if written evidence for this chronological horizon is meager, some useful information is available in the Linear B tablets and in Egyptian epigraphs and reports. The Linear B tablet PY Tn 316 (Varias 2016, 559; Palaima 1999) contains

entries about offerings to several deities. It seems that these offerings took place in the month of *po-ro-wi-to*, usually read as Plowistos, i.e. the month of sailing, a month usually thought to be in the beginning of spring.[2]

From Egypt, information on sailing can be found in an epigraph from Mit Rahina and in the so-called Report of Wenamun. The epigraph gives an account of several commercial and military expeditions dating to the reign of Amenemhet II (Twelfth Dinasty). This document seems to provide information about the limits of the sailing season. Due to the ambiguous nature of the document, however, different readings have been put forward by various scholars. Altenmüller and Moussa (1991, 26-8) argue for the possibility of a winter sailing, while Marcus (2007, 146) is more convinced by a spring departure and an autumn homecoming.

Interpreting the Report of Wenamun seems even more difficult. The document apparently gives the account of the voyage of a priest, Wenamun, from Karnak to Byblos. It is unclear if it should be regarded as the account of a real voyage or if it should instead be considered as a fictional story (Sass 2002; Schipper 2005). Interpreting the timing of Wenamun's voyage is also not simple. Egberts (1991) argues for the possibility of a departure in January in order to place the priest's arrival at Byblos in May. Goedicke (1975) preferred a departure from Egypt in May, hence placing the sailing within the traditional limits of the ancient sailing season.

8.3 Discussion

8.3.1 The Sailing Season

Considering the above evidence on wind direction and currents, we now turn to what we can infer about Late Bronze Age sailing seasons and routes (for a comprehensive study of ancient sailing season, cf. Beresford 2013). In terms of sailing season, Raban (1991, 30) argues for the possibility of sailings from mid-April to mid-June and from mid-September to mid-October, which would allow ancient mariners to avoid both the unpredictability of winter weather and the strong and regular Meltemi that he considered unsuitable for vessels utilizing a square sail. Broodbank, in his discussion on Early Bronze Age navigation, takes a broader perspective on the factors impacting navigation and asserts that

2 Palmer 1955, 10-12; 1963, 248-65; Bennet, Olivier 1973, 233; Chadwick 1976, 90, 179, 192; Wachsmann 1998, 370, fn. 1; *contra* cf. Palaima 1995, 629; 1999, 443-4; Weilhartner 2002.

> the windows for voyaging without conflict with agricultural demands are the marginal month of April (olive excepting), August, and September (vines excepting). (2000, 95)

However, while it is true that, especially in the Aegean, the Meltemi can occasionally reach gale force, their regularity and predictability might also have benefited mariners, allowing them to plan their route. It seems reasonable therefore to consider a sailing season that would run at least from the beginning of May to the end of September in the Aegean and from the beginning of April to the end of October in the Eastern Mediterranean.

8.3.2 The Routes from Crete to Cyprus

8.3.2.1 The Northern Route

From the Minoan Prepalatial to Neopalatial periods a route seems to have connected, at least sporadically, the northern coast of Crete to the northern coast of Cyprus **[fig. 2]**. In this stretch of the Mediterranean, the prevalent west to northwest winds (Mediterranean Atlas 2004; Ritossa 2011, 112-14) and the southeast current (Mediterranean Pilot 2005, fig. 1.139.2) surely facilitate an eastbound route. However, as mentioned above, Bronze Age boats likely lacked a modern keel, and therefore they could hardly have directly sailed from Eastern Crete to Northern Cyprus. An indirect connection via Kasos and Karpathos seems more plausible since it could have helped to offset the effect of the leeway. Ormos Khelatronas on Kasos and Ormos Pighadia on Karpathos, for example, might have been good ports to safely overnight in the first two stages of the voyage. The last stage, from Ormos Pighadia to Morphou Bay, forces the mariner into the open-sea. This 275-NM-long sailing can be covered in three to four days assuming a cruising speed between 3 and 4 knots. July seems to be the most suitable month for this last stage of the voyage because it is characterized by the highest frequency of western winds (71%; Ritossa 2011, 112-14). Yet, it may have been difficult to reach Karpathos from Crete in July, and the first part of the journey may have required setting sail between May and mid-June, before the Meltemi start to blow regularly. While the earlier departure would have been less suitable to the second stage of the voyage (i.e. Karpathos to Cyprus), the frequency of western winds in these months is still remarkable, especially in June when they reach 45%, and an earlier crossing from Karpathos to Cyprus was likely plausible. It is also possible that the whole voyage was accomplished in stages with a long layover (i.e. 2-3 weeks) spent on Karpathos.



Figure 2 The Northern Route (probable route connecting Crete to Cyprus during Pre-Palatial to Neopalatial time frame)

There is, however, another possible Northern Route from Crete to Cyprus, i.e. tramping[3] through Kasos, Karpathos and Rhodes and along the southern coast of Turkey. The most difficult segment of this route is reaching Rhodes. The strong winds that often blow along Kasos and Karpathos can make the sea "angry" (Heikell 2018, 524) and the current, which flows to the southeast, can be an obstacle to boats bound for the northeast. Further complicating the journey is the fact that Rhodes is not rich in suitable harbors (Blue 1995, 363). On the east coast, which is better protected from the wind, the only good shelter seems to be Lindos; on the western coast, instead, the mariner could have taken advantage of the islets of Khalki and Alimia as good places to rest at night. Blue (364) considers the possibilities of sailing along the western sides of Kasos, Karpathos and Rhodes, suggesting Finiki on Karpathos as a good harbor to spend a night. On Kasos the only well-sheltered cove seems instead to have been the aforementioned Ormos Khelatronas.

Considering the distances in greater detail, Ormos Khelatronas is 15 NM from Finiki which is, in turn, 60 NM from Khalki. Khalki is 33 NM from the northwestern edge of Rhodes. Speaking from frequent direct experience, it is possible to sail these last 33 NM

3 Taking into account that there were several constraints imposed by the limited seaworthiness of the available ships when compared with the nautical conditions characterizing the area under consideration, the word 'tramping' is used here instead of cabotage. Following Knapp and Demesticha, the term 'cabotage' suggests a sailing through a well-defined succession of ports (about sea trade mechanisms, cf. Knapp, Demesticha 2017, 151-60), while tramping defines a simple coastal sailing where port stops may vary.

when Meltemi does not blow by taking advantage of a southern to southwestern sea breeze. The 60 NM between Karpathos and Khalki therefore would likely have been the most difficult to sail. Placing this sailing during the peak of Meltemi sounds unlikely and the time frame from May to mid-June would likely have been a more suitable choice.

Once the northwestern edge of Rhodes was reached, it is possible to imagine a sailing similar to that of Saint Paul that was described above. In the Acts of the Apostles (21:1-3), Saint Paul is said to have reached Tyre from Rhodes through Pàtara on the Turkish coast, moving directly from there to Syria with Cyprus on his portside. Pàtara is only 50 NM from northeastern Rhodes and approximately 177 NM from Morphou Bay. The winds are usually fair for both sailings. It is also possible to imagine a route to Cape Gelidonya tramping from Pàtara along the southern coast of Turkey in order to get to Morphou Bay from the cape. This route would have made it possible to reduce the open-sea sailing from 177 NM to approximately 125 NM, the distance that separates Cape Gelidonya from Morphou Bay.

May to mid-June can still be considered the most suitable time frame for this sailing since it was possible to take advantage of land and sea breezes. When Meltemi conditions are negligible, the sea breezes start to blow at noon with a mean force of 3-4 Bft; the land breeze, instead, usually blows no more than 2-4 Bft (Heikell 2007, 241). The mariner could have taken advantage of the land breeze to leave the harbor early in the morning and sailed until noon without having the coast on his leeside. This is desirable, since sailing with the coast on the leeside can be very dangerous as the vessel can be pushed against the coast by the wind and the sea. Taking advantage of the sea breeze also provides the possibility of reaching a new harbor in the afternoon. Sailing 20 NM per day would have allowed ancient mariners to cover the whole Pàtara-Cape Gelidonya distance in about four days. In total, therefore, at least six days would have been needed to reach Morphou Bay from Rhodes. This estimate however is based on optimal conditions and since nautical timing is heavily dependent on wind and sea conditions, the journey could surely have been much longer.

8.3.2.2 The Southern Route

A different route may have connected the southern coast of Crete to the southeastern coast of Cyprus in the LH/LM IIIA-B periods **[fig. 3]**. Kommos is the Cretan site that contains the most evidence for contacts with Cyprus; however, due to the prevalent winds and currents, coupled with the tendency of Bronze Age boats to lee, it seems more plausible that it may have been necessary for boats to lie at anchor

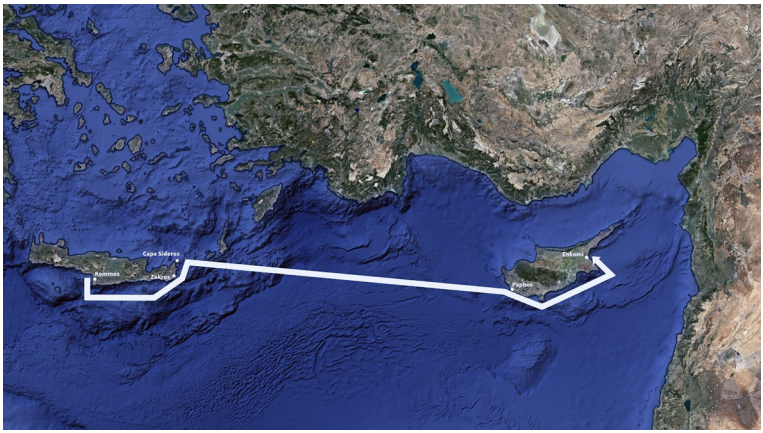


Figure 3 The Southern Route (probable route connecting Crete to Cyprus during LH/LM IIIA-B periods)

in the area of Cape Sideros. This area is the Samonium which Strabo (2.5.24) considers the starting point of the Egypt-bound route from Crete in his time. Mantzourani and Theodorou (1991, 50-1 and fig. 9) stress that in order to take advantage of currents one would have to travel counterclockwise to reach Cape Sideros from southern Crete. However, this statement does not agree with information given by the Mediterranean Pilot (2005, 129 and fig. 1.139.2) which states that the currents are "very weak and variable in direction". Moreover, along the southern coast of Crete the katabatic winds blow strongly from the coast and can make sailing difficult in any direction (Heikell, Heikell 2018, 536). Hence, an eastward navigation to Cape Sideros through Zakros can be suggested. May to mid-June, when the Meltemi are not blowing or are weak, could have been the best time frame for this voyage.

Cape Sideros is more or less 340 NM from Paphos which, at least for geographic reasons, could have been a good initial stop on Cyprus. Following Ritossa (2011, 112), April, July, August, and September seem to have been the most suitable months to sail from Cape Sideros to Cyprus due to the lack of winds from the south. May and June, instead, seem to be characterized by southwestern winds of some frequency blowing at 3 to 4 Bft, making the voyage more dangerous. However, according to the *Wind and Wave Atlas of Mediterranean Sea* (Mediterranean Atlas 2004), these winds are only considered significant during these months and not throughout the year.[4]

4 The Atlas takes into consideration winds blowing at a speed of at least 6 m/s (4 Bft or more) and characterized by a frequency of at least 10%.

From Paphos, sailing becomes easier due to the fact that the winds tend to blow from the west and parallel to the coastline. Gertwagen (1995) stresses that this route also was the best option for reaching the Holy Land in the first half of the second millennium AD and it is the route documented by Parma Magliabecchi Portolano. From Paphos, it should have been possible to reach Enkomi through a series of 20 to 30-NM-long stages; however, reconstructing the route along this stretch of coast is not an easy task because the Bronze Age coastline was probably different than today (Stanley Price 1980, 8, for Akrotiri; Karyda 2016, 86, for Maroni; Blue 1997, 32-5 for the Salt Lake of Hala Sultan Tekke) and it is possible that the materials could have been distributed through tramping more than through an organized cabotage. In any case, the ca 120 NM separating Paphos from Enkomi probably required at least 6 days of travel along the coast. Both the winds and the currents contribute to making this sailing, if not easy, at least feasible.

8.3.3 The Route from Cyprus to Crete

8.3.3.1 The Northern Route

Traveling from Cyprus to Crete is in general a more difficult journey than traveling from Crete to Cyprus. However, as far as the Northern Route is concerned, it seems plausible that the way back to the Aegean could have been more or less the same as the Cyprus-bound voyage **[fig. 2]**; hence, ancient mariners would first hit the Anatolian coast in the area of Cape Gelidonya. Mantzourani and Theodorou when assessing the northern options, suggest that

> the trip from Cyprus to Crete would have required a somewhat risky crossing from Cyprus to Anatolia due to local wind conditions, […] but once in Anatolia coast, then, taking advantage of the counterclockwise longshore flow, Crete could relatively easily be reached. (1991, 50)

Even if sailing along the southern Anatolian coast could hardly be defined as easy, this seems the only feasible possibility for Cypriot ships to reach the Aegean and for Aegean ships to make a return voyage.

After passing Cape Gelidonya, the ancient mariners who wanted to reach Rhodes – and from Rhodes, Crete – were forced to sail slightly north to Fethiye Bay. During summer, this stretch of coast is swept by Meltemi. Hence, this sailing is more likely to have occurred in the late Spring or early Autumn to avoid the peak of Meltemi and to take advantage of land and sea breezes. The danger of

this sailing is testified by the famous Uluburun wreck which sank in front of this cape, ca 10 km from the city of Kaș, around 1300 BC. The late Spring or early Autumn time frames would certainly help mitigate risks, with late Spring in particular possibly being a better option due to the long daylight hours. However, early Autumn cannot be ruled out as the best time for a return westward voyage for ships that had reached Cyprus in the Spring.

8.3.3.2 The Southern Route

In terms of difficulty and due to the wind patterns, a direct Southern Route, following the same path taken from Crete, seems as though it would have been incompatible with the seaworthiness of Late Bronze Age ships **[fig. 3]**. The primary difficulty for ancient mariners traveling from the south of Cyprus back to Crete would be the first segments of the voyage. To get to Crete from the south would likely have required either: 1) sailing to the north of the island, where the Northern Route departs from the area around Morphou Bay, or 2) sailing northeastward to the coast of Anatolia from Cyprus, where it may have been possible to tramp along the coast in a counterclockwise direction, eventually converging with the Northern Route at Cape Gelidonya.

Mantzourani and Theodorou (1992, 51 and fig. 9; also cf. Blue 1995, 362) define a route based on the first possibility, proposing that mariners could round Cape Apostolos Andreas and then sail to Cape Kormakiti before heading north to reach the Anatolian coast. Even if it is accepted that the Northern Route, which relies on reaching Cape Gelidonya in Anatolia from Morphou Bay, was a feasible possibility, sailing from Enkomi to Morphou Bay tramping along the coast of Cyprus would have been risky. Apart from the difficulty of rounding Cape Apostolos Andreas (Heikell 2007, 331; Mediterranean Pilot 2005, 199), sailing along the coast in the teeth of the prevalent western winds does not seem compatible with the seaworthiness of Late Bronze Age ships. Georgiou (1997, 121) pointed out that the northern coast of Cyprus "is not safe due to the prevailing wind direction and geomorphology". Such a difficulty seems to be implied also by the Acts of the Apostoles (13:6-12): Saint Paul, once he reached Salamis, is said to have gotten to Paphos across the island, implying overland travel as opposed to sailing. The use of the overland route may have been a consequence of the difficult westward sailing due to the western winds that prevail also along the southern coast.

The second southern route option, traveling northeastward from Cape Apostolos Andreas to reach the Anatolian coast – maybe the area of Mersin? – may have been a more viable option **[fig. 4]**. Once the Anatolian coast was reached, ancient mariners could have sailed



Figure 4 Probable route connecting Cyprus to Crete through the whole period of interest for this study

westward taking advantage of the westward flowing current and of the land breezes that in this area usually blow from early morning to noon (Heikell 2007, 297). It is tempting to divide the voyage in 20-NM-long stages; however, the 60-NM-long coastline between Mersin and Taşucu Körfezi, the first good shelter sailing westward, is sandy and straight. This stretch of coastline seems more suitable to receive modern tourists than ancient ships. However, while rather unlikely, there is the possibility of a daily haulage of the boats at the end of sailing (for this maneuver, which implies the hauling of the boat on the beach, cf. Blue 1995, 148-9; Chryssoulaki 2005; Georgiou 2012, 525-6). It is also reasonable to hypothesize a direct, 60-NM-long sailing from Mersin to Taşucu Körfezi. Assuming a cruising speed of 2 to 3 knots, it would have been possible to cover this distance in no more than 30 hours. From here, the coastline all the way to Cape Gelidonya is rich in indentations which could have allowed the ancient mariners to divide their voyage in daily stages, and it is possible that the ship which wrecked in front of Cape Gelidonya around 1200 BC was sailing along this very route bound for the Aegean (Wachsmann 1998, 208; for this ship and its cargo, cf. Bass 1967).
Looking at the entire voyage, from the southern site of Enkomi to reach Rhodes is more or less 450 NM, a fact that would have made it 20 days long. Hence it seems likely to imagine a departure no later than early May in order to reach Crete before the Meltemi starts to blow.

8.3.4 Sailing Towards the Mainland: The Argolid and the Peloponnese

From earlier discussions in this book, during the LH IIIA-B periods, the Argolid seems to have had the most intense contacts with Cyprus. Even if the possibility of a direct sailing from Cyprus to the Argolid seems feasible, it is also probable that Cypriot-Aegean trade took advantage of local networks. In this regard, Knapp, Russel and Van Dommelen (2021, 85) appropriately underline the necessity "to recognise the multi-scalar nature of Bronze Age maritime exchange networks". Moreover, it is very likely that both local Aegean mariners and Cypriot or Levantine mariners sailed more or less the same routes in order to get to the Argolid from Crete, and these routes themselves were not solely defined by commercial interests, but also – maybe mostly? – subject to sea conditions (winds, weather, currents) and the seaworthiness of the available boats. Because of these practical constraints, defining the route is an easier task than identifying the mariner. The wind pattern characterizing the Aegean makes every southbound route, if not easy, at least feasible. On the contrary, reaching the north is problematic. One can imagine a route connecting Crete to the Argolic Gulf tramping through Antykiyhera and Kythera, with the Gulf functioning as a sort of bridge between Crete and the Peloponnese (Heikell, Heikell 2018, 157-62) and connecting the eastern coastline of the Peloponnese (Querci 2021b). Cape Malea surely is the major danger along this route (Heikell, Heikell 2018, 156-7) and the hazards of this cape are attested by ancient written sources (*Od.* 3.286-90; 4.514-18; 9.80-1; *Str.* 8.6.20). Meltemi are weaker here than in other Aegean areas and the mariners could have taken advantage of land and sea breezes; this is even more true outside of the limits of the Meltemi season. Instead, the so-called Western String route (Davis 1979) seems to have only been a viable, southbound sailing route, facilitating travel to Crete from mainland Greece. As a southbound route, the Western String could have been sailed at any time within the limits of the sailing season.

8.4 Conclusions

This appendix aimed to provide a reconstruction of the possible options available to ancient mariners based on the conditions in which they lived. The environmental constraints and their impact on the choices of ancient mariners are but one component of the complex study of human interactions. Communities would have been involved along these routes as part of the network of contacts testified by the archaeological record. While these communities can be thought of as plots on the map, here we also consider them as part of an *orbital*

route that cannot be clearly defined because of its complexity. The orbital route is not a succession of ports, where each port is visited every time, but rather a sort of wave function, where the probability of a ship entering a harbor or sailing along a coast ebbs and flows based on the sea and weather conditions in the area. Every route described in the previous pages is a route in such a sense, a route which is made of a cloud of possible sub-routes sharing the same general direction but impacted by numerous variables of social and environmental origin. In other words, what is proposed here is not an isolated, single, commercial route in the modern sense of the term, but instead encompasses the concept of 'tramping', which was used throughout this text (see above appendix fn. 1). To conclude, this paper does not aim to define with certainty the route network connecting Cyprus to the Aegean – following the above discussion, how could one do it? – but only to present some hopefully useful thoughts to better define the complexity of the problem.

Finally, as noted by Knapp, Russel and Van Dommelen (2021, 93), it is true that "connectivity is not simply a by-product of economic expediency, labour requirements or risk management" and that "Mediterranean interaction webs are social networks, and reflect human relationships", yet it is also important to emphasize that connectivity is the result of the interaction between human beings and the environment. Every human action is defined – and in some way limited – by both social and environmental constraints. Hopefully the reconstructions presented here can contribute both to our understanding of these factors and to the ongoing and important research on human mobility and network theory. A thought by the philosopher E.C. Banks seems applicable:

> However mysterious the mind-body problem may be for us, we should always remember that it is a solved problem for nature. (2014, 168)

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Compared to all other Bronze Age Mediterranean regions, Cyprus is the island that established the closest contacts with the Aegean, and the interaction between Cyprus and the Aegean has therefore clearly been a subject of intense discussion. Assuming that Bronze Age trade was not unidirectional, this book provides a review of the available archaeological data from the third millennium BC to ca 1200 BC from both the Aegean and Cypriot perspectives. The relevant finds from the Aegean regions and Cyprus are considered here in order to discuss the dynamics of contacts between the two areas leading up to the period around 1200 BC when dramatic changes occurred in their relationships.

Giampaolo Graziadio Retired in November 2019, Giampaolo Graziadio was Associate Professor at the Department of Civilizations and Forms of Knowledge (University of Pisa) where he taught Minoan Archaeology and Cypriot Archaeology. He also was the Director of the Post-Graduate School of Archaeology from 2009 to 2017. In addition to Cypro-Aegean interconnections, his main fields of interest are the Shaft Grave Period, Italian-Aegean connections, and Bronze Age trade in the Mediterranean.

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