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CYPRUS

DURING THE TRANSITION FROM THE

BRONZE TO THE IRON AGE

The Evidence of Foreign Contacts in

Proto White Painted - White Painted I

Pottery Contexts

PARIS 2010

In Memory of my mentors

Paul Courbin and Jacques Claude Courtois

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INTRODUCTION

Most of the material in this volume was presented as a Doctorat du 3ème Cycle at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris under the direction of Paul Courbin in 1982. Having received the Diplôme of the Ecole on the subject of Enkomi and Salamis of Cyprus, which concerned the study of the then little known Proto White Painted pottery, I felt quite uncertain about a doctoral topic. Fortunately, at precisely this time, Proto White Painted pottery had been noticed during the levelling of a piece of land at Skales, near Palaepaphos in Cyprus. This led Vassos Karageorghis, then Director of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus, to excavate the site. As few students were concerned with the subject of this pottery, he welcomed me to visit the site, study the finds, and he himself suggested my thesis topic. A synopsis of the thesis, *Chypre et le monde extérieur à la transition de l'Age du Bronze à l'Age du Fer* was published in English in the Swedish review *Opuscula Atheniensia*.

Since then, one of the most significant changes in the area under study concerns the Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery of Cyprus which has been thoroughly researched by Barbara Kling (1989) and commented upon by Susan Sherrat (1991, 1994). The results of these studies reinforce what I had suggested in my thesis: that Cypriot Proto White Painted pottery was a local, rather than a Mycenaean, development. Concerning Proto White Painted itself, Maria Iakovou has compiled and studied the pictorial motifs, contributing to a better understanding of the ware in relationship to other fabrics. The Late Bronze Age finds of the recent excavations at Kalavasos, Maa, Pyla-Kokkinokremos, and Alassa, are only briefly mentioned, if at all, because like a number of other sites such as Hala Sultan Teke, they were abandoned when Proto White Painted was appearing elsewhere.

While this study was in its publication stage during 2009 Joanna Smith's remarkably thorough study of this period: *Art and Society in Cyprus from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age* appeared, therefore I have not had the occasion to read it and take it into account. However, I draw the reader's attention to what appears to be an invaluable contribution to the subject. In any case, my effort is a return to relatively traditional archaeology, which I believe has been unjustifiably disrespected.

It used to be assumed, to the point of being axiomatic, that the Mycenaeans were expulsed from Greece by the Dorians descending from northwest Greece in the late 13th or early 12th century B.C., resulting in a "colonization" of Cyprus by the Mycenaeans. The argument was largely based on Homeric foundation legends and the appearance of a developed style of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus at this time. It has been argued also that, following the Trojan war, the Mycenaeans were included among the migrating Sea Peoples mentioned in an Egyptian temple wall inscription dating from the reign of Ramses III. These migrations may have included the "nostoi" of the Trojan war, who would have settled in Cyprus and introduced the Greek language at this time. The scholarly consensus of the 1970's was well expressed by H. Catling, writing for the *Cambridge Ancient History* (1980: 207-208). Although he largely dismisses the legendary and textual sources as reliable evidence for the Mycenaean (Homeric Achaean) colonization of Cyprus, he bases a supposed 12th to 11th century settlement of Mycenaean Greeks in Cyprus on the ceramic and artefactual record. The present volume challenges these assumptions. On the other hand, as will be seen, this challenge does not contradict a Mycenaean presence at an earlier phase of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, the deep significance of which

is attested by what is known of the history of the Greek language in Cyprus. However, traditionally East Mediterranean archaeology has been inspired and interpreted in terms of legends and texts. In the case of Cyprus, Homer and the classical Greek authors were the fundamental reference, while the Bible served as the reference for archaeological exploration in the Levant. With the rise of scientific objectivity and quantification, ceramics became both a chronological and a cultural diagnostic tool. Unfortunately both approaches tended to neglect the contextual evidence of the remaining material.

During the 1970's, the Anglo-Saxon "new archaeology" emphasizing the search for evolutionary adaptation processes, heretofore mainly focused on European prehistory and American anthropology, finally appeared in Cypriot studies. Originally the theory involved what was believed to be a universal cybernetic systems process. This involves the creation of models recording intersite variability in an attempt to establish productivity and trade patterns. As it applies to the Late Bronze/ Early Iron Age Cyprus, this approach theorizes indigenous social development due to foreign economic pressures, rather than cultural change due to immigration. This theory too is challenged, in favour of what seems to be a clear case of population shifts.

The method preferred here is the "traditional" historical analysis such as I was taught before the promulgation of the New Archaeology. The way Marc Bloch analyzed historical textual sources in *Metier d'un Historien* seems to me applicable to all evidence of the past. This historical method, involving a minimum of interpretation and a basic effort at recovering facts, partial though they may be, is one Professor Paul Courbin would have approved of for the task at hand, as he demonstrated in *What is Archaeology?* Basically as Courbin observed: archaeology is the discovery and ordering of material entities (facts). The resulting pattern is constantly subject to precision or change. If approached

without ideological preconceptions the material develops its own pattern, permitting an induction from which deductions can be drawn and tested.

Perhaps the best description of a reliable archaeological model is Stuart Piggot's. "The archaeologist proceeds from his own or another researcher's strictly controlled observations. Underlying connections between them are sought, then he devises a hypothesis or theory to account for them – a mental creation expressing the relationships and arrangements, perhaps a mathematical formula. Ulterior evidence or the development of related models will test its correctness" (Piggot 1965: 3).

Because Mycenaean pottery is a consistent trace of a Mycenaean relationship with Cyprus, a data base of not only the pottery, but its contexts, including other types of material, must be established. The chronological criteria based on the pottery are a necessary framework in so far as Egyptian correlates permit them to be. In the case of the locally produced Proto White Painted corresponding to Myc IIIC:1c at Mycenae and elsewhere in the Aegean, the immediate foreign typological precursors (if there are any) of types not occurring on earlier levels in Cyprus must be recorded. In this study, the amount of material expressed in percentages is simply to indicate the proportional presences of these foreign typologies. The analysis is based on the formal quality rather than quantity of a given typology. A statistical sampling procedure that would permit probability and prediction is avoided, because, aside from the physical properties of a massive quantity of localized material such as pottery, archaeological finds are far too handicapped by an unknown original population for significant sampling. From here the material draws its own pattern, without recourse to a theoretical model derived from other principles.

This study contains the published finds available in 1982 and the unpublished finds from Kaloriziki and Skales studied in the Cyprus Museum. A more complete

body of drawings and photos of the catalogued and comparable material can be consulted in my unpublished doctoral thesis available on the CNRS website TEL or at the Sorbonne library in Paris or the CAARI in Nicosia.

Basically this publication is to illustrate the increasingly confirmed hypothesis of my 1982 thesis. Whereas the Mycenaeans were a significant force in the eastern Mediterranean during the 14th and 13th centuries B.C., what has been hypothesized as a Mycenaean colonization in Cyprus following the severe destruction levels throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Anatolia ca. 1190 B.C., was in fact an opposite influence. The Mycenaean elements that characterized the pottery, and very little else, were inherited from the 13th century Levanto-Helladic tradition. In fact the remarkable changes in the material record at this time find precursors in Anatolia and the Levant. The parallel phenomenon in the Aegean thus reflects a cultural movement from Cyprus to the Aegean, rather than the reverse.

Late Bronze Age

	CYPRUS				GREECE		PALESTINE	SYRIA
B.C.	ASTRÖM	SJÖQVIST	DIKAIOS	SCHAEFFER	FURUMARK	STYRENIUS	AMIRAN	COURTOIS
1600	LC I A1 (1600 - 1540)							
1575								
1550			LC I A (1575 - 1525)	LC I A (1575 - 1525)				Ugarit réc. I (1600 - 1450)
1525	LC I A2 (1540 - 1500)	LC I A (1550 - 1450)			Myc. I (1550 - 1500)			
1500							LB I (1570 - 400)* or (1550 - 1400)	
1475			LC I B (1525 - 1425)	LC I B (1525 - 1450)	Myc. II A (1500 - 1450)			
1450	LC I B (1500 - 1415)							
1425		LC I B (1450 - 1400)		LC II (1450 - 1350)	Myc. II B (1450 - 1425)			Ugarit réc. II (1450 - 1365) 150
1400	LC II A1 (1415 - 1390)		LC II A (1425 - 1375)		Myc. III A (1425 - 1400)			
1375	LC II A2 (1390 - 1360)	LC II A (1400 - 1350)			Myc. III A:2 (early) (1400 - 1375)		LB II A (1410 - 1340)* or (1400 - 1300)	
1350	LC II B (1360 - 1320)		LC II B (1375 - 1300)					
1325		LC II B (1350 - 1275)			Myc. III A:2 (late) (1375 - 1300)			
1300	LC II C1 (1320 - 1250)							Ugarit réc. III (1365 - 1185)
1275			LC II C (1300 - 1230)	LC III (1350 - 1200)	Myc. III B (1300 - 1230)		LB II B (1340 -1200)* or (1300 - 1200)	
1250	LC II C2 (1250 - 1190)	LC II C (1275 - 1200)						
1225					Myc. III C:1a (1230 - 1200)			
1200			LC III A1 (1220 - 1190)					
1175	LC III A1 (1190 - 1175)	LC III A (1200 - 1150)	LC III A2 (1190 - 1150)		Myc. III C:1b (1200 - 1125)			
1150								
1125	LC III A2 (1175 - 1100)			Iron I (1200 - 1050)		Submyc. early (1150 - 1125)		
1100		LC III B (1150 - 1075)	LC III B1 (1150 - 1075)		Myc. III C:1c (1125 - 1075)	Submyc. mid. (1125 - 1075)		
1075	LC III B1 (1100 - 1075)							
1050	LC III B2 (1075 - 1050)		LC III B2 (1075 - 1050)		Myc. III C:2 (1075 - 1025)	Submyc. late (1075 - 1035)		

The chronology used in the present study will be Paul Aström's. All dates in the study refer to B.C.

* dates are synchronized to: Ahmes - Thotmes IV = Myc. I - II : 1570 - 1400
Amenhotep II – Amenhotep IV = Myc. III A : 1410 - 1340
XIXe Dynastie = Myc. III B : 1340 - 1200
AMIRAN, p. 12 et 124

Iron Age

	CYPRUS	SYRIA - PALESTINE	
B.C.	GJERSTAD	AMIRAN	FURUMARK (Philistines)
1200		I A (1200 - 1150)	
1175			I (1190 - 1150)
1150			
1125		I B (1150 - 1000)	II (1150 - 1100)
1100			
1075			III (1100 - 1050)
1050			
1025	CG I (1050 - 950)		IV (1050 - 1000)
1000			
975		I C (1000 - 918)	
950			
925	CG II (950 - 850)		
900		II A (900 - 800)	
875			
850			
825	CG III (850 - 725)		
800			
775		II B (800 - 587)	
750			
725			
700	CA I (725 - 600)		
675			
650			
625			
600			
575	CA II (600 - 475)		
550			
475			

Central Anatolia - The Hittites

	ALISHAR HÜYÜK		**BOGAZKÖY** (Büyükkale)	**BOGAZKÖY** (Lower City)	**BOGAZKÖY** (Osmankayasi)	**ALACA HÜYÜK**	**KARUM KANES**
B.C.	Schmidt	Van der Osten	Fischer	Fischer	Bittel	Waldbaum	Waldbaum
2000	**BRONZE AGE**						
1950	Early Hittite III (2400 - 1800)	Early pre-Hittite III (2400 - 1800)	V - IV d (2000 - 1800)	4 (2000 - 1800)			
1900							
1850							
1800							
1750	Aliens II (1800 - 1200)	Hittite II mound level V terrace level 10 - 11 (1800 - 1200)	IV c (1800 - 1400)	3 (1800 - 1400)		IV (1800 - 1500)	IV (1800 - 1700)
1700							
1650					↑ Alteste (± 1600) ↓		III (1700 - 1600)
1600							
1550							II (1600 - 1500)
1500							
1450					Alterer (1500 - 1400)	III (1500 -1300)	I (1500 - 1400/1300)
1400							
1350			IV b (1400 - 1300)	2 (1400 - 1300)	Jungerer (1400 - 1300)		
1300							
1250			IV a (1300 -1280)	1 (1300 - 1200)		II (1300 - 1200)	
			III b (1280 - 1220)				
			III a (1220 - 1200)				
1200	**IRON AGE**						
1150	Hittite IV (1200 - 700)	Middle III Phrygians mound level 4a, b, c terrace level 8 - 9 (1200 - 700)					
1100							
1050							
1000							
950							
900							
850							
800							
750							
700							

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TABLE I

PRINCIPAL CYPRIOT SETTLEMENTS

1230 B.C.	1150 B.C.	1050 B.C.	800 B.C.
Lapithos	Lapithos (Plakes)	Lapithos (Kastros) (Ayia Anastasia)	Lapithos (Kastros)
Palaepaphos (Evreti)	Palaepaphos (Evreti)	Palaepaphos (Xerolimni)	Palaepaphos (Xerolimni)
Kourion (Bamboula)	Kourion (Bamboula)	Kourion (Kaloriziki)	Kourion (Kaloriziki)
Idalion	Idalion	Idalion (Ayios Georghios)	Idalion
Toumba tou Skourou	Toumba tou Skourou	Toumba tou Skourou - Soloi	Soloi
Enkomi	Enkomi	Enkomi-Salamis	Salamis
Kition	Kition	Kition ; Soturas	Kition
Ayia Irini	Ayia Irini (?)	Ayia Irini	Ayia Irini
Ayios Iakovos	Ayios Iakovos (?)	Ayios Iakovos	Ayios Iakovos
Athienou	Golgoi	-	Athienou
Kythrea	Kythrea	Kythrea	-
Myrtou Pigadhès	-	-	Myrtou Pigadhès
Hala Sultan Tekké	-	-	Hala Sultan Tekké
Vounari	-	-	Vounari
Kyrenia	-	-	Kyrenia
Tamassos	-	-	Tamassos
Apliki	-	-	-
Akhera	-	-	-
Maroni	-	-	-
Pyla	-	-	-
Kalavasos	-	-	-
Sinda	-	-	-
Maa	-	-	-
Alassa	-	-	-
-	-	Amathus	Amathus
-	-	Alaas	Alaas
-	-	-	Marion

CHAPTER I

TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Bronze Age cuneiform tablets, Egyptian wall, stela and papyrus texts, and Classical Greek and Roman authors provide a backdrop for the events surrounding the transformation of the latest Mycenaean ceramics into Cypriot Proto White Painted ware and the ensuing Geometric pottery style, initiated by what is called White Painted I in Cyprus and Protogeometric in Greece. The Geometric style is accompanied a gap of illiteracy, between ca. 1000 and ca. 700, from which emerges a profoundly altered type of textual evidence. Whereas the Bronze Age evidence itself is fragile and incomplete, the much later narrations concerning this period took the form of myth, woven with contradictory idealizations of what had happened in ancestral times.

The scant Bronze Age textual evidence concerning the relationship between Cyprus and its foreign neighbours consists of: the inscriptions at Karnak and Medinet Habu, the Athribis stela and the Harris Papyrus referring to “Sea Peoples”, the passage concerning the Egyptian envoy Wenamon in the Golenischeff Papyrus, and the mention of Alashiya, probably the name for Cyprus, in Egyptian, Hittite and Ugaritic texts. From Archaic and Classical Greek times there are inscriptions indicating the introduction of the Arcadian Greek language to Cyprus, and a number of Greek and Roman authors mention the founding of Cypriot cities by Homeric Achaeans, although Cyprus is rarely referred to in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Homeric epics

The Homeric epics are the basis for a theory of the Mycenaean colonization of Cyprus. They merit close attention, because they have so deeply affected

our perception of the Mycenaeans and their eventual role in the development of Cypriot history. For the present purposes it is necessary first to refer to the mentions of Cyprus in the Homeric texts themselves. Other than the mention of Aphrodite as “kypris” throughout the *Iliad*, Cyprus is only mentioned in the following passages. (Panagl 1988: 31-32).

1. *Iliad*, XI: 15, the aristera of Agamemnon. Agamemnon is preparing for the fight, adorning himself with the golden and lapis lazuli armour which Kinyras, the king of Paphos, had presented to him when he heard that the Achaeans were going to sail.
2. *Odyssey* IV:90. Menelaos explains to Telemachos and Nestor’s son Persistratos, that he gathered his wealth during eight years of involuntary wandering, the first stops being Cyprus, Phoenicia and Egypt.
3. *Odyssey* VIII:359, the poem of Demodokos. Aphrodite commits adultery with Ares of Thracia, after which Ares returns to Thracia and Aphrodite is anointed in Paphos, which reflects a cultic relationship between Thracia and Paphos.
4. *Odyssey* XVII:446. Sailing with pirates to Egypt, Odysseus was captured by Egyptians and handed over by them to the king of Cyprus, Dmetor. From Cyprus he successfully returned to Ithaca, which suggests that the Achaeans and the Cypriots were on good terms.

Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1878: 22) adds another reference from the Odyssey (I: 181). Athena goes to Temesa (Tamassos) in search of copper. However, Temesa is not presently identified with Tamassos (Dufour, Raison 1965: 348, note 16). Even more ambiguously, Cyprus is personified by Aphrodite in the Homeric epics, where she is referred to as “kypris”, in honor of her copper producing island home. Yet whereas Kinyras from Cyprus protects Agamemnon with armour, Aphrodite befriends Paris and the Trojans.

None of these mentions of Cyprus indicate a Mycenaean or Achaean settlement in Cyprus. Rather to the contrary, friendly contact is involved, which does not seem conducive to an aftermath of a power takeover by the wandering Achaeans, unless land were to be offered to them. In classical Greek times Theopomp maintained that the Greeks under Agamemnon expelled Kinyras and his people from most of the island (Schachermeyr 1982: 30). Since such an event is not suggested in the *Iliad* or the known Bronze Age texts, we can suspect Theopomp of simply reinforcing a political myth pertaining to later Greek claims on the Levant.

Before considering the legends of cities in Cyprus being founded by Achaean heroes following the Trojan War, the reality of the war itself must be determined. The oldest written mention of the Trojan war is an inscription on an 8th century B.C. skyphos found at Ischia, inscribed with three verses affirming that this cup belongs to Nestor (Vidal Naquet 1975: 9). Given the lack of contemporaneous written sources referring to the Trojan War there have always been scoffers who proclaim Troy never existed. In the 5th century B.C. Anaxagoras denied the Trojan War on the grounds that there was no proof. The Christian father Basil, in 354 A.D., still beset by paganism under the emperor Julian, denied the Trojan War ever happened in order to reinforce the Christian faith (Wood 1985: 26, 32). Other scholars, such as M. Finley, P. Vidal Naquet and C. Baurain suggest instead that the historical fact is irrevocably lost and the nature of the epic itself is what should be emphasized. Nevertheless, archaeology and philology have so consistently confirmed the classical Greek texts derived from the 8th century B.C. songs of Homer, notably Mycenaean finds reflected in the texts, the pre-Dorian language structure recognized by M.P. Nilsson (1933), and later textual evidence,[1] that the vast majority of scholars accept the probability that

1 S. Sheratt (1990) for the finds, D. Easton (1985) for the textual evidence.

Hissarlik, near present day Cannakale, Turkey, was the site of the epic battle, just as Schliemann believed it was, following the geographical description of the *Iliad*. The debate essentially revolves around when it took place. If attached to the destruction of the Bronze Age level VI dated to the mid 13th century B.C., the criteria responding to Homeric descriptions are present. The impoverished level VIIa that applies to the 12th century B.C. does not offer them, but it is the only alternative if level VI was destroyed by earthquake as was asserted by its excavator Carl Blegen in the 1950's. Surprisingly this was rarely questioned until Michael Wood's coherent 1985 publication suggested level VI rather than level VIIa as a still open possibility for the site of the Trojan War. Level VI with its wide streets and great towers responds to Homeric description; the cracks in the towers that gave rise to the earthquake hypothesis may have been due to a shifting of the earth throughout the millennia, and even more pertinently, it cannot be determined when the earthquake would have taken place; there may have been a destruction by both siege and earthquake, even contemporaneously (Wood 1985: 143; Easton 1985: 190).

The Bronze Age strata discovered by Schliemann at the end of the 19th century at Hissarlik, as well as the discovery of the Argolid states mentioned by Homer, immediately gave rise to the possibility of the war having actually taken place in Asia Minor in terms of the epic narrative. They correspond to the geographical references in the Achaean *Catalogue of Ships* and the Hittite descriptions of struggling with Ahhiyawa. The *Catalogue of Ships* in the 2nd book of the *Iliad* describes the political geography of numerous sites belonging to the Bronze Age which did not survive into the Iron Age (Kirk 1975: 831-836). Furthermore, arguments have been developed for equating sites mentioned in the Hittite texts with Troy. G.L. Huxley (1960) and D.L. Page (1959) equate Wilusya and Tarwisa with Ilios and Troy; J. Mellaart and D. Easton believe Atriya may have been Troy

(Easton 1984: 24, 59, 72; Mellaart 1984: 72). Even more secure, is the general assumption that the Ahhiyawa must have been a Mycenaean tribe that was troubling the Hittite hegemony on the eastern coast of Asia Minor (Güterbock 1983; Baurain 1984: 310; Easton 1985: 194), a probability reinforced by the Mycenaean discoveries in the region of Miletus. Since slave women from Asia Minor are mentioned in Linear B tablets, they may have been a cause or result of a Hittite-Mycenaean skirmish.

There are Mycenaean language formulae and signs of the Bronze Age Aeolic Arcadian dialects in the Homeric epics; but it can be argued that these were otherwise transmitted to the later epics. It has also been noticed that there is no mention of the Dorians who were supposed to have compelled the Mycenaeans eastward causing the abandonment of major sites at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. (Nilsson 1933: 90). This is another indication that the war would have taken place prior to level VIIa at Troy, during a period of greater Mycenaean force.

Although new finds may well belie any conclusions, objects and weapons of the type mentioned by Homer have been found that apparently belong to the Greek Bronze Age and disappear from the later Greek archaeological record until at least after Homer's lifetime (Nilsson 1933: 137-150). Silver riveted swords were made in Greece until about 1400 B.C. and no later. Metal greaves have also been found in Bronze Age contexts, but seem to disappear in Greece until ca. 700 B.C. Greaves and thrusting spears reoccur in the 8th century B.C. but those of the epics must have been earlier because of the language used to describe them (Kirk 1975: 833, 834, 845). Vast body shields and boar's tusk helmets are uniquely Bronze Age. Objects corresponding to the description of Nestor's cup, the silver wheeled work basket and the metal inlay described on Achilles shield have also been found on Mycenaean sites. S. Sheratt (1990a: 811) observes

that the iron lump given as a prize at Achilles' funeral games would seem to be a Bronze Age appreciation of iron as meteorite, rare and expensive, and perhaps appreciated for its magnetic properties. She interprets the separate passage where such a lump is referred to as a cutting tool as a later reference to iron, perhaps as an effort to explain the more ancient attitude to contemporary auditors. The blue glass paste inlays bordering the walls at Tiryns are also described by Homer (Wood 1985: 82). Furthermore, there are traces of large areas of conflagration and a significant number of Mycenaean weapon types in the last phase of level VI (*ibid*: 228).

All speak for the fact of the Trojan War during the Mycenaean IIIB period. M. Finley (1980: 51) is obviously excessive when he proclaims that absolutely nothing in Homer refers to the Myceneaens. There must have been an implicit ideology in his attitude when he wrote "ni Troie ni la Grèce continentale n'apparaissent dans les texts Hittites" and "on ne peut trop répéter que les fouilles d'Hissarlik n'ont pas livré un atome de preuve susceptible de fonder les récits" (*ibid.*, 189). Although he admits there are poetic formulae that must have been composed in the Bronze Age in Homer's much later recitation, he sees no reason for these Bronze Age poems to be related to a Trojan war. In any case, in *Le Monde d'Ulysse* where these statements appear, Finley includes a very useful bibliography compiled by P. Vidal Naquet in his contribution "La Guerre de Troie comme fait archéologique et historique", which permits the reader to form his own opinion.

Until Wood's popular book and BBC broadcast, and Easton's 1985 review of his book, rehabilitated Troy VI as a possible level for the Trojan War, Finley's provocative approach was reiterated in post-World War II scholarship. In a 1981 symposium on the subject, L. Foxhall and J. K. Davies (1984: 178-179) published the following arguments against the historicity of the War:

1. LH IIIC pottery was found in level VIIa which lowers its date to post destruction levels on the Greek mainland.
2. Miletus and Troy had a parallel relationship with the Mycenaeans, functioning as ports of trade for the hinterland (according to archaeological evidence) and hence there is not a cause for war with Troy alone.
3. Recent archaeological theory considers that archaeological data cannot provide direct responses to historical questions (referring to articles by W. Dever and S. L. Dyson in *BASOR*, 1981 n° 242)[2].
4. Ahhiyawa may have been located in Thrace rather than in a zone of Mycenaean Greek settlement, which dismisses much of the Hittite textual evidence that might refer to troublesome Mycenaeans in the Trojan area. Furthermore, Hittite influence and culture may not have penetrated west of Gordion[3].
5. The three texts referring to Ahhiyawa should be re-dated to the early Hittite empire period (16th century) rather than the 13th century. In which case no Hittite texts support the Iliad.
6. The Sea Peoples are now seen as having carried out a long drawn out series of incursions rather than a single invasion. This makes it more difficult to count the “nostoi” in their league.
7. Oral poetry is now being seen in terms of literary structure and ambitions, rather than formulae; the formulae used for the Trojans may have been

2 Neither explicitly denies the value of traditional or “historical” archaeology. Rather, they welcome the “New Archaeology” as an enhancement in posing new questions and a means of solving them. See W. Dever, fifteen years later, who finds himself obliged, when confronted with post-modern revisionist theory, to defend the ability of archaeology to elucidate historical questions: “I will contine to be a passionate advocate of archaeology as a proper and valuable source for history writing” (Dever 1998: 46).

3 In spite of Mellaart’s arguments (1984: 71, 79), it is difficult to accept that the Cobanisa and Karabel rock cut monuments near Izmir do not reflect Hittite culture, and a rather strong influence, even if they belonged to the restless province of Arzawa. The argument here (p. 79) is that Arzawa at the time of Troy VII would have been too involved with revolting against the Hittites to have engaged in the Trojan War (p. 79). This conflict at the time of the Sea Peoples migrations is probable, but it would not affect the event of the Trojan War on level VI a century earlier.

added considerably later than the Achaean episodes; comparable cases of oral memory indicate that the transmission of historical events can be very thorough-going for political or cultural reasons, hence impossible to reduce to essentials.

There has been a tendency for academics during the last half of the 20th century to render history trivial and irrelevant, if not irremediably and consistently falsified, which is a politically oriented conviction that this is not the place to discuss. But it does bring us to an important point. The fact of the Trojan War is a question of observing evidence. The ancients who narrated the Trojan War half a millennia after the event may have distorted events less than modern scholars, given that they were narrating a past far less radically changed and differentiated than ours has been in the last two centuries. Their New Ilios (modern Hissarlik) was supposed to have continued into the beginning of the Iron Age, and there was a consensus of ancient opinion that the war had happened. There are ruins corresponding to the age and sites Homer depicted, including the ruins at Mycenae, Pylos and Tiryns that delivered artefacts described by Homer but, as far as is known, not present between the Bronze Age destructions and Homer's life, and the Hittite texts do mention skirmishes and sites on the West Anatolian coast which may refer to Troy and the Achaeans. Any one of these facts may have been borrowed from his entourage by Homer, but the ensemble makes the fact of the event described eloquently probable. It should be borne in mind that it is impossible to *prove* the details of any past, even yesterday. They are easily forgotten, suppressed, lost, or distorted. Yet the past exists; it is not a matter of faith. Real traces can be discerned.

My own conviction is that the War did take place at Hissarlik, although the human reactions involved do not refer to a physical battle as huge as it was

expanded by the epic metaphors. It is sensible to take into account a Trojan War taking place at Hissarlik responsible for the destruction of stratum VI, which would date it around 1250 B.C. Mycenaeans were in trade contact on the West Anatolian coast where there were skirmishes. This situation may have had a significant impact on Cyprus, where a Mycenaean presence is also clearly attested at this time. If an Achaean presence affected the development of Cypriot cities it must have been in the early 13th century B.C. rather than the 12th century.

Foundation Legends

A number of Cypriot cities that thrived under the reign of Evagoras (411-374 B.C.) were said to have been founded by the "nostoi" mentioned in the *Iliad's Catalogue of Ships:* heroes returning from the Trojan war. These hypothetical colonizations are the subject of a heretofore unpublished study by the French archaeologist Jean Berard, written in 1954, where he attempts to trace the veracity of the later classical Greek and Roman claims concerning these foundations (Berard 2008). This is a remarkably thorough discussion of the later traditions which had not been sufficiently analysed to be clearly interpreted at the time Berard was writing. Unfortunately untying the complexity of the various, often contradictory, narratives proved inclusive. However, concerning the date of the Trojan War, he doesn't seem to have hesitated to place it in the 13th century B.C. at the time of what he perceived as a clear Mycenaean hegemony that included Cyprus.

In fact, there is little concrete evidence to justify the foundation legends. It is rarely taken into account that the toponyms Amathus, Kourion, Salamis and Golgoi are semitic when it is suggested that these cities were founded by Achaeans (Dugand 1973: 52,54; Yon 1980 : 74). Furthermore, no 13th century B.C.

texts are known to have clearly mentioned what might be heroic invasions of Cyprus at that time. Hittite texts complaining about skirmishes concerning the West Anatolian region, the Ahhiwaya who may have been Mycenaeans, and infractions concerning Alashiya, are tempting to interpret in this sense (Güterbock 1983: 134). But then so are the later 12th century B.C. Egyptian mentions of "Sea Peoples" marauding the eastern Mediterranean region (see below). Aside from Kourion, Asine, and Golgoi the city states with legendary foundations have not delivered archaeological material from the Bronze Age (Table I). Their origins lie in the early 12th century B.C., or later, which we have seen is an unlikely period for the Trojan War to have taken place.

Given the problem of anchoring the Trojan War posterior to 1250 B.C. (level VI at Hissarlik)[4] and the very few and unrevealing references to Cyprus in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the much later recording of foundation legends should probably be laid aside as evidence of a real founding of cities by Mycenaeans in Cyprus. The more so as the Phoenicians seem to have provided a disruption in the Greek political presence that later generations were trying to fill. Yet the contrary has been the case. Scholars have used these legends to interpret archaeological finds. These researchers inevitably refer to a 1944 study by Einar Gjerstad who compiled the legends concerning the classical Greek Cypriot city kingdoms and the ancient authors who first recorded them. Since all of these cities seem to have their origins following the major destruction levels at the end of the 13th century B.C. in Cyprus, it was tempting to attribute them to the arrival of a homogenous foreign population. A style of pottery, developed from Mycenaean ware: Myc. IIIC:1c, or Proto White Painted which is its Cypriot counterpart, appeared at this time in the Aegean area and Cyprus, so it was assumed

4 The 3rd century B.C. Egyptian historian Manethos, and his contemporary, Eratosthenes chief librarian at the Alexandrian library, dated the fall of Troy at 1183 B.C. but these sources are so riddled with uncertainties, they cannot be taken verbatim (P. Aström 1972a: 762, note 1; Velikovsky 1977: 218).

the creators of the style which developed into Cypro-Geometric I ware were Mycenaeans, following an earlier group of Myceneans unsettled by the Trojan War, who would have introduced Myc. IIIC:1b (Dikaios 1969, vol. II: 519-521).

Gjerstad listed the cities in question and the ancient records of their Homeric foundations following Luigi Palma di Cesnola's lead in the late 19th century.[5] I have also included references in a list recently established by J. Vanschoonwinkel (1994: 122-124). They are as follows:

City	Founder	Reference	Earliest pottery found on the site
Paphos Temple of Aphrodite	Agapenor	Pausanias VII, 5, 2 Lykophron, 479 ff Alexandra Strabon XIV, 683 Aristoltelian peplos	Myc. IIIC:1b
Salamis	Teucer	Aischylos, *Persae*, 892 ff Pindar *Nem.* IV 75 Lykophron 450 ff Isokrates IX, 18 Strabon XIV, 682 Tacitus, *Annales* III, 62 Vergil *Aeneis* I, 619 ff Klearchos	Proto White Painted
Lapithos	Praxandros	Strabon XIV, 682 Lykophron, 58b Philostefansos de Cyrene: *Peri nison or peri Kyprou*	Proto White Painted
Keyrenia	Kepheus	Lykophron, 58b Philostefanos de Cyrene Tzetzes	
Soloi	Akamas Demophon Phaleros	Lykophron Plutarch, *Vit. Solon* 26 Strabon XIV, 683	Cypro- Geometric I A

5 L. Palma di Cesnola 1877: 227 for Soloi, p. 234 for Lapithos, p. 235 for Keyrenia; for the rulers Kinyras, p. 204 and Agapenor, p. 219.

Chytroi	Chytros	Stephanos Byz. Alexandros *Polyhistor* Xenagoras	Cypro- Geometric I B
Golgoi Athienou	Golgos	Stephanos Byz.	Myc. IIIC:1b
Kourion	Argive colony	Strabon XIV, 683 Herodotus V, 113	Myc. IIIB
Asine	Dryopes Pheidippos	Diodoros IV, 37 Herodotus VIII, 46 Schol. Lykophron, 911 Tzetzes, *Commentaires à Alexandra*, 911	
Lakedaimon	Laconians	Stepanos Byzantios Eustathios	

The most tempting legend to believe is that of Agapenor founding Paphos because it entails an Arcadian, and the Cypriot dialect is based on Arcadian. Vestiges discovered at Paphos indicate that a Temple was founded there ca. 1200, which is close to the date of the Trojan War established by Greek scholars in the Classical period. Pausanias relates that the Greek fleet was scattered in a storm on its return from Troy and the ship of Agapenor and the Arcadians was driven to Cyprus where he built the Temple of Aphrodite and established Nea Paphos. There was also a temple dedicated to the Paphian Aphrodite at Tegea in Arcadia. Pausanias further relates that Agapenor's daughter, Laodike, sent a peplos to the temple of Athena in Tegea with an epigram addressing it to "her broad fatherland from holy Cyprus" (Cesnola 1877: 219 ; Gjerstad 1944: 107; Baurain 1984: 465; Demetriou 1989). However, the *Iliad* II, 609 only mentions Agapenor as the leader of the Arcadians in the Trojan expedition, whereas it refers to Kinyras as the indigenous ruler of Paphos, respected by Agamemnon.

One can only conjecture how the arrival of the storm driven Arcadians would have been handled by Kinyras and the local people. Another form of the Greek legend narrates that after having been blown off course to Cyprus Agapenor established a settlement in Libya (Robbins 2001: 160).

The other tantalizing legend, involves Teucer, probably founder of the Teukrians, identified with the Sea People raiders named "Tjekker" on the Egyptian inscriptions at Medinet Habu (Schachermeyr 1982: 113). It may apply to this early period, only if Enkomi is the "srmsk" on an inscription listing several towns as enemies of Ramses III (Barnett 1975: 376; Dikaios 1969 vol. II: 515). Otherwise, the most ancient vestiges of the Cypriot city, Salamis, that he was supposed to have founded 10 km. away from the abandoned Enkomi, date from 1050 BC., a century after the most recent possible Trojan War date. Interestingly, Both Gjerstad (1944: 118) and Schachermeyr (1982: 116-122) give detailed and convincing arguments that Teucer was not really from the Greek island of Salamis, but belonged to an indigenous tribe from the Troad in Anatolia. In fact Greek myths also attribute the founding of Troy to him (Graves 1960 vol. II: 259) (which would have made it chronologically impossible for him to settle in Cyprus after the 13th century B.C.) Hence he would not be a Mycenaean Greek. In this case, Gjerstad perceives that political mythology serving Athenian interests no doubt changed an earlier tradition in which Teucer is related to the Tjekker, supported by Syro-Palestinians according to the Wenamon text (see below). The Athenian version would have made use of the Homeric Teucer, brother of Ajax from the Greek island of Salamis. Gjerstad rightly attributes the foundation legends of Soloi and Chytroi to political mythology. He gives more credit to the reality of the foundation of Golgoi by the Siconian Golgos, and the colonization of Cyprus by Praxandros and Kepheus, as well as by Argives and Dryopians (from Kythnos). In any case, none of the documentary evidence is clear, and

is only plausible in so far as it is supported chronologically and culturally by archaeological evidence.

When the Greek authors, who lived at the time of Evagoras, first made written mentions of Mycenaean dominance in Cyprus, it must be remembered that Kition was ruled by Persians and Phoenicians, as were Idalion and Tamassos, whereas Greek dominance in Cyprus was always ambiguous, even under the non-Greek, but Hellenophile, Evagoras, murdered in 374 B.C. There was undoubtedly a struggle in Cyprus between the Greeks and Persians for domination.[6] Hence justificatory legends would be apt then, as they are today, to be developed. Another aspect of traditions that is increasingly ignored by the modern mind, is that in pre-modern times, temporal and spatial exactitude were practically irrelevant as far as human behaviour, or destiny, was concerned. Minds tended to function in terms of metaphor and symbols which were believed to be "truer" because they escaped the temporal dimension and reflected the collective experience. The legendary founders of cities were, above all, heroic symbols for a city's inhabitants to pattern themselves after.

The Cypro-Arcadian Dialect and the Dorians

In Greek oral tradition kings of Mycenaean descent, the Heracleidae, established in northwestern Greece moved against upper class local Mycenaean rulers two generations after the Trojan War. The invaders spoke a Dorian dialect, and apparently ousted the Aetolion and Arcadian Greek speakers. This is the occasion upon which it has been conjectured that the Arcadian form of the Greek

6 V. Tatton Brown, *Ancient Cyprus*, British Museum, 1987 published a prism of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, listing ten Cypriot kings of which seven bear Greek names. So Greeks were already established in Cyprus.

language was introduced to Cyprus, indicating a Mycenaean “colonization” (Furumark 1944: 264).

N.G.L. Hammond (1975: 678 ff.) is one of the most exhaustive exponents concerning the Dorians. He gives credit to the idea of the Dorians living in Epirus during the generation before the Trojan war. He records their geometric pottery in Epirus and cites the later literary traditions that they entered the Peloponnese ca. 1120 B.C.

This assertion of the Dorian penetration of the Mycenaean world has been increasingly abandoned due to a nearly total lack of evidence. The Dorian existence is almost uniquely attested by the 8th century B.C. Dorian dialect. V. Desborough gives a more realistic point of view. He points out that there is no evidence at all of a Dorian takeover of the Greek mainland in spite of the legend that “Temenos was one of the three Heraclid leaders who was supposed to have seized the Peloponnese with the Dorians. His grandson Rhegnidas gained control of the little town of Philius, which would be around the middle of the 11th century. This event, as we are told by Pausanias, resulted in the departure to Samos of the leader of the opposition party in Phlius, Hippasos; and Hippasos was the great grandfather of the famous sage Pythagoras. However Pythagoras lived in the 6th century, not the 10th as the above suggests.” (Desborough 1971: 324). Desborough correctly observes that the Greeks erred in attempting to achieve a genealogical connexion with the Heroic Age where none existed. Not being related to the Trojan War the Dorians sought Herakles as an ancesteral justification of their power.

In a more recent study, E.M. Craik writes that “although literary sources record the coming of the Dorians as the “return of the Herakleidai”, archaeologically the Dorians are elusive. In Homer’s account of the forces accompanying Agamemnon to Troy, the island contingents are led by descendants of Herakles” (Craik 1980: 27).

There were supposed to be three groups of tribes in Rhodes. But these Dorians had not yet developed their dialect and there are no archaeological traces of them, the island material cultures being thoroughly Minoan or Mycenaean in character (Craik 1980: 29). The dialect probably developed in the Peloponnese but is not clear as to when and where proto-Doric arose and dialectal differences crystallized.

The Dorians are even less assuredly identified by a geometric pottery style. By the 8th century B.C. the earliest date for which the Dorian dialect is clearly attested, Rhodes has a Dorian dialect and Cyprus has an Arcadian dialect, also first clearly attested in the 8th century B.C. Whereas in the 12th century B.C. the material record of Cyprus and Rhodes is remarkably similar, especially the pottery. If the geometric innovations of Mycenaean IIIC pottery (at first called "Sub" Mycenaean) is the product of a peasant Dorian substrata would the fleeing aristocratic Arcadian Greek speakers have introduced this style into Cyprus and Rhodes? In any case, the introduction of a similar new form of material culture during the 12th century B.C. does not seem related to the 8th century B.C Dorian-Arcadian divergence.

Cypro-arcadian and Cypro-minoan

In deciphering Mycenaean Linear B, J. Chadwick was able to use the Cypro-Arcadian dialect present on an 8th century B.C. stele. "The isolated dialect of the central Peloponnese, Arcadian, was closely related to that of a very remote area, Cyprus. But Cyprus was known from archaeological evidence to have been colonized by Mycenaeans in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. Thus it was almost certain that Arcadians and Cypriots together represented the relics of Mycenaean dialect, spoken all over the pre-Dorian Peloponnese. This deduction supplied a very important control on the attempt to decipher a Mycenaean

script as Greek" (Chadwick 1970: 12). Since writing the above Chadwick (1988: 61) has determined that following the attested end of the Mycenaean inscriptions, ca. 1200 B.C. there are specifics in the 8th century B.C. syllabic Cypro-Arcadian that do not belong to Mycenaean linear B. Between 1200 B.C. and the earliest 11th century B.C. syllabic Cypriot[7] inscription on an obelos, Chadwick believes that Arcadian and Cypriot were historically separated and receiving independent influences. It is interesting to note that some of these specifics are common to the Anatolian coastal region: Lesbos, Rhodes and Pamphlyia (Chadwick 1988: 58, 61; Ruigh 1988: 133-134).

Cypro-Arcadian is a syllabic language not directly related to the Cypriot Bronze Age writing termed Cypro-Minoan. In his 1970 assessment Chadwick believed Cypro-Arcadian was introduced to Cyprus in the 13th century B.C., before the Dorian invasion of Greece, because a pre-Doric form of Greek is attested in the later Cypro-Arcadian dialect. But given the doubts as to the timing and circumstances of the appearance of Dorian language speakers, there is still cause for debate as to when the Arcadian dialect must have occurred in Cyprus.

Other than the exception discussed below, the only inscriptions assuredly anterior to the 8th century B.C. Cypro-Arcadian ones are in undeciphered Cypro-Minoan characters. Cypro-Minoan is related to Cretan Linear A (also undeciphered) and the earliest known examples come from Enkomi in contexts containing Middle Minoan III sherds (ca. 16th century B.C.)(O. Masson 1969; E. Masson 1979a). Unlike Linear B, linear A did not cover an Aryan language. Linear B is restricted to commercial archives and its use has never been attested beyond the Peloponnese and Crete. If Mycenaeans settled in Cyprus they did not carry their script with them.

7 The Cypro-syllabic script is known to have covered both the eteo-Cypriot and Greek languages. Other than this example, the earliest inscriptions date from the 8th century B.C. As in this case, the Paphian form, the signs are a development of the Cypro Minoan I script.

CYPRIOT		A	B	
	lo			ro/lo
	na			na
	pa			pa
	po			po
	sa			sa
	se			se
	ta			da
	to			to

A comparison of classical Cypriot signs with Linear A and Linear B
(Chadwick 1987: 53, fig.33)

Fig. 1. Coupe de bronze, Surface 1.

Fig. 2. Obelos d'Opheltas, T. 49:16.

Fig. 3. Obelos inscrit, T. 49:17.

Fig. 4. Obelos inscrit, T. 49:18.

Fig. 5. Pierre no. A inscrite, dromos de la T. 49.

Fig. 6. Pierre no. D inscrite, dromos de la T. 67.

Fig.7a. Anse T. 49:78.

Fig.7b. Anse T. 49:78.

Fig.7c. Anse T. 61, Pyre A:6.

Inscriptions on the objects from Skales Tomb 49
(Masson O. and E. 1983: 412)

An Obelos from Palaepaphos - Skales

The only possible epigraphic evidence of Arcadian Greek speakers in Cyprus prior to the 8th century B.C. are the earliest known traces of a Cypriot syllabic script on an Obelos discovered in the late 11th century B.C. tomb 49 at Skales-Palaeopaphos. The excavator, V. Karageorghis has made a vociferous case for the fact that one of three obeloi discovered in the tomb was inscribed with the Greek name: Opheltas (Karageorghis 1980: 135). Only one of the five signs differs from Bronze Age Cypro Minoan 1, three are already known and one seems to be a simplification of the CM1 sign 38 (E. and O. Masson 1983: 413). The name Opheltas in itself may refer to an Aegean presence in Cyprus dating from the introduction of Cypro-Minoan at least two centuries earlier because the earliest appearance of the name Opheltas, discovered at Knossos in linear B, is of Cretan rather than Mycenaean origin (O. and E. Masson 1983: 414). However, not only is the find context in the Skales cemetery in doubt, but there is a doubt as to the early signarym for Opheltas, which epigraphists would place at a much later date (Powell 1991: 90, note 42). Both Chadwick (1987: 55) and O. Masson (1983: 414) find that the genitive form “au” on this name, instead of the Myceanaen “ao” indicates a remarkably early form of “Arcado-Cypriot” that is not otherwise attested before the 8th century. Two of the CM1 signs on this obelos, the modified sign and the new sign are common to this later Paphian syllabary, which indicates the direct descent of the Cypro-Archaic syllabary from CM I (O. Masson 1983: 413). E. Masson (1979b: 402) and Chadwick point out that the later syllabic system derived from Minoan Linear A which continued to exist alongside Linear B “since not only are some simple signs identical, or almost so, to the Minoan ones, but they have the same values as the corresponding sign in Linear B.” (Chadwick 1987: 50-52, fig. 53). On the whole, the Classical

Cypriot which was used to write Greek, as well as an unkown language after the 8th century was an inconvenient syllabary system for Greek. It was obviously related to Linear B, because seven signs can be equated, but three fourths of the signs are not related (Chadwick 1970: 22).

A bronze bowl found out of context on the surface of the site, one of the other obeloi and a dromos stone in the timb 49 bear Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, except for one unknown sign on the stone. Since inscriptions on metal and stone were Cypriot and Near Eastern practices, not known from the Mycenaean realm, it is questionable if this was a Greek tomb or it may derive from much earlier Minoan practices. In Linear A (related to Cypro-Minoan) "there are a number of inscriptions on stone and bronze objects - a feature strangely lacking in Linear B" (Chadwick 1970: 13, 129). On the contrary, the other contents of the tomb and the fact that a Cypriot rather than a Greek form of writing is in question indicate a considerable period of assimilation if the person buried is indeed of Mycenaean descent. B. Powell, citing E.L. Bennett, considers that "this object presents extremely interesting problems, which should first be resolved by a genuine consensus before relying on it as evidence in other problems" (Powell 1991).

At best the Opheltas obelos offers an 1100 B.C. ante quem date for an Arcadian Greek, or even Cretan, presence in Cyprus. It does not tell us when such a name and writing was introduced. The name may even have been inherited from the 14th or 13th, or even as early as the 16th, century B.C. So we see that the written evidence within Cyprus itself remains inconclusive concerning the arrival of Mycenaeans.

Alashiya: Hittite, Ugaritic and Egyptian texts

Further textual evidence depends upon whether or not Cyprus is equated with the Bronze Age toponym "Alasihya" (the word may mean "her ladyship/

queenship", recalling Aphrodite, Knapp, 1996: 7). Most scholars accept this probability, but R. Merrillees and B. Powell are justified in warning that this is not assured (Merrilees 1972: 111-119; Powell 1991: 1-13; Baurain 1984: 22; Muhly 1972: 201-219). A.B. Knapp (1996) has provided an invaluable collection of all the Bronze Age documents referring to this name.

Since Cyprus would not be mentioned in contemporary Near Eastern Bronze Age texts if it were not Alasihya, we shall take into account the givens assuming that the island was indeed Alasihya. There is no mention of Alasihya, or a possible Cyprus, in linear B other than the mentions of "kupirijo" (meaning "henna" Knapp, 1996, 11-12) in late 13th century tablets from Pylos and Knossos. One of the earliest mentions of Alasihya belongs to a famous Hittite text which probably dates to the 15th century B.C. (Güterbock 1983: 133; Baurain 1984: 159), although the 13th century is a possibility (Kammenhuber 1969: 548-552). Güterbock (1983: 134) gives a particularly thorough discussion of this text in relationship to other texts concerning Ahhiyawa where the earlier dating of the text might refer to Mycenaeans, and a brief passage might even refer to the level VI Trojan war. The text concerns a man named Madduwatta who had been stirring up trouble under the Hittite Kings Tudhaliya II and Arnuwanda I in Western Anatolia. He was eventually exiled to Alashiya. The region he was operating in is referred to as Ahhiwaya which some scholars identify with the region of Troy, or perhaps Rhodes, although there is argument for relating Ahhiwaya with the Achaeans from the Greek mainland (Baurain 1984: 279; Muhly 1984: 44; Güterbock 1967: 73-81). Other scholars locate it most probably in Thrace (Easton 1984: 29; Mellaart 1984:72). Madduwatta jockeys between the King of Ahhiwaya, Attarissiyas, and Tudhaliya II. Gaining the favour of the latter, he then turns around and allies himself with the Hittite enemy, the king of Arzawa (a league perhaps allied to Attarissiyas' Ahhiwaya) also based on the West Anatolian coast (Baurain 1984: 161). A Hittite

king, probably Arnuwanda I, complains to his vassal Madduwatta that not only he, Madduwatta, but Attarissiyas and a man from Piggaya have been raiding Alashiya, which is a vassal of the Hittites thus weakening Alashiya's tribute (the text is given in Knapp 1996: 31; Robbins 2001: 37-40). This event may coincide with the earliest entries of the Mycenaeans into Cyprus . The chronology of the Hittite kings and the attributions of the tablets to kings, as well as an uncertainty concerning place names are still matters of debate, and I mention this here, mainly to indicate the difficulties the Hittites were having with the Anatolian coastal areas and the possibility of a Mycenaean incursion into Cyprus well before the early 12th century destruction levels in the East Mediterranean.

At the end of the 13th century B.C. there was a frequent correspondence between the King of Ugarit and the King of Alashiya, documented by a number of clay cuneiform tablets discovered at Ugarit. The King of Ugarit is concerned by the presence of enemy ships off the coast; he also pleas for grain supplies (Baurain 1984: 278-319, goes into detail concerning this correspondence). Among the most often cited and significant texts concerning the alarming events affecting Cyprus, Ugarit and Anatolia at the end of the 13th century are:

The famous K BO XII 38 text from the last Hittite King Suppiluliuma II at Hattusa. It concerns the only naval battle known to have been carried out under a Hittite King and was a victory against an enemy coming from Alashihya. It is not clear whether the "enemy" from Alashiya are natives of Alashiya or simply based there (Baurain 1984: 279; Güterbock 1967: 73-81; Muhly 1984: 44). Given that Alashiya had been won over as an ally to Suppiluliuma II's father, Tudhaliya IV, it is possible that the enemy refers to an Egyptian landing (thwarted by Suppiluliuma) on the island. Otherwise the enemy must have been restless coastal Anatolians which would have included the islands along the coast, reacting with energy to a Hittite Empire weakened by famine and trade factors.

Most telling of all are the “oven tablets” from Ugarit. The suddenness with which Ugarit was abandoned ca. 1200 is indicated by the presence of a number of unbaked tablets found in an oven in the Royal Palace. They are apparently translations into Ugaritic, because most of them are addressed to the King of Ugarit, by the Hittites and the King of Alashiya (Astour 1965: 254; Mellaart 1984: 63-66). They indicate a state of alarm. Among them are:

- *A demand from the King of Hatti* for a ship and crew to transport 2000 measures of grain from Mukish to Ura (in Western Cilicia) to assuage a famine in the Hattiland (Astour 1965: 255).

- *A letter from Ewir-Sharruma*, military officer, to the king of Ugarit asking him to send someone to whom he could deliver the 2000 horses the king had entrusted to him (Drower 1975: 146; Astour 1965: 257).

The alarm is reiterated in a correspondence back and forth between the King of Alashyia and the King of Ugarit, Ammurapi, warning about enemy boats. The King of Alashiya warns the King of Ugarit to surround his city with ramparts. The King of Ugarit laments that his troops and chariots were in Hittite territory and his ships were in Lycian (Lukka) territory (Baurain 1984: 313).

A more recent Egyptian document contained within the *Papyrus Golenischeff* [8], dating from the reign of Smendes (1069-1043) narrates the adventures of Wenamon, an agent of Ramses XI (1118-1090 B.C.) who found himself shipwrecked off the coast of Alashiya. He had been sent to Syria to acquire cedar wood for his master and was met with hostility by the population of Alashiya until he was brought before the Queen whose name was Hatiba (a Hittite name? HTB is not a Greek name, Dugand 1973: 53; see also Sjöqvist 1940a: 207; Schachermeyr 1982: 114). Wenamon had first been

8 Published by J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt IV*, London 1904, 287: n° 591.

menaced by the Tjeker tribe who complained about him to the King of Byblos. The king responded “I cannot imprison the messenger of Amun in my land. Let me send him off and you can follow him to capture him.” (Ockinga 1996: 49). The nervousness of Wenamon having to deal with the King of Byblos and Cypriots may have pertained to a long standing hostility between the northeast Mediterranean area and Egypt, which first exploded at Kadesh and may have reached a climax in the conflict between the Sea Peoples and Ramses III a century before Wenamon’s adventure.

The above makes it clear that if Alashiya is Cyprus, it was still allied to the northern Levantine area after the fall of the Hittites and Ugarit empires, but the texts make no claim as to its victory over, or defeat by, the common enemy that appears at the end of the 13th century B.C.: the “Sea Peoples”. Consultation of the leaders of these three countries with the Egyptian pharaoh is conspicuously absent, whereas there are five significant Egyptian written testimonies to events of this period, that name invaders to Egypt (referred to by scholars as “the Sea Peoples”) that are violently quelled by the pharaohs Merneptah, reigning from 1236 to 1223, and Ramses III, reigning from 1198 to 1166. These are: the wall inscriptions at Karnak concerning Merneptah’s victories, a stela from Anthribis, and Merneptah’s Victory Stela, famous for the earliest known written mention of Israel, wall inscriptions at Ramses III’s Medinet Habu temple complex concerning his victories, and a further description of his victories on the longest known papyrus (40.5 meters long) the Harris Papyrus, ordered by Ramses IV on the day of his father’s death c. 1162 (Faulkner 1975: 240; Sandars 1978: 116, fig.72). The temple inscriptions at Medinet Habu particularly concern Cyprus because they name a defeated enemy from Alashiya and specifiy “Salomaski, Katian, Aimar, Sali, Ital, Maquas, Kerena, Kir… all of which can be transposed with the names of the Cypriot cities Salamis (ancient Enkomi), Kition, Marion, Soli, Idalion,

Akamas, Keryenia and Kourion." (Sjöqvist 1940: 207; see also Barnett 1975: 376; Wainwright 1963: 148)[9]. This latter emphasis on Cypriots from all regions battling the Egyptians certainly indicates that the Hatti-Ugarit-Alashiya coalition must have been referring to Egypt as an invading enemy. The traditional assumption of scholars has been that the "Sea Peoples" were an enemy common to Egypt, Cyprus and her allies, supposedly moving in from the Aegean in the aftermath of the Trojan war. More recently, as the "Sea Peoples" have been more correctly identified with Anatolian and Palestinian coastal regions, it has been suspected that the Hittite and Ugaritic empires were eroded by internal revolutions.

The Sea Peoples

Here again we touch upon a subject which has far surpassed the existing evidence. The term "Sea Peoples" was coined by the French Egyptologist G. Maspero in referring to invaders of Egypt, including those described as migrating from the north and the sea under the reigns of Merneptah (1236-1223 or 1209-1196 B.C.) and Ramses III (1198-1166 or 1170-1139).[10] The concept is misleading, because, in fact, though the invasion involved a naval battle under Merneptah, his major enemy was the land enemy, Libya. However, the term is derived from the Athribis stela where the Ekwesh are described as arriving from "Countries of the Sea" and the Karnak Inscription where "Shardana (Sherden), Shekelesh and Ekwesh are all "of the Countries of the Sea, although not, curiously, the Lukka." (Sandars 1985: 107).

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9 The original texts can be found in J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. IV, Chicago, 1906; Edgerton-Wilson, *Historical Records of R. III. The text in the Medinet Habu*, I, p. 52 and pl. 46. Wainwright also cites as sources: J. Simons, *Egyptian Topographical Lists 165,* "Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen"*;* Brugsch*, A History of Egypt* ii 1879, 152.

10 For a complete discussion of Maspero's 1873 thesis of migrations originating with Illyrians, Phrygian and Dorian movements from the northwest see Drews 1993: 50-61.

Merneptah's enemies, named on the Karnak inscription, the Athribis stela and the Victory, or "Israel" stela were: the Sherden, Lukka, Ekwesh, Meswesh, Teresh and Shekelesh. The Lukka and Ekwesh do not appear among Ramses III's foes. There is little difficulty in defining the Lukka as southwest Anatolians and the Meshwesh as neighbours of the Libyans (Barnett 1975: 361, 366), but the Ekwesh, often supposed to have been from Ahhiwaya, and as such, "Achaeans" pose the problem of having been circumcised, which is a distinctly Semitic custom, otherwise unknown among the Aegean peoples (Barnett 1975: 367; Sandars 1985:107). The Teresh are mentioned again as being defeated by Ramses III alongside the Peleset in an inscription of Deir el Medineh, although not in the other texts pertaining to Ramses III. They were probably the Hittite "Taruisha" located near the Troad (Sandars 1985: 112, 157).[11]

Two battles in the years 5 and 11 of Ramses III's reign were again victoriously waged against the Libyans. Part of the enemy contingent of the second of three battles, in the year 8, not pertaining to the Libyans, is described as arriving by land, accompanied by women and children in a specifically Anatolian type of oxcart, drawn by humped zebu, known from Anatolia and Mesopotamia, but not Palestine or the Aegean (Schaeffer 1952: fig. 113; Sandars 1985: 121, figs. 76-78). Like the crowded ships depicted on the walls of Ramses III's morturary temple at Medinet Habu, their crowded, vulnerable, appearance suggests they did not come from great distances. In any case, massive land devastations occurred at this time everywhere in the Eastern Mediterranean, and those on the Syro-Palestinian coast suggest an important organization of land forces.

Approximately forty years after Merneptah's victories, during the three invasions under Ramses III, described at Medinet Habu, the Meshesh reappear

11 It is often assumed that following the Sea People's migrations, the Sherden moved into Sardinia, the Tershesh became the Italian Etruscans, and the Shekelesh (Sikels) settled in Sicily.

alongside the Libyans and an unknown tribe, the Seped, in the above mentioned year 5 invasion, during which the Peleset and the Tjekker are described as “cut off from their land, coming their spirit broken” (Albright 1975: 371). In the year 8 another set of invaders consists of the Shekelesh and the Sherden familiar to Merneptah, alongside the Peleset, Tjeker, Weshesh and Denyen. The tribes named at Medinet Habu don’t include the Sherden, but the Harris Papyrus counts them among the defeated Peleset, Tjeker, Weshesh and Denyen which must refer to this battle (Sandars 1985: 132-133). Finally in the Year 11 the Libyans yet again caused trouble along with the Meshwesh and five other tribes of whom nothing further is known (Faulkner 1975: 242 -243.)

These skirmishes indicate Egypt’s chronic preoccupation with maurauding neighbors in times of penury. In all the above invasions famine seems to have been involved. On the Karnak inscriptions describing Merneptah’s victory it is written “They come to the land of Egypt to seek the necessities of their mouths…. Bringing to an end the Pedetisehew whom I caused to bring grain in ships to keep alive the land of Kheta” (Robbins 2001: 163). Three tablets from the Rap’anu archives dating from this period at Ugarit also mention famine in the Hittite region (Albright 1975: 369). The year 8 inscriptions of oxcarts bearing families also suggest this type of penury.

The chronic tension with the Libyans has been relatively ignored by scholars in favour of the most often quoted passage that pertains to the most serious battle of the year 8:

“…as for the foreign countries, they made a conspiracy in their islands. All at once the lands were on the move, scattered in war. No country could stand before their arms. Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alashiya. They were cut off. A camp was set up in one place in Amor (Ammuru). They desolated its people and its land was like that which has never come into being. They were

advancing on Egypt while the flame was prepared before them. Their league was Peleset, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denyen and Weshesh, united lands. They laid their hands upon the lands to the very circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: “Our plans will succeed”.” (Sandars 1985: 119; Ockinga 1996: 48 translates “foreign” by “hill”).

Perhaps the most unquestionable significance of this text is the aftermath of the events it describes which take place under the reign of Ramses III, apparently corresponding to a series of destruction levels throughout the Aegean and the Near East. Egypt itself was not spared because, in spite of Ramses III’s victory proclamations, the subsequently impoverished literary and settlement material attest to a remarkable and sudden decline until the Ptolemic period.

In Cyprus there were major destructions at this time, yet significant rebuilding at Enkomi and Kition. Many other major Cypriot sites were deserted (see Table I). However this may involve a fifty year time span and does not prove that one event is the cause (Maier 1986: 317). In any case, where the sites are reinhabited the destruction levels are followed by the ubiquitous use of local imitations of previously local Myc. IIIB pottery that eventually gave rise to the Proto White Painted style. Thus the destructions must have been by related groups of people but “Whether we label these invaders ‘Achaeans’ or ‘Philistines’ or ‘Sea Peoples’ or even ‘Israelites’ probably depends more upon later literary traditions than upon contemporary archaeological or historical evidence” (Muhly 1984: 49).

Muhly’s argument that there is no clear archaeological evidence of the direct participation of the tribes named at Medinet Habu in the destructions at Cyprus can be reinforced by the difficulties in identifying these tribes. Nevertheless T. Dothan (1982: 22) is exgerrating when she observes: “the ethnogeographic and linguistic aspects allow an almost unlimited field of speculation.” In determining

the possible incursion of Mycenaeans or other foreigners into Cyprus at this time it is worth noting the principle efforts at identifying the tribes. In every case it is possible to hypothesize their Syro-Anatolian rather than Aegean origin.

Sherden: The Sherden had been familiar to the Egyptians ever since Amenophis III. They were apparently pirates and marauders, who when arrested, became mercenaries for the Egyptians. They are mentioned in the Amarna tablets and appear as troops fighting under Ramses II at Kadesh (Barnett 1975: 360). Their horned helmets and kilts argue for a Near Eastern origin (Sandars 1985: 106). Although they can be related to Sardinia they most probably moved to there in the aftermath of these events, possibly from Cyprus (Barnett 1975: 368; Sandars 1985: 161; Robbins 2001: 299-307).

Shekelesh: it is possible to equate the name Sheklesh with Sagalassos in Asia Minor from where they may have set out (Drews 1993: 57-60; Robbins 2001: 159-160).[12] They have also been identified with Sicily, mainly because 8th century B.C. Greek colonists found a people named “Sikels” in Sicily who were said to have come from southern Italy after the Trojan War. There is even a possibility that ‘sikel’ is related to the word ‘tjekker’ which means they would have originated from Asia Minor before immigrating to Sicily probably at the time of the Sea People’s movements (Robbins 2001: 308-311). Furthermore, N. Sandars (1985: 113, 199-200) notices that Mycenaean IIIA and IIIB pottery present on the island disappears when “Sikels” would have arrived if they were indeed the “Shekelesh”, whereas a fine monochrome pottery resembling Bronze Age

12 Drews 1993: 61, 70 recalls that Maspero first identified the Shekelesh with Sagalessos on the upper Maeander who migrated to Sicily around 1200 B.C. Drews himself seems to think they simply originated from Sicily, p. 72. However he does not take into account that Sicily could be named after the Shekelesh, rather than vice-versa.

Anatolian ware and some “Philistine” pots appear. So she, too, would tentatively place their origin in Asia Minor.

Denyen: The possible origin of the Denyen is particularly complex. The hieroglyph “dnyn” can be associated with the Assyrian Danuna, or the Danaoi, a Homeric term for Bronze Age Greeks, the population that issued from Perseus the first king of Mycenae and son of Danae, daughter of Akrisios, the great grandson of Danaos (Graves 1955 vol. I: 237). Akrisios, like Mopsos below, may have issued from Danunans of Indo-Iranian origin, migrating through Asia Minor (Sakellariou 1980: 207-210).They can also be associated with Cilicia on the basis of the 9th century B.C. bilingual Phoenician and hieroglyphic Hittite inscription from Karatepe (near present day Adana). The author of the inscription identifies himself as a chieftain of the “Danuniyim”, in Phoenician, or the city of “Adana” in hieroglyphic Hittite (Barnett 1975: 365), belonging to the house of “Mps”, or “Mks.” “Mps” would be the Greek seer Mopsos, wandering after the Trojan War; “Mks” would relate to Moksos, a Lydian ruler (Sakellariou 1980: 216-220). The coastal Anatolian presence of this tribe during the Late Bronze Age is reinforced by the argument that “Danuniyim” is the plural form of Danuna, which as it is mentioned in early Hittite records and a letter found at Amarna from the King of Tyre, must have been north of Ugarit, like Adana today (Robbins 2001: 311). It has also been suggested that they were related to the 13th-12th century Biblical tribe of Dan. Or they may even have been connected with Cyprus, since the Assyrian name for Cyprus was Ia-ada-na-na, which can be interpreted as “the island of the Danuna” (Denyen).However the earliest Assyrian texts mentioning Adnana are from the reign of Sargon II (721-705), and if the Bronze Age name for Cyprus was Alashiya, this name may refer to the settlement of the Denyens *following* the Sea Peoples migrations. They may have been Greek Danaoi (Baurain 1984:334) or

they may, just as well, have been north Syrian Danuna (Dothan 1982: 22, 54-151; Robbins 2001: 312; Sandars 1985: 161; Schachermeyr 1982: 191, 196-198). Especially if, indeed, the Trojan War took place on level VI, ca. 1250, a generation before the Sea People's migrations.

The most thorough and very interesting treatment of the Greek Danaoi, the descendents of the mythical hero-god Danaos, is M. Sakkellariou's "Proto-grecs et Danaens" (1980: 173-262). He traces the etymology to the Sanskrit "danu" meaning river, or water. The danu in the Rig Veda are mythical aquatic beings. The ancestors of Danae, Perseus' mother, retain the Indo-Aryan identification with aquatic sources. In some legends the Danaens entered Greece as the daughters of Danaos. Io the mother of Danaos is identified with the cow. Io was also the mother of Apis (another Sanskrit word, recalling the Hindu worship of the cow) and Belos (perhaps Baal) the Syrian ruler. Although Sakellariou would have the Greek Danaens descending directly from the northern Caucasian regions, the legends seem to suggest that Danunan tribes also may have migrated west via northern Syria, one branch remaining as the Hebrew tribe of Dan, and another settling in Egypt (perhaps the Hyksos), from where the daughters of Danaos are said to have emigrated to Greece. Some of the earliest migrants apparently settled at various places along this route, including the region of Ugarit, as indicated by the above mentioned letter sent by the king of Tyr, Abimilki, to Aménophis IV in Egypt (1365 B.C.) where there is a question of a Danuna tribe that had been active in the region of Ugarit, probably on the north Syrian coast. (Sakellariou 1980: 243, 244; Graves 1960:100-105).

It is impossible to establish time-place precisions within metaphorical mythologies that are orally transmitted via the changing circumstances of millennia. But the Danaean myths certainly suggest that the "Denyen" tribes moving into Ramses III's Egypt may have been established in the north Syrian coastal region.

Weshesh: The Weshesh are mentioned at Medinet Habu and in the Harris Papyrus in the passage “I slew the Denyen [who are] in their islands, while the Tjekker and the Peleset were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh were made non-existant” (Barnett 1975: 377). On the whole evidence concerning the name Weshesh is very scant. It has been inconclusively suggested on etymological grounds that it derived from Iasos or Issos in southwest Caria, Axos or Waxos in Crete, or from Wilusa in southwestern Anatolia, or else “Ilios” (Troy) (Sandars 1985: 158, 163).

Peleset: There is a great deal of controversy around these foes of Ramses III, identified as the Philistines. They are related to the Tjeker in that they appear on the Wenamon text and on the onomasticon of Amenope as allied with the Tjekker a century after the Sea People movements, and at Medinet Habu they are depicted wearing a feathered headdress and kilt like the Tjekker. The presence of a head wearing a feathered headdress on the Phaestos disk has been used to justify a Cretan homeland for the Peleset (home to the pre-Greek Pelasgians who may themselves have originated in the Troad or western Cilicia). In so relating the Peleset and the Tjeker, Schachermeyr (1982: 119) points out that, according to Strabon, Teucer (a Tjeker) was a native of Crete. However we have seen that both he and Gjerstad present evidence for Teucer’s Trojan origin. The other major arguments relating the Philistines to Crete are the Bibilical narratives relating the Philistines to Caphtor-Keftiu, supposed to be Crete, and the Philistine pottery on the Palestinian coast assumed to be derived from the LH IIIC “close style” pottery (Muhly 1984: 46; Dothan 1982: 4, 20, 21 289; Sandars 1985: 169, 201; Barnett 1975: 372-3; Albright 1975: 510-513). On the other hand, the dubiousness of equating Caphtor-Keftiu to Crete rather than Asia Minor has been argued by Wainwright, who reminds us that in Hebrew Caphtor not only

means island, but also “coastland” (Wainwright 1963: 149, note 33). T. Dothan (1982:21), notes that the Septuagint translates Caphtor as Cilicia, which may mean Cappadocia, although she herself opts for identifying Caphtor with Crete, because of the Mycenaean elements characterizing the pottery that appears at Ashdod and Tell el Miqne in the 12th century. However, it is also possible that this pottery fashion was inherited from within the Levantine region itself, as will be discussed below.

Other evidence corroborates an Anatolian origin for the Philistines. In the Wenamon tale, the Amun priest landed at Dor, ruled by the Tjekker, closely related to the Philistines. At Dor he is involved with King Beder. Three other kings, Weret, Mekmer and Werket El are mentioned (possibly ruling the Philistine realms of Ashkelon, Ashdod and Gaza). These names are not Semitic and are most probably of southwest of Anatolian origin (Albright 1975: 513). On the other hand, Dothan (1982: 20) thinks that it is improbable that the names be Aegean because “what is known of Philistine religion and ritual from the Bible evinces no trace of any non-Semitic tradition, except the absence of circumcision.” The chief divinities of their pantheon, Dagan-Baal and Ashtoret-Astarte were also worshipped at Ugarit, where cult practices bore strong resemblances to Hittite practice. The presence of advanced metalworking techniques and the use of iron that the Philistines brought with them to sites in Palestine are more reminiscent of Hittites than Mycenaeans. Their depiction wearing kilts falling in front to a point with a tassle are also Hittite, as are crews of three instead of two warriors in a chariot, and the Hittite type of solid wheeled carts with humped oxen, neither of which are known from the Aegean (Schaeffer 1952: 364; Barnett 1975: 372; Sandars 1985: 169). It is also significant that the Peleset are shown arriving by land into Egypt.

Tjeker: Most of the observations applying to the Peleset apply to the Tjeker. But this name particularly involves Cyprus, because it is supposed to belong to the tribe led by Teucer, wandering after the Trojan war, who founded the city of Salamis. That would only be possible if, as G. Wainwright (1963: 128) and Schachermeyr (1981: 116) maintain, the Egyptian "Salemski" is a name that already applied to Enkomi in the early 12th century, preceding the nearby foundation of 11th century Salamis when Enkomi was abandoned.

In any case, there seems to be a consensus that the Tjekkers refer to the Teucrian dynasty that must have originated in Anatolia (Sjöqvist 1940: 207; Gjerstad 1944: 117; Wainwright 1963: 148). Some associate the name Teucer with the native god of Cilicia, Tarku, where Teukroi were apparently entrenched since the sixteenth century. Schachermeyr (1982: 117, 119, 122) also assimilates the Teucrians with the Tjekker, but he is unusual in suggesting their Balkan origin. On page 117 he draws attention to the fact that Salamis is a pre-Indo-European name belonging to the entire region of Greece, Anatolia and the Balkans, from where the Cypriot Salamis, as well as the Greek Salamis, may have derived its name. Otherwise he gives little other evidence for this Balkan origin. He inconclusively discusses the legend of the Homeric Teucer coming from the Aegean island of Salamis, and the other traditions relating the Teucrians to Crete or coastal Asia Minor. At the time of the Sea Peoples' migrations Schachermeyr's description of Gergians and Mysians being assimilated into this group would plausibly give them an Anatolian coastal origin.

A feathered headdress like those worn by Philistines, Tjekkers and Denyen on the Medinet Habu reliefs was incised on an ivory gaming box and a seal found in late 13th century B.C. contexts at Enkomi. This has supported the contention of the Tjekker-Teukroi presence in Cyprus. However J. Muhly (1984: 45) points out that such a headdress is too ubiquitous in the Near Eastern iconography to

be used as evidence for geographical or ethnic origin. M. Robbins has compiled a list of the representations of such a headdress according to which it seems to have originated in Mesopotamia, ca. 2500, then adopted in Syria and is only depicted West of Cyprus after 1100. (Robbins 2001 Appendix: 347-355). In any case, in so far as there is agreement, it seems to place the Philistine-Tjekker homeland in western Cilicia, more specifically on the banks of the Calycadnus River, where the Philistines and the Tjekker may have dwelt together (Wainwright 1963: 149; Albright 1975: 512-513).

There does not seem to be much reason to include indigenous Aegeans among the Sea Peoples. A straightforward reading of the texts would permit the Sea Peoples, referred to by the Egyptians, to be coming from the Anatolian coastlands (including the Dodecanese islands) using bases in Cyprus and Syria. Royal correspondence shows that the Hittites were present and allied with latter two areas. The rulers of Anatolia and Syria may have found themselves in an uprising of local tribes who were destabilizing the entire region. Material studied below indicates that they were probably reinforced by Balkan mercenaries. These would be the invaders referred to by the Egyptians, baptized as “Sea Peoples” by present day scholars, who tend to overlook their coastal and mainland attributes. It is noteworthy that the Hittite and Syrian correspondence does not involve an alliance with Egypt, which would be expected if the “Sea People” were a common Aegean based enemy, as is often presumed (Astour 1965: 255; Barnett 1975: 373-378). The naval battles fought off the coast of Ugarit may refer to Egyptian aggressions against wandering Anatolian-Syrian tribes having reached the coast, driven by famine.(Goetze 1975: 265; Astour 1965: 255; Barnett 1975: 360, 363, 369) . The Egyptian narratives of both Merneptah and

Ramses III, at least fifty years apart, prove that these population movements were periodic culminations of a long process of coastal restlessness under the domination of the inland Hittite authority. At least a century of difficulty for the Hittites is attested by the texts concerning Madduwata, Arzawa, Ahhiwaya, Wilusa, and even Alashiya. The Hittites seem to have had a stronger relationship with Ugarit. But during periods of famine the royal houses could not resist the wandering and aggressions that water navigation permitted. Faced with the double aggression of their own populations and Egypt it would be almost inevitable that the Hittite and Ugaritic royal strongholds collapse.

The alternative to this hypothesis would be the awkward presence of relatively long distance navigating Aegeans among the troublesome wanderers. It has been largely disregarded that the battles these Near Eastern countries engaged in were not only sea battles, involving 150 ships, which may have taken place along the coasts, but land battles on the Syrian coast. The major confrontation seems to have been at Amurru, that delineated the Egyptian and Hittite hegemonies after the battle of Qadesh. In one letter the king of Ugarit refers to a contingent of 2000 Syrian horses. An Aegean attack would not necessitate such a risk of valuable horses. As Sandars (1985: 184) maintains, the Near Eastern disruptions may have robbed the Mycenaeans of their economic marketing force, leading to internal collapse in Greece. Greece also may have been weakened by the Trojan war, or a possible Dorian invasion or drought. In any case with the disappearance of Myc. IIIB imported pottery at the close of the 13th century, evidence of a direct and energetic Mycenaean presence distinctly wanes. The Aegeans were in no position to thoroughly destroy Ugarit, but the Egyptians were. Alashiya was a Hittite vassal according to the texts; closely related to Ugarit. Both had always been intensely and peacefully involved with the Mycenaeans in commercial relationship as the pottery attests. It seems unlikely that the Myceanaeans would

have turned against their trade partners. It is more probable that the Ugaritics moved to Cyprus (less vulnerable to the mainland revolts), recreated some of their lost wealth and moved into the Aegean area, peacefully, bringing about the Myc. IIIC transformations there. Perhaps this processus had begun even before the Aegean destruction levels.

Furthermore, it is disconcerting that each author I have consulted presents a slightly different translation of the Medinet Habou text cited above. However they inevitably concur that the Egyptian “rww” is “island”. Of course this underscores both the sea angle and the necessity of Aegean presences amongst the raiders. It is a remarkable consensual oversight that “rww” can mean “shore or coastland” rather than “island”. Like the Hebrews and the Assyrians, the Egyptians did not have a distinct word for island and “rww” is commonly used for continental coasts (A. Nibbi in Drews 1993: 52 note 14; Robbins 2001: 297; Wainwright 1963:149 note 32 for the same case in Hebrew). The word island is awkward in translations that also retain the word “hill countries”; “the hill countries made a conspiracy in their islands” (Ockinga 1996: 48), whereas in most translations “hill” is simply omitted, or translated “foreign” as in the above citation from Sandars. The other phrase which has determined scholarly conviction is: “No land could stand before their hands, from Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alashiya, they being (altogether) devastated.” However it is not clear whether the “hands” refer to foreign invaders, as generally assumed, or the revolt of internal tribes.

Were “”rww” to be translated as “coast”, rather than “island”, it seems more obvious that the “sea” peoples were tribes and sea marauders descending along the Anatolian and Syro-Palestinian coasts, perhaps from as far as Thrace and the Balkans, possibly involving the earlier restlessness of the Arzawa and Ahhiwaya tribes in Western Anatolia.

Just as with ceramics, proto-historic inscriptions can only furnish a broad outline of events. The texts above prove that while Ramses III was reigning there were land and sea migrations from the North towards Egypt involving battles, a battle at Ammuru, and a collusion between the beleaguered and alarmed royalty of Alashiya, Ugarit and Hattusa during a period of famine. Further details are impossible to establish with certainty because of the nature of the evidence. Hieroglyphics and cuneiform don't contain vowels; consonants like 'l' and 'r' are interchangeable, so proper names are open to dispute, as are some words. The words in these scripts may have more general meanings than translators indicate: such as the lack of distinction between 'island' and 'coast'. Nevertheless, like ceramics, when placed in as complete a context as possible, their possible meaning can be reinforced or doubted.

CHAPTER II

CYPRIOT CERAMICS

In order to clarify the aforementioned events revealed in ancient documents, it is necessary to set the textual evidence in the material context unearthed by archaeologists.

The chronology of archaeological sites is broadly determined by pottery styles. Therefore it seems best to characterize the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in Cyprus by the disappearance of Mycenaean imported pottery, or its Levanto-Helladic copies (Mycenaean IIIB) in favour of the locally produced Mycenaean IIIC ware; the more so as the latter pottery transformation appeared in levels bearing traces of destruction and innovation in other realms.

In my 1982 doctoral thesis I chose the Proto White Painted ware (which can be equated with Furumark's Mycenaean IIIC:1c as it appeared in Cyprus[13]) as diagnostic of this period. The published architectural remains and objects found associated with this pottery that appear in Cyprus for the first time, were catalogued as thoroughly as possible and compared with earlier analogous material from neighbouring regions.

Proto White Painted, and its development into White Painted I ware limit this study geographically to Cyprus and chronologically to the beginning of the Iron Age. Table I and the distribution maps I and II indicate the presence of these wares in Cyprus, the only place they were produced, other than at Tarsus, as well as their occasional exportation to neighbouring regions.

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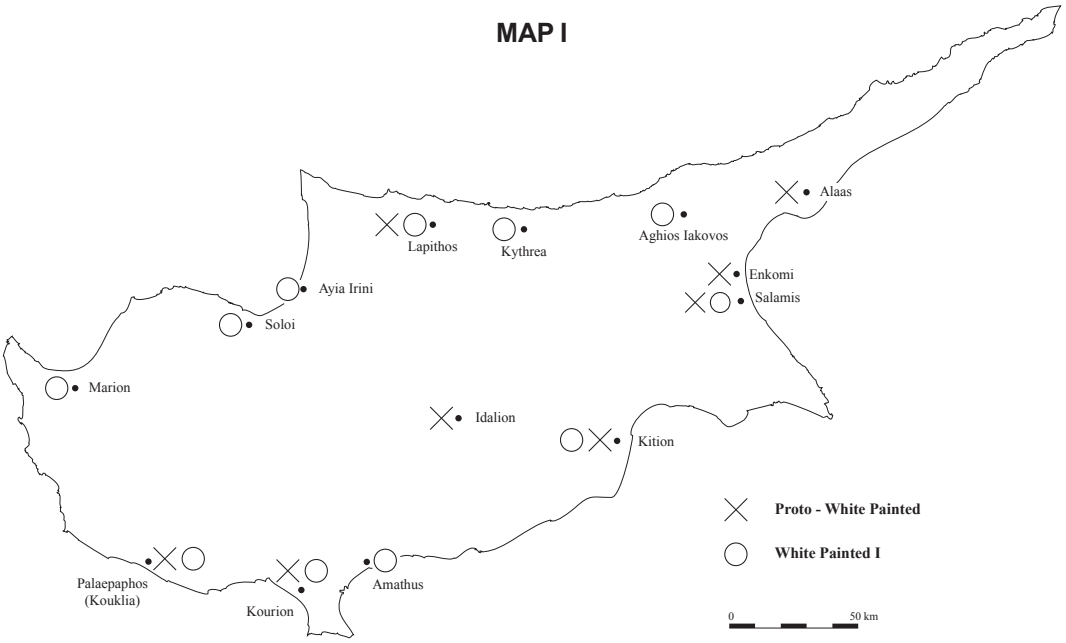
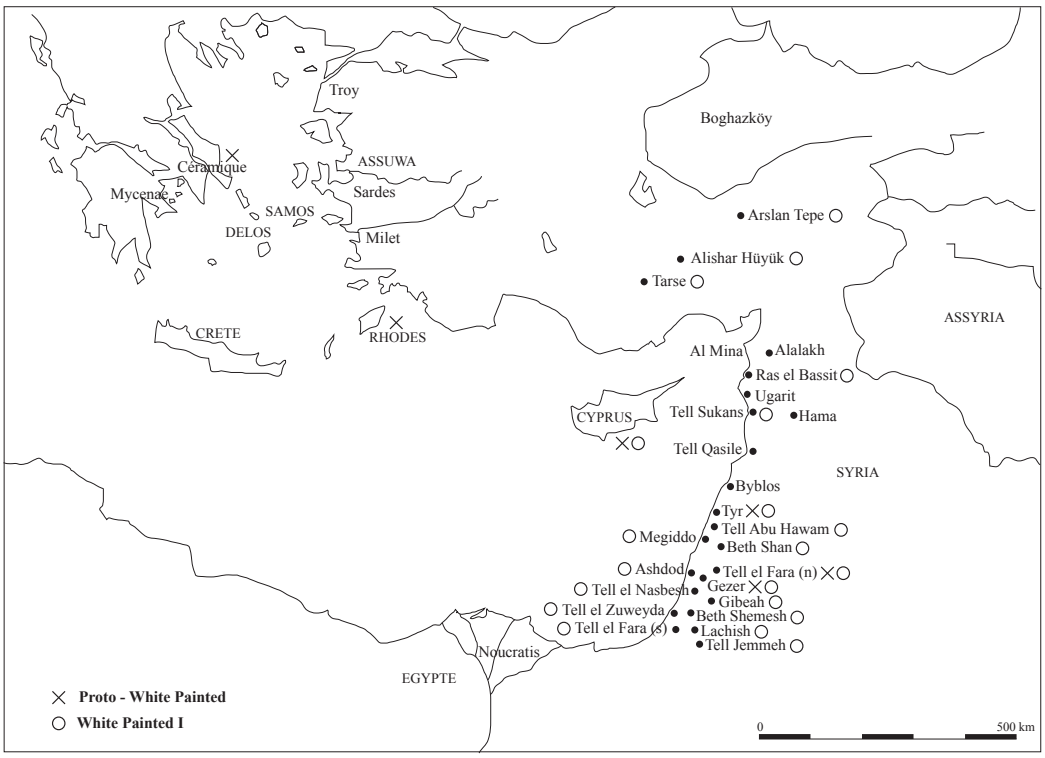
13 "Mycenaean" is presently referred to as "Late Helladic" (LH) when in Greek contexts.

MAP I



Cyprus - 1050 B.C.
Proto White Painted - White Painted I Distribution

MAP II



The East Mediterranean : 1200 B.C.
Proto White Painted - White Painted I Distribution

CHRONOLOGIES OF THE CERAMICS

CYPRUS (P. ASTRÖM , *SCE*, IV part 1 d, pp. 700-701, p. 690)

Plain White Wheelmade II	1390 – 1050
White Painted Wheelmade II	1500 – 1190
Decorated Late Cypriote III	1320 – 1075
(White Painted Wheelmade III)	
Proto-White Painted *	1150 – 1050

AEGEAN (A. FURUMARK, *Opus. Arch. III*, 1944, p. 262) (P. ASTROM, *op. cit.* p. 760)

Myc. IIIB	1300 – 1230	1320 – 1190
Myc. IIIC: 1a	1230 – 1200	1190 – 1175
Myc. IIIC: 1b	1200 – 1125	1175 – 1100
Myc. IIIC: 1c	1125 – 1075	1125 – 1075
Myc. IIIC: 2	1075 – 1050	1100 – 1050
	Or :	
Myc. IIIC: 1c *(Peloponnese)*	1150 – 1050	
Myc. IIIC: 2 *(Attica)*	1150 – 1050	
Late Minoan IIIB: 1	1300 – 1230	
Late Minoan IIIB: 2a	1230 – 1200	
Late Minoan IIIB: 2b	1200 – 1125	
Late Minoan IIIB: 2c	1125 – 1075	
Late Minoan IIIC *(subminoan)*	1075 – 1025	

SYRIA PALESTINE (R. AMIRAN, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, pp. 124 and 191)

Late Bronze II	1350 – 1200
Levanto Helladic	1400 – 1200
(Myc. IIIA: 2, IIIB made in Cyprus and Syria)	
Philistine	1200 – 1150
(C. EPSTEIN, *Palestinian Bichrome Ware*, p. 188)	
Bichrome	1500 – 1375
(J.C. COURTOIS, *ZDPV*, vol. 90, 1974, p. 105)	
Ugarit Réc. 2	1450 – 1365
Ugarit Réc. 3	1365 – 1185

* FURUMARK 1965: 115; PIERIDOU 1973: 112; BENSON 1972: 56;
DESBOROUGH 1964: 17-20; SNODGRASS 1971: 31

Before approaching the Proto White Painted ware that limits the context of this undertaking, a more general methodological point must be examined. What, in fact, can pottery by itself reveal? It is obviously a diachronic indicator, sequenced according to settlement strata. However, as D. Frankel (1974:3) has pointed out, the time period of a type may vary between two different places, which means pottery is more revelatory of a stage of culture than of chronological precision. A pottery type can lead to further confusion because it is not necessarily confined to a single occupied stratum (Sherratt 1991: 190; 1990: 159-161; Kling 1989: 80). In so far as it does reveal a time period, Bronze Age pottery depends on its association with Egyptian material, or Levantine material found elsewhere in contexts dated by Egyptian finds. The Egyptian material has in turn been dated by the astronomical determinations of the Egyptian King lists. The jubilee years of the Kings are indicated according to the helial rising of the Sothis star, but here too there is a 27 year imprecision (Aström 1972: 756; Velikovsky 1977: 215-244; Phillips 2002: 69-72). The chronology of a type, for example Mycenaean IIIB, found associated with Egyptian material is transferred to Myc. IIIB pottery found elsewhere, but with even less exactitude. To be reasonably significant, the presence of Egyptian indicators must be reiterated in similar contexts on various sites. There have been sufficient correspondences to establish such a Bronze Age chronology in the eastern Mediterranean until the end of the reign of Ramses III. However it must be borne in mind that the Aegean has always lacked internally produced dates; they are based on Levantine finds, and are fundamentally based on the great quantity of Mycenaean pottery found at Tell el Armana datable to the 14th century B.C. The other lynch pins for Mycenaean chronology are the datable Egyption inscriptions relating to the battles of Merneptah (ca. 1230) and Ramses III (ca. 1180) with the Sea Peoples. These have been related to the destruction levels and abandonments throughout Greece and the Near

East, characterized by similar local variations of Myc. IIIB pottery into a less sophisticated “IIIC” fabric. After 1180, the imports signalling Mycenaean trade and emporia thoroughly cease.

Furumark’s attempt to refine the chronology of pre-destruction level Mycenaean ware according to its stratified presence in Syro-Palestinian contexts, mostly tombs, is disappointing. A. Leonard (1986: 319-331) has demonstrated the uncertainties of the chronological positioning of the ware in tombs. In attributing ware to Cypriot post-destruction settlement levels, Schaeffer and Dikaios at Enkomi, Karageorghis at Kition and elsewhere, were much more successful. The order of appearance of Myc. IIIC ware is relatively clear.

In the case of Cyprus, the confusion stems from nomenclature of the ware and perhaps excessive distinctions. The term Myc. IIIC:1a was abandoned when a supposed occupation hiatus at Enkomi was disproved. Left with Myc. IIIC:1b in the post-destruction level, it now seems that Late Decorated III and other immediately pre-destruction wares are virtually the same. Which means that rather than introduced by invaders, it may have been an internal development of the locally made Levanto Helladic ware. It might even appear in Cyprus earlier than in Greece and the islands. Myc. IIIC:1b is quite easy to distinguish from the later Proto White Painted, but both may appear earlier than used to be assumed. Such internal imprecision makes it difficult to relate them chronologically to Aegean local production. The more so as there are no Myc. IIIC contexts firmly related to absolute dates elsewhere (Leonard 1986: 319, Aström 1972a: 762 and especially Furumark 1972b: 18, 110-115). The debatable use of Mycenaean pottery as a chronological indicator has been well expressed by A. Farnoux (1994: 96-96) and pottery in general by C. Renfrew (1985: 84).

Pottery also indicates contact between sites, a role which has been refined by petrographic clay analysis. What it cannot prove is the type of contact other

than importation or exportation, although the appearance of a new repertoire of shapes, supposing a change in cultural habits, following a destruction level, would certainly suggest a foreign influence. Such was the case in the appearance of Proto White Painted ware. However the reasons for this, and the number of people involved, can only be clarified in terms of further contextual changes.

The immensely useful validity of the above roles seems to have imbued pottery with a significance that is not inherent to it. It has been a remarkable commonplace for archaeologists to identify pottery types with ethnic presence. However nothing assures that a material fashion be restricted to its initiators. Fashion may be dictated by trade, immigration or simply a quietly introduced novelty. The restricted number of excavations leaves even quantitative distribution open to continual modification, which leads to the common misconception that the quantity of a given pottery type reinforces its value as an ethnic indicator. Whereas, in fact, a type is an idea possibly introduced by only one individual or a few traders; afterwards it may be mass produced, perhaps by the same population that used a different pottery type before the idea was introduced. This may be an unusual situation but it is always a possibility. Only association with other distinctive elements belonging to a specific ethnic group can reveal the presence of this group, not one element such as pottery. Nevertheless, the Mycenaean IIIC pottery has consistently been used in scholarly research as a fundamental argument for the arrival of Aegean settlers to Cyprus, oblivious to the fact that such a presence is scarcely evident otherwise in the archaeological record and that the chronological relationship of the regional sequences cannot be determined. Apparently the Aegean antecedents suggested for the stylistically modified ware that appears in Cyprus at this time are implied by the historical hypothesis of Dorian and Trojan migrations discussed above, because the comparable ware in both regions follows destruction levels and abandonments.

It was thought to be derived from ware in the Argolid (Furumark 1944: 194; Desborough 1966: 238), in spite of a commonly recognized hiatus in contacts between Cyprus and the Aegean at the close of the LH IIIB:2- LC IIC period (Kling 1989:175). In comparing the pottery of Enkomi level III to that of Greek mainland Asine House G, Desborough (1966: 24) asserts that it is connected with the Argolid and that "it is not derived from any early Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus". However, even at the time he was writing, it could be noticed that according to Furumark's catalogue most of the early Myc. IIIC pottery is to be found in Rhodes, hence closer to the areas of Levanto Helladic ware than to the Greek mainland. The pottery discovered on Early Cypriot IIIA levels indicates renewed contact between Cyprus and the Aegean, but the Furumark types are few (Kling 1989: 175). The decorations on the skyphos type 284 are taken as an example of the reappearance of an Aegean influence. However the shape was known in LC II at Enkomi, and also at Hissarlik, Minet el Beida, not to speak of Rhodes and Kalymnos. As for the decoration, this type of spiral, absent in LC II (Kling 1989: 246) may indeed be an Aegean inspiration, since there was undoubtedly contact between the two regions. As Kling (1989: 173) has observed "In any case, deciding the direction of flow of individual stylistic features is less important than recognizing that reciprocal influences existed, perhaps over an extended period of time."

There is at present an increasing emphasis on pottery as an indicator of life style and trade patterns. Chemical analysis tests hypotheses about what the various pottery shapes contained, and the usage of wares does reflect cultural values bringing into focus behaviour and events. However what is discovered in this type of analysis is relatively self evident and usually sufficiently universal that perhaps the earlier archaeologists did not deem it worthy of emphasis. Local variations in pottery, which are also closely analyzed at present, are

even more obvious as indicators of regional contact. For instance, Iakovidis (1979a: 454, 456), without excessive analysis, had already realized a recession in the Helladic area reflected by regional variations in LH IIIC as opposed to the homogeneity of LH IIIB. The variations suggest a cultural fashion originating from new authoritative centers, such as Enkomi and Kition and the eastern islands, centers that had been previously less developed than the ones on the Greek mainland. Indeed, the disappearance of the homogenous, massively produced and exported Myc. IIIB ware, in favour of locally produced variations of Myc. IIIB at the beginning of the 12th century suggests the collapse of Mycenaean cultural and political unity (Furumark 1965: 109).

The two wares which seem to me most symptomatic of Cypriot foreign relationships during this chaotic period are Proto White Painted and its closely related derivative White Painted I. Proto White Painted, like Aegean Myc. IIIC, is a development of locally made pottery that replaced the uniform widespread Myc. IIIB style reflecting the trade of a powerful Mycenaean hegemony into a more frugal, locally produced style when production had diminished in the mainland Helladic area.

All the Proto White Painted-White Painted I published shapes and decorative motifs that were available to me in 1982 were catalogued and compared, not only with Greece, but with Syria-Palestine and Anatolia, where the possible relationship has been less studied. A list of pottery imports as well as Proto White Painted and White Painted I exports completes the image the pottery can give of contacts foreign to the island. The significance of this pottery is reinforced by an inventory of its juxtaposition with material that broke with the Cypriot pre-destruction level tradition.[14]

14 The illustrated catalogue of this material is the second volume of my doctoral thesis, available at theBibliothèque de la Sorbonne, in Paris, or the CAARI, in Nicosia. It can also be consulted on the French CNRS site: *http://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-00408636/fr/*.

The Terminology of Proto White Painted and Related Styles

The key to understanding the appearance of Proto White Painted following the Cypriot destruction levels that coincide with the transition of the Bronze Age to the Iron Age lies in its relationship to the immediately preceding Myc. IIIC:1b ware.

The pottery noticed in the strata following the destruction of Mycenaean sites at the end of IIIB: referred to as the Close style and the Granary style, initially discovered at Mycenae, was first called Late Helladic IIIC by M. B. Mackeprang (1938: 537 ff.) In Furumark's 1941 classification of the ware it proves to be particularly prevalent in the Dodecanese and most antecedents are Levanto-Helladic.

The "Mycenaean" nomenclature for this locally produced ware in Cyprus, which will be used here (rather than "Helladic" used for parallel ware in Greece) was given by Gjerstad (1944), Furumark (1965) and Dikaios (1969), who believed that certain shapes, such as the skyphos, were newly introduced to Cyprus by an immigration of Mycenaeans at the same time as a destruction of the known Late Bronze Age sites in Greece, and the appearance of new architecture and cultural attributes in Cyprus[15]. Until the 1980's, consensus held that the Mycenaeans survived in Cyprus longer than elsewhere in the Levant, causing the Cypriot Bronze Age labelling of pottery as "Mycenaean" to last a century beyond the beginning of the Syro-Palestinian Iron Age. The Syro-Palestinian Iron Age was thought to begin when no direct Mycenaean influence could be evidenced on the Levantine coast following the Sea Peoples incursions. Only Schaeffer related the Levantine nomenclature of Iron I, beginning in 1200, to Cyprus, no doubt

15 A major argument in the arrival of a new group of Mycenaeans was a supposed hiatus of about one generation at Enkomi between the LC II and LC III levels where Myc. IIIC:1b appears. (Furumark 1965: 110). This hiatus has since been discredited (Kling 1989: 32).

because the related non-ceramic material he was excavating both at Ugarit and at Enkomi lacked Aegean prototypes.

At the time, certain shapes were only recognized in earlier mainland Mycenaean repertoires. Since then, they have been abundantly discovered in earlier Cypriot levels as well, particularly the skyphos (Sherratt 1991: 186-187). Kling and Sherratt have perceived that the pottery was less diagnostic of an invasion following the destruction levels than had been imagined. The homogeneity of the Myc. IIIB ware and its ubiquitous presence in the east Mediterranean, especially Cyprus where it began increasingly to be locally produced as the Bronze Age progressed (probably following the Trojan war), makes such an external influence on the development into IIIC unnecessary. Although Demas and Karageorghis (1988: 21) have disputed the point, a close study of the earliest IIIC:1b ware on the post-destruction level in Cyprus proved that it was virtually the same as the latest ware on the pre-destruction level. During the LC IIC and LC IIIA periods a wheelmade pottery, decorated in a dark matt paint on a light coloured surface, for the most part produced in Cyprus, has been given different names according to the terms in which the excavator viewed the find context: “Levanto-Helladic ware, Rude or Pastoral Style, Late Mycenaean IIIB and Mycenaean IIIB:2, Mycenaean IIIC or IIIC:1 or IIIC:1b and Submycenaean and Debased Levanto-Helladic later renamed Decorated Late Cypriot III ware” (Kling 1991: 181; 1989: 8). As for Schaeffer (1971: 538), he wrote that the designation Late Mycenaean IIIB is erroneous because this ware is immediately post-Mycenaean and caracterizes a non Mycenaean civilization, fundamentally different.

White Painted Wheelmade III, suggested by Aström, is inclusive of all the above terms, and no doubt the most accurate nomenclature for these wares (Aström 1972 a: 276; Kling 1991: 183). Nevertheless, Kling and others still refer to Myc. IIIC:1b, so the Mycenaean nomenclature will be retained here too.

The development of this style into Proto White Painted presents a similar dilemma. The taste for the wavy line motif and new shapes appear on the level III at Enkomi following the post destruction level IV that introduced LC IIIA. The Levanto-Helladic ware was increasingly losing its Mycenaean distinctiveness. A parallel event in the Aegean caused this transformation to be named Myc. IIIC:1 and Myc. IIIC:2 (at present LH IIIC:1 and 2). When the ware was first discovered in Cyprus the above mentioned Mycenaean nomenclature followed suit and Myc. IIIC:1b was followed by Myc. IIIC:1c. A predilection for the wavy line motif, absent in earlier Mycenaean ware, caused this ware to be referred to in some of the early reports as the "wavy line" or "Granary" style (because it was present in the Granary at Mycenae). The ware as it appeared in the Ingot God sanctuary at Enkomi or the 12th century chamber tombs began to be called Proto White Painted, without there being a clear distinction in the wares carrying these nomenclatures. Proto White Painted, the Granary style, and Mycenaean IIIC:1c first appear on floor level III at Enkomi (Schaeffer 1952: 418). They are virtually the same ware which at present is called Proto White Painted. Since Schaeffer erroneously assumed the wavy line Granary style that appeared on level III had been imported from Mycenae, it may simply be a local development of what he called Submycenaean, found on the major 1200 B.C. destruction level floor IV.

Elsewhere, Maier (1973: 76; 1986: 314) observed that the ware he named Proto White Painted belonged to LC IIIA in pit graves alongside Decorated LC III ware at *Paphos-Kaminia*, hence before its appearance in chamber tombs with long dromoi. Benson (1972: 45, 52-53; 1973: 55-61) also noticed this juxtaposition in the LC IIIA strata at Kourion Bamboula settlement and Tomb 32, slightly earlier than in the Kaloriziki tombs.

Although both J.C. Courtois and A. Pieridou make a distinction in their publications between Myc. IIIC:1c and Proto White Painted, the difference has

never been clearly demonstrated. Both accept Furumark's chronology which places the appearance of Proto White Painted around 1150 B.C. In 1965, P. Dikaios agreed with Furumark's assessment (Dikaios 1965: 116).

On the other hand, M. Iakovou (1988: 2) insists that Proto White Painted is neither Submycenaean, Granary, Wavy Line, Myc. IIIC:1c nor Myc. IIIC:2 and considerably lowers its' chronological appearance. She writes (1988:1) that the one unmistakable characteristic of Proto White Painted ware is the phenomenon of a matt black, often washy paint, that was fired, although not uniformly, into light orange-brown shades. Further in the same text (1988:10) she endorses Dikaios' interpretation of Proto White Painted as shapes that belong to the stage immediately *following* his Enkomi level IIIC, which would reduce its presence to the abandonment level. In fact, here Dikaios (1969 vol. II, 495) is referring to Gjerstad's chronological interpretation, not his own. On the same page he recognizes that according to Furumark: "the finds on floor I (*level IIIC*) represent, apparently, the transition from the end of the Proto-White Painted I to II which, according to the evidence now available should be placed at c. 1075", although he himself would *prefer* to call level IIIC Proto White Painted Myc. IIIC:1c. For Iakovou "this is in itself as valid a definition of PWP as one would ever expect."[16] J.C. Courtois, who excavated the Ingot God sanctuary, did not believe this was the case. In agreement with Furumark (1965: 111, 115), he was convinced that the Cypriot "wavy line" ware (Granary style), the Cypriot

16 In fact this is as reductive definition as one could imagine: to the point of insignificance. Reducing a pottery class to its fabric or type of paint, independently of shape or decoration, risks basing the class on accidental personal or local variations belonging to a different scale of meaning. The danger of this dissolution of meaning is clear in D. Frankel's article (1993:60), where this sort of dissolution of pottery categories leaves a record of a "less complex social order, less formal political structures, less organized production and exchange; no clear boundaries; low level of inter group conflict." See also Read (1989: 166-167) who questions this sort of over analysis. In an earlier paper (1991) Frankel addresses this problem of scale, virtually admitting the necessity of different sets of typologies to answer different questions. In any case, for the historical purposes of the present undertaking the broader "classical" typology is clearly the most informative.

Myc. IIIC:1c and Proto White Painted were, at most, variations of the same ware (personal communication). Schaeffer (1952: 347, 366) refers to this style that appears on his level III as “Granary”, whereas as it appears on level III of the Ingot God Sanctuary it is referred to as Proto White Painted. Although Iakovou (1991: 203) reiterates that “the wavy line skyphoi and cups of Enkomi Level III are local Mycenaean IIIC style pottery,” not Proto White Painted, she only refers to Dikaios’ opinion that the “wavy line” and Proto White Painted are different fabrics, the former having “foreshadowed” the latter. Perhaps in some cases, but Dikaios was not as adamant as Iakovou leads one to believe. He wrote (1969 vol II: 495): “In conclusion the question whether the Myc. IIIC:1c style of the Granary Class “wavy line” found in our Levels IIIB and IIIC should be called Proto White Painted I and I-II respectively, is in my opinion a matter of terminology to which I would not object, provided it is clear what pottery is meant. But since this pottery belongs to the Myc. IIIC:1c style and, in order to avoid possible confusion, I suggest that it is at present, preferable to adhere to the term Myc. IIIC:1c.” Not only was Dikaios hesitant, but Furumark and Schaeffer, on the other hand, did not draw this distinction, so it would seem to warrant a more detailed demonstration. The more so as Iakovou (1988:9) confusingly admits the presence of Proto White Painted on level III of the Ingot God sanctuary (“the ceramic material associated with *sols* III-I constitutes an impressive range of PWP shapes”). In this case, attributing the appearance of Proto White Painted to the level following Dikaios’ level IIIC would force the floor III of the sanctuary to correspond to the floors I of the rest of the settlement. The use of the other two sanctuary floors would have to continue well beyond the rest of the settlement. According to Courtois this reorganization of the stratigraphy would be thoroughly unwarranted (personal communication). I. Ionas (1984) was the first to argue the curious debate as to whether the sanctuary outlived the settlement.

He inconclusively suggests that the earthquake level of the sanctuary was level III instead of the level II elsewhere, because 5 cm. of earth covered the head of the Ingot God, who thus was not buried in a hole. This contradicts his earlier statement that "the layer which rests between the sols I and II in the sanctuary is thicker than those which separate the other floors, and could be a destruction layer arising from an earthquake." (*ibid*: 61).

To the debatable use of ceramics as a chronological indicator already mentioned above,and the confusion of the eye of the beholder, may be added that most of any ware is found as sherds, in less clearly proven stratigraphies than the published material suggests. And as in the case of Schaeffer's "Submycenaean" much has remained unpublished. So I prefer to remain with A. Pieridou's less reductive definition of Proto White Painted, which adheres to its appearance in parallel with Myc. IIIC:1c, ca. 1150. (Her Greek term "Protogeometric" to translate "Proto White Painted" was not adopted by other scholars in order to avoid confusing it with the later Greek Protogeometric ware).

Chronology

For the present study it suffices to use the generally accepted chronology for the Late Bronze - Early Iron Age established by Gjerstad (1944: 85) and Furumark (1944, 1965)[17] revised by P. Aström (1972 a: 62). They were derived as follows.

Before the publication of Proto White Painted at Kourion and Enkomi Furumark (1944: 343) discerned a class of Proto White Painted stylistically older than that from the tombs. He synchronized it with the Myc. IIIC:1c ware found on the destruction level of the Granary at Mycenae. This oldest class of Proto White

17 Concerning Proto White Painted, Pieridou (1973: 112) adopts Furumark's chronology.

Painted consisted of five isolated vases of unknown provenance, numbered here like in Furumark's article:

3) a large amphora, *Cesnola Cat.*, n° 460

13) a small straight collared jar, *Cesnola Cat.* n° 457

15) a large stirrup jar, *Cesnola Cat*. n° 454

22) a small stirrup jar, *Cesnola Cat.* n° 412, 413

26a) a crater with two cup shaped handles, *Cesnola Cat.* n° 400

and two vases from a known provenance:

1) an amphora from Idalion, *Myk. Vasen* 22: 60

4) an amphoriskos from Kouklia, t. 6, Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, 1899, n° 439

Furumark classified 3660 pieces of Mycenaean pottery, of which 500 came from Cyprus. Now 3445 examples are known from Cyprus alone (Aström 1973: 123). Later publications note that Proto White Painted (occasionally referred to as Myc. IIIC:1c) begins to appear on the Late Cypriote IIIA levels at Enkomi and Kourion (Aström 1972a: 693-694). The small production of Proto White Painted on the levels where it first appeared at Kourion is shown on a table established by J. L. Benson (1970: 36; see also 1972: 52) concerning the two levels preceding the abandonment of Kourion- Bamboula. Proto White Painted represents .14% of the pottery found on the level of its first appearance in a context of .5% Myc. III, 4.8% Decorated LC III, and .10% Bucchero. On the following level Proto White Painted increases to 1.1%. The sherds that can be attributed to the LC IIIA level (1225-1100; Benson 1972: 58) are rare and widely spread across the site, especially in the tombs 32 and 33 and in a single

house. None of the contexts show signs of destruction (Benson 1970: 38, 41; Daniel 1941: 272).

The situation is different in Enkomi. The occasion of the construction of the floor IV underlying the Ingot God sanctuary containing Proto White Painted ware on floors III-I is not clear, but the floor V of a building which preceded the sanctuary showed traces of conflagration (Courtois 1971: 202, 210, 223). Proto White Painted also appeared in the two palaces at Enkomi: the Area I building and Building 18. In both cases, the appearance of Proto White Painted sherds, mixed with Myc. IIIC:1b sherds, is attributed to the floor III immediately following the destruction of the palaces and their remodelling into a cult area and a foundry. Thus Proto White Painted seems to have emerged from a period of profound trouble and changes at Enkomi, whereas at Kourion-Bamboula there was no sign of conflict. Yet if one assumes that Dikaios' Myc. IIIC:1c was in fact Proto White Painted, the presence of 2-3% Myc. IIIC:1c on the level IIIB (LC IIIA2) (Dikaios 1969 vol. II: 600-614, 877) indicates that it appeared during the same period on both sites (level IIIB: LC IIIA2 - B1: 1190/1100).

Another effort to anchor the chronology of Proto White Painted was to establish it as an "ante quem" of the presence of White Painted I found in Syro-Palestinian contexts. These contexts are chronologically assured by Egyptian material (Furumark 1972 b: 121). Since White Painted I has been found at Megiddo on level VIa, this decides the date of White Painted I and the beginning of the Cypriot Iron Age.[18] However, the exact date of this level is debatable. G. Van Beek (1951: 28) dates it to 1120-1050, whereas B. Maisler (1951: 25) dates it to 1080-1050. For the Cypriote chronology the date 1050 determined by E. Gjerstad (1944: 85-88) is the most satisfactory.

18 For a bibliography see Desborough 1957: 216. See also Hankey 1967: 117 and J. and E. Lagarce et al., 1979: 256 for Myc. IIIC:1b of Cypriot origin at Beth Shan and Ibn Hani.

Chronological Background

Deir Alla

Exported Myc. IIIA pottery is quite safely dated because so much of it has been found at Tell el Amarna under the 14th century reigns of Toutankhamon and Akhenaton (Lacy 1967: 198). After this period the exports from the Greek mainland dwindle in favour of Mycenaean IIIB pottery that was frequently produced in Cyprus, referred to as Levanto-Helladic by Furumark (Stubbings 1980: 339) and the chronology becomes less assured. At Enkomi glass bottles found in the tomb V must have dated from the reign of Toutankhamon and Ramses II (1350-1225)(Schaeffer 1952: 302). The discovery at Ugarit of a sword carrying the cartouche of Merneptah who died in 1223, associated with Myc. IIIB pottery, gives a late 13th century date to this ware (Iakovidis 1979a: 459). After that, the most recent context known for LH IIIB is a sanctuary at Deir Alla, where two LH IIIB stirrup jars were found accompanied by a broken faience bowl inscribed with the cartouche of the Queen Tewroset who reigned from 1215-1200 (Aström 1972: 761; Faulkner 1975: 239; Albright 1975: 510). Furthermore, a sword inscribed with the cartouche of Tewroset's consort, Seti II was found in a grave at Mouliana, containing the Cretan equivalent of LH IIIC:1 pottery (Iakovidis 1979a: 458). However it may have been placed there after Seti's death, and since Tewroset outlived him, it is the date of the Deir Allah context that sets the close of the IIIB type and the beginning of Myc. IIIC, which would be 1200 B.C. at the latest. This date conveniently coincides with the cultural upheavals provoked by the Sea Peoples under Ramses III which would have resulted in pottery production changes.

Scarabs and cups from the Ramses III period were found in Cypriot tombs (Schaeffer 1952: 38, 74). Later Egyptian discoveries in the tombs at Skales

are mostly copies of much earlier pieces and are not helpful as chronological indicators (Clerc 1983: 395).

Close Style

The above mentioned late 13th century Deir Alla context contained cooking pots that were not indigenous to Palestine. At the beginning of the 12th century the sanctuary was destroyed by earthquake and the pottery again changes technically from the pre-earthquake repertoire "although the shapes of the vessels remain very much the same. Some pottery of Philistine type has been found together with this pottery." (Franken 1975: 336). This earliest Philistine type coincides with the discovery of a Myc. IIIC:1b type at Tel Miqne that T. Dothan (1982: 74-77) divides into two successive styles: the Simple style and the Elaborate style (another term or variation of the "Close" style?). It may be that Proto White Painted bears traces of the orientalizing spirit of this immediately earlier ware. It is in the parallel destruction level of Enkomi that Schaeffer discovered the earliest relatively well dated "Close Style" pottery in the ashes of the floor V of the building 18. This leads Schaeffer to date it to around 1225 BC, although in the present state of knowledge 1200 would be a more probable date. He relates the stemmed spirals and concentric circles of the new style to the already existing Cypriot Levanto-Helladic ware. But because one of the vessels has a strainer spout he assumes it was in fact inspired by the Rhodian Palace Style, influenced by Southern Asia Minor and Syria (Schaeffer 1952: 304-5, 347, 365). A few sherds of what is called the "Levantine" style of decoration on skyphoi are found in other early LC IIIA contexts at Kition and Paphos in the Evreti well and the Teratsoudhia tomb 105 (Sherratt 1990b: 114-115). Sherds of this pottery were also found in LC IIIA contexts at Sinda (Furumark 1965: 108, fig. 6). Hence it seems to appear somewhat earlier in Cyprus than in Greece. In Greece

the earliest “Close Style” was found at Asine in a LH IIIC context (Iakovidis 1979: 613; Furumark 1972: 563, 572), and at Mycenae at the Granary and the Lion gate, also accompanied by LH IIIC pottery. At first Wace considered the two wares to be contemporary, but since then it has been assumed that the Close style preceded the LH IIIC Granary style. The latter must be attributed to the abandonment of the granary at the end of the 12th century, hence LH IIIC2. Certainly the Close style appears at Mycenae in a greater quantity than on Levantine sites. But its’ dense intricacy is so unrelated to the traditional Mycenaean repertoire, and contrasts so strongly with the rather coarse Granary style, that Lacy thinks it may have been produced under foreign influence, perhaps Egyptian (Lacy 1967: 224). Furumark (1972: 561-567, 571) perceived a Late Minoan IIIB influence, but he also recognized a Rhodian equivalent.

Does the greater quantity at Mycenae mean that the idea of the style originated there? This impression has perhaps been reinforced by the fact that it was first discovered and interpreted there (Wace 1921-23: 20; Schaeffer 1952: 364, note 2). I choose to hypothesize the place of origin of a new style on its earliest known appearance, rather than follow its later quantitative distribution, for it is the innovative idea, not the popularity of the idea, that is significant. In this case, the “Close Style”, which has been related to the Philistine pottery of the Sea Peoples may in fact have originated in the Enkomi-Ugarit region.

Schachermeyr added a confused nomenclature concerning this ware. His three terms “lockeren Sinda-Stil, Pleonastisch and Levantinisch” refer to a similarly densely decorated ware with clearly Aegean elements, but whose intricacy seems to be an oriental spirit. He calls it a “noble” style that “combines Minoan and Mycenaean traditions and also takes regard of many decorative ideas that came from Levantine weavings and embroideries”. (1979: 206). Furumark (1972: 571-573) sees nothing other than a Mycenaean development, although he notices

its unique “baroque” sophistication in comparison to the “classicism” of the Myc. IIIB style. But then his immense undertaking with all the known Mycenaean pottery until 1941 (10,000 pieces) may have left him relatively little experience with eastern motifs and temperaments. Furthermore in his 1964 article “The Excavations at Sinda, some Historical Results,” he admits that the article is “an attempt to fit new data into a pattern already known and established.” (p. 99)

This ware is fascinating, as it suggests a new and sophisticated oriental spirit in pottery manufacture, drawing on traditional Mycenaean motifs, already widespread in Cyprus and the east Mediterranean coastal areas. It is distributed in regions that correspond to the “Sea Peoples” migrations, where it seems to be intrusive because it is rare and distinctly more elaborate than the increasing simplification of Mycenaean elements in the Myc. IIIC repertoire. It is noteworthy that the brief appearance of this ware coincides with the very beginning of what may be a variation of Proto White Painted in Cyprus. This is not the subject under study here, so the precise appearances of the Close Style must be sought elsewhere. A thorough catalogue and analysis of this ware, including petrographic and chronological contexts, would certainly be useful in understanding the events of period.

Conclusion

It must be stressed that the Deir Alla stirrup jars are the most recent Mycenaean imports known from Levantine contexts. This is true even though Myc. IIIC pottery has been found in level VI at Beth Shan datable to the reign of Ramses III (Hankey 1966; 1967: 131-134; Kling 1989:49). After that, the receding Mycenaean presence suggested by the absence of trade, reflected in the imported pottery and otherwise, may have been responsible in Cyprus for palaces ceding to monumental oriental places of worship and metal working

installations. The modifications in the Aegean style pottery accompanying these later settlements may have been introduced by Eastern newcomers to Cyprus, since the traditional Mycenaean forms common to both Cyprus and Ugarit became increasingly Levantine in style, which progressively gave rise to the Proto White Painted ware.

Hopefully, the tables recording the areas of Proto White Painted shapes and motifs as compared to those of their predecessors will provide a revealing pattern of information that is reinforced by the apparition of other new elements in Proto White Painted contexts. Seeking prototypes for a diversity of innovative cultural elements can indicate whether or not there is a common source of innovation, and even the nature of the change (immigration, trade, or even the resurgence of an indigenous tradition). The tables were established twenty five years ago, but they have the advantage of flexibility; the addition of further material by the reader may considerably alter the impression of that previously known. Here the pottery's role is to indicate a sequence of events, and areas of contact within this sequence. It must be borne in mind that any deduction is a probability, not a fact. What can be established here is that Achaean or Aegean characteristics have been more assumed than real, while Levantine and Anatolian influences have been largely neglected.

Proto White Painted Shapes

All of the Proto White Painted shapes referred to below are those presented in A. Pieridou's 1973 publication that basically defined the type.

The two handled amphora with horizontal handles, type 58 is a good example of the possibility of a foreign, in this case Anatolian, habit affecting a Mycenaean

shape. This amphora is neither a Myc. IIIB nor a Levanto-Helladic type. The Myc. IIIB amphorae are piriform with three handles on the shoulder (Furumark 1972: 22-23, figs. 3-4). Among the earliest examples of type 58 known in Greece (Furumark's Myc. III C:1a and b, assumed to be earlier than Proto White Painted), there are those from Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos, which led Furumark to call this shape "Rhodo-Mycenaean" (Furumark 1972: 35-36, fig 8 and 9, p. 594, n° 58; Gjerstad 1944: 243). He does not give it a Myc. IIIB prototype; because in LH IIIA and B (1425-1190) amphorae don't have handles on the middle of the body, other than some unusual examples from the 13th century, mentioned below, although they do have during the Middle Helladic Age in Greece (1700-1550) (Furumark 1972: 22, n° 9; Blegen 1937 vol. I: 48, vol. II: 127, pl. 210).

On the other hand, such amphorae were used by Hittites during the entire Late Bronze Age and were common in Syria, at Hama, period I (1200-1050). P.J. Riis (1948: 54) compares both the Hama and the Anatolian examples to the type 58.

The Proto White Painted amphora has a long neck, a ring base and a rounder form than the piriform Mycenaean ware. This recalls Anatolian shapes; whereas Mycenaean IIIB and C:1a-b have a shorter narrower neck, a flat base (like the Mycenaean IIIB storage jars and Syrian Bichrome jars) and a narrower outline towards the base of the body, which gives a finer, more upward thrust to the shape than the Cypriot and Anatolian amphorae. Leaving aside the possibility of a direct Hittite prototype, because Hittite amphorae are unpainted, with a coarse clay and a greater range of shapes (Bittel et al., 1958: pl. XI, XII, XIII, XIV), it is tempting to see in the type 58 an evolution of the Cypriot Levanto-Helladic amphora, perhaps due to an encounter with an Anatolian population. This evolution would have then been transmitted to the late type 58, which appears later in Attica and Achaea than in the Dodecanese. This transmission has been

suggested, but without precision (Desborough 1971: 54; Papadopoulos 1979). The knob below the Cypriot and Myc. IIIC:1c and 2 amphorae recall the round Hittite seals placed the same way (Furumark 1944: 244). It is also remarkable that instead of being storage jars like the Peloponnese type 58, the amphorae from Osmankaysai, Hama, Cyprus, Rhodes and Attica came from cemeteries where cremation was practiced.

I have taken into account that E. French (1967: 170,171) has dated eleven amphorae type 58 found at Mycenae to the Myc. IIIB period (those of Mycenae measure about 60 cm. high, whereas those of Myc. IIIC Anatolia, Cyprus and Hama only measure from 20-45 cm. high). These are storage jars found in houses outside the citadel. They are a chronologically isolated group of this type of amphora; the three other examples, which may be attributed to Myc. IIIB are later, coming from the destruction level III B/C of the palace at Pylos (Blegen and Rawson, vol. I 1966: 385, 421). Perhaps their isolated presence, which French attributes to a return to Middle Helladic habits might instead be related to the fact that the houses where they were discovered apparently belonged to traders associated with the Levantine market, because this amphora shape (although with vertical rather than horizontal handles) is found in the Bichrome ware of Ras Shamra (J.C. and L. Courtois 1978: 239, fig 13). Aside from stirrup jars, these houses contained very little painted pottery. They are characterized by a number of small sculpted ivory pieces, the ivory of which must have come from Syria, inlaid stone vases – a technique unknown in Greece since the Middle Helladic and Minoan period, and some faience recipients, probably imported from Syria (Wace 1954: 111, n° 49, 51, 1956: 237: n° 49; Poursat 1994: 92).

The Pylos examples have the same body shape, handles and neck as some of the Proto White Painted amphorae. However there are only three of them, in the troubled context of the Pylos destruction that took place around 1200,

so it is difficult to know the circumstances of their appearance. Several similar amphorae have been found at Achaea in LH IIIC:1 contexts (Papadopoulos 1979: 71, vol. II: 41, figs. 65 a-e).

Here is a résumé of the known history of the globular amphora with two handles on the middle of the body:

Date	Aegean	Levant
Middle Bronze 1700-1550	Peloponnese HM II - tombs	Anatolia Cappadocia *
Late Bronze 1550 - 1180	Peloponnese Myc. IIIB (houses of Mycenaean traders) - storage	Anatolia Hittite - tombs
		Syria Bichrome - storage
	Myc IIIB/C 1200 (Pylos, Achea) - storage	Syria 1200 Hama periode I - tombs
Iron I 1180 - 1100	Rhodes Myc. IIIC:1 - tombs	Cyprus Proto White Painted - tombs
	Attica Myc. IIIC:2 - tombs	

* Ozgüç 1950: pl. LVII, n° 310,; 1953, pl. XXXII, n° 217-219; 1959, pl. XLIII, n° 2

It appears that the tradition of this shape is at least as strong in Bronze Age Anatolia and Syria as in the Aegean; which puts into question the Aegean origin of this shape in Proto White Painted ware. Furthermore, Anatolian handles are located on the body of the amphora which is a trait that appears in Proto White Painted and Furumark's Myc. IIIC type 58. The Myc. IIIB amphora handles were systematically placed on the shoulder. The change in position of the handles from

shoulder to body may be have been transmitted from the Levantine, rather than Anatolian, coast when it appears in Cyprus. At Hama, where there are no other Mycenaean traces, the amphorae also have horizontal handles after 1200.

A disturbing factor in attributing a Hittite influence on the Cypriot amphorae is that the Cypriot handles are horizontal rather than vertical like the Hittite and Syrian handles on the Late Bronze II types. Nevertheless, in Rhodes, an amphora from the LH IIIC tomb XVII with horizontal handles was found alongside an amphora with the same shape but with vertical handles (Maiuri 1926: 118, fig. 38; J.C. and L. Courtois 1978: 239, fig. 13 n° 4) and there are two White Painted II amphorae with vertical handles in the tomb 403 at Lapithos (Sjöqvist and al. 1935: pl. XLIII).

Similar criteria apply to the distinctive changes from the earlier Mycenaean amphoriskos into its Proto White Painted type: the handles become horizontal and the shape is more squat recalling Anatolian shapes. (Furumark 1944: 244; Blegen 1937: 127, fig. 10; Fischer 1963: 65; Bittel 1958: pl.XII).

Three other shapes: the hydria, the cup and the carinated bowl carry the same transformations of earlier shapes as the amphora and the amphoriskos: a body outline that can be found in the Hittite repertoire, with a different position of the handles. In the case of the hydria, the position of the three handles associated with a narrow neck belongs to a Myc. IIIB Peloponnese shape. In the cases of the cup and the bowl, the handles are placed in a way that could be either Levanto–Helladic or Myc. IIIB.

As for the Proto White Painted stirrup jar that Furumark compares to the Myc. IIIC:1c type, in every case they are even more similar to Levanto-Helladic

shapes that were already made in Cyprus during the 13th century and transmitted to the "philistine" shapes found in the Near East at the beginning of the 12th century (Cook 1988: 18-19, fig. 1). There are only two out of the eight shapes discerned in Pieridou's typology that can be related to Furumark's Myc. IIIB or even IIIC a-b. Notice that the protuberances on the knob at the top of the handles that characterize Myc. IIIC:1c and 2, as well as Proto White Painted already start to be present on the Myc. IIIB types 182 and 183 that are particularly popular in the Levant during the 13th century. (Furumark 1972: 44, 615, fig. 12).

The innovation of the krater with a handle in the form of a miniature cup seems to be a Cypriot invention, although there are contemporaneous examples in Crete.

The narrow necked jug (lekane) is also more closely related to Levanto-Helladic rather than directly Mycenaean shapes. Of the two types that Furumark compares it to, the type 118 is already well represented at Enkomi on LC IIB levels and the type 130 is only present at Ialysos (Furumark 1972: 603, 605). Thus, here too, is a shape already popular in the Levant during the 13th century, rather than characteristic of the Greek continent.

Furumark also compares the Proto White Painted jug with the basket handle and the askos with the corresponding Myc. IIIC:1c types 162 and 194 (Furumark 1972a: 617, 610). These shapes can also be compared to Near Eastern shapes. The jug type 162 is a Rhodian rather than Greek continental shape; the necks of the Proto White Painted jugs are curved, like White Painted II and Bichrome necks in Late Bronze Age Cyprus and Syria, and the strainer spout is a Syro-Palestinian characteristic, as well as Mycenaean (Yon 1976: 102; Chapman 1972: 148). See below concerning the askos.

Furumark (1972: 108) indicates that certain elements of shape differenciate Myc. IIIC:1 pottery (as well as Proto White Painted) from Myc. IIIB: the amphora type 58 discussed above, the trefoil mouth, the collar neck, the raised handle on jugs and the high conical base. He relates these traits to to the Middle Helladic type, in spite of a four hundred year chronological separation. He tries to overcome this problem when he writes that "the Myc. IIIC features in question can all be shown to be results of a gradual development during the later Mycenaean phases." He does not report the coincidence of these types of spouts, necks, handles and stems in the Near East, where they issue from a continuous Late Bronze Age tradition, especially in Cyprus. The trefoil spout of jars that is favored on Proto White Painted jars was common in Anatolia and Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age (Fischer 1963: pl. 44; Van der Osten 1937 part 2: 137, figs 179-182; Goldman 1963 vol. III: fig. 321; Aström 1972: figs. XLVI, LVII, LXX). Furumark (1972: 143) only includes it in his corpus of traits earlier than Myc. IIIC:1 as Levanto-Helladic type 139, found uniquely in Cyprus. The high conical bases exist in the common ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, Syria, Palestine and Anatolia (Salles 1980: 83 pl. 15 and 87, pl. 19; Amiran 1970: pl. 40, p. 141; Fischer 1963, pl. 33). The collar neck is characteristic of 13th century Syro-Palestinian amphorae and simple vases and Late Bronze Age Hittite jars (Courtois J.C. and L. 1978: 165, fig. 23; Van der Osten 1937 part 2: pl. 75, 76, 78; Fischer 1963: pl. 33). There are such necks on Myc. IIIB jars from Zygouris, but the origin of this trait is uncertain (Furumark 1972: fig. 7 type 75). The raised handle on Proto White Painted jugs must be a carry over from Cypriot Plain White Wheelmade II jugs, although they also exist on Hittite jugs .

The ridged stem on stemmed cups (kylikes) also seems to be an Anatolian predilection. The Myc. IIIB-C: 1a-b or Minoan stems are smooth and slender. The

kylix becomes rare in the LH IIIC Aegean region: there is only one ridged stem catalogued by Furumark, from Asine (Furumark 1972: Fig. 17, type 276, pp. 61 and 632). The precursor to this type of stem may be the swelling in the middle of the stem of Late Bronze Age kylikes found at Ugarit and Myrtou Pighades in 13th century contexts before it appears in the Aegean (Schaeffer 1949: fig. 60, 64, pp. 115-116). Furumark gives this type a Myc. IIIC:1 date. He gives examples from the Greek mainland and Rhodes (Furumark 1972: Fig. 17, p. 61, type 175). It appears in what may be a slightly later Proto White Painted context in the Ingot God Sanctuary at Enkomi (Courtois 1971: 285, fig. 118).

As for a truly ribbed stem, Furumark (1972: 632) gives only one example for his type 276: from a Myc. IIIC:2 context at Asine. At Beysultan the kylikes with ridged stems were commonly used by the Hittites during the Late Bronze Age. The archaeologists working at Beysultan saw an Early Bronze Age southwest Anatolian prototype for this type of kylix that had been found at Kusura Isparta (Lloyd and Mellaart 1955: 54). The earliest ridged stem I know of in Cyprus is a late 13th century Anatolian Plain Red Ware kylix in the castle museum at Kition.

The Proto White Painted shapes often associated with cult areas deserve special attention. They are the askos, the kernos, the multiple vase, the anthropomorphic vase, the naiskos, the zoomorphic rhyton, the tall pyxis and the calathos. The askos, the kernos and the multiple vase are known in the Myc. IIIA and B repertoire as well as in the Late Bronze age Levant. In these cases Furumark admits a relationship with the Near East. Concerning the kernoi and the multiple vases he writes: “It seems probable that the occurrence in the Myc. IIIB-C:1 phase of a whole series of vessels with ritual associations should be considered to be a symptom of connexions with the east.” (Furumark 1972: 70).

The style of the Submycenaean askoi and kernoi was apparently transmitted from Cyprus to Athens (from Proto White Painted to Myc. IIIC:2) (Desborough 1971: 54). The anthropomorphic vases were known in the Late Bronze Age Near East and late Myc. IIIB Mycenae. On the other hand, the zoomorphic rhyton and the tall pyxis were rarely used on the Greek continent: their Aegean distribution seems to be largely limited to Rhodes and Crete, where, like in Cyprus, they are found alongside askoi, kernoi and naiskoi in ritual contexts. Only the calathos is specifically Aegean, unknown in the Near East during the Bronze Age. It is encountered in Subminoan or Proto White Painted pottery in Crete and Cyprus, in similarly modified contexts, which indicates a contact between the two islands. Because it was previously absent in Cyprus, it has been supposed it was introduced by Cretan newcomers to Cyprus. But it may as well have been introduced by Cypriots themselves returning from incursions in Crete. V. Desborough (1971: 51) does not insist upon the direction of influence, although he tends to favour a Cretan immigration to Cyprus; a hypothesis based on the mutual presence of terra cotta figurines and the tall pyxis. This hypothesis of Cretan contributions to Cyprus seems to have become an accepted certainty (Yon 1979: 248, Karageorghis, 1975: 63). But a type by type analysis of the ritual vessels and the terracotta idols upon which it depends does not allow for an assured conclusion.

The Aegean askos that resembles most closely the Cypriot askos: simple, without a base, (Furumark type 50) probably appears on the Greek mainland as early as the Myc. IIB period. (Furumark 1972: 617; Desborough 1972: 246). However, the Proto White Painted type of duck shaped askos, with or without feet, sometimes with a spout instead of a head, had already existed in Cyprus, Crete and Palestine during the Early and Middle Bronze Age (2000-1500)

before the arrival of the Myceaeans, and during the 13th century at Troy and Büyükkale (Heurtley 1926-1927: 190; Zervos: 1956: 124, 208; Amiran 1970: 36, pl. 117; Neve 1965: fig. 21; Sjöqvist 1935: pl. XXX; Lloyd, Mellaart 1955: 72). Desborough has demonstrated that the origin of LH IIIC and Subminoan shapes of duck askoi must have been Cypriot. The earliest examples, found in stratified contexts, come from Enkomi, there are more of them in Cyprus and their tradition is prolonged into the 9th century (Desborough 1972: 245, 246 and 22). He thinks that the shape with a spout instead of a head may have been transmitted from Crete to Cyprus, but his argument rests on the coincidental transmission of other shapes with which I do not agree. The fundamental adoption of the bird head is characteristic of Cyprus, where it recalls the important role of the bird in Late Bronze Age Anatolia (Bittel 1976: 154, 157; Fischer 1963: pl. 139).

The Proto White Painted kernos has bull and snake protomes which was a type already used in Anatolia and Cyprus at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age from where it spread to the Near East at this time. The great majority of kernoi in Greece are simple ring vases. Furumark counts only three kernoi with bull or snake protomes in the Mycenaean repertoire (Furumark 1972: 618 and p. 69, note 2):

1. with four miniature cups and a wavy line, found at Mycenae in a Myc. IIIB context.
2. with a bull protome and three piriform jugs, found at Maroni (Cyprus) dated to Myc. IIIA:1.
3. with a bull protome, two birds and five vases, of unknown provenance, perhaps Rhodes, dating from late Myc. IIIC:1.

Thus there is only one example from a truly Mycenaean context. Three other kernoi dated to Myc. III have been found at Mycenae, but without protomes.

On the other hand, kernoi with bull protomes were used in Syria Palestine as early as the Late Bronze age at Beth Shemesh and became common at the beginning of the Iron Age at Beth Shan, Meggido,etc. (Amiran 1970: photo 350). They also existed in the Base Ring II ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Aström 1972 a; Sjöqvist 1935, 320, 322).

The multiple vase is chronologically and geographically too widely distributed to be a valid criteria of influence between various places. But one can note that it was particularly popular in the Middle Bronze Age Red Polished and White Painted ware of Cyprus. (Sjoqvist 1935: pl. XIX, XXXIII, CII, CVI). Furumark's type 325, which resembles Proto White Painted the most, is only found at Rhodes.

Two types of anthropomorphic vases belong to the Proto White Painted repertoire: the bottle in the shape of a woman, and two jugs with a human head as a strainer spout (one was found at Skales, the other was catalogued by Pieridou, p.13, n° 9).

The anthropomorphic bottle must derive from the LC IIC anthropomorphic bottle from Enkomi (Pieridou 1968: pl. VIII): the human shaped bottle seems to be a Cypriot concept. Its' stylistic transformation is not necessarily due to an Aegean immigration to Cyprus as has been suggested (J. Karageorghis 1977: 121). Indeed there are remarkable anthropomorphic vases from Crete that date to the Early Bronze Age, (Evans 1964: 115-116; Zervos 1956: figs. 116, 186-187). But during the Late Bronze Age anthropomporphic clay modelling (other than small votive figurines found in tombs) was scarcely known in the Aegean before the 12th century, other than the fifteen statues from the Hagia Eirene sanctuary at Keos, unique as a type, which probably date from the 15th century (Vermeule

1964: 217, pl. XL) and the sphinx head, and the anthropomorphic vases from the sanctuary at Mycenae, dated to 1250-1180 B.C. (Taylour 1969: 1970). The anthropomorphic terracottas from Phylakopi, Tiryns and Asine cannot be proved to be earlier than those from Cyprus. Furthermore, except at Mycenae, they are figurines, not recipients. A tiny anthropomorphic head and a LH IIIA recipient that can be seen in the Mycenae Museum may be stylistic precursors to the idols; unfortunately, the head is missing from the recipient.

On the other hand, the anthropomorphic vase was used during the entire Bronze Age in Cyprus and Syria Palestine (Mazar 1980: 80 who cites: Beth Pelet II, pl. LXV, Gezer I, p. 306 fig. 162); Badre 1980: pl LXIV, n° 45, LXVI, 60-62). The Skales jugs might find a prototype in the 15th century Cypriot White Painted jug from Toumbou Tou Skourou if there weren't such a long chronological separation. (Vermeule, 1974). Another such juglet, with globular eyes in relief, is of unknown provenance, but has been attributed to Base Ring II ware (Karageorghis, Nys 2001: 55). The globular ovoid form, the geometrical decoration and the spout in the form of a human head on the Skales jugs can be related to these earlier juglets. But, as human shaped recipients, perhaps they join the Palestinian tradition of two vases from the Philistine temple at Tell Qasile, of which one, with pierced breasts, must date from 1200 and the other, a jug whose entire upper half consists of a human head, must be contemporary to that of Skales (Mazar 1980: 79-81).

Although B. Mazar (1980: 73) compares the Tell Qasile jugs to the Aegean statues from Keos and Mycenae, they are quite different and a Levantine tradition seems confirmed by the burial of the vase with the pierced breasts in a pit, as has been the case for other ritual objects discovered in the Near East, possibly originally a Hittite custom. Nevertheless, there may be a relationship between the anthropomorphic figurines of Mycenae and Syria Palestine. A Late Bronze Age

jar from Byblos has a globular body, a small head leaning backwards and thin arms like those on a jar from Mycenae (Badre 1980: pl. VLI; Taylour 1970: pl. 40). A cup from Tell Brak, dated to ca. 1500 is shaped as a head with a smile on the thin protuberant lips and globular eyes like the traits on the faces of the Mycenaean statues (Mallowan 1942: 185, pl. XL; Khayyata 1977: pl. 3; Taylour 1969: pl. XIII). It represents a male head, apparently wearing a mask with strings attached to the ears; a suggested Philistine feathered helmet is less obvious.

In any case, this type of vase is too widely distributed and has too many stylistic variations to be able to confirm reciprocal influences. All that can be said is that the earliest known come from Early Bronze Age Crete and Asia Minor (Zervos 1956: 141, 166, 167; Schmidt 1932: 14-16, 47-50). Then they seem to disappear from Crete in favour of Late Bronze Age Syria Palestine and Cyprus; they were still in use in Syria Palestine when they appeared around 1250 at Mycenae and 1000 B.C. at Skales.

The zoomorphic rhyton and figurines recall a long tradition in Cyprus, Crete and Anatolia, being a particularly Hittite characteristic, where the painted decoration is neglected in favour of a more elaborate sculpting of the animal. (Bittel 1976: 85-91, 151, 158, 159).

After the Bronze Recent II period, the predilection for terracotta animals, especially bird-shaped askoi, fades in Cyprus and Crete at the time of the rise of the Mycenaens and the influx of Myc. IIIB pottery, with the exception of the popular Cypriot Base Ring bull vessel. Catling is not very convincing when he derives the Proto White Painted wheelmade zoomorphic forms from the Aegean, because he does not give any Greek or Cretan model that can be proved to be earlier than those of Cyprus. The zoomorphic figurines appear in Greece along with Myc. IIIC pottery, at the same time wheelmade bull figurines appear at

Enkomi in LC IIIA contexts and at Myrtou Pighades (Catling 1974: 103). A drastic increase of zoomorphic vases in LC IIIB2 graves has been attributed to an Aegean inspiration. (Webb 1992: 89). This fails to take into account that zoomorphic vessels are originally a Near Eastern tradition (Karageorghis 1963: 224). The animal figurine used as vase or rhyton is particularly characteristic of Late Bronze Age Hittite and Syro-Palestinian culture (Hamilton 1935: 41, n° 248 (1400-1230); Loud 1948: pl. 247, n° 5 (1479-1350); J.C. and L. Courtois 1978: 251, fig. 17 (1365)). Furthermore, it seems to have been more popular when it was adopted into the Proto White Painted repertoire than it was in the Myc. IIIC of the Aegean, where it is quite rare. This is not surprising, given the striking example of the wheelmade example of a bull figurine decorated with an oblong hatched pattern along the back in the tomb 23 at Maroni (Johnson 1980: pl. XXXVIII, n° 191). The Levantine décor prefigures that of the Enkomi centaurs.[19] The four examples given by Catling (1974: 107) are all from Rhodes. A further nine wheelmade bulls were found at Phylakopi on the level 2b, dating from ca. 1150 (Renfrew 1978: 10; 1985: 236, 425). Sherds of bovine figurines were found on earlier levels at Phylakopi and in the Amyklaion shrine in Laconia. Similar figurines from Crete may be even more recent than those from Cyprus.

The naiskos, or terracotta model of a sanctuary, is unknown in Greece, although it had been widespread in Crete and the Near East since Neolithic times (Caubet 1979: 94-119 where the numerous naiskoi cited are all from the Near East). Having disappeared from Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, three examples reappeared in a bothros containing White Painted I ware, outside the Temple I at Kition (Karageorghis 1976: figs. 66, 67). These resemble the Cretan

19 The Maroni tomb 23 contains Myc. IIIB pottery and is dated from LC I to LC II. A high sided collar necked pyxis and a ring kernos were also found in this tomb (Johnson 1980: pl. XXXVIII n° 189 and pl. XXXIV n° 173).

naiskoi dating from the same period. It is interesting that the Cretan naiskoi, like the incised jar from Karphi as compared to one from Enkomi (see below), have a rustic Aegean aspect with a flat base and less stylistic detail, whereas the Cypriot examples have more complex Near-Eastern traits: a higher base, a "chimney" opening. Thus this new class of objects reflects a difference in taste and habits between Cyprus and Crete. Given the large number of known naiskoi in Late Bronze Age Egypt, Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Syria Palestine it seems arbitrary to insist on a Cretan inspiration for the Cypriot models, especially as the Cypriot chimney opening must have been derived from an Early Bronze Age model at Ai and Late Bronze Age II models at Ras Shamra.

The high pyxis may as well be a development of the Levanto-Helladic pyxis as of the Myc. IIIB. It seems to only appear in Crete and Cyprus. The two handled, straight sided, pyxis has been described as "typically Levanto-Helladic IIIA:2, frequently found in Cyprus." (Hankey 1966: 170). But here again, although it is impossible to prove chronologically, Crete has been assumed to furnish the prototypes for the later high sided Cypriot examples. Desborough cites examples from Karphi, Gypsades and Kavousi, with particularly high sides (Desborough 1971: 57), even though the pyxides from Kavousi like those from Vroskastro, associated with protogeometric vases, may well be later. Only those from the Gypsades are assuredly as old as the Cypriot examples. The collar neck, instead of the concave necks of earlier Mycenaean types, argues for a transformation in terms of Near Eastern taste (Furumark 1972: fig. 12). The heightened sides recall some Levantine jugs and bottles.

The calathos, which does not belong to the Levanto-Helladic repertoire, may be an introduction from continental Greece. However the Myc. IIIC shape is

particularly popular in Rhodes and Minoan IIIB Crete, and the Cypriot shapes are thought to be derived from the Cretan shapes (Furumark 1972: 635; Yon 1973: 9). Paradoxically, the Cypriot examples are often decorated in a figurative Syro-Palestinian style (Yon 1973: 9; Iakovou 1998: 60).

It is remarkable that of the thirty Proto White Painted shapes, seven seem to be destined for ritual functions. Of these seven, none is widely characteristic of the Greek continent, all appear in Crete and Cyprus after 1150 and all, except the calathos, have earlier prototypes in Cyprus or elsewhere in the Near East.

We have seen that, as far as all these types are concerned, the supposed influences from Crete to Cyprus are difficult to justify. Not only because 13th century Aegean prototypes are lacking, but also because of the synchronistic appearance of the related objects in the two islands. The Cretan 12th century chronology is imprecise because the only excavated Subminoan settlement is Karphi which lasted a short time, on a rocky surface without stratigraphy. It depends on Subminoan pottery traits held in common with Myc. IIIC:1 and C:2 ware, which, itself, depends on the date of the Deir Allah finds. According to this rather vague criteria, the subminoan pottery from the tomb groups of Vrokastro, Kavousi, Knossos, Phaestos, Mouliana, Gortyn and from the Karphi settlement, where vases show a relationship with Cyprus (rather than Greece), they can not be much earlier than 1150.[20]

This chronological imprecision is also true for the relationship between Myc. IIIC:1c, IIIC:2 and Proto White Painted which all three have parallel traits. Only if Myc. IIIC:1c proves to be an internal evolution of Myc. IIIB can one

20 For the chronology of 12th-11th century Cretan sites:
Karphi: Desborough 1971: 123; Vrokastro: Hall, 1914; Kavousi: Boyd, 1901; Knossos (Gypsades): Desborough 1966: 26. The tombs VIa and VII are contemporary to the tomb 503 at Lapithos; Mouliana: Desborough 1966: 27, 188, 306. The tomb A, which was difficult to date, contained a crater of a type of sherd found in the Proto White Painted context of the Kition well (Karageroghis, *BCH* 84, 580); Phaestos: Laviosa, 1963-1964, 19-20; Gortyn: Rizza and Scrinai, 1968.

postulate its influence on Proto White Painted. However this is not necessarily the case. The Myc. IIIC:1 and 2 present innovations – precisely those which relate them to Proto White Painted – that can be found elsewhere than in the Mycenaean repertoire, i.e. in Anatolia, Syria Palestine and Cyprus itself.

Two criteria determine a satisfactory prototype: the possession of more innovative traits in common with the model in question than any other type, and an immediate chronological anteriority. Some shapes found in Proto White Painted were found throughout the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean during the Bronze Age. However, the profiles of the shapes that answer the prototype criteria for Proto White Painted have a geographical distribution that shows an influence from Syro-Hittite rather than Aegean regions:

LATE BRONZE AGE FABRIC

LC II B	LC III	13th century	13th century	LH III	LM II
Cyprus	Cyprus	Syria - Palestine	Anatolia	Greece	Crete - Rhodes
White Painted Wheelemade II Bucchero	Lev. Hell. Myc. IIIC:1b Philistine	Bichrome Coarse	Hittite	Myc. IIIC:1a-b	Subminoen
amphora neck handles	bowl with conical foot	amphora torpedo base	amphora amphoriskos	hydria	calathos
askos	shallow bowl	three footed bowl	bottle (B)		
round bowl	lekythos	bottle (A)	carinated cup		
Kantharos	bowl (skyphos)	flask	kylix with ridged stem		
crater	cup	naiskos	stamnos		
jug with body spout	stirrup jar	pyxis			
jar		zoomorphic rython			
kernos					
trefoil mouth oenochoe					
multiple vase					

TABLE II

SHAPES

GREECE MYC. IIIB	GREECE MYC. IIIC (1a - 1b)	PROTO WHITE PAINTED		CYPRUS - SYRIA LEVANTO-HELLADIC MYC. IIIB	SYRIA - PALESTINE LB II	HITTITE
X	X	Belly handled amphora			X	X
	X	Amphoriskos				*
X	*	Hydria		X		
X	X	Cup		X	X	X
X	X	Carinated Cup			X	X
X	X	Stirrup jar		*		
		Krater with a jar handle				
X	X	Lekane		*	X	
X	X	Jug, spout on body	O	X		
		Oenochoe trilobed spout	O		X	X
X		Jar, short straight neck	O			
X	X	Kylix		X		X
	X	Stemmed bowl		*		
X	X	Shallow bowl		*	X	X
		Round bowl	O		X	
X	X	Bowl (skyphos)		*		
X		Collar handled amphora	+		X	
		Krater	O			
		Kantharos	O		X	
		Stamnos				*
		Torpedo based amphora			*	
	X	Pilgrim flask		X	*	X
		Tripod bowl			*	
X	X	Askos	O			X
X		Kernos	O		X	
X	X	Multiple vase		X		
		Bottle	+		*	X
X		Anthropomorphic vase	O		X	
	X	Zoomorphic rhyton			*	X
		Naiskos			*	
X	X	Pyxis		*		
X	*	Kalathos				

X = presence

* = maximum number of traits in common with Proto White Painted

O or + next to Proto White Painted shapes means the shape is present in eteo-Cypriot White Painted Wheelmade II (O) or Bucchero (+)

Proto White Painted decoration

The decoration on pottery would be less significant than the utilitarian aspect of shape, if it weren't for the fact that it reflects the spirit of a culture. In the case of Proto White Painted, one must hesitate in defining this "spirit" because it involves universal, geometric, motifs that appear upon the decline of the wealthy, creative civilization of the Minoans and the Mycenaeans, whose Late Bronze Age culture produced a pottery style that distinguishes itself from earlier pottery by replacing the strait line with curvilinear and pictorial motifs.

Perhaps it is because of the superiority of the Mycenaean ware that the Myc. IIIC and Proto White Painted decoration has been attributed to a simple degeneracy of the Mycenaaen III style; although the elegant, sensual Mycenaean IIIB style which had been inspired by Minoan pottery with its piriform shapes and curvilinear decoration, associated with a fine grained, polished clay, seems foreign to the organic rusticity and simplicity of geometric motifs applied to a more granular clay and matte slip that characterizes Myc. IIIC:2 and Proto White Painted (French 1969: 136; Podzuweit 1979: 413, 476, note 77). This decomposition has been attributed to the fall of the nobility and a reappearance of an indigenous "Helladic" taste inherited from the Middle Helladic era (Deshayes 1966; Furumark 1944).

In any case, the chronological link is missing between the Middle Helladic and Late Helladic III periods. Would the geometrical decoration of the Macedonian Boubasti shepherds which maintained the pre-Aryan Helladic tradition until the Iron Age be a likely source of inspiration? None of the Macedonian shapes seem to have been transmitted along with the décor (Hammond 1931: 131-180; Heurtley 1926-1927: 158-194; Deshayes 1966: 250 only mentions the monochrome pottery under a LH IIIB/C level at Gremnos Magoula). Wouldn't

the change have been more likely instigated by an Anatolian, Hittite, tradition, not only because of geographical factors, but because of the coincidence of the new shapes along with the new linear decors? Bouzek (1994: 35-38) observes that such a shift in decorative perception may indicate the rise of a culture more devoted to celestial than earthly deities. The voluptuous Minoan culture that was imprinted on the Mycenaeans, with their palaces and open air, nature oriented temene, ceded to abstract motifs more in accordance with an invisible deity housed in temples. He attributes the increasingly geometric motifs in early Iron age Greek Geometric pottery (true also of Protogeometric or Proto White Painted ware) to an Indo-European tradition that could have reasserted itself in the Aegean and Cyprus via the Balkans and Anatolia. It has also been suggested that floral and organic motifs belong to permanent settlements and island cultures, whereas the more abstract motifs are congenial to nomads.

Furumark (1972b: 124) established that five Proto White Painted motifs are related to Myc. IIIC:1c: the elaborate triangle, the antithetic stemmed spiral, a tassel pattern attached to spout and handle bases, a lozenge in the center of a facial composition, and oppositely arranged semicircles. He does not mention any other possible antecedents to these motifs than Mycenaean ones.

The decorations characteristic of Proto White Painted listed by Pieridou (1973: 76-87) are the geometric motifs: wavy line, zone of successive oblique lines, various treatments of the triangle, net rhomboids, semi circles, metopes, and the pictorial motifs: palm tree, birds, dog, human, wild goat and deer.

The triangle is one of the most widespread motifs in the Proto White Painted and Myc. IIIC:2 ware. On the other hand, it scarcely appears in the Myc. IIIB repertoire, except at Rhodes on jugs with spouts on the body. According to

Furumark “the triangle does not occur in the IIIB proper” (Furumark 1972: 389, see fig. 68, motif 61 A), although it occasionally appears on Cretan stirrup jars. The absence of the triangle, although it does not appear in nature, is unusual in artisan production anywhere, and especially in the eastern Mediterranean, where its metaphysical properties would be congenial to metaphysical concepts. Its relative absence is one of the distinguishing traits of the Mycenaean avoidance of geometrical abstraction, as opposed to more natural, effeminate, floral motives, inherited from the Minoans. According to Furumark the Proto White Painted triangle may have derived from his motif 19, a Myc. IIIA:2 Rhodian motif, which is in fact a series of parallel chevrons. (Furumark 1972: 298, fig 47 n° 15 and p. 389). And yet framed triangles may instead be an evolution of the 13th century Syro-palestinian and Hittite chevrons (J.C and L. Courtois 1978: 249, 16 (1450-1200); Duncan 1930: pl. 15, n° H 15, H 17; Fischer 1963: pl. 20, p. 116 (1280-1200); Mallowan 1942: pl. LXXXII). In Greece and the Aegean islands the true triangle only appears in the Myc. IIIC:1a-b ware (Furumarks’s motives 61 and 42, p. 407). In Cyprus it can be found on the earliest Proto White Painted vases: Lapithos e, and a, Myk. V. 14: 22 and 91: 160, 160a; Cesnola Cat. 460 and Daniel 1937,: pl. 2: 33, 39. To the contrary of Greece, opaque and hatched triangles were used during the Bronze Recent II (1400-1200) period in the Near East, especially on Hittite pottery and in Cyprus on White Painted Wheelmade II (Aström 1972 a: fig. LXXIV; Fischer 1963: pl. 20 dates from slightly before 1280). Benson (1972: 50) gives an example from Gezer III. There is a good earlier example of hatched triangles on the shoulder of a White Painted Nuzi jar (Mallowan 1942: pl. LXXXII).

The stemmed antithetical spiral is more common in Myc. IIIC:1b than Proto White Painted. In fact, Furumark (1972a: 370) only counts one Proto White

Painted (if equated to Myc. IIIC:2) example of the spiral motif and in this case, it is an isolated spiral (Duncan 1930, notes it on type 6). Nevertheless, other examples are known although not typical. The spiral is widespread in Levanto-Helladic ware, from which the idea probably passed from Myc. IIIC:1b, or maybe even Philistine ware, into Proto White Painted.

The tassel pattern (Furumark's motif 72:7) is also a motif of Middle and Late Bronze Age Syro-Palestinian jugs (J.C. and L. Courtois 1978: pl. 18 (ca. 1365); Amiran 1970: pl. 46 n° 13 (1400-1300); Salles 1980: 58, pl. 21 n° 2 (1600)). In its Myc. IIIC:1 and Proto White Painted form, it is straight instead of curvilinear, and encircles the neck of the jugs, rather than hanging in a bunch of three as in the Myc. IIIB style.

The hatched lozenge is a central ornament on a panel facial composition. Given that it is also known in the Near East, especially on Philistine and Myc. IIIC:1b ware it should not serve as a critera of diffusion (Amiran 1970: 266; Vermeule 1974: fig. 12 and 37 on a White Painted mug dated from 1660 to 1500; French 1975: 60 fig. 10).

The semicircle (Furumark's motif 43: 25, 39 and 58: 30) that appears on Myc. IIIC:1 and on Cypriot vases from Lapithos c and from Kourion, are contemporary to those that appear on Philistine ware around 1200 (French 1975: 50, who mentions Gezer III pl. 159: 70; 160: 2 and the dotted semicircles on Bamboula 1004 (a Syrian import) 1960: pl. IV fig 9 a and b; for Kourion: Daniel 1937: pl. 2:17). Once again it is not possible to prove a continental Greek, Myc. IIIB, origin for the incidence of this motif on Proto White Painted because, although it is common on mainland stirrup jars, it is also present on the eastern island of Ialysos, from where it may have been transmitted.

One of the most characteristic motifs of Proto White Painted is the semicircle framed by a triangle on the shoulder of stirrup jars. There are certainly Mycenaean antecedents (Furumark, motif 62, fig. 66, n° 22 and motif 71,fig. 71), but these antecedents might as well be Levanto-Helladic as continental. Already frequently presented in the form of multiple encased semicircles on Philistine stirrup jars, Desborough suggests a Minoan origin. In fact, in Crete, the triangle on the shoulder of stirrup jars is an uninterrupted motif since the Middle Minoan period. However Desborough admits that the Philistine motif seems to be more related to the Proto White Painted type than the Minoan IIIB. He writes: “it is very probable that this motif was transmitted from Cyprus to Crete” because in Cyprus it appears on non Mycenaean shapes (the belly handled amphora, the bowl with a cup shaped handle and the amphoriskos). Desborough (1966: p. 27; 1971: 51 and 57) writes: “In fact one can be reasonably certain about the direction of transmission only for the pyxis, the wild goat (the characteristic Cretan agrimi) and the triangle enclosing the semi-circle and even for this latter decorative motive I am not entirely certain.”

The zigzag, like the triangle, exists in Myc. IIIA and C, but is rare in the IIIB repertoire (Furumark 1972: fig. 67and 68, p. 386). The zigzag filled with oblique lines only appears in IIIC:1 (Furumark 1972: motif 61, fig. 67). This type of zigzag is already present in 13th century Levantine pottery (Duncan 1930: type 15 H 13 (1328-1202); Woolley 1955: pl. LXXXVII, (1483-1370).

The wavy line is one of the most characteristic novelties of the Myc. IIIC or Proto White Painted as it appears in Cyprus. This is an unusual motif in Mycenaean ware before the late LH IIIC period, although an early LH IIIB stemmed bowl from Ialysos carries the motif (Benzi 1988:65, fig. 9). It also known on Levanto-

Helladic ware (Courtois 1978: 253, fig. 18). A sherd with a double wavy line motif also found in Rhodes, in a LH III house at Trianda, has been tentatively identified as an import from the Anatolian coast (Benzi 1988: 51, fig. 52).

On the whole, geometrical motifs are too widespread to be a safe criteria for diffusion. Pictorial motifs are more useful in this sense.

The goat is well attested in Late Bronze Age Bichrome Syro-Palestinian pottery, usually accompanied by a tree, like on the Proto White Painted calathos from Paphos. It is more unusual to find it in Crete, and usually later, in the 10th century (Yon 1973: 24). Desborough assumes this motive derives from the Cretan agrimi. However the goats that are common on the Cretan calathoi are not a truly Aegean type, which would be more naturalistic. They are silhouetted and more stylized like the Syrian type (Desborough 1971: 57; Yon 1973: 24; Furumark 1972: fig. 28, 29; Iakovou 1988: 79). On the calathos mentioned above, the presence of the tree, the swastika, the union jack and the vertical zigzag is a combination of Syro-Palestinian motives incorporating the Anatolian taste for the zigzag and the swastika. The bird is an especially popular pictorial motif on Proto White Painted and White Painted I ware (Iakovou 1988: 64-68). According to Mallowan (1942: 240) the penchant for painting birds first appeared at Megiddo str. IX (1550-1479) and continued through the 13th century in Palestine. Nuzi ware includes bird motifs (Mallowan 1942: pl. LXXVIII).

The presence of human figures was frequent in both Myc. IIIB and Levanto-Helladic ware. In this case, each body trait is curvilinear. On the other hand, in Proto White Painted the bodies are hatched and schematically drawn with straight lines like the rare human figures on Syro-Palestinian ware. The black head with a reserved lozenge shaped eye and stems on a Proto White Painted calathos

resembles the head and limbs of a monster on the lip of a vase from Alalakh (1480-1370) (Woolley 1955: pl. XCVI e). A remarkable plate (Fig. 1), found in the midst of Whited Painted I ware in the Skales tomb 49, is reminiscent of a bowl from Megiddo (Avi-Yonah 1975: 843). In both cases a quadraped is posed on the back of a larger animal. But on the Skales Plate the larger animal is a bi-cephale snake (elsewhere referred to as a fish tailed "monster"). I agree with Karageorghis that the archer and the other person, holding the tail of the snake, evoke the myth of Herakles and the Lerna Hydra, but what is the origin of this myth (Karageorghis 1980: 128)? Robert Graves mentions that the story of Herakles is a variant of the Gilgamesh epic that reached Greece via Phoenicia; Herakles is also sometimes assimilated to the god Baal. His tradition, vindicated by the Scythians, can even be attached to Anatolia (Sakellariou 1980: 183; Graves 1981: vol. II, 89, 95, 103). The presence of animal motifs other than two men and the snake may be a generalized form of both the Herakles and Gilgamesh myths of men vanquishing the evil of mortality. It should also be noticed that the "forked tail" of the snake body may instead indicate two entwined snakes, a sort of caduceus, where evil is overcome by animal forces rather than the axis mundi pole. The bird and lunar horned bull are symbols of transcendence, and dogs are unique in nature in that they kill upon the command of man.

Fig.1: *Plate, Skales (Karageorghis 1980: 128, fig. 7)*

Finally, the introduction of the bichrome technique in Proto White Painted must be noted. Bichrome decoration characterizes an important category of

TABLE III

MOTIFS

MYC. IIIB	MYC. IIIC (1a - 1b)	PROTO WHITE PAINTED	LEVANTO-HELLADIC	SYRIA - PALESTINE LB II	HITTITE
	X O	Thick wavy line	X	X	X
X	X	Horizontal encircling line	X	X	X
	X	Hatched triangle X		X	X
X	X	Concentric chevrons	X	X	X
X	X	Hatched chevrons	X	X	X
X	X	Concentric arches	X		
X	X	Elaborate half circles	X		
X	X	Lozenges X	X	X	X
X	X	Line of dots	X	X	X
X	X	Scale pattern X	X		
	X O	Double axe		X	
	X O	Encircling pendant		X	
	X	Rake		X	X
	X	Fringes on circles or arches			
X	X	Zigzag X	X	X	X
	X	Elaborate zigzag		X	X
X	X	Rosette	X		
	X O	Star		X	X
X	X	Checkerboard	X	X	
	X O	Ladder		X	
	X O	Swastika			X
X	X	Goat	X	X	
X	X	Bird	X	X	
X	X	Man	X	X	

The 14 first motifs, the goat and the bird are listed in P. Aström *SCE, IV* part 1c, 1972, p. 424; the list is completed by those in Benson, *Kaloriziki*, 1973 pl. 61 and those in V. Karageorghis, *Alaas*, 1975.

O under Myc. IIIC means the motif is absent in Myc. IIIB, but present in LB II in Syria or Anatolia.

X under Proto White Painted means it is present in earlier Cypriot ware.

Late Bronze Age Syro-Palestinian pottery, whereas Mycenaean pottery is monochrome.

Thus the decoration gives the same impression as the shapes. Even at first sight, it is striking to notice the resemblance of Proto White Painted to Middle Minoan and Middle Helladic pottery and Middle Bronze Age pottery from Anatolia and Cyprus (1800-1600), when the decorated pottery repertoires of these regions were relatively homogenous. This uniform simplicity was interrupted by the spread of the more material sophisticated Minoan, then Mycenaean, pottery that was particularly prevalent, and increasingly copied, in Cyprus and Ugarit. The geometrical decoration survived in Anatolia, and Syria- Palestine and the White Painted Wheelmade II ware of Cyprus. It is from this continuous, though reduced, tradition that the Myc. IIIC and Proto White Painted aspects, that seem like a return to the Middle Helladic style, may have originated. The geometric aspect is also reminiscent of Balkan motifs that may have spread along the Anatolian coast as well as into Greece during the Sea Peoples migrations. It certainly doesn't entail the abandonment of the Mycenaean tradition in Cyprus, but a change of mentality seems to have been introduced into the geographical realm previously dominated by Greeks.

Figurines [21]

Numerous terracotta cult figurines in human form, sometimes painted with linear motifs, were discovered in Proto White Painted-White Painted I contexts at Enkomi and White Painted I contexts at Kition. Nearly two hundred were

21 The analysis of figurines is essentially as it appeared in my doctoral thesis; this chapter was the subject of a further study using the artificial intelligence SNARK inference motor. P. Herman, 1987 : 113-137

found outside the west wall and in a room of the Ingot God sanctuary (Courtois 1971: 343), seven in the little sanctuary, or northeast "tower" of Enkomi (Dikaios 1969 vol. II: 303), and the fragments of ten others in the sacred area at Kition on floor I or in the bothroi related to this floor (Karageorghis 1976: 71).

Those of Kition and the northeast sanctuary at Enkomi were discovered among White Painted I sherds, which dates them to 1050-1000. Unfortunately, those of the Ingot God sanctuary are more difficult to date. V. Karageorghis attributes all of them to CG I because of the White Painted amphora n° 122 belonging to floor II. (Karageorghis 1977: 7; Courtois 1973: 324). I agree with the excavator, J.C. Courtois (1971a: 343), that some of these figurines probably date from the 12th century, given the great variation in depth of the levels where they were found (from 0,30 m to 1,50 m under the actual ground surface) (Courtois 1971a: 343). Furthermore, since all the other decorated pottery of the sanctuary is Proto White Painted (Courtois, Webb 1980: 101) it seems that the idols might just as well be contemporary to this pottery as to the White Painted I amphora.

All of the complete feminine idols have upraised arms. But those of Kition and some of unknown provenance are larger than those of Enkomi (Karageorghis 1977: 31). Although fragmentary, the Kition idols vary from 12 cm. to 30 cm. as opposed to 3 cm. to 7 cm. for those of Enkomi. Near the Ingot God sanctuary, the feminine statuettes are mixed with masculine statuettes, with one arm raised in a saluting position (when the arms aren't missing), and three fragments of bull statuettes. The feminine statuettes wear a schematic polos, whereas the men wear pointed headdresses. A single idol head, n° 642, has a well modelled face and wears a painted necklace, and has well drawn eyes and dots painted on her cheeks and chin like a statuette found in a sanctuary at Mycenae, on the destruction level LH IIIB (1200 B.C.). That of Mycenae, decorated with 14th century BC. motifs, was found among a very different type of statuettes (Taylour 1970: pl. XLII).

The cult origins of these statuettes is difficult to determine. The rare earlier Cypriot examples were found on the level IV (1180) at Enkomi in a context of traditionally Cypriot pottery (Bucchero, White Painted Wheelmade II or Late Levanto-Helladic (Decorated Late Cypriot III) (Dikaios 1969 vol. III: 107). Outside Cyprus these little terracotta idols were common in all the Late Bronze Age East Mediterranean cultures. In Greece a great many, stereotyped in “phi”, “tau” and “psi” shapes, have been found in Myc. IIIB contexts (French 1971: 185 ff.). Another type of Late Bronze age statuette is common to the Syro-Palestinian region (Badre 1980). But neither the Greek nor Syrian types seem to be directly related to the Cypriot type.

The prototypes of the Enkomi and Kition idols have been definitively attributed to Crete (Karageorghis 1977: 9; Courtois 1979: 17). However the earlier Cretan examples aren’t more closely comparable to the Cypriot ones than those mentioned above. Those most closely related would be the Middle Minoan Kamares style figurines from Palaikastro (Myres 1903: 360, pl. XI). Here, again, there is a four hundred year chronological gap.

A type of idol introduced during Minoan Recent IIIB in the Double Axe sanctuary at Knossos, a feminine type with raised arms, has been related to the Cypriot types according to the following characteristics: raised arms, polos, breasts, accentuated facial traits, bands around the neck, arms and breast, a dot on the cheeks, chin and wrists, hands with articulated fingers, head tilted backwards (Karageorghis 1977: 9).

The two articulated hands found in a bothros at Kition do indeed resemble those of Cretan goddesses, but then so does an ivory hand found at Megiddo level VII (1350-1150) (Loud 1939 vol. II: pl. 243; Karageorghis 1977: pl. III n° 6, 10). The woman’s head n° 642 from Enkomi resembles one found at Mycenae. However the other statuettes found in the pre-destruction level IIIB sanctuary

at Mycenae are of a type previously unknown in the Aegean. Their paint, the globular eyes, the noses, are strikingly similar to the Late Bronze Age cup in the form of a head from Tell Brak (Mallowan 1942: 185, pl. XL; Khayata 1977: pl. 3). The protuberant mouth is found on other Late Bronze Age Syrian Statuettes, and especially on Hittite sculpture towards 1300 B.C. (Badre 1980: pl. I, n° 67, 68, 69; Bittel 1976: 147 n° 148, 297 pl. 339). Other than these two cases, only the head tilted backwards particularly recalls Aegean examples – a terracotta head from Asine, the head on a jug from the sanctuary at Mycenae and a figurine from Phaestos – but they could also be compared to those of a seated statuette from Byblos and a Late Broze age Hittite statuette (Laviosa 1964: 10 fig. 1; Badre 1980: pl. LVI n° 63. Schmidt 1932: 131, fig. 161).

Furthermore, the upraised arms, the polos, the breasts, the accentuated faces are too wide spread to serve as stylistic relationships to a particular area. Immediately earlier, 13th century, examples can be found on Hittite feminine statues, where the polos is more similar than the Cretan examples, and accompanied by masculine statuettes with a pointed head and bull statuettes, which is not the case in the Aegean, until the Phylakopi group which dates from ca. 1150 B.C. (Schmidt 1932: 129-140; Van der Osten 1937: 193-205; Renfrew 1978a: 9-10). The Hittite figurines come from Alishar Hüyük, level II (1800-1200 B.C.) At Alishar Hüyük, as at Enkomi, the arms are sometimes placed in a saluting gesture. In Crete such a gesture is common to both male and female figurines (Boardman 1961: pl. IV). In the cases of Alishar Hüyük and Enkomi the eyes are sometimes globular, if not simple indentations as is usual with the Enkomi figurines, and in one Enkomi case the legs are articulated like several of those from Alishar Hüyük.

The painted rectilinear motifs on the Cypriot statuettes have Near Eastern antecedents. A Late Bronze Age statuette from Chatal Hüyük and one from

Hama are painted in the “geometric” manner like the slightly later ones from Cyprus (Badre 1980: pls. II, XXIV). A number of the Cypriot figurines, especially at Enkomi, have a “X” band strapped across their chest, which is customary on Levantine figurines, at Hama for instance (Badre 1980: pl. IV, n° 75, 78, 81). The pendants painted around the neck and the vertical line crossed by irregular horizontal lines on Myc. IIIC figurines like those from room XXII at Asine in the Peloponnese are Levantine motifs found on earlier ware at Büyükkale (a sherd dated to 1280-1200) and Ugarit (a flask handle dated to ca. 1600 BC) and the necklace painted on a faience goddess from Megiddo, level IX (Fisher1963: pl. 18; Courtois 1978: 215, fig. 6; Loud 1948: pl. 241). The two figurines from Asine dated to Myc. IIIB, decorated with pendants and hollow poloi are, as far as I know, unique in the Aegean area during LH IIIB. The hollow polos recalls a head borne recipient, which is a characteristic of both Late Bronze Age Syro-Palestinian and Mycenaean figurines (Badre 1980: pls. XLIV n° 87; XLV n° 59; XLVI n° 60).

Three Cypriot statuettes have spots on the face which can be compared to three others found at Mycenae in Myc IIIB contexts and Cretan idols from the 12th century (Taylour, 1969: pl. XII; Taylour 1970: pl. XLII; Vermeule 1964: pl. XLC). Two of the Cypriot examples are from an unknown provenance (Karageorghis 1977: pl. VIII; Courtois 1971: fig. 150). Hence it is inexact to extrapolate the anteriority of this motif on the Cretan examples which are dated to the 12th century, onto non stratified contexts. One of the Cypriot heads has two particularly striking dots on the cheeks (but not on the chin) and accentuated eyes and eyebrows which strongly resemble the two faience rhytons in the form of a goddess head found at Ugarit, less the dots, but with curls painted on the checks and forehead (Schaeffer 1933: pl. XXI).[22] Even closer to the Syrian models was a faience

22 A feminine Egyptian mask found in the same tomb VI at Minet el Beida is an argument against the possibility of an ultimately Mycenaean origin of this type of head.

goblet in form of feminine head found at Enkomi, curls on the cheek, dot on the chin, probably datable to LC IIC (Courtois 1984: 80, pl. XI, n° 3). Such heads seem to be absent in the Aegean. Might a deformation of the curls on the Cypriot examples have become the prototype of the dots on the Aegean statuettes?

Aside from the characteristics Karageorghis used for comparison between Aegean and Cypriot figurines, they have characteristics which are not comparable. The Cretan statues at Karphi and Gazi are much larger, sometimes as tall as one meter, the heads are crowned by various appendices and they wear bell shaped skirts. The closest Aegean examples are from Minoan Recent III (1300-1125) Phaistos (Laviosa 1964: 4, 6, 8, 10, see 14 for the chronology). These pieces are dubiously dated to the 12th century. Like other ritual ware, this group of figurines seems to appear in Cyprus and Crete at about the same time. Other masculine and feminine figurines were found on the hill southeast of Ayia Triada, but there is little mention of them in the 1904 excavation report where they are attributed to Late Minoan III (Banti 1948: 52).

1,507 figurine fragments were found in the area of the citadel house at Mycenae in a Myc. IIIB-C context, some of which resemble Cretan figurines (Tamvaki 1973: 203). However, like the figurines from another deposit at the northeast wall of Mycenae (French 1966), the curvilinear decoration and the almost exclusively feminine sex of the idols differ from the later deposits at Enkomi, Ayia Triada and Phylakopi.

The effigies venerated at Enkomi, until its abandonment, were masculine (or at most, masculine and feminine co-divinities), as in the Hittite and Syro-Palestinian traditions. Thus the cult doesn't seem to be the same as the Cretan cult presided over by the large feminine statues or that of the Argolid where masculine figurines were very rare (Mylonas 1937: 241, 243). Had Cretans or Mycenaeans introduced this type of cult figure to Cyprus, why would they not

have included the large tubular type of idol, the terracotta snakes and double axe motifs that were central to their cult during the late 13th century?

There was certainly an interchange of contacts and ideas between Crete and Cyprus during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. But the terracotta figurines resemble more closely the immediately earlier Late Bronze Age Anatolian figurines, than any other group, if they are to be related to the world beyond the island.

The centaurs

The items that carry the most information about a forgotten past tend to be the most exceptional ones: such as cult items as opposed to everyday ware. And even more so, the appearance of a unique cult item. Such are the pair of bi-cephale terracotta centaurs discovered in the Ingot God sanctuary at Enkomi (Courtois 1971: 280-308, figs 114-127). Fashioned from red-ochre clay they are decorated in brown-red paint in a linear Proto White Painted style. They had broken from a fall from a bench running along the north wall of the main hall, and were surrounded by cult objects: gold horns, rhytons, etc. The excavator assumed they had been the victims of the final destruction of the site, although he located them on floor II, apparently because traces of floor I were missing, as elsewhere on the site, due to erosion and looting.

These are the oldest representations of centaurs known, other than two others interpreted as “sphinxes”, at the Ayia Triada sanctuary in Crete, which also delivered masculine and feminine terracotta figurines as did the Ingot God sanctuary. Again, V. Karageorghis (1965: 50-54) has attributed the presence of such objects in Cyprus to a Cretan influence. However, here, too, the apparition seems to be simultaneous in Crete and Cyprus, impossible to date with precision because at Ayia Triada a landslide had dispersed the material found at the foot of a hill (Banti 1948: 56). The heads of the Cypriot centaurs are less humanized than

those of Ayia Triada, but are much more similar to a terracotta head found in the room 9 at Vrokastro without other objects that would permit a precise dating; the most recent pottery in the surrounding rooms was Protogeometric (1050 B.C.) (Hall 1914: 101). There is also a great similarity with the single headed centaur of unknown provenance in the Canée Museum (Banti 1948: 56). J.C. Courtois (1986: 35) mentions the stylistic affinity of these centaurs with Aegean quadraped figurines, but from unknown, contemporaneous, or later contexts.

The chronological uncertainties reinforce the impression that these are traditionally Cypriot objects, with Anatolian influences, which would have resurfaced and been passed on to the Aegean area upon the fall of the Mycenaean empire. The most striking analogy to the centaurs is the bi-cephale Red Polished terracotta idol from Vousnous, dating from the Early Bronze Age (Karageorghis 1978: fig 24). The heads and the geometric decoration certainly relate them. The bi-cephale aspect, like the bi-cephale snake on the White Painted I dish mentioned above, relates them to Anatolia (Bittel 1976: 151). As Courtois (1971: 306) has already mentioned, the bi-cephale representations are almost emblematic of the Hittite Empire; the bi-cephale eagle appears at Yazilikaya, bi-cephale idols in both animal and human form are well known in Hittite iconography (Bossert 1942: pl. 67; Bittel 1976: 94, 157, 215; Mellaart, 1963: 384). Given the known Hittite influence at Ugarit during the Late Bronze Age, it is not surprising that a bi-cephale terracotta male figurine, with protuberant lips, has been catalogued in the Syria-Palestinian material collected by L. Badre (1980: pl. LXVI), although it is of unknown provenance. As far as I know, this symbolic dichotomy does not appear in Mycenaean cultural expression.

The Cypriot centaurs also recall Cypriot bichrome bull rhytons that date from the 14th century (Epstein 1966: pl. XX). The hatched bands and oblique lines are common to both sets of objects. The bulls, like the centaurs, are wheelmade,

whereas wheelmade bulls are unusual in the Mycenaean repertoire between the Middle Minoan period (ca 1700 B.C.) and the 12th century Mycenaean IIIC period. The wheelmade bulls at Phylakopi are even later, perhaps contemporaneous with the Cypriot centaurs (Higgins 1967: 18; Renfrew 1985: 238-239).

The Anatolian influence on the Middle Minoan and Middle Cypriot material that preceded the 15th and 14th century influx of Mycenaean ware seems to have been recalled while the Mycenaean traits were on the wane during the 12th century. The legs of centaur A have irregular horizontal traits running along a vertical trait (such as we pointed out on some Cypriot figurines) that can also be found on Hittite and Syro-Palestinian pottery from Late Bronze Age Megiddo level VII (1350-1150) (Loud 1948: pls. 63, 64, 70). The legs of centaur A have horizontal ridges like the stems of Anatolian Kylixes. The zoomorphic form, the décor and the wheelmade technique of these centaurs resume the impression left in general by Proto White Painted Ware:

1. A recall of elements known during the Middle Bronze Age in Crete, Greece and Cyprus, carrying Anatolian concepts which seems to have been displaced by another, Mycenaean, set of characteristics, until the earlier styles reassert themselves during the XIIth century B.C., probably by way of Syria-Palestine where they had been retained. The earlier Bronze Age elements mostly had been preserved behind the Mycenaean imports that flooded Syria Palestine, coastal Asia Minor and Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age. Meanwhile they survived intact in the Hittite empire where they did not face the impact of Mycenaean imported pottery.
2. The almost simultaneous appearance of a terracotta cult object in 12th century Crete and Cyprus, unknown in the Mycenaean world, but known in Cyprus during the Middle Bronze Age and (in its bi-cephale aspect) preserved in Hittite and Syro- Palestinian regions.

3. No decorative trait on the centaurs has a parallel in the LH IIIB pottery repertoire, except the horizontally encased chevrons, which is a universal motif, also well known in Syria Palestine, for example on the Black Ware from Alalakh (Woolley 1953: pl. 8).

White Painted I

A century after the appearance of Proto White Painted, Enkomi and Kourion-Bamboula were abandoned and Kition was severely destroyed, then modestly re-occupied until the Phoenicians renewed it in 1000 B.C. No new settlements have been unearthed for the early Geometric period, identified by White Painted I, but the cemetery at Alaas on the coast, indicates their existence. Outside of tombs, White Painted I has been found at Paphos, Kition and in the rural sanctuaries of Idalion, Ayia Triada and Ayios Iakovos, which did not deliver Proto White Painted.

Insofar as it has been correctly distinguished from Proto White Painted, White Painted I was more frequently exported towards Syria-Palestine than Proto White Painted had been, so there must have been an increase in trade activity.

The motifs of White Painted I are the same as Proto White Painted, but sometimes more elaborate on the bottom of flat dishes, along with new motifs that predominate, such as the Maltese cross and the wheel, the latter apparently borrowed from a 13th century Syrian motif (Duncan 1930: motif 7; 17, H 15 (1328-1202 B.C.). The shapes are those of Proto White Painted increased by the plate, the round jar, the lamp with a bull protome and the sieve, which has an earlier Cypriot metal prototype. The popular Geometric era custom of plates with an exteriorly decorated base, used as tomb offerings, was a custom initiated with the White Painted I ware. The plate seems to have developed from the Proto

White Painted shallow bowl, which in turn was derived from Levanto-Helladic ware. The lamp was like those used during the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus and Syria-Palestine (Caubet, Yon 1974: 117). The stirrup jar, that had been in such long use as an element of trade with the Aegean, is the only shape that was abandoned in the White Painted I repertoire. Later, other Aegean shapes, the kylix and the calathos, became rare and disappeared during the Geometric II period. White Painted I seems autonomous, without foreign influence on its stylistic development, except for the Maltese cross and wheel motifs. These may significantly introduce elements of the Indoeuropean, tradition that had been previously absent in Cyprus. Bouzek (1985) suggests they would have been introduced into the east Mediterranean areas via a Caucasion migration through the Balkans at this time. In any case, no new traits are borrowed from the Aegean, but Gjerstad (1934: 315) saw a White Painted I influence on the Protogeometric in Greece with the appearance of the flask, the annular three footed bowl and the askos. Desborough (1971: 45) gave an earlier attribution to these shapes which he thought passed from Proto White Painted to Myc. IIIC:2 ware.

There is only a faint survival of the Mycenaean tradition. Otherwise an analogous pottery made in Tarsus suggests a Cypriot settlement at Tarsus which may have been a trading base with Syria Palestine.

TABLE IV

FINAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE MYCENAEAN REPERTOIRE

PROTO WHITE PAINTED	MYC. III C:2	White Painted I
Belly handled amphora	X	X
Amphoriskos	X	X
Cup	X	X
Hydria	X	X
Carinated cup		X
Stirrup jar	X	
Krater with a cup handle	X	X
Lecythus	X	X
Jug, spout on body	X	X
Oenochoe, trilobe spout	X	X
Jar, short, straight neck	X	X
Kylix		X
Stemmed bowl	X	X
Shallow bowl		X
Round bowl		X
Bowl (skyphos)		X
Collar handled amphora	X	X
Krater		X
Kantharos	X	X
Stamnos		X
Torpedo based amphora		X
Pilgrim flask	X	X
Tripod bowl	X	X
Askos	X	X
Kernos	X	X
Multiple vase	X	X
Bottle		X
Anthropomorphic vase		X
Zoomorphic rhyton		X
Naiskos		X
Pyxis	X	X
		Plate
		Strainer
		Round jar
		Protome lamp

The Myc. IIIC:2 shapes are those listed in Furumark, *The Classification of Mycenaean Pottery*, 1941, fig. 4-20 and Popham, Sackett, and al., *Lefkandi*, 1980; Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, 1971, p. 41.

The White Painted I shapes are those listed in E. Gjerstad, *SCE, IV* part 2, 1934, figs. I-VIII, except for the lamp in M. Yon, *Salamine de Chypre II: la Tombe T.I du XIe s. av.n.e.*, 1971, p. 80, pl. 40.

CHAPTER III

CERAMIC IMPORTATIONS-EXPORTATIONS

Importations

Jars and flasks

A type of imported pottery found in the context of Proto White Painted pottery that consistently characterizes the 12th century B.C. settlements and 11th century B.C. tomb furnishings consists of Canaanite jars and pilgrim flasks: for the most part little perfume flasks decorated with black concentric circles on a red background. Both are clearly imports from the Syro-Palestinian coastal area (Grace 1936: 80; Parr 1973: 173-181; Courbin 1982: 9; Bikai 1983: 396-406).

The Canaanite, torpedo-shaped jars were particularly numerous in the Ingot God sanctuary at Enkomi and in the Skales tombs, among which one was remarkably decorated with a palm tree motif. The most significant jars were buried along the walls at Salamis in an 11th century context, following the abandonment of Enkomi. They contained infant skeletons, a custom first known to have been practiced at Megiddo, level IX (1550-1479) and at Ras Shamra, where they were also buried along a wall, in a pottery context dating from 1750 to 1365 (Schaeffer 1949: 168; Loud 1948: 132). In even earlier contexts such burials have been discovered within pre-Mycenaean houses at Aegina, and at Knossos in a Middle Minoan house (Dawkins, Droop 1911: 9). They reappear in the Aegean, three centuries later. Slightly later than they appear at Salamis, they appear at Phylakopi, where eight pithoi containing infant skeletons where discovered in shallow pits inside buildings containing Geometric pottery (Dawkins, Droop 1911: 6-9).

The Syro-Palestinian type flasks can be found in almost all the tombs containing Proto White Painted or White Painted I pottery. There were 18 such

little “Black on Red” perfume flasks found in the single tomb 49 at Skales, some of which seem to have been produced locally (Bikai 1983).

The jars and flask in themselves, might indicate a simple trade relationship between Cyprus and the Syro-Palestinian coast. But infant burials in the jars and local production of the flasks are Syro-Palestinian customs, formerly unknown in Cyprus, which may well have been introduced on the occasion of a population displacement.

It is remarkable that apparently all the imported pottery chronologically associated with Mycenaean IIIC:1b and Proto White Painted is of Syro-Palestinian origin. Perhaps this is why when archaeologists started noticing a new type of undecorated common ware, labelled Ware VII, they were eager to attribute it to the Aegean immigrants who were supposed to have introduced the Proto White Painted style.

Ware VII

A simple black slip ware, decorated with incisions, appeared in the tombs 25, 26 and 41 at Kaloriziki and in the level LC IIIB at Kourion Bamboula (Daniel 1937:72, pl. 6; Benson 1973: 118-119). Another was found at Idalion (Karageorghis 1963: 190) There were thirteen shallow bowl of this type in the tomb 25 at Kaloriziki, some were incised with a band of three parallel lines at the level of the handle and a zigzag of parallel triple lines on the body. A miniature larnax of the same ware was found in this tomb. An amphoriskos and a small jug belonged to tomb 41 and a tripod krater to tomb 26. In the unpublished tomb 5 at Kaloriziki Dikaios discovered a tripod jar, a handled cup and an amphoriskos (Hood 1973: 47, pls. VIII, IX). This type of ware has been interpreted as a local creation, reminiscent of Early Bronze Cypriot pottery (Daniel 1941: 74). On the other hand, Karageorghis (1963: 197) and others

maintained that it derived from common Greek pottery (Catling 1964: 52; Aström 1972 b: 695; Benson 1973: 118). However, Karageorghis (1963: 197) admits "Quant à l'origine première de cette fabrique, on ne voit guère en quel point de l'Egée elle a pu prendre naissance. Kraiker pense toutefois que le spécimen du Céramique est d'origine cycladique." As usual, the Aegean prototypes suggested by Catling and Karageorghis are contemporary with the Cypriot material. The Kaloriziki tombs 25 and 26 contained Proto White Painted. The Greek examples are from Submycenaean tombs at Salamis and the Kerameikos and Proto Geometric tombs at Nea Ionia near Athens. This pottery was only briefly present in Attica. Bouzek (1975: 56-57) observes that this ware is more similar to Trojan Knobbed ware than Greek handmade wares. S. Hood (1973: 48) also notices the parallels found in Troy VII b and post Hittite Gordion, where he supposes it was introduced by Balkan Phrygians. However, rather than admitting a direct transmission from there to Cyprus he, too would have it introduced via the Mycenaeans, although its appearance in all these regions is quasi-simultaneous during the 12th century B.C.

Handmade Burnished Ware

J. L. Benson has published a number of examples of a type of burnished ware that appears at Kourion Bamboula in LC II/LC IIIA tombs and settlement contexts and in Kaloriziki CG I-CG III tombs (1972: 77-78; 1973: 119-120), some of which he thought may be unique to Bamboula. However, he points out that burnished ware was prevalent on the Bronze Age Syro-Palestinina littoral (1972: 77) and that bowls shaped like those from Kaloriziki are known from Hama level G (1550-1450 B.C.) (1973: 120).

Since then, D. Pilides (1991: 140-147; 1994) has carried out a fundamental piece of research on another type of Handmade Burnished Ware (formerly

referred to as “Barbarian”), that differs from the above in fabric and shapes. But it too appears at the LC II/ LC III transition and at the same time in in Grece, Crete and Troy.

Although Pilides (1994: 108) insists the Handmade Burnished Ware (HBW) that appears in LC IIIA is of a distinctly different tradition, foreign to the island, there are no convincing arguments. On the contrary, she admits that there are instances where the differences with the Late Bronze Age Cypriot monochrome ware are not clear cut. And there are many of them. The lack of uniformity of HBW is stressed (1994: 1), so it is difficult to attach it to any tradition. Again, most of her argument seems to reside in her conviction that the contemporary material on the Greek mainland indicates that the Mycenaeans brought it to Cyprus with them. A. F. Harding (1984: 219) has remarked that “This ware does not occur in the background in earlier Mycenaean phases.” And Pilides herself (1994: 11) notices that when it appears in Greece “excavators are convinced it is intrusive, as there is no precedent in earlier Mycenaean Ware.” Yet Pilides suggests that contemporaneous material on the Greek mainland indicates that the Mycenaeans brought it to Cyprus with them. They in turn would have adopted it from the Italian Lipari islands where the only well dated comparable ware, foreign to Cyprus has been found. Indeed, it is possible that people from this region were in contact with the Greek mainland, and the Cypriots in their contacts with the Aegean at this time, were somehow influenced by the Lipari ware, although there is scarcely any other evidence of this contact from Lipari, and the most characteristic Italian forms are missing from the Greek pots. As for possible Balkan parallels, Pilides (1994: 45) points out “The chronology of the various sites of the Lower Danube is not firmly established, with the result that correlation with the material from Greece, Troy and Cyprus is extremely difficult.” The BrD in Yugoslavia corresponding to LH IIIB may have lasted considerably

after 1200 B.C. (Harding 1984: 138). According to Harding (1984: 220) precursors for what he calls the Barbarian ware, have been sought by scholars to the north and west where the chronological framework is too hazy, the general level of pottery production too poor, and the availability of well-published corpora of material too low, for parallels to be safely drawn.

On the other hand, HBW may have had a longer tradition in Cyprus than previously supposed. Excavators as experienced as Karageorghis at Maa and Daniel at Kaloriziki had difficulty distinguishing it from Late Bronze Age monochrome ware. Some particularly pertinent examples of monochrome with unusual shapes and wavy ribs come from Kalavasos, which was abandoned in LC II before the appearance HBW. At Apliki the distinction seems to reside in the fabric (Pilides 1994: 80). Monochrome contains less sizeable inclusions and is thinner and harder, but at the same time coarser. It is also supposed that horizontal burnishing distinguishes HBW. Here we recall the dangerous over-analysis of the pottery mentioned above. Are such distinctions not likely to be spontaneous decisions, rather than imported novelties? “La nature meme de l’argile céramique est telle qu’il est très dangereux de vouloir tirer des observations des conclusions trop générales. Non seulement des variations sensibles se remarquent d’une fosse à l’autre d’où l’on extrait l’argile, mais celle-ci peut même varier sensiblement d’une couche à l’autre ou d’un endroit à l’autre dans une même fosse, et cela sans compter les autre variations dues à d’autres facteurs ayant rapport à la manipulation, au traitement et à la cuisson de l’argile ” (Karageorghis 1963: 202 note 2).

The analysis by V. Robinson in Pilides’ publication shows enormous differences in some element concentrations, which may mean this belongs to Cypriot pottery, for Cyprus is geochemically complex. “Caution is needed when using concepts like “similarity between sherds” in respect of this data.” After

questioning whether great variation in element concentrations is a property of Cypriot pottery in general, Robinson (in Pilides 1994: 113) explicitly states that "As yet there is insufficient systematic data of material of known provenance from Cyprus to be able to confirm or deny statements of this kind." The caution stressed by the analyst does not prevent Pilides from "tentatively suggesting" that the difference in clay may indicate some "imports", because of the unusual features of the fabric (Pilides 1994: 84).

The earliest example of this type of ware in Greece is from Tiryns in a LH IIIB late context, and from a LH IIIC context at Mycenae (Harding 1984: 219). This is synchronistic with the Cypriot Myc. IIIC:1b contexts where HBW is supposed to have first appeared.

One might argue that it is futile to search for parallels for such a crude simple ware presenting so much spontaneous variability, because such handmade wares with finger impressed cordons, lug handles and deep jars are so widespread in space and time (Harding 1984: 220). However, given this ware has been found in both Greece and Cyprus, without proven antecedents in either region, it may as well have been introduced to the Aegean by Cypriots rather than the contrary. If the earlier antecedents were not Cypriot, they must have been Balkan, perhaps introduced to both regions during the Sea People's Anatolian coastal migrations.

The sculpted snake pithos

The fragment of a large pithos (43 cm. high), in ochre plainware mixed with straw, was discovered in the Ingot God sanctuary (Courtois 1971: 190). It is decorated on the shoulder with a snake, in the form of a wavy line relief, with incised traits, and five Chypro-Minoan signs on the rim.

Pithoi with sculpted snakes are also known in the Late Bronze Age Base Ring ware, but they seem to have disappeared from Cyprus in the lapse of time

preceding the 12th century (Vermeule 1974:figs. 40, 74b). Courtois (1971: 195) points out that snake motifs winding around a vase are common in near eastern cult furnishings, at Mari, Beisan, Megiddo, Lachish, Beth Shemesh, etc., without interruption from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. It is only in LH IIIC contexts that snakes appear on vases in the Aegean, especially in the islands, and become increasingly popular. They have been found in Myc. IIIC:2 tombs at Cos, Ialysos (Rhodes), Naxos and in the House C at Asine in a Myc. IIIC:1 late context.

Incised jugs

Another vase from Enkomi in a Proto White Painted context (Floor I from the Area I sanctuary), can be related to Crete (Dikaios 1969 vol. 1: 216). It is a chamois colored jug, made of fine soft clay, with an incised zigzag running across the shoulder. Another such jug, with a similar incised decoration has been found at Karphi and also dates from the early 11th century (Seiradakis 1960: 21). As with other ritual vases common to Cyprus and Crete, the direction of influence is not chronologically clear. Ever since the beginning of the Late Bronze Age incised pottery was produced at Karphi, Enkomi and in Asia Minor (Dikaios 1969 vol. III: pl. 60, 64, 76, 77: LC IIA, LC IIB, LC IIIA), but none is an exact parallel to these. The zigzag motif filled with parallel lines exists in Proto White Painted and painted Levantine ware (Karageorghis 1975: stirrup jar B5, pl. 24 and kylix J4, pl. XXXIV; Goldman 1963: vol. II, pl. 336, LB II sherd (13th century), vol. III, pl. 31, Phrygian sherd (12th century)). Other than the decoration, these two jugs have a different style, adapted to their respective countries. The Cypriot jug has a globular body and a trilobite lip, jug forms common to Cyprus and Asia Minor during the Late Bronze Age. The round lip, the flat ring base, and the conical body of the Karphi jug, closer to the Mycenaean piriform contours, are Aegean characteristics. M. Popham has suggested that

the concept of these jugs is foreign to Cyprus and Crete, as are the naiskoi, which seems plausible (Popham 1979: 191).

Exportations

Proto-White Painted

The only Proto-White Painted pottery discovered in the Levant, as far as I know are some sherds at Tell Sukas and Tell Abu Kawam (Hankey 1967: 114, 121, 125) and a bottle (Duplat Taylor 1956: 35). Similar bottles contemporary to this ware were also found in Palestine at Tell Fara, tombs 222, 105, 602, 525 and 647 (*ibid*: 34). So trade relations with Syria-Palestine, formerly so intense, as Levanto-Helladic ware attests, must have been very limited during this period.

Aside from the recipients themselves, ideas for forms or motifs may be exported, which seems to have been the case at Tell Fara. One may suspect a spontaneous and simultaneous idea for a shape type in two different places if it is an isolated characteristic. But if in both cases there are other identical new traits on the recipients, it is in all probability an influence from one place to the other. In the case of Proto White Painted shapes and motifs, I have registered, on a chronological basis, a movement of influence from the east towards the west (Tables II and III). But in the opposite sense Proto White Painted does not play a role in the evolution of Levantine pottery, where Late Bronze Age traditions continue.

In the Aegean, on the other hand, Proto White Painted left important traces. The true exports that I know of are limited to two bottles and two flasks from the Kerameikos tombs in Athens (Kubler 1939: vol. I, pl. 27; vol. IV, pl. 25). However some Proto White Painted shapes were apparently transmitted to the Myc. IIIC:2 repertoire: the bottle, the askos, the kernos, the flask, probably the amphora with two handles in the middle of the body and cups and bowls with

a tall, oblique foot. One can add: the bowl with three annular feet, the trilobe neck and the raised handle on the jars, and probably the kantharos, the false necked amphoriskos, the high, straight- sided pyxis, and the zoomorphic vase (Desborough 1971: 54; Yzedakis 1967: 194). This type of transmission reflects more than trade relations. It indicates a change in cultural habits, probably due to the actual settlement of Cypriots in the Aegean at this time. Unless these innovative givens were being simultaneously introduced to both Cyprus and the Aegean by a non Greek population.

Tarsus

A ware almost identical to Proto White Painted appeared at Tarsus on the level following that containing Myc. IIIC:1b (French 1975: 531). The wares of the two levels were not mixed except in cases of "slight disturbances" (Hanfmann 1963: pl. 18).

Or is it possible that in fact the "disturbances" indicate that the Cypriot styles are earlier than had been supposed? In any case, the excavators at Tarsus found that imported Proto White Painted sherds were mixed with sherds resembling them, but locally made, which suggest that the Cypriots had established a trade emporium at Tarsus (Hanfmann 1963: 35). Is there a confusion when Hanfmann asserts that some sherds and vases seem to have Myc. IIIC:2 rather than Proto White Painted prototypes? He compares the pendants on jar 29 to those on jars published by Desborough (1971: pl. 5, 7 and 14); he also compares the "purple on buff" sherds n° 25-27, and "early yellow slip" n° 28-30 to Myc. IIIC:2 types, although the similarity to Proto White Painted seems equally plausible.

This "Submycenaean", or local Proto White Painted ware also appears at Mersin, Kara Tepe-Domus and Kazanli, where the preceding levels contained locally produced Myc IIIC:1b (Mee 1978: 131, 133). In all these places, the most popular shape was the shallow bowl (skyphos) of the Cypriot middle depth

type, whose prototype is 13th century Levanto-Helladic Cypriot as transmitted in the “Decorated Late Cypriote III.” (Hanfmann 1963: 4; for the bowl type, Gjerstad: 1944: 100, fig. 9; French 1975: 53).

The other pottery contemporaneous with Proto White Painted, at Tarsus, and shared with Cyprus, are the small “Black on Red” perfume flasks n° 164, 158 as well as the Bucchero vases n° 207-206, coming either from Syria Palestine or Cyprus, and the “local red banded” ware n° 170-172, with “Submycenaean” shapes, resembling a ware found at Nicosia and Kouklia (Hanfmann 1963: 57, 66; Sjöqvist 1940: 190). The flasks were certainly exported from Cyprus to Tarsus, along with the occasional Proto White Painted sherds.

CHAPTER IV
ARCHITECTURE

Cyprus

Significant building remains dating from the beginning of the Iron Age are rare in Cyprus, like everywhere else in the Eastern Mediterranean. For the Cypro-Geometric I period, Gjerstad (1934: 23, 54, 433) only knew the clay bricks on a rubble foundation of a house in Kition, the walls of a house following the same layout as the LC IIIA houses at Kourion, a chapel at Ayios Iakovos consisting of a rectangular room with a rubble foundation and traces of the clay brick wall of an oval tenemos at Ayios Irini (see also Sjöqvist 1935: 18, fig. 16:1; 1940: 142; Benson 1970: 39; Daniel 1938: 261,fig. 2). These elements are so simple and so widespread geographically that they don't add much to our knowledge of this period.

Since then remains of a sanctuary and a rampart, unfortunately just as rustic and uninformative, have been found at Salamis (Yon 1980: 75). Much more significant remains of religious edifices for the very beginning of the Iron Age (LC IIIA) have been discovered at Kition and Enkomi whose floors contained some of the earliest known Proto White Painted ware.

The Ingot God sanctuary at Enkomi

The Ingot God sanctuary at Enkomi located on top of an earlier, undefinable, cult area, is the only known major Cypriot building whose construction coincided with the appearance of Proto White Painted (Courtois 1971: 223). Surrounded by a large number of subsidiary rooms, the main area of the sanctuary consists of a large courtyard divided lengthwise in the middle by a thick wall;

the entrance opens onto an esplanade in the southwest corner; in the northeast corner, a small cella housed a bronze statuette buried in a pit next to the south wall of the cella. The statuette is a type of effigy well known in Anatolia and Syria Palestine, that of Nergal Reshef. In this case, the god is poised on top of an ingot. South of the cella, there are traces of two columns that must have supported a portico. The courtyard displays a rich array of cult elements, including four superimposed hearths, benches, two stone altars, a well and a drainage system. The cult objects studied below have Syrian and, more rarely, Anatolian precursors.

If one seeks Aegean parallels to this new type of Cypriot architecture, rectangular sanctuaries with rubble walls and an off center entrance can be found in Crete, notably at Mallia. However they are much older, dating from Middle Minoan II and differ in some fundamental aspects (see below). Furthermore, the ritual vessels at Mallia are very different from the other Middle Minoan vessels similar to the LC III vessels. (Van Effentree 1980; Poursat 1966: 514-551).

Late Bronze Age religious architecture is more common in the Near East, and this sanctuary resembles the 13th century Fosse temple at Lachish and the temple at Timna (fig. 69, 70) in its rectangular floor plan, off center entrance and walls of uncut stones cemented with mud mortar (Courtois 1971: 359; Wright 1971: 25; Rothenberg 1972; Tufnell 1940: 36). The altars are like those of Minet el Beida (Courtois 1971: 360). J. Webb (1977: 122-123) has noticed further affinities with Near Eastern offering tables.

On the other hand, the Ingot God Sanctuary is more integrated with its dependencies than most Syro-Palestinian temples; in that, it resembles Aegean cult rooms in housing complexes and Hittite temples. In Anatolia, Yazilikaya is also built with rubble stone walls with an east-west orientation (Bittel 1976: 135, fig. 133). Other aspects of the Enkomi sanctuary recall Hittite practices. Burying

cult figurines in the face of danger seems to have been a Hittite practice, adopted by the Syrians (Ussishkin 1970: 124-128; Bittel 1976: 152).

A feminine bronze statuette standing on an ingot of unknown provenance, but undoubtedly Cypriot style, may be the feminine counterpart of the masculine ingot god, which suggests that the sanctuary may have been dedicated to a double masculine-feminine divinity (Karageorghis 1973: 538). The divine couple is also attested by bronze statuettes in Hittite and Mittanian cults.

The Area I Sanctuary

The Area I Sanctuary is another place of worship that remained active until Enkomi was abandoned around 1050. The sanctuary was created at the beginning of LC IIIA (1190-1175) on a level containing Myc. IIIB/IIIC:1b pottery sherds (Dikaios 1969 vol. I: 176, 189, 260, vol. II: 487, 489). The lower part of the building consists of large ashlar blocks, the upper part was built of plaster covered bricks. The building technique is similar to that of the Enkomi Building 18, described below. Both buildings must have been palaces when they were originally built. On the following floor there was a major destruction after which both buildings were entirely remodelled in the absence of Myc. IIIB ware. The building 18 was transformed into a bronze casting foundry at the same time as the Area I building became a sanctuary complex. The central hall was divided by rubble walls like that of the Ingot God Sanctuary, while the south part of the building was divided into two cult areas surrounded by subsidiary rooms (one of which contained a bathtub). The west courtyard was dedicated to the cult of a horned god, represented by a bronze statue accompanied by a miniature sickle. The statue was buried in the small cella opening onto the northeast part of the courtyard (like the cella housing the Ingot God). This courtyard contained a central hearth divided by three pillars. There was another cella in the courtyard,

adjacent to the east wall of the horned god cella. A very small bronze statuette of a feminine divinity was found in this east cella.

The sanctuary, divided into two cult areas for separate divinities differs in cult furnishings from the Ingot God sanctuary, but there are similarities in the courtyards divided by rubble walls, a northeast cella, wells and hearths. Around 1100 another catastrophe caused the abandonment of the east court and the creation of vast covered areas, without altering the former layout (Dikaios 1969 vol. II: 531). The careless reconstruction gives an impression of considerable impoverishment.

Dikaios (1969: 531) compared the west courtyard of the initial Area I sanctuary to the "hypostyle" room of the House G at Asine in the Argolid, which is contemporary if not later than to this courtyard. He related the east courtyard with its hearth and three pillars to Mycenaean megarons. However, the weakness of the comparison is obvious in Baurain's publication (1984: 346-348) of the Cypriot example alongside a Mycenaean example. Even were they similar, Karageorghis admits that such hearthrooms existed in Levantine and Anatolian Late Bronze Age contexts, including nearby Tarsus (Karageorghis 1988: 279; 2000: 260). There has been no conclusive interpretation of the Mycenaean megarons, often interpreted as civil areas, related to the palace. In any case, the supposed megaron preceded the reconstruction of the building into a cult area containing what Dikaios continues to call a *modified megaron*. The incorporation of sanctuaries in domestic buildings, as might be the case of the two Cypriot examples (if the surrounding rooms aren't dependencies) is a characteristic of Aegean cults, but in the Aegean cult areas the rooms are small, without cella or courtyard (except for the courtyard at Pylos). In the cult rooms of the Citadel at Mycenae there is a bathtub in one of the rooms, as in the Area I sanctuary; but the earliest bathtub from a cult area that I know of is that of Meggido, level VII

(1350-1250) where a stone bathtub was found in the central room of temple 1028 when it was reconstructed in ashlar (Loud 1948: 103, fig. 254).

The cult of a double masculine and feminine divinity is more obvious in the Area I sanctuary than in the Ingot God sanctuary, whereas in both cases the bronze horned masculine statues were buried. There were two cellas in the temple I and V at Bogazköy and the Ugarit temple of Baal. These factors relate the two Enkomi sanctuaries to Hittite and Syrian sanctuaries.

The Northeast Tower

There were three towers adjacent to the north fortification walls on the level IIIA at Enkomi, containing Myc. IIIB, Base Ring II and Myc IIIC:1b ware (Dikaios 1969: 122, 125, 126). This corresponds with the ware found on the construction level of the Area I building. After a fire that destroyed level IIIA, the towers were rebuilt and re-used until Enkomi was definitively abandoned. The most impressive Northeast Tower consists of a clay brick super structure. Dikaios, who excavated it, compared this tower to the 14th century South Gate at Troy VI and to another tower built at Idalion in the 12th century inside the North Gate (Blegen 1963: 122, fig. 3). Sjöqvist (1940: 187) described in detail the resemblance between the Idalion tower and contemporary Phrygian towers at Alishar Hüyük. Nevertheless, the difference between the Northeast tower and the two other defensive towers caused Catling (1975: 50-54) to interpret it as yet another sanctuary: according to him it is not joined to the fortification wall, its walls are only 1.50 m thick rather than 3.50 m thick like the fortress wall, it is too big (21 m x 17 m) to have been defended, and it couldn't have supported a roof. Finally, the figurines discovered in the area of the "tower" along with the Proto White Painted (or White Painted I?) ware link it to the Ingot God sanctuary. If indeed it is a sanctuary, it recalls the room at Alalakh, adjacent to the city gate

on level V, within which were found two basalt statuettes, one masculine and one feminine.

The Temples at Kition

The ashlar architecture of temples 1 and 2 at Kition dates from LC III, later than the two LC II Enkomi ashlar buildings, apparently originally intended as palaces. At the end of LC II, the site was occupied by Temples 2 and Temple 3, with Near Eastern layouts. A garden was associated with Temple 2. Eight good quality imported Mycenaean IIIB vessels were found in this temple. Seven imported Mycenaean IIIB fragmented figurines, of which three “psi” types, and stone anchors, probably votives such as those used at Ugarit and Byblos (Webb 1999: 187; Frost: 1969), were found in three pits to the northeast of Temple 3. These were freestanding temples, unlike those that appeared at Enkomi during LC III, on the other hand, like the later sanctuaries at Enkomi and Kition, metallurgical and textile workshops were located in the close vicinity (Webb 1999: 42). The little Temple 3 to the north was abandoned at the beginning of LC III. Temple 2 was re-built on the same general plan, but with ashlar walls laid on top of the rubble foundations of the earlier walls (Karageorghis 1976: 68). In the rebuilt Temple 2 three wooden pillars supported a portico on the longitudinal axis of the north wall of a large courtyard within which there was a hearth and a cella in the northeast corner: elements recalling the two Enkomi sanctuaries. Temple I, created in LC III, was much larger than the preceding temples, and less typically Near Eastern. The rectangular courtyard incorporated one of the oldest known gardens in the Near East, although such gardens were present during the 18th and 19th dynasties in Egypt. (Karageorghis 1973: 522). The wall encircling Temple 5 at Bogazköy also enclosed a garden (Krause 1940: 58). A basin, like the Egyptian garden basins, was added during the 12th century.

A well next to the holy of holies provided water for the garden. The holy of holies is a division of the west wall into three little cellas, which can be entered either from the garden or from a corridor running along the south wall.

The Temples 4 and 5, also created in LC III, are located on the eastern area of the site. The walls of temple 4 were apparently built with ashlar blocks most of which have been stolen. Temple 5 was built with irregular limestone blocks probably surmounted by clay bricks. Both temples consist of a rectangular courtyard with pillars and a holy of holies at one end of the courtyard. Temple 4 had two pillar bases for pillars supporting a roof and two others, one on each side of the holy of holies: the north base contained a rectangular cavity which suggests a wooden pillar, whereas the other base may have held a stone pillar like the Mazzebah and the Asherah of Canaanite sanctuaries[23] (Karageorghis 1976b: 232). The temple 5 courtyard is divided lengthwise into three parts by two rows of four stone pillar bases. Benches run along the north and south walls. Next to the holy of holies located at the western end of the rectangular courtyard is a raised rectangular altar, built of stone blocks and a hearth lies in the middle of the courtyard. Like at Enkomi, there seems to have been a double divinity cult: temples 1 and 2, and Temples 4 and 5 seem to be twin temples dedicated to a masculine and a feminine divinity, comparable to the temples of Ugarit, Beisan (13th century) and Beth Shan (12th century) (Karageorghis 1976b: 241). The complex of four temples also recalls the five 13th century temples at Bogazköy. The excavator compared the 13th century Kition Temples 2 and 3, built of rubble and clay bricks, to the twin temples at Beycesultan and Bogazköy (Karageorghis 1976a: 57), but not the four later Kition temples which

23 These pillars may also be forerunners of the Jachin and Boaz pillars said to have stood in Solomon's Temple. The stone "Jachin" pillar symbolized priestly power, while the wooden "Boaz" pillar symbolized temporal power. For chronological purposes it is interesting to note that Boaz was said to be the name of Solomon's grandfather.

include the use of ashlar like the five temples at Bogazköy (Krause 1940: 60). The Hittite site of Emar in northeast Syria also delivered four temples, two of which, being in close proximity, the excavators attributed to the divine couple Baal and Astarte mentioned in tablettes found on the floors (Gardin 1985: 88). Clay figurines and naiskoi, also common to Kition, were discovered in the domestic areas. Like Ugarit, Emar was abandoned in the early 12th century, probably on the occasion of the Sea Peoples migrations, whereupon the temple complex at Kition was built, very possibly by survivors of these Syrian areas separated from Cyprus by a short expanse of the sea.

The introduction of Proto White Painted ware was associated with some minor modifications of the Temple 5 and the addition of an ashlar propylaeum to the entrance of tenemos B, but there were no fundamental changes. After an earthquake in the 11th century, the four temples were re-built (on the level where White Painted I appears) according to the former layout, but with some modifications of the altars. (Karageorghis 1976b: 241). If there had been a foreign influence on the architecture of these temples, for example the use of ashlar, it would have taken place at the beginning of the 12th century. After that the architecture reflects a religious continuity during the 12th and 11th centuries. The four temples (with the possible exception of Temple 1) were abandoned at the end of the 11th century, after which the sacred site remained empty until the Phoenicians took it over in the 9th century (Karageorghis 1976a: 94, 96).

According to A. Mazar (1980: 65), the raised altar of Temple 5, the rows of pillars (if the courtyard and not only the porticos were covered), the holy of holies at the back of the Temples 2, 4 and 5, courtyards and the storage rooms (if they are not holy of holies as the excavator interpreted them) on the west of Temples 2 and 5, recall the sanctuary of the Citadel at Mycenae, which was destroyed at the end of the 13th century (Mazar 1980: 66-67; Taylour 1969: 91-110). However,

the same elements can be found in the 13th century Lachish temple and the 12th century Tell Qasile temple, contemporary with the Kition temples. The Tell Qasile temple has Canaanite precursors at Hazor, Lachish and Tell Mevorach (Mazar 1980: 65), whereas the temples at Mycenae and Phylakopi are unique in Greece or the Aegean before the 12th century (Mazar 1980: 68).

The Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos

The Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos was built at the beginning of LC III on a floor containing Myc. IIIC:1b pottery like the above mentioned temples. It was built with massive ashlar blocks with drafted edges that Sjövqvist likened to Hittite wall constructions. Horns of consecration were found here as well as in the Kition temples (Maier 1979: 233). On the other hand it is not associated with metal workshops, perhaps because of its location on the west coast of Cyprus.

The horns of consecration

The excavator of Kition, V. Karageorghis has written “although the ground plans of sanctuaries erected just after ca. 1200 B.C. are based on Levantine architectural tradition, as seen at Kition, at the same time there were some interesting innovations in the use of religious symbols,” that is, Aegean “horns of consecration” which he compares to a type found at Pylos on the Greek continent (Karageorghis 2000:255).

Indeed a striking parallel can be found in the horns with flattened tips at both Kition and Pylos. Only half of the Pylos horns remained at the end of a terra cotta water channel, outside of the palace complex.

At Kition, on the other hand, there were two pairs of horns of consecration, one discovered in Tenemos A, the other in Tenemos B between Temples 1 and 2, apparently introduced at the time the temples were built at the beginning

of the 12th century (Karageorghis 1976a:71, figs. 48, 51). The smaller horns in Tenemos A are cut out of a single block of stone, whereas those of Tenemos B were cut in two separate pieces, both have flattened tips like the half found at Pylos, or the hearth altars at Beysultan (Lloyd, Mellaart 1956: pl. VIII). These horns have been attributed to the Achaean colonists who are said to have founded the temples. (Karageorghis 1976a: 72). However, horns like those of tenemos B and Pylos were already used in Cyprus during the 13th century in the Myrtou Pighades sanctuary (used from 1300 to 1140) (du Plat Taylor: 1957; Loulloupis 1973: 231) and a pair are depicted on a LC II limestone trough at Pyla (Catling and Karageorghis 1960: 127). Others were found at the Paphos Temple of Aphrodite, constructed around 1200. So the post destruction level, LC IIIA presence of these objects need not be attributed to the introduction of a foreign custom.

Nevertheless, if it is supposed that horns of consecration were introduced to Cyprus by a foreign population it is interesting to notice that they are not a uniquely Aegean custom. The excavators at Myrtou Pighades believed the characteristics of the sanctuary were more oriental than occidental (du Plat Taylor 1957:110), especially the stepped altar next to which the horns were found and whose closest parallels are the altars of the Temples II at Bogazköy and the temple at Yazilikaya (D.H.F. Gray in: du Plat Taylor 1957: 109). Also reminiscent of the Myrtou Pighades horns are the relatively small terracotta horns of consecration astride a fenestrated base (the ensemble is 115 cm high) discovered at the Hittite city of Emar in a 13th century context (Gardin 1985: 86). Similar horns are depicted on a sealing from Karahoyuk near Konya. (Porada, in Dikaios 1969 vol. II: 790, 4c).

Horns of consecration are often considered to be a Minoan concept, because of their popularity in Cretan iconography. Although the earliest Cretan examples

date from Middle Minoan II (Loullopis 1973: 234), during the Early Bronze II period at Beysultan constructions resembling horns of consecration with truncated tips, in terracotta instead of stone, were already used in the sanctuaries. They exist on all levels of the Bronze Age at Alishar Hüyük, Tarsus, Mersin and Kusura. (Diamant and Rutter 1969: 147-179). Thus it is possible that Cypriot horns recall an Anatolian custom. It should also be noted that among the earliest known horns of consecration are those from Brak (Mallowan 1942: 184, pl. XXXIX) and there is another example of a horned altar at Beersheba (Borowski 1995: 148-155).

The use of these objects is open to debate. Diamant and Rutter (1969) suggest that they were used as andirons. Loulloupis (1973: 238) thinks that those found in Temenos B at Kition, which were found in separate halves and didn't fit exactly together may have been used as acroterions fixed on the corners of a building given the cavities under the bases of each half. The find spot of those at Pylos, reused as construction material contradicts attaching a religious meaning to them (Blegen, Rawson 1966: 238). The Kition horns are particularly interesting in that they draw together in the same place at the same time two different types (fig. 63); both types are also encountered at Beysultan, the most recent dating from the 13th century (Lloyd, Mellaart 1956: 120). In any case, there is no need to attribute an Achaean or Cretan origin to the Kition horns that appear around 1180. Furthermore, an Aegean origin of the horns doesn't correspond to the other cult accessories found at Kition, among which a foundation deposit of two incomplete bronze T shaped tools and a bronze nail, buried under floor III of Temple IV in the northwest corner of the courtyard. This is a Mesopotamian custom and there are references to it in Hittite texts (Karageorghis 1976a: 80).

Although they may have had similar sacrificial origins, it is dubious whether the objects with truncated tips in Anatolia (interpreted as hearth andirons), Cyprus and Pylos have the same ritual significance as the true tapering bulls' horns

associated with the double axe sacrificial implement in Minoan Mycenaean cults. It is noteworthy that the sacred horns of Knossos, or pictured on seals and pottery, possess a central attachment for a plant or other organic symbol of fertility.

Fortified sites

The reinforcement of the defensive walls at Enkomi has already been mentioned.

The most recently excavated significant Late Bronze Age sites are fortified hilltop settlements. Pyla was only occupied for about thirty years and was abandoned before the introduction of Mycenaean IIIC:1b ware (Karageorghis, Demas: 1981: 141). The Pyla settlement was built on a high rocky plateau on the east coast of Cyprus about 10 km northeast of Larnaca. The occupants used a relatively high proportion of Late Minoan, as well as Late Mycenaean, pottery (Karageorghis in Karageorghis, Morris ed. 2001: 3). At the time Mycenaean IIIB pottery was exported to the Palestinian coast, Cypriot pottery was also being exported (Muhly 1982: 254). If Late Bronze Age Cyprus served as a sort of Mycenaean emporium this would suggest that the Mycenaean community already established in Cyprus was seeking refuge from peoples arriving from the nearby Syro-Palestinian coast. A situation echoed by Merneptah's preoccupation with north- eastern invaders. It may be significant that during the late 13th century and early 12th centuries fortified settlements were frequently established in the Aegean islands whereas they were not deemed necessary on the Syro-Palestinian coast. The heavily fortified site of El Awhat, established c. 1230 was an exception, and located inland, not on or near the coast (Zertal: 216-219, Bunimowitz: 255 in: Karageorghis, Morris 2001; for my review of this publication: Cook, *Syria*, 2004: 286-288).

The site of Maa-Palaeokastro on the west coast of Cyprus, near Paphos may have been founded slightly after that of Pyla and continued to be inhabited throughout the LC IIIA period while Myc. IIIC:1b was in use. Karageorghis emphasizes the Aegean culture of this settlement, citing: bathtubs, Handmade Burnished Ware, fibulae, central hearths, and gold rivets for a sword of Aegean type. This type of material is discussed elsewhere in the present study; here it suffices to remark that both Pyla and Maa seem to be established by the same element of population, in a defensive attitude such as that noticed at Enkomi and that this is more probable for an already established population than for new arrivals.

Ashlar foundation walls

A major difference between the sanctuary in Area I and the Ingot God sanctuary at Enkomi is the former's construction in finely cut ashlar stone blocks surmounted by mud bricks covered by white plaster. This sophisticated mode of construction is that of Building 18 as well. The Area I building and Building 18 both contained Proto White Painted but it wasn't associated with their construction. They were built to be palaces in a 13th century, Myc. IIIB, pottery context, on the same level V (Karageorghis 1976a: 59; Schaeffer 1971: 523).

Ashlar built palace complexes are also known at Kalavasos and Alassa. These sites were completely abandoned at the time the palaces in Enkomi were transformed into a religious complex and a bronze foundry workshop.

It is interesting that Proto White Painted is never associated with a palace, although the introduction of ashlar architecture and the appearance of Proto White Painted have both been attributed by A. Furumark, V. Karageorghis and others to Achaean colonists arriving at two different occasions. When the Enkomi ashlar buildings were originally built as palaces, Myc. IIIB pottery was

in use. If the technique was introduced by the Achaeans it would have occurred before the LC II/III destruction level and used otherwise than was their custom. The Achaeans (Mycenaeans) used ashlar for tholos tombs and entryways, but palace walls were built with cyclopean boulders. Ashlar architecture is again used in founding buildings in a context of Myc. IIIC:1b pottery, but his time it is used to build the temples at Paphos and Kition. Both introduce a new feature of drafted edges. This type of stone workmanship is similar to that of the 13th century temples and palaces at Ugarit and Bogazköy (Karageorghis 1976a: 63; Sjoqvist 1940; Hult 1983).

An undocumented argument attributes the ashlar construction of these temples using monumental ashlar blocks to Achaeans: "One may ask, however, how this architectural style could have been introduced by the Achaeans, since no examples have so far been found in the Aegean, whereas the nearest parallels are in the Near East, as for example the temple of Baal at Ugarit. The Achaean colonists may have used local talent in building monumental architecture just as their predecessors, the Mycenaeans, profited from contacts with Near Eastern art" (Karageorghis 1976 a: 72). This interpretation might come directly from a text of Aristotle, quoted by M. Bernal (*Black Athena* 1991, vol. I: 202) where Aristotle maintains that courage and passion are characteristic of Europe and cold regions, brains and skill are characteristic of Asia, but only "the Hellenic race, occupying a mid position geographically, has a measure of both. (*Politics* VII, 7)."

In fact, the history of the ashlar building technique in Cyprus, known to have occurred as early as the 15th century (MC III) when ashlar elements were used in the fortress of Nitlovikia.

Following a hiatus in the use of ashlar during LC I, G. Hult (1983: 88) lists the following examples of LC II ashlar constructions, to which I have added Alassa which had not been excavated when she was writing:

	ENKOMI	KITION	PAPHOS	MAA	KALAVASOS ALASSA	PHLAMOUDHI	MARONI
LC II *Myc. III B* *1320 - 1190*	building 18 palace	2 rectangular bastions (1300)	———	temple (?)	palaces (?)	palace	one block, drafted margins
LC III A1 *Myc. III C:1b* *1190*	area I building building 18 palace	temples I, II, IV	temple	abandonment of temple	abandonment of the site	abandonment of the site	abandonment of the site
LC III A2 *Proto-White Painted* *1175*	rebuilding of building 18 into foundry workshops and area I building into a sanctuary			abandonment of the site			
CG I *White Painted I* *1050*	abandonment of the site	severe destruction					

Ashlar at Myrtou Pighades and Hala Sultan Teke may also date from LC II, although the chronology is less assured (Hult 1983: 88). Although Hult (1983: 89) would prefer to see a continuous Cypriot tradition following the Niklovikia construction, in spite of the LC I hiatus, she, like V. Karageorghis, admits the closest parallels to the Cypriot ashlar are to be found at Ugarit (including some Egyptian elements) where it was particularly used in LC II. This sort of construction was also used by the Hittites and at Troy VI. Although ashlar was extensively used by the Minoans, and later by the Mycenaeans, Hult points out that there are no specifically Mycenaean traits. In all cases the types of ashlar vary, probably according to immediate local circumstances.

Hence, even when it appeared during LC II, ashlar in itself does not prove that this building technique is Achaean. During the 14th century ashlar was commonly used in the Near East, at Ugarit, but also, for instance, at Alalakh and Megiddo

level VII B (1350-1150) (Dikaios 1969: 515; Loud 1948: 103). It had been used in Cretan royal complexes, but like a number of other cultural traits that seem to re-appear in 12th century Cyprus, they belong to the pre-Mycenaean tradition of Middle Bronze III or Recent I (around 1600 B.C). On the Greek mainland during the 14th century finely hewed ashlar is mainly ornamental around doorways, and in the following century in the remarkable blocks of the tholos tombs at Mycenae. The huge building blocks at Tiryns and Mycenae are "cyclopean," attributed by tradition to Anatolians, or at best, rough hewn. In fact Hittite architecture, and the limited use of ashlar, bears a striking resemblance to Mycenaean architecture. At Bogazköy some of the ashlar blocks have drafted edges like those at Enkomi and Kition, although they aren't identical (J. Lagarce 1979: 244 note 3) whereas in Crete and Greece the drafted edges are absent, other than on the stones of the the tomb X dromos at Deiras (Deshayes 1966: 26, pl. XL n° 4; Sandars 1978: 151 for the drafting at late Hittite Eflatun Pinar). The drafted edges and their variations are probably more a question of individual technique developments among craftsmen than the influence of one culture on another. Only the major conception of ashlar cutting and stone refining would indicate a cultural transmission, not the additional detail, which is not identical in these cases.

Since the ashlar building technique was a characteristic of Syrian and Hittite sites being abandoned at this time, its increased use in 12th century Cyprus may well have been inspired by Levantine newcomers, which would explain the change in destination of the 12th century buildings.

Foreign Influences

The most remarkable aspect of Cypriot architecture at the beginning of the Iron Age is its religious function. No significant buildings other than defense walls,

fortresses and bronze casting workshops are known that weren't used for cult purposes. This phenomenon began at Kition and Paphos coinciding with the introduction of Myc IIIC:1b pottery that followed the general devastations that closed the LC II Bronze Age and is accentuated with the building of the Ingot God sanctuary. Thus the only architecture sufficiently original to be compared with regions surrounding Cyprus is religious architecture.

Criteria of Comparison

A comparative study of religious architecture risks being uninformative because of its uniformity. Since the 18th dynasty the Egyptians had established the classic model of the East Mediterranean temple: it is divided into three, with a forecourt, a hypostyle corridor and, at the back, a sanctuary protecting the naos, where the sacred ark is protected, and the temple dependencies: all on a rectangular floor plan, creating a passage from clarity to obscurity (Badawy 1968: 176) Concerning the Hittite temples at Bogazköy, K. Bittel has written: "En dehors de l'Anatolie ce sont encore les grands sanctuaires égyptiens de la fin de la XVIIIe and XIXe dynastie qui s'en rapprocheraient le plus." (Bittel 1979: 133). The five 13th century temples of Bogazköy are characterized by a portal entering onto a rectangular or almost square courtyard, a portico supported by pillars on the opposite side of the courtyard and vestibules giving access to the holy of holies (Bittel 1979:124). Furthermore, the adyton is not on the longitudinal axis of the courtyard, but is always slightly off center towards the left or right (Bittel 1979: 127). During the Late Bronze Age the Canaanite temples followed a similar plan. They were usually divided into three parts: a rectangular courtyard with benches and columns, an antechamber and an inside sanctuary on a raised level (Seton Williams 1949: 85). No architecture is more widespread, or has endured longer than this religious layout, which is followed even in modern

times. However, beyond these generalities the exact floor plans of Canaanite temples tend to vary. Y. Yadin (1970: 105) attributes this to different ethnicities and a multitude of gods. Thus, on this scale, it is difficult to trace influences or to link the variations, as can be seen above in the case of Cypriot sanctuaries.

The most significant fact is that this formal temple architecture did not exist in Cyprus until the construction of the temples at Kition and Paphos. The Bronze Age Cypriote sanctuaries were simple, relatively circular, open air teneme (Gray in: du Plat Taylor 1957: 103). The sanctuary as a rectangular edifice housing a holy of holies dates to the Early Bronze Age in the Levantine countries. It is much rarer in the Aegean area. One of the only urban buildings restricted to worship, comparable to those of Cyprus, is the much earlier one at Mallia. But the Mallia edifice is built on the “but et ben” plan of the Cretan house; that is, a dwelling consisting of an entry room, a small storeroom, and a room (a cult room in the case of Mallia) giving onto the entry room, whose wall forms a sort of redan (Poursat 1966: 528). This is very different from the Levantine concept of a courtyard, or hall, where worshippers can gather in front of a holy of holies as in the Kition and Paphos temples. Given these observations, a Near Eastern origin for the Cypriot cult buildings that appear in the 12th century seems obvious.

Nevertheless, other researchers have tried to go beyond these generalities to discern closer architectural relationships. This involves the distribution of religious architecture in the countries surrounding Cyprus immediately before such architecture reached Cyprus.

Instead of the primitive circular tenemos, the rectangular building can be adjusted to the four cardinal points for worship purposes. S. Yeivin (1967) suggests that a change in orientation of Near Eastern temples from north-south to east-west in the 12th century may have been due to the presence of Aegeans among the Sea Peoples given the east-west orientation of Aegean sanctuaries.

Since there are a number of exceptions to the north-south orientation of Late Bronze Age Syro-Palestinian and Hittite temples: Byblos (the Obelisk Temple), Tell Mevorakh, Yazilikaya such an hypothesis seems unjustified. (Mazar 1980: 71 gives a precise documentation on the lack of regularity in the orientation of Palestinian temples).

G.E. Wright (1971: 17) minimizes the tripartite aspect of Near Eastern temples; preferring to classify them on the basis of their rectangular construction. For the Bronze Recent II period he demonstrates two predominant types: the "langbau" with an entrance on one of the lateral walls, and the "knickachse" where the entrance is on one of the longitudinal sides, as in the case of the Ingot God sanctuary or the four temples at Kition. This classification also pertains to Greece and Crete where the "langbau" corresponds to the buildings constructed around a megaron and the "knickachse" to smaller sanctuaries like that at Mallia. If this criteria of relationship is respected, then once again there seems to be a pre-Mycenaean Cretan aspect to what appears in 12th century Cyprus.

Greece

Separate buildings devoted to worship or housing the gods are practically unknown in Bronze Age Greece. Mycenaean worship took place in open air teneme, buildings or rooms adjacent to the walls of civil complexes, or possibly in the central halls, or megarons, of palaces. According to Linear B evidence, it seems the cults were largely devoted to a feminine divinity, the "Potnia" (Casewitz 1984: 89). The cults were either practiced within a natural context, around sacred stones, springs, etc. or they were practiced sporadically within a domestic context (Vermeule 1964: 160, 184; Blegen and Rawson 1966: 299) Of course, as always concerning archaeological vestiges, this perception of Greek practice is not absolute. Perhaps traces of temples prior to the archaic Greek

temples have disappeared, but the fact remains that the only temples known for pre-Hellenic Greece are at Eleusis and Delos, and their identification as temples is dubious (Rolley, *Fouilles de Delphes* 1977: 139-140). There are only six certain Mycenaean sanctuaries: Aigina, Amyklai, Asine, Mycenae and Tsoringiza (J. Wright 1994). The absence of temples in Mycenaean cult practices is reinforced by the absence of lexicological references to temples in Linear B (Casewitz 1984: 87-91).

Nevertheless, B. Rutkowski's (1986: xix) definition of a temple as "public buildings open to the whole population of a given town," allows him to classify Ayia Eirene at Keos, Delos, Eleusis, a complex of rooms at Tiryns, another at Mycenae, and Phylakopi as temples. At Pylos there was a "possible shrine" close to the palace; (Rutkowski 1986: 199). If one accepts Nilsson's more precise definition that a temple is a building separated from the others in order to serve as a dwelling for a divinity and to shelter its image and cult objects (Taylour 1970: 273), the temple is remarkably absent in Greece and the Aegean islands before the 8th century B.C.

The LH IB Ayia Eirene temple at Keos is a solitary exception. It has a strong Minoan character until the end of its use at the close of the Bronze Age. "In LH IIIA, that is, about 1400 B.C., the temple was destroyed by a great earthquake. It is possible that for some time later it was not used at all, or was only partially reconstructed. A new temple was built in LH III (that is between 1200 and 1100 B.C.)" (Rutkowski 1986: 169). There is another Cycladic example of a temple at Phylakopi in Melos. It was already in use in LH IIIA, but like at Keos (and Kition) the cult was regenerated in LH IIIC, this time with Levantine elements. Reshef figurines, bovine figurines and animal rhyta suggest a Hittite influence (Rutkowski 1986: 185, 197). It is also interesting to notice that the clover motifs decorating the painted bull figurines, recall the same motifs on Cypriot Levanto Helladic ware depicting bulls (Renfrew 1985: pl. 39, 40c). The

motif appears quite early in the Cypriot Mycenean ware, in LC II (1450-1350) (Schaeffer 1952: 121, fig. 51) whereas at Phylakopi decorated bulls were found in the 12th century stratum 2b (Renfrew 1985:114, 425). Small figurines with an "X" motif painted across the breast, like the Enkomi and Kition figurines, are also present. They may date from a late phase, but the chronology is unclear (Renfrew 1985: 212, fig. 6.2, pl. 38, 279-280).

The Phylakopi citadel and the temple at Mycenae are so exceptional on the Late Bronze Age mainland that their prototypes may have been foreign to the Mycenaeans, especially since they appear during the troubled times of the 13th century when Mycenaean civilization is on the decline.

It is worth noting that immediately prior to the 12th century disturbances and wanderings, the temple at Keos was practically in disuse. It revived along with the 12th century events. At Tiryns also the "sacred area" at the lower citadel belongs to the 12th century. At Delos and Eleusis the Bronze Age vestiges are dubious, and assumed to be sacred because they are covered by later sanctuaries.

Several attributes of Kition have been compared to Pylos on the Greek continent. Both sites have a complex of workshops attached to cult areas: bronze smelting at Kition and weapons and arms manufacture at Pylos (Blegen, Rawson 1966: 315). However the placement of the rooms around the respective courtyards is entirely different, there was an altar in the courtyard of Pylos but not, as far as is known, in the Tenemos B at Kition, linked to the bronze foundries. There was probably a third pillar at Pylos that disappeared because it had been placed on a slope.

The Citadel Temple at Mycenae is the closest Mycenaean parallel to the Cypriot temples. A vestibule leads to a room with three pillars along the east wall; a rectangular stone must have been an altar, in the northeast corner, steps lead to a cella, 2 m x 2 m, where three terracotta anthromorphic idols and six models of snakes were found. Mazar (1980: 66) demonstrates the relationship

of this sanctuary to Canaanite sanctuaries with their raised cellas and benches on various levels. The Mycenae temple was used briefly at the end of the 13th century. (Taylour 1969: 270). Since its characteristic elements are found in older Palestinian temples (Mazar 1980: 69), it is obvious that if there was a foreign influence it was from east to west. Perhaps this was related to the contact with the Levant indicated in the neighboring workshops during this period.

The House G at Asine with its three pillars on the longitudinal axis is not necessarily a "temple" (Dikaios 1969: 527; Frödin, Persson: 1938). It was built during the 12th century transition of Myc. IIIC:1b to Myc. IIIC:1c, whereas the East Sanctuary at Phylakopi in the Cyclades dates from the end of the 13th century like the temple at Mycenae (Mazar 1980: 66). A relationship, or at least contact, with the Near East is evident in the two bronze Canaanite Reshef figurines found at Phylakopi, which are thought to be imported, probably from the Syria-Palestinian coast (Renfrew 1985: 310). Since these cult places are scarcely earlier than those that appear in Cyprus and are rarer and less developed than those in Cyprus, it isn't plausible to postulate a Greek or Aegean influence on the Cypriot architecture of this period.

Crete

Contrary to Greece, rural sanctuaries are ubiquitous in Crete. Rubble walls, dividing walls, the insistence on a central space rather than a longitudinal axis, are characteristic of Cretan sanctuaries. However, the religious architecture in Crete seems to be due to chance, little developed,without a standard ground plan, whereas civil architecture is highly developed. Rutkowski (1973: 231) attributes this to the fact that the principal cult of the Minoans had the natural environment as a reference.

Egypt

The monumentality of Egyptian temple architecture, as well as the accent and place given to the naos preclude a direct Egyptian influence on Cypriot cult architecture.

Anatolia

The best known religious architecture in Anatolia immediately prior to that of Cyprus consists of the five temples at Bogazköy and the Yazilikaya temple built during the second half of the 13th century (Bittel 1976: 131). The main elements of these places of worship can also be found in Cyprus during the 12th century. The ashlar walls, with mud brick superstructures, the cult of a double masculine-feminine divinity, a porch, a courtyard with a pillared portico and a holy of holies link the Hittite and Cypriot places of worship. On the other hand, the Hittite buildings are more imposing and their floor plans more rigorously geometric than those of Cyprus. Furthermore the entrances are a “langbau” type rather than the Cypriot “knickachse”.

Syria-Palestine

If a new formalism and sophistication links the Kition and Enkomi temples to Hittite practices, even more detailed parallels can be established with 13th century Syro-Palestinian temples, belonging to a long and widespread tradition (J. Wright 1994). Minet el Beida, Alalakh and Ras Shamra, the closest geographical locations to Cyprus, already possessed ashlar palaces and temples at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. Concerning the sanctuaries at Ugarit, M. Yon notices that the architectural organization of a large room with benches, an off center entryway, a stepped platform, and a small annexed room is found elsewhere in the late Bronze Age Levant, such as the temple at Tell Qasile, or

the Fosse temple at Lachish, which are comparable to the Ingot God Sanctuary at Enkomi (Yon 1984: 50). It seems that Enkomi and Kition may well have served as a relay for these traditions when Ugarit and other Levantine cities were abandoned around 1200. The excavator of the Ingot God Sanctuary, J.C. Courtois (1971: 359-360) determined that its closest foreign parallel is the third, most recent reconstruction of the 'temple du fosse" at Lachish, and that the closest parallels to the stone altar of the Enkomi sanctuary are those from Minet-el-Beida, which may have been their prototypes. In the Cypriot temples, the vestibules and holy of holies are less developed than those of Syria- Palestine, which, in their turn, are less developed than those of Egypt, Anatolia and Mesopotamia. The Syro-Palestinian temples are usually more free standing than those of Enkomi, which are established in former civil buildings. But all the other aspects of Cypriot construction and worship can be found in Syria-Palestine. The pillars and hearths are also Mycenaean characteristics, but cellas, benches and altars are far more common in Syro-Palestinian temples than in Aegean cult areas. The cult apparatus confirms this impression. Ox scapulae, some with incisions in the Ingot God Sanctuary (Snodgrass 1994: 172, notices that their earliest 12th century use in Cyprus probably derived from the Neolithic to Iron Age tradition in western Asia), bronze votive livers, foundation deposits (Karageorghis 1976: 80, 102 fig. XV), terracotta masks, terracotta figurines and bronze statuettes of a goddess and horned gods, sometimes buried, are common to both Early Iron Age Cyprus and Late Bronze Age Syro-Palestinian worship.

Conclusion

Table V resumes the Cypriot architectural characteristics that can be related to foreign practices at the beginning of the Iron Age. It has been demonstrated that there is no necessary Achaean, or even Aegean, influence on Cypriot architecture.

On the other hand, all the elements that are new to Cypriot architecture at the beginning of LC III can be found in Syria-Palestine. The absence of palaces in Cyprus after LC IIIA2 in favour of cult buildings, suggests a profound social mutation, even in terms of the countries furnishing the cult prototypes. The small temples 2 and 3 that appear at Kition at the close of LC II may prove instructive concerning this phenomenon. At Enkomi the Mycenaean preference for palaces instead of separate cult buildings was still being practiced. But the new Levantine type of temple with its courtyards and votive anchors, mixed with Mycenaean pottery, indicates a friendly reverse in settlement and cultural practice. The Mycenaeans were losing their influence, seemingly in need of Levantine reinforcement. This situation is announced in the Kition workshops, and the ceding of imported Mycenaean ware to eastern Levanto-Helladic copies. It is also evident within the Mycenaean sphere. At the end of the 13th century at the time Merneptah is combating the first wave of Sea Peoples (following the Trojan war, if it is attributed to Hissarlik level VI) the frescoed palaces give way to an increasingly formal cult practice at Mycenae and Phylakopi, including bronze smiting god Reshef figurines, ivory and faience workshops close to the Mycenaean temple, oriental cylinder seals in the graves at Thebes and Perati. This is also the context of the earliest presence of the “barbarian” ware, pins, fibulae and Naue II type sword that must have been introduced by a modest wandering group of people from Italy and the Balkans, very possibly mercenary soldiers. After the ubiquitous destructions and abandonments ca. 1190 this situation intensifies and becomes the context of Proto White Painted ware a generation later. It is correct to notice a continuity in the ceramics and cult practice immediately preceding the destruction level ca. 1190 in Cyprus, as well as the Aegean (Webb 1999: 288 ; Sherratt 1992: 326). But it is neither a long eteo-chypriot or Mycenaean tradition. The Kition temples herald Syro-Palestian

newcomers, associated with the first traces of east Europeans who must have passed through the Aegean and along the Anatolian coast.

The other characteristic of this period is the lack of architectural renewal during the century following the building of these Cypriot fortresses and places of worship. The construction of fortresses and the lack of luxurious dwellings suggest uneasy times that endured from then onwards until the 8th century. In any case, all the major architectural activity took place before 1150, the most recent being the Ingot God sanctuary built with simple rubble walls. None survived the 1050 catastrophe except the Kition temples which were re-built only to be abandoned around fifty years later. Traces of earthquake and flood noted in, or on, the buildings help to explain this impoverishment (Schaeffer 1952: 314; Dikaios 1969: 534; Karageorghis 1976a: 90).

After an earthquake at Enkomi and Kition around 1100, the architectural renovations and the presence of arms suggest potential human hostility. It is difficult to determine the reasons why Enkomi was abandoned, because the most recent level of the site has been largely destroyed by agriculture and treasure seekers (Schaeffer 1952: 316; Dikaios 1969: 534). All the architectural remains indicate is that the 11th century renovations were minimal until the site was abandoned in 1050. The only traces of re-settlement, aside from cemeteries, are at Salamis, near Enkomi and Bamboula, near Kition, where the remains do not permit identifying the inhabitants as newcomers, and the re-construction of the sanctuaries at Ayia Irini and Ayia Iakovos on traditional Cypriot plans.

Religious practices are deeply embedded within collective psyches. The clearly Near Eastern built temples containing male effigies appear alongside the Cypriot development of earlier Mycenaean pottery into Proto White Painted. This is in striking opposition to earlier Cypriot and Aegean open air teneme or rooms within palaces, giving preference to a feminine divinity, the “Potnia” at the time a

direct relationship with the Mycenaean realm is reflected in significant quantities of pottery imported from the Greek mainland. Recent theory supposes that indigenous adaptations are more responsible for change in the archaeological record than actual migrations. However it is clear that to hypothesize that cult items and practices only directly discovered in contexts of undeniably innovative LC III temple architecture are indigenous inheritances is to flagrantly deform the givens to fit the theory (Knapp 1986; Webb 1999). Just as earlier efforts to turn this evidence into an “Achaean” adaptation of Levantine practices warps the facts to fit the theory.

TABLE V

ELEMENTS OF CULT ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE	IRON I	Late Bronze II			
	Cyprus	Syria - Palestine	Anatolia	Crete	Greece
ashlar	X	X	X	X	X
rubble	X	X	X	X	X
Central rectangular courtyard	X	X	X	X	X
vestibule	X	X	X		Mycenae
cella	X	X	X		Mycenae
Independant temple area	X	X	X		Phylakopi
dependencies	X	X	X	X	X
Portico pillars	X	X	X	X	X
benches	X	X	X	X	X
hearths	X	X	X		
Stone altars	X	X	X		X
Wells	X	X			
FURNISHINGS					
Horns of consecration	X	X	X	X	X
Bovine bones	X	X	X		
Masks	X	X			
Terracotta figurines	X	X			X
Bronze statuettes	X	X	X		
Buried idols	X	X	X		Mycenae

CHAPTER V

TOMB TYPES

Tombs are especially evocative for the beginning of the Iron Age in Cyprus. Along with the sanctuaries of Enkomi and Kition, they have been the chief find places of the innovative artefacts and pottery that define this period of transition.

The five types of tombs containing Proto White Painted and White Painted I pottery, established by Gjerstad (1934: 29-33), are still valid for the extensive tomb excavations since then. Here the relationship of each tomb type with Bronze Age Cypriot tombs will be studied. Then, the types will be compared to contemporary and earlier types outside of Cyprus, in Greece, the Aegean islands, Asia Minor, Syria-Palestine and Egypt. These correlations are indicated in Table VIII and map IV. Their distribution is displayed on map III.

Pit Tombs

A category of pit or cist tombs that doesn't contain Proto White Painted or White Painted I ware is not taken into account in the scope the present study, nor was it treated by E. Gjerstad. However, these tombs must have been in use at the same time as those containing Proto White Painted. They appeared at Enkomi and Kition in LC IIIA, contained Myc. IIIC:1b pottery, and continued to be built until the abandonment of Enkomi in 1050. Schaeffer describes those that were discovered by the French Expedition, as rectangular excavations re-filled with the earth from which they had been dug (Schaeffer 1936: 82). He attributed them to newcomers who settled at Enkomi at the beginning of LC III. At this time the traditional chamber tombs and the cellar tombs under the houses were

no longer built, although they were sometimes re-used, such as the tombs 5 and 18. The new tombs contained Decorated LC III ware, difficult to date other than that it is characteristic of LC IIIA and continued to be used until the 11th century. It is present in these tombs in the form of Bucchero jugs, pitchers with a basket handle and shallow bowls with spirals painted on the bottom inside (Schaeffer 1952: 310). Tombs of this type are especially prevalent at Enkomi: tombs 1, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 of the French Expedition (Schaeffer 1936: 80; 1952: 134, 231), tombs at the topographical points 430 and 979 (Courtois 1981: 271, 277) and the Swedish Cyprus Expedition discoveries: tombs 7A, 11A, 13 C, 15, 161, 19A (Sjöqvist and al. 1934). Tombs 1, 5, 14, 15 and topographical point 430 are rectangular stone built pits. Aström calls the other LC IIIA Enkomi tombs “shaft” tombs (Aström 1972: 50-51). Some tombs at Kition dating from the LC IIIA period, the elliptical pit tombs, walled on all side with clay bricks, have been related to the Enkomi tombs (*ibid*; Karageorghis 1960: 515).

These tombs recall the stone lined cist tombs that appear later in Greece at Salamis and the Kerameikos cemetery at Athens, which contain Myc. IIIC:2 pottery. It has been suggested that these Greek tombs were introduced by people coming from Epirus, Deiras (Argos) and Eleusis, nearby, where cists were still used during the Late Helladic period (Sourvinon-Inwood 1973: 219; Snodgrass 1971: 187 for Epirus). However G. Mylonas attributes the Eleusis cists to the hardness of the rock and the limited available space, which may explain the existence of a few small rock cut cist tombs at Deiras (Mylonas 1961: 33; Deshayes 1966: 23, 30, 31, 250). Similar cists were used in Greece during Middle Helladic times and at Ras Shamra and Minet el Beida in the 15th century (Aström 1972b: 708).

Pits, usually simple and without stone walls, are particularly characteristic of Troy and central Anatolia (Osmankayasi, Alishar Hüyük) in which the bodies

are cremated or placed in amphorae, or else directly onto the earth. This type of cremation tomb appears at Alalakh during the 13th century and at Hama at the beginning of the 12th century (Woolley 1955; Riis 1948: 3; Van der Osten 1937: 84 ff).

I. Cist Tombs

The first category of tombs established by Gjerstad consists of cist tombs (Gjerstad 1934: 29). Two cist or pit tombs were found at Kourion-Bamboula. The badly preserved pit tomb 27 contained a Proto White Painted amphoriskos. Tomb 30, a cist located in a corner of House VII, contained White Painted I pottery of the CG I period (Benson 1972: 26, 27). A shallow pit tomb was also discovered at Alaas. Some tombs containing Proto White Painted ware described as “simples inhumations en pleine terre” were found at Evreti, Kaminia and Asproy in the Paphos regions (Maier 1969a: 116; 1969b: 41; 1973: 76).

These cist tombs are located inside the settlements, like the Enkomi and Kition tombs, although they contain a different pottery, Proto White Painted, and are less well built. They are so rare and so simple that they seem to have been hastily dug, by chance. The only particularly significant one is tomb 30 at Bamboula. It is the only Cypriot cist tomb containing a cremation: the burnt bones of a child in an amphora. The other two Cypriot cremations, in Kaloriziki tomb 40, were in what may have been an eroded chamber tomb (Benson 1973: 49).

II. Shaft Tombs

The second type of tomb indicated by Gjerstad for the Cypro-Geometric period is the shaft tomb. He describes it as a shaft, or vertical well, rectangular or

trapezoidal, descending into a small chamber, sometimes smaller than the well, shaped like the well, placed on one of the long sides of the well. The largest part of the side giving onto the well is open. This opening is closed by rough stones. The floor and the roof are almost horizontal or lean lightly towards the inside wall. The Lapithos-Plakes tombs were covered by earth tumuli and stones. They differ from the Enkomi shaft tombs in that the chamber openings are larger and they are more similar to cists.

Shaft tombs are also used during the Late Bronze II period (for example, Enkomi tomb 22) and probably have Syrian antecedents (Aström 1972a: 49, 432; Westholm 1941: 55). They appear during the 14th century in Crete, such as the one at Ayios Ioannis near Knossos remarkable for its bronze weapons (Hood, De Jong 1952: 243-247).

III. "Mycenaean" Chamber Tombs

The majority of Cypro-Geometric I tombs appear at the end of the 12th century in new cemeteries; they constitute Gjerstad's third category (Gjerstad 1934: 30). He describes them as having long straight dromoi descending towards the entryway. The dromos walls narrow towards at the top towards the end of the passage, which gives a triangular shape to the upper part of the dromos. Sometimes there is a short stomion. The entry is vertical, and horizontal or vaulted at the top. It is closed with rough stone. The chamber is often trapezoidal, sometimes almost rectangular, or less often, irregular. The ceiling of the chamber is horizontal or inclines toward the back wall. Some tombs have niches in the dromos or chamber wall. Sometimes there are benches in the chamber. According to the terrain, there may be steps leading to the dromos.

In some ways, this type of tomb resembles the chamber tombs with dromos

common in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Ages I and II. At Kourion Benson noticed that the LC II chamber tombs tended to develop from circular to more or less recognizable rectangles (Benson 1972: 6). During LC IIIA (1190-1150 B.C.), the dromos tombs tend to disappear in favor of shaft or cist tombs that were introduced at the end of the Late Bronze Age II (Sjöqvist 1940: 25). During this same period at Enkomi and Kourion-Bamboula, the earlier chamber tombs were reused; sometimes new tombs were built, like tomb 3 at Kition, with an irregular chamber, or the three others at Yeroskipou "Asproyia"-Paphos, of which one has two benches in the dromos and a vaulted roof (Aström 1972a: 50-51). Two other tombs at Paphos Teratsoudhia and one at Paphos: Eliomylia have been published in detail. (Karageroghis 1990). Thus there are chamber tombs that are immediately earlier than those containing Proto White Painted and White Painted I ware, but their sudden increase in popularity during Late Cypriot IIIB has caused researchers to believe they were re-introduced by a foreign population. The more so as the new tombs differ in the converging of the upper part of the dromos walls and the better defined shape of the chambers. The similarities and differences of these two types are indicated below.

This type of tomb that appears in new cemeteries outside the settlement areas (like the earlier Cypriot chamber tombs), has been compared to Mycenaean chamber tombs, and furnishes one of the major arguments for the hypothesis of an Achaean colonization of Cyprus at this time (Gjerstad 1934: 238; Karageorghis 1975: 25; Hood 1973: 40; Yon 1971: 7). Indeed, the Lapithos-Kastros tombs and the Salamis tomb T 1, with their converging dromos walls, rectangular chambers and occasional stomia, bear a close resemblance to Mycenaean tombs. But the Kaloriziki, Kythrea, Skales and, especially, Alaas tombs have vaguely designed chambers, cut without precision, and dromoi of variable lengths, which don't bear such a close resemblance to Mycenaean chambers and dromoi. Furthermore,

the hazardous distribution of the tombs in all the cemeteries differ from the regular alignements of the closest Aegean antecedents , other than at Perati. The 192 chamber tombs in the Perati cemetery closely resemble the Cypriot type, although only 61 contained single burials. Most tombs contained two or three burials. There were also 26 pit tombs in this cemetery. (Iakovidis 1970, vol. B: 420-422). Other than on the east Attica coast at Perati, chamber tombs are rarer on the Greek continent following the site destructions around 1200. During the 12th century some were reused, but new tombs were rare (Furumark 1972: 265). Whereas in central Crete, Rhodes (Ialysos, Kameiros), Kos (Langada, Eleone) and in Asia Minor at Milet (Balat, Deirmenteke), Musgebi and Caria (Termera) chamber tombs were still fashionable (Desborough 1966: 152 ff; Desborough 1980: 422; Maiuri 1926: 83-341; Mee 1978: 133, 137). The Rhodian tombs are regularly aligned, on a northeast orientation (Fig. 2). Benson maintains that the northeast orientation relates these tombs to those of Kaloriziki although this is not obvious on the site map (Map IV). Karageorghis observes the same for Alaas, although the dromoi on the map seem to be oriented more on an east-west axis (Karageorghis 1975: 26; Benson 1971: 24). Furthermore, the arrow on the Moschu Vounara map, where north points downwards, creates a confusion as to what is meant by “orientation of the dromoi.” (Maiuri 1926: 88). The haphazard distribution of the similar tombs at Perati confirms that this is not a valid criteria of comparison (Iakovidis 1970, vol. B: 422, fig. 2: 44).

The similarity of the Cypriot tombs to Mycenaean tombs has been somewhat exaggerated. During the LC IIIB-CGI period the tombs with long dromoi were introduced progressively alongside re-used traditional Cypriot tomb types (Vanschoonwinkel 1994: 119). In fact the tombs of Kaloriziki, Kythrea, Alaas and Skales resemble as much, if not more LC IIA and LC IIB chamber tombs. In any case, they are more similar to Aegean tombs than to continental Mycenaean

tombs, both chronologically and in the fact of individual burials, sometimes practiced in Crete, but never in LH IIIB Greece. It is important to notice that the Greek chamber tombs at Deiras and Asine in the Argolid, when they were re-used during LH IIIC, contained individual burials like at Cyprus, which differs from former Greek tradition when family tombs were continually reused. According to S. Hood, the people who re-used the Argolid tombs were probably not related to the LH IIIB users (Hood 1973: 44). The funerary offerings confirm this impression. At Perati, where the cemetery is most similar to the Cypriot chamber tomb cemeteries, the finds include: 5 gold earrings, all of a Cypriot type, 2 bracelets and beads of a Near Eastern type, 24 amulets, of which 17 imported from Egypt, 3 from Syria and 1 from Cyprus, two cylinder seals: 1 Mitannien, 1 Cypriot, a Cypriot conoid seal, 3 Levantine stone weights, and 3 Syrian knives (Iakovidis 1970 vol. B: 454-457, 460, 467, 469). Iakovidis (1970: 466) also observes that the earliest ceramic style at Perati is similar to the most recent Mycenaean ware found at Ugarit. All of this suggests a near eastern influence which may have affected the earlier Mycenaean chamber tomb shapes and practices.

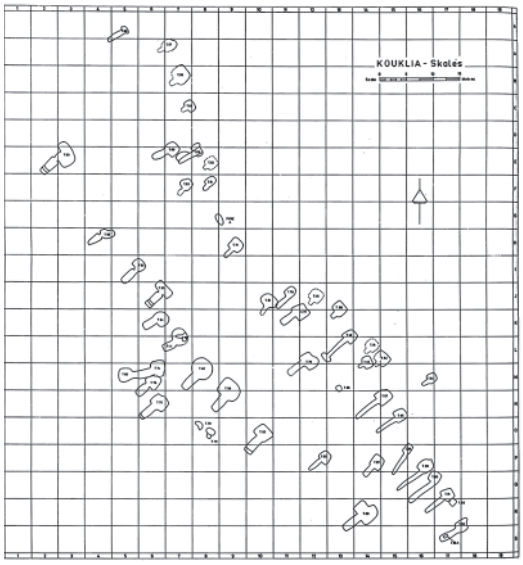
There are other pertinent arguments against even an earlier Bronze Age Aegean influence on this type of tomb (Vanschoonwinkel 1994: 117-120). The tombs with long dromoi were introduced progressively alongside re–used traditional Cypriot tomb types. And, although the practice of cremation appeared in the Aegean islands during LH IIIC, from where it may have been transmitted to Cyprus, the practice itself must have stemmed from Anatolia. This is obvious, unless instead of passing via the Aegean, those practicing it transmitted it from the Syro-Palestinian coast, where it was even more popular when introduced in the 12th century.

The rock cut chamber tomb is not uniquely Mycenaean. The oldest known are Egyptian, and it has been convincingly demonstrated that the Egyptian tombs

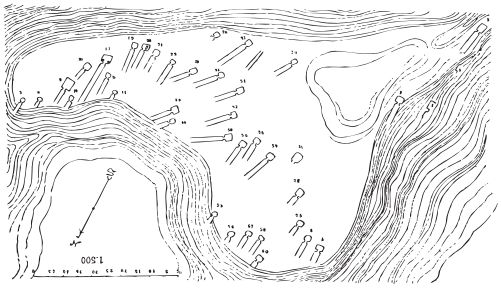
may have been the prototypes of Mycenaean tombs, the oldest of which date from Middle Minoan II in the Mavro Spelio Cretan necropolis. A.W. Persson established parallels between the south temple tomb of the Middle Minoan IIIb Knossos palace and the Kakement tomb at Assouan, and between the Late Minoan I king's tomb at Isopata and the Havara tombs and the mortuary chapel at El-Kâb (Persson 1942: 167, fig. 107). During the same period rock cut chamber tombs appeared at Cyprus until the end of LC IIB and in Syria-Palestine. It seems that the 12th century Philistine tombs in Syria-Palestine stemmed directly from this tradition, whereas the LC IIIB Cypriot tombs bore traces of this tradition, modified by a particular taste for entries with broken arch doorways recalling the corbelling of the chamber tombs built within the settlements of Enkomi, Ras Shamra and Ibn Hani during the 13th century. There were even tholoi, recalling Mycenaean practices, that ceased being used after the 12th century destruction level at Enkomi (Johnstone 1971: 51-123; Pelon 1973: 245-253).

At the end of the Late Bronze Age, there is a renewed Egyptian influence in Syro-Palestinian funerary customs. The use of sarcophagi, and the presence of Egyptian furnishings in the already traditional chamber tombs, at Lachish, the "500" cemetery at Tell Fara and at Beth Shan, must have been introduced by Egyptian mercenaries in the 13th century (Dothan 1957: 154; Rowe 1930: 38). During the 12th century they only differed from Egyptian tombs in the use of "Philistine" pottery. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that these "Philistine" tombs in Syria-Palestine must have had a Mycenaean origin, like the Cypriot tombs of this period, because of the rectangular shaped chambers (the former tombs were round or irregular) and the benches in the tombs of the "500 cemetery at Tell Fara (Waldbaum 1966: 334).

In fact, they are clearly different from the Cypriot or Mycenaean tombs, in that the dromos is much shorter, usually with steps, and the trapezoidal chambers

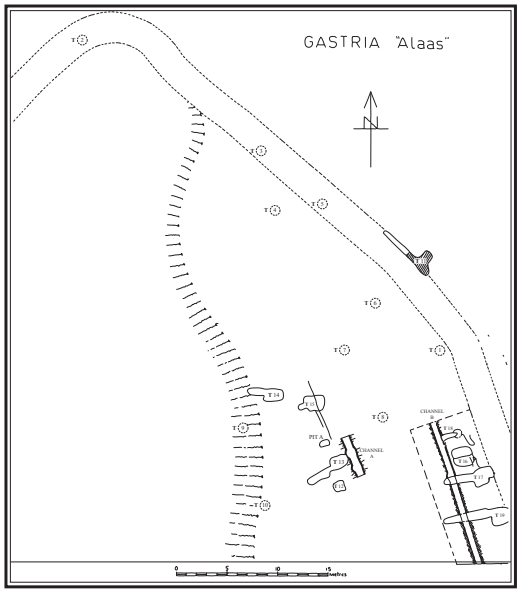


Kouklia - Skales, Necropolis Plan
(Karageorghis and al. 1983: 153, fig. II



Moschu Vounara, Necropolis Plan
(Maiuri 1926: 88)

Kaloriziki, Necropolis Plan
(Benson 1973: 96, pl. I)



Alaas, Tombs
(Karageorghis 1975a: 76, pl. XLV)

Fig. 2: Necropolis Plans with “Mycenaean” Chamber Tombs

are relatively larger, some with annex chambers (arcosolias). If they are inserted in Table VI, they correspond to Bronze Age Cypriot tombs or Late Bronze II or Middle Bronze IIC Palestinian tombs at Tell Fara (Stiebing 1970: 139-145; Edelstein 1977: 27-32). Furthermore, in the "900" cemetery at Tell Fara, similar tombs contained Myc. IIIB ware (Waldbaum 1966: 337; Sandars 1985:174). Thus if there were a Mycenaean influence, it would have dated from the Late Bronze Age. As far as Cyprus is concerned, the dromoi shapes, the broken arch doorways and the square chambers were already known in the tombs built under the houses at Enkomi, Ugarit and Ibn Hani, associated with Myc. IIIB pottery. It is worth recalling that at Enkomi this type of tomb was reused during LC III (Schaeffer 1952: 334; Courtois 1966: 344).

But even if this architecture developed from a contact between Cyprus and Crete or Rhodes during LC IIIA, this does not automatically signify an immigration from these places – because the "idea" of a structure does not prove the use of it by the population that invented it: especially in this case, where the general shape of the dromos and chamber was already habitual in earlier tombs.

IV. Chamber Tombs with a Short Dromos

The fourth type of tomb defined by Gjerstad (1934: 30) is related to the above type III. It differs in that, like eteo-Cypriot tombs, the dromos is shorter and wider; sometimes it widens towards the entry to the chamber. The dromos walls are vertical, slightly converging, or even diverging. The dromos inclines downwards, sometimes there are steps. The door of the chamber is blocked with unhewn stones. The shape of the chamber is usually irregular. Gjerstad assumes this type of tomb is an evolution of the type III chamber tomb (1934: 432).

V. The Built Tomb

Here it is a question of a completely different type of tomb. The built tomb, that is going to predominate during the Archaic period appears already during CG I at Amathus.

Usually, the entry shaft of the dromos is covered with stone slabs. The narrow dromos (almost a well) slopes downwards towards the entry to the tomb. There are often a few steps at the entry to the usually short dromos. It opens on to the longitudinal side of the tomb, or in the center of the short side. The stomion is rather short and rectangular and usually consists of two stone bocks supporting a stone slab: there may be a stone threshold. Sometimes the dromos floor is covered with ashlar. The door leading to the shaft is usually closed by at least one stone slab. The well, varying in size, is roughly rectangular with round corners. The walls of the shaft are vertical or converging towards the surface of the ground. Sometimes niches are cut into the stone walls (Gjerstad 1934: 32).

This type of tomb was already used at Enkomi during LC I and II. It was also used in Syria-Palestine during the same period, until the Iron Age, at Gaza, Ras el Ain, Ugarit, Mari, Senjirli, and elsewhere (Gjerstad 1934: 434). After 1200 such tombs ceased to be built in Syria. However the sudden reappearance of this type of tomb at Amathus during CG I must have been a Syro-Palestinian inspiration (Westholm, *SCE I* 1934-1935: 29, 52 ff).

Funerary Practices

Even more innovative and unexpected in Cyprus than the chamber tomb architecture is the practice of individual burial, or the burial of a man and a woman, and the cremation of bodies in a tomb as important as tomb 40 at

Kourion-Kaloriziki, which must have belonged to the leaders who founded this cemetery. Kaloriziki chamber tombs 19 and 39, and the pit tomb 30 at Kourion-Bamboula also contained urns with cremated human bones. Cremation is known in Greek chamber tombs: in a LH II tomb at Traghana in Triphylia and in tomb 41 at Prosymna at the end of the 13th century (Mylonas 1966: 111). It becomes more frequent during LH IIIC, with eighteen cremations at Perati, one at Kos, three at Rhodes (one in a reused LH IIIB tomb),and several in Crete. (Cavanagh, Mee 1978: 37; Desborough 1971: 266). In LH IIIC:2, which corresponds to Late Cypriot IIIB, cremation was introduced in the cist tombs of the new Attica cemeteries at Kerameikos and Salamis. It seems to have been introduced slightly earlier in the Dodecanese, probably from Müskebi (Desborough 1971: 266). At Müskebi, in west Asia Minor, there were at least three cremations in the forty eight Mycenaean type chamber tombs, in a LH IIIA:2-B pottery context. The probable origin of these cremations is central Anatolia (Mee 1978: 137; Snodgrass 1971: 189). Cremation was practiced until the 14th century in the Osmankayasi cemetery near Bogazköy, where the tombs were pits dug inside a large natural cave (Bittel 1958; Macqueen 1975: 137). It was also a Trojan custom, as early as level VIh at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, in cist tombs (Blegen 1958: 378; Macqueen 1975: 136). Bouzek (1997: 74, 35) considers that this custom may have spread from Bronze Age India, via Anatolia to the Urnfield culture in Europe. E. Masson (1988: 321-324) clearly outlines the Indo- European origin of cremation as it was practiced in Anatolia and the Balkans during the Late Bronze Age. She also remarks that it appears in Submycenaean Greece, which is approximately when it appeared at Hama and Cyprus, although in fact it appears sporadically, beginning at Hama and Perati at the beginning of the 12th century and only at least a generation later (if Proto White Painted is dated to 1150) in the known examples from Cyprus.

Cremation was a habitual practice in Bronze Age Asia Minor, which leads Vanschoonwinkel (1994: 120) and Iakovidis (1970 vol. B: 424) to assume this region as the probable place of origin for the appearance of the custom in the 12th century Perati cemetery and the Aegean islands. It has also been supposed that the cemetery of 1600 cremation pits at Hama in Syria, which started to be used at the beginning of the 12th century was founded by people coming from central Anatolia (Riis 1948: 41). It had appeared even earlier at Atchana in the 13th century (Woolley 1938: 4), and at Tell Beit Mirsim, Azor, Tell Sukas, and Karkhemish (Iakovidis 1970 vol. B: 424).

Another rite, foreign to Cypriot and Aegean tradition, was introduced to Cyprus in this modified type of chamber tomb. Skeletons of apparently sacrificed slaves were found in the dromoi of Lapithos tombs 412, 317 and 420 (Sjöqvist and al. 1934: 242). The origins of this practice in Cyprus seem obscure. But that may be because research has been so concentrated on Aegean sources for the events in Cyprus during the 12th and 11th centuries. One other funerary innovation encountered in a chamber tomb was the presence of a bathtub in the 11th century tomb 48 at Skales. Larnakes, in the shape of a tub, were commonly used for burials in Crete. But in this case the tub was filled with pottery whereas the body lay on the ground.

Indeed, the new cemeteries at Lapithos, Kaloriziki, Alaas, Skales and Salamis, characterized by chamber tombs with long dromoi and Proto White Painted offerings, suggest the arrival of a foreign population. However neither the burial rites, nor the tomb types identify the newcomers as being necessarily Mycenaean.

Conclusion

During the 12th century Cyprus saw a remarkable variation in funerary practices for a single island (table VIII). The traditional Bronze Age chamber

tombs and the family vaults at Enkomi, reminiscent of Mycenaean practices, were abandoned in favour of pit or cist tombs or shaft tombs in the cities, and unusually well designed rock cut chamber tombs in new cemeteries outside the settlement areas.

The new cremation rites at Kaloriziki and individual burials may have been the introduction of Anatolian customs. The habitual use of pit tombs at Enkomi is the most fundamental architectural change in tomb type at the beginning of the 12th century. This type of tomb was used by the Hittites during the Late Bronze Age and in 12th century Syria-Palestine, from where it may have been transmitted to Cyprus. For, as well as pit tombs in Hittite cities, where bodies were usually placed directly on the earth, or else in large jars (Van der Osten 1937: 54, 108), the Osmankayasi cemetery and a supposedly 14th century Hittite text assure that the Hittites practiced cremation during the 14th century in central Anatolia, from where it may have been transmitted to Alalakh in the 13th century and Hama in the 12th century (Blegen and al. 1958: 378).

The rock cut chamber tombs had a more complex evolution. Their distant origin was Egypt, after which an informal variant was regularly used in Syria Palestine and Cyprus throughout the Bronze Age, whereas in Greece and the Aegean a formal tomb architecture evolved which spread as far as Enkomi and Ugarit during LH IIIB. It is difficult to determine the source of this formalism, which had been abandoned during LC IIIA, then reappeared at Lapithos, Salamis and to a lesser degree at Kaloriziki. Since Proto White Painted pottery begins to appear at Enkomi slightly before the use of these tombs, perhaps, along with some of the new pottery traits, it belongs to an Ugaritic tradition, recalling the well built corbelled tombs, similar to LC II Enkomi tombs which, during LC II may indeed have Mycenaen antecedants. If not, it might have been introduced from the Dodecanese or from contemporary Asia Minor.

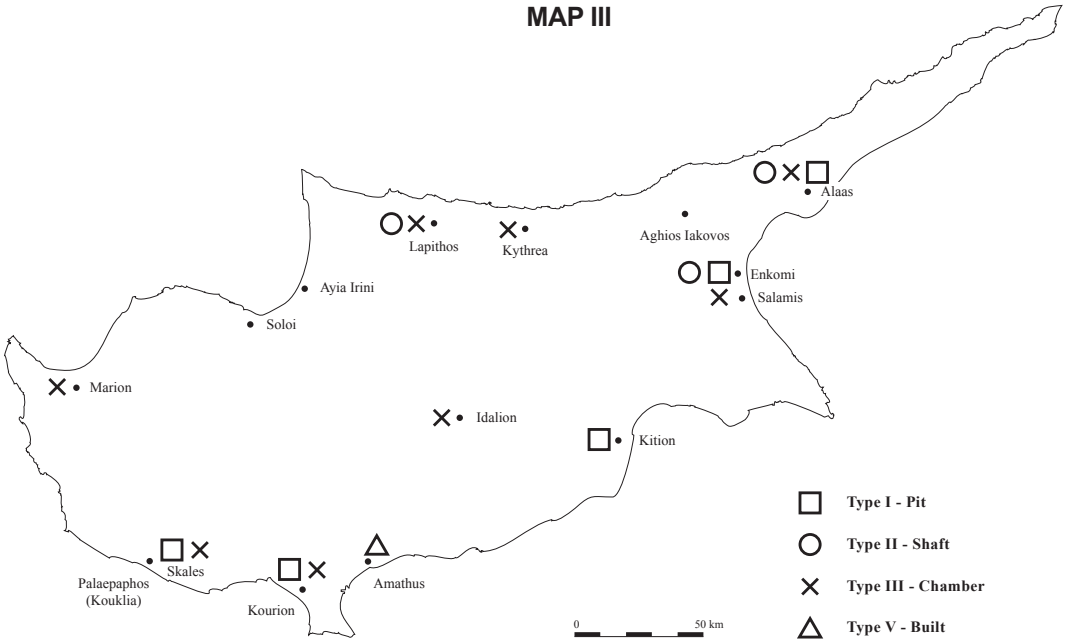
The chronological juxtaposition of the buildings and the tombs (Table VII) gives the following image:

The pit tombs that appear at Enkomi around 1190 and continue to be used at Kourion Bamboula in a Proto White Painted context chronologically correspond to the building of the four temples at Kition, according to the Myc. IIIC:1b pottery found at Kition.

Although the earliest Proto White Painted pottery can be dated to the LC IIIA strata at Enkomi, at the time of the modification of the Enkomi “palaces” into a sanctuary and foundry workshops, there is a tendency to date the chamber tombs containing this pottery to the LC IIIB (1100-1050) period (Benson 1973 60-61, Karageorghis 1975: 67). This may correspond to the construction of the Ingot God sanctuary, which finds its parallels, such as the Tell Qasile Philistine sanctuary, on the Syro–Palestinian coast. A predilection for rock cut chamber tombs, with better constructed chambers than before, also appears at Philistine sites; but in this case the trapezoidal chambers don’t resemble the Mycenaean type. More assuredly the new chamber tomb cemeteries would have appeared at the time of the reinforcement of the Enkomi wall around 1100. To judge from the tomb offerings of Kaloriziki tomb 40, and Skales tomb 49, they were destined for an aristocracy, implying the arrival of a foreign population.

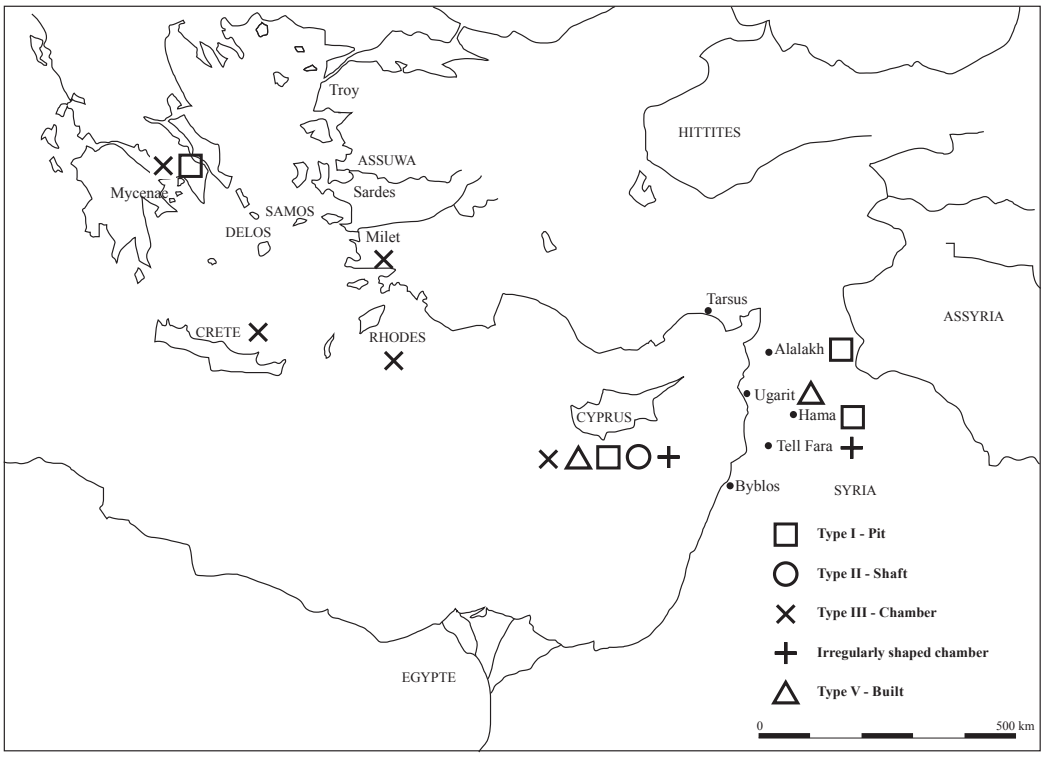
Finally, just before the appearance of White Painted I, Enkomi and Kourion-Bamboula were deserted. Once again an impulse from the Syro-Palestinian coast is suggested by the built shaft tomb at Amathus and the burial of infants in Phoenician jars at Salamis.

MAP III



Cypriot Tomb Type Distribution During the 12th and 11th Centuries B.C.

MAP IV



12th and 11th Centuries B.C.
Cypriot Tomb Types Found Abroad During the Same Period

TABLE VI

CYPRIOT CHAMBER TOMBS

LC III B - CG I and II	LC I and II
Rectangular or trapezoidal chamber	Irregularly shaped chamber sometimes with arcosolias
Straight dromos with converging walls	Dromos with parallel walls
Pit in the middle of the chamber	Pit in the middle of the LC 1A chamber
Long dromos	Short dromos
Entry blocked with stones	Entry blocked with stones
Very short or non existent stomion	Very short or non existent stomion
Niches	Niches
Benches	Benches
Steps	Steps

TABLE VII

CHRONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDANCE BETWEEN BUILDING AND TOMB ARCHITECTURE

	POTTERY	BUILDINGS	TOMBS
1250	Myc. III B	Enkomi Building 18: Palace Enkomi Building Area I: Palace Maa building Alaasa Palace Kalavasos Palace 2 small temples at Kition Kition bastions	Chamber tombs with dromoi irregular or built under dwellings
1190	Myc. III C:1b	new temple complex at Kition, foundries, Cyclopean city wall Enkomi Area I and building 18 Aphrodite temple at Paphos transformation Area I into a sanctuary transformation Building 18 into foundries	Type I cists and pits Type II shaft re-used chamber
1150	Proto-White Painted	Sanctuary of the Ingot God	Type III chamber tombs at Lapithos-Kastros, Kaloriziki, Alaas, Kythrea
1100	Proto-White Painted	stoa - Enkomi	Type III chamber tombs Skales, Salamis
1050	White Painted I	abandonments of Bamboula Kourion and Enkomi destruction elsewhere wall and sanctuary at Salamis	Type III chamber tombs Type IV chamber tombs Type V built shaft at Amathus

TABLE VIII

THE CHRONOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TOMB TYPES THAT APPEAR IN CYPRUS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE IRON AGE (1200 - 1000 B.C.)

Dates (B.C.)	Cyprus	Greece	The Aegean	Asia Minor	Syria-Palestine	Central Anatolia
2000						
1900						
1800						□
					+	□
1700			×		+	□
	+	×	×		+ △ ○	□
1600	+ ○	×	×		+ △ ○	□
	+ ○	×	×		+ △ ○	□
1500	+ ○	×	×		+ △ ○	□
	+ ○	×	×		+ △ ○	□
1400	+	×	×	×	+ △ ○	□
	+	×	×	×	+	□
1300	+	×	×	×	+	□
	+	×	×	×	+	
1200	○ □		×	×	+ □	
	○ □		× ○		+	
1100	× ○ □		× ○		+	
	× △	□	○		+	
1000	× △	□	○		+	
	× △	□			+	

+ Irregular chamber tombs with annexed chambers - type IV

× Rectangular chamber tombs with a long dromos - type III

△ Built shaft tombs - type V

○ Simple shaft tombs - type II

□ Simple pit tombs - type I

CHAPTER VI
ARTEFACTS

Introduction

The numerous new types of artefacts that appear associated with Proto White Painted ware after 1180 mark a profound break with the past, even more than the changes in other domains. The introduction of iron at the beginning of the 12th century merits that the transition from the Cypriot Bronze Age to the Iron Age be located at this time, given that apparently "Cyprus was the first region of the ancient world to make the full transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age" (Snodgrass in Muhly and al. 1982: 292).

These new types of artefacts can be divided into three categories: jewellery, household implements and weapons. A fourth category, cult objects, found in the sanctuaries as well as the tombs, is particularly remarkable. All these objects signal a new cultural presence in Cyprus. While the surrounding world was being devastated, whatever wealth could be salvaged seems to have been transferred to Cyprus.

This is an effort to determine *where* the tradition of these items, absent in earlier Cypriot contexts, originated by seeking their immediately prior presence outside of Cyprus.

Jewellery

The presence of jewellery in Proto White Painted contexts is paradoxical, because it contrasts with the poverty of the domestic architecture after 1150. The tombs of Skales, Salamis and Kaloriziki have delivered a quantity of gold

and an artistry that ought to accompany a wealthy civilization, although not so elaborate as to signify royal accumulation. As far as gold is concerned, it may be a question of inherited items belonging to what appears to be a non Cypriot population.

Amulets

The Sekhmet amulet from Alaas is one of the oldest representations of this divinity known outside of Egypt, where such enameled paste figurines are frequent (Leclant 1975: 69-70). However, two Sekhmet amulets from Megiddo, level VII (1340-1150) are slightly older: one is more naturalistic than that of Alaas, but the other seems to be the same type (Loud 1948 vol. II: pl. 205, n° 10 and 16). They seem to become suddenly popular in Syria Palestine during this period, because at Hama two others were found in cremation tombs on the level II (1075-925) and at Tell Abu Hawam another was found on level III (1100) (Riis 1948:170, fig. 206; Hamilton 1935: 34, pl. XXXV). The Aegean examples are later, the oldest being those of Lefkandi where twenty two amulets of a seated Sekhmet, elements of a necklace, were found in a 10th century Proto-Geometric tomb (Popham, Sackett, *Themelis*, 1980, pl. 178).

The traditionally Egyptian objects found in Cyprus may have come from the Syro-Palestinian coast where vestiges of Egyptian military outposts date from the Late Bronze Age into the 12th century (Rowe 1930: 38). The resemblance of Philistine and Egyptian tombs has already been mentioned above.

Rings

Simple bronze rings were frequent in Cyprus at the end of the Middle Bronze Age and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (Courtois 1981: 42). But they were rare during the Mycenaean period. On the other hand, they remained popular

with the Hittites in Central Anatolia throughout the Bronze Age (Van der Osten, 1937: 269, 271, figs. 295 297). They reappear in a greater than ever number in Proto White Painted contexts.

Before the Submycenaean period simple rings were very rare in the Aegean (Catling 1964: 235 only cites one from the cemetery of Kalkani and one from the granary at Mycenae). Then, suddenly, in the Submycenaen tombs of Kerameikos, the ring becomes the most frequent object in tombs containing Myc. IIIC:2 pottery (Desborough 1971: 65).

More elaborate rings with faience bezels were found at Salamis. They are imperfect imitations of the bezel of a ring from Kouklia, Evreti, found in tomb 8, dating from the beginning of the 12th century (Yon 1971: 12; L. Astrom 1967: 102). The style is apparently Egyptian, which, like the amulets suggests a Palestinan origin.

Earrings

All the Iron Age earrings found in Cyprus have an oriental origin or have undergone an oriental influence (L. Astrom 1967: 100). Earrings with a bunch of four miniature balls were popular in Cyprus and Syria at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (15th century). There are only a few such earrings known from the Aegean, all from Crete: Poros, Kamilari, Vathypetro and with one ball from Mochlos (L. Astrom 1967: 99; Goring 1980). The two silver and one gold earring reported from the LH IIIB Makra Vounara Tomb 53 seem to be exceptional (Benzi 1988: 67).

Circular earrings, swollen in the center, appear later in Cyprus, in LC II. They probably have an oriental origin also, since none are known from the Aegean (Catling 1964: 236).

In fact, earrings, with the doubtful exception of some pendeloques (A. Sakellariou 1988: 50, fig. 196), don't belong to the Mycenaen jewellery

repertoire (Goring 1980: 53; Sargnon: 69; Vermeule 1972: 227). None in the form of rings with bunches of balls, like those of Cyprus, have been found on the Greek continent. The few earrings decorated with pellet molded cones or bulls heads known in Crete have many prototypes in Late Bronze Age Cyprus and Syria (Sargnon, unpublished: 72, 73).

E. Lagarce (1986: 109) has noticed that typically Cypriot earrings don't survive the Bronze Age, whereas Oriental types continue to develop and be used during the 1st millennium, which suggests that the Oriental aspect of this adornment was reinforced at the close of the Bronze Age.

Bracelets

Simple bronze bracelets with overlapping ends were worn in Cyprus since the beginning of the Bronze Age (Catling 1964: 232). They were popular with the Hittites, at Alishar Hüyük and became usual in Palestine at the beginning of the Iron Age, sometime made of iron, in Philistine tombs (Dothan 1961: 112; Riis 1948: 32, 33; Edelstein 1977: 33). It is interesting that they are extremely rare in the Aegean; none seem to have been recorded for the LH III period (Catling 1964: 231). Thus in Cyprus they are the survival of a custom in common with Anatolia and the Syro-Palestinian coastal areas.

Pins

Pins are more frequent in Cyprus during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages than the Late Bronze Age, although gold pins have been found in LC II tombs, such as tomb 6, n° 91 at Ayios Iakovos (Sjöqvist 1940; Catling 1964: 237).

Pins are also rare in the Aegean region before LH IIIC; those that existed were long and ornate, decorated with flowers, animals, vases etc. or crystal globes like those in the tombs of the second circle at Mycenae, from a much

earlier period (Sargnon: 157, vol. II pl. XLII, XLVI). The simple bronze pins that appear in LH IIIC and LC III tombs have been attributed to a Central European influence, although the European types are not identical to those in the Aegean (Desborough 1971: 198; Milojcic 1955: 164 for those from Bosnia, Dalmatia, Italy and Istria). But it ought to be recalled that such pins were also very popular in central Anatolia, where numerous examples have been found at Alaca Hüyük and Alishar Hüyük until the end of the Bronze Age (Kosay 1966: pl. 119-121 and 42-45; Schmidt 1932: p. 160, 201). The Cypriot pins that most resemble the European pins are those described as having a vase shaped head. Although this type has been found at Alishar Hüyük, it is more frequent in the Aegean. Only two have been published from Cyprus (Catling 1964: 239; Bouzek 1975: p. 56 note 8).

Those with a pomegranate head are much more popular in Cyprus. Evidently they are of Syrian inspiration, because the stylized pomegranate at the end of ivory sticks or bronze pins is frequent at Ras Shamra during the 15th and 13th centuries (Schaeffer 1936: 81; Schaeffer 1929: pl. LXI). The Cypriot examples resemble the contemporaneous ones found in tombs 13, 15 and 16 at Kerameikos and another from tomb A at Mouliana in Crete (Catling 1964: 237).

The pins with a folded head, so common in Late Bronze Age Anatolia and Syria, are rare in Cyprus where only a few examples are datable to LC IIIA/B: one was found in the foundation trench of a LC IIIA settlement wall (Catling 1964: 238). Their appearance at the Kerameikos in Attica at the end of the 12th century is surely a Levantine influence, probably via Cyprus (Wide 1910: 30, fig. 13).

The two pins with ivory heads from a re-used LH IIIC chamber tomb at Ayios Ioannis (Knossos) have their closest homologues in tomb 417 at Lapithos and tomb 25 at Kaloriziki (n° 47 and 48). Here, too, it is possible that the Aegean examples come from Cyprus (Hood 1973: 45; Desborough 1971: 298).

Fibulae

The oldest known fibula, hence the "idea" of the fibula, is probably north Caucasian. One of its earliest examples was discovered on a Late Bronze II level at Tarsus. "It was a unique example at Tarsus; made of thin wire, it could never have been strong enough to be used on heavy cloth. But the shape is that of the fibula and it stands at present as the earliest known example." (Goldman 1963 vol. II: 286). Otherwise, the oldest known fibula types in the east Mediterranean, which resemble earlier Central European finds, are the fiddle-bow shaped and the arched shaped (Furumark 1972: 91-92 who only cites Aegean and Cypriot examples). However, since these observations, a little known publication by E. Chantre (1885) has been cited concerning fibulae found in the necropolis of Koban,in northern Ossetia dating from the 11th-10th centuries B.C. Along with Chantre, the modern excavator B.V. Tehov believes the European fibulae find their prototypes in north Caucasian fibulae dating from the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.[24]

The violin bow shaped fibula appears in Cypriot contexts preceding Proto White Painted ware. Its prototype is apparently a type originating in Peschiera, Northern Italy that appeared in the 14th century (Milojcic 1948/49: 16). According to Snodgrass (1973: 210) it appeared at about the same time in LH IIIB Greece; thus the hypothesis of a northern origin is not due to a temporal priority but that the fibula must have been a cold climate innovation. V. Milojcic (1955: 162) argues that it is more popular in Central Europe than in Greece when it first appears. The presence of this type of fibula in Cyprus and the Levant has

24 "Selon Chantre, la fibule est originaire de la région transcaspienne. Tehov se rapproche de cette opinion; selon lui, elle est, à Koban, d'origine locale, les prototypes remontant aux épingles recourbées en bronze de la culture caucasienne septentrionale de la premier moité du II millénaire avant J.C. Ces fibules arciformes présentent de grandes ressemblances avec des exemplaires d'Europe occidentale et en particulier italiques. Ce rapprochement a été mis en avant pour rechercher les relations entre les peuples du Caucase et les Etrusques" (André-Leicknam 1979: 171).

been attributed to an eastward movement of the Achaeans (Furumark 1972: 92; Birmingham 1963a: 85, 94, 109; Catling 1964: 242). In fact, Aegean fibulae are imprecisely dated and it can't be proved that they are prior to the numerous Cypriot fibula (Blinkenberg 1926: 41-55; Giesen 2001: 53, 63). The oldest known examples in Greece come from Metaxata, tomb B2, that Furumark attributes to Myc. IIIB, but which, according to Milojcic (1948/49: 23), is more probably LH IIIC1, and one from tomb 14 at Thebes dating from LH III A-C1 (the find level isn't specified (Furumark 1972: 92). Elsewhere a fibula of this type is known from Late Bronze II (1450-1100) at Tarsus and two others from Hama period I (1200-1075) (Birmingham 1963a: 82). At Cyprus a violin bow fibula was found in Kathydata tomb 89 alongside an arched fibula and an iron knife in a context of Mycenaean sherds (without further precision), along with White Slip and Base Ring pottery, thus datable to around LC II/IIIA at the latest (Birmingham 1963a: 87; Catling 1964: 242). Furumark (1972: 92) attributes another from Enkomi tomb 74 to LC II, associated with Myc. IIIB pottery, but the context may have been LC III. The contexts of two others in the Cyprus Museum are unknown.

The arched fibula is the first type to be habitually used in the Near East. The earliest examples are two from Enkomi level V (end of the 13th century), one from Kathydata tomb 89 and, in Greece, from Dendra tomb 2, in a Myc. IIIB context (Birmingham 1963: 93; Furumark 1972: 91-92). There are others from the Aegean, dating from the early 12th century, but the only gold and silver examples are from Cyprus (Blinkenberg 1926: 60-67). Then they become particularly popular in Crete in the Subminoan contexts of Kavousi and Vrokastro where other objects suggest a Cypriot influence (Blinkenberg 1926: 41-55; Hall 1914).

The asymmetric fibula with moldings is a Cypriot evolution that appears at the same time as the development of Proto White Painted, around 1150 in the levels II and I at Enkomi (Birmingham 1963a: 86; Giesen 2001: 63).

This shape was abundantly exported form Cyprus to Kerameikos, Kameiros, Ialysos, Vrokastro and, especially to the Near East. One was found at Tarsus accompanied by Hittite monochrome pottery (which is difficult to determine chronologically) (Goldman 1963 vol. II: 297, fig. 432). This fibula type indicates an activity, or at least an influence, of Cyprus on her neighbors unrivaled by the other east Mediterranean countries during this period.

It seems unreasonable to insist on the introduction of the fibula to Cyprus by Achaean colonists, even if its origin is Italy, which probably meant it reached Greece first. It must be borne in mind that only the arched fibula from Dendra can be dated earlier than those of Cyprus, and even that is uncertain, given the uncertainty of the chronology of some of the Cypriot examples. It must be admitted that the fibula appears quasi simultaneously in Greece, Cyprus, Tarsus and Hama. The fact that there was one in a cremation tomb at Hama in a non Mycenaean context, reinforces the impression that the same circumstance that provoked the introduction of the fibula in Greece must have been responsible for its introduction to Cyprus, Tarsus and Hama. Since the earliest fibulae were so rare in all these regions, Snodgrass affirms that the fibula spread because of its practical use, rather than as a result of a migration (Snodgrass 1973: 210). The notion that the idea may have spread from the Caucasian area to Syria Palestine and from there to the Aegean via Cyprus is not impossible. Even more probable would be its spread along the Anatolian coastal regions as a clothing item of Balkan mercernaries, enlisted in the cause of the" Sea Peoples".

Pendants

A type of circular gold pendant that is found in CG I tombs doesn't have Cypriot antecedents. They are inherited from the Levantine Late Bronze Age. In their earliest form they were Mesopotamian disks representing a star surrounded by other

heavenly bodies. Second millennium pendants from Iran: Amlash and Nuzi are particularly similar to the Cypriot ones. (Yon 1971: 11; Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 161, pl. 124; Starr 1934: pl. 126; Terrace 1962: 223 fig. 14; Lagarce 1986: 113).

Decorative Plaques

The earliest known thin, cut out, plaques, made of clay, come from Jamdat Nasr in Mesopotamia. They represent the goddess Ishtar, like the Cypriot plaques (Maxwell Hyslop 1971: 138). Others representing Ishtar, in gold, dating from at least 1500, come from Tell Ajjul (Schaeffer 1949: 36 fig. 10; Maxwell Hyslop, 1971: 137). But those from Cyprus undoubtedly find their prototype in those from Ras Shamra that date from the 13th century (Maxwell Hyslop 1971: 140; E. Lagarce 1986: 111-112). They also appear in the Aegean during LH IIIC at Naxos and in the tomb IV at Ialysos, where thirty two gold plaques were found, but not the same type as those from Cyprus; they have rolled ends and are decorated in repoussé with winged sphinxes in profile (Goring 1980:47). The provenance of the Cypriot plaques found in the Lapithos and Skales chamber tombs, decorated with the widespread Oriental motif of Ishtar, is certainly Syria.

Those from Rhodes are decorated with a motif known in the Mycenaean realm as well as the Levant, and they may have been spontaneous Rhodian creations. But, since the winged sphinx is a motif of Cypriot gold diadems from the end of the 13th century and the plaque was previously unknown in the Aegean, these jewels are more probably imported from the East to Rhodes and Naxos via Cyprus.

Diadems

The golden diadem is an ornament that appears everywhere, in the Near East and the Aegean, from the beginning of urban civilization onwards. In the

13th century there are more diadems in Cyprus than elsewhere, often associated with gold mouthpieces (L. Astrom 1967: 581; Sargnon: 61). The Cypriot decorative motifs are borrowed from both the East and the West, but L. Aström (1967: 580) believes the Cypriot diadems have a Levantine origin. This seems correct because those from Enkomi Tomb 126, among the earliest (15th century), were accompanied by circular earrings (Courtois 1981: 104, fig. 50). In Early Minoan Crete they were present at Mochlos, Phaestos and Mallia. In Middle Helladic Greece (1700-1550) three gold strips belong to the Egina treasure from Chrysolakkos and others come from 16th and 15th century Mycenaean shaft tombs (Sargnon: 57). There were some in a LH I-IIIA tomb at Pylos, but I don't know of any others until they reappear in the tombs XV and XXXII at Ialysos during LH IIIC1 (L. Aström 1967: 580).

In Palestine they have been found at Gaza, dated to the 18th century, at Beth Pelet and Megiddo, levels XII, XI, IX and VIII (1750-1350) (Aström *ibid*; Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 102-109). A leaf of gold from Hama period I (1200-1075) is probably a mouthpiece.

These LC III diadems continue a Cypriot tradition. The direct liaison is furnished by the beautiful diadems, decorated with rosettes, found in the upper level of the tomb 9 at Kition, which dates from LCII/III and the tombs 18 and 5 at Enkomi, re-used during LC IIIA (Schaeffer 1952: 231). The appearance of diadems in Rhodes during this period may have been yet another Cypriot influence.

Rosettes

Rosettes of all kinds are ubiquitous during the Bronze Age. The earliest appear on cylinder seals from IVth millennium Jemdat Uruk (Goring 1980: 51). At the end of the Bronze Age this motif was popular in Mesopotamia and Syria, and cut out gold rosettes, or disks, have been found at Lachish, Tell el Ajjul and

Beth Shan. At Hama they date from the 12th and 11th centuries, associated with Levantine sixteen point stars, like the motif on a faience cup, datable to 1375, from the Michrifé palace (Riis 1948 vol II, 3: 130). Similar ornaments have also been found at Late Bronze Age Mari and Daylaman in northwest Persia (Terrace 1962: 213, 221; figs 3, 12; Bouzek 1997: 126).

The little gold embossed disks are particularly frequent in the Mycenaean civilization (Schliemann 1882). But the Mycenaean rosettes are usually pierced with attachment holes, which is not the case in Cyprus. Many, with and without hole, have been found in a Myc. IIIA/B chamber tomb at the Agora in Athens (Shear 1940: 290). Others, from Crete, were found as elements of a necklace (Marinatos 1959; Goring 1980: 50). During LH IIIC they were associated with gold plaques in the above mentioned chamber tombs at Naxos and Ialysos (Maiuri 1923-24: 164, fig. 92).

The rosettes found in tomb 403 at Lapithos were also associated with plaques. It has been suggested that both elements decorated headdresses, such as those represented on the Nimrud and Ephesus ivory heads (Goring 1980: 50).

In Cyprus embossed rosettes decorated gold diadems at Enkomi and Kition in the 13th century, and later at Enkomi during the 12th and 11th centuries, but the later versions were awkward copies found in contexts devoid of Mycenaean pottery (Schaeffer 1936: 81, pl. XXXVI; Schaeffer 1952: pl. VI; Karageorghis 1976: pl. VI). The rosettes from Salamis and Skales probably belong to this tradition, but it is the first time that they appear as individual cutouts and, in the case of Skales tomb 67, accompanied by Syrian gold plaques. Twelve gold discs found in the grave 40 at Kaloriziki, associated with a cremation burial are perhaps related to an astral tradition expressed by the Hittites at Yazilikaya (E. Masson 1989: 81). This possibility is reinforced by a context of an apparently royal cremation, such as was customary at Bogazköy in the Osmanski cemetery.

Seals

There was a significant modification in the use of seals in Cyprus during LC IIIA. Two types of glyptic were used in the Bronze Age East Mediterranean: one includes the incisions on Mesopotamian and Syro-Palestinian cylinder seals, and the other the incisions on stamp seals, typical of Anatolia, Crete and, during the 14th and 13th centuries, Greece (Kenna 1960: 5-11; Porada in Dikaios 1969 vol. II: 810).

Ever since the 14th century, cylinder seals had been used in Cyprus; stamp seals were very rare (Porada *ibid*: 801 note 610). In the 12th century cylinders continued to exist, indicating a link with the past, but the stamp seals suddenly predominated (E. Lagarce 1986: 171-199).

The Cypriot stamps are conical, often rather crudely cut in gray stone. The suspension holes pierced on the top show that they were worn. The crude execution relates them to Anatolia rather than the Aegean (Kenna 1960: 11). See the Anatolian seals from the end of the Early Bronze Age in Alp (1968: 136, 218, pl. 18). Aegean stamp seals, and sometimes Hittite stamp seals, were semi-precious objects, well wrought in steatite, serpentine or ivory. The fact that this type of seal became popular in Palestine on Iron I levels at Gezer, Tell Fara, Megiddo and Tell Abu Hawam (Yon 1971: 20) suggests an Anatolian influence, because during this period there are no other indications of a direct contact between Syria Palestine and the Aegean.

Seals sculpted in the shape of a human head, like one found in the Skales tomb 86 were known in Egypt since the Middle Empire and continued to be made in Egypt and the Orient until the Archaic period (Dikaios 1969 vol. II: 803). The closest to the Skales example comes from Crete, dated imprecisely to the Late Minoan period (Marinatos 1959: 212).

Motifs like the eagle on a seal from the same tomb at Skales, which is Hittite, or the star on a seal from Skales tomb 89, which bore the motif of an Egyptian

hieroglyph, are no doubt oriental (Dikaios 1969 II: 805). On the other hand the design of a bull with a tree stemming from his back on the base of the human head seal and another seal from Skales tomb 86 are Aegean motifs that can be found on a stone relief from the treasure of Atreus at Mycenae and on a seal and a gold cup from Vaphio (Kantor 1960: 20, fig. 15; Marinatos 1959: pl. 119, 182, 178). The horned animal head on a bone seal from Kaloriziki tomb 13 is also a Mycenaean composition (Daniel 1937: 79).

Scarabs are rare at the end of the Bronze Age and don't reappear in number until the Archaic period. The Salamis scarab, used as a piece of jewellery, must have been an Egyptian import inherited from the period of the reign of Ramses II or Ramses III (Barquet in Yon 1971: 16).

Conclusion

The jewellery can be divided into two categories: luxury (gold) and common (bronze). Common jewellery found in tombs are: finger rings, bracelets, pins and fibulae. None of this jewellery is characteristic of LH IIIA and B in the Aegean. The rings and bracelets, sometimes numerous in Middle Bronze Age Cypriot tombs, became less popular in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, when Myc. IIIB pottery was being massively imported. However they were always frequent with the Hittites. Then in the 12th century in Proto White Painted contexts they became popular again in Cyprus. At the same time rings appeared for the first time in significant numbers in the Submycenaean tombs of the Kerameikos and Salamis in Greece.

Fibulae and pins have been attributed to a migration from the Balkans. However we pointed out the numerous pins discovered in Hittite contexts and it seems plausible that, like the bronze rings and bracelets, their new popularity in Cyprus may have included an Anatolian influence.The earliest examples of fibulae are very rare in Cyprus, as well as in Greece and the Near East; then the

shapes evolve in Cyprus and become current a half century later in Proto White Painted and White Painted I contexts. Snodgrass may be right in suggesting that the fibula spread because it was practical, not because of a migration (Snodgrass in: Muhly 1980: 210).

Gold jewellery: earrings, pendants, diadems, plaques and rosettes are traditionally Cypriot or Syro-Palestinian. The cut out rosettes may have been introduced from the Aegean where they were particularly numerous in Greece and Crete during the Late Bronze Age. The find of a large number of such rosettes in an Athenian chamber tomb similar to the Cypriot chamber tombs in which the cut out rosettes appear for the first time in Cyprus makes this hypothesis tempting (Shear 1940: 290). However the Mycenaean rosettes are pierced with holes to suspend them, to be used as buttons, or elements of a necklace. Whereas the Cypriot rosettes are usually associated with plaques decorated with the Ishtar motif, which is never the case in the Aegean. At Salamis the rosettes were found without plaques; but the tomb T. I had been revisited during Archaic period and some of the gold objects may have disappeared. Since cut out rosettes are also common in Late Bronze Age Syria-Palestine and Persia, the Cypriot examples may have come from this tradition.

The gold pendant and plaques appear for the first time in Cyprus in chamber tombs containing Proto White Painted and White Painted I pottery. So far as the known material indicates, they undoubtedly were introduced from an earlier repertoire in Syria. The earrings, a long Cypriot and Syrian tradition, become much more frequent in Cyprus in this new context. The diadems, among a plethora of gold in the Kition tomb 9, mark the last stage of the LC II civilization before the destruction, then the reconstruction of the temples, but continue to be used during LC III although they are more crudely made. Curiously, the most beautiful diadem of this period comes from the Alaas cemetery where the only datable pottery was Proto

White Painted. It must be remembered that diadems were present at Megiddo until 1200 (level VIII) whereas none have been found in a Myc. IIIB context in Greece.

Thus, contrary to a Mycenaean colonization, or an earlier Cypriot tradition, the jewellery presents an ensemble characteristic of a population whose popular taste rejoins Hittite taste and the luxury taste is manifested in the new gold jewellery of a Late Bronze Age Syrian type.

The introduction of bronze rings in the tombs of Kerameikos and Salamis in Greece, and the introduction of diadems and gold plaques in Rhodes, suggest an influence from Cyprus towards the Aegean, already noticed in the pottery. Table IX indicates the wealth of Cyprus, expressed by gold jewellery, in comparison to the countries surrounding the island during the 12th and 11th centuries. It is noticeable that the region the wealthiest in gold during the 13th century is that which was being defended by the beleaguered rulers of Hattusa and Ugarit whose capitals were abandoned ca. 1200. Mycenaean gold dates from at least a century earlier when the well attested Mycenaean presence in the East Mediterranean indicates the apogee of their power.

Domestic Implements

Whereas new types of jewellery, weapons and cult objects reflect wealth, social change, and eventually a foreign element in an indigenous population, changes in a number of everyday domestic items almost certainly reflect a large scale immigration.

Needles

A number of needles dating from LC I and II were found at Ayios Iakovos (Catling 1964:105); otherwise they were little known in Cyprus until the LC III

TABLE IX

JEWELLERY – DISTRIBUTION IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES

LB II : 1250 - 1190 B.C.

	Cyprus	Syria - Palestine	Anatolia	Crete	Greece	Egypt	Balkans
Sekhmet Amulets		X				x	
Plain Rings	X		X				
Rings with Bezels		X				x	
Bracelets	X		X				
Earrings	X	X					
Diadems	X	X					
Pins			X				x
Fibulae	X		Tarsus		?		x
Pendants		X					
Plaques		X					
Rosettes		X		X	X		

LB III : 1190 - 1100 B.C.

	Cyprus	Syria - Palestine	Anatolia	Crete	Greece	Rhodes	Naxos
Sekhmet Amulets	X	X					
Plain Rings	X	X			X		
Rings with Bezels	X						
Bracelets	X						
Earrings	X	X				X	
Diadems	X						
Pins	X			X	X		
Fibulae	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pendants	X						
Plaques	X					X	X
Rosettes	X					X	X

period when they became very popular. In Central Anatolia and Syria Palestine needles were found on all the Late Bronze age levels, especially at Gezer, Hazor, Megiddo, Tell Abu Hawam level II, and Alishar Hüyük (Yon 1971: 14; Van der Osten 1937: 260, fig. 285). In the Aegean area only one true needle has been found, at Gournia from an undated context; other needles, with a pierced eye, rather than bent at the tip, found in Crete are more probably bodkins (Yon 1971: 14).

Measuring Scales

Metal scale plates are unknown in Cyprus before the 12th century. They existed in the Aegean as early as LH I, LM I, especially in tombs. But they were also known in the Near East, which make the origin of the Cypriot examples difficult to determine (Catling 1964: 148)

Bronze Bowls

Hemispherical bronze bowls appear in Cyprus during the middle of the 13th century. There are two types: one with a simple thickening of the wall towards the rim, and one with a slightly raised rim (Catling 1964: 148). They are frequent at Enkomi in LC IIIA pit tombs, characterized by Bucchero and Late Decorated III ware (Courtois 1981: 259, 175, 177, 179), and continue to be present in tombs containing Proto White Painted and White Painted I.

The hemispherical bowl is unusual in the Aegean before the 11th century. There is a Late Minoan II example in Katsambsa tomb 2 and another in a deposit at Tiryns that must date from around 1100. A bronze bowl with wishbone handles was found at Dendra in a context dating from ca. 1300 (Wace 1976: 246). The others in Greece date from the Proto-geometric period (Catling in Popham, Sackett, 1980: 248).

Other than the Dendra example, no parallel is known in the Near East or the Aegean for the hemispherical bonze bowl with wishbone handles. Catling

(1964: 148) thinks that these handles may recall the knobbed handles of Middle Bronze Age Aegean bronze vases. But there is a large time spread without links with those of Cyprus, and the Aegean vases had different shapes.

On the other hand, hemispherical bowls without handles are frequent in Late Bronze Age II Syria-Palestine at Megiddo (1150-1050), Beth Pelet (1250), Gaza, Tell Abu Hawam and Ras Shamra (13th century) (Catlinq 1964:148). Thus it seems obvious that, if these bowls aren't a specifically Cypriot invention, the idea must have come from Syria; especially in the case of bowls with sculpted handles in the form of a lotus or goat protome, like those from Skales, because bronze sculpting seems to have pratically ceased in Greece by the end of the Bronze Age, whereas it never ceased in Syria.

Knives

Bronze knives in Cyprus were very rare and poorly crafted during LC I and II, although they were common in Greece and Crete (Catling 1964: 103).

One of the Aegean types, characterised by handle plaques attached by two rivets and a straight or curved blade appeared in Cyprus in the 12th century (Catling 1964: 103; Sandars 1955). The iron knife found with the fibulae from Kathydata might be earlier, but without more precision on the Mycenaean pottery from this tomb its date is uncertain. Two examples in bronze are known from LC IIIA Enkomi and another, undated, from Sinda (Catling 1964: 103). Much has been made of the fact that these early iron knives in Cyprus are of an Aegean type despite the change of metals (Snodgrass in Muhly 1982: 293). The oldest iron examples of this type of knife, with bronze rivets, come from tomb 6 at Enkomi and from Hama tomb G VIII from period I (1200-1075) (Waldbaum 1978: 27). Because they are iron they are very worn and difficult to classify. According to Snodgrass (in Muhly 1980: 345) they are not identical to the later Aegean types.

These iron knives, that become so popular in Cyprus later, are rare in the Aegean. There are examples from late 12th century Lefkandi and 11th century Perati (where there were two, one of which was probably imported from Syria) and from Crete: Gypsadhes tomb VII and Knossos (Snodgrass in Muhly 1980: 345).

A knife from the Idalion acropolis is the first iron object known to have been carburized, tempered and quenched, a process that initiated the Iron Age by improving tools and weaponry using the resistance of iron as opposed to bronze. (Snodgrass in Muhly 1980: 337; Waldbaum in Muhly 1980: 88).

Thus, although the idea of this knife was introduced in a working context at Enkomi and Sinda around 1200, its evolution and realization in iron towards the middle of the 12th century are almost certainly Cypriot (Waldbaum in Muhly 1980: 88). This happens at the same time that it becomes the only tool habitually placed in tombs, and in Cyprus it is more popular than elsewhere. Its presence outside of Cyprus, especially in Syria Palestine is probably due to a Cypriot influence. Certainly the two examples found in Crete must have come from the East. Nevertheless, the presence of knives seems to be an Aegean influence.

Crooks

All of these crooks, perhaps shepherd's crooks, appear in Cyprus after 1200 (Schaeffer 1952:60; Catling 1964: 260). On figure 134 numbers 3,4,6 date from the 12th century, numbers 1,2, and 5 are probably from the 11th century. The shepherd's crook symbolized royal power in Egypt, but the origin and use of those in Cyprus is uncertain (Catling 1964: 260).

According to Schaeffer, the only similar objects outside of Cyprus are those found in the Mitannian level of Nuzi-Yorgan Tépé (180 km. north of Bogazköy) that date between 1550-1350 (Schaeffer 1952: 60; Starr 1934: 475). This comparison seems justifiable, although Catling does not agree with it.

Obeloi

The obeloi from Kition and Skales are the oldest known. Others from Cyprus and Greece date from the archaic period (8th century), when at Paphos and Argos they were found in tombs alongside firedogs (Courbin 1957: 322; Karageorghis 1967: 328-355, 1963: 265-300, 1970: 35-44). They became common in Greece where they were used as units for the measure of iron, as well as one of the first known moneys (Courbin 1959: 209-233).

The origin of two series of Cypriot obeloi, that date from around 1100 and for which there are no known chronological links to the 8th century, is enigmatic. It has been suggested that they are an evolution of "sigynnae" (javelins). The Kition obeloi have even been mistaken for this type of javelin (Karageorghis 1970: 35; Gjerstad 1934: 37B fig. 23, 1b; Myres 1910). It is plausible that the obelos was derived from warriors using sigynnae to roast meat. Gjerstad remarks that the sigynna was known in the Caucasian region and might have arrived in Cyprus via Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age migrations (Gjerstad 1934: 374). They were also known in the Hallstatt culture which may date to as early as 1300 B.C.

The arrival of the object in the Aegean may have been due to either a Balkan or a Cypriot custom; the latter seems more probable given the number of other objects that might have come from Cyprus during this period.

Tweezers

Tweezers are particularly frequent in Aegean contexts (Daniel 1937). They were popular in Cyprus too during the Early and Middle Bronze Age. In the Late Bronze Age they became rare and disappeared towards the 14th century. None were found at Enkomi. They remained in use in the Aegean from the 14th to the 11th centuries but only reappear sporadically in Cyprus in the CG I period (Catling 1964: 225). They have also been found in Late Bronze Age contexts at Alalakh

and Alaca Hüyük (Woolley 1955: pl. LXXIII; Kosay 1966: pl. LXXXVI). Thus the origin of the fashion that provoked their reappearance in Cyprus is uncertain.

Sieves

Bronze sieves were well known in Egypt and Syria Palestine during the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age (Dothan 1978: 20). Some were found at Megiddo, strata VI, Beth Shan, Tell el Azjjul, Tell el Farah (S) and Tell Saideyeh (Dothan 1978: 20). A sieve from Deir el Balah, tomb 114, was found alongside a 13th century Mycenaean jar and an anthropoid coffin (Dothan 1978: 20). No bronze sieves were found in the Aegean or Cyprus until they were discovered in type III Cypriot chamber tombs.

Conclusion

The sudden and surprising appearance of crooks and obeloi in Cyprus at the beginning of the Iron Age can only find a tentative explanation as stemming from an Anatolian influence. Here they are classified as domestic objects, but they may have also had a symbolic significance beyond daily practicality, such as the Egyptian crooks or the later Greek use of obeloi as a prestige or monetary exchange.

Bronze sieves and needles were already in common use in Syria Palestine during the Late Bronze II period before they appeared in Cyprus during the Iron I.

On the other hand, all these objects were rare in the Aegean and differ stylistically when they do appear. The apparition of bronze bowl in Myc. IIIC:2 contexts marks the beginning of the arrival of these types of bronze objects in the Aegean.

The 12th century knives, although stylistically Aegean, were transformed in Cyprus. From there the improvement due to their manufacture in iron was exported from Cyprus to the west.

The tweezers, which Cyprus and the Aegean shared in common in the 11th century have not been found in Proto White Painted contexts. On the whole, the Aegean influences are minimal, whereas implements formerly known in Anatolia and Syria are introduced for the first time in Cyprus, especially Enkomi, at the beginning of the Iron Age.

The needles indicate a modification in clothing; the sieves, bowls and obeloi suggest new eating customs. Thus a considerable immigration from the Syro-Anatolian coastal region seems to have taken place. This was not a sporadic change of habit, but a change in a behavioural ensemble

Weapons

There are appreciable changes in Cypriot weaponry during the 12th century. The earliest concern iron and are to be found at Enkomi. The others, later, found in Cyprus for the first time in the type III chamber tombs, find corresponding types in all surrounding regions: Syria-Palestine, Anatolia, the Balkans and the Aegean.

Swords

Many publications have referred to a type of cut and thrust sword that appeared in the Aegean, Egypt, Cyprus and Syria-Palestine at the end of the 13th century, perhaps even earlier at Ras Shamra (Naue 1903; Sprockhoff 1931; Cowen 1955; Catling 1964: 114; Bouzek 1973:169-173). This sword originated in northern Europe and is referred to as the “Naue II” type. Catling has divided the “Naue II” into four sub-groups: the first three correspond to European types established by J.D. Cowen. His group I corresponds to a Hallstatt A type found in Italy and Yugoslavia, with later parallels along the East Mediterranean littoral (Snodgrass

1964: 93; Bouzek 1971: 438). The groups II and III from the 12th century only appear in the Aegean and Europe, with a possible group III exception from Enkomi (Bouzek 1971: 440). The group IV is believed to derive from the three other types, although there are no European parallels (Catling 1964: 114). The only sword associated with Proto Whited Painted, found at Skales, belongs to this group. The other Cypriot examples appear in LC IIIA, dated by Myc. IIIC:1b pottery.

The cut and thrust principle relates these groups, but it is debatable how directly Catling's group IV is related to the European and Aegean "Naue II," because all the possible pre-12th century examples, which makes them earlier than the Aegean Naue II examples, come from the Near East. Included in Catlings's group IV are a sword from Enkomi, three from Hama and perhaps one, more recent, from Vrokastro (Catling1964: 114). Seven iron swords of this type come from 11th century Tell Abu Hawam (Waldbaum 1978: 27). Snodgrass (1964: 98) tallies eleven iron and three bronze examples from Hama. One dates from Hama period I (1200-1075), eight from period II (1075-925) and two from period III (925-800). The four unfinished cut and thrust swords found in a deposit under the steps of the priest's house at Ras Shamra have never been classified as a Naue II or Nenzingen type, but they do not seem unrelated to Catling's type IV (Drews 1993: 205-208). This deposit contains 14th century pottery, which may be intrusive; but in any case it must date from before the abandonment of Ras Shamra around 1180. Catling only mentions them in the context of a tripod found in the same deposit which he tries to attribute to the 12th century (see below) (Catling 1964: 203; Courtois 1974: 105; Schaeffer 1956: 251, fig. 219; Baurain: 1980: 578). In any case, a sword from group I was found at Ras Shamra, which places it, too, before the 1180 abandonment of the site (Lagarce 1971: 417; Courtois 1972: note p. 32). Since the European swords are not earlier

than the 14th century, Snodgrass (1964: 207) thought that the distant European origin of these swords was debatable given the presence of even older swords in the Near East. The earliest sword shaped parallel flat blades are two swords from Alaca Hüyük that date from around 2000 (Kosay 1966: pl. CCIII, CLXXXIII). Later Snodgrass (1971: 354 note 19) changed his opinion when he agreed that the evolution of European swords proves that they must have been the precursors to Aegean swords. The period I swords from Hama can't be more precisely dated than from between 1200-1075. Four locally made swords belonging to Catling's type I were found in a hoard from Enkomi, with a fill containing Myc. IIIC:1b sherds, must date from the early 12th century (J. Lagarce 1971: 425, fig. 16; Bouzek 1971: 441; Catling 1964: 203).

As secure a date as possible for the presence of the Naue II type sword in the Near East is an example bearing the cartouches of King Seti II of the 19th dynasty. The sword is said to have been found at Tell Firaun in the Egyptian Delta. Seti must have reigned during the last decade of the 13th century (1202-1196 on the low chronology, Drews 1993:203). Given the presence of this type of cut and thrust sword at Ugarit before the city was abandoned, it is even possible that the idea transited from there to Enkomi.

All the Cypriot swords belong to either group I or IV. The groups II and III seem to be restricted to the Aegean and Europe. Group IV is also known in the Aegean. Some of these made of iron, must have come from Cyprus where six iron examples have been found, dating from as early as the 12th century. They have no European parallel, but Catling derives them from his type III (Catling 1964: 114, 203). They only appear in the Aegean in the 11th century, at Kerameikos, Vrokastro and in the 10th century at Lefkandi (a group I iron example). In a study of objects of Late Bronze Age European origin Courtois (1972: 31) neglects to point out that of the various types of cut and thrust swords, Catling's

type III that is found in Greece is mostly local to Italy. On the other hand Catling's type I, the earliest type found at Ugarit and Enkomi, is a largely Yugoslavian type, including two examples from Bulgaria and one from Macedonia (Bouzek 1971: 442-443 n° 21, 26, 25; insufficiently indicated on Courtois' distribution map (1972:.33). This means the type may have bypassed the Greek mainland, passing through Thracia, when it was transmitted to the Levant and Cyprus.

The sword from Skales was twisted in two, probably ritually "killed". Two other swords from the Kerameikos were also broken, as well as one from Lefkandi in a late Proto Geometric context (950-900) (Desborough 1971: 142). One of the unbroken swords from the Kerameikos may have been imported from Cyprus (Desborough 1971: 67). Since this particular form is Near Eastern and the iron technology is attributed to Cyprus (Snodgrass 1964: 112), perhaps the act of breaking the sword, only known on iron swords, was also introduced into the Aegean via Cyprus, although Desborough remarks that this rite was known among prehistoric Germanic people (Desborough 1971: 142 note 11)

If the Aegeans introduced this sword to Cyprus, they omitted to introduce a specifically Aegean type sword that was developed in the 13th century and used all throughout the 12th century. In any case the Aegean sword become rare once the Naue II appeared. The former has a square shoulder and leaf shaped blade. There are only two from Mouliana tomb A and one from Kephallenia in the 12th century and perhaps several from Rhodes and Kos. There was also another "cross guard" type (Catling 1964: 117).

Shield bosses

These bronze discs, pierced in the center, are widespread in Bronze Age Europe. Their identity as shield bosses is debatable; the Levantine type is

sometimes interpreted very differently, as cymbals (Von Mehart 1956: 56; Furtwängler in Loud 1948: fig. 250). However the discs found in Cyprus at Kaloriziki were accompanied by shield remains and Catling was able to reconstitute a shield decorated with these discs, resembling the bosses on the shields carried by the warriors depicted on the Warrior Vase from Mycenae. The vase dates from the end of the 12th century with an iconography that is unusual in the Aegean. The line of marching warriors carrying shields and lances has parallels in the 9th century sculptured reliefs at Carchemish, recalling the famous earlier motif in the rock cut reliefs at Yazilikaya (1220-1150) (Woolley 1952: 110; Bittel 1976: 215, fig. 250). It is interesting that a type II Naue sword was found associated with the Warrior Vase. The horned helmets they wear are another element that is foreign to the Mycenaean tradition, being an Anatolian or Levantine accoutrement.

A small, fragmentary, circular bossed plate found in Achaea has also been interpreted as a shield boss by T. Papdopoulos (1979: 162-163), although he mentions the possibility that these objects may be cymbals. He notes that similar discs have been found on mainland Greece, Crete and Cyprus from the end of the Bronze Age to the Geometric period and on into the Archaic period in Cyprus.

Similar European bosses are decorated, and usually flatter than these. The most similar are the Hallstatt examples, thus possibly contemporary or later than the Aegean type (Von Merhart 1956: abb. 9, n° 20). The Kaloriziki examples are the oldest known from Cyprus; their origin has been attributed to migrations from northwest Greece, transmitted from there to Cyprus by the Achaeans (Merhart 1956: 56; Catling 1964: 145).

However, the Aegean discs are not earlier than the Cypriot ones. Those from tomb B at Mouliana may be later. On the Greek continent, at the Kerameikos

(tombs 24, 40 and 43), at Tiryns, Olympia and on the island of Skyros, they are also contemporary or more recent. Those from the Keramikos, Mouliana and Kaloriziki were found in cremation tombs. Desborough suggests a Cypriot origin for these objects (1966: 65-66).

Curiously the undecorated bosses that most resemble the Cypriot and Aegean bosses are never mentioned. They have been published in provenance from Alishar Hüyük, Nuzi and Megiddo. The bosses (or cymbals?) from Megiddo were found near a bathtub in the temple 2048, built on the level VII A (1350-1200). (Van der Osten 1936: fiq. 296; Starr 1934: pl. 126; Loud 1948: pl. 188). Is it a simple coincidence that those from Mouliana tomb B were found inside a larnax (Catling 1964: 145) ? Chronologically and geographically the Levantine bosses are probably the prototypes of the Cypriot bosses.

Pikes

These pointed rods weren't found in Cyprus but are supposed to have been exported from Cyprus to Central Crete in the CG I period (Desborough 1971: 231). It is supposed that Cyprus was a precursor in the smelting of iron and it is the earliest example of an iron weapon without a previous bronze prototype (Waldbaum 1980: 84).

Armour Scale plates

The scale plates from Alaas resemble two others from 12th century Enkomi and another from 12th century Mycenae. They are particularly frequent in Near Eastern Late Bronze Age tombs and sanctuaries: Alalakh, Hama, Bogazköy, Troy, Megiddo, Beth Shan and Lachish (Karageorghis 1975: 65). The largest number of them were found at Nuzi where part of the corset they belonged to was found intact. A scale from Mycenae is the oldest known from the Aegean.

Another, that dates from the end of the Protogeometric period was found in the tomb 59 at Toumba, Lefkandi (Catling in Popham and Sackett 1980: 251).

Karageorghis suggests that they were perhaps talismans or votive objects when they were placed in small numbers in the Near Eastern sanctuaries and tombs. This seems probable, and this custom in Cyprus and Mycenae, where they were formerly unknown, indicates more than a simple importation from east to west during this period.

Daggers

Daggers are a Late Bronze Age Cypriot tradition without stylistic influence from abroad. They become rarer after the LC IIIA destruction level. Most have been found at Enkomi in pit tombs 108 and 979 in a context of Bucchero, White Painted Wheelmade II and Decorated LC III pottery and one on a bench in the Ingot God Sanctuary (Courtois 1971a: 170, 274 fig. 112, 125-129 pl. 15; Courtois 1981: 26, 270). The earliest iron dagger comes from Evreti tomb IV in a Myc. IIIC:1b context. A later often cited iron example comes from Idalion. An Aegean type dagger was found in Kition (Karageroghis, in Muhly 1982: 299).

Arrowheads

Numerous arrow heads like those found in the Salamis tomb T. I were found at Enkomi in LC III pit tombs from the 12th century (Courtois 1981: 277). They were already used in Cyprus from 1400 onwards but only became frequent in LC III.

They are numerous in Syria Palestine, but rarer in the Aegean. There are some at LM II Knossos, on the Hospital site, in the warrior tomb at Ayios Ioannis and at Rhodes. An iron arrowhead was found in stratum X at the Lion Gate at Mycenae, in a Myc. IIIC:1b context (Walbaum 1978: 33; Catling 1964: 131). Perhaps this is not unrelated to the Nuzi type scale plate found at Mycenae.

The characteristically Aegean, very fine, arrowheads are unknown in Cyprus (Catling 1964: 131).

Spearheads

It is remarkable that the spearheads found in LC IIIA and B tombs are of different types. The spearhead n° 11 from Kaloriziki tomb 40 finds its closest parallel in tomb XXI from late 13th century Argos (Catling 1964: 124). There is a local Cypriot type that only appears during LC II - III A (Catling 1964: 120). At least nine, varying in detail, were found at Skales. Two iron spearheads were found at Alaas, one from Amathonte, one from Marion and five from Kaloriziki, four which are unpublished (*SCE* II: 117, pl XXV, 385, pl. LXXIII; Benson 1973: 124, pl. 40; Karageorghis 1977: 143, pls. XXXVII, LXII). The iron heads from Marion and Amathus and a bronze head from Lapithos-Plakes (SCE I: 272, pl. LIX) are types found at Megiddo in 13th century contexts (Loud 1948: pl. 173).

Conclusion

The following schema lists the weapons found in Proto White Painted-White Painted I contexts and the regions where *earlier* parallels have been found:

Pikes

Daggers - Cyprus, Greece

Swords - Balkans, Syria-Palestine, Egypt

Spearheads - Cyprus, Syria- Palestine, Greece

Arrowheads - Cyprus, Syria-Palestine

Shield bosses - Syria-Palestine, Anatolia

Scale plates - Syria-Palestine, Anatolia

An increase in number of arrowheads and spearheads and the appearance of Catling's type IV sword, allows an hypothesis of a population emigrating to Cyprus from the Syria Palestinian coastal area, or even more probably simply an increase of insecurity at the troubled end of the Bronze Age, given that there were earlier examples of this type of weaponry in Cyprus, as well as the Near East. On the other hand the bosses and the scale plates are more obviously introduced from the Anatolian or Syria-Palestinian region.

The only Aegean type weapon is the Kition dagger and the spearhead from Kaloriziki tomb 40, with a parallel from the Heraion at Argos, whereas three spearheads find parallels from Megiddo.

Catling noticed the great increase in bronze objects in LC III tombs as opposed to LC II tombs containing Myc. IIIB pottery (Catling 1969: 84). In this aspect, LC III recalls the Middle Cypriot and LC I periods, when the custom of placing bronze objects in tombs was also fashionable and the exchanges with the Syro-Palestinian region were more frequent (Catling 1969: 84). Thus, once again, a cultural characteristic of Cyprus that preceded the 13th century Mycenaean expansion into the Eastern Mediterranean land reappears in Cyprus.

The other LC III novelty is the fabrication of daggers, pikes, spearheads and swords in iron. We have seen when knives were discussed, that this iron work may have been introduced by the Hittites via Hama.

Iron

One of the most significant aspects of Cypriot tools and weapons after the destructions marking the close of the Bronze Age is that they begin to be made out of iron. The knife is particularly symptomatic of this phenomenon. Not very frequent during LC IIB, and always bronze, they began to be made of iron

during LC IIIA. The earliest known application of the carburization and tempering method of treating iron is a knife from Idalion (Waldbaum 1980: 88). Then iron became the favorite material for making knives. A number of other weapons and arms were made out of iron during LC IIIA but they aren't specified here because they were found at Enkomi in foundry deposits not containing Proto White Painted (Schaeffer 1952: 37; Lagarce 1971: 425).

Before this Cypriot apparition of iron, it was rare and mainly used for ornaments, except in Anatolia where it was also crafted into tools and weapons (Waldbaum 1978: 11; Yener 1995: 103; Bouzek 1997: 44). It's appearance in 12th century Syria and Cyprus, may be attributed either to a diffusion from Anatolia and/or Egypt, or a simultaneous and spontaneous development. J. Waldbaum in her authorative study *From Bronze to Iron* (1978: 11) chooses the second alternative, rather than the more frequently admitted theory of diffusion from the Hittite regions.

Her opinion is based on the suppositions that there was a production of iron in Bronze Age Egypt corresponding to that of the Hittites, and that during the 12th century there was a production corresponding to that of Cyprus in the entire East Mediterraean, including the Aegean, because of a lack of imported tin necessary for the fabrication of bronze. However some of her own observations contradict these suppositions.

The Egyptian production of iron objects is far inferior to what is known of the Hittite production. The Egyptian production is almost exclusively ornamental, with the exception of the extraordinary iron finds in Toutankhamon's tomb, otherwise unparalleled in Egypt, which means they may have been imported from Anatolia. In fact, there is a text listing the exportation of iron blades, arrows and a ring from the Mittanian king Tusratta to the pharaoh Amenhotep III and Akhenaten (Waldbaum 1980: 80). Although only 33 iron objects have been found in Bronze

Age Anatolia, compared to 38 objects known from the much more extensively excavated Egypt, the Egyptian objects are restricted to luxury items: nine are predynastic necklace pearls from tombs 67 and 133 at Gezeh, and 19 come from Toutankhamon's tomb: 2 amulets, a dagger and a set of 16 miniature engraving tools. Otherwise, except for 2 traces of corrosion, there has only been found 1 amulet, 1 ring, an arrowhead, a pin attached to a box clasp, and perhaps a spearhead (Waldbaum 1978: 21). Thus Egypt, along with the rest of the Bronze Age world, other than the Hittites, used iron for luxury items, no doubt because iron was a rare and mysterious metal extracted from meteorites (Waldbaum 1980: 79). On the other hand, of the 33 Anatolian objects half are tools and weapons: 2 nails, 1 needle, 1 arrowhead, 1 dagger, 1 conical socket, were found at Alassa levels 4 to 2 (1800-1200); 2 hatchets, 2 conical spearheads, and a chisel come from lower city Bogazköy levels 1 and 2 (1300-1200) (Waldbaum 1978: 19). Added to the numerous lists and references to iron objects in the Hittite inventories and correspondence, it is permissible to attribute to the Hittites a particular understanding of iron manufacture until the destruction of the Empire ca. 1200. An advanced technology and significant quantity of iron must have permitted the construction of an object described in a Hittite text:"the image of a man in iron weighing one sekan and a half with eyes made of gold. He stands on an iron lion" (Bittel 1976: 158, 8, 29, 159) or the iron throne listed as a gift to Anitta the King of Kanesh (Yener 1995: 103).

This production of iron tools has no rival in the Bronze Age world, until it appears in Cyprus in the 12th century. This is clearly demonstrated in the following table established by J. Waldbaum (1978: 27, 31, 33).

There are almost three times as many iron objects in 12th century Cyprus as in Greece, and eight times as many tools. And even more in Syria-Palestine, although mostly in the form of jewellery.

In another article, J. Waldbaum has written that one cannot attribute the diffusion of iron work to the fall of the Hittite Empire, because “there was no technological revolution or accelerated increase in the use of iron that suggests this would be the case” (Waldbaum 1980: 83). Yet in the following paragraph concerning the East Mediterranean she writes: “since the number of iron objects knows such an abrupt increase from the 12th century onwards” (Waldbaum 1980: 83), and farther on she comments on the technique of carburisation and tempering of the iron knife from Idalion (1980: 88).

Given the above observations, it seems admissible to draw a conclusion on geographical, chronological and numerical criteria postulating a diffusion of iron technology from Anatolia to Cyprus, very possibly via Syria, at the beginning of the 12th century (the table below is from J.C. Waldbaum (1978: 33)).

CYPRUS	12th c.	11th c.
Weapons	2	7
Tools	17	20
Jewellery	2	1
Misc.	5	5
	26	33

GRECE	12th c.	11th c.
Weapons	1	6
Tools	2	2
Jewellery	4	20
Misc.	1	3
	8	31

CRETE	12th c.	11th c.
Weapons		6
Tools		2
Jewellery		2
Misc.	1	3
	1	13

AEGEAN	12th c.	11th c.
Weapons	1	2
Tools	1	
Jewellery	1	
Misc.		
	3	2

PALESTINE	12th c.	11th c.
Weapons	3	15
Tools	6	33
Jewellery	8	20
Misc.	3	10
	20	78

SYRIA	12th c.	11th c.
Weapons	4	13
Tools	1	7
Jewellery	29	54
Misc.	1	4
	35	78

Cult Objects

The following objects may be defined as cult objects: bronze statuettes, bronze or gold horns, scepters, tripods, cauldrons, bronze amphora- craters and bathtubs.

Only the horns and statuettes, found in places of worship, are assuredly cult objects. The scepters are cult objects to the degree that those who possess them are invested with sacred power. The tripods, cauldrons and amphora-craters deserve to be called cult objects because of their iconography: bulls and genii and their luxuriousness that destined them to royal or sacred individuals.

The cult nature of the bathtub is less certain. It is classed here because the oldest Cypriot bathtubs and the stone bathtub of Megiddo were found in places of worship; thus the bathtub from a tomb in Skales may also have had a ritual significance.

Bathtubs

Miniature bathtubs like the little ivory one sculpted in semi precious material suggesting a ritual use, were already known in LC II at Kition and others were found in LC IIIA levels (Aström 1972 b: 544). None seem to have been found in later Proto White Painted contexts. Otherwise in Cyprus, three stone bathtubs were found at Enkomi in dwellings on level LC IIIA (Dikaios 1969: 107, 141; Courtois 1992: 151). A fragment of another was found at Pyla Kokkinokremos (Karageorghis 2000: 266). A fifth was found in an 11th century tomb containing Proto White Painted as well as White Painted I ware in Skales.

A number of other bathtubs, older than the one from Skales, are made from clay. Some are located in places that suggest a ritual use: one from 14th century Ayios Iakovos (Sjövqvist 1936: 356), a 13th century example from an “official

room" at Kalavasos (Karageorghis 2000: 267), one from the early 12th century Aphrodite temple at Paphos (Maier 1979: 231), and two from the Area I ashlar building at Enkomi also dating from the early 12th century (Dikaios 1969: 181). Four others are recorded in dwellings from Schaeffer's excavations on the level III A at Enkomi (Karageorghis 2000: 264; Courtois 1992: 151). Although Schaeffer identified two from Enkomi as "sarcophages" none seem to have come from tombs, except for two LC III B-CG I examples: the stone one from Skales and a terracotta one found in a tomb at Kourion Bamboula. Here, like at Skales, the tub was not used as a coffin but contained several tomb gifts (Karageorghis 2000: 264, 266). 3 terracottas tubs were found at Pyla-Kokkinokremos and other fragments in LC IIIA contexts at Maa and Kition. Two clay examples were discovered in LC II contexts at Alassa (Hadjisavvas 1994: 112, pl. XIX:2) and Kalavasos (Karageorghis 2000: 264).

Outside of Cyprus, the association of a bathtub and a place of worship also takes place at Megiddo, level VIa (1350-1150) in the temple 2048 and at Mycenae in the room of the frescoes attached to the 13th century temple (Loud 1948 vol. II; Taylour 1975: 275; Dikaios 1969 vol. I: 141). The use of bathtubs as tomb sarcophagi is a Cretan custom (Rutkowski 1968: 221). One of the most recent, dated from ca. 1100, was found in Mouliana tomb A, where it is associated with a cremation (Xanthidides 1904: 23). But at Mouliana, like in all Cretan tombs containing sarcophagi, the bathtub is made of terracotta with a painted decoration, thus very different from the undecorated stone bathtub in the Skales tomb. Otherwise, at Knossos and Pylos tubs were associated with what seem to be bathrooms, although the Knossos example was actually found in the courtyard.

Karageorghis defends the Aegean origin of the Skales bathtub with the fact that it doesn't have an evacuation hole, nor does the one from the Pylos palace

and another mentioned in a linear B text (Karageorghis 1980: 133).

At Mycenae there is only one fragment from a tomb. Two other bathtubs are located in the Citadel: the one from the room of the frescoes mentioned above, and another used for a burial near the Lion Gate on the 12th century level of the destruction of the Granary. (Wace 1921: 19; Desborough 1966: 36). The Pylos bathtub was found in an LH IIIB context. Karageorghis (2000: 267) mentions that other LH IIIB tub fragments were found at Tiryns, Zygouries and Midea. In the Aegean, they are apparently always made out of clay often with elaborated painted motifs, and used as coffins in tombs. The undecorated Mycenae bathtub is a remarkable exception, recalling the Cypriot type of bathtub. A painted terracotta example from a 14th century tomb at Akko, in a context of Late Minoan IIIA pottery must have been an intrusive Aegean element (Karageorghis 2000: 267).

Making bathtubs out of stone seems to be a Near Eastern characteristic. Two limestone recipients from Tell el Yahudiyeh in Egypt have been described as “bathtubs or basins”; they are associated with tiles and columns datable to Ramses III (Griffith, Naville 1980: 7). Another basalt basin was found at Alalakh in the courtyard near the entry of Temple I (13th century) (Woolley 1955: 87). These basins are not recorded with illustrations, so it is not possible to assuredly identify them with the Cypriot examples. However the rectangular limestone recipient found in the center of the temple 2048 courtyard at Megiddo, described as a bathtub indeed seems to be one, the moreso as there is a drain in the nearby ground, indicating that a bucket disposed of water.

However, the Late Bronze Age Near Eastern bathtubs are not really comparable to the Skales tub. A bathtub from Alaca Hüyük is stylistically different and much older (ca. 1800) (Kosay 1937-39: pl. IV, fig. 2). The bathtubs resembling the Cypriot one date from the Iron Age. At Tell Abu Hawam, level III (1100-925) a terracotta bathtub with four handles at the rim (like the Skales tub) was found

in the corner of a house (Hamilton 1935: 24, pl. XXXVI). Another, from Ashdod, seems to be the same type, but the only precision is its 11th century date (Dothan in: Avi-Yonah 1975: 113).

The Skales and Kourion bathtubs are unique in that they were found in tombs without being used as a sarcophagus. At Skales the tub was filled with pottery and the skeleton lay on the chamber floor, without a sign of intrusion (Karageorghis 1980: 133). Its shape with handles on the rim and the absence of decoration recalls the bathtub from the temple at Mycenae. But its stone construction and the fact that it was not used for burial purposes in the Aegean manner, although found in a tomb, links it to the Near East.

Horns

The pair of bronze horns measuring 13 cm. high from the Ingot God Sanctuary has been completely studied by Courtois and Webb (1980: 100-108). Of all the cult objects, these are the most assuredly Mycenaean in origin, although other hypotheses concerning their origin can't be excluded. If they were part of a horned cap on a human statue, they may have had a Syro-Anatolian origin where such caps are often represented, especially in Late Bronze Age Syria (*ibid*: 103; Negbi 1976: 34). Nevertheless, the closest known parallels for these bronze horns are a pair of lead horns from a 14th century tholos tomb at Dendra (Courtois, Webb 1980: 102).

The gold horns from the Area I sanctuary many have been used as rhytons like those from the shaft tomb IV at Mycenae (*ibid*: 107; Dikaios 1969 vol. I: 197; Iakovidis 1978: 65). In both cases the horns were associated with a gold rosette (Courtois, Webb, 1980: 107; Dikaios 1969 vol. II: 718; vol. III a: pl. 135, 139; Iakovidis, 1978: 65).

Cauldrons

Cauldrons with two or three handles, sometimes with three rudimentary legs nailed to the body with large rivets, like that of Skales, were common in Middle Minoan Crete (17th century) and Greece after LH IIIA1. The oldest tripod cauldron is apparently the only one known from the Near East, found at Alalakh on the level VII (ca. 1800) (Woolley 1955: 277, pl. LXXIV; p. 260 for the chronology). Centuries later, a tripod cauldron was found in Cyprus, in the Skales tomb 58 in a White Painted I context (11th century). These are the only two examples known from beyond the Aegean (Rolley 1977: 134). A bronze tripod of an entirely different type, probably related to Near Eastern practices, was also found in the Skales tomb 58. The presence of the two tripods in an 11th century context suggests they were heirlooms; particularly the tripod cauldron, since no other is known from Cyprus.

A late 12th century handle found on the level II at Idalion, decorated with a bull protome, has been interpreted as a cauldron handle because of its dimensions (Catling 1964: 250). The bronze protome resembles a statuette, possibly a protome, from 13th century Myrtou Pighades. Catling (1964: 250) dates the Myrtou protome between 1300-1150: the lifetime of the sanctuary. Since this statuette was found in the brick center of the ashlar altar, it seems to belong to the period of the construction of the altar. Such protome handles are also found on contemporaneous Cypriot tripods. They also decorate a tripod from Tiryns and the handles from a tripod in Mouliana tomb A associated with a cremation. These were found in contexts more recent than those from Cyprus (Catling 1964: 250; Milojcic 1955: 163-168) The Mouliana tombs A and B probably date from the end of the 11th century given their Protogeometric context (at present the Protogeometric period is dated from 1050). Thus such protomes may be Cypriot exports towards the Aegean.

All the protomes are sculpted using the lost wax method (Catling 1964: 154, 192). This procedure was not known to the Mycenaeans, but used in Syria and Anatolia during the 13th century for sculpting bronze figurines (*ibid*: 220; Buchholz 1979: 84; Baurain 1980: 579; Negbi 1976: 29, 42, 108). It was practiced in Crete as early as 1800, then frequently during MM III-LM I, before the Mycenaean influence (Davaras 1976: 277). The incisions on the forehead and around the eyes of the Idalion bull's head can be found on the terracotta bulls' heads from Alishar Hüyük, other Hittite examples, including one from LC II Ayia Paraskevi, on display at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, and one from Enkomi level LC IIIA1 (Karageorghis 1999: 147-150). Although bronze bull protomes on cauldrons are unknown outside of Cyprus, the style and the lost wax casting method continue a Syro-Anatolian tradition already introduced at Myrtou Pighades during the 13th century. On the other hand, the cauldron itself is an Aegean custom, unless, as seems obvious, the tripods found on Levantine sites supported cauldrons.

Tripods

The bronze tripods, some of them molded in one piece, others made from soldered bars, joined by rings, necessitate an advanced metallurgical technique. One was found at Skales, one at Amathus, three come from the rich tombs 40 and 39 at Kaloriziki (Catling 1964: 193-195). They are usually believed to be a Cypriot innovation developed during the 12h century (Catling 1964: 193; L. Aström 1967: 91), although nothing in the Late Bronze Age tradition seems to lead to this development. It is equally difficult to find this ability elsewhere in the immediately previous centuries, if, as Catling suggested, the dates attributed to the discovery of tripods found at Ras Shamra and Atchana are lowered, and if one ignores the Hittite ability represented by objects like the ritual hatchet of Sarkisla that Bittel attributes to the 14th-13th century (Bittel 1976: 298, fig. 341).

K. Yener (1995) describes the exceptional quality of Hittite metallurgy, including the use of iron.

Woolley dates a little bronze tripod from Atchana to the 15th century, but according to Catling, the context is not stratigraphically proven and it might have been the work of a squatter settlement following the abandonment of the site in ca. 1200 (Woolley 1955: 277, pl. lxxiv; Catling 1964: 219). He uses the same argument to lower the date of the Ras Shamra tripod that comes from a deposit under the steps of the Priest's House (Schaeffer 1929; Baurain 1980 who well argues a necessary date of the 13th century if not earlier). Catling's opinion seems exaggerated, because even if there were squatters at Alalakh and Ras Shamra during the 12th century, there is no trace of the material well being such objects suppose. Catling also thinks that the Ras Shamra tripod must be later than Schaeffer's dating because another, almost identical one, with grenadine shaped pendants, was found in a CG I tomb at Amathus. Furthermore, he questions a third tripod with similar pendants from Myrtou Pighades. This one was found among a group of five tripods on the floor of a building that was reconstructed at the beginning of the 13th century. The excavator, J. du Plat Taylor dates them all from the 13th century, which makes them the oldest known in Cyprus. But they were covered with silt when they were found; silt that du Plat Taylor attributes to an accumulation before the abandonment of the site, whereas Catling attributes it to the circumstances of the abandonment around 1150 (Catling 1964: 200; du Plat Taylor 1957). All said, it seems more correct to interpret the Amathus example as an heirloom, rather than put into question the dating of three other excavators.

Two characteristics of these tripods may have a distant Anatolian origin: the bovine feet on a terracotta tripod from the level IV d (1450) of the room 3 at Büyükkale (Neve 1965: 28), and the sculpted protomes on the above mentioned

hatchet that have no other parallels in the Late Bronze Age world as far as I know. But the immediate prototypes are the Alalakh and Ras Shamra tripods.

A Cypriot origin for the 12th century tripods is postulated because of the forty nine bronze supports on three or four feet whose provenance is known, twenty nine come from Cyprus (mostly from Enkomi), outside of Proto White Painted contexts. Fifteen of the Cypriot supports date from the 12th century, ten are not datable and only the four concerning this study are more recent than the 12th century (Catling 1964: 23). This supposes that craftsmen with knowledge of metallurgical techniques formerly unknown in Cyprus and the Aegean settled in Cyprus in LC IIIA1.

The tripods found outside Cyprus from the 12th and 11th centuries are probably Cypriot exports. One of them, in bronze, was discovered at Beth Shan in a Myc. IIIC:1b pottery context (a pottery attributed to Cypriot influence when it is found in Syria-Palestine)(Hankey 1966: 170).

Four bronze tripods were found in a 13th century rock cut chamber tomb at Dendra that delivered the bronze bowl mentioned above (Wace 1976: 246). The other tripods found in the Aegean, from the Tiryns treasure, from Anthedon and from Vrokastro, are later than the Near Eastern examples and, furthermore, they were accompanied by Oriental type objects: a cylinder seal (Hittite?) at Tiryns, and seals and pearls (Cypriot?) at Vrokastro (Vermeule 1964: 231; Hall 1914: 133 ff., pl. XXXIV). The eastern origin of the Aegean tripods seems to be confirmed by the presence of a tripod on the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck that transported a cargo from Cyprus or Syria towards the West. (Catling 1964: 217).

Terracotta imitations of tripods appear in the CG I period, probably because the bronze founding techniques were lost during this period (Catling 1964: 214, pl. 38). In the Cyprus Museum there are four without provenance (B1919, B1274, B1427, B1942). Others come from Lapithos-Kastros tombs 401, 402, 406, 417

and 420 dating from CG I and CG III (Sjöqvist and al. 1934). In Greece this type of tripod appears later than in Cyprus, during the Geometric period.

Amphoroid Craters

Catling (1964: 159, 160) is of the opinion that the casting technique, the piriform shape, and the ornamentation of Cypriot bronze amphoroid craters are Aegean and date from the beginning of the 12th century. Nevertheless he had to write: “only one bronze amphora is known “in corpore” in the Aegean and it is not a good parallel for the Cypriot ones”. It is a smashed amphora found in a tholos near Pylos.

However, aside from amphorae, bronze vases with ornaments molded in terracotta stamped molds are known from Late Bronze Age Crete and Greece (at Dendra, Mycenae, Mochlos, Zapher Papoura) (Catling 1964: 159), but the stamped motifs: spirals, leaves, flowers, stylized marine creatures, are more primitive, not as realistic as the Cypriot motifs, and the bronze craftmanship is less elaborate. Because of their shape and decorative motifs, Catling (1964: 160) thinks the Kaloriziki amphorae were made in Crete between 1250-1150, although other examples of the shape in metal and the refined craftsmanship are unknown in the Aegean area at the end of the Bronze Age.

The stamped demi-circles and dots on the amphora n° 1 recall the motifs on a clay Levanto-Helladic amphora from LC II Enkomi and on some steatite vases from Enkomi dating from 1200 to 1050 (Schaeffer 1948: 174), and on two ivory disks from the LC IIIA1 Kouklia-Evreti tomb 8. Therefore it seems that the amphora n° 1 may have been made in Cyprus in the 13th century Levanto-Helladic tradition.

The amphora n° 2 from Kaloriziki is more dubious. It was part of the loot from a clandestine excavation (along with two tripods and a scepter discussed

below) seized by the Larnaca police in 1903. Since then this group of objects has been convincingly attributed to Kaloriziki tomb 40 by G. McFadden (1954: 131-154). The motifs of genii holding oenochoe that decorate this amphora are characteristic of Minoan and Mycenaean jewellery, the most well known being the ring dated to the 15th century from the Tiryns treasure (although the treasure itself is not earlier than the 12th century) (Karo 1930: beilage XXX; Iakovidis 1979: 105, fig. 65). The branchless palm tree that separates the genii is a motif that is found on an ivory from the Evreti tomb 8 (Catling 1964: 159).

This amphora n° 2 is the subject of an interesting communiqué by C. Baurain and P. Darque (1982). The motif of genii juxtaposed to the marine motif under the handles can also be found on a triton sculpted in stone that they found at Mallia, which dates from the Middle Minoan III period. They demonstrate in detail a strong resemblance between the genii of the triton and those of the amphora (Baurain, Darcque 1982: 5-6). The authors seem justified in their opinion that the amphora would be an heirloom, given that this thematic association has no parallels between the Minoan 16th century and this amphora from a 12th century context. On the other hand, it would be the only known bronze recipient made from a single sheet of bronze related to the Aegean region before the end of the 13th century.

Another undated amphora, from Kition, should be mentioned. The rim is decorated with running bulls and lions, and three pairs of genii carrying oenochoe decorate each handle (Catling 1964: 154, pl. 23). They are probably contemporary to the amphora n° 2. These objects undoubtedly carry a Minoan iconography which, like some traits of Proto White Painted pottery, recall a pre-Mycenaean era. Are they Cypriot inheritances? If, like the tomb 40 looter has claimed, cremated human remains were found inside the Kaloriziki amphora n° 2, the amphora would have fallen into hands of people practicing a non Aegean ritual.

It must be borne in mind that, as on the amphora n° 1, the motif of running animals is well known in the Levanto-Helladic repertoire. A Myc. IIIB amphoroid crater from Maroni displays capering goats (Catling 1964: 220). Only the genii lack LC II prototypes. It is possible that Levantine craftsmen took an Aegean theme already known in 13th century Cyprus.

Scepters

Two scepters known from 12th century Cyprus seem completely unrelated, other than that they were both decorated with birds. In Near Eastern tradition, birds are associated with goddesses; the dove in the case of Astarte and the bird of prey in the case of Hittite goddesses (Perrot, Chipiez vol ii 1882: fig. 142; Hogarth 1908: 328).

An oriental prototype of the Enkomi scepter would be the copper scepter from Nahal Mishmar in Late Bronze Age I Israel, surmounted by goats' heads arranged in a similar way as the birds on the Cypriot scepter (Bar-Adon 1976: 371, fig.185). The pendants and the way the Enkomi scepter was crafted recall the tripods from Ras Shamra and Myrtou Pighades.

The scepter in gold and enamel inlay from Kaloriziki is unique. But two bronze statuettes of falcons, one smaller than the other, found at Minet el Beida must have the same significance as the hawks (or vultures?) surmounting the Kaloriziki scepter (Schaeffer 1929: 288, pl. LIII). In both cases the wings are decorated with a scale pattern. Although the Ras Shamra birds of prey are inlaid with gold rather than enamel, they were accompanied by a statuette of a seated god with eyes inlaid with white and silver enamel. A Cypriot bowl and the tripod with pendants mentioned above were found in the same deposit (Schaeffer 1929: 288). The context is poorly dated, but coming from Ras Shamra, that was abandoned ca. 1190, these birds are likely to be older than those of Kaloriziki even if the

latter were an heirloom. The initial prototype is obviously the Egyptian Horus (L. Aström 1967: 95). The Horus divinity is not surprisings in Syria Palestine, among the extensive material indicating contacts between Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian coastal areas during the Late Bronze Age. On the other hand it would have been unusual in the Aegean region at this time. The more so as the larger Ras Shamra falcon is coiffed with the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and that the smaller one holds a uraeus between its claws. Schaeffer (1971: 519) notes that falcons are associated with the cult of the god El, which corresponds to the three El statues found at Enkomi and the earlier inlaid falcons from Minet el Beida and the El effigies from Ras Shamra. Admittedly this is stretching an analogy, given that, as far as is known, the chronological gap is at least a century, and the craftsmanship, the materials, and even the type of bird of prey are not the same. But this sceptre is unparalleled in Cypriot and Aegean tradition, whereas thematically, at least, parallels are to be found in the Late Bronze Age Levant.

The inlay of the Kaloriziki scepter is often compared to the inlay on a dagger handle from the 16th century shaft tomb IV at Mycenae (Buxton 1932: 2). However it bears a closer resemblance to a large spherical golden pearl, inlayed with lapis lazuli and white shell in a scale pattern. The pearl was found on the level IV (1450) of a palace at Alalakh (Woolley 1938: 27). It lay inside a Cypriot bowl discovered on the same level as the bronze tripod mentioned above. The scale pattern on wings also appears on Hittite and Palestinian objects (Buxton 1932: 3).

The hawk scepter was part of the loot including the amphora and the tripods mentioned above. Since the enamel recalls the inlaid rings from Kouklia Evreti, dating from 1180, and the looter of tomb 40 described the scepter as lying next to the bronze amphoroid crater no 37 (later re-labeled n° 2), the scepter has been dated to this period (Gjerstad 1926: 147).

Given that the two scepters seem to have Near Eastern precursors, it is difficult to understand why the Kaloriziki scepter has been attributed to a Mycenaean king (Vermeule 1964: 225).

Statuettes

Bronze figurines were common in Anatolia and Syria-Palestine during the Late Bronze Age. On the other hand, they are not part of the Mycenaean or Cypriot repertoire of objects before the level LC IIIA1. They are well known in Crete, but the Cretan effigies: men, sometimes naked, sometimes saluting, and women wearing bell shaped skirts, are quite different from the six sculptures from 12th century Enkomi. Cretan sculpture developed and was particularly popular in the pre-Mycenaean MM III-LM I period (16th century) when the lost wax bronze casting method appeared (Davarras 1976: 279).

During the Late Bronze Age in Greece the only known bronze statuettes represent the Syrian storm god, Reshef or Baal, wearing a pointed cap and brandishing a spear, like the Ingot god from Enkomi (Schaeffer 1971: 513). Fifteen such statuettes have been inventoried. They are poorly dated and apparently imported from the Near East, given how widespread and popular they were in Anatolia and Syria-Palestine (Negbi 1976: 38, note 34, 381; Bittel 1976: 147-148), although G. Mylonas (1937: 243) attributed a mycenaean example to local manufacture. Only four are from a definite pre-Geometric context: one from Mycenae, one from Tiryns (considered to be a Hittite import) and two from Phylakopi (Renfrew 1985: 304-310). One of the Phylakopi figurines was found in stratum 2b dated to the end of the 12th century, the other was found in a context of the decay and abandonment of the sanctuary (*ibid*: 304, 306).

At Enkomi in the LC III levels six bronze statuettes of divinities were discovered, three of them were hidden in pits. According to Schaeffer's stratigraphy

(1971: dépliant I) the important Horned God from the Area I Sanctuary, was buried under Floor II, as was the namesake of the Ingot God sanctuary, and a seated figurine of the God El was hidden under Floor I. The original figurine that would have been attached to the seat was discovered face down on Floor II of the same building. A third effigie of El also dates from LC III (Schaeffer 1971: figs. 6 and 7). A smiting god figurine was found on floor II in the debris of a house that had collapsed, probably due to an earthquake (Schaeffer 1971: 510-513, figs. 4 and 5).

The smiting god figurine, representing Reshef or Baal is the only one comparable to finds in the Aegean area. However its prototype has been convincingly attributed to similar figurines from Ugarit where there was a well developed cult to this divinity (Schaeffer 1971: 513).

There is little that can be attributed to an Aegean influence concerning the Ingot God from the Enkomi sanctuary. The join between the upper and lower part of the statue (below the knees) was realized according the “bronze on bronze” process believed to have originated in Luristan at the beginning of the 12th century (Buchholz 1979: 85, note 42). Catling relates the oxhide ingot upon which is the Ingot God is poised, to the Aegean, recalling that oxhide ingots were known in Crete during the Middle Minoan period (Catling 1969: 85). However, by the 12th century this type of ingot seems to have been used in Syrian commercial practice, because the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck, wrecked off the Asia Minor coast on its way to the Aegean, transported numerous oxhide ingots. The ship was identified as Syrian because of the Syrian weights and seals characterizing its cargo (Bass: 1967). The greaves worn by the Ingot God may have been an Aegean attribute, if indeed they are greaves, rather than simply the traces of the procedure mentioned above (Catling 1969: 86). But this opinion is only based on the two pairs of greaves known from Mycenaean Greece: that of Dendra dated to

ca. 1400, and another pair of uncertain date from Kallitea in Achaea. Whereas, chronologically, the precursor of those of the Ingot God would be the greaves found in a LC II (1250-1190) context at Ayios Iakovos (Snodgrass 1964: 86).

The Ingot God has a feminine counterpart; a bronze statuette of a goddess identified as Astarte, from an unknown provenance, also poised on an ingot (Catling 1971: 15-33). This statuette, and another feminine statuette in bronze, from Nicosia, possess the stereotyped traits of other bronze divinitites from Syria and Anatolia: braided hair falling on the shoulders on each side of the face, marked facial traits, especially the eyebrows and globular eyes, globular breasts, a thin waist, a strongly outlined sex, and thin legs pressed close together. These traits can be found on a lead relief from Bogazköy, although in a much earlier context, and on idols from Ras Shamra (Bittel 1976: 96, fig. 85; Negbi 1976: pl. 42).

As has already been mentioned, the cult of a male and a female divinity was traditional at Bogazköy, Dyabaleir, Alalakh and Ras Shamra. At Ras Shamra, two silver statuettes, a masculine and a feminine, were discovered in a vase outside the sanctuary, at the periphery of the acropolis. They apparently date from the most recent occupation level (Schaeffer 1933: 126, fig. 15). In the Aegean region there was a predilection for a female, as opposed to a male, divinity.

The horned god, an athlete with strong, large legs, the left leg slightly advancing before the right leg, wearing a conical cap with horns, protuberant lips, the right arm raised perpendicularly before the body, is a well known stereotype in the Hittite pantheon (Baurain 1980: 579). The earliest parallels to the Cypriot examples are two bronze statuettes from Bogazköy and Lattaquié, 14th and 13th century contexts (Bittel 1976: 277, fig. 263). Relating this statue to the Mycenaean world is particularly troublesome in that horned helmets are indigenous in Mesopotamia, the Levant and Anatolia. Aside from the post destruction level

12th century Warrior Vase they are alien to the Aegean (Sandars 1985: 106, 135). Nevertheless, there have been attempts to attribute the Cypriot statue to Aegean craftsmen, given a refinement in the facial features, although there are no earlier Helladic prototypes other than a 12 cm high statuette from Laconia found in an insecurely dated tholos tomb (attributed to the 15th-14th century B.C.) (Marinatos 1959: pl. 224; Dussaud 1949; Demargne 1964: 254; Hadjioannou 1971: 33-43; Hampe, Simon 1981: 234, fig. 364). The mouth and nose of the Laconia statuette are remarkably similar to the Enkomi statue, but two or three centuries later the Levantine iconography prevails in all the other features of the Horned God. This may be one more indication that the Mycenaeans were prevalent in Cyprus at the time of their 14th-13th century apogee, but following the catastrophes that shifted the East Mediterranean into the Iron Age the Mycenaean heritage was absorbed into the Syro-Hittite traditions of Cyprus' closer neighbours. A tiny feminine bronze statuette, with a double Janus type front-back face was found in the Area I sanctuary at Enkomi. A slightly larger homologue of this goddess may be a statuette found at Nuzi, but datable to a much earlier period (Starr 1934: vol. I p. 386, vol. II pl. 125). The double face on the Nuzi example isn't mentioned because the object is very corroded. Webb (1999: 231) compares this figurine to Syro-Palestinian Astarte plaques in gold and glass, several of which come from Enkomi (Dikaios 1969-71: 638, 653, n° 55, 290).

Three bronze statuettes of the seated god El, hidden under the most recent floors of Enkomi, have undisputable prototypes from 13th century Ras Shamra Schaeffer (1952: 371-377, pl. LXX-LXXVI; 1971: 519, fig. 6, pl. VIII). Among the Ras Shamra seated effigies, one was found in a "cachette," under a house, accompanied by two bronze smiting Baal figurines and a bronze bull.

The seated male statuettes were buried in pits below the destruction level of Enkomi (Schaeffer 1971: 536). Like the gods themselves, this rite was already

known in Syria and Anatolia (Ussishkin 1970: 124). The reasons for these burials are unknown, but they always seem to be associated with destructions. The most similar circumstance to that of Enkomi is the burial of the king Idri-mi in the Alalakh temple on level I B at the end of the 13th century (Woolley 1953:122). The Alalakh statuette is also seated on a throne, and was also buried on the occasion of a destruction and abandonment, in this case on the 1190 B.C. level. Since the buried statue was beheaded with the head, and fragments of the beard and a foot set alongside the body, the excavator, L. Woolley assumed it was buried after the destruction, with the intention of retrieval (rather than earlier in prediction of the destruction as seems to have been the case in Enkomi). However given the small size of the Enkomi statues which would make them easily and immediately transportable, might not these statues have been intentionally buried in order to consecrate the ground of the ancestors of the defeated inhabitants?

It has been argued that the horned god statuette found at Enkomi area I was not buried to be hidden, because it's horns protruded above the last occupation level, floor 1 (but floor 2 according to Schaeffer), and the pit must have been open given that it was filled with post destruction level debris (Webb 1999: 99). However, the reason for placing it below the floor level was not discussed. Both Enkomi excavators, Dikaios and Schaeffer, asserted that it had been placed in a pit. This is clearly depicted in Dikaios' drawing of the stratigraphy commented by Schaeffer (1971: 535 fig. 13, 544). Schaeffer supposed that the horns protruding above the pit could be easily masked by loose earth. This would facilitate finding the statue in case of an expected destruction (by earthquake or invasion) of the site. He also pointed out that it is difficult to determine the real presence of floor I because it is so close to the actual soil surface that in many places it had completely disappeared (*ibid*: 541). According to Schaeffer's interpretation, the level of debris is, in fact, Floor 1. Whether or not the statue was completely buried

would not affect the possibility that the male statuette was placed underground to consecrate an ancestral ground, or to protect the ground (usually perceived as a feminine principle) and its fertility in a time of danger. This hypothesis is reinforced by the presence of a bronze sickle placed before the statuette's right hand, as well as an animal jaw, a bronze pin, and a ribbon).

Other cases of buried idols are the two terracotta bulls buried at Bogazköy (Bittel 1976: 151-152), and the anthropomorphic vase buried in the temple XI at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1980: 79). The Aegean offers the case of the large terracotta statues from the sanctuary at Mycenae, which, like at Alalakh, were buried ca. 1200 at the end of LH IIIB (Taylour 1970: 271). Most of the Syro-Hittite burials of objects mentioned in the interesting article by D. Ussishkin (1970: 124-128) are more recent than these Late Bronze Age examples.

Recent theory has made the idea of migrations and diffusion unfashionable. The suggestion has been made that all the Cypriot statuettes were created prior to the 12th century destruction levels, which entails interpreting them as heirlooms following internal civil upheavals (Knapp 1986). The most concrete arguments in favor of this would be the existence of an earlier sanctuary underlying the Ingot God sanctuary at Enkomi, to which the Ingot God statuette and the accompanying White Painted Wheelmade III crater and jug discovered on floor III may have belonged. Furthermore, there are mentions of Nergal Reshef in relationship to Alasia in Amarna texts and on Cypriot seals (Webb 1999:226). This attribution of change to a behavior proper to social "systems," seems to recall Renfrew's catastrophe theory (1978). However, unlike the 13th century Syrian and Hittite sites where they are common, examples of these idols and this type of elaborate bronze craftsmanship have never been directly discovered in Cypriot Bronze Age levels preceding the 12th century. When they do appear in Cyprus, it is alongside the considerable number of other innovations with 13th century Syrian

and Anatolian antecedents at the time of the abandonments of Ugarit, Hattutsa and other Near Eastern sites.

Conclusion

The objects that may be associated with ritual, and that are unknown in Cypriot archaeological contexts earlier than the 12th century, have been interpreted paradoxically. If some are interpreted as reflecting Mycenaean customs, this contradicts others that are assuredly Syro-Palestinian.

The only metal objects found directly in Cypriot places of worship are the bronze statuettes of male divinities and a gold horn. The statuettes are undoubtedly Levantine, whereas it has been suggested that the gold horns found in the Enkomi area I sanctuary were Mycenaean cult objects. However there was more than a century time gap between the possible Mycenaean prototypes and the Cypriot horns. They may plausibly be heirlooms of the earlier period of Enkomi where there is a considerable amount of directly Mycenaean material. On the other hand, if the gold horns, like very possibly the bronze horns from the ingot god sanctuary, belonged to the cap of an effigy such as the ingot god or the horned god the objects would have a homogenous origin: Ugarit, transmitter of Hittite and Egyptian traditions that amalgamated in the Syro-Palestinian region.

Both the bronze statuettes and the tripods have parallels in 13th century Ugarit. The cauldron with bull protomes probably belonged to this type of tripod. The amphoroid kraters have an Aegean shape and decorative motifs that may have been inherited from the above mentioned Levanto-Helladic tradition that was particularly strong in Cyprus as an outlet for trade with Ugarit during the prosperous era of the Mycenaean expansion. The lost wax casting technique and the crafting of recipients from a single sheet of metal that was necessary to make these objects, have not been observed in the Aegean after the Minoan

empire became dominated by the Mycenaeans in the 14th century. However the lost wax casting method was used in 13th century Syria and Anatolia for the fabrication of bronze figurines.

The Enkomi scepter may be mistaken for a standard like that from Nahal Mishmar, or a pre-Hittite "solar emblem." Indeed there is very large chronological gap in these cases, but there is no other apparent tradition for this object, which is new to the Cypriot repertoire at this time. On the other hand, the Kaloriziki scepter has a near and immediate parallel in the Egyptian style hawks from Minet el Beida.

The bathtub, undecorated and not used as a sarcophagus like the Aegean bathtubs, may be a Cypriot tradition.

The only element which is not Levantine is the Aegean type cauldron in the Skales tomb 49. In this later, 11th century period, cauldrons and tripods found in Subminoan and Proto Geometric contexts may have been exported from there to Cyprus. Thus it is possible that the cauldron, or the idea of a cauldron, is due to a chance exchange with a trader familiar to the Aegean region. In this case, the bull protmes on the handles, and tripods known from earlier Levantine contexts, suggest the cauldron in question was not directly imported and had been adapted to use in an oriental context. Unless, as seems probable, the bronze tripods discovered in Late Bronze Age contexts at Alalakh and ras Shamra supported undiscovered bronze cauldrons.

Conclusion - Artefacts

On the whole, the number of new types of objects introduced on the Proto White Painted levels at Enkomi and in tombs associated with this pottery, is remarkable. It gives an image of a considerably different culture from that the which accompanied the importation and mass production of Myc. IIIB pottery.

The production of iron weapons and tools, the invention of iron tempering and hardening, the lost wax casting method for bronze, the soldering of bronze on bronze, recipients made from a single metal sheet, were unknown in the Mycenaean Aegean, where bronze was used for utilitarian purposes (A. Sakellariou 1988: 49; Vermeule 1964: 225, 226, 228 and fig. 38) The Mycenaeans reserved the greatest metallurgical craftsmanship for weapons, to the contrary of what happened in Cyprus, where it is applied to cult objects. Nothing suggests that Aegeans, settled in Cyprus, would have suddenly mastered and encouraged this type of work. The only refugees that would have done so would have been those for whom it was already a tradition. The Hittites, who used iron tools and bronze effigies requiring the lost wax casting method, were a presence in 13th and 14th Syria-Palestine.

The Mycenaeans, on the other hand excelled in working gold, silver and ivory. Yet the LC III Cypriote items in these materials consist of jewellery that is unknown in the Aegean region, especially earrings and the disk shaped pendants. Ivory has not been found in Proto White Painted contexts. Furthermore, neither the types of cauldron nor the weapons made in bronze in 13th century Greece were found in 12th century Cyprus. Only objects of Balkan inspiration appeared in the two regions, and apparently upon the same occasion.

Indeed, the Aegean bronze prototypes for these objects may have been looted, or melted, as is indicated on a linear B tablet from Tiryns (Muhly 1980). But couldn't the same be supposed for eventual Anatolian prototypes?

The lists on Table X demonstrate that the objects introduced to 12th century Cyprus had 13th century Syro-Anatolian parallels. In the case of 13th century spearheads, there is only one Mycenaean type as opposed to four Palestinian types. There is no chronological link for the gold horns, and it is possible that the rosettes and tweezers originated in the Near East where they are also known, although they become less frequent during the 13th century.

On one hand, Cyprus received such a quantity of goods from Syria and Anatolia that it seems to be the result of an immigration. On the other hand, a number of objects, also indicated on the Table XI, are found in the Aegean after 1150, and must have been the result of Cypriots moving into this region.

TABLE X

12TH CENTURY CYPRIOT ARTEFACTS THAT HAVE A FOREIGN 13TH PRECURSOR

SYRIA - PALESTINE	ANATOLIA	GREECE AEGEAN ISLES	BALKANS	EGYPT
Amulets	Armor Scales	Bathtubs	Fibulae	Amulets
Armor Scales	Bracelets	Cauldrons	Pins	Rings
Arrowheads	Crooks	Horns of Cons.	Shield Bosses	Scarabs
Bathtubs	Horns of Cons.	Knives	Swords	Scepters
Bowls	Needles	Rosettes		Swords
Bracelets	Obeloi	Scales		
Crooks	Pins	Seals		
Earrings	Rings	Spearheads		
Gold Plaques	Seals	Tweezers		
Horns of cons.	Tweezers			
Needles				
Pendants				
Rings				
Rosettes				
Scales				
Scepters				
Seals				
Shield boss				
Sieves				
Spearheads				
Statuettes				
Swords				
Tripods				
Tweezers				

12TH CENTURY ARTEFACTS THAT APPEAR FOR THE FIRST TIME IN AEGEAN MYC. III C AND SUBMINOAN CONTEXTS

GREECE	CRETE	RHODES
Armor Scale	Cauldrons	Earrings
Bowls	Fibulae	Fibulae
Fibulae	Knives	Gold Plaques
Finger Rings	Swords	
Knives	Tripods	
Pins		
Swords		
Tripods		

TABLE XI

New Elements 1175 B.C.

Presence of These Elements Outside of Cyprus From 1250-1175 B.C. in Order of Geographical Proximity with Proportions Relative to the Cypriot Material

Cyprus		Syria-Palestine	Anatolia	Rhodes	Troy	Crete	Greece	Balkans
POTTERY								
Shapes	9	5	4			1	3	
Figurines	1	1	1			1	1	
Imports	3	2						
Total :	13	8=62%	5=38%		1=8%	2=15%	4=31%	2=15%
ARCHITECTURE								
Plans : court and cella	1	1	1					
Ashlar	1	1	1			1	1	
Horns of consecration	1	1	1				1	
Tomb Plans	1			1		1	1	
Cremation	1	1	1		1		1	
Total :	5	4=80%	4=80%	1=20%	1=20%	2=40%	4=80%	
ARTEFACTS								
Jewellery	6	5	1	3			1	2
Household utensils	6	4	2					
Weapons	3	3	2				1	1
Cult objects	7	4					1	
Iron (weapons, tools)	1	1	1					
Total :	23	17=74%	6=26%	3=13%			3=13%	3=13%
Total global :	41	29=**71**%	15=**37**%	4=10%	2=5%	4=10%	11=**27**%	3=7%

CONCLUSION

Foreign Contributions to Cyprus

Table XI showing the considerable amount of material that appears in Cyprus for the first time in the 12th century, reveals that 71% is related to Syria Palestine and 37% to Anatolia, which corresponds, as would be expected, to geographical proximity. Thus it is possible that a large majority of Cypriot novelties were due to a Syro-Hittite incursion, resulting from the collusion between the Hittites and the Syrians mentioned in Hittite and Ugaritic texts from the 13th century and reflected by Hittite monuments and inscriptions in Syrian regions as early as the 12th century (Albright 1975: 526-529).

Only 27% of the material has Greek antecedents, and even this small percentage may not be prototypical. One of the two pottery shapes, the hydria, which may have directly influenced the shape's appearance in the Proto White Painted repertoire, is interpreted as "Mycenaean" because of the position of the handles; however the body outline recalls Hittite shapes; which of the two criteria should prevail? Ashlar was known in three regions, including 13th century Greece, but the embossing of the stone and its use for building temples links it to the Near East. Gold rosettes may also have a Near Eastern origin because in Cyprus they are elements of diadems. As for Cypriot horns of consecration, the prototype may have been Anatolian given their flat tips. In fact, it is possible that Greece had no immediate influence on Cyprus in the period under study here, although there was certainly contact.

On the other hand, there is a resemblance between the pre-Mycenaean Minoan and Cypriot material present in Middle Bronze and Late Bronze I strata:

the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic pottery shapes and geometric decoration bear a striking resemblance to Aegean and Cypriot pottery four hundred years earlier, a period when linear A and Cypro-Minoan scripts appear, perhaps originating in Anatolia, along with a pottery style that spreads as far as Macedonia on the Greek continent (Heurtley 1927: 180). The decorative motifs of bronze amphoroid kraters are also an unexpected resurgence of Middle Minoan themes. The chronological link is difficult to discern within Cyprus, and may remain to be discovered in future excavations, but as far as is known, these traditions must have survived in Anatolia, from where they originated in the Middle Bronze Age (Kosay 1966: pl. CLIII; Bittel 1976).

Concerning other artefacts, the advanced metallurgical craftsmanship that appears at Enkomi after 1200 finds its only parallel in Hittite civilization, probably inherited from a pre-Hittite Anatolian tradition as it appears at Alaca Hüyük that produced sceptres, swords, bosses and sun emblems sculpted in bronze where the craftsmanship recalls that of Cypriot objects were the chronological spread not so long. The Hittite inventory lists and the sculpted hatchet from 13th century Bogazköy are more immediate traces of this rich metallurgical tradition (Bittel 1976: 298, pl. 39; Yelen 1995: 103). The intensified taste and talent for metallurgy seems to have been transmitted to Cyprus at the time of the upheavals that led to the abandonment of Hittite centers at the end of the 13th century.

The Naue II sword type, arched fibulae, pins, Handmade Burnished Ware, and, to some degree, a reinforced taste for geometric motifs on painted pottery have Balkan antecedents.

The Contribution of Cyprus to her Neighbors

V. Desborough recognized that there was a movement from Cyprus towards the Aegean “probably of objects only and not of people,” in LH IIIC:2 contexts

at the Kerameikos and Salamis cemeteries in Attica and Subminoan contexts in Crete. (Desborough 1964: 203; 1971: 145; 1975: 669). He largely perceived this Cypriot influence in pottery modifications and the introduction of iron. He also points out that in LC IIIA links between Cyprus and the coastal regions of Egypt and Palestine must have existed, since ivory was still used and gold was accessible, so "it is not therefore surprising that Cypriot artefacts, both of pottery and metal found their way to the Aegean" (Desborough 1964: 204). The parallels between the LH IIIC:2 pottery repertoire and Cypriot Proto White Painted indicate a shared cultural transformation, especially concerning ritual vessels, rather than the direct imports and exports that result from a trade relationship. Protogeometric tombs from Lefkandi containing Sekhmet beads, the centaur and an iron sword, all of which occur in Cyprus alongside the immediately earlier Proto White Painted ware, suggest that their presence may have been due to a Cypriot expansion westward during this period.

Although the presence of Syrian flasks and jars in Cyprus indicates that Cyprus was importing from Syria at the time Proto White Painted was being used, a reverse trade activity isn't apparent until the 1050 devastations that inaugurate the White Painted I style. In this period a small amount of White Painted I has been found in most areas of Palestine.[25]

Three Historical Hypotheses

An influx of Mycenaean or Aegean settlers

In his influential book *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*, Desborough (1964: 204) was working in a context that enabled him to write that in LC III

25 The appearance of large quantities of locally produced Myc. IIIC:1b pottery, resembling the Cypriot ware, at Philistine sites such as Tel Miqne and Ashdod is a complex issue that escapes the confines of this study to Proto White Painted contexts. In any case it appears at a time when imports to these sites cease (T. Dothan 1989: 3).

"the conception of earlier and purely Mycenaean groups making their way to Cyprus needs no reconsideration." Having defended the arrival of Mycenaeans in LC IIIA Cyprus at the time of the major destruction levels that brought to an end the Bronze Age cultures of the east Mediterranean region, he justifies (1964: 204-205) a second Mycenaean incursion in the LC IIIB period with the following evidence: Mycenaean chamber tombs, Proto White Painted pottery, fibulae and pins, and the scepter from Kaloriziki tomb 40 accompanying a cremation, which for Desborough, corresponds to the cremations at Perati in Attica and the Dodecanese. I have argued that neither the origins nor the chronology of these elements support their introduction to Cyprus by Mycenaeans.

This curious contradiction of the givens has been consistently reiterated. Catling's attribution of an advanced metallurgy in 12th century Cyprus to the arrival of a Mycenaean population depended on attributing the tripod and swords found at Ugarit to post abandonment squatters, contrary to the interpretation of the excavators. Karageorghis attributed the ashlar walls of the Kition temples to Achaeans, although he himself admitted that nothing comparable is known in the Aegean or Greece and the closest counterparts are from Ugarit. Dikaois gave credence to the idea that Enkomi was Salamis, founded by Teucer at the head of a group of Achaeans who would have introduced the Myc. IIIC:1b ware. In her study describing the pictorial motifs on 11th century Cypriot pottery, Iakovou makes little reference to Anatolian shapes or decoration. However she does discern an innovative Levantine influence (1988: pp. 3, 49). This does not prevent her from concluding that Proto White Painted ware and Philistine pottery in the Levant are due to "Aegean settlers who had reached the Syro-Palestinian coast in the 12th century". (1988: 84). She admits nothing survived of the Aegean settlers in Syria-Palestine but "In Cyprus, on the other hand, the Greek-speaking successors of the "Mycenaeans" were not engulfed by the

strong, conservative Cypriote society." She further hypothesizes that the city kingdoms of the Classical period were founded in LC IIIB. E. Masson (1988 :324), in an article tracing cremation rites to the Balkans and Anatolia, concludes that the rite was introduced to Cyprus via the Aegean, without specifying that this would be from along the Anatolian coast and nearby islands.

Contradictory observations can be made in response to such assumptions. If Cypriot Myc. IIIC:1b pottery was a Levanto-Helladic modification affecting LH IIIC:1, which its' recently established earlier chronology permits (Kling 1989, Sherratt 1991 and 1994), it can be argued that fibulae, pins, iron weapons, tripods, may have appeared earlier in Cyprus than on mainland Greece or Crete. Although the long dromos of the type V chamber tomb may be an Aegean influence, the 12th century users of these tombs, even in Greece, had undergone significant modifications of their Mycenaean culture, such as individual rather than collective burials, and occasional cremation. In this period the Aegean tombs were reused by people who introduced new objects and rituals – similar to those observed in Cyprus. They were formerly identified as "Dorians" who would have responsible for the expulsion of the Mycenaeans towards Cyprus; but would the Mycenaeans have brought to Cyprus the innovations of the people they were fleeing? Or else, they were supposed to have been wandering "nostoi", although this is a time when the Trojan War most probably could not have taken place.

There must be other, implicit, reasons for these conclusions of a Mycenaean (Achaean, Aegean) incursion in Cyprus during this period. Probably the changes in the material record are confused with a Mycenaean influence because the Mycenaeans had already been clearly present in Cyprus and Ugarit during the 14th and 13th centuries, when they left a particularly strong imprint on the ceramic development in both regions. So if a population shifted from Ugarit to

Cyprus this aspect of the Mycenaean record would remain. Insofar as scholars have increasingly replaced “Mycenaeans,” or “Achaeans,” by “Aegeans” it is because it has been increasingly observed that towards the end of the 13th century East European bronze items and a “Barbarian” ware show the passage of tribes, perhaps the mercernaries, as well as invaders, depicted at Karnak and Medinet Habu, who must have arrived via the Aegean islands: either through the Greek mainland if they were coming from Italy, or via Thrace or Anatolia and the Dodecanese islands, if they were descending from the Balkans. Later scholars have realized that the innovations of supposedly Aegean origin cannot be clearly attributed to Mycenaean factors on a chronological basis; whereas Desborough (1964: 204) assumed that the Mycenaeans would have had time to incorporate them into their own culture.

This confusion, placing the arrival of Mycenaeans in the Levant ca. 1190 (in accordance with Eratosthenes’ possibly erroneous calculation of heroic lineage back to this date), resulted from placing the Trojan War at Troy level VIIa. The war more probably took place at Troy level VI. It may have been a chronic, long drawn out affair, of the legendary ten years. Level VI can be dated to approximately the same period as the west Anatolian coastal intrigues and skirmishes that the rulers of Hattusa complained about concerning the personage of Madduwata and the man from Piggaya, as well as the lands of Ahhiwaya and Arzawa, but they did not yet involve the transforming disasters that led to the Sea Peoples migrations at the end of the 13th century. In any case, the Trojan War heralded the gradual breakdown of the Mycenaean kingships during the 13th century.

There is a waning of typically Mycenaean traditions at this time, even in the Aegean. The frescoed palaces, family tombs, gold work, cult apparatus like moveable clay altars, snake effigies, figure of eight shields, and the double axe symbolism, so characteristic of the Mycenaean elite were not transferred to

Cyprus. The great Mycenaean era of the 14th and 13th century trading emporia, and very possibly settlement, in Cyprus where palaces, open air cult areas, and language had a more Aegean aspect than elsewhere, seem to have been transformed by Balkan, Anatolian and Syrian discontent and displacements.

Indigenous socio-economic adaptations

Even more problematic than placing the Trojan War at a date when the Mycenaean sites were reflecting an increasing impoverishment and traces of Levantine influences, is the present tendency to deny what Schliemann's intuition had so brilliantly brought to light: that Hissarlik is really Troy or that the War ever really took place. This would erase the wandering "nostoi" (whom I would place at the end of the 14th or early 13th century, if at all) from the historical record and encourage the "new archaeological" theories of indigenous development, popularized by Colin Renfrew.

Most recently, the interpretation of the Bronze/Iron Age transition in Cyprus has overstressed the physical adaptation processes of this theory in interpreting the material evidence. According to this theory, newcomers are not a necessary cause of abrupt changes in archaeological or historical evidence. Change would take place as an internal local process, that Renfrew (1978) tried to generalize in terms of René Thom's, since discredited (Horton 1995), "catastrophe" theory. Furthermore, modern neo-Marxist dogma holds that all traditional culture, particularly the myths and metaphysics, is a manipulation of a self enhancing elite versus the "naives." Hence foreign novelties may simply serve to legitimize a transfer of power within competing local elites.

In this vein, B. Knapp (1986) set out to prove that the bronze items found for the first time in an altered 12th century context at Enkomi were, in fact, prestigious heirlooms from the 13th century, enhancing a local elite. This possibility is also

raised by J. Muhly (1982: 256) and S. Sherratt (1992: 326-327), who argue a continuity in the bronzes and the Myc. IIIC:1b ware preceding and following the early 12th century destruction levels. The suggestion that it is more reasonable to view bronzes such as the Catling type 1 swords found in hoards, as "implements representing types long in use," (Muhly 1982: 256; Knapp 1986) is worth considering, but the even earlier Ras Shamra sword contexts do not preclude the possibility of a diffusion from the Levantine coastal region. The continuity in Myc. IIIC:1b pottery may indicate a local Cypriot development in the absence of imports, but it does not belie the arrival and settlement of a foreign population, suggested by the increasingly Levantine aspect of Myc. IIIC ware as the following century progresses. Newcomers may well have accepted the existing pottery and workshops (in fact Mycenaean ware was already in use at Ugarit), but within a generation, and increasingly, they would transform it in terms of their own temperament.

Concerning cult practices, J. Webb (1999: 288-295) attributes the 12th century shift in cult practices and the appearances of temples, to a political transformation process, involving trade and an economic redistribution of authority. However, there is little mention of the destruction levels that are ubiquitous elsewhere than in Cyprus during this period (other than vaguely, in so far as they indicate a copper trade disruption), or the events referred to in Egyptian, Hittite and Ugaritic texts. Instead, her conclusion concerning cult practice at this time alludes to "elites" seeking to legitimize their authority, and economic and trade factors motivating the restructuring of social (landscape) patterns. She gives the following interpretation of the givens: "Material residues both here (the Area I cult area) and in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God suggest observances involving conspicuous display and the manipulation of unique bronze images. For other sectors of the community these sites must have served as physical

manifestations of ritual and political power and a legitimation (legitimizing) of social inequality" (Webb 1999: 296). This modern point of view would probably seem bizarre indeed to the minds of other human cultures, all of which have spiritually encoded their relationship to natural phenomena in one way or another. Social manipulation by elites, even amongst the elite themselves, may have been completely irrelevant to the scale of their collective perception of existence, particularly in an agrarian, pre-technological society, where natural forces are preponderant experiences.

The number of significant innovations in cult contexts at the beginning of the 12th century make it difficult to argue an heirloom continuity. Webb resorts to a theory promulgated by H.W. Helms and B. Knapp (1998). She asserts (1999: 302) that "knowledge and experiences obtained from distant lands are frequently imbued with latent power and have the capacity to increase the prestige of those who acquire them." Has this ever been concretely observed? In fact, ancestral land based populations, in the past as today, are not on record as being awed by the possession of foreign artefacts (although an exception may be made for certain technologies), particularly in the realm of spirituality and cults. Any perturbation in this realm is more apt to draw hostility. Foreign elements may be imposed, or tolerated, under certain circumstances, but this does not mean that they are immediately incorporated into ancestral religious and cultural convictions in order to legitimize a newly rising local elite.

A Levantine population displacement

In fact, if simply observed, the Cypriot material evidence of the Bronze/Iron Age transition forms its own pattern.

The comparison of Ugaritic temples and cult items with the Kition and Enkomi discoveries, which breaks with what is known of earlier Cypriot practices, is

striking. The El seated statuettes, the Baal/Reshef figurines, the striding horned God, the foundation deposits, votive livers and anchors associated with independent temple areas at Kition, bronze tripods, sculpted birds of prey, all have closely related counterparts from immediately earlier Ugarit. Cremation burials at Hama, importations of Canaanite jars, and flasks indicate close contact with Syria-Palestine as the Iron Age (according to Schaeffer's chronology) progresses.

Although proportionally small, evidence from the Balkans should not be underestimated. It coincides chronologically with the first Sea Peoples' raids mentioned by Merneptah and the ensuing correspondence between the rulers of Hattusa, Ugarit, and Alashiya preoccupied by famines and land and coastal raids. The evidence for widespread drought and famine in regions controlled by the Hittites ca. 1200, is well documented (Mellaart 1984: 66; Drews 1993: 77-84; Robbins 2001: 194-201). Balkan mercenaries may well have added their force to Anatolian tribes in revolt, although perhaps later Balkan traces should not be attributed to direct presences. J. Bouzek (1985: 241) remarks that the actual objects exported from the Balkans were exceptional and that more than 95% of the European type weapons in the Aegean were locally made. Thus knowledge of the types was transmitted by only a few items "in corpore." Which doesn't belie their introduction by mercenaries; but it is not clear when that would have happened. As Bouzek suggests, it may have involved a generation or two to for them to become part of a local repertoire.

The conclusion that P. J. Riis formulated for Syria in the framework of his research on Hama and Sukas may hold true for Cyprus as well. He wrote that the Homeric myths of the foundation of cities on the Syrian coast by Mycenaean heroes, following the Trojan War cannot be confirmed "for the Mycenaean finds in Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine have no direct continuation in the

form of importations from Greece proper (Riis 1973: 205)" and, "theoretically, Anatolia may well have been the country from where both Aegean Greece and Syria derived the said phenomena (urn cremations, iron, fibulae, "cut and thrust" swords), even if we shall have to reckon both with some influence from Europe beyond the Balkans and with some interrelations between the Aegean and Syria" (Riis 1973: 199). Bouzek documents a similar observation in his 1997 study *Greece Anatolia and Europe: Cultural Interrelations during the Early Iron Age*. At the close of the Bronze Age, Balkan fibulae, swords, wheel motifs, etc. are Caucasian aspects that took root in the Balkans before they appeared in the Mediterranean areas. They seem to have been carried into the Aegean via the Anatolian coast rather than Greece, as is reflected in the Myc. IIIC:1 modifications of evidence in Rhodes, Cos and Samos, notably the presence of Catling's type I sword at Cos and Samos. This type of material also appears in Cyprus first in Myc. IIIC:1b, then in Proto White Painted, contexts. An article by Courtois (1972) clarifies the European presence in the East Mediterranean at the Bronze/Iron Age transition. Here he determined that the corresponding finds had been transmitted to Cyprus from Italy and northern Europe, as well as the Balkans, via Greece and the Aegean. Whether or not the Balkan typologies arrived in Cyprus via Greece or the Anatolian coast and its islands remains an open question. The essential is that they are newly received by both the Mycenaean world and the Levant during the same period.

Mycenae and other Greek mainland capitols were not completely abandoned at the time of Ramses III's rebuttal of the northern invaders. Like the Egyptian capitols, their former magnificence was gone. On the other hand, Hattusa and Ugarit were definitively abandoned. Carchemish seems to have been a relay for Hattusa. Might not Kition, and to a lesser degree, Enkomi have been relays for Ugarit? Given the relative wealth and renewed activity attested to by the finds

at Enkomi and Kition, a relatively elite element of the battered social amalgam resulting from the strife and famine of the late 13th early 12th century survived in Cyprus. It is not difficult to recognize this elite as survivors that fled from Ugarit.

The absence of Ugaritic cuneiform, as well as linear B, does not argue for the absence of the remnants of Ugaritic civilization. The inscriptions on the Skales obelos proves that Bronze Age Cypriot writing with slight modifications was retained during this period, if only as a mark of possession. Already a form of Cypro-Minoan was commonly used at Ugarit, thus known and not necessarily replaced. The Late Bronze – Early Iron Age social upheavals meant that forms of writing, other than to note possession, were not necessary. The entire organizational structure of society had collapsed along with the palaces. Archives, legal and diplomatic letters, were no longer necessary. Scribes were the unnecessary luxury of particular hierarchies. The more essentially human prayers and myths could be, and were, preserved in oral tradition.

The Ugaritic elements that survived in Cyprus left the most prosperous traces in the East Mediterranean region during the difficult 12th century. They culminated in the elite tomb 40 at Kaloriziki and the tomb 49 at Skales. However the palaces, and with them the Bronze Age royalty, never recovered from the disasters depicted at Karnak and Medinet Habou ca. 1190. The Syrians who seem to have fled to Cyprus, close to home, were religious and industrious and fared relatively well, but they didn't transmit the royal status reflected by scribes and palaces. The apparently willing assimilation of the European wanderers into the way of life of the Syrian newcomers suggests these Syrians may have belonged to one of the local tribes that overthrew the Bronze Age rulers, with the aid of impoverished adventurers arriving from Europe.

Might not theories of Achaean, Aegean colonisations, or indigenous social

developments, be more coloured by present day preconceptions, than what the material evidence, including contemporaneous written documents, offers?

This is not to insist upon a definitive interpretation of events during the transformations that permitted distinguishing the Bronze from the Iron Age in the East Mediterranean koine that included Cyprus. The addition of further material may confirm, or considerably alter, our understanding. But at present this is what the materially founded chronological and geographical patterns reflect.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	*The American Journal of Archaeology*
Annuario	*Annuario della R. Scuola Archologica di Atene*
Arch. Anz.	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts ; Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AS	*Anatolian Studies*
Ath. Mitt.	*Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
Atti e Memorie	*Atti a Memorie del Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia*
AV	*Archéologie Vivante : Chypre*,vol. II, n° 3, 1969
BAM	R. A. Crossland, A. Birchall (eds.), *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance Hellénique*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CBMW	H. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
Cesnola Cat.	J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from New York*
Cyprus-Crete	*Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium : the Relations between Cyprus and Crete ca. 2000 - 500 B.C.*
Enkomi	P. Dikaios, *Enkomi Excavations,1948-1958*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
LM	V. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*
MP	A. Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery : Analysis and Classification*
Myk. V.	A. Furtwängler, G. Loeschke, *Mykenische Vasen*
MEM	*Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium : the Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean*
Opus. Arch.	*Opuscula Archaologica, Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*
Op. Ath.	*Opuscula Atheniensia, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae*
PEQ	*The Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

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