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

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3.1 Cypro-Aegean Synchronisms in Interaction Period 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2 The Earlier Phase of Interaction Period 1

3.2.1 The Historical Background of the Aegean

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.2 The Historical Background of Cyprus

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3 The Very Beginning of Contacts: The Aegean Perspective

3.3.1 Cypriot Pottery in Crete

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

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

3.3.2 Cypriot Copper in the Aegean

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4 The Very Beginning of Contacts: The Cypriot Perspective

3.4.1 The Earliest Minoan Imports

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4.2 The Trade Relations with Other Aegean Areas

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4.3 The Beginning of the 'Dodecanesian Connection'

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

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

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

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

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

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

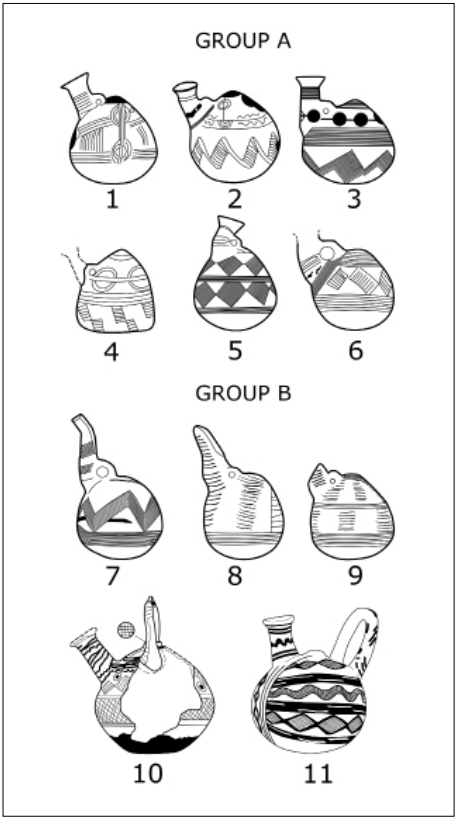

Figure 3.1
Cypriot duck askoi. Not to scale.
Redrawn by Miriam Colella

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

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

3.5 The Later Phase of Interaction Period 1

3.5.1 The Aegean Historical Background

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.5.2 The Cypriot Historical Background

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

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

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

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

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

3.6.1 The Scarce Evidence for Cypriot Pottery Imported to Crete

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

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

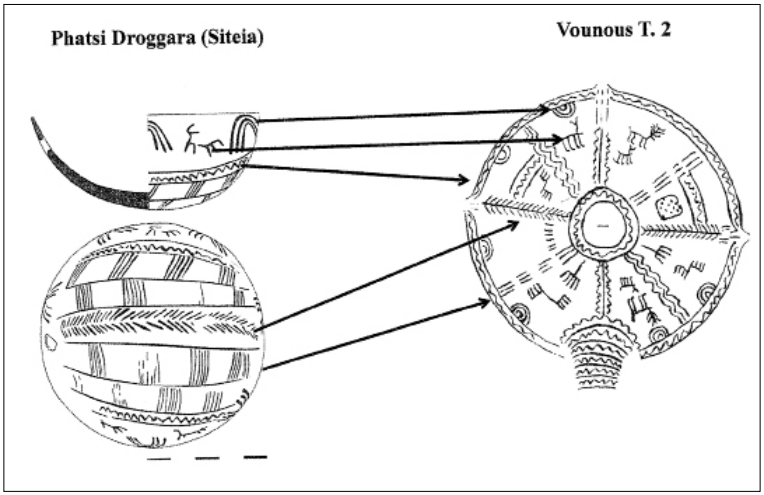

Figure 3.2
The incised decoration of the Black Polished bowl from Phatsi Doggara, Siteia (Crete) compared to the painted decoration of the White Painted I bridge-spouted bowl from Vounous Tomb 2 (Cyprus). Redrawn by Mario Epifani

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

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

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

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

3.6.2 Other Problematic Pottery from the Aegean

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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