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

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4.1 Cypro-Aegean Synchronisms in Interaction Period 2

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

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

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

4.2.1 The Aegean

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.2 Cyprus

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.1 Pottery

4.3.1.1 Cypriot Pottery Imported to Crete

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

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

Table 4.1 Cypriot pottery imported to Crete during Interaction Period 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.1.2 Cypriot Pottery Imported to the Cyclades and the Greek Mainland

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.1.3 The 'Dodecanesian Connection' in Interaction Period 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 4.2 Minoan bowls with wishbone handles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

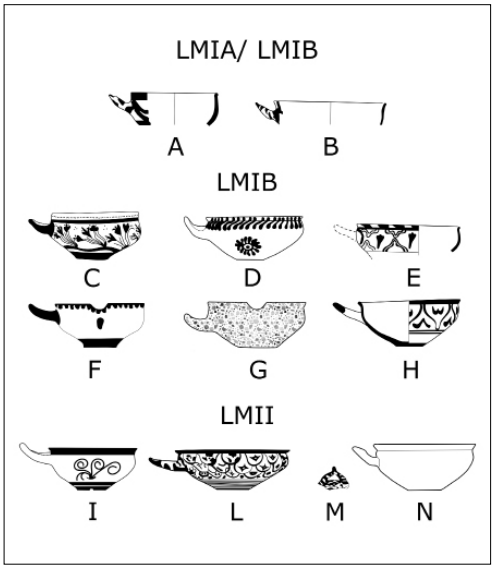

Figure 4.2
The Aegean cups with wishbone handle. Redrawn by Miriam Colella. A (Trianda): Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 466 fig. 3: 19; B (Trianda): Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 466 fig. 3: 20; C (Poros): Table 4.2 no. 1; D (Ayia Irini, Keos): Table 4.2 no. 2; E (Kommos): Table 4: 2 no. 9; F (Kythera):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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.2 Oxhide Ingots and Copper-Based Artifacts

4.3.2.1 Oxhide Ingots

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.2.2 Copper-Based Artifacts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.3 Prestige Objects

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.1 Pottery

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.2 Aegean Copper-Based Artifacts on Cyprus

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

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

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

4.4.3 Prestige Objects

4.4.3.1 Precious Vessels

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.3.2 Gold Roundels

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

4.4.3.3 Seals

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

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

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

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

4.4.4 Cypro-Minoan Script

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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