7 Conclusions: The Development of Cypro-Aegean Interaction from the Third Millennium BC Until Ca 1200 BC

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7.1 A General Overview

The archaeological synopsis of Interaction Period 1 clearly elucidates the prerequisites that contributed to the increase in contacts between Crete and Cyprus that characterized Interaction Period 2 when the apex of Minoan civilization was reached in the Neopalatial period. In Interaction Period 3, Mycenaean Palatial society developed and, *inter alia*, gained trade hegemony within the Aegean. In this period

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on Cyprus, stratified urban society was consolidated and the commercial and cultural links with the other Mediterranean countries were strengthened. In Interaction Period 4, Mycenaean civilization reached its climax of cultural expansion across the Aegean, maintaining trade dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean until it eventually collapsed when the major sites on the Greek mainland were either destroyed by fire or abandoned. In this period the role of Crete in Cypro-Aegean contacts, which had been particularly active until the beginning of the Monopalatial period, was clearly superseded by the dynamic activities of the Mycenaeans in the Mediterranean, but the relationship did not disappear completely since Crete maintained contacts with Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The following section synthesizes the interaction between the Aegean and Cyprus through a regional approach, but it should be underlined that, for the sake of brevity, references of specific objects are available in the detailed discussions in relevant chapters and are not repeated in this section.

7.2 Crete and Cyprus

7.2.1 The Beginning of Contacts Between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1

This study has distinguished an Early Phase and a Late Phase within Interaction Period 1. The Early Phase corresponds to the very beginning of contacts in the final phase of the Prepalatial period on Crete and EC IIIB or EC III-MC I on Cyprus (see §§ 3.2-3.4), while the Late Phase corresponds to the Protopalatial period (MM IA-MM IIB) and the beginning of the Neopalatial period (MM III) on Crete and roughly to MC I-MC III on Cyprus (see §§ 3.5-3.7).

Many scholars repeatedly point out the lack of archaeological data illustrating the connectivity between the Aegean and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1.[1] While this is true, there is broad consensus that interesting elements exist which are worth discussing. In the Aegean, Knossos was one of the main sites that established trade relationships with various countries of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Prepalatial period (Sørensen 2009b, 11-13 with earlier refs, 20, fig. 4), and it is important to note that it began to play a primary role in Cypro-Aegean connections from this period onwards. This is clear from the identification of the Cypriot fragmentary Red Polished III amphora in the palace area and further confirmed by the likely Knossian

1 Knapp 1990b, tab. 3; 2013, 307, 309-10; Keswani 2005, 387; Webb, Knapp 2020.

production of the Minoan bridge-spouted jar found in Lapithos Pennsylvania Tomb 6A (Wilson 1994, 41 fn. 132 with refs, either MM III or MM IA; Momigliano 2007, 103).

The limited evidence in terms of imported artifacts, however, is mitigated by the Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts. Mediterranean trade in Cypriot copper began very early, and this explains why some EM artifacts made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores were found in the necropolis at Ayia Photia in northeast Cretan contexts that can be considered contemporary with the Chalcolithic period on Cyprus (Stos-Gale, Gale 2003, 91-2, tab. 5; Peltenburg 2011, 6). Although the main copper sources for Early and Middle Bronze Age artifacts from Greece and the islands were located in the Cyclades (Stos-Gale 2000, 63 fig. 3.4), Lead Isotope analysis suggests that Cyprus was the second largest copper source used for the production of Cretan tools and weapons in the Prepalatial period, when Cretan copper samples consistent with production from Cypriot ores clearly surpassed the amount of artifacts made of copper from Laurion or other more distant sources (Stos-Gale, Macdonald 1991, 267 fig. 7a; also cf. Stos-Gale 2001, 195, 200-1, fig. 10.2; Sørensen 2008, 157). Despite some inaccuracy in the past publications, Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts from the Mesara plain seems to suggest that south-central Crete, where the important Prepalatial site of Phaistos is located, probably also became part of the Cypro-Aegean trade network. The lack of imported Cypriot artifacts in this area, however, makes it difficult to determine if contacts between the Mesara and Cyprus were direct or indirect, involving other centers such as Knossos, which had already established trade contacts with the Mesara in the Prepalatial period (Wilson, Day 1994; Whitelaw 2004, 238-42). At any rate, it is clear that Cypriot copper was transported to Crete as far back as the very beginning of Cypro-Aegean contacts, and this is probably the main reason for the incipient participation of the two islands in a common trade network (Betancourt 1998b).

From the Cypriot perspective, material evidence from early contacts is also not plentiful. The most renowned find is the Prepalatial bridge-spouted jar from Lapithos Pennsylvania Tomb 6A (= 806A), which probably was of Knossian manufacture, but different chronologies have been suggested for the context, although MC I is the preferred date. It should also be pointed out that this tomb, particularly rich in metal artifacts, belonged to an elite group. In addition to a Minoan three-sided prism seal and a possible link between some of the goldwork from Lapithos and some gold foil 'leaves' from Mochlos on Crete, the list of Minoan imports to Cyprus also likely includes daggers and additional bronzes from tombs excavated at Vounous and Lapithos. For a long time, they were considered Cretan imports, and this possibility has been recently reinforced by Lead Isotope Analysis

which confirms that a dagger from an EC III context at Lapithos was imported from the Aegean.

Concerning the location of Minoan finds on Cyprus, many decades ago, J. Stewart (1962a, 297-8; cf. Webb, Knapp 2020) emphasized the importance of the north coastal strip of Cyprus to external interactions in the EBA and in the MC I based on the concentration in the area of the most important sites of the period, as well as the relevant evidence for contacts. This interpretation has not changed significantly, but J. Webb has made recent contributions to the understanding of the

> relationship between site location, resource procurement and political economy in the context of three localised centres of settlement – Vasilia, Vounous, and Lapithos. (2018, 1)

Despite some recent criticisms (Mina 2013, 39-41), Webb has made clear beyond doubt that, in the Early and Middle Bronze Age, the main northern sites acted as gateway communities, benefiting from their advantageous position in a key region for long distance trade that was connected to the inland copper producing areas.[2] The Pentadaktylos range was not an insuperable barrier along the north coast of Cyprus, especially if we consider that there were ceramic connections between Lapithos and the mineral zones such as the Ambelikou area, where new mining villages were established in MC I probably as a result of the increasing foreign demand for Cypriot copper (Webb, Knapp 2020). Lapithos also established connections with other inland sites, such as Deneia and the necropolis at Ayia Paraskevi in Nicosia (Webb 2013, 66-7; Georgiou 2013, 88-9). The importance of the north coastal region is indeed reflected in the quantity of metal deposited in the tombs at Vounous and Lapithos during EC III-MC I, although the peak of the deposition of metal artifacts at Lapithos was reached in the following MC period (Webb 2018, fig. 9). It is therefore very likely that EC and MC copper came from the Skouriotissa area to the north coast through the Panagra pass, while the raw material of the ore bodies in the NE Troodos was conveyed through the Agirdha pass (2013, 66-7; 2018, figs 15-16; also cf. Frankel, Webb 2007, 155-60). Even if available evidence attests to more sporadic than systematic trade relations (Keswani 2005, 387; Knapp 2013c, 114), at least in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, the northern coastal sites may be regarded as the starting points for the westward copper trade, going towards Rhodes and the Southeast Aegean and then on to Crete and elsewhere in the Aegean. Referring to the long-distance Eastern and Western imports occurring in the northern

2 Webb et al. 2009, 249-51; Webb 2013, 59-67; 2018; Webb, Knapp 2020.

zone of Cyprus, Webb (2018) also regarded the suggested number (40) of all the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean imports reported from Cyprus in the period from the Philia phase to MC II as a "significant underestimate" because some earlier calculations were clearly misleading, taking into account only the metal finds from the cemeteries at Lapithos, Bellapais and Karmi (Webb, Knapp 2020, tab. 2).

Within the narrow limits of the available data, all the evidence of the earliest contacts both from the Aegean and Cypriot perspectives not only shows that Crete was the main Aegean trade partner, but also that Knossos likely played a prominent role, although the Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts from the Mesara plain seems to suggest that this area of Crete was involved in the Cypro-Aegean trade network directly or indirectly via Knossos. Returning to Webb (2018) for the Cypriot perspective, it is not by chance that in this period the main evidence for Aegean (and Eastern Mediterranean) contacts was concentrated in three localized settlement centers (Vasilia, Vounous, and Lapithos) that acted as gateway communities on the north coastal strip of Cyprus, which was a key region for long distance trade because of its connections to the inland copper producing areas. Therefore, this coastal area of Cyprus offered the starting points for the westward copper trade, where crucial importance can also be assigned to Rhodes and the Southeast Aegean, as suggested in the discussion on the earliest phase of the 'Dodecanesian connection' (see § 3.4.3) summarized below. Although the evidence for Minoan contacts in the north sector of Cyprus dating from Interaction Period 1 to Interaction Period 3 clearly is primarily indicative of Cypro-Aegean trade, it should also be considered that the coastal route from the Aegean to Cyprus was the westernmost course of a longer sea route linking the Aegean, primarily Crete, to the northern Levant.

Considering the substantial cultural and economic developments on Crete during the Protopalatial period, as well as the relative presence of Minoan pottery in the coastal sites of the Eastern Mediterranean, the scarce evidence for pottery exchange between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1, Later Phase, is rather surprising (see § 3.6.1). Only a Cypriot vase from Phatsi Droggara in the Siteia district of eastern Crete may be recognized as a Cypriot product likely dating to the Protopalatial period, although its archaeological context was much later. However, it should be recalled that from MM IIA onwards a Protopalatial palace was located at Petras near Siteia, and in the same area there are Prepalatial sites, such as Ayia Photia *Kouphota* (with evidence of metallurgical activities) and Chamaizi (Ayia Photia *Kouphota*: Tsipopoulou 2007; Chamaizi: Xanthoudides 1906; Lenuzza 2011). Moreover, in northeast Crete, Mochlos acted as "a major Minoan port open to Eastern and especially North Syrian trade" from the EM period onwards (Davaras, Soles 1995, 31). In

the Mesara, Lead Isotope Analyses of copper-based artifacts from Prepalatial and Protopalatial contexts also show a marked drop between the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods suggesting a sizable decrease in the proportion of Cypriot copper in the Protopalatial period in contrast to an increase in the use of copper coming from the Cycladic and Laurion sources. However, the Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts from a 'workshop' in Quarter My at Malia no doubt shows that in the Protopalatial period Cypriot copper was used elsewhere on Crete, although in a limited quantity.

The scarcity of contacts is also seen in the Cypriot archaeological record, where the only Minoan vessel found is the Kamares cup from Karmi (see § 3.7). This vessel cannot definitively be attributed to a specific place of production, but based primarily on its shape, it may tentatively be considered an import from the Siteia district. If the cup is of Knossian production and dated to MM IB or MM IIA, as its decoration strongly suggests, this would provide additional confirmation of the pivotal role of Knossos in the infrequent contacts with the north coast of Cyprus, although Kommos may also have been an important harbor (Van de Moortel 2006b, 630-3). Caloi (2009, 45-7, 51-6) suggested that the Levantine peoples living in coastal sites acted as middlemen for the trade between Crete and Cyprus and that the few Minoan objects found on Cyprus were exchanged in the Levant. However, if the Karmi cup belongs to MM IB or MM IIA while all the Protopalatial pottery exported to Egypt and the Levantine coast can be dated from MM IIA onwards, as suggested by Caloi herself (2013, 366-7), contacts between Protopalatial Crete and the mainland countries of the Eastern Mediterranean possibly developed after the placing of the Kamares cup into the Karmi tomb. P. Keswani (2004, 76) did not note any peculiarity in the evidence of the "Seafarer's Tomb" at Karmi. However, a later analysis of this burial by Webb et al. (2009, 246-7) has underlined the unique characteristics of the buried individual, who was older than sixty and had a congenital defect that would have impeded mobility from birth. The study also emphasized the presence of unusual grave goods and suggested that the deceased was a prominent individual, although for indeterminable reasons. Therefore, even if there is limited direct evidence to suggest elite exchange between Crete and Cyprus in this period, the unusual character of the contexts of the two vases attests to reciprocal contacts.

Since the artifacts reciprocally exchanged between the Aegean and Cyprus are very few in both phases of Interaction Period 1, any statistical comparison is admittedly impossible.[3] Notwithstanding,

3 Rehak and Younger (2001, 427) noted that "the evidence for Protopalatial contacts with Cyprus, and Cypriot copper, seems slight", while Keswani (2005, 387-91) used the term "sporadic" to define all the long-distance trade in the MC I-II periods, but this

circumstantial evidence suggests that, after the beginning of contacts in the earlier phase, during the later phase of Interaction Period 1, trade between the Aegean and Cyprus did not substantially develop in proportion to the increase of international commerce involving Crete and Cyprus. The Kamares pottery was appreciated (and imitated) in Egypt and was exported to the Levant, while a cuneiform text from Mari refers to contacts with Crete, and in MM IB-II, Knossos had access to some fine luxury goods from Egypt (Caloi 2013, 368 with refs). Connections between Egypt and Phaistos also are apparent in the Protopalatial period (Carinci 2000, 36; Caloi 2013, 366), although Caloi wondered if

> the Phaistian products found outside Crete first arrived in Knossos and then were exported from here to Egypt and to the Levantine coasts. (2013, 368)

As far as Cyprus is concerned, it has repeatedly been stated that the sites located on the north coast were particularly active in copper trade and were the primary destination for foreign goods intended as rank indicators. The review of imports found in the northern sites shows that in the same period the island also took part in the trade networks of the Eastern Mediterranean (Keswani 2004, 79-80; Knapp 2013a, 309; Webb, Knapp 2020).

In this context, the impression of limited trade between Crete and Cyprus in the later phase of Interaction Period 1 however should be determined by more than strictly considering the rarity of reciprocal pottery imports. As recently pointed out by Webb,

> this was primarily a trade in metals which does not involve luxury ceramics or the movement of goods in ceramic containers. (2018, 11)

The Lead Isotope Analysis seems to show that in the Mesara there was a more limited use of Cypriot copper in the Protopalatial period than in the Prepalatial period (see § 3.3.2), whereas the copper industry in Cyprus was established from the MC I onwards and developed in the period corresponding to the Minoan Protopalatial period (Kassianidou in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 127). In this context of limited evidence for contacts with Crete, however, the results of the Lead Isotope Analysis of 89 MC artifacts from Lapithos appear rather astonishing since they show that 15 samples of Cypriot type were potentially made of Aegean copper possibly indicating that Aegean

view may be changed in light of Webb's more recent research (Knapp 2018a, 100), at least regarding the connections with the Eastern Mediterranean.

copper was used in north Cyprus along with copper from local ores. Therefore, the Cypriot copper used to manufacture a few of the artifacts found at Malia and the Cypriot artifacts recovered at Lapithos, which were possibly made of Aegean copper just during this period, only partially mitigate the general impression of a limited increase in trade during Interaction Period I, Later Phase. In sum, if the main Cypriot goods exported to Crete were represented by raw copper, the return trade admittedly included only comparatively few Aegean finished objects.

7.2.2 The Development of Trade Between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 2

Following the earlier trend in Cypro-Aegean contacts, in Interaction Period 2, Crete, which reached the apex of its development in the Neopalatial Period, maintained a prominent role in the Aegean trade network, including continued contacts with Cyprus.

From the Cretan perspective, there is a significant increase in Cypriot ceramic imports at the beginning of Interaction Period 2, with nearly all the Cypriot imports of secure chronology coming from advanced and later Neopalatial contexts (see § 4.3.1.1). Not only are Cypriot vessels found at eight sites (Knossos, Poros-Katsambas, Malia, Zakros, Gournia, Mochlos, Pseira, and Kommos), but the harbor town of Kommos began to play a prominent role in Cypro-Aegean interaction, while on the offshore island of Pseira, Cypriot pottery came from various dwellings, including the so-called 'House of the Foreign Pottery'. We can note, therefore, that Cypriot pottery occurred in all the most important districts of central and eastern Crete: the north-central area (Knossos, Poros-Katsambas, Malia), the Mesara (Kommos), and eastern Crete (Gournia, Mochlos, Pseira, and Zakros). However, the range of Cypriot open shapes found on Crete in Interaction Period 2 is very limited, including only a Red-on-Black hemispherical bowl from Malia and two White Slip I milk bowls, one from Knossos, Poros-Katsambas and the other possibly from Pseira. This relative rarity may imply that on Crete the Cypriot open shapes were not considered very attractive, while the wishbone handles so characteristic of Cypriot bowls were appreciated and imitated in quite elaborately decorated small cups (see § 4.3.1.3) **[tab. 4.2]** **[fig. 4.1]**. Residue analysis of the contents of Cypriot White Slip bowls shows that they were multi-purpose serving dishes, sometimes used as containers of hot, cooked meals of meat and vegetables, sometimes as drinking bowls for resinated wine (Beck et al. 2005). Despite the fact that the form was greatly appreciated inside and outside the Aegean, on Crete White Slip bowls probably could not compete with local cups and bowls, which were of excellent

quality and to some extent functionally equivalent. Instead, most of the Cypriot imports to Crete consisted of pouring vessels such as jugs or tankards, as clearly evident in the finds from Kommos and Pseira, the two Minoan sites yielding the largest number of Cypriot imports in this period **[tab. 4.1]**. To these closed vessels, an earlier White Painted IV or V jug (MC III-LC IA) from Zakros should also be added, while a large Plain White jug found at Kommos "was the first [...] in a series of Plain White transport, storage, and serving vessels" which occur more commonly in LM III contexts **[tab. 4.1 no. 19]** (cf. Rutter 2014a, 213). While the Base Ring I juglets are remarkably absent in the Minoan contexts of this period, the spindle bottles and the flask-type jars of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware from Kommos, Gournia, Pseira and Mochlos stand out from the other Cypriot imports since their relatively widespread diffusion in the Aegean, on Crete, and in the Dodecanese (on Kos and Rhodes) in this period clearly is related to "the wide appeal of a luxury commodity" (Steel 1998, 295; 2004b, 73, 77; 2018, 198-9).[4] Although all the Red Lustrous Wheelmade examples do not originate on Cyprus (see § 5.3.1), these vases were highly valued in their homeland and abroad (Eriksson 2003, 414-16, tab. 1; 2007b, 51-2; South, Steel 2007, 188-9) and were generally used as containers of valuable substances in Cypriot elite burials, while in the Aegean these vases were found in settlement deposits, with the exception of a lentoid flask from a tomb at Langada (Kos) belonging to Interaction Period 3 (see § 5.3.1.2). The shape of the two-legged flask-type jars at Pseira and Mochlos **[tab. 4.1 nos 28, 31]** is even rarer than that of spindle bottles (Eriksson 1993, 26). The local imitation of the shape of the typical Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle with painted decoration from Trianda (Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 460-1 no. 18, fig. 3, pl. II) clearly is further proof of the Aegean appreciation for this pottery and probably for the contents of the vessels.[5] It is impossible to understand if other Cypriot vases of different, primarily closed, shapes were imported to Crete for the sake of their contents, but finds from Kommos suggest this may have been a factor in the Minoan appreciation for some LC vessels. Rutter (2006b, 656; 2014, 213) noted that only bases and body sherds of Red Slip IV (or other Cypriot wares) containers, i.e. medium-sized to moderately large pouring vessels, survived at Kommos, especially in association with the North or South Stoas of Building T. He therefore stated that

4 For the Red Lustrous Wheelmade bottle from Kommos, however, see § 4.3.1.1 fn. 8.

5 See Rutter 2007, 185-90 for a possible second example of a painted Aegean imitation of a spindle bottle, although J. Rutter ultimately decided that it was more likely to be an imitation of an Egyptian prototype (pers. comm.).

> this anomalous pattern of preservation seems unlikely to be entirely coincidental

and

> it is tempting to connect these imported jug fragments with drinking ceremonies celebrated early in the Neopalatial era in both the North and South Stoas of Building T. (Rutter 2006b, 656)

In this pattern of increasing Cypriot ceramic imports, particular importance must be assigned to the appearance of Minoan cups characterized by a wishbone handle of typical Cypriot origin while the decoration generally is of canonical Cretan type. Although in the context of the so-called 'Dodecanesian connection' Rhodes played a role as an intermediary in the adoption of this handle on Crete (see § 4.3.1.3), the observation that the Minoan ceramic repertoire was enriched by an 'exotic' morphological element is of particular importance since no comparable phenomenon can be traced in the development of Minoan pottery until the appearance of the Mycenaean influence in some ceramic shapes dating to the Monopalatial and Final Palatial periods. The earliest wishbone-handles in Minoan ceramic cups appeared in LM IB when, probably not by coincidence, most of the Cypriot vessels are found on Crete. Although the Minoan wishbone cups were admittedly few, the earliest examples occurred in two limited districts of Crete, namely in the Knossos area, at Poros, and in the Mesara plain, at Kommos, but in this period they were also exported to Keos and Kythera and the wishbone handles continued to be appreciated after the end of the Neopalatial period as late as the LM II-IIIA1 period.

The above evidence should be considered in relation to the reassessment of Cypro-Aegean interaction in this period attempted in § 4.5. Aside from the imported Cypriot pottery, there is broad consensus on the prominent role Cypriot copper trade played in the development of Cypro-Aegean commercial relations. The appearance of oxhide copper ingots at several sites including Chania, Gournia, Ayia Triada, Mochlos, Tylissos, and Zakros is another significant novelty of the LM IB period (see § 4.3.2). However, Lead Isotope Analysis showed that some of the oxhide ingots from these Neopalatial contexts, specifically all the ingots from Ayia Triada and Tylissos, and two out of the six ingots found at Zakros, were not made of Cypriot copper, while all the other ingots were made of copper claimed to be from the Cypriot mines of Mavrovouni, Skouriotissa, and especially Apliki. Additional examples made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores, such as the ingots from Syme and from a large building on the island of Chryssi (Lassithi), may be dated to LM IB, but the number of contemporary ingots made of Cypriot copper might have been even

larger, although there are still problems regarding provenance and dating. For example, the context of three oxhide fragments made of copper from Apliki found at Chania-Kastelli ranges from LM IB to LM IIIA, while the source of the copper of an intact oxhide ingot from Poros-Katsambas, as well as oxhide fragments from Palaikastro and the Long Corridor at Knossos, are uncertain. Other discoveries of ingots are reported from Siteia, from the area of the settlement at Zakros, and from Phaistos, but no further details are available.

Despite these uncertainties, the diffusion of Cypriot copper on Neopalatial Crete is no doubt remarkable and must be considered within the wider network of trade in metallic raw materials which also included the Cyclades and the Greek mainland (see below). The maritime character of this trade is clear from the coastal or sub-coastal location of the sites as well as from the discovery of a copper ingot on Chryssi island. A heavy stone anchor which was considered "quite likely Cypriot" (Soles 2014, 251; also see § 4.3.2.1) found near the settlement of Mochlos may suggest the active participation of Cypriots in copper trade at least at this site. As discussed above, the archaeological record leaves no doubt that some ingots were connected with active metal processing, although the find contexts of others may also reflect hoarding or use as ceremonial offerings (Kassianidou 2014, 309-10). At Ayia Triada, the eighteen oxhide ingots made of non-Cypriot copper were not found within a palatial complex nor were they associated with a bronze workshop, making this extraordinary store "hard to understand" (310 with refs).

Of the oxhide ingots consistent with a Cypriot provenance, those from Mochlos seemingly served multiple purposes, as an offering in a ceremonial building, as part of traders' hoards in houses, and also as part of foundry hoards. At Zakros, all the ingots, including those made of Cypriot copper, were stored as raw material ready to be used, and the intact oxhide ingot found at Poros-Katsambas was discovered in an area devoted to metalworking, even if the Cypriot origin of the copper has not been analytically ascertained. Therefore, in this period the Minoan interest in Cypriot copper was determined by a variety of considerations, including ceremonial, economic (hoarding), and utilitarian (metal production), but, at least from a theoretical point of view, metallurgical activities may have been the primary motive for acquiring Cypriot ingots.

However, Gales' results of Lead Isotope Analyses of Minoan artifacts indicate that the dominant source of the copper used in Neopalatial Crete was Lavrion (Gale, Stos-Gale 2007, 108 fig. 7), and copper from the Taurus Mountains was also utilized more than Cypriot copper. J. Muhly (Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 123) stressed the contrast between the widespread diffusion of oxhide ingots made of Cypriot copper on Crete and the low percentage of Minoan artifacts containing Cypriot copper. In this light the interesting question arises whether

the possible ceremonial and hoarding uses of Cypriot copper were equally or more attractive to the Minoans than its metallurgical uses.

This question might be of particular importance especially once the preliminary interpretation of the cargo from a sunken ship discovered off the shores of the Kumluca district not far west of Antalya is confirmed. According to the available information, this ship carried round plano-convex 'bun' ingots and a lot (ca 100) of oxhide ingots of the earliest type, amounting to 1.5 tons of copper, which, according to H. Öniz (2019), belong to a period contemporary with Interaction Period 2.[6] Öniz also suggests that the ingots might be of Cypriot origin and that the ship was traveling from Cyprus to the Aegean. Unfortunately, Lead Isotope Analysis and further submarine research are still necessary to confirm whether the ship was engaged in the trade of Cypriot copper to the Aegean. If so, at the time of the shipwreck a considerable quantity of Cypriot copper was being transported to the Aegean. This may also have implications for the interpretations discussed above of trade in oxhide ingots. The rich copper cargo of the ship implies that in the Aegean the most common use of oxhide ingots was connected to metallurgical activities.[7]

Considering all the evidence provided by pottery and copper, it is clear that both Cypriot vessels and metal were greatly appreciated in the Aegean in Interaction Period 2, but it is also worth considering other evidence of contacts. The granulated earrings ('mulberry-type') from several Cretan sites suggest a Cypriot influence (see § 4.3.3) and confirm contacts linked with prestige objects. In this regard it is important to note that several mulberry-type earrings were also found at Poros, in Tomb Π 1967, as well as in Tomb Π 1986, where some seals and a necklace with six gold beads were found along with a LM IB cup with a wishbone handle **[tab. 4.2 no. 1]** (also cf. Antonello 2017, 16 with refs). The presence of mulberry-type earrings near Poros might gain even more importance if S. Antonello's (2017) recently formulated hypothesis that the multi-chambered tombs in the necropolis at Mavrospilio and in other cemeteries in the Knossos area, including the necropolis at Poros, were inspired by earlier Cypriot tombs is correct. Also relevant is the gold leaf from Mavrospilio Tomb 9 which was interpreted as a funerary mouthpiece of Cypriot type,

6 Also cf. https://nauticalarch.org/projects/kumluca-bronze-age-shipwreck-excavation/; https://www.dailysabah.com/history/2019/04/08/turkish-archaeologists-discover-worlds-oldest-bronze-age-shipwreck-off-antalya-coast; Öniz 2020.

7 Further information on the trade in copper involving Crete is also to be expected thanks to current research on the recent excavations at Chyssi island (https://www.culture.gov.gr/el/Information/SitePages/view.aspx?nID=3022), while the long-known group of oxhide ingots from a presumed wreck found in the sea off the coast of Kyme, (Euboea) (Buchholz 1959, 36-7, pl. 5 nos 3-4; Stos-Gale et al. 1997, 112) may be indicative of copper trade involving other Aegean regions in this period.

although this interpretation was questioned. In any case, the association of Minoan cups with wishbone handle with oxhide ingots, mulberry-type earrings, and maybe the multi-chambered tombs in the Knossos area seems to suggest that in Interaction Period 2, Knossos maintained the same prominent role in the interaction with Cyprus as it had, although to a lesser extent, in Interaction Period 1. Since no definitive imported Cypriot cylinder seals dating to Interaction Period 2 are documented on Crete, in this period Cretans probably were not interested in Cypriot cylinder seals as status indicators, unlike the emerging Mycenaean ruling classes in the Peloponnese who were importing seals at this time.

Turning to the Cypriot archaeological record, it is beyond doubt that Crete was the main supplier of Aegean pottery, continuing the earlier tradition of contacts between the two islands. It is not by chance that Cyprus has yielded by far the largest quantity of Neopalatial vessels outside the Aegean. The most prominent site in terms of Minoan imports is Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* where eleven LM IA vases, mainly semiglobular cups and jugs, were found in Tomb I and a few fragmentary jars and cups came from Tomb III and the settlement levels. At this site, the majority of Minoan imports on Cyprus were semiglobular cups, amounting to 16 examples, but the importance of Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* in the Cypro-Aegean interaction is also shown by a phenomenon which may be comparable to the adoption of the wishbone handle in the Minoan ceramic repertoire. In fact, in contexts dating to the LC IA1 period, probably the later part, when LM IA pottery was imported to the site, there were nine handmade cups of local wares (Proto Base Ring, Black Slip/Proto Base Ring, Base Ring I, and Monochrome) which, instead of the typical Cypriot wishbone handle, had a high vertical strap handle attached over the rim that A.H. Sørensen (2012a) considered of Minoan inspiration. In brief, these vessels seem like Cypriot cups with Cretan handles, although according to G. Cadogan (1991, 169) the likeness in shape between the Minoan semiglobular cups and Cypriot Monochrome examples is generic. Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* yielded one of the earliest examples of hybridization which is an important feature of Cypriot culture in the following centuries.

Other fragmentary LM IA vessels were found elsewhere on the island (at Maroni *Vournes*, Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tomb 104, Palaepaphos *Evreti* Well TE 118 III, and at Enkomi Quarter 4E) while the scarcity of imports safely dating to LM IB (from *Enaerios* Feature 621-VI at Limassol and Enkomi, Quarter 4E) apparently is contrary to the evidence of Cypro-Aegean contacts from Crete where the closest contacts with Cyprus can be dated to the late Neopalatial period. It should however be noted that, given the similarity between Neopalatial fine pottery and Early Mycenaean vessels of Minoan inspiration,

the origin and chronology of other Aegean ceramics imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 2 are debated and, in theory, several vases of controversial origin might be added to the above mentioned Neopalatial pottery. In many cases, there are uncertain chronological attributions to LM IA or LH IIA, but in other cases the chronology of the vessels varies from LM IB to LH IIA according to different scholars, as shown, for example, by the cup with double axes and lilies decoration in the Kolokassides collection.

In these controversial chronologies a case in point is represented by three small cups found in Tombs 3 and 20 at Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* **[fig. 4.4]**. Taking into account their exterior decorations, the excavator, P.E. Pecorella, and several other scholars regarded three semigobular cups as LH IIA cups FS 211, despite their interior solidly painted decoration, a feature which is generally regarded as an indicator of Minoan origin; in the Aegean, semiglobular cups with monochrome interior were also found in Kythera, the Cyclades, and the Argolid (Mycenae and Prosymna). The same monochrome interior features another semiglobular cup with framed spiral decoration and a Vapheio cup, which were found in a tomb located ca 150 m north of the main cemetery (the Necropoli a Mare). While the excavator, L. Quilici, stated that they were LH IIA imports, other influential scholars attributed them to LM IA, sometimes even suggesting a Knossian manufacture. Comparing all these small vessels from Ayia Irini *Paleokastro*, a distinction can be suggested in terms of production area and chronology between the (possibly Mycenaean) cups found by Pecorella and the other (possibly Minoan) cups published by Quilici. According to the excavator, the tomb excavated north of the Necropoli a Mare was in use since LC IA, slightly earlier than the tombs of the main cemetery. If so, the existence of two distinct clusters of tombs at Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* in LC I may explain the possible differences between the Aegean cups from this two distinct burial areas.

Compared to the range of Cypriot vessels imported to Crete, Aegean vessels imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 2 are predominantly open tableware (65% of the 41 Aegean ceramic imports of Interaction Period 2), consisting of fine semiglobular cups. This preference for Aegean open vases was already noted by G. Van Wijngaarden when he stated that

> a relatively wide variety of vessel types appears to have been present at the island, with a rather high proportion of dinner vessels. (2002, 186)

This was clearly due to the good quality and fine appearance of both LM I (A and B) and LH IIA cups and indicates that they were appreciated as valuable components of local drinking sets (also cf. Sørensen 2012b, 706).

Turning to the evidence for contacts other than pottery in Interaction Period 2, it should be pointed out that even though no bronze artifacts can safely be considered potentially imported from Crete based on shape, some interesting considerations on the high-level trade with the Aegean in LC I can be drawn from the discovery of precious vessels in Enkomi tombs. The singularity of the Enkomi finds, however, deserves special attention. A few small sherds of LM IA (or LH I) cups were found in Area III, but, apart from a fragmentary handleless LH IIA cup from the British Excavations of Tomb 40, in the Enkomi tombs no other Aegean cups were reported from MC III/LC I and LC I mortuary deposits (Graziadio, Pezzi 2009, 69 fig. 1: D), while at this site, 14 LH IIB-IIIA1 vases from selected burial contexts have been counted in the subsequent period, i.e. at the beginning of Interaction Period 3 (68). However, most notably, one or two gold Vapheio cups and another similar silver cup were found in the British Excavations of Tombs 92 and 93, two of the richest tombs at Enkomi, and these may be dated to Interaction Period 2 because of their close parallels in the rich burial assemblages of the Shaft Grave period in Greece. If so, it is possible that, considering the increasing importance of the newly founded town and the symbolic value of the mortuary paraphernalia in the Enkomi tombs, they were used as status indicators by the members of the local emerging elite active in international trading systems. These elite connections can also be inferred from the discovery of a small group of Neopalatial seals of the so called 'talismanic' group which were likely imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 2, including a lapis lazuli example from the wealthy British Tomb 93 at Enkomi in addition to two seals of unknown provenance. These seals may be considered contemporaneous with the precious vessels from Tombs 92 and 93, since the period of use of these seals began in MM III and continued as late as the LM I period, although it is impossible to know their use-life before their deposition in tombs. In her discussion on the possible use of the 'talismanic seals' in Greece, Stram, when specifically discussing a Cretan example, noted that it

> has a radius of 10 mm, [and] the carving would have been difficult for anyone, including the owner, to see unless very close up. The other examples [i.e. other 'talismanic seals'] are made of materials that obscure the image. (2017, 67)

If so, the talismanic seals imported to Cyprus were appreciated not only for their material (especially in the case of the lapis lazuli seal from Enkomi), but also for their strange and exotic appearance with incised decoration that could only be seen with difficulty. In the Aegean, seals were "evidently worn as items of adornment, some may have been prized or even flaunted as signs of wealth or status" (Krzyszkowska

2011, 437), while on Cyprus these 'talismanic seals' were likely used as precious adornments since for the local people their decoration probably did not have any special meaning or practical use for sealing purposes. At the same time, they were regarded as status indicators of the utmost importance, and high status individuals probably considered them at least of the same symbolic value as the cylinder seals imported from other regions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

To conclude this review of reciprocal imports during Interaction Period 2, it should be emphasized that, despite the limited quantity of exchanged goods, both the Aegean and Cyprus show signs of reciprocal appreciation for specific commodities and selective reciprocal trade.[8] In addition to Trianda, several prominent Cretan sites were the primary destination for Cypriot imports arriving in the Aegean during this period, while a more limited range of imports is apparent in Mainland Greece and in the Cyclades.[9] On Cyprus, the trade network included some important coastal sites where wealth and status differentials attest to the emergence of elite groups (Keswani 2004, 121-2, 125; Knapp 2013, 386-7, 435-6), especially at Enkomi, Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Ayia Irini *Paleokastro*, and this may explain the appreciation of some specifically Aegean commodities that had a symbolic value as status indicators. Therefore, leaving aside a few extreme views, such as the suggestions of a possible Cypriot colony at Trianda or a Minoan colony at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*,[10] in my opinion there are several reasons to reevaluate the importance of reciprocal connections in this period, as also implicitly stated by K. Zeman-Wiśniewska (2020) albeit in a more generalized form. In this perspective, the Cretan and Cypriot archaeological record reviewed above may offer an explanatory framework for the appearance of the Cypro-Minoan script since this phenomenon may be seen as a remarkable expression of the Minoan contacts involving developing elites at Enkomi (Powell 2002,

8 The list of exchanged commodities may of course have included many archaeologically invisible goods imported to the Aegean from Cyprus, such as, for example, high quality timber, finished wooden objects in cedar, and/or possible other organic materials (Graziadio 2005a, 325 with refs).

9 In the discussion of Cypro-Aegean trade connections, a lead disk weight from Phlamoudi cannot be neglected, especially if Porada's statement is well-grounded that it is similar to LB I Kean examples and is "a small indication of trade between Cyprus and the Aegean area" (Porada 1973, 366; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 71 no. 3; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 87 fn. 43; Kanta 1998, 38; Graziadio 2005a, 327 fn. 40; Sørensen 2008, 189-90 no. 62).

10 For a rebuttal of the possibility of the presence of a Cypriot colony at Trianda, cf. T. Marketou's remarks in Macdonald, Hallager, Niemeier 2009, 273, while W.-D. Niemeier (Macdonald, Hallager, Niemeier 2009, 276) did not exclude the presence of Cypriot groups living at this center. For the suggestion of a Minoan colony at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, cf. Hankey, Leonard 1998, 32 (cf. Sørensen 2012a, 184-5), while a Minoan presence there is supported by P.P. Betancourt (2008a, 218).

240; Kassianidou in Muhly, Kassianidou 2012, 128 with refs; Knapp 2015, 21). It should be recalled, therefore, that the earliest Cypro-Minoan tablet was found at Enkomi, Area III, in the so-called Fortress, one of the most important buildings of the period which produced clear evidence of metallurgical activities, thus being contemporary with the first 'industrial' development of metallurgy in the town. In this context, the recent discovery of a possible Cypro-Minoan sign on a clay MM III-LM I loom-weight at a site near Rethymnon is of potential importance for the comprehension of the process of transferring script (Tzigounaki, Karnava 2020, 324-5, cat. no. 6; Papadimitriou 2022, 184).

7.2.3 The Development of Trade Between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3

In his discussion on the eastern and western Aegean imports from "good LBA contexts", Cline (1994, XVI-XVII, 60-7) counted a total of 176 Cypriot objects, mainly pottery, but did not include many other Cypriot artifacts which cannot be assigned to a single phase of the LH/LM I-III period (60). He also pointed out that Crete in LH/LM IIIA continued to be the main trade route destination in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, there was a substantial change after the fall of Knossos in early LM IIIA2, since in LH/LM IIIB (Interaction Period 4) the number of 'Orientalia' found on Crete decreased substantially and fewer imports from the east arrived on the island (XVII, 10-11). Only 7 examples of eastern imports were counted from LH IIIB contexts, and none were identified in LM IIIC contexts, indicating that LM IIIA2 was the last period when a perceptible number of such goods was imported to Crete (1999, 119). Therefore, the destruction of the Neopalatial sites at the end of LM IB and the beginning of the Monopalatial Period marks a significant change throughout the entire Aegean with Mycenaean presence replacing Minoan cultural and commercial hegemony. As is evident from the smaller role of Minoan Crete compared to mainland Mycenaean Greece in the range and intensity of contacts with Cyprus during Interaction Period 3, this change clearly also significantly impacted Cypro-Aegean trade connections.

On Crete in Interaction Period 3 the diffusion of Cypriot pottery is more scattered than in Interaction Period 2 since, apart from at Kommos, it is only found at Chania, Pseira and Poros-Katsambas, although Knossos remained the largest site in the Aegean until its final destruction and maintained uninterrupted foreign trade contacts (see § 5.3.1.1). More generally, Papadimitriou (2012, 118) also emphasized the scarcity of Cypriot imports in his Stage 3 of contacts (LM/LH IIB-IIIA1) between the Aegean and Cyprus.

A significant exception was represented by Kommos, the main entrepôt to Crete, where there was a gradual increase in Cypriot imports from the LM II to the LM IIIA2 periods. In LM II and LM IIIA1 contexts, at this site Cypriot imports were far less numerous than imports from LM IIIA2 deposits, although "the site reached its acme as an entrepôt in LM II-LM IIIA2 Early" when it "served as the principal southern port of the Knossian administration" (Tomlinson, Rutter, Hoffman 2010, 194). While in LM IIIA2 the inhabitants at this location were the active recipients of the tablewares and the transport, storage, and large serving vessels imported from Cyprus, evidence is not sufficient to suggest that Cypriots were residents in large numbers (219).

Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis on 40 samples from Kommos assigned to the Cypriot group shows that most White Slip II milk bowls were likely produced in the Limassol area, while Base Ring II jugs and cups were manufactured in the area of Episkopi, and four analyzed pithoi were produced in various locations (Kition, Limassol, and Enkomi) on the southern and eastern coast of Cyprus (Tomlinson, Rutter, Hoffman 2010, esp. 209-10, 212, 217). Moreover, at Kommos the first Levantine amphora with a post-firing mark incised on its handle, an indicator of Cypriot handing, appeared in the LM IIIA2 period. The two three-holed stone anchors from LM IIIA2 Gallery 3 of Building P are another piece of evidence confirming the strong connections between Kommos and the Eastern Mediterranean, but petrographic analyses suggest a more likely provenance from the area around Ugarit than Cyprus (Shaw 1995; 2014b, 237 with refs; also cf. Sherratt 2001, 221 fn. 3 with refs for other stone anchors from the Aegean).

During Interaction Period 3, Kommos also likely played an important role as a trading station between Cyprus and the central Mediterranean, with evidence of connections attested by the identification of a few Cypriot vases in tombs with LH IIIA2 (and LH IIIB) pottery at Thapsos and Syracuse in Sicily (Graziadio 1997, 683-4 with refs; Alberti 2008, 133-4; Tanasi 2020). A direct route from Cyprus to the central Mediterranean, ending in Sardinia, has been suggested, but recently this possibility has been deconstructed and a series of overlapping regional trade systems rather than individual points has been proposed (Knapp, Russel, Van Dommelen 2021 with refs). Whether Kommos was a stopover in the long journey from Cyprus to Sicily or the center of an important regional trade system, this harbor was likely involved in the transmission of a limited amount of Cypriot pottery to the central Mediterranean.

While oxhide ingots were widely scattered on Crete in Interaction Period 2, no oxhide ingots have been found on the island in the span of time following the end of the Neopalatial period up until the appearance of some ingot fragments at Kommos in LM IIIB (see § 6.3.2).

Since Kommos was the center of a revived import of oxhide ingots made of Cypriot copper, it is rather striking that in LM IIIA2 this harbor town imported a noticeable amount of Cypriot pottery, but no ingots, in spite of the development of metallurgical production on Cyprus and the importance of trade in oxhide ingots made of Cypriot copper in the Mediterranean in this period. Nevertheless, the Lead Isotope Analysis of copper-based artifacts from 'Mycenaean' Knossos and Postpalatial Cretan sites shows that 19% of samples were consistent with production from Cypriot ores, while more than half of analyzed samples were made with copper consistent with production from Lavrion, which was the principal source of copper within the Aegean. Instead, Cyprus possibly played a significant role in the spread of tin in the Mediterranean. This is primarily suggested by the discovery of some tin ingots with incised Cypro-Minoan signs in the 'wreck deposit' of Hishuley Carmel, Israel, which also contained two copper oxhide ingots consistent with production from Cypriot copper. Also important in this regard is the unique cargo of the sunken ship at Uluburun that contained ca 160 tin ingots of different shapes along with 10 tons of copper ingots consistent with Cypriot origin.

Prestige objects of Cypriot origin or influence found on Crete are also significant indicators of Cypro-Minoan contacts during Interaction Period 3, with imported seals of particular importance, since goldwork or jewels showing Cypriot influence have not been found on Crete in this period (see § 5.3.3). For example, some sealings from Knossian Final Palatial contexts may suggest the use of imported seals from Cyprus as early as the period following the end of the Neopalatial period and continuing until LM IIIA2. The interpretation of the 'Cypro-Aegean' cylinder hematite seals dating to Interaction Periods 3 and 4 is even more complex, since these seals embody both the category of imports and the category of objects showing foreign influences. In fact, although all these seals share some characteristics of Aegean styles or iconography, it is very likely that all of them were carved on Cyprus. Some of these 'Cypro-Aegean' seals were found on Crete as early as the fourteenth century BC, after the destruction of Knossos, although some of them were attributed to this period based on stylistic considerations.

To summarize, it is probably not by chance that Cypriot seals, along with sealings from Cypriot cylinder seals and some examples of the so-called 'Cypro-Aegean' seals, were concentrated at the palace of Knossos, as well as at important sites in the surrounding region, such as Poros-Katsambas or Amnisos, Mavrospelio, and Gouves, and also in smaller numbers in eastern Crete. They are however remarkably absent in south-central Crete at Kommos where the majority of Cypriot pottery has been found. The diffusion of these prestige objects in prominent areas, therefore, is likely indicative of a regime change at Knossos, and it is possible that the development of the LC

II Cypriot glyptic in the fourteenth century BC also reflects the role of Knossos after the destruction of the Palace. The list of prestige objects of foreign origin from the Knossos region also includes a faience bowl with 'duck's head' spout from a tomb at Nea Halikarnassos (Iraklion), but the area of production is uncertain (Cyprus or North Syria) and the chronology also is doubtful.

When we compare the above picture with the evidence of Cypro-Minoan contacts from a Cypriot perspective, some correspondence is immediately apparent. The review of LM II to LM IIIA2 pottery from Cyprus **[fig. 5.1] [tab. 5.2]** shows that, after the fall of Knossos in early LM IIIA2, several Minoan vessels continued to be exported to Cyprus, especially to the First Tier settlements located on (or near) the southern and eastern coasts. Nevertheless, Minoan pottery represents only a very small fraction of the overall Aegean pottery found everywhere on the island, while the contemporary Mycenaean ceramic imports form the overwhelming majority. Despite the minimal occurrence of Minoan pottery, the context and distribution of LM II to LM IIIA2 pottery on Cyprus are of interest. At Enkomi, several Minoan vessels were part of funerary assemblages (British Tombs 48, 66, 70, 83, 84; Swedish Tomb 3), whereas Aegean imports are very scarce in the settlement deposits of Level IIA (LC IIA-B). The tombs excavated at Kition contained several LM IIIA2 vessels, and additional Minoan imports related to Interaction Period 3 were found at Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni *Tsaroukkas*, Kourion *Bamboula*, and Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, while other minor sites on the northern coast also contained some scattered vessels of the period.

As a result of the extensive, recent excavations, Hala Sultan Tekke appears to have been the most important site in terms of chronology and variety of Minoan pottery. Minoan ceramic imports at the site cover a span of time from LM II to LM IIIA2-B, and also include an incomplete large Minoan hollow figurine with painted decoration from Tomb RR, possibly dating to LM IIIA. If we consider the chronology of Minoan vessels identified at other sites, the examples with secure chronology found at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, Maroni *Tsaroukkas* and Kourion *Bamboula* belong to the early phases of Interaction Period 3, indicating a continuity of contacts with the Aegean from Interaction Period 2. Therefore, it is tempting to suggest that these finds were imported to Cyprus before the fall of Knossos. Yet, contrary to Popham's early "working hypothesis" of a temporary cut-off in Cretan exports to Cyprus after the destruction of Knossos (1979, 181), most of the Minoan pottery found inside the tombs at Enkomi and Kition belongs to LM IIIA2. They therefore confirm that reciprocal exchange of pottery between Crete and Cyprus did not stop in the later phases of Interaction Period 3, after the fall of Knossos, as was indicated on the Cretan side by the chronology of Cypriot imports found at Kommos.

The overall review shows that the Minoan vessels found on Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 contexts were generally selected for funerary assemblages. It is probably not by chance that two vessels from Hala Sultan Tekke, a LM/LH IIIA2 narrow-necked jug FS 120 from Pit V and a medium-sized Late Minoan II/IIIA1 piriform jar from Shaft Grave LL, stand out for their fine decoration. The appeal of selective interest for Minoan pottery seems to also be confirmed by the range of Minoan pottery of category F1 ('Fine Tableware') in Interaction Period 3. The small drinking vessels, which were by far the most prevalent among the Minoan vessels imported in Interaction Period 2, are found in tombs and occasionally in settlement layers in Interaction Period 3 and appear to have been replaced to some extent by Minoan kylikes, bowls, cups, jugs, and especially kraters, the last probably intended as status symbols like the Mycenaean kraters. Nevertheless, in this period the most common Minoan shapes are the moderately large stirrup jars, as well as flasks and piriform jars of the category F2.2, clearly imported for funerary use like the small vessels which are very common among the Mycenaean pottery imported to Cyprus in the same period. The Minoan 'Storage Vessels' (F3) on Cyprus are generally represented by the large stirrup jars FS 164 found in Interaction Period 4, but only a few examples may be assigned to Interaction Period 3, although LM IIIA2 'Storage Vessels' stirrup jars FS 164 probably were more common than suspected (personal communication by J. Rutter).

Before the destruction of Knossos, a Late Minoan II/IIIA1 piriform jar with pictorial decorations recently found in Shaft Tomb LL at Hala Sultan Tekke provides some information on the Cretan areas involved in Cypro-Minoan connections in Interaction Period 3. This vessel, which was undoubtedly well appreciated on Cyprus for its fine appearance, has excellent parallels in the area of Knossos (Fischer, Bürge 2018, 54 fns 39-40; Fischer 2019b, 210) where it possibly originated. Another Cretan region connected with Cyprus was the Mesara, and a special relationship has even been suggested between this region of Crete and the southern coast of Cyprus (D'Agata 2005, 116-18 with refs). Some vessels from Cyprus may also provide information concerning the sea route followed in the transmission of Minoan pottery to Cyprus via the Dodecanese (see below), confirming that, like in the previous periods, the Dodecanese continued to play an important role in the connections between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3.

The above evidence gives rise to questions on the transport of Minoan wares in Interaction Period 3. Were complete Minoan drinking sets, including kraters, small open shapes, and jugs as well as precious commodity containers occasionally imported from Crete independent from the contemporary Mycenaean trade, or were they transported to Cyprus in close connection with the overwhelming

flow of Mycenaean imports? Generally speaking, the problem remains unsolved, because virtually all the sites producing Minoan ceramic imports contained far greater quantities of Mycenaean pottery. However, the possibility exists that, at least in the early phases of Interaction Period 3, there were separate connections between Crete and the northern area of Cyprus, especially Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, continuing the links of Interaction Period 2 through the traditional south Anatolian coastal route, although Mycenaean pottery also clearly came to this area, particularly from Lapithos *Ay. Anastasia* Tomb 1.[11]

Contrary to Antoniadou's suggestion (2011, 242), the local elite probably appreciated Minoan vessels as much as Mycenaean vases. Mycenaean kraters with Pictorial Style decoration were undoubtedly "incorporated within elite feasting practices and high status funerary display" (Steel 2004a, 170), but there is no reason to suggest a different interpretation for the Minoan kraters. Actually, Cypriot appreciation for Minoan pottery can be inferred from the richness of most funerary contexts at Enkomi where Minoan vessels were found along with Mycenaean imports. British Tomb 66, probably used from LC IIA2 to LC IIC-IIIA (Crewe 2009b, 30), was one of the few built tombs at the site and contained a rich array of prestige goods including a Pictorial Style bell krater, many other Mycenaean vessels, and a LM IIIA2-B globular stirrup jar (34-6, esp. 36 no. 38, pl. 13). Swedish Tomb 3, used in the same span of time, was one of the largest chamber tombs at Enkomi and, although looted, yielded 248 objects, among which were gold objects (weighing more than 150 g), other precious goods (Keswani 2004, 235, tab. 5.9c,), and pottery finds, including many LH IIIA2 Pictorial Style kraters and a LM IIIA2 amphoroid krater (Åström 1972, 404, Type 56: b). It is not clear whether the rich British Tomb 48 was a chamber tomb or a "tholos" tomb used in LC IIB and LC IIC (Keswani 2004, 115; Courtois, Lagarce, Lagarce 1986, 45), but it contained five Mycenaean Pictorial Style vessels, a LM IIIA2 piriform krater with bird decoration (Åström 1972, 404, Type 56: a), and other prestige objects (Van Wijingaarden 2002, 292, tab. VII, cat. V, 348, 350 nos, 125, 134-5, 221). LH IIIA2-IIIB pottery, including a Pictorial Style krater and a conical rhyton as well as a cup with Cretan decoration of possible LM IIIA2 production (Åström 1972, 407, Type 220: a) were also found in British Tomb 70,

11 For Aegean pottery in this area, cf. Vermeule, Wolsky 1990, 384 (LH IIIA2 vessels associated with the late burial in Tomb II Chamber 4 at *Toumba tou Skourou*); Åström 1972, 328, Type 114: c2-f2; 331, Type 134: f; 333, Type 149: f (LH IIIA2-B jugs); 337, Type 166: d2-g2; 341, Type 171: f3; 344, FS 178: l (LH IIIA 2 and LH IIIA2-B stirrup jars); 360 Type 220: v7-y7 (LH IIIA2-B cups); McCaslin 1980, 17, tab. 1 no. 16 (LM IIIA/B stirrup jar from Kyrenia); Åström 1972, 373, Type 281: n6, o6 (LH IIIB bull kraters FS 281 from Kyrenia *Mylopetres*). For a LM IIIA stirrup jar from Lapithos *Ayia Anastasia* Tomb 1, cf. Åström 1972, 405, Type 166: a, fig. 46: f (possibly Minoan); Kanta 1980, 310.

along with gold jewelry and other prestige objects (Van Wijingaarden 2002, 292, tab. VII, cat. V, 349 nos 157-62). The same is true of British Tomb 83, where many Mycenaean vessels, including two Pictorial Style kraters and a krater FS 8, were found in addition to a LM IIIA2 krater (Åström 1972, 404, Types 56-7: a), jewelry, faience, and alabaster vessels (Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, 47-8, 83). This association between rich burials and LM IIIA pottery was not limited to Enkomi but appears to be widespread on the island. In addition to partly burnt skeletal remains, Shaft Tomb LL at Hala Sultan Tekke also yielded complete vessels, jewelry, and other rank indicators as well as the above mentioned Late Minoan II/IIIA1 piriform jar (Fischer, Bürge 2018, 60-2; Fischer 2019b, 210). Tomb 4+5 at Kition was looted but the preserved finds suggest that it was a rich tomb, and Tomb 9 (possibly intact) was no doubt extraordinarily rich (Keswani 2004, 242, tab. 5.11). However, as noted above, the imported Minoan vessels from these Kition tombs, although dating to LM IIIA2, were possibly put into the tombs in a later period at the beginning of or during Interaction Period 4.

Leaving aside Minoan pottery, there is little further evidence of Cypriot connections with Crete in Interaction Period 3. In this period only a few metal objects were found on Cyprus, and no copper-based artifacts can be related to the Minoan world. As far as prestige objects are concerned, only a gold hemispherical example from Swedish Tomb 17 can safely be attributed to a LC IIA2 or LC IIB burial while, as already discussed in the review of Interaction Period 2 finds, the provenance of two precious Vapheio cups and the period of their deposition inside British Tombs 93 and 92 at Enkomi are uncertain. The same is true of a gold bowl found in British Tomb 66, one of the wealthiest tombs at Enkomi. While no Aegean seal may be safely ascribed to Interaction Period 3, some jewels, such as two gold rings with oval engraved bezels from British Tombs 66 and 100 and some gold beads with stamped 'sacral ivy' decoration from the very rich Tomb 11 at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* possibly belonged to this period, but their origin can generically be considered 'Aegean' and there is no safe argument to regard them as Minoan imports. While no Aegean ivory artifact or local imitation can safely be attributed to Interaction Period 3, a few faience beads and pendants as well as rare amber beads were perhaps imported from the Aegean, but the possible role of Crete in their diffusion to Cyprus is not clear.

7.2.4 A Synopsis of Trade Between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 4

During the Final Palatial Period (LM IIIA2 Late-end of LM IIIB2), the central authority and cultural hegemony of Knossos disappeared on Crete, but some prominent sites such as Haghia Triada, Kommos, and Chania continued to flourish and were only abandoned in the last decades of the thirteenth century BC or in the beginning of the twelfth century BC (i.e. in the early phases of LM IIIC), a time without any evidence of widespread violent destructions across the island. Although the Minoans maintained some trade contacts with other Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean regions, the role of Crete was superseded by the dynamic activities of the Mycenaeans. Compared to the earlier evidence of contacts between Crete and Cyprus from the Minoan perspective, in fact, only a limited number of Cypriot ceramic imports has been found on Crete. However, in Interaction Period 4, Kommos continued to produce most of the Eastern Mediterranean imports to Crete, and the Cypriots can be considered the "principal carriers of trade goods into and out of Kommos" in this period (Rutter 1999, 147-8). This clearly appears from Cypriot pottery found in LM IIIB contexts at this harbor town, also including some imports from the Limassol area (Tomlinson, Rutter, Hoffman 2010, 200, tab. 2: C1262, C4127, fig. 4, C2141, C6743). A significant role in trade with Cyprus must also undoubtedly be assigned to Chania (Cline 1994, 61). Such an observation is not only based on several White Slip II milk bowls found on Kastelli Hill, but also on the observation that a significant number of LM IIIB vessels found on Cyprus can be attributed to west Cretan production (also see § 6.3.1.1). Evidence of contacts between the Mesara and Cyprus is also provided by some clay wall brackets from Phaistos, one of which was regarded as a Cypriot example, possibly imported via Kommos or alternatively via Tiryns (Karageorghis 2011, 31; Girella 2010, 166), while two or three others found in the Casa a ovest del Piazzale 1 in a LM IIIC context possibly were locally made following Cypriot models. Elsewhere on Crete, imported Cypriot pottery, such as some White Slip II sherds found at Poros-Katsambas and a Base Ring jug said to have come from Knossos, appear of uncertain chronology, while a LM IIIB narrow-necked jug from the so-called cenotaph at Archanes was considered imitative of a Cypriot type also paralleled at Karteros, and a Cypriot handleless pithos was reported from Elounda. From the Minoan perspective this limited amount of Cypriot pottery imported to Crete can therefore be interpreted within the pattern of the scarce evidence of contacts with Cyprus apparent in the Final Palatial Period, that is from LM IIIA2 Late to the end of LM IIIB.

After the striking dearth of ingots in Interaction Period 3 Aegean contexts, a renewal of trade in Cypriot copper by means of oxhide

ingots occurs in Interaction Period 4. However, while oxhide ingots consistent with production from Cypriot copper especially appear in the main Mycenaean palatial centers in the Argolid, on Crete this evidence is limited to some fragments of oxhide ingots only found in LM IIIB contexts at the harbor town of Kommos. This probably is the result of the general change in Cypriot trade to the Aegean, but a few analyzed bronze artifacts from West Crete possibly dating to LM IIIB and from post-palatial Knossos show that copper consistent with Cypriot ores was still used in Interaction Period 4, although the main source of copper in this period was Lavrion. Imports of Cypriot artifacts were also suggested by some fragments of clay molds of at least one bronze rod tripod stand of Cypriot type found at Rousolakkos (Palaikastro).

Interaction Period 4 also lacks clear evidence for prestige objects possibly imported from Cyprus to Crete, because no faience objects or jewels can definitively be regarded as Cypriot. However, some of the 'Cypro-Aegean' seals discussed in § 5.3.3.1, such as two seals from Gouves, one a cornelian cylinder seal and the other an olive-green schist cylinder seal, may belong to this period along with a few other examples from Crete.

In contrast to the limited archaeological evidence on Crete for contacts with Cyprus, from the Cypriot perspective there is a marked increase in LM IIIB ceramic imports to Cyprus in Interaction Period 4 compared to Interaction Period 3, when LM IIIA vessels are found at only a few sites **[fig. 6.1]** **[tab. 6.1]**. In fact, LM IIIB pottery amounts to an overwhelming majority (about 79%) of overall Minoan ceramic finds recovered on Cyprus throughout the Bronze Age (Niemeier 1998, 38, quoting Guzowska's statistics). However, generally speaking, Minoan pottery admittedly amounts to a very limited percentage of the overall Aegean imports to the island, as clearly appears from the ratio of Minoan to Mycenaean pottery at some important sites such as, for example, Hala Sultan Tekke or Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. In any case, the quantity of LM IIIB vessels implies a greater demand for Minoan pottery on Cyprus in Interaction Period 4 than in the earlier periods. Leaving aside the vessels without context, the proliferation and widespread distribution of sites with LM IIIB pottery is rather astonishing since for the first time the sites yielding LM IIIB vessels occur throughout the main inhabited areas of the island. The exception is only a scattered and limited diffusion of Minoan imports in the northern part of the island, possibly due to a reduction in the importance of the Anatolian coastal route connecting the Aegean to Cyprus, although this trend may also be a function of excavation bias, since no LBA sites have been excavated in the northern regions over the last fifty years. Several LM IIIB vessels have been found on the western coast at Kouklia *Mantissa* and Kouklia *Evreti*, but Minoan ceramics are mainly concentrated in primary settlements

located on (or near) the southern and eastern coasts. At Enkomi, both settlement layers and funerary contexts produced several LM IIIB vessels, and concentrations of LM IIIB vessels also occur around Larnaca Bay, at Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* as well as in hinterland sites (Dhekelia, Pyla *Verghi*, Arpera Çiftlik *Ayios Andronikos*, and Aradippou). In addition to the sites mentioned above and some scattered items from Alassa and Erimi *Kafkalla*, Minoan imports of this period are found in a variety of site types: sanctuaries (Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukkouninnas*), hinterland sites connected with mining, ceramic, and agricultural activities (Aredhiou *Vouppes*, Apliki *Karamallos*, Akhera, Deneia *Kafkalla* and Katydhata), Mesaoria settlements (Alambra, Idalion, Angastina and Kalopsidha), and even peripheral locations (Nitovikla in the Karpasia Peninsula). Although Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, a site located in a strategic position, is considered a Second Tier settlement, this short-lived site yielded a significant number of Minoan vessels belonging to a limited period, i.e. the span of time between the end of LC IIC and LC IIIA.

Of the LM IIIB imports to Cyprus, the majority are large transport/storage stirrup jars FS 164 of the functional category F3 generally characterized by a distinctive octopus decoration, confirming the general appreciation of these containers and/or their contents everywhere on the island. Clay analysis shows that many transport/storage stirrup jars were produced in south-central or western Crete, although most examples exported to Cyprus were manufactured in central Crete. At least some Minoan transport stirrup jars from Cyprus bore Cypro-Minoan post-firing signs (see discussion in § 6.4.1), while an example of likely west Cretan origin from Kourion *Bamboula* is of particular interest since it was inscribed with Cypro-Minoan signs before firing (Knapp 2018a, 146-7 with refs). Amphoroid kraters which also represent a significant percentage of the Minoan finds are particularly common at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* where, significantly, some examples show morphological connections (such as triple roll handles) with examples found at Chania (Karageorghis, Georgiou 2010, 308; 2014, 141). An additional interesting category of Minoan vessels dating to Interaction Period 4 is represented by several small squat, conical or biconical stirrup jars found at various Cypriot sites and especially in Enkomi tombs containing burials of the thirteenth century BC. These small vessels were produced on Crete primarily for the Cypriot market and were clearly indicative of a scented oil trade for medical and cosmetic purposes. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that the examples decorated only with even bands on the body were good quality Cypriot imitations of the Minoan vessels (Koehl, Yellin 2007, 203), but analytic confirmation is necessary.

In terms of functions, a novelty of Interaction Period 4 is the predominance of category F3 ('Storage Vessels') determined by the

significant number of stirrup jars FS 164, but there also are numerous vessels of category F1, i.e. 'Fine Tableware' (with the relative exception of jugs), and of 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' (category F2), which are primarily represented by the small squat stirrup jars discussed above. Mountjoy (2018, 791 fig. 389: 11-13, 827 no. 61, 831 no. 76, 857: 25) identifies decorative and morphological elements on local Cypriot vessels of various shapes and provenance as inspired by imported LM IIIB vessels, while on Crete the shape of LM IIIB jugs from Archanes and Karteros has been regarded as an imitation of a Cypriot type.

To conclude, we can suggest that, despite the deep changes on the Aegean scene, the marked imbalance between the number of reciprocal imports to Crete and to Cyprus indicates that Interaction Period 4 Minoans continued to maintain a relative autonomy in their exports to Cyprus while Cypriot goods made their way preferentially to the Mycenaean world. Moreover, two sites, Chania on Crete and Pyla *Kokkinokremos* on Cyprus, are emblematic of the new interaction between Crete and Cyprus in the thirteenth century. At Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, the abundant and high-quality Minoan imports are also linked to parallels with Cretan sites in the architectural features, especially casemate architecture and the use of bedrock-cutting and ledges for wall foundations (*hyposkafon* technique). However, it is clear that the majority of the population living at the site was of local origin, even though an unusual quantity of high-quality imports from the Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean, western Anatolia, the Levant, Egypt, and even Sardinia attests to a considerable opening of the site to foreign contacts.

7.3 The Dodecanese and Cyprus

7.3.1 The Beginning of the 'Dodecanesian Connection' in Interaction Period 1

A role of primary importance can be assigned to the Dodecanese in Cypro-Aegean contacts probably to a large extent due to its intermediate location between Cyprus and Crete. From this point of view, it seems appropriate to define the archaeological evidence illustrating this important role as a manifestation of the 'Dodecanesian connection'. In looking at the 'Dodecanesian connection', which begins in Interaction Period I, Earlier Phase, the chronology and context of the so-called duck askoi of the Early and Middle Aegean Bronze Age in the Aegean and Cyprus are of particular importance (see § 3.4.3). For a long time the duck askoi shape had been considered of Cycladic origin even if it spread largely in the Aegean (in the Argolid, Aegina,

Central Greece, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, and western Anatolia). However, now duck askoi are known to have been locally produced throughout the East Aegean in the Early and Middle Bronze Age, on Kalymnos, at the Seraya on Kos and, further north, on Samos, at both Miletus and the Heraion. In addition to these locations, the discovery by T. Marketou (2009a, 51-2, fig. 3a-b) of more than twenty dark faced incised and pattern painted examples of duck askoi at Asomatos on Rhodes dating to EBA IIIB is particularly important since it indicates a production center of duck vases in this site.

In terms of Cypro-Aegean relations, the manufacturing of a few duck askoi, clearly inspired by Aegean prototypes, on Cyprus in the EC and MC periods is relevant, although, generally speaking, they were given less consideration than the few Early and Middle Bronze Age finished artifacts. Specifically, six Red Polished III duck vases of the EC period and a Black Polished example possibly of MC I date were found at Lapithos and possibly at Deneia, which is an inland site that had close links with the north coast (Herscher 1975; Merrillees 1979, 19 with refs). It is worth noting that all of them featured a general Aegean shape with a few elements (mainly the rounded base) adapted from the local tradition. Interestingly, five other Cypriot askoi that were found only at inland sites appear to have been more deeply rooted in the local ceramic traditions, since while they have a shape recalling the Aegean prototypes, they show more features derived from the Early Cypriot ceramic tradition, such as basket handles and cut away necks instead of tubular necks. Considering that Rhodes likely provided a regular stopover on the route from the Aegean to Cyprus throughout the Bronze Age, Asomatos may be considered one of the best candidates for the transmission of such influences to the sites located on the northern coast of Cyprus since it was the most important EBA site where duck vases were being produced in the Dodecanese.

In Interaction Period 1, Later Phase, some Minoan imports from the settlement deposits on Rhodes confirm a correlation between the island and Crete in the Protopalatial period, but, despite the beginning of a 'Dodecanesian connection' in the previous phase, the Dodecanese did not show any definite sign of interaction with Cyprus in Interaction Period 1, apart from vague speculation that some bronzes from Kos are consistent with Cypriot copper and that the tin trade route may have involved Kos and Rhodes (see § 3.3.2). Even if available evidence attests to more sporadic than systematic trade relations (Keswani 2005, 387; Knapp 2013c, 114), at least in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, the northern coastal sites can be regarded as the starting points for the westward copper trade through the sea route going towards Rhodes. The sea routes connecting the Aegean and Cyprus will be discussed in detail from a nautical perspective in the appendix by Angiolo Querci, but some considerations on

the sea routes connecting the Aegean and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1 are here necessary.

Taking into account the direction of streams and winds, some scholars have suggested a circular counterclockwise sea route which connected Crete to Egypt, to the Levantine coast, to Cyprus, and then returned again to the Aegean (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 11-20; Wachsmann 1998, 295-9; Carinci 2000, 33). However, regarding Cypro-Aegean trade, it is important to evaluate the beginning of the 'Dodecanesian connection' in Interaction Period 1, Earlier Phase, in connection with the reciprocal seaborne exchange, albeit limited, of copper in this period. These phenomena may only be explained by admitting that a direct route connecting Cyprus and the Aegean was reciprocally used and was preferred to the far longer counterclockwise route (also cf. Watrous 1992, 172-3, 175-8, figs 10-11). The use of this shorter sea route which runs eastward from Rhodes is also implicitly admitted by O. Kouka (2009, 40 with refs) when she states that the Karmi cup reached Cyprus through Kos, Rhodes, or other sites in the East Aegean, and from this point of view, it is probably not by chance that Kamares pottery was found at Trianda on Rhodes (Marketou 2009b, 82-3 fig. 14: b). The same is true of the direct sea route which runs in the opposite direction, i.e. westward from Cyprus to the Aegean along the South Anatolian coast, which likewise took advantage of the presence of important stopovers on the islands of the Dodecanese.[12] It is of particular interest that all the sea routes mentioned by ancient geographers confirm that Rhodes always was a stopover of primary importance on these routes (Arnaud 2005, 212), functioning as both a gateway into the Aegean for ships sailing from Cyprus (Watrous 1992, 175-6; also cf. Portugali, Knapp 1985, 52-3) and as the main point of support for the ships sailing from the Aegean. Moreover, Manning and Hulin (2005, 277 fig. 11.1, 278), who discussed coastal visibility in the sea routes connecting the Aegean to the East, regarded the coastal sea-route, although long, as the easiest because Anatolian and Cypriot coasts are visible to sailors and the ships did not venture into the unknown (also cf. Arnaud 2005, 210; Sauvage 2007, 203; Graziadio, forthcoming). Some decades ago, E.K. Manzourani and A.J. Theodorou (1991, 50-1, fig. 9), however, admitted that this coastal sea route was only followed for the trip from Cyprus to Crete, while they suggest that an open sea route directly linked Crete to Cyprus, taking advantage of the favorable wind and current regimes. As a matter of fact, open sea westward sailing from Cyprus to the Aegean would have been very difficult due to strong opposing winds in summer. Other scholars, taking into account the possibility

12 For the possibility of sailing from east to west (and in the opposite direction) in the Eastern Mediterranean, cf. McCaslin 1980, fig. 36, route II; Portugali, Knapp 1985, 53 fig. 4-3; Watrous 1992, 177-8; Cline 1994, 91; Van de Moortel 2006b, 644-6.

of night-sailing,[13] also reconstructed open sea routes between Crete and Cyprus and suggest that only a very segmented route and probably night-sailing were possible, although resulting in a very fragmented and long journey (Arnaud 2005, 223; also cf. Tartaron 2013, 209-10 fig. 6: 3 with refs).

The seaborne transport of all the foreign goods found on Cyprus is, of course, quite obvious, and the occurrence of Western and Eastern imports in the EBA and MBA cemeteries of the north coast of Cyprus (Knapp 2018a, 72-4; also cf. Keswani 2005, 388-9, tab. 13) clearly was not substantially hampered by the factors limiting seafaring in this area, such as anchoring a ship in bad weather, the prevailing northwest winds, and other possible constraints (Knapp 2018a, 71-2). Therefore, the evidence for Minoan contacts in the north sector of Cyprus dating from Interaction Period 1 to Interaction Period 3 clearly is primarily related to Cypro-Aegean trade **[fig. 7.1]**, but it is worth considering that the coastal route from the Aegean to Cyprus also was the westernmost course of a longer sea route linking the Aegean, primarily Crete, to the northern Levant.[14] The entirety of this sea route was probably followed by the Minoans when they went to Ugarit for tin supplies (see § 3.5.1) and by the Ugaritic merchant Sinaranu when he came back to Ugarit from Crete in the thirteenth century BC (Nougayrol 1955, 107-8; Heltzer 1988; 1989). The geographic position of the northern coast of Cyprus, of course, also made it an important stopover on this long trip. On the other hand, the Alashiyan copper mentioned in the Mari texts was exported from Cyprus through the easternmost course of this long coastal route, which was also followed in the opposite direction by the merchants carrying Levantine goods to Cyprus. The limited archaeological evidence for contacts between Crete and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1, Later Phase, might therefore be explained in this light.

Contrary to previous opinions, the new excavations on Rhodes show that, after the devastating flood and the abandonment of the settlement at Asomatos on Rhodes in the Early Bronze Age III, town planning and large building construction was initiated on the northern part of the island in the MBA (Marketou 2009a, 52). Therefore, the suggestion of a temporary slowdown in maritime connections along the coastal sea route due to the EBA III disaster can be ruled

13 Berg 2007, 399 with refs. For a discussion on the possibility of open-sea voyages and sailing at night undertaken by the Mycenaeans, cf. Tartaron 2013, 110-13, where it was also stated that "the use of celestial navigation for nighttime voyages on the open sea is virtually certain for the Aegean Bronze Age".

14 Mantzourani, Theodorou 1991, 39, where, however, the northern coast of Cyprus is regarded as a Minoan staging post during the journey from Crete to the East in Interaction Period 1, while from the Protopalatial period onwards direct communication between Crete and Cyprus is acknowledged (41).

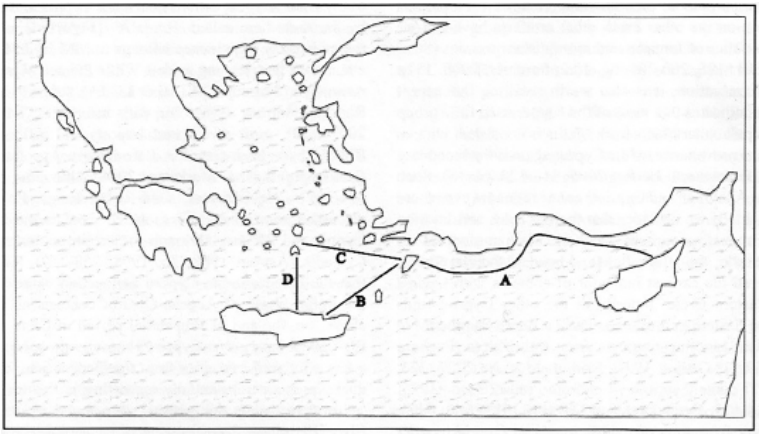

Figure 7.1 The possible sea-routes connecting Cyprus and Crete in the Early and Middle Bronze Age. Drawn by Mario Epifani. After Graziadio 2013, 170 fig. 6

out. Instead, the slowdown in coastal maritime connections between Crete and Cyprus may be explained by the increase in trade relations between the Aegean and Ugarit in the late Protopalatial period and particularly by the growing Aegean demand for tin from the Orient, as a consequence of the developments of Aegean metallurgy in the Protopalatial period. As a result of this commercial trend, during the Protopalatial period the importance of Cyprus as a copper supplier did not increase as much as expected, given that the bulk of copper used in the Aegean at that time was from local sources. While "Cyprus was already involved in the regional exchange system(s) that brought tin to the island" (Knapp 2018, 74 with refs), and therefore had an independent tin supply, the amount of Eastern imports found in the northern cemeteries of Cyprus, particularly in the "proto-harbour" of Lapithos (Webb, Knapp 2020), may suggest a rising Cypriot interest in overseas trade towards the East to the detriment of the partially not completely established trade with the West, especially with Crete. Crete, in turn, became more oriented toward easterly markets bypassing, from the commercial point of view, Cyprus which in this period probably also lost some of its importance as a stopover along the coastal trade route from the Aegean to the northern Levant.

For all these reasons, during the Bronze Age the southern coast of Anatolia is acknowledged here as the preferred trade route over the far longer counterclockwise route, and it was favored due to the location of the island of Rhodes as a stop-over point of primary importance **[fig. 7.1: A]**. It is admittedly difficult to trace the stretches of this route westward from Rhodes, and reference to a previous study (Graziadio 2013, 170-1) is enough here concerning the earlier phase

of Interaction Period 1. A direct route linking Rhodes and East Crete is represented by the island chain (Saria, Karpathos, and Kasos) (Niemeier 1998, 29 with refs) **[fig. 7.1: A-B]**. However, in the earliest phase of Cypro-Aegean contacts, the Cycladic involvement in this trade network is also possible, as suggested by Webb and other scholars (2009, 252 with refs). Therefore, it is very likely that an important, albeit indirect, route also connected Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades **[fig. 7.1: A, C]**. This is also suggested by the fact that, from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age onwards, the Dodecanese established firm trade connections with the Cyclades (Benzi 1997, 390-2; Davis 2001, 91, fn. 374 with refs; Voigländer 2009, 114). Moreover, the final stretch of this indirect route from the Cyclades to Crete **[fig. 7.1: D]** is well known from the Early Bronze Age,[15] and there is also evidence for close contacts between the Cyclades and some Cretan districts, specifically the Knossos area, where the harbor site of Poros-Katsambas was located, and the Siteia region in northeast Crete, where there was also some evidence for links with Cyprus in the later phase of Interaction Period 1.

7.3.2 The Development of the 'Dodecanesian Connection' in Interaction Period 2

In Interaction Period 2, the earliest Cypriot pottery found in the Eastern Aegean is a Proto White Slip sherd from Miletus which can be connected to the southeast Aegean trade network in this period (Pieniążiek, Pavúk, Kozal 2018, 386), while a Base Ring I juglet is reported from Tilos. It is likely that Rhodes, maintaining direct connections with Cyprus, played the most important role in the spread of LC I pottery in the Eastern Aegean. In fact, the main evidence for close Cypriot connections with the Aegean has been provided by excavations on Rhodes which illustrate the important development of the 'Dodecanesian connection' in this period.[16] A review of Cypriot imports found in old and recent excavations on this island, especially at Trianda and in the area of the Moschou Vounara cemetery, is presented in § 4.3.1.3. Interestingly, they included several vessels dating to the Trianda IIA period, i.e. the phase corresponding to the end of Late Bronze Age IA and IB/LM IA Late and LM IB: White Slip bowls, Base Ring I jugs and

15 Graziadio 2013, 171; also cf. in particular Carter 1998; Wilson, Day, Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 71-3; Doonan, Day 2006, 6-8 with refs; Wilson, Day, Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2008, 82-3 with refs; Mangou, Ioannou 1998, 94, fn. 14 with refs.

16 A few LC I bronze artifacts from Rhodes have been identified as Cypriot imports (Cline 1994, 226 no. 831, 229 no. 864, 231 no. 880; Benzi 2009, 50 fns 21-2 with refs) but they cannot be considered in this section since they were dated to LH IIIA1 in Aegean terms.

a rare example of a Base Ring spindle bottle, in addition to a Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle of possible Cypriot origin.

Even more important for defining the intermediary role of Rhodes between Cyprus and Crete is the discovery of a group of vessels which can be regarded as local imitations of LC I vessels. They included several examples made of clay of Ialysian provenance which imitated the shapes of Base Ring jugs, Red Slip bowls, White Slip I bowls, and of a Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware spindle bottle, which anomalously shows a painted decoration. In addition to the importance of these finds themselves, which testify to a Cypriot influence on Rhodian ceramic production that is unparalleled in the Aegean, it is worth underlining that some local imitations of White Slip milk bowls were characterized by the wishbone handles of Cypriot type. Since two wishbone-handled bowls imitating Cypriot White Slip milk bowls may be assigned to LM IA, it is clear that the earliest appearance of wishbone handles of Cypriot type on Aegean bowls may be dated to the end of the LM IA period or, at the latest, to the transition from LM IA to LM IB, that is to the period when local imitations of Cypriot vessels were said to be produced at Trianda (Karageorghis, Marketou 2006, 459).

As discussed in detail in § 4.3.1.3, 10 out of 17 Aegean wishbone-handled cups have been found on Crete, especially in the Knossos area and on the Mesara plain, and the earliest period when the wishbone-handle appeared in the Minoan ceramic repertoire was LM IB, while the last period of production of these cups on Crete was LM II-IIIA1. If we consider that there is ample evidence attesting to contacts between Crete and Rhodes also including LM IA pottery from Trianda, it is likely that the adoption of wishbone handles on Crete happened via Rhodes, with a slight delay after their initial appearance in the Rhodian pottery at the end of the LM IA period or, at the latest, at the transition from LM IA to LM IB.

From the Cypriot perspective, there also is some evidence confirming that the Dodecanese interacted with Cyprus in this period. These Eastern Aegean imports are represented by some sherds, possibly imported from Kos, belonging to two vessels: a Southern Aegean Light-on-Dark or Dark-on-Light Ware closed vessel from Area III at Enkomi and a jar or jug found in a Vournes Ib context at Maroni *Vournes*. In sum, in Interaction Period 2 the Rhodian archaeological record, coupled with the limited number of Dodecanesian imports to Cyprus, may suggest an increase from previous periods in the 'Dodecanesian connection'.

7.3.3 Another Phase of the 'Dodecanesian Connection' in Interaction Period 3

Although the overall archaeological evidence shows a decrease in contacts between the Dodecanese and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3, it is clear that the 'Dodecanesian connection' continues from the previous periods. In fact, while Cypriot imitations were no longer manufactured on Rhodes, the settlement of Trianda contained some White Slip II and Base Ring sherds in addition to a Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware spindle bottle of possible Cypriot production. Other Base Ring, Red Lustrous Wheelmade and Plain White Wheelmade vessels were found in the Mycenaean tombs at Ialysos. The most interesting novelty of the period is however represented by the Cypriot vessels, including a Base Ring bull vase, found in Tombs 76 and 86 in the Mycenaean cemetery at Ialysos. Since these tombs contained only Cypriot pottery, it has been suggested that they belonged to Cypriot individuals. Another Base Ring bull vase comes from Ialysos Tomb 31, possibly dating to LH IIIA1-2, and a similar vessel, also from Rhodes, is in the Stuttgart Museum. These three Cypriot bull vases may indicate a special component of the connection between Rhodes and Cyprus in this period. Nys (2001, 100-1) suggested that they were possibly associated with a particular Cypriot social stratum, and on Rhodes they may have been indicative of the high rank of the deceased. While the Cypriot pottery found on Kos cannot safely be assigned to Interaction Period 3, the role of Ialysos as a trade junction in the route between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean is still apparent especially in LH IIIA2 (Benzi 1996, 950-1; Marketou 2009b, 49-51). Sienkiewicz (2022, 228-9) has recently discussed the composition of Mycenaean drinking sets on Rhodes and Cyprus in the fourteenth century BC, when kraters appeared on both islands, but, according to him, shared drinking practices, which are more common in the following Interaction Period 4, attest to in-person encounters and cultural exchanges between wealthy social groups of Rhodian and Cypriot society.

Other Cypriot vessels from Kos, including a Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware flask from Langada Tomb 12 allegedly considered of Cypriot production and a fragmentary White Slip bowl from the Serraglio, cannot be precisely dated on contextual ground.

In addition to Cypriot pottery, the occurrence of bronze artifacts, a rapier, a dagger with tongued haft, and several arrowheads has been regarded as evidence for Cypriot imports to Rhodes, and three artifacts made of Cypriot copper from a LM IIIA context analytically identified at Karpathos confirm that in the Dodecanese there was still an independent demand for Cypriot copper despite the greater availability of Lavrion sources (see § 5.3.2.1). Although sporadic, some prestige objects from the Dodecanese can also be considered

additional evidence of contacts with Cyprus (see § 5.3.3). This may be the case of a Cypriot hematite cylinder seal from Ialysos Tomb 67 and possibly of a steatite cylinder seal from Eleona Tomb 22 on Kos, which also contained LH IIIA1-2 pottery. LH IIIA2 burial contexts at Ialysos also produced precious personal ornaments imported from Cyprus and local items possibly revealing a Cypriot influence. They included a stripe of silver foil from Tomb 51 and forty-seven fluted spherical beads of faience from Ialysos Tomb 28. The faience beads have been attributed to a type common on Cyprus and in the Levant, while other examples of this type have also been found in LH IIIA2-B contexts elsewhere on Rhodes (Aspropilia Tomb 1) and on Kos (Langada Tomb 38). The only Aegean parallels for the barrel beads of Cypriot origin dating to LC IIA and LC IIB-C have been found in Ialysos Tomb 26, which contained LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2-B pottery, while the 'poppy-head' or 'lotus-seed' glass beads from LH IIIA2 contexts on Rhodes (Ialysos T. 25) and Kos (Langada T. 25) cannot be safely considered Cypriot imports.

Moreover, six glass vessels, probably originating from Cyprus or North Syria, were reported from Rhodes, and it is important to note that three of them were found in Ialysos Tombs 56 and 62, respectively dating to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA. To conclude, M. Benzi (1992, 229, 287; also see § 5.3.3.4) mentioned a perforated stone, possibly a reused stone anchor of Cypriot type, which was found above the door of Ialysos Tomb 67 containing LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/LH IIIB pottery, but, alternatively, he did not rule out the possibility that it was a *sema*.[17]

It is not easy to understand what Cyprus received in return from the Dodecanese. The Cypriot archaeological record of this period is not very informative from this point of view since the main evidence is only provided by Offering Pit V at Hala Sultan Tekke. A LM/LH IIIA2 narrow-necked jug FS 120 decorated with semicircles from this feature is of Minoan appearance (Bürge, Fischer 2017, 155 fig. 24: 7; Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 202, L46-0, fig. 35: 3), but it was regarded as "an import from the Minoan sphere of culture" specifically from Karpathos/Dodecanese. Moreover, a beaked jug FS 144/145 decorated with stemmed spirals FM 49 and a tassel FM 72 has been considered similar to a LH IIIA1 beaked jug from Rhodes (Fischer, Bürge 2017a, 63, L46-33, figs 12: 5, 15: 8; 2017b, 198, 204 fig. 35: 1), and according to Popham, a globular flask FS 191 of unknown provenance probably was "Cretan or Rhodian under strong Cretan influence" (Åström 1972, 406 Type 191: a with refs). Despite the rarity of vessels with possible Rhodian features among the Aegean pottery

17 For the discovery of multi-holed stone anchors at various sites, including Antalya, along the sea route from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Aegean, cf. Öniz 2014, esp. 65, figs 1-2.

from Cypriot contexts of this period, it is likely that Rhodes played an intermediate role in the spread of Mycenaean pottery from the Argolid to Cyprus since Neutron Activation Analysis shows that the most common Mycenaean pottery found both on Rhodes and on Cyprus has the Mycenae/Berbati signature.

A possible role of Rhodes as a midway stop-over in the transmission of glyptic influence from Knossos to Cyprus in LH IIIA2 after the destruction of the palace has also been suggested, while the possibility of a Dodecanesian role in amber trade from the Aegean to Cyprus, where it has rather rarely been found, is only supposed.

7.3.4 The Interconnections Between Cyprus and the Dodecanese in Interaction Period 4

If we compare the evidence for contacts between the Southeast Aegean, especially Rhodes, and Cyprus during Interaction Period 2 with the archaeological record of Interaction Periods 3 and 4, a reduction in terms of the number of exchanged objects can be noted in the two later periods at least from the Aegean perspective. In Interaction Period 4, the traces of a destruction at Trianda, dating to the end of LH IIIA2 or the very beginning of LH IIIB, and the 'sudden decline' of the Ialysos cemetery in LH IIIB likely had a significant negative impact for interaction with Cyprus. These events were probably also connected with the reduction of LH IIIB Late pottery on Rhodes (Sherratt 1999, 184; 2001, 224) and the end of trading contacts between Rhodes and the Mainland "somewhere during LH IIIB" (Benzi 2009, 54 with refs), which in turn reduced contacts with Cyprus. However, as noted above, Sienkiewicz's recent contribution (2022) introduces new arguments to the discussion on the contacts between Rhodes and Cyprus focusing his discussion on shared drinking practices on the two islands beyond the limits of mere commerce. In his opinion these in-person encounters and cultural exchanges can mainly be attributed to the thirteenth century BC.

The lack of LH IIIB 2 style pottery did not affect Kalymnos (Benzi 2009, 54 fn. 56 with refs; 2020, 111, 171, pls 17q, 42l: VA 262), and, unlike on Rhodes, on Kos LH IIIB was a period of wealth and expansion and the island held a prominent role in the Southeast Aegean (Vitale 2021, 529-45, 553, 555). Despite its prosperity, Cypriot ceramic imports are scarce. However, this is not at all surprising because evidence for contacts between Kos and Cyprus is also relatively limited in the earlier periods, probably due to the less favorable location of Kos compared to Rhodes for sea route connections with Cyprus.

Contacts between the Dodecanese and Cyprus are also attested by a few prestige objects possibly of Cypriot origin (see § 6.3.3.1), such as two cylinder seals from Tomb 10 at Langada and Tomb 22 at

Eleona on Kos. Some jewels from Ialysos tombs, such as a pair of earrings from a LH IIIB context in Tomb 53, may also be Cypriot imports, while several gold pendants in the shape of a bull's head, although of possible Cypriot manufacture, are of more uncertain chronology; Cypriot parallels have also been suggested for cylindrical glass pendants from Rhodes and Kos and conical spindle whorls from Rhodes. Finally, an ivory plaque carved with a pair of heraldic rampant lions from Mount Philerimos may be an example of the luxury objects "distributed in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean via Cyprus and Rhodes in the LH IIIA2/LH IIIB [periods]" (Marketou 2009a, 49).

The general impression does not change substantially from the Cypriot perspective although

> Dodecanesian imports have been identified or suspected at sites such as Maa-Paleokastro, Sinda, Enkomi, Kition and Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Sherratt 1991, 193 and fn. 13 with refs)

while some bowls standing on three legs from Kition tombs can be compared to some examples from Rhodes (Karageorghis 1974, 38 no. 141, from Tombs 4+5, and nos 42-3, from Tomb 9).[18] However, R. Jung referred to a link between the Southeast Aegean and the settlement phase IIB at Enkomi, where some southeastern Aegean pottery was found (2009, 79 fig. 3.3) We can also refer to some analogies between ornaments recovered from Ialysos tombs and from Cyprus and to some faience beads showing a 'grain of wheat' shape that were discovered at Kouklia.

Despite the limited archaeological evidence for connections between Cyprus and the Dodecanese in Interaction Period 4, scattered finds suggesting contacts with Cyprus can be noted along the coastal sea route leading to Troy, particularly at Emborio on Chios and Miletus. They indicate that Troy, where an appreciable number of Cypriot imports was found, likely was the final destination of the trade route along the Aegean Anatolian coast connecting Cyprus and this coast via the Dodecanese which was used from LH IIB (Troy VI f) to the period corresponding to Interaction Period 4. The 'Trojan connection' is

18 It should also be recalled that the collection of the Mycenaean vessels stored in the museum at Laon, France, in addition to several Cypriot ones, included some examples, such as a 'Levanto-Mycenaean' chalice FS 278 (Tsipopoulou 1998, 27-8 no. 39) **[tab. 6.11]** and possibly others which were imported to Cyprus. However, there are other Aegean vessels, including a fragmentary Minoan krater and Mycenaean vessels suggesting Dodecanesian connections (Tsipopoulou 1998, 39 no. 53: Minoan krater, 40-1 no. 55, 40-1 no. 55: three-legs vessel with basket handle FS 319, 41 no. 56: kalathos FS 301) which cannot safely be considered among Mycenaean imports to Cyprus, because no information is available about their finding place and the provenance of all the other Aegean vases of this interesting collection. For these reasons, none of them has been included in the tables of this book.

further confirmed by the presence of Anatolian Grey and Tan Wares, probably of Trojan production, in the Eastern Mediterranean and on Cyprus, mainly in thirteenth century BC contexts.

7.4 The Cyclades and Cyprus

In the third millennium BC, the Cycladic islands engaged in very dynamic trade relations, benefiting from their geographical location which encouraged regular contacts with the Greek Mainland, the East Aegean, and Anatolia. In this context, there is enough evidence for exchange of raw materials between the Cyclades and Cyprus in Interaction Period 1 and even earlier in the third millennium when the Cyclades became part of the so-called 'Anatolian Trade Network', along with Anatolia, the islands of the East Aegean, and mainland Greece, while the role of Cyprus in this network is not completely clear (Knapp 2008, 78). In this period the Cycladic islands were active in indirect relations between mainland Greece and Cyprus. In this framework, therefore, connections between the Cyclades and Cyprus date back to the third millennium BC even providing evidence for bidirectional trade relationships. In this period, possible Cypriot imports to the Cyclades are represented by rat-tail spearheads, while results of Lead Isotope Analysis that found copper in EBA-MBA artifacts from Amorgos and Syros consistent with production from Cypriot ores have been questioned. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that there was an increase in the use of Cypriot copper during the Early Cycladic IIIA.

On Cyprus, the so-called 'Philia culture' was a time of developing external contacts, especially with Anatolia, as well as between the north coast of the island, especially the key-site of Vasilia, and the Cyclades and southeastern Anatolia (see §§ 3.2.2, 3.4.2). Some artifacts of the Philia phase from Vasilia implied contacts with the Cyclades since they were made with copper from Kythnos; at this site a rat-tail dirk from Tomb 1, belonging to the later Philia phase or EC I-MC period, also was consistent with copper ores at Lavrion or Kythnos, and imported Aegean copper was used for the manufacture of two weapons, although they were probably cast on Cyprus. Lead Isotope Analysis also shows that several EC copper artifacts from Lapithos were made of copper from the Cyclades and Lavrion and, later on, Cycladic copper was used for the manufacture of other artifacts found on Cyprus, including a knife from Karmi Palealona T. 2.

Regarding Interaction Period 1, reference has frequently also been made to the Cyclades in connection with the adoption of the Aegean shape of duck vases on Cyprus. However, as discussed above, the prototypes of Cypriot examples can probably be found in the Dodecanese, where such peculiar containers were locally made, with the

site of Asomatos on Rhodes probably being one of the best candidates for the transmission of such influences to the sites located on the northern coast of Cyprus.

In Interaction Period 2, the increasing infiltration of Cretan Neopalatial elements into Cycladic culture and the predominant role of Minoans in the Aegean trade network affected the nature of contacts between Cyprus and the Cyclades. In this scenario, it should be recalled that several fragments of oxhide ingots from House A at Ayia Irini on Keos dating to Period VII (LM I) had lead isotope ratios consistent with Cypriot ore sources, but Lead Isotope analysis of copper-based artifacts shows that the exchange in raw materials disintegrated during Interaction Period 2 (see § 4.3.2.1). It is clear, in fact, that local copper was preferred and circulated within the Aegean, and there is evidence for an increase in local metalworking on Cyprus. Therefore, most Cycladic LBA artifacts were made of copper from Lavrion, and only a few finds, including a scale pan from Akrotiri, have an isotopic composition consistent with a Cypriot origin. A similar situation is apparent in the pottery (see § 4.3.1.2): Cypriot ceramic imports to the Cyclades are limited to two White Slip I milk bowls, one from Thera and the other from Melos, possibly imported from the western part of Cyprus. Of course, it is impossible to know if these few Cypriot vessels were imported via Crete or directly from Cyprus. On Cyprus, most of the ceramic imports were of Minoan manufacture, while the list of Cycladic imports is restricted to some problematic sherds, such as those belonging to a jar or jug found at Maroni *Vournes* which was probably imported from Kos, as well as a finely decorated body sherd from a large vessel with a floral decoration which was recovered during old excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 4?) and was alternatively considered of LM IA production.

In Interaction Periods 3 and 4, when Mycenaean presence replaced Minoan cultural hegemony, the Cyclades were probably excluded from participation in long distance exchange networks (Earle 2012). This explains why evidence for contacts between Cyprus and the Cyclades in Interaction Period 3 is very limited (see § 5.3.1.3). In addition to a composite stone anchor in the Aegean Maritime Museum at Mykonos that is of unknown provenance and chronology, in fact, only two sherds from a White Slip II milk-bowl found in a LH IIIA1-2 context at Ayia Irini are evidence of contacts between Keos and Cyprus in the fourteenth century BC, while no Cycladic copper-based artifacts were made of Cypriot copper and no Cypriot goldwork or jewels of Cypriot type have been found in the Cyclades in Interaction Periods 3 and 4. The same is true of the archaeological record from Cyprus dating to these periods suggesting that nearly all the Aegean merchandise, especially pottery, was in the hands of Mycenaean merchants or Cypriot merchants coming to Mainland Greece.

7.5 The Greek Mainland and Cyprus

7.5.1 The Earliest Contacts Between the Greek Mainland and Cyprus

In the third millennium BC, small-scale complex societies emerged in some regions of the Greek mainland and the MH culture developed in the first centuries of the second millennium BC. Considering these developments, it is not at all surprising that in the second half of the third millennium mainland Greece became part of the so-called 'Anatolian Trade Network', which has been repeatedly mentioned above. The sporadic presence of Cypriot copper in EH metal artifacts from the Peloponnese indicates that the Cycladic islands probably played a role as an intermediary in the relations between Cyprus and mainland Greece, although Lead Isotope Analysis clearly confirms the absolute prevalence of copper-based artifacts made of copper consistent with the Cycladic isotopic field throughout the Greek mainland (see § 3.3.2). Therefore, even if the mainland was probably involved in Cypriot copper trade only indirectly, Lead Isotope Analysis of finds on Cyprus confirms Cypriot involvement in the earliest trade connections, with an EC III rat-tail dagger having a lead isotope ratio consistent with Lavrion ores and several EC copper artifacts from Lapithos containing copper from either Lavrion or the Cyclades (see § 3.4.2).

7.5.2 Some Changes in the Nature of Connections Between Mainland Greece and Cyprus in Interaction Period 2

Although Crete no doubt played a key role in promoting trade contacts with Cyprus, the earliest evidence for interaction between Cyprus and the Mycenaean world is not to be underestimated, especially if we consider the increasing role of Helladic Greece in the Aegean already in LH IIA, after the Theran eruption (Wiener 2020, 299-301). In this context a few Cypriot imports from mainland Greece dating to Interaction Period 2 deserve comment (see § 4.3.1.2). In this period Cypriot pottery found in the Aegean mainly came from Neopalatial Crete. Apart from problematic vessels from Athens, the list of imports includes a few Base Ring and White Slip examples which were found in rich, elite tombs (the so-called 'Grave Circle' at Mycenae and Tholos III near the Mycenaean palace at Pylos), although it is not clear whether they belonged to LH IIA, i.e. Interaction Period 2, or to LH IIB, i.e. the beginning of Interaction Period 3. A certain imbalance between Crete and mainland Greece can also be noted concerning the trade in oxhide ingots (see § 4.3.2.1). This is well illustrated by the discovery of several ingots in various Cretan sites, while in the

mainland area the only evidence is represented by some complete and fragmentary oxhide ingots found in the sea off the coast of Kyme (Euboea), although they seem indicative of a cargo wreck dating to Interaction Period 2 since they feature a Type 1 shape and their lead composition is consistent with Cypriot copper ore sources. Despite this scarce evidence, it is worth noting that, according to Lead Isotope Analysis, two of the 13 analyzed bronzes from Circle A at Mycenae were made of copper consistent with a Cypriot origin, and as many as 6% of all the MH III-LH II samples from the Peloponnese have a composition consistent with the isotopic field of Cyprus. It is also worth discussing the possible Cypriot origin of some prestige objects since the members of the Mycenaean emerging ruling classes in the Peloponnese used many precious objects to show their high social status (see § 4.3.3). This perspective may therefore explain why some cylinder seals of exotic appearance, clearly considered symbols of power, were part of the burial assemblages of high-status individuals. A case in point is represented by two cylinder seals found in a LH I-II and a LH IIIC context in a tholos tomb at Kasarma in the Argolid, but their possible Cypriot origin is debated, and another sardonyx seal probably of Minoan production showing some Cypriot features was found in a tholos tomb at Routsi in Messenia in association with LH IIA-IIIA finds.

Like in the previous periods, in the spread of Aegean objects to Cyprus the prominent role was, of course, played by Crete which reached the peak of its cultural and commercial development in the Neopalatial period, but some imports from mainland Greece also are of interest. While the suggested strong Mycenaean parallels for the four or five tholos tombs excavated at Enkomi are unsubstantiated because they may simply be considered Cypriot adaptations of foreign, Aegean or Levantine, prototypes (cf. in fact, Keswani 2004, 114-15; Knapp 2013a, 383), the presence of some "Proto-Mycenaean" objects illustrate the variety of the finds especially dating to the late phase of Interaction Period 2. The Mycenaean vessels ascribed to LH IIA were relatively few but they were dispersed in three of the major First Tier towns. They included three alabastra probably containing valued viscous substances, one from Enkomi, Area III, and two from Maroni *Tsaroukkas* (Tombs 3 and 6); a fragmentary cup FS 207 or 237 with lily decoration from Enkomi, British Excavations Tomb 40; a beaked jug with a fine decoration in Alternating Style from Tomb X at Hala Sultan Tekke, which NAA attributes to an Argolid production (Berbati); and a handful of sherds possibly of LH IIA-B date also from Hala Sultan Tekke, which included uncommon Mycenaean shapes such as a LH IIA/IIIA2 conical rhyton with spiral/floral decoration. However, as noted above, the semiglobular cups from funerary contexts at Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* as well as other vessels of debated origin and/or chronology, such as for example the cup with

double axes and lilies decoration in the Kolokassides collection, may be added to this list. Concerning these Early Mycenaean vessels, it can be noted that alabastra probably contained new commodities that had hitherto been unavailable on the island where the local repertoire included many functionally equivalent shapes. These vessels were probably used as containers for viscous substances, similar to their use in Aegean tombs (Mountjoy 1993, 127-8, tab. V; Cavanagh 1998, 36; Gallou 2005, 94-5, 97-8). Since, as noted by Steel (2004b, 73), they "have no parallel within the indigenous Cypriot ceramic repertoire", we can safely suggest that exotic ointments were becoming a widely available Aegean commodity from this period onward, remaining a very common article of trade in Interaction Periods 3 and 4 (77; Graziadio 2011). A significant difference between Aegean and Cypriot contexts containing imported pottery should also be noted. In the Aegean, all the Cypriot imports have been discovered in settlement deposits, with the only possible exception of the Cypriot vessels found in the elite tombs at Pylos, if they belonged to Interaction Period 2. However, it is important to note that on Crete, outside of the Knossos area, tombs of the Neopalatial era (especially LM IA-B) are rare. Contrary to the Aegean evidence, in Interaction Period 2 only a minority of the Aegean semiglobular cups recovered in Cyprus came from settlement deposits, though the pattern is undoubtedly affected by the fact that fewer settlements than tombs dating to this period have been excavated on Cyprus. Even considering this warning, a clear discrepancy is apparent at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* where the settlement levels yielded three semiglobular cups out of the eleven LM IA vessels from the site. Other Aegean semiglobular cups from settlement deposits have been found at Enkomi (Quarter 4E and Area III) and there are other potential examples from settlement deposits at Hala Sultan Tekke among the few sherds of possible LH IIA-B date (Mazzotta, Recht 2015, 60-1 fig. 37). All the other Aegean (Minoan or Mycenaean) cups from Cyprus, mainly of semiglobular shape, have come from funerary contexts. Such is the case for the semiglobular cups found at Palaepaphos *Teratsoudhia* Tombs 104 and 105, Palaepaphos *Evreti* Well TE 118 III, and Limassol *Enaerios* Feature 621-VI (which was a complex mortuary feature: Karageorghis, Violaris 2012, 48), the four semiglobular cups and the Vapheio cup from Ayia Irini *Paleokastro*, and the semiglobular cup in the Kolokassides Collection.

Turning to prestige items, as repeatedly noted above, it is impossible to establish whether the gold and silver cups from Tombs 92 and 93 at Enkomi were Minoan or Mycenaean artifacts, but their shapes are well paralleled in the precious metal cups from the LH I shaft graves at Mycenae. Another noteworthy find which recalls the finds of the Shaft Grave Period at Mycenae is represented by the Type B sword in the Severis collection since its shape is well paralleled in

the extraordinarily rich graves in Circle A (see § 4.4.2). Therefore, despite the limited number of reciprocally imported objects, the above reviewed evidence, especially the Cypriot sherds found in elite Mycenaean funerary contexts at Pylos (if attributable to Interaction Period 2), the bronzes from Circle A at Mycenae made of Cypriot copper, and the Proto-Mycenaean finds from Cyprus, may suggest a reciprocal exchange among the higher levels of society (also cf. Van Wijngaarden 2007, 461-2). If so, the early contacts between Mainland Greece and Cyprus may be regarded as a harbinger of the close connections between the two worlds that are apparent after the end of the Neopalatial Period in Crete, even if during Interaction Period 2 they probably touched only a limited number of the respective elites.

7.5.3 The Apex of Contacts Between Mainland Greece and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3

In Interaction Period 3, mainland Greece played an increasingly important role in contacts with Cyprus due to the changes in the historical scenery, specifically the development of Mycenaean power in the Aegean. However, if we consider the evidence for Cypro-Mycenaean interaction primarily from a mainland perspective, this phenomenon is relatively limited as suggested by the observation that in mainland Greece imports and exotica attesting to contacts with Cyprus are far fewer in number than imports from the Levant (Van Wijngaarden 2012, 66). More specifically, apart from the Cypriot pottery from funerary contexts found in the Agora at Athens, the evidence from other contexts is problematic (see § 5.3.1.4). For example, the Cypriot vessels found in the Pylos tombs probably were earlier than Interaction Period 3, while a vessel from the Tomb of the Ivory Pyxides on the slope of the Areopagus at Athens was considered "enigmatic", albeit probably of Cypriot manufacture. However, the Mycenaean pottery marked after firing according to a Cypriot custom also points to a connection between the Argolid and Cyprus, although in the Aegean marked vessels are comparatively few, show a limited range of shapes, and mostly date to Interaction Period 4. Hirschfeld (1993, 312; 1996) in fact suggested that Cypriot merchants, engaged in pottery exports to Cyprus, traveled to the Argolid, particularly to Tiryns, with the aim of checking Mycenaean pottery for export to Cyprus, and, in Cypriot fashion, marked/incised the vessels to be exported to the Eastern Mediterranean. Concerning other regions of the Peloponnese, while the interpretation of the allegedly "Cypriot" stirrup jars from Achaea is problematic, contacts between northwestern Peloponnese and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 are shown by Mycenaean and local ceramic finds from Cyprus (see § 5.4.4.1; also see below).

Cypriot metal objects occurred rarely in Interaction Period 3 (see § 5.3.2.1). In fact, doubts have been raised over the Cypriot provenance of a LH II carinated bronze bowl from Tholos B at Katarraktis, but there is a leaf-shaped LH IIIA arrowhead from Mygdalia (Patras) that is well paralleled on Cyprus. Moreover, no copper oxhide ingots have been found in Mycenaean contexts of Interaction Period 3, when Lavrion was the predominant copper supplier in the Aegean. Since Cypriot copper has generally been considered the main return good for the Aegean pottery exported to Cyprus, in theory the prevalent use of local copper may explain the limited number of Cypriot imports to mainland Greece. Indeed, Lead Isotope Analysis indicates that there was not a marked difference in the percentage of Cypriot copper in copper-based artifacts from Mycenaean Greece compared with those found in Crete, suggesting that in Interaction Period 3 the limited interest for imported copper was a general phenomenon throughout the Aegean. This is also confirmed by the lack of copper ingots even on Crete in this period and the rarity of foreign bronze objects in the Aegean. The absence of imported Aegean bronzes on Cyprus in LC II (see § 5.4.2) therefore suggests that in this period both Cypriot and Aegean merchandise mainly consisted of other goods.

Despite the limited number of prestige objects mutually exchanged during Interaction Period 3, the presence of Cypriot precious artifacts in high status burials in prominent Peloponnesian sites has no parallel elsewhere in the Aegean and seems to attest to a certain interest, albeit rather occasional, for Cypriot prestige objects by some members of the Mycenaean social elite who were involved in trade connections (see § 5.3.3). Apart from a hematite cylinder seal of uncertain origin from a LH IIB-IIIA1 context in Chamber Tomb 47 at Mycenae, there are two gold rings likely imported from Cyprus in Interaction Period 3, one recovered from the extraordinarily rich tholos tomb of Vapheio in Laconia (early LH IIB) and the other from a chamber tomb at Prosymna, while a faience goblet with stylized relief lotus petals was found associated with a LH IIIA1 burial context in Chamber Tomb 49 at Mycenae. It should therefore be emphasized that the presence of these few Cypriot luxury objects is apparent as early as the LH IIB and LH IIIA1 periods when Mycenaean trade began to replace Minoan trade with Cyprus.

Regarding the precious goods exported from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Aegean, attention must, of course, be paid to the Uluburun shipwreck since great insight into LBA trade in the late fourteenth century BC is offered by its extraordinary cargo. It contained a considerable number of Cypriot copper and tin ingots, glass and cobalt ingots, precious jewelry, metal vessels, ivory, wood, and Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery in addition to many other commodities which

were in great demand.[19] It is difficult to assign a specific home port for this ship, possibly Tell Abu Hawam (Pulak 2008, 299), but at least an intermediate call on Cyprus is very likely during the last voyage of the ship. When the ship sank, it was sailing west of Cyprus apparently heading to the Aegean. The possibility that its final destination was Crete is unlikely since after the final destruction of Knossos in the early LM IIIA2 period this island was probably less attractive for international trade. It is more likely that, after a stop on Rhodes, the ship's final destination was a Mycenaean palace on the mainland, probably Mycenae and/or Tiryns (300; Tartaron 2013, 26). However, the absence of copper oxhide ingots and the rarity of Cypriot precious goods in mainland Greece seems incongruous to the large quantities of metal and precious commodities in the cargo of the ship.

Turning to the evidence for contacts in Interaction Period 3 from the Cypriot perspective, the contrast between the relative scarcity of Cypriot imports to mainland Greece and the tremendous quantity of Mycenaean pottery exported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 is striking, but it should be kept in mind that there was also likely trade in many goods, such as wood, perfumed oils, wine, honey, aromatic herbs, purple, spices, incense, cloths, salted fishes and even animals, which do not leave any clear archaeological traces and were not mentioned in Linear B texts (Knapp 1991, 41; Sauvage 2012, 91, 179). In order to illustrate the dynamics of the connections between mainland Greece and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3, a review of Mycenaean pottery from Cypriot funerary and settlement contexts of this period may also offer some explanation for the appreciation of ceramic imports and the market choices for Aegean vessels related to specific functional categories (see §§ 5.4.1.4-5.4.1.5).

Before discussing this evidence in more detail, it is important to recall that Neutron Activation Analysis of ceramics shows a special relationship existed in Interaction Period 3 between the Argolid and Cyprus. Specifically, the vast majority of LH IIIA and IIIB ceramic imports on Cyprus were produced in the Argolid, with a clear predominance of the so-called Mycenae/Berbati Group and a minority with the Tiryns/Asine signature (Bryan et al. 1997, 40-2, tab. 9; Mommsen, Beier, Åström 2003; Mountjoy, Mommsen 2015). However, the predominance of Mycenae/Berbati Group pottery has also been noted for the Mycenaean pottery imported to many extra-Argive areas including the Dodecanese, although other centers of production on the mainland have also been identified (Marketou et al. 2006, 48-9, 54). Therefore, in theory it is possible that to a certain extent various regions acted as intermediaries in the diffusion of the Argive pottery to Cyprus. In this period, the northwestern Peloponnese also

19 Pulak 1997; 2005a; 2005b; 2008; Yalçin, Pulak, Slotta 2005.

established some important, although ephemeral, contacts with Cyprus. As discussed more in depth in § 5.4.4.1, these connections have not been substantiated by any archaeometric analysis but are based on some morphological and stylistic parallels between the regional Mycenaean pottery of this wide area of the Peloponnese and several Mycenaean vessels imported to Cyprus. It is also important to note that the northwestern Peloponnesian pottery imported to Cyprus in Interaction Period 3 inspired a local production of three-handled jars.

Turning to Mycenaean ceramic imports more specifically, in § 5.4.1.3 the extraordinary importance of Paul Åström's catalog of Mycenaean vessels has been emphasized even half a century after its publication (1972). In fact, Åström listed all the Mycenaean imports known at his time, including nearly all the Mycenaean vessels published from earlier excavations at Enkomi by the British, Swedish, French, and Cypriot missions as well as examples coming from other First Tier towns and other sites. He also cataloged shape by shape many examples generally without exact provenance stored in museums and private collections all over the world. Therefore, generally speaking, his list of any single Mycenaean shape contains a large percentage of unprovenanced vessels as well as items without any reference to the find contexts. For example, in the list of LH IIIA2 amphoroid kraters FS 53, the unprovenanced vessels and kraters without any reference to the find contexts amount to 45% of all the examples of this shape, and there also is a similar percentage (46,6%) of LH IIIA2 piriform jars FS 45 lacking provenance. In general terms, however, this clearly does not invalidate the comparative value of Åström's catalog even today. Figure 5.3 uses the Mycenaean vessels cataloged individually by P. Åström in order to show the percentage distribution of functional categories according to different chronological phases. In this graph, the limited percentage (ca 6% of overall pottery) of LH IIB-IIIA1 vessels clearly contrasts with the percentages of Mycenaean pottery assigned to LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB (ca 34% and ca 30% respectively) indicating that there was an increase in Mycenaean pottery from the earlier (LH IIB-IIIA1) to the later (LH IIIA2 and LH IIIA2/IIIB) periods. The Mycenaean vessels of the LH IIIA2 period were clearly predominant in terms of percentage, and this is particularly marked if we consider that, as noted in § 5.4.1.3, many vessels counted in the indistinct LH IIIA2/IIIB phase were imported in the LH IIIA2 period. Figure 5.3 also shows that the main variations throughout Interaction Period 3 occur in all functional categories, while F3 'Storage Vessels' has a perceptible value (ca 1%) only in LH IIIB and vessels of category F4 appear in very low percentages (less than 1%) throughout all periods.

In § 5.4.1.4, the data provided by Åström's catalog have been integrated with the discussion of selected pottery assemblages from other sites excavated after 1972 in various places on the island. As a

result, tables 5.3-5.15 refer both to vessels cataloged by Åström and more recent selected finds containing lists of Mycenaean imported vessels site by site. These lists, therefore, update Åström's work and modify, when necessary, the observations derived from it.

If we begin the review of Mycenaean ceramic imports dating to Interaction Period 3 from the LH IIB-IIIA1 examples, it should be noted that, according to Åström's data processed in figure 5.3, the most common vessels (ca 3% of overall Mycenaean imports) are viscous substance/ointment containers related to the category F2.1, i.e. alabastra FS 84 and 93 and piriform jars FS 28 and 44, while in this period, category F1 amounts to ca 2%. Interestingly, in the latter category a significant proportion of kraters can be noted, amounting to half of the relevant pottery, while all other shapes included only a few pouring and drinking vessels. The small to medium piriform jars FS 31 (category F3), probably also used as containers for liquid or viscous substances, amount to an even smaller percentage (1%). Despite the limited number of LH IIB-IIIA1 items, the examples cataloged by Åström represent a small corpus, although partial, of the early Mycenaean imports to Cyprus, while vessels of this span of time are more scattered among Mycenaean pottery published later than 1972. For these reasons the functional categories of overall LH IIB-IIIA1 pottery resulting from such different sources cannot be compared.

Turning to LH IIIA2 vessels, in the light of tables 5.3-5.15 we can state that they are the most common Mycenaean ceramic finds throughout all the reviewed periods. Mycenaean pottery published later than 1972 also indicates that it is indeed LH IIIA2 pottery that marks the peak in Mycenaean pottery trade on Cyprus. Such a prominence of LH IIIA2 pottery was also underlined by Papadimitriou[20] who stated that

> a considerable increase can be observed in the earlier part of LH IIIA2, to be followed by a real influx in LH IIIA2 *late*-B, perhaps with a small recession in LH IIIB (Papadimitriou 2012, 108)

while Cline (1994, 61) asserted that "Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus reaches a peak in LH IIIA1-2". At Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* the importance of the site as early as the early phases of Interaction Period 3 is illustrated by a LH IIB squat alabastron FS 82 and some LH IIIA1 vessels, including *inter alia* a kylix, a piriform jar, a krater, and possibly another krater, found in well preserved tombs or possibly looted tombs. However, more Mycenaean vessels may be assigned to later phases of Interaction Period 3 (LH IIIA2 and LH

20 Papadimitriou 2012, 108; 2022, 184 fig. 3, where overall Mycenaean pottery of Phase B, Mycenaean Palaces, i.e. LM/LH IIIA2-B period, is counted.

IIIA2-IIIB), as clearly appears from A. South's (1999, 798-9) review of Mycenaean pottery. The funerary evidence relevant to Interaction Period 3 provided by the various excavation campaigns at Hala Sultan Tekke attests to a somewhat gradual increase of Mycenaean pottery from the LH IIB-IIIA to LH IIIA2-IIIB periods. Apart from Tomb 24 at Dromolaxia *Vyzakia*, the LH IIIA1 imports are occasional or in some cases residual finds like in settlement deposits. On the other hand, a marked increase of distinctly LH IIIA2 pottery is apparent in the tombs, but in some features, such as Chamber X (Period 2), Offering Pit V, and Offering Pit B, LH IIIA2-IIIB published vessels are prevalent among Interaction Period 3 imports **[tab. 5.8]**, although these published data are not sufficient to determine the percentage of Mycenaean pottery imported in the LH IIIA2, LH IIIA2/IIIB transition, or LH IIIB periods. The prevalence of LH IIIA2 pottery seems to be even more marked if we consider the question of the pottery attributed to the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB style. In fact, as noted above, many vessels with this heading possibly were actually imported in the LH IIIA2 period, although, admittedly, their undetermined chronology does not allow an effective distinction in the percentage of Mycenaean pottery imported in the LH IIIA2, LH IIIA2/IIIB transition, or LH IIIB periods. However, it is important to recall now that, in Interaction Period 3, LH IIIA2-IIIB vessels have been cataloged both in functional category F1 (F1.1a: fragments of amphoroid kraters; F1.1b: spouted jugs FS 102, small jugs FS 114, narrow-necked jugs FS 120, and globular jug FS 136; F1.1c: semiglobular cups FS 214 and semiglobular cups FS 220) and in category F2 (F2.1: alabastra FS 85, alabastra FS 94, alabastra FS 95; F2.2: stirrup jar 170, stirrup jars FS 171, stirrup jars FS 178, flasks FS 191). Nevertheless, it is clear that the discovery of the vessels of the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB style may have some important implications on the interpretations of general data. For example, the high proportion (ca 17% in general terms) of category F1 among the LH IIIA2-IIIB vessels cataloged by Åström **[fig. 5.3]** may be an antecedent to the wide occurrence of this functional class in LH IIIB, but it is also likely due to the considerable number of vessels, such as shallow cups FS 220 as well as kraters cataloged by Åström under the generic heading "Types 53-5 (Other Amphoroid Kraters, mainly Fragments)". On the other hand, apart from the small globular jugs FS 114 and the low beaked jugs FS 149 (contributing more than 4% to the whole), all the other jugs (FS 102, 120, and 136) and the cups 214 of the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB phase are few if not singletons. The vessels of category F2 also are well represented in this indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB phase (ca 12% of overall Mycenaean pottery), although they are less common than those of category F1 and it is likely that several stirrup jars FS 171 and FS 178 were indeed produced in LH IIIA2. Most of these vessels are viscous substance/ointment containers, i.e. the alabastra FS 84,

85 and 95, while liquid containers are represented by stirrup jars FS 171, FS 178 and globular flask FS 191. The category F3, represented by globular stirrup jars FS 170, have been attributed to the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB phase, but their percentage is small (ca 1% of overall Mycenaean pottery).

Regarding functional categories, it is worth noting that according to Åström's catalog the most appreciated LH IIIA2 vessels from Cyprus were the closed shapes for precious commodities of category F2 (23% of overall Mycenaean imports), which amounted to more than double the 'Fine Tableware' of category F1 **[fig. 5.3]**. In category F2 there were slightly more (ca 13% of the assemblage) containers for precious liquids (sub-category F2.2) than viscous substance/ointment containers of sub-category F2.1 (ca 10% of the assemblage). Common containers of precious liquids were the stirrup jars FS 166 as well as the flasks FS 188, 189 and 190, but vessels of some shapes, such as, for example, the cylindrical stirrup jars FS 184, were almost insignificant in number or are singletons. The substance/ointment containers were generally represented by the small piriform jars FS 45. In sum, in Åström's catalog the vessels related to the fine Mycenaean tableware of category F1 were fewer than those of category F2, amounting to ca 10%. Mixing vessels, such as kraters FS 53 and FS 54 with pictorial decoration, markedly prevailed in category F1 amounting to ca 7%, although such a relatively high proportion of kraters may be partially due to the emphasis in various publications given to the unprovenanced examples in museum collections. Pouring vessels were represented by various types of jugs (FS 113, 134, 139, 142, 151, and 154), but except for the small piriform jugs with cut-away neck FS 134, fewer than 10 examples were documented for each type. The amount of drinking vessels listed by Åström was also limited, being represented by a few kylikes FS 256, 257 and 272, as well as cups FS 225, 230, 246, while drinking/eating vessels of category F1.2 were represented by bowls FS 243 and FS 283.

If we compare these data with post-Åström evidence, it is confirmed that, in several funerary contexts, vessels of category F2 prevailed over other functional categories in several sites. At Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* all the Mycenaean pottery associated with an elite burial in Tomb II, Chamber 4, may also be assigned to functional category F2 ('Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities'). At Kouklia *Palaepaphos* evidence of contacts with the Aegean is provided by several dispersed tombs in the area (Catling 2020), but the comparative analysis of the pottery found by the Swiss-German excavations shows that in Interaction Period 3 closed shapes were by far more numerous than open shapes, probably implying that the vessels of category F2 (especially stirrup jars, piriform jars, and flasks), and other larger storage vessels were more common than examples of category F1 such as bowls, kylikes and kraters. The same is true

of Kourion *Bamboula* where several Mycenaean kraters are reported, but other vessels of functional category F1 are remarkably few in tombs of Interaction Period 3, therefore contrasting with the number and wider range of vessels (alabastra, piriform jars, stirrup jars, and flasks) that can be assigned to category F2. The list of storage closed vessels is also reinforced by two LH IIIA1 piriform jars FS 31 and two LH IIIA2 stirrup jars of functional category F3, possibly used as containers of valuable commodities. Some Mycenaean vessels relevant to Interaction Period 3 were found in LC tombs and other mortuary features in the Limassol area, including the elite Limassol Tomb 322. The general picture emerging from Karageorghis and Violaris' 2012 publication of Mycenaean pottery shares some features with Kourion *Bamboula*, not only in terms of the ratio between local pottery and imports, but also for the functional categories relevant to Mycenaean ceramic imports, with a predominance of vessels of category F2 over those of category F1, which in the Limassol area, unlike at Kourion, did not include any Pictorial krater. At Hala Sultan Tekke even though the pattern of Mycenaean imported functional categories in funerary contexts is not totally uniform, vessels of category F2, mainly represented by piriform jars, are to a small extent more common than vessels of the other categories.

The functional categories of Mycenaean vessels cataloged by Åström in 1972 and the picture provided by several post-1972 funerary contexts may therefore explain why some scholars (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 153; Papadimitriou 2012, 108; 2022, 186) have emphasized the general prevalence of Mycenaean stirrup jars and piriform jars over imported cups and kraters in funerary contexts of Interaction Period 3, while Steel has emphasized the occurrence of unguent containers inside tombs. She also stated that based on their distribution, which was restricted to a small number of Cypriot elite burials, the Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware vases were regarded as a luxury commodity containing highly valued exotic unguents although, as noted above, their Cypriot origin is not always certain (1998, 294-5; 2004b, 72-3). On the other hand, in her opinion Mycenaean unguent containers were not considered an elite commodity and were available to a wide cross-section of society and the appeal of these vessels for the Cypriot elite was more limited (1998, 295; 2004b, 77). She further suggests that the Mycenaean unguent containers

> were adopted by those members of Cypriot society who chose to emulate the elite but who did not have access to the more highly valued Red Lustrous perfume bottles (1998, 296)

while examples of the sub-category F2.2, such as small stirrup jars and flasks, were more appreciated in Cyprus for their precious contents (scented oils) than for their intrinsic value (286; cf. Cadogan

1993, 93). In the latter case, the increase of these containers matches the contemporary development of production of perfumed oils and wine in Mycenaean palaces (Leonard 1981, 94-100; Papadimitriou 2015, 433 with refs; 2022, 186).

Nevertheless, there are some noticeable exceptions to the pattern of the predominance of category F2 in Interaction Period 3. At Kition, a few Mycenaean vessels dating to Interaction Period 3 were published from Caveaux I-III in Area 1, while the looted chamber Tombs 4+5 mostly produced LC IIC and LH IIIB vessels, in addition to six LH IIIA2 vessels and one example dating to LH IIIA2/IIIB, and a few other Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 3 were found in Lower Burial layer 12 in intact Tomb 9. However, if we consider overall Mycenaean imports from this site listed in table 5.9, the vessels of category F1 slightly exceed those of category F2. At Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* a striking number (14) of Mycenaean kraters with pictorial decoration from rich tombs gives some parallels with Enkomi funerary evidence provided by high-status ceramic assemblages, although the access to these status indicators by the local elite seems to have been more restricted than at Enkomi. At Maroni, the archaeological record also shows additional aspects contrasting with the prevalence of category F2 since in Interaction Period 3 both the tombs recovered by the British Museum in 1897 and the funerary contexts discussed by the *Tsaroukkas*, Mycenaeans and Trade Project produced many more examples of functional category F1 than the other functional categories, especially F2, which, albeit fewer in number, was represented by a variety of vessels. The archaeological record of Hala Sultan Tekke also is interesting from this point of view because, despite the small general prevalence of vessels of category F2 noted above, there are vessels of category F1 in several funerary features of Area A, especially among LH IIIA2/IIIB pottery from Offering Pit V. It should also be pointed out that category F1 from Hala Sultan Tekke included a significant number of Mycenaean Pictorial kraters, indicating that many individuals living at the site adopted the same Mycenaean status indicators as those found in higher rank tombs at other coastal primary towns.

In light of the above review, we can conclude that it is impossible to single out a ratio of Mycenaean containers of different shapes and functions which can be considered sound for all the funerary contexts of Interaction Period 3. This clearly appears from Mycenaean imports of Interaction Period 3 from Enkomi tombs. A broader consideration of this evidence provides a more comprehensive understanding of cultural contexts. Mazzotta's analysis **[tabs 5.14, 5.15]** of selected tombs shows that the number of Mycenaean imported vessels appears generally unrelated to the degree of wealth of the funerary assemblages. Instead, the shapes and functions of the Mycenaean vessels recovered appear more likely to correlate to the social

rank of the buried individuals. This is especially clear when considering LH IIIA pottery from selected tombs **[tab. 5.15]** combined with contemporary ceramic imports from the remaining Enkomi tombs **[tab. 5.3]**. This combined data shows a prevalence of examples of functional category F1 ('Fine Tableware'), with a particular occurrence of kraters, which is contrary to the prevalence of vessels category F2 apparent from the other contemporary burial assemblages discussed above, in spite of the fact that Van Wijngaarden noted that the high proportion of dinner vessels from early excavations

> may partly [be] due to a bias in the archaeological data due to the attention paid by early explorers to pictorial kraters. (2002, 184)

If we also consider overall vessels of the indistinct LH IIIA2-IIIB style listed among the vessels of both category F1 and F2, Mycenaean kraters of sub-category F1.1a not only are around half of overall vessels of category F1 but also markedly prevail over all the other Mycenaean shapes of the period. Even more important is Mazzotta's remark (see § 5.4.1.8) that Pictorial Style amphoroid kraters and a variety of Mycenaean drinking vessels of sub-category F1.1c appear in most ceramic assemblages of tombs of group 3, i.e, the selected funerary assemblages showing the highest degree of wealth. This is apparent from many high status indicators associated to kraters confirming that these funerary assemblages belonged to the members of the social elite at Enkomi. Clearly kraters were well appreciated for their fine appearance and were considered social status indicators of great symbolic value. Steel (1998, 293-4) also emphasized the aristocratic connotations of their painted scenes, which suggest that a kind of Mycenaean 'marketing strategy' was reflected by chariot kraters, intended to satisfy the ideological needs of the urban 'sub-elites' (Sherratt 1999, 187-8). Moreover, it is worth noting that these vessels, which were by far more common in Cyprus and the Near East than in the Aegean (Steel 1999, 804), show signs of damage and probably were used for some time in Cypriot settlements before their deposition in tombs (1998, 287 with earlier refs) becoming, in the final stage of their usage, the central elements of many Cypriot drinking services of funerary use (293; 1999; 2004b, 77-8). Contrary to the kraters, Mycenaean small closed shapes for precious viscous and liquid commodities (category F2) were relatively accessible to individuals of different social levels and their use was not restricted to the social elite, although in several ceramic assemblages some imported containers of precious viscous and liquid commodities also were associated with Mycenaean kraters while no local containers of precious viscous and liquid commodities were included in these ceramic assemblages. Although also used by the members of non-elite social groups, in these cases Mycenaean vessels

of category F2 possibly also functioned as means of displaying the participation of their owners in Aegean interactions. Vessels of category F1 also played a further role in Cypriot funerary contexts. As considered previously, Steel (1998, 286-7, 290-2; 2004c, 172) not only discussed the symbolic importance of elaborate drinking sets found in the wealthier LC tombs, but she also emphasized the frequency of local pottery, especially White Slip and Base Ring vessels as part of these services. This patterning clearly suggests that Mycenaean components of drinking sets were often considered luxury imports to be incorporated into local drinking sets. Nevertheless, this does not seem to be the case for all the Mycenaean shapes of category F1 of Interaction Period 3. Even though it was suggested that there was a prevalence of cups among the Mycenaean pottery imported to Cyprus (Papadimitriou 2012, 108 with refs), stemmed cups, for example, are scarce both in Åström's catalog and in Enkomi funerary contexts, while locally made open vessels, especially Base Ring cups, are very common in ceramic assemblages of LBA tombs (Steel 2004b, 78). Such rarity is remarkable because goblets and kylikes were essential elements of funerary drinking services in the Aegean, where they are often found associated with jugs and storage vessels (Graziadio, Pezzi 2013, 71-2 with refs). On Cyprus, Mycenaean pouring vessels also amount to a very small fraction not only of category F1 examples listed by Åström, but also of the selected funerary contexts at Enkomi (72) and the other Interaction Period 3 contexts reviewed in § 5.4.1.4. In these contexts, however, the repertoire of local wares included a wide range of vessels particularly well-suited to this function, as clearly appears from their percentages in the Enkomi tombs selected by Mazzotta and Recht. We can therefore reiterate the statement that

> it is clear that Enkomi inhabitants did not use Mycenaean drinking/eating sets for funerary rituals in their typical Aegean configuration. (74)

Most notably, this is a general phenomenon on the island, as stressed by Steel herself when she wrote, in general terms, that

> once these artifacts move from their indigenous environment to a new cultural setting, they will be attributed new functions and imbued with new meanings (Steel 1998, 285 and fn. 3 with refs; also cf. Stockhammer 2019)

Although representing a less common functional category in LH IIIA2, vessels of category F3 should also be considered since they amount to 1% of overall Mycenaean imports of Interaction Period 3 in Åström's catalog. Relatively few medium and large piriform jars

(FS 34, 35 and 39) are documented in both Åström's catalog and in the funerary contexts dating after 1972 reviewed above in § 5.4.1.4.

Finally, when we turn to the settlement material in more detail, it should be recalled that in § 5.4.1.6 it was repeatedly pointed out that Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 generally is remarkably rare in Cypriot settlement deposits. However, a clear difference between the First Tier settlements and the others, especially those of the Third and Fourth Tiers, is apparent in term of number of Mycenaean ceramic imports of this period. If we consider that in the First Tier settlements Mycenaean pottery generally amounts to not more than 1-2% of all pottery, its percentage becomes almost insignificant in the settlements of lower Tiers (Steel, 2004b, 74). In the Third and Fourth Tier settlement levels, Myceanean pottery becomes very sporadic, especially in Interaction Period 3. It is therefore clear that Mycenaean vessels were mainly (although not exclusively) imported to Cyprus for funerary use. S. Antoniadou (2011, 240-1) noted that the range of Mycenaean shapes found in LC IB-IIIA2 settlement contexts at Enkomi, Kition, Maa, Pyla, Episkopi, Myrtou, and Athienou is mainly represented by dinner and storage pottery, which, in her opinion, included jars, flasks, pyxides and alabastra, in addition to ritual vessels. However, this pattern is particularly apparent in Interaction Period 4, given that most of the pottery scrutinized by her dated to LH IIIB and later periods. Nevertheless, in settlement deposits at Enkomi the cataloged Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 3 occurred in appreciable numbers, especially in Area I (Level IIA) and Area III (Rooms 142-102), in Level IIA-IIB (Room 5) and in Area III (Fortification Wall, Level IIB, Northeast Casemates). Based on this evidence, the most common vessels were amphoroid kraters, including examples decorated in Pictorial Style, in addition to pouring, drinking and eating/drinking vessels of category F1, although small closed shapes for precious viscous and liquid substances (piriform jars and stirrup jars of sub-categories F2.1 and F2.2) also occurred in the site and large storage/transport vessels of category F3 occurred in all the areas. Category F1 also was predominant in some settlement levels at Hala Sultan Tekke and other sites, such as Myrtou-Pigadhes, Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, at the expense of category F2. However, when some Mycenaean vessels of special value concluded their circulation in life, they were sometimes put in high rank burials (Steel 2004b, 77 with refs). There seems to be some apparent exceptions to the predominance of Mycenaean vessels of category F1 dating to Interaction Period 3 in settlement levels. For example, at Kourion *Bamboula* vessels of category F2 are the most common imports both in tombs and in the settlement, but at this site Mycenaean pottery is only a small fraction of the ceramic finds.

To summarize the above discussion in a few words, while in settlement deposits Mycenaean fine tableware of category F1 was as a

rule predominant, no homogeneous pattern of functional categories is apparent in Cypriot tombs since different functional categories prevailed depending on different sites, although vessels of category F2 prevailed in most sites. Nevertheless, leaving different functional categories out of consideration, a common feature of the major First Tier towns, such as Enkomi, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Kition, is the discovery of Mycenaean Pictorial kraters in several tombs as indicators of high-status burial assemblages, often coupled with other Mycenaean tableware vessels or integrated in drinking sets comprising local components.

If we compare the few prestige objects found in mainland Greece in Interaction Period 3 with those found on Cyprus in the same period, between the two areas there is a little discrepancy in terms of range of goods, which is by far less marked than the discrepancy between Mycenaean Greece and Cyprus in the field of reciprocal imports of pottery. Unlike in the Greek mainland, prestige objects imported to Cyprus included some precious metal vessels, such as gold and silver cups and bowls from British Tombs 66, 92, and 93, Swedish Tomb 17, and French Tomb 2, some of the richest tombs at Enkomi. However, caution is necessary when considering the Aegean vessels found in British Tombs 66, 92 and 93, since, as pointed out in sections 4.4.3.1 and 5.4.3.1, they may have been imported in Interaction Period 2 and handed down over generations before their deposition in funerary assemblages as status indicators of utmost importance. There is no question about the chronology (second half of LC IIA) of the well-known silver bowl with inlaid decoration from French Tomb 2, a real *objet d'art*. Different places of manufacture have been suggested, but based on various arguments this bowl can be considered a Mycenaean import like another silver bowl of similar shape from British T. 66. Turning to jewelry, only in a few cases is it possible to establish whether single jewels from Cypriot tombs were Aegean imports or local varieties imitating Mycenaean types. The list of jewels definitively manufactured in the Aegean only includes two rings with oval engraved bezels from British Tombs 66 and 100 at Enkomi and some gold beads with stamped 'sacral ivy' decoration from the very rich Tomb 11 at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. The evidence for Mycenaean glyptic in Cyprus also is scarce, being limited to only eight seals. Moreover, none of these seals can safely be ascribed to Interaction Period 3, although at least one of three Minoan talismanic seals, from Enkomi Tomb 93, may have been handed down over generations before its deposition in this tomb. As far as the faience objects from Cyprus are concerned, only a few beads and pendants were possibly imported from the Aegean, while the Aegean origin of other faience beads is uncertain. In Cyprus, the appearance of amber beads, likely transported through Mycenaean intermediaries, may be dated to Interaction Period 3, but these objects have rarely

been found in the Eastern Mediterranean, although a few items have been found in elite tombs at Enkomi (Tombs 27, 66 and 67) and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Tomb 11).

Apart from various Mycenaean imports (especially pottery) to Cyprus dating to Interaction Period 3, one of the most interesting aspects of the cultural connections between the Aegean and Cyprus in this period is the appearance on Cyprus of a range of local objects which imitate Mycenaean prototypes or reveal the incorporation of Aegean elements in the production of eclectic prestige artifacts (see § 5.4.4). Since this phenomenon clearly depends on the imported models, it is not surprising that some of the most common Mycenaean ceramic shapes inspired the production of Mycenaean-type products. The adoption of singular shapes, such as piriform jars, alabastra, and amphoroid kraters, from the Aegean repertoire can be seen in Base Ring, White Slip and Plain White Wheelmade wares, but this is a limited phenomenon. On the contrary, a more common Mycenaean-type pottery is represented by a new category, although rather ephemeral, of vessels inspired by some Mycenaean piriform jars from the northwestern Peloponnese (Achaea, Elis and Messenia), namely the three-handled jars showing common features in fabric, shape, and decoration; they have been discussed in detail in § 5.4.4.1. Found in several LC IIA and B funerary contexts, they appear as supplementary or alternative funerary goods to the LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 prototypes. Some stone vessels dating to Interaction Period 3 from Enkomi tombs and other sites can also be added as examples characterized by shapes (alabastra and piriform jars) derived from the ceramic Mycenaean repertoire. On the other hand, the origin of some faience and small glass stirrup jars from Enkomi is more uncertain, although their shape was ultimately inspired by Mycenaean pottery.

The Aegean influence, however, is not limited to the field of pottery and other related crafts, but it can interestingly also be traced to other finds of Interaction Period 3, indicating a penetration of Aegean elements into the local repertoire of prestige objects (see § 5.4.4.2). Most of them consist of jewelry made on Cyprus and added to other status indicators as displays of rank for members of the local elite. In particular, some locally made gold beads and necklace spacers are so similar in appearance to the Aegean examples that they have sometimes been regarded as imports from the Aegean (also see § 5.4.3.2). Such is especially the case of gold beads and necklace spacers in the shape of a 'figure-of-eight shield', gold beads featuring 'grains of wheat', and the amigdaloid beads in various semi-precious stones pierced through their longitudinal axis. The case of some diadems is to a certain extent different because they are characterized by a shape typical of a category of funerary ornaments of local tradition that occur on Cyprus as early as the beginning of the LBA, but these shapes combined with decorations, including elements, such as the

'grains of wheat', the 'figure-of-eight shield' motif, and S-spirals (or double spirals), that have been adopted from the Aegean decorative repertoire. A similar phenomenon can be seen on the glyptic where cylinder seals of local production show some Aegean iconographic details in the incised decoration, commonly also associated with local and Oriental iconographies. In this connection, it should be recalled that the appearance of Aegean elements in the cylinder seals of the so-called 'Cypro-Aegean' group can already be assigned to Interaction Period 3. To conclude the review of Cypriot elite prestige objects showing a combination of local and Aegean elements, it should be emphasized that they may be considered the earliest expressions of the hybridization process which mainly characterizes the Cypriot culture in the following Interaction Period 4 and in later periods.

7.5.4 The Changing Evidence of Contacts Between Mainland Greece and Cyprus in Interaction Period 4

As apparent from the above discussion about trade dynamics and connections between Greece and Cyprus in Interaction Period 3, a striking feature of the archaeological evidence of the period is the marked disproportion between the limited number of Cypriot artifacts found in mainland Greece and the large quantity of Mycenaean objects, especially pottery, imported to Cyprus (see above; also cf. Papadimitriou 2015, 425, tab. 3, 432; in order to compare amounts of reciprocal imports in this period, also cf. Cline 1994, 15, tab. 5, fig. 4 and 64, tab. 37). This is also a feature of Interaction Period 4, but in this period the archaeological record shows some important changes from the earlier Interaction Period 3, both from the Mycenaean and Cypriot perspectives. In the Argolid, several major LH IIIB sites, such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Kandia, Asine, and Dendra provided evidence of contacts with Cyprus, possibly via the harbor at Tiryns. The repertoire of ceramic finds attesting to contacts with Cyprus from these sites is varied, including White Slip, White Shaved, terracotta wall brackets, Mycenaean pottery with incised Cypro-Minoan signs after firing, and possibly Base Rings. It should also be pointed out that scattered finds have been recorded from island sites such as Kolonna on Aegina (White Slip II) and Kanakia on Salamina (metal and ceramic objects), while some Mycenaean vessels allegedly regarded as Cypriot imports from northwest Peloponnese likely were of local production. In this scenario, however, Tiryns should be attributed with a major role in the interactions with Cyprus. Apart from the wide variety of Cypriot wares found in this center, which in theory might simply be indicative of close trade connections, the discovery of a group of terracotta wall brackets in LH IIIB Middle to LH IIIC Early stratified deposits was said to support this suggestion,

particularly because some wall brackets of local and Cypriot origins were associated with a metallurgical workshop area in a LH IIIB Middle building. Moreover, the discovery of several Mycenaean vessels and imported pottery marked after firing with Cypro-Minoan or similar signs has been considered another clue pointing to the same conclusions since this is a Cypriot practice. According to some scholars, based on this evidence it is possible that a small number of individuals native to Cyprus were resident during Interaction Period 4 in this palatial center that also acted as one of the most important harbors of the thirteenth century BC in the Eastern Mediterranean (Papadopoulos 2022, 239, 245).[21] It has even been suggested that there was direct trade between Tiryns and Cyprus given the absence of Mycenaean vessels bearing incised marks on Rhodes or at other sites located on the likely route connecting the Aegean with Cyprus (Hirschfeld 1993, 315; Jung 2015, 252). Since Cypriot and Levantine objects continued to occur at Tiryns in settlement contexts of the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town North in the LH IIIC period, contacts with Cyprus were clearly not interrupted after the end of the Mycenaean Palatial Period.

Other interesting peculiarities of Interaction Period 4 include the renewal of trade in oxhide ingots and the increased importance of the Argolid in Cypriot copper trade, in contrast with the striking dearth of ingots in Interaction Period 3 Aegean contexts. The findspots of these oxhide ingots at Mycenae and Tiryns, two of the main Mycenaean palatial centers, must be underlined since they indicate that copper trade with the Argolid superseded the earlier prominence of Crete, where in Interaction Period 4, ingot fragments were only found in the harbor town of Kommos. Moreover, while some examples from Aegina, Athens and Thebes have been considered problematic, an oxhide ingot fragment from Salamina island, albeit without context, may be assigned to the thirteenth century BC based on the occurrence of other Cypriot finds at the Salaminian site of Kanakia. Concerning other bronze finds, some LH III bronze artifacts from various sites (Poros Wall Hoard at Mycenae, Menidi, the Acropolis at Athens, and Perati) were made of copper consistent with Cypriot ores, despite the fact that the main source of copper used in the Aegean in this period was Lavrion.

The change in the direction of Cypriot contacts from Crete to mainland Greece is also suggested by the distribution of prestige objects of high symbolic value. In this context, particular importance may be assigned to the Cypriot seals (including nine examples made of lapis lazuli) found at the site of Kadmeion at Thebes, a well-known

21 Note however that, according to Bernard Knapp (pers. comm. 3 May 2023), the prominence of Cypriot material at Tiryns in no way suggests a Cypriot presence there.

prominent Mycenaean palace, along with a significant number of Mesopotamian, Mitannian, Hittites, and Kassites seals of various chronologies. However, the Cypriot examples cannot be clearly put in the general context of Cypriot 'Elaborate Style' seals imported in this period, since in the list of these seals from mainland sites, including Mycenae, there are several examples that possibly date later than Interaction Period 4 or cannot be precisely dated. The same is unfortunately true of seals from the funerary contexts in the Dodecanese. The importance of other prestige objects such as faience and ivory artifacts also cannot be properly evaluated due to their rarity in Interaction Period 4 or to uncertain chronology. Turning to different finds of Cypriot/Near Eastern appearance, two large conical spindle-whorls of black steatite with elaborate incised decoration from Kanakia, Salamina as well as other similar stone spindle-whorls are reported from Tiryns and Aegina, while some three-footed or ring-base stone mortars from the Aegean including LH IIIB examples are of uncertain interpretation since they were considered of "Syro-Palestinian (Cyprus)" or "possibly Cretan or Theran production" (Cline 1994, 241 nos 975-8, 242 nos 986-8; also see § 6.3.4).

To summarize, considering this evidence on the whole, an impression arises that on the Greek mainland Interaction Period 4 was a time of burgeoning contacts with Cyprus. A ship of likely Cypriot origin transporting pottery (Cypriot pithoi and LH and LM IIIB2 vessels) that sank at Cape Iria in the Argolid Gulf in ca 1200 BC[22] highlights what may be the role of Cypriots in this trade. Although not definitively related with Cypriot trade to the Aegean, another ship which sank near Cape Gelidonya in Turkey was transporting specialized cargo, including copper ingots and many metal artifacts (Bass 1967). Moreover, despite many problematic aspects, the possibility that, in addition to Tiryns, some people native to Cyprus were resident at Mycenaean centers during the thirteenth century BC should be also discussed. It is well known that the term *Ku-pi-ri-jo* appears in Linear B texts from Pylos,[23] but it is not clear whether it refers to a personal name corresponding to the Greek κύπριος or to an ethnic adjective referring to **kupros* (i.e. 'Cyprus'), a name unattested elsewhere (Graziadio 2019, 25 with refs). Some Pylian tablets refer to metals and their working, and texts of the Jn series contain lists of materials and craftsmen, including bronze workers. In these texts one bronze worker was named *Ku-pi-ri-jo* (Cline 2007, 199; Knapp 2008, 305 with refs), which might be of particular importance considering the links between Cyprus and metallurgy.

22 Phelps, Lolos, Vichos 1999; Lolos 1999; 2001; 2003; 2005.

23 Cf. for example Cline 1994, 60-1; Shelmerdine 1998, 295-6; Knapp 2008, 303-7; Papadopoulos 2022, 244.

However, two shepherds and a prominent official of the Pylian state were also named *Ku-pi-ri-o*, so the uncertain meaning of this term makes this philological evidence inadequate for proving that Cypriot people were living and working in the Pylos area during the Mycenaean Palatial Period.

Turning to the evidence from Cyprus, some differences can be emphasized between Interaction Periods 3 and 4 in the dynamics of Aegean pottery trade. Beginning with the connections between Crete and Cyprus, in Interaction Period 4 the few Cypriot imports to Crete apparently suggest that contact was limited between the two islands. This contrasts with the increased quantity of Cypriot imports to Mainland Greece. The decrease in Cypriot imports to Crete is not at all surprising because in the thirteenth century BC the Mycenaeans had already superseded the Minoans in trade with Cyprus. Instead, if compared to Interaction Period 3, what is rather surprising is the marked increase in LM IIIB ceramic imports to Cyprus in Interaction Period 4, when LM IIIB pottery became the overwhelming majority (about 79%) of overall Minoan ceramic finds from Cyprus throughout the Bronze Age, even though in general terms Minoan pottery amounted to a very limited percentage of the overall Aegean imports to the island.

A different pattern is apparent from the Mycenaean pottery imported to Cyprus. Having distinguished the Mycenaean pottery dating to the fourteenth century from imports belonging to the thirteenth century, in the present study (§ 7.5.3) it has been noted that

> it is indeed the LH IIIA2 pottery that marks the peak in Mycenaean pottery trade on Cyprus at least during Interaction Period 3

while a decrease of LH IIIB imports has been noted by several scholars including Steel (1998, 287 with refs), Antoniadou (2007, 497), Cline (2007, 191, 196), Jung (2011a, 61 with refs; 2015, 250-1), Knapp (2012b, 36; 2013, 462) and Papadimitriou (Papadimitriou 2015, 434). In this regard, it is also important to note that the burial and settlement evidence at Hala Sultan Tekke attests to a decrease in LH IIIB imports from the second half of the thirteenth century BC (cf. for example, Fischer 2023, 12-13) and in this site Aegean imports probably ceased at the end of LC IIC (Fischer, Bürge 2018b, 613). The reasons for this apparent reduction of Mycenaean imports on Cyprus and even on Rhodes during the LC IIC period (Sherratt 1999, 184; 2001, 224) have often been identified in the Aegean context from the middle of LH IIIB, when troubles began on the Greek mainland, to the end of the Mycenaean palatial economic structure (Dickinson 2006, 41-2; Deger-Jalkotzy 2008, 190). Therefore, a breakdown of the earlier system of interconnected circuits and a decline of overseas communications in the second half of the thirteenth century have frequently

been suggested, although different interpretations have been also proposed. In fact, contrary to the general assumption of a decline of contacts between the Mycenaean world and the Eastern Mediterranean in the second half of the thirteenth century BC, in light of the evidence from Tiryns, according to J. Maran and other scholars, trade connections and shared practices were maintained between this Mycenaean center and Cyprus in LH IIIB2 (Vetters 2011, 27 fn. 140 with refs).[24] Whatever was the cause of the decrease of LH IIIB2 imports to Cyprus, this fall can be considered contemporary with the beginning of the production of a local Aegean-type pottery including local versions of several imported Mycenaean shapes (Mountjoy 2015, 533, 536; 2020, 178). However, as discussed in § 6.4.2.4, despite the very few LH IIIB2 vessels mentioned as imports to Cyprus in the past (Sherratt 1991, 193 with refs), it should now be admitted that there was a reduction, not a break, in import of Mycenaean pottery in late LC IIC since recent research confirms the presence of LH IIIB2 imports in LC IIC Late contexts. This is the case of a certain number of 'Levanto-Helladic' vessels dating to LH IIIB2 imported to several Cypriot sites such as Enkomi, Kition, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni and Hala Sultan Tekke (see § 6.4.2.4 fn. 38). At least some of these 'Levanto-Helladic' shapes probably remained in use as late as LC IIC Final which correlates with LH IIIC Early 1, a period later than the destructions in the Argolid at the end of LH IIIB2 Late, as also suggested by the discovery of the LH IIIC Early 1 deep bowls in the LC IIC Final contexts at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and the identification of some Mycenaean imports from the Argolid in Enkomi settlement deposits dating to Phase IIB (LH IIIB-LH IIIC Early 1 in Mycenaean terms) (see §§ 6.1, 6.4.2.2).

Regarding functional categories, some differences between Interaction Period 3 and Interaction Period 4 also exist in terms of functions. Concerning the pottery of Interaction Period 3 from Cyprus (see §§ 5.4.1.4, 7.5.3) **[fig. 5.3]**, the range of LH IIIA vessels cataloged shape by shape by Åström in 1972 and complementary Mycenaean pottery published after Åström's catalog from some funerary contexts, such as Tomb II, Chamber 4, at Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, some tombs at Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, Kourion *Bamboula*, Limassol area, and many tombs at Hala Sultan Tekke, apparently suggest that the most appreciated LH IIIA2 vessels in Cypriot funerary

24 It is worth noting that Maran (2009, 246 fn. 29) suggested that the marked decrease in the export of Mycenaean pottery after the middle of the thirteenth century was probably due to the shifts in the interest for this pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean, and Jung (2015, 251) has also regarded the general decline in trading activities between Mycenaean Greece/the Argolid and Cyprus, as well as with the Levantine coast, during LH IIIB Developed and LH IIIB Final as an outdated interpretation, being instead inclined to attribute the end of the export-oriented pottery production in the Argolid to internal developments in this region.

assemblages were the closed shapes for precious commodities of category F2, particularly piriform jars, stirrup jars, and flasks. However, this is not the case of LH IIIA pottery from Enkomi tombs **[tab. 5.3]** including the selected tombs **[tab. 5.15]**, since there was a prevalence of examples of functional category F1 ('Fine Tableware') among the ceramic imports found in funerary contexts at this site where a particular occurrence of kraters can indeed be noted, especially in the richest Enkomi tombs. A similar situation also is apparent in some funerary contexts at other First Tier sites, such as, for example, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni, Kition, and in some deposits at Hala Sultan Tekke such as Offering Pit V. The main inference, therefore, is that in funerary contexts of Interaction Period 3 the ratio of Mycenaean vessels of different shapes and functions is not uniform while it may vary according to sites and the social rank of the buried individuals. On the contrary, according to Åström's catalog itself, in Interaction Period 4 most Mycenaean pottery from funerary contexts is from functional category F1, 'Fine Tableware', with frequent components from drinking sets, especially kraters FS 9, FS 55 and bell kraters FS 281, as well as jugs of sub-category F1.1b (FS 110, 116, 118, 136, 139), in addition to cups, bowls and stemmed bowls of sub-category F1.1c, which are however less common than kraters (also cf. Thomas 2005; Stockhammer 2011, for LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early drinking ceremonies). The vessels of functional category F2, including small piriform jars FS 48, small squat stirrup jars FS 180, conical stirrup jars FS 182 and globular stirrup jars FS 183, instead amount to about half of the vessels of category F1 **[fig. 5.3]**. The updated review of overall Mycenaean pottery of Interaction Period 4 from Cyprus confirms that, with the exception of the Limassol area, the most common ceramic import in this period was dinnerware, namely vessels for mixing, drinking and pouring liquids such as kraters, juglets, cups, and kylikes, as well as vessels for drinking/eating, i.e. shallow bowls FS 296 of sub-category F1.2 (also cf. Jung 2015, 247 fig. 4, for type statistics of Mycenaean open vessels in Enkomi Level IIB, corresponding to LH IIIB Developed-LH IIIC Early 1 in mainland Greek terms). It is also important to underline that in Enkomi tombs, in Interaction Period 4, vessels of category F1 are by far more numerous than those of category F2 **[tabs 5.15, 6.2]** and kraters of sub-category F1.1a are rather common. In the Near East, amphoroid kraters have been interpreted as vessels for presentation and perhaps for mixing liquids that were probably used during banquets by members of the Levantine social elite (Jung 2015, 259-60). Moreover, as also appears from Interaction Period 3 evidence, in Cypriot tombs they should generally be interpreted as status indicators

of the highest social class.[25] Furthermore, in his discussion on the evidence from selected Enkomi tombs, Mazzotta regarded this recurrent link as a distinctive feature of his tomb group 3, which included tombs showing a remarkably high degree of wealth, clearly apparent from many status indicators associated with specific sets of wares and shapes (see § 5.4.1.8). Concerning this evidence, despite the troubles afflicting mainland Greece in the second half of the thirteenth century, in this period the presence of Mycenaean kraters in Swedish Tomb 19 and especially in Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi and other important coastal sites suggests that on Cyprus they continued to be considered vessels of a noticeable importance for the composition of funerary ceramic assemblages, although they were less popular than in the preceding periods. In general, the demand for Mycenaean vessels of category F1 ('Fine Tableware') selected for funerary use evidently continued the deep-rooted tradition of elaborate drinking sets at First Tier sites since this was a well-established pattern of elite behavior (Steel 1998, 290-2; 2002, 109-11; also cf. Van Wijngaarden 2002, 193). However, a tendency to use more local kraters than Aegean imports can also be noted since in Swedish Tomb 19 Plain White Wheelmade kraters and some local imitations of Mycenaean amphoroid kraters prevailed on Mycenaean examples amounting to 75% of category F1.1a; a similar pattern can also be seen in Cypriot Tomb 10 where kraters are almost completely represented by Plain White Wheelmade examples amounting to 88% of category F1.1a (see § 5.4.1.8) **[figs 5.10: B, 5.11: B]**.

As far the 'Small Closed Vessels for Precious Commodities' of category F2 are concerned, Bushnell (2012, 198-203) stated that perfumed oil may not have been a Mycenaean tradition until the start of LH IIIA2, while Cyprus had an earlier and more deeply rooted tradition in its production, as demonstrated by the wide variety of local juglets used for local perfumed oils from LC IA onward. Moreover, according to Steel (1998, 295; 2004b, 77) the appeal of Mycenaean unguent and perfumed oil containers for Cypriot elite was limited since they were not considered an elite commodity of restricted use being available to a wide cross-section of society. This is particularly apparent in Interaction Period 3 since, as discussed above, according to Åström's catalog the small vessels of category F2 were by far the most common Mycenaean imports dating to LH IIIA2 (Interaction Period 3), amounting to 23% of overall Mycenaean imports. On the contrary, in Åström's catalog LH IIIB vessels of the same category only amounted to 8% **[fig. 5.3]**. The comparison between the LH IIIA and LH IIIB vessels of category F2 from Enkomi tombs listed in table 5.3 and table

25 Also cf. Van Wijngaarden 2002, 194-6; Keswani 2004, 126; Feldman, Sauvage 2010, 95-9, 106; Jung 2015, 261-3 with refs.

6.2 makes clear such reduction in the number of Mycenaean vessels of this category in Interaction Period 4, especially concerning those of sub-category F2.1 ('Containers for Viscous Substances') since LH IIIA piriform jars FS 44 and especially FS 45 are by far more than LH IIIB piriform jars FS 48. On the other hand, the discrepancy between LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB small stirrup jars of sub-category F2.2 ('Containers for Liquid Substances') seemingly is less marked and some tombs such as Swedish Tombs 11 and 18, produced small Mycenaean stirrup jars dating to LH IIIB **[tab. 5.15]**, suggesting that Mycenaean small stirrup jars continued to be relatively used in LC IIC, especially for funerary use, more than alabastra and piriform jars. However, it should be considered that in Interaction Period 4 an appreciable number of containers for liquid substances was imported from Crete and possibly imitated locally in the context of the revival of Minoan trade following the decrease apparent in Interaction Period 3. These LM IIIB small stirrup jars have been found in several tombs at Enkomi (British Tombs 48, 66, 83, British excavations: unknown tomb number, French Tomb 5, Cypriot Tomb 10, Swedish Tomb 19) and elsewhere on the island (Akhera, Arpera *Ayios* Andronikos, Idalion, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke and Pyla Kokkinokremos as well as some unprovenanced examples) but in addition to these vessels (Graziadio 2011, 90-1, 92, tab. 1: Group B) **[tab. 6.1]**, Enkomi tombs produced even more conical, biconical and squat small stirrup jars exclusively decorated with even bands on the body. In theory, they may be added to the list of LM IIIB imports to Cyprus (91-3, tab. 1: Group C), but the possibility that all (or some) of them were local imitations of Minoan vessels cannot alternatively be ruled out as a consequence of the lack of scientific analysis. It should also be pointed out that in some funerary assemblages, such that of Swedish Tomb 19, both Mycenaean and Minoan small stirrup jars dating to Interaction Period 4 coexisted **[tabs 5.15, 6.1]**, and it is also important to note that in this period Aegean imports related to categories F2.1 and F2.2 were supplemented by many local vessels, including the more highly valued Red Lustrous Wheelmade bottles taking part of high status funerary assemblages.[26] An exception to the general pattern is provided by the LH IIIB vessels from unknown Cypriot contexts which are stored in public museums and private collections all over the world since the cataloged stirrup jars of various shapes of functional category F2.2 are predominant in table 6.11.

In comparison with the evidence from Interaction Period 4 funerary assemblages, the social value of Mycenaean pottery indeed seems more fluid in contemporary domestic contexts. Antoniadou (2005, 72

26 For example, in Tomb S 19 at Enkomi local vessels amounted to 57% of all the examples of sub-category F2.2 **[fig. 5.11: B]**, while in Tomb S 18 Mycenaean vessels of the same functional sub-category amounted to 58% **[fig. 5.18: B]**.

fig. 9.4: a) reported that in Area III, Level IIB (corresponding to LH IIIB Developed- LH IIIC Early 1 in Aegean terms), Mycenaean pottery amounted to 30% of ceramic finds, although in these contexts local Cypriot pottery was more than double Mycenaean-type vessels (also see § 6.4.2.1). Instead, in Level IIB in Area I, the number of Mycenaean imports amounted to 50% of total ceramic finds, being "marginally greater than local Cypriot pottery", and indicates that "the imported Mycenaean pottery in Area I was as frequently used as the local pottery" (Antoniadou 2005, 72-3, fig. 9.4: b; also cf. Antoniadou 2003, 77 fig. 39). Considering the diffusion of Mycenaean pottery in all domestic, industrial and craft-working contexts, Antoniadou (2005, 74, 75; 2007, 495-6; 2011, 243) has consequently stated that, unlike the earlier periods, in LC IIC at Enkomi IIB Mycenaean pottery was not regarded as "an object of prestige or as an item of restricted use in everyday life" (Antoniadou 2003, 99-100). We can admit that, generally speaking, the pattern of Mycenaean imports at Enkomi was very different from other sites, but it should be pointed out that in LC IIC the high proportions of Mycenaean imports in some settlement deposits at Enkomi (especially in Area I) markedly contrast with the low percentages of Mycenaean pottery in domestic contexts of Interaction Period 4 at other First Tier towns. At Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, the LH IIIB pottery found in domestic or settlement contexts amounts to 1-2% (if not less than 1%) of the thin-walled sherds, being greatly outnumbered by local wares (South, Russell 1993, 303; Steel 2004b, 74). At Hala Sultan Tekke, in an earlier preliminary review of Mycenaean imports it was stated that the number of LH IIIB imports only amounted to 8% of Mycenaean pottery from Stratum 2 and 19% from Stratum 1 (Mazzotta, Trecarichi 2014, 92 figs 37-8), while a lower percentage (approximately 1-2%) of Mycenaean imports from settlement deposits has been noted in more recent publications (Fischer, Bürge 2017b, 211; also Fischer 2019b, 218 fn. 38; Fischer, Bürge 2018b, 255-7). As appears from the review of the evidence of Interaction Period 4 pottery from the other Cypriot sites (see § 6.4.2.2), in Second Tier settlements the contrast between the overwhelming majority of local pottery over Mycenaean imports is even more marked. The scarcity of Aegean imports can be noted in Period I, Floor II, at Maa *Paleokastro* dating to the end of the LC IIC-LC IIIA (Antoniadou 2003, 123, 127-8; Mountjoy 2018, 851), and at Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, like at Maa, the bulk of pottery from LC IIC-IIIA deposits was Plain White ware and the White Painted Wheelmade III vessels were the majority of finewares (Georgiou 2012b, 73-4). The number of imports of Interaction Period 4 cataloged from all the sites, although relatively uneven, is limited **[tab. 6.10]** and it is worth noting that this is also true for sanctuary sites of the Third Tier such as Athienou and Myrtou *Pigadhes*, although several LH IIIB and LM IIIB vessels, associated with LH IIIC, were found in certain deposits at Myrtou (Antoniadou

2003, 138 with refs, 140 and tab. 351). At Apliki *Karamallos*, a mining site classified as a Fourth Tier site by Knapp (2013, 355 fig. 95), there was a certain variety of Mycenaean vessels of Interaction Period 4 especially of functional category F1 and at Aredhiou *Vouppes*, where the main phase of occupation also dates to the LC IIC period, a few Aegean imports suggest that "the site was also intrinsically integrated within a wider economic network with the coastal centers" (Steel 2016a, 517; also see discussion in § 5.4.1.6). Therefore, we can share the suggestion that

> the limited repertoire of imported Mycenaean vessels in secondary and tertiary sites might be partly a result of the relationship between local elites and urban sites and of the local network exchange, but it is also a consequence of the limitations of the material. (Antoniadou 2007, 496)

Turning to the range of shapes of Mycenaean vessels from settlement deposits of Interaction Period 4, it should be noted that, like in some funerary contexts, in Level IIB at Enkomi, both amphoroid kraters FS 54/55 and open kraters FS 8/9 and FS 281/282 occurred in perceptible numbers among table ceramics (Jung 2015, 247-8, fig. 4; also see below). Indeed, Van Wijngaarden also mentioned some Pictorial vessels found in settlement deposits at this town stating that

> it seems that vessels with pictorial decoration were not restricted to certain social groups or to specific activities. In non-funerary situations, these vessels do not seem to have served in strategies of consumptive display. (2002, 149-50)

An appreciable number of vessels of category F1 is also apparent in Areas I and II at Kition **[tab. 6.8]** where it was noted that in LC IIC levels of Area II

> eating and drinking vessels are used for everyday as well as for ritual activities, whereas the conical rhyton and the chalice (kylix) are exclusively associated with ritual contexts. (Antoniadou 2003, 112)

In other LC IIC settlement deposits, such as those found in Building X at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, several shallow bowls FS 296 of subcategory F1.2 were associated with elite feasting ceremonies (Van Wijngarden 2002, 193 with refs). Although the evidence from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and some Second and Third Tier sites such as Apliki and Athienou has been considered indicative of a "relatively wide dispersal of Mycenaean drinking vessels" in LC IIC (193-4), it is also worth stressing the discovery of a comparatively considerable number of Mycenaean kraters FS 55 and FS 281 at Pyla *Kokkinokremos*

along with Minoan kraters, a rather exceptional phenomenon in LC IIC settlement deposits in sites of non-urban character [tab. 6.9]. In fact, another interesting phenomenon of the period which must also be taken into account is the contemporary diffusion of LM IIIB amphoroid kraters in various sites as an indicator of the revitalized Minoan trade (see above). This revival of Minoan trade, contrary to the general decline in Mycenaean imports to Cyprus, can probably also be related to the fact that during the long LM IIIB period Crete was not affected by as much destruction as the Greek mainland but by constantly changing settlement patterns indicated by abandonments (Langohr 2017; Rutter 2022, 222-3, tab. 1) which did not interfere with trade with Cyprus.[27]

In summary, considering the funerary evidence compared to settlement finds, on Cyprus the symbolic value of Mycenaean ceramic imports in Interaction Period 4 seems to have varied at a certain extent, according to finds from different sites, the nature (tombs or settlement) of find contexts, the place of deposition within the site as well as the repertoire of Mycenaean vessels. In this context the case of Enkomi therefore seems to be even more exceptional.

Despite the close connections between the Mycenaean world and Cyprus in the field of pottery, in Interaction Period 4 there are comparatively few other Aegean imports providing further evidence of contacts. Provenance analyses suggest that two oval bun silver ingots from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* were made of silver from Lavrion, but it is not clear whether the two ingots were imported from the Mycenaean world or whether silver was imported by Cypriot or Mycenaean traders as a raw material. In LC IIC there was an increase in local copper production and Cypriot copper commercial activities (Kassianidou 2012, 131-4; Papasavvas 2012, 117, 119-20; Sabatini 2016, 26, 29, 49 with refs), possibly explaining why few imported bronze artifacts were found in Enkomi tombs. These finds included a jug, two bronze vessels, a mirror, and some pieces of military equipment, including greaves and helmets. However, Jung (2009, 77) stated that new weapons such as socketed spears with cast socket and greaves with S-shaped wire fittings arrived on Cyprus from Italy at the end of LC IIC Late together with the first Naue II type swords, although he admitted that, based on the available evidence, it is impossible to establish whether the new weapon technology of Italian origin

> was transferred to Cyprus via the south-eastern Aegean regions, or if it arrived directly from the Mycenaean centres in the Peloponnese. (82)

27 I wish to thank Jeremy Rutter for reminding this possible explanation in a private communication.

In this connection, the so-called Handmade Burnished Ware should also be mentioned because of its appearance over a vast area from the Central Mediterranean and southeast Europe to the Levant, including Cyprus, and the connections between the Italian *ceramica d'impasto* and Handmade Burnished Ware found in Mycenaean Greece, but it is worth emphasizing that, on Cyprus, it appeared in LC IIIA, i.e. the Mycenaean postpalatial period, and there are still some unsolved problems concerning this pottery.[28]

Other Aegean prestige objects also are uncommon (see § 6.4.4.2). The silver bowl from British Tomb 66 at Enkomi already interpreted as an Aegean artifact of Interaction Period 3 (see § 5.4.3.1) alternatively may be the only precious container imported in Interaction Period 4. In funerary contexts of this period personal ornaments of Aegean appearance also are few and represent a clear minority of the total jewelry produced on Cyprus. Moreover, the above discussion has shown that there are various problems concerning the origin and chronology of single jewels from Cypriot tombs. While Antoniadou (2007, 490) rightly remarked that "most jewelry items were found in LC IIIA1, but primarily in LC IIIA2 contexts", special attention can be devoted to two finger rings from Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi, which, based on their Aegean parallels, have been considered imports dating to the LC IIC Final period; two gold finger rings from the wealthy British Tomb 66 and Tomb 100 at Enkomi possibly also belonged to Interaction Period 4 (see § 5.4.3.2). Turning to the beads of Interaction Period 4, an Aegean origin may only be suggested for some examples above reviewed. Although the main use of seals on Cyprus was in LC IIC, the Aegean seals dating to Interaction Period 4 are very few. The majority of seals dating to this period were of local production, while most of the foreign seals found on the island were of Near Eastern origin and this influence was predominant on Cypriot glyptic. For these reasons the seals of the so-called 'Cypro-Aegean' style discussed above must be considered 'hybridized' examples because they show a mixture of elements, with Aegean origin, Near Eastern characteristics, and Cypriot components. Ivory was imported to Cyprus as a raw material from Syria or Egypt, and locally carved ivories rarely occurred in Late Cypriot IIC-IIIA settlement contexts, although there is evidence for local ivory working in LC IIC. While the Aegean influence is apparent on some ivory objects of local production from funerary assemblages, the number of ivory artifacts imported from the Aegean is limited even in Enkomi tombs. The ivory head of a man wearing a boar's tusk helmet and a few other objects of possible Aegean origin (two ivory combs and a pyxis) from Enkomi may be attributed to Interaction Period 4. At

28 Karageorghis 1986; Pilides 1991; 1994; Jung 2009, 78.

this site, British Tomb 75 also produced a small ivory mirror-handle carved with animal figures, possibly a 'hybridized' artifact of local production, while a bone comb from Apliki may also be considered an Aegean import dating to the thirteenth century BC owing to its Mycenaean and Minoan parallels.

The discussion on contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus in Interaction Period 4 cannot be concluded without a brief review of the impact of LH IIIB imports on local pottery and handicrafts (see § 6.5). Concerning local ceramic production, the limited number of Aegean-type vessels preceding the wide diffusion of Aegean-type pottery from the latest phases of LC IIC onwards has already been discussed above in connection with Interaction Period 3 evidence. Instead, it is clear that the impact of contacts with the Aegean was particularly strong in the field of local ceramic production in the latest phases of Interaction Period 4 and in LC IIIA. In fact, Georgiou's thorough analysis of Aegean-type pottery dating to the late LC IIC period highlights the phenomenon which marks a new phase in the development of Late Cypriot pottery, that is the appearance of the wheelmade fine Aegean-type (White Painted Wheelmade III) ware which was produced on a large scale. This phenomenon can be put in the context of the general decrease in Mycenaean pottery imported to Cyprus in the second half of the thirteenth century BC which in turn has often been connected with the signs of instability in the Aegean basin and specifically in the southeastern Aegean area. For example, specifically referring to Rhodes, which is midway along the direct sea route leading from the Aegean to Cyprus, M. Benzi noted "the lack of LH IIIB 2 style pottery in the East Aegean" (2009, 54), but it is clear that this does not apply to Kalymnos (54 fn. 56 with refs; 2020, 111, 171: VA 262, pls 17:q, 42l) and especially not to Kos (Vitale 2021, 535 fig. 7, 541, Langada Tombs 21 and 46, LH IIIB2 Late). It should also be considered that now more LH IIIB2 imports can be mentioned than in the past in Cypriot sites (see § 6.4.2.4).

In LC IIIA, Aegean-style pottery became the predominant tableware category on Cyprus, and in this book, following a regional and contextual analysis of the data, Georgiou has showed that in LC IIC Aegean-style pottery of local production was well appreciated by Cypriot communities. However

> the production of this ceramic class was limited in terms of both the shape repertoire represented, but also in terms of sheer numbers. (§ 6.4.3.7)

Since Aegean-type pottery and imported Mycenaean wares were found in the same contexts as indigenous Cypriot wares, it can be suggested that "there was little differentiation in the purposes for which they were used" (Knapp 2012b, 36). LC IIC bowls of various

forms were no doubt the most popular shape in Aegean-style production, and shallow bowls inspired by Mycenaean shape FS 296 were particularly common, while locally produced shallow stemmed bowls FS 309/310, deep bowls FS 284 and other types of open vessels occur more sparsely. In fact, in addition to the new wheelmade cooking vessels dating to LC IIIA,[29] during Interaction Period 4 a change in local eating/drinking customs is suggested by the diffusion in LC IIC contexts of imported shallow bowls FS 295 and FS 296 of subcategory F1.2 which were mainly produced for export to the Eastern Mediterranean, since "they had no important role in the local Argive ceramic vessel sets" (Jung 2011a, 62) and on mainland Greece increased in numbers from LH IIIC Early onward. This may also be confirmed by the swift adoption of these shallow bowls in the Aegean-type repertoire, becoming the most common shape within this class, far outnumbering their Mycenaean models. Among the Aegean-type closed shapes, the feeding bottle was the most common shape, but there also were jugs of FS 116 type as well as stirrup jars of the so-called 'Simple Style'. Other examples of locally produced Aegean-style pottery in LC IIC contexts are represented by the vessels of the 'Levanto-Helladic' group which, in Mountjoy's terminology (2018, 31-62), included the "local Cypriot Levanto-Helladic shapes" which form a different group from the so-called "imported Aegean Levanto-Helladic shapes". The examples of this group of local production occurring in the late thirteenth century BC included small size cups and bowls corresponding to the Mycenaean shapes FS 210, 223, 229, 232, 235, 244 and 247. In this book the so-called 'Rude/Pastoral Style' has been discussed in detail by Georgiou who considers it an "unequivocal class of the LCIIC production of Aegean-style finewares in Cyprus" (see § 6.4.3.6). It is also worth emphasizing that Mountjoy has also recently shown that the decoration of some vessels dating to late IIC

> is a blending and adaptation of LH IIIB Mycenaean motifs with White Slip ware motifs. One manifestation of this mixture is the Rude or Pastoral Style, which continues into LC IIIA. (2019, 109)

Moreover, a special mention must be made to the thorough study recently published by I. Kostopoulou (2021), where the relations between the Rude/Pastoral Style and the Mycenaean Pictorial Style are analyzed in the light of some kraters from Pyla *Kokkinokremos*. Therefore, along with other external connections, these vessels may be used to fill the gap of the missing 'IIIC Early Phase' corresponding to the transition from LC IIC to LC IIIA equated with the end of

29 Spagnoli 2010; Vaessen 2014, 126-8; Jung 2011a, 60-1; 2017, 25; also see below.

LH IIIB and the beginning of LH IIIC Early on the Greek Mainland (Mountjoy 2019; also cf. 2019, 105 fn. 3 for IIIC terminology).

Also worth recalling is the occurrence of new Aegean elements in local pottery, for example wheelmade cooking pots showing shapes of Aegean origin, such as jugs FS 65 and two-handled cooking amphorae FS 66, which at Enkomi appeared in LC IIIA. In the final LC IIC period, at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* the unpainted pottery of Cypriot type is handmade like all cooking pots from the site and has a conservative character, but at Maa *Palaeokastro*, Mycenaean-type cooking pots were in use in the period contemporary with LC IIIA at Enkomi.

Apart from Cypriot pottery, the influence of the Aegean ceramic repertoire on other local artifacts seems much more limited. This is true of bronze vessels since some preserved bronze amphoroid kraters dating from LC IIIA onwards imitated the shape of LH IIIA-B clay vessels, probably indicating that the shape was already adopted in the repertoire of Cypriot bronze work at least in LC IIC. Turning to faience vessels, the few examples inspired by Mycenaean shapes (stirrup jars, flasks and narrow necked-jugs) that were found on the island have been considered imports from Egypt and Syria-Palestine because of the lack of evidence for local faience production on Cyprus. However, the famous polychrome conical rhyton from Kition *Chrysopolitissa*, although featuring a Mycenaean shape and spiral motifs of Aegean origin, must be considered within the category of 'hybridized' artifacts of Cypriot production. A group of stone alabastra showing a shape transposed from the Mycenaean pottery repertoire has been dated to LC II-III, but some examples, especially those found in Kalavasos *Mangia* Tombs 1 and 6, probably belonged to Interaction Period 4. The same is likely true of several Cypriot stone vessels featuring a shape related to the Mycenaean ceramic piriform jar since they were found in LC IIC funerary contexts at Enkomi and Kition, although the shape was already adopted in Interaction Period 3.

Although there is no doubt that in Interaction Period 4 the impact of the Aegean influence was by far stronger on the local ceramic production than all the other handicrafts, it is worth considering the Aegean features apparent on some Cypriot prestige artifacts, since they confirm the elite character of objects showing foreign influences and provide further evidence of the fusion of local and foreign (Aegean and Levantine) elements during the LC II and LC III periods (see § 6.5.2; also see § 5.4.4.2). From this point of view, local jewelry is of particular interest as it demonstrates that Cypriot craftsmen were particularly receptive to foreign elements, even if, generally speaking, the huge majority of jewels from Cyprus were of local type. Therefore, the Aegean components incorporated in the production process during Interaction Period 4 clearly appear in a variety of local gold jewels, including a gold signet-ring and other rings with cloisonné decoration from Evreti Tomb VIII at Kouklia, gold beads and

necklace spacers in the shape of a 'figure-of-eight shield' of Aegean origin found in LC IIC contexts at Enkomi (Swedish Tombs 3 and 18), and nine gold beads featuring 'grains of wheat' of Aegean inspiration from the 'jeweler's hoard' at Pyla *Kokkinokremos*. Moreover, other gold spacers of Aegean production or inspiration such as 'double axe' and plaque beads cannot be dated precisely and unfortunately this is also true of other gold 'grain of wheat' beads which were relatively common elsewhere in LC funerary contexts. As already noted in the discussion on funerary ornaments of Interaction Period 3, in Interaction Period 4 the same attitude can be detected toward the inclusion of Aegean motifs (especially 'figure-of-eight shield', some types of spirals and rosettes, and perhaps the front representations of bull heads with curling downward horns) into the decorative repertoire of local gold diadems and mouthpieces, some of which, such as examples from Enkomi, can be dated to LC IIC.

Several ivory objects were discussed in detail by Knapp,[30] but, apart from a few possible exceptions, nearly all these ivory artifacts can be attributed to LC IIIA. The list of 'hybridized' ivory objects showing Aegean elements in Interaction Period 4, however, may include a rhyton from Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, which has been tentatively attributed to LC IIC, in addition to a flat disk dating to the very end of LC IIC from the lower burial in Tomb 9 at Kition, and the handle of a bronze mirror from Swedish Tomb 19 at Enkomi whose last burials belonged to LC IIC.

Among faience objects, the famous polychrome faience rhyton from Kition *Chrysopolitissa*, decorated with hunting scenes, bulls, a goat, stylized flowers and two hunters, no doubt is the most important 'hybridized' find of the period revealing the Aegean influence on both shape and design, with vertical running spirals depicted in the lowest register. The faience 'grain of wheat' beads from Palaepaphos, where a local production of gold and faience beads of this shape of Aegean origin was suggested, have been repeatedly discussed above.

In the glyptic the main problem is to precisely date the cylinder seals featuring Aegean elements in the engraved scenes, although, generally speaking, the assimilation of some Aegean elements can be regarded as an increasing feature of several Cypriot cylinder seals dating to the LC II and LC III periods. Such difficulties are emblematic of a hematite cylinder seal in Elaborate Style found during the French excavations at Enkomi in 1934 as well as from a twin seal stored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Both of these are characterized by the representation of the so-called 'Minoan Genius' holding a libation jug and other motifs of Aegean origin. However, in the thirteenth century there are two important novelties which

30 Knapp 2008, 269-70; 2012b, 39-41; 2013, 457-9; 2022, 76; Voskos, Knapp 2008, 672.

deserve particular attention. The first is the appearance of motifs of Aegean origin (especially animal figures and attack motifs) on the conoids, which are a new type of stamp seals beginning at the end of LC IIC. The second LC IIC innovation is the use of large wooden rollers over a band of added clay applied on the surface of large storage jars in order to obtain a decoration with figurative scenes on the bands themselves. The chariot hunts depicted in Aegeanizing style are of particular interest here since they were probably inspired by the figurative scenes painted on the Mycenaean amphoroid kraters decorated in Pictorial Style which were rather common on Cyprus, while parallels for other iconographies can also be found in the Eastern Mediterranean.

7.5.5 Epilogue

The period around 1200 BC witnessed dramatic changes both in the Aegean and on Cyprus. In the Aegean the most important events affected the Greek mainland, where the major sites were either destroyed by fire or abandoned at or near the end of the LH IIIB phase or the transitional phase between LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC Early. This marks the end of the Palatial Mycenaean period, but the identification of the causes of destruction or abandonment remains a matter for debate. On Cyprus, in the last decades of the thirteenth century BC there was a decline in prosperity and severe disruption to LC society, although such events were not uniform over the entire island. There were signs of trouble with traces of destruction at Enkomi and Sinda and abandonments at *Toumba tou Skourou*, Maroni *Vournes*, and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, while in other primary towns, such as Kition and Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, there was no apparent settlement interruption, and the short-lived settlements of Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and Maa *Palaeokastro* were actually founded some time before the end of the LC period. In this book, while the earliest phase of LH IIIC Early 1 overlaps LC IIC Final (Mountjoy 2018, 26 tab. 3; see §§ 6.4.2.2, 6.4.2.4), the late Minoan Postpalatial period (LM IIIC) on Crete and the later phases of Mycenaean Postpalatial period (Later Phase of LH IIIC Early 1-LH IIIC Late/Submycenaean) in the Argolid correspond to LC IIIA-LC IIIB, which has been named Interaction Period 5 (see § 2.3) **[tab. 2.3]**.

However, Interaction Period 5 is not discussed in detail here because in this study the unsettled times around 1200 BC have been considered the end of a long-lasting process of Cypro-Aegean contacts that predated the social and cultural changes during the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC, both in the Aegean and on Cyprus. These changes had an important impact on interaction and trade between the two areas. In the Aegean, the turbulence brought an end to the

heyday of Mycenaean palace civilization, and the Mycenaean Post-palatial period was a time of marked instability. In this period, the large-scale construction and monumental building ended, as did the writing system and, consequently, the administrative system along with palatial features such as frescoes and trade in luxury crafts (Murray 2017). The homogeneity of the Palatial periods was also lost leading to the development of regional and local cultural elements. However, various Helladic sites, especially Tiryns, provided evidence for inter-Aegean contacts (cf. for example Kardamaki et al. 2016, for transport stirrup jars from various Aegean regions spanning from LH IIIB 1 to LH IIIC Developed) and continued to have international contacts including trade relations with Cyprus (Murray 2018; 2019). In 1994, Cline noted that

> not a single ceramic vessel from Cyprus appears in LH/LM IIIC contexts, which is quite a change from the earlier LH/LM IIIA and LH IIIB periods (62)

and the interpretations of some objects can be considered problematic; moreover, having noted that no Cypriot imports were found at Mycenae and Thebes during the LH IIIC period, in 2007 Cline stated that

> this may imply some sort of selective distribution or importation either on the part of the exporting Cypriots, the importing Mycenaeans or whoever was transporting these goods. (195)

Nevertheless, now it is clear that, in addition to a fragmentary oxhide ingot and a small bronze ingot containing Cypriot copper (Vetters 2011, 22 fn. 182), during the LH IIIC period a relatively wide range of Cypriot and Levantine objects specifically found in the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town North[31] actually underwent a revival (Maran 2016). As far as other Mycenaean regions are concerned, despite the lack of ceramic vessels imported from Cyprus, a variety of Cypriot imports including earrings, several seals, and a tripod stand came from the Perati tombs in Attica (Cline 2007, 195; Polichronakou-Sgouritsa 1997) as well as a fragment of an oxhide ingot from Salamis and Cypriot copper from Western Greece (Vetters 2011, 22 fn. 182 with refs). Some connections, including the import of Cypriot copper, have been suggested between Cyprus and northwestern Peloponnese, particularly Achaea, but some doubts have been raised about the origin of shapes and the decoration of some Mycenaean vessels from Achaea (Graziadio 2019, 24-5 with refs). Among bronzes

31 Cline 1994, 140 no. 68 with refs; Vetters 2011, 24, 27-30 with refs; Rahmstorf 2014; Brysbaert, Vetters 2015, 170; Donnelly 2022.

of alleged Cypriot origin found at Anthedon in Boeotia, some items were considered "problematic imports, possibly local Mycenaean" (Cline 1994, 214 nos 722-3, 251 nos 1063-5).

After ca 1200 BC, in Crete there was probably a breakdown in social order and part of the population seems to have moved to safe and more defensible sites, but this did not hamper contacts with Cyprus which were maintained, though scattered, in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC when interconnections seem to have involved specific areas of the two islands (D'Agata 2005b, 9-14). The list of Cypriot imports to Crete includes a few prestige objects, such as a gold earring from Krya in the district of Siteia (Kanta in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 244 no. 1 with refs) and a gold pendant imitating LC earrings in the Metaxas collection (Kanta, Kontopodi in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 300 no. 5). Moreover, the fragments of a LM IIIB/IIIC bronze four-sided stand (Papasavvas in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 320 no. 11) and a clay four-sided stand imitating Cypriot examples from Karphi (Kanta in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 94 no. 1; Papasavvas in Karageorghis et al. 2014, 323 no. 17) can be added. It is also worth mentioning some interesting finds from the Mesara. Three (or two) fragmentary wall brackets of Cypriot type dating to LM IIIC have been found at Phaistos but the possibility cannot be ruled out that they were of local production (Borgna 2014, 259 nos 1-3), while another wall bracket from this center was considered of possible Cypriot origin and imported via Kommos (Girella 2010; 2014, 260 no. 4). Other interesting finds from Ayia Triada included a LM IIIC half ingot recovered amongst the materials excavated at Piazzale dei Sacelli in 1903 and a quarter ingot held at the Florence Archaeological Museum, which confirm that trade in Cypriot copper continued in the Aegean in the twelfth century as they match the isotopic compositions characteristic of the Apliki region (Cucuzza, Gale, Stos-Gale 2004; Lo Schiavo et al. 2013). From the Cypriot perspective it should be noted that in the past only a few LM IIIC vessels were reported from Cyprus (Popham 1979, 190-1; Kanta 1980, 313), but now it is clear that, following earlier evidence, there was no interruption of trade in Minoan coarse stirrup jars after 1200 BC (Maran 2005, 416). Apart from material culture, cult elements often held to be of Cretan derivation have also been suggested on Cyprus in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC (cf. D'Agata 2005b, 4-9 with refs for a detailed discussion).

Concerning the periphery, some islands such as the Dodecanese, Samos and Chios provided evidence for contacts with Cyprus. Rhodes and Kos maintained an active role in contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus (Karantzali 2005, 149-50; Marketou 2009a, 49-50; Vitale 2021, 545-9, esp. 546, fig. 17: 2-3), while Samos yielded various Cypriot bronzes dating to LH IIIC or later periods (Cline 1994, 133 no. 9, 215 no. 726, 224 no. 814 with refs). Moreover, a fragment of an oxhide ingot from Emborio on Chios has a particular importance

since its copper is consistent with the Cypriot field (Knapp 1990a, 131, tab. 2 with refs; Stos-Gale, Gale 1990, 82 fig. 10; Gale 1991, 227) and confirms the use of Cypriot copper in the Aegean in LH IIIC.

On Cyprus a "dramatic reconfiguration of the social, political and economic organisation of the island" (Steel 2004, 187; for a more recent review, cf. Meyer, Knapp 2021) is apparent in the twelfth and early eleventh centuries BC. The LC IIIA and IIIB periods were characterized by a seeming decrease in population and the establishment of fortified strongholds and fortification of the surviving urban centers. This therefore reflects the unsettled conditions prevalent during the twelfth century BC, but the centers with continued occupation such as Enkomi, Palaepaphos, and Kition, flourished, reaching a high level of cultural development and economic prosperity and participating in international trade. General changes during LC IIIA appear in many fields, especially in the ceramic record, funerary customs, domestic architecture, and religious practices, in addition to the use of various metal types and elite craft production, but the climax of cultural transformations was reached in LC IIIB which definitively marks the beginning of the Iron Age. Following the collapse of Mycenaean palaces, it was frequently suggested that most of these changes related to the arrival of a new population group from the Aegean, and LC III was, therefore, considered the period of the Mycenaean colonization of Cyprus. On the contrary, as appears from the above discussion, the 'Aegeanisation' of certain traits of the Cypriot culture, most significantly the ceramic repertoire, in Interaction Period 5 must be interpreted within the process of syncretism of foreign influences which has its roots in the preceding Interaction Periods. As an example, we can refer to one of the most characteristic features of LC culture, namely the process of 'hybridization' apparent in Cypriot prestige objects displaying mixtures of local and foreign form, style, and motifs with Aegean elements as important components along with Cypriot, Levantine, and even Egyptian elements. Although many 'hybrid' prestige objects can be dated to LC IIIA,[32] it is not surprising to find hybrid examples with Aegean components in Interaction Period 4 due to the signs of continuous development from LC IIC to IIIA, but for the sake of cultural continuity it is likewise important to recall the discovery of a few objects with these characteristics in Interaction Period 3. However, the key question for the historic interpretation of LC IIIA is represented by changes in the ceramic record of this period. These changes are represented by the marked increase in local production of Mycenaean-type pottery which in the past was regarded as an ethnic marker of Aegean people arriving after the turmoil in the Aegean. The appearance of

32 Voskos, Knapp 2008, 670-2; Knapp 2008, 268-80; 2012b, 34-43; 2022, 76-7.

Mycenaean-type tableware was contemporary with the use of cooking pots belonging to the Mycenaean tradition and the gradual disappearance of traditional LC tableware. However, the presence of local Aegean-type vessels was already apparent, even though in a more limited scale, in a late phase of Interaction Period 4, before the disruptions believed to relate to the arrival of a displaced Mycenaean population. Moreover, it should also be recalled that the development of a local production of pottery of Mycenaean inspiration has some antecedents, albeit short-lived and in a different form, in Interaction Period 3. The gradualness of all these processes well illustrates the deeply rooted propensity of Cypriots to assimilate and adapt Eastern and Western cultural elements within their own productive system and, ultimately, to their own ways of living. In this background of continuous contacts, therefore, it is the great ability of both Aegeans and Cypriots in seafaring and trading which explains why the encounters of these different peoples led to such interesting phenomena in the Mediterranean context.