

THE EARLY HISTORY OF LATE CYPRIOTE I

By R. S. Merrillees

To attempt, let alone succeed with an historical reconstruction of the beginning of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus is an ambition not lightly entertained, especially as the extant records cannot yet be read, and the material remains of the period provide the only evidence to interpret. The shortcomings which inevitably exist in data of this kind are too well known to require further comment. But rather than await the decipherment of the handful of inscribed L.C. tablets,¹ whose relevance is in any case unproven, let alone the discovery of more—as Åström² and Karageorghis³ have suggested—it seems preferable to analyse the available archaeological material, which is likely to stay for some time to come as the only substantial and intelligible source of information for the history of the period.

Broadly the aim of this paper is to establish the contemporaneity of geographically and culturally separate deposits belonging to the start of L.C.I, and to deduce from the pattern that emerges and from other complementary archaeological findings some possible reasons to account for the historical evolution of the period. So as to achieve these objectives with a minimum of superfluous information and at the same time avoid introducing too much evidence of an inconclusive nature, only certain reliable and representative deposits have been chosen to illustrate the salient features of this phase. The outlines of the picture they trace form the basis for a conjectural reconstruction of the history of early L.C.I.

As is well known, the distinguishing ceramic features of the L.C. period are the B.R. and W.S. Wares. The appearances of these and other allied fabrics, such as the Monochrome Ware, amongst the residential or funerary remains of Bronze Age Cyprus are taken to mark the presence of a L.C. deposit. That is to say that for the simple convenience of devising a framework of relative chronology, by which archaeological material may be comparatively dated, the advent of new and distinctive pottery types has been used to signal the change from one cultural, hence chronological phase to another.

It must also be accepted that the earliest deposits containing B.R., W.S. and associated fabrics in the areas of their invention will precede the initial occurrence of these Wares elsewhere in the island, and so culturally at least constitute the primary evidence for the start of the L.C. period. Even then it would be unwise to assume *a priori* that all deposits made about the same time on a single site in the region of these Wares' origin should each contain examples of the ceramic innovations either in kind or in proportion to their respective popularity or availability. The funerary customs, for example, of the ancient Cypriotes, except in so far as they can be inferred from actual undisturbed burials, are largely unknown and unknowable, as without an intelligible written tradition there are no means of determining how grave-goods were chosen to accompany the dead. The lack of any readily discernible pattern itself suggests that the choice could have been dictated by any number of now indefinable factors, such as personal taste, religious requirements, sentiment, availability, cost, etc. Be that as it may, it must be expected that in areas outside the home of the typical L.C. Wares the M.C.III ceramic repertory continued largely unaffected at the beginning of L.C.I, and that deposits from any part of the island which were made at this chronological stage need not show at first any signs of the new pottery styles.

It is evident from the layers at Myrtou *Pigadhes* that the cultural transition from M.C.III to L.C.I was very gradual. Period I at the site represents an apparently unadulterated M.C.III horizon, in which 90% of the pottery was B.S. and R.S.⁴ Sherds of other fine Wares such as W.P. and R.-on-B.

Note: For abbreviations and terminology see pp. 78-9.

¹ *CAH*² Fasc. 43, pp. 62 f.

² *MCBA*, p. 279.

³ *ND*, p. 56.

⁴ *Myrtou-Pigadhes*, p. 4.

were also encountered. The pottery from the succeeding Period IIA consisted predominantly of B.S. and R.S. with some W.P. and R.-on-B., as in the previous level, but contained for the first time a 1-2% admixture of B.R.I and W.S.I, as well as Bichrome Wheel-made Ware.⁵ Period IIB saw the proportion of L.C. fabrics increase to 30%, including Bucchero and R.L. Wheel-made Ware.⁶ Monochrome Ware also made its initial appearance in Period II.⁷ Periods IIA and B have been dated to L.C.IA and B respectively.⁸ The ceramic evidence from Periods I and II makes it abundantly clear that not only M.C.III Wares but also their shapes persisted in use at the site long after the introduction of typical L.C. Wares in Period IIA. For example, specimens of large shallow bowls (Forms 10-14)⁹ and closed vessels with tripod feet (Form 40)¹⁰ occur in B.S. during Periods I, II and III. Amongst the earliest L.C. fabrics recorded from the settlement, the carinated rim sherd of a B.R.I bowl with oblique linear plastic decoration from Period IIA (Form 135)¹¹ is particularly noteworthy.

When account is taken of the long time it took the L.C. fabrics fully to oust their M.C. predecessors from the ceramic repertory of Myrtou *Pigadhes*, even to gain numerical ascendancy over the latter, the discrepancy between the remains from the settlement site and the grave-goods from the not too far distant and contemporary cemetery of Myrtou *Stephania* becomes all the more remarkable. From the onset of the L.C. period, as defined in its strictly cultural terms, M.C. fabrics were very much in the minority amongst the deposits of pottery found at Myrtou *Stephania*. As the earliest L.C.I tombs at the site seem to stand early on in the cultural evolution which marked the start of the phase, the eclipse of the M.C. ceramic heritage gives the appearance of having been extremely abrupt. There are, however, three circumstances which serve to modify this impression and at the same time help to explain the phenomenon itself. Firstly, the overlap of M.C.III pottery styles into Myrtou *Pigadhes* Period IIA makes it impossible to believe that with the invention of B.R., W.S. and Monochrome they were consigned to oblivion overnight for the purposes of furnishing graves. Some other reason for their absence or scarcity in the L.C. Myrtou *Stephania* burials should be sought. Secondly, the small number of tombs cleared, even though thorough exploration failed to reveal further ones,¹² makes it doubtful that the cultural transition from M.C.III to L.C.I is fully represented in the extant pottery. Thirdly, we have to contend with the imponderable factors which may have influenced the selection of grave-goods. It would not be surprising if the ancient Cypriotes, like present-day travellers preparing for a long journey, preferred to be accompanied by more of their latest and more fashionable goods than of older and less suitable possessions, though not of course invariably.

Pure M.C.III is unmistakably represented by Tomb 13,¹³ whose W.P.III and IV, B.S.II, R.P. and R.-on-B. vases give no hint of L.C. ceramic developments, though it evidently fell late in the phase. On the other hand the pottery contents of Tomb 12, the earliest of the undisturbed L.C.IA graves, reveal an already advanced stage of typological development,¹⁴ though their clays at least retain a M.C.III character.¹⁵ There were in fact no typical M.C. Wares present in the deposit, which contained three Proto B.R. vessels, an early B.R.I juglet, a Monochrome bowl, a W.S.I bowl, two B.S.III juglets, a W.P.VI juglet and tripod bowl, a Plain White Wheel-made bowl and a Black Polished Wheel-made jug. Where then does Tomb 10 fit in? At first sight it looks incontestably late M.C.III, but the cultural context suggested by the pottery may not in fact represent its true chronological horizon.

Tomb 10,¹⁶ which was considered to have held a single undisturbed burial,¹⁷ produced amongst other offerings an amphora in the distinctive B.S.II (Reserved Slip) Ware (No. 1).¹⁸ Specimens of

⁵ *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹² *Stephania*, p. 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 33 f.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 31 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹⁶ *Stephania*, pp. 27 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. XVI, XLVI.1.

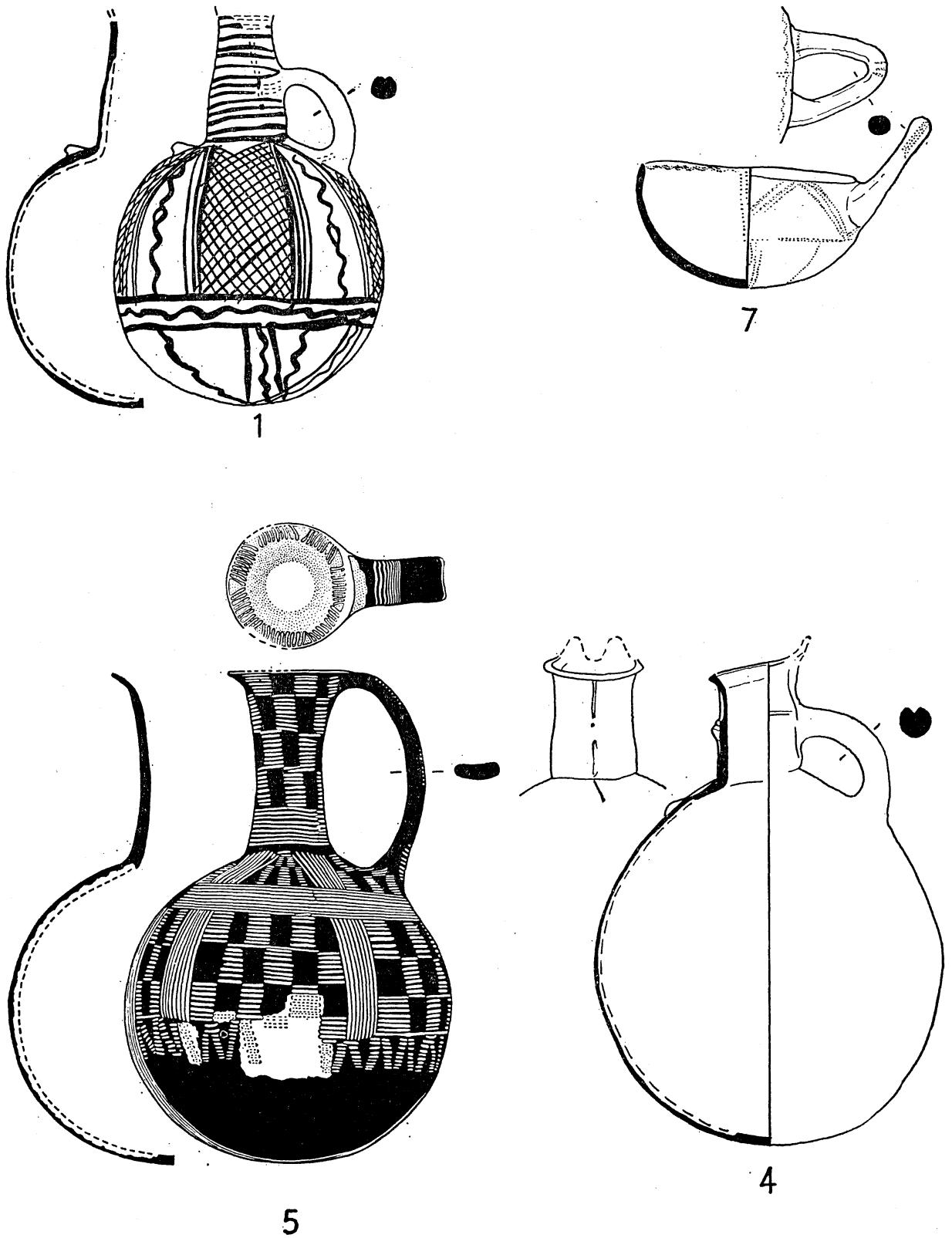


Fig. 1. Pottery from Myrtou Stephanía Tomb 13. No. 1: White Painted III jug; No. 4: Black Slip II jug; No. 5: Red-on-Black jug; No. 7: White Painted IV bowl.

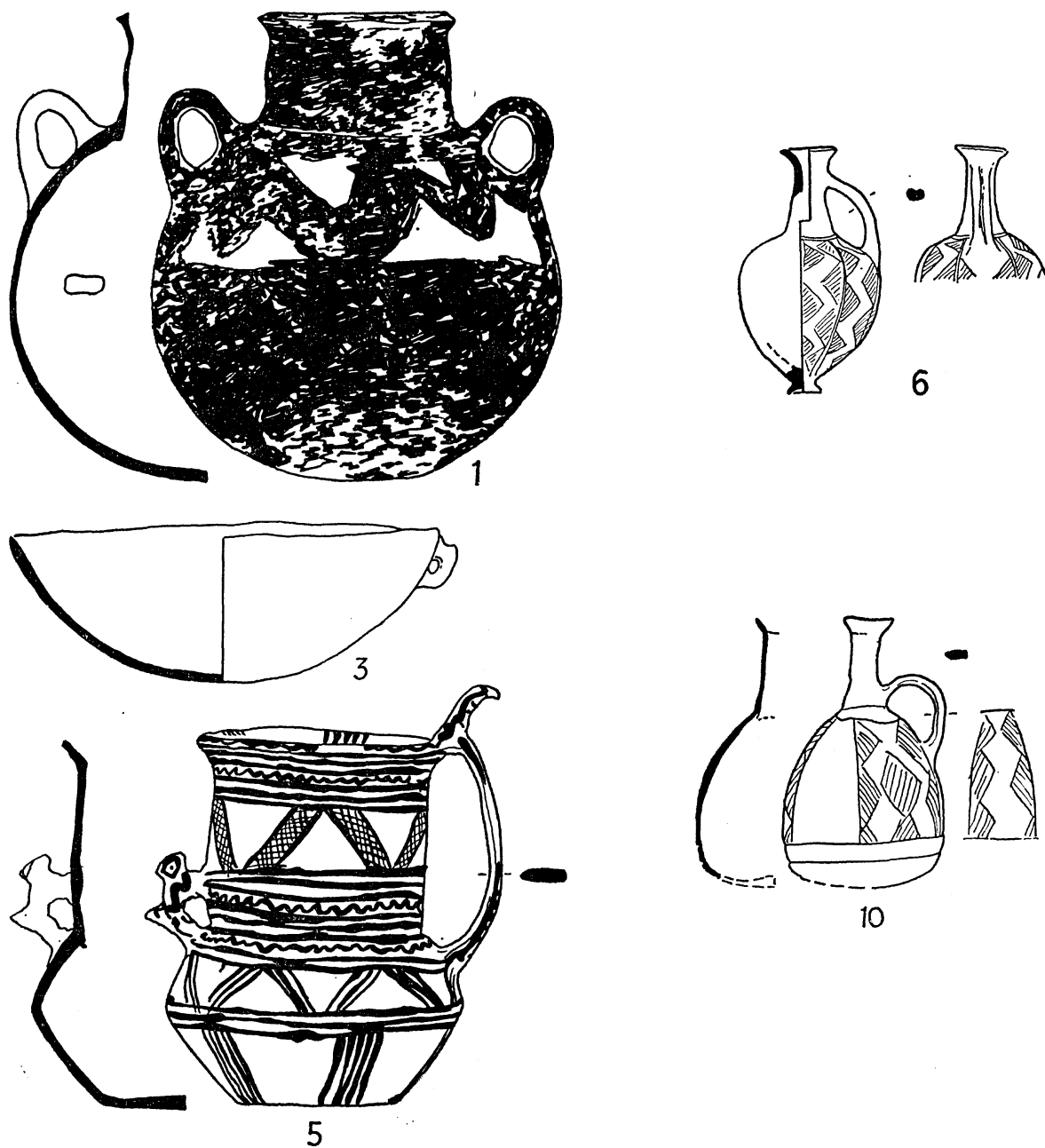


Fig. 2. Pottery from Myrtou Stephania Tomb 10. No. 1: Black Slip II (Reserved Slip) amphora; No. 3: Red Polished IV bowl; No. 5: White Painted V/VI tankard; No. 6: Black Slip III juglet; No. 10: Black Slip III juglet.

this fabric have also been encountered in dateable contexts in Period III at Myrtou *Pigadhes*,¹⁹ which is dated to L.C.IIA²⁰; Akhera *Paradisi* T. 1 No. 115a,²¹ ascribed to the beginning of L.C.IA,²² but probably somewhat later²³; Dhenia *Kafkalla* T. 6 No. 32,²⁴ whose contents covered the period from M.C.I to L.C.IIA inclusive²⁵; Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* (Gjerstad) Stratum 4²⁶ and Stratum 3,²⁷ which Åström attributes to M.C.I/II and M.C.II/III respectively,²⁸ and (Åström) Trench 3,²⁹ dated to the latter half of M.C.III,³⁰ and Trench 9 Layer 67A,³¹ which belongs to L.C.IA³²; Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* in L.C. contexts³³ and in (F) T. 12 No. 1,³⁴ which has been dated below on independent evidence to the beginning of L.C.IA.³⁵ Though Åström gives the Ware a range of M.C.II down to L.C. times,³⁶ there is no closed or stratified deposit, apart from the Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* levels, which demands a date earlier than L.C.IA for B.S.II (Reserved Slip). That overmuch reliance should not be placed on the present-day attribution of sherds to the strata identified by Gjerstad at Kalopsidha is clearly indicated by Åström's description of the state of the remaining material,³⁷ but it is possible that the Ware occurred slightly earlier at Kalopsidha than elsewhere.

There are several close parallels between Myrtou *Stephania* T. 10 and Pendayia *Mandres* T. 1. Both contained the same types of R.P.IV shallow bowls,³⁸ B.S.III juglet of Tell el-Yahudiya Ware shape,³⁹ B.S.III sack-shaped juglet,⁴⁰ and of R.P.IV bowls with handles.⁴¹ Though Karageorghis places Pendayia *Mandres* T. 1 at the transition between M.C.III and L.C.IA,⁴² the presence of Proto W.S., which, as he justly remarks, has never been encountered in an undisputed M.C.III context, suggests rather that T. 1 dates to the initial stage of L.C.IA.⁴³

In addition to the above points, which tend to suggest that Myrtou *Stephania* T. 10 belongs chronologically to the start of L.C.IA, Hennessy has drawn particular attention to other facets which help support the new dating proposed.⁴⁴ He notes the connection between the zoomorphic handles on the W.P.V/VI tankards Nos. 5 and 7 and those from Tomb 2,⁴⁵ whose earliest use was probably L.C.IA,⁴⁶ and Tomb 7, which apparently was first occupied in L.C.I⁴⁷; the parallel between the B.S.III sack-shaped juglet No. 10 and Tomb 3 No. 1, which probably belonged originally to Tomb 5 of L.C.IA date⁴⁸; the fact that the clay, slip and technique of manufacture of the B.S.III and W.P.V/VI pots from Tomb 10 are generally the same as those of the W.P.VI, B.S.III and Proto B.R. vases in L.C. deposits; and finally the similarity in clay and manufacture between the R.P.IV Ware in Tomb 10 and the R.P.IV and much of the Monochrome Ware bowl fabrics from L.C. tombs.

All the evidence, therefore, indicates a date at the beginning of L.C.IA for Myrtou *Stephania* Tomb 10. Even though there are none of the typical L.C. Wares present in the deposit, there could be no objection to this dating on ceramic grounds, as Period IIA at Myrtou *Pigadhes* shows that all the Wares represented in Tomb 10 also occurred in early L.C.I, and that L.C. fabrics were present in such minute proportions that a very early L.C.IA funerary deposit could well have been made without necessarily including a single B.R., W.S. or Monochrome vase or type. This proposed new dating does not, however, alter the fact that a gap must still exist in the archaeological record from the Myrtou *Stephania* cemetery for the progressive replacement of the M.C.III ceramic heritage by

¹⁹ *Myrtou-Pigadhes*, p. 27, fig. 14-48; p. 28, wheel-made.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

²¹ *ND*, pp. 100, 104.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

²³ See below, p. 62.

²⁴ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), pp. 225 ff., pl. VI.3; pp. 251 f.; p. 273.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IV (1962), pp. 275 f.

²⁶ *MCBA*, p. 166.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. IB.8, p. 168.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 170.

²⁹ *Kalopsidha*, pp. 42, 43, 45.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 63.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³³ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 273, n. 3.

³⁴ *EA* I, p. 25, fig., bottom row, right.

³⁵ See below, pp. 67-68.

³⁶ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 273.

³⁷ *MCBA*, pp. 164 f.

³⁸ *Stephania*, pls. XLVI.3, XLVII.15; *ND*, p. 26, figs. 8, 16, 27, 127.

³⁹ *Stephania*, pl. XLVI.6; *ND*, p. 30, fig. 10, 47.

⁴⁰ *Stephania*, pl. XLVII.10; *ND*, p. 30, fig. 10, 69.

⁴¹ *Stephania*, pl. XLVII.12; *ND*, p. 24, fig. 7, 15.

⁴² *ND*, p. 55.

⁴³ *SCE* IV:1C, pp. 44, 46.

⁴⁴ *Stephania*, pp. 51 f.

⁴⁵ *Op. Ath.* VI (1965), opp. p. 161, pl. IV.

⁴⁶ *Stephania*, p. 2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 18.

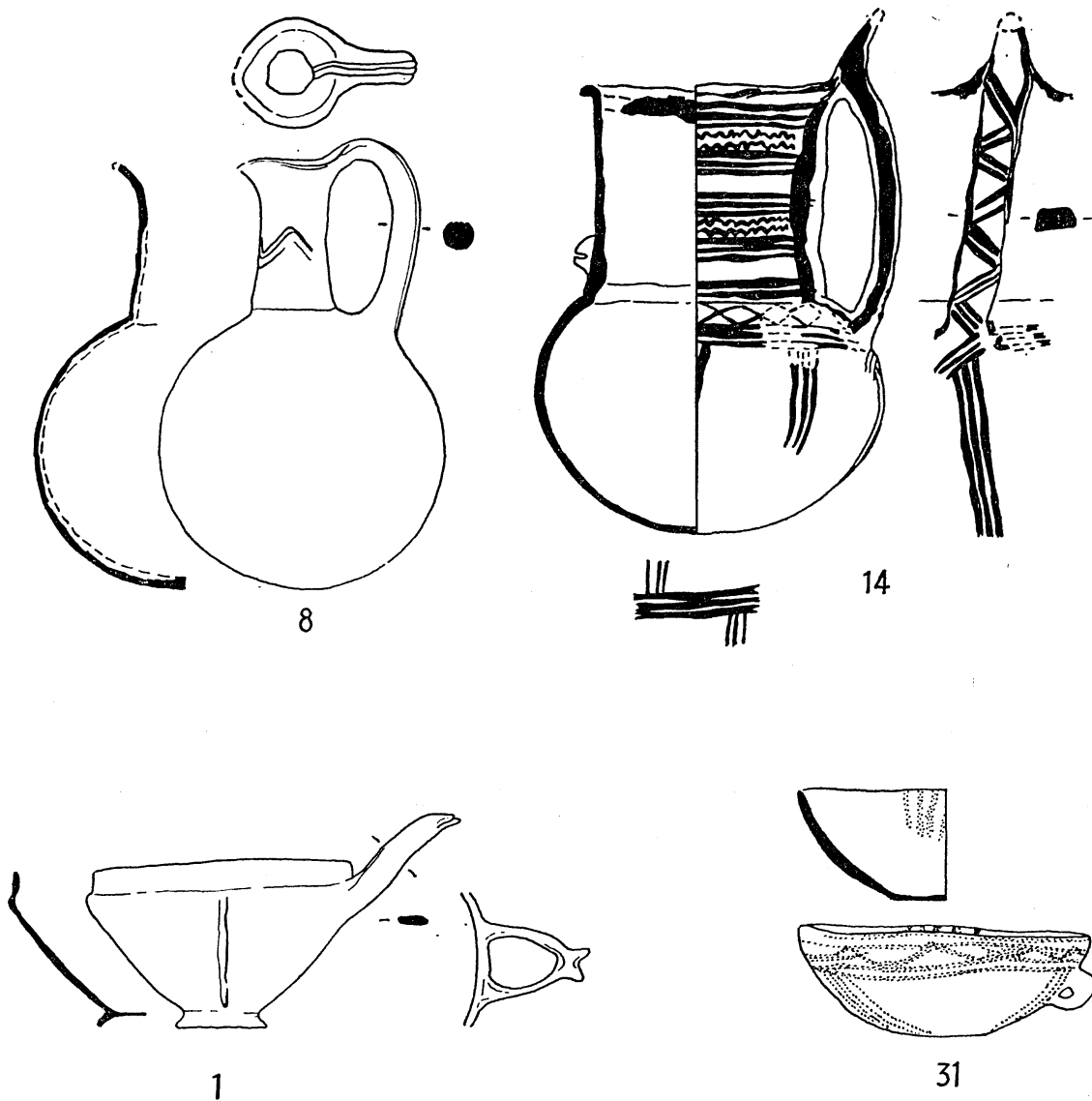


Fig. 3. Pottery from Myrtou Stephanía Tombs 10 and 5. Tomb 10 No. 8: Black Slip II jug; Tomb 10 No. 14: White Painted V tankard; Tomb 5 No. 1: Base-ring I bowl; Tomb 5 No. 31: White Painted VI bowl.

the characteristic L.C. wares and styles, some of which evidently originated in this particular region. Pendaria *Mandres* Tomb 1 and Akhera *Paradisi* Tomb 1 show how the gradual process of cultural change at this time may be reflected in funerary deposits, and the absence of evidence from Myrtou *Stephanía* to match these groups and the cultural sequence at Myrtou *Pigadhes* tend to corroborate this general hypothesis.

Moving closer the centre of the island we find ourselves in a cultural milieu that while showing close affinities with the monochrome ceramic traditions of the north-west, has come more under the influence of the painted tradition of the east. At the fortress site of Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis-Nikolidhes* excavated by Gjerstad⁴⁹ the abundant W.P. and B.S. sherds brought to light below the

⁴⁹ *SPC*, pp. 37 ff.

lower house floor would ordinarily have signalled a M.C.III horizon, had it not been for the discovery of a single, well stratified W.S. sherd in a corresponding level, which led Gjerstad to place the construction of the fort at the beginning of L.C.I.⁵⁰ On the lower house floor itself occurred a rather large quantity of B.S., B.R. and W.S. sherds and a very few W.P. The Wares found on the upper house floor, laid after the violent destruction of the fortress, were the same, but showed a decrease in B.S. and a proportionate increase in B.R. and W.S. Despite the lack of detailed information about the pottery remains, we may still tentatively deduce that the fortress was destroyed not too long after its erection, especially since Gjerstad observes that the layers of occupation "represented only a rather short period of time"⁵¹ and were confined to L.C.I.⁵² The stratigraphy and sherd count suggest that the fort's destruction may well have co-incided with the end of Period IIA at Myrtou *Pigadhes* and accordingly of L.C.IA. The structure appears to have been peacefully abandoned probably in L.C.II.⁵³

The gradual change-over from M.C.III to L.C. fabrics, which accords well with the evidence from Myrtou *Pigadhes*, is further exemplified by Akhera *Paradisi* T.1, whose pottery contents,⁵⁴ while predominantly M.C.III in appearance (R.P.IV, W.P.V and V/VI, B.S.II and III), included several Proto W.S. and W.S.I vases,⁵⁵ a Monochrome or Proto B.R. bowl (No. 10),⁵⁶ and a single B.R.I bowl (No. 111),⁵⁷ similar in type to the piece found in Myrtou *Pigadhes* Period IIA⁵⁸ of L.C.IA date.⁵⁹ This grave has been assigned to the beginning of the same period,⁶⁰ but is probably not quite so early.

The cemetery of Ayios Iakovos *Melia*, situated in the north-eastern corner of the Mesaoria, is separated by a considerable distance from the homes of the L.C. Wares, on the periphery of the Karpas, which had its own cultural peculiarities. For the purposes of this study the ceramic context is best illustrated by Tomb 8,⁶¹ whose first burial layer (numbered 8) contained eight R.-on-B. vases, three R.-on-R., three R.P.IV, two B.S.II, one B.S.III and two W.P. Wheel-made.⁶² Of the sherds recovered from this level, 53% belonged to R.-on-B., 5.9% to R.-on-R., 5.9% to R.S. (=R.P.IV?), 23.4% to B.S.II, and 11.8% to W.P.⁶³ Though the excavators assigned this deposit to the end of M.C.III, because no L.C. pottery was found in it,⁶⁴ Åström puts layer 8 at the very beginning of L.C.I.⁶⁵ He continues: "It is slightly earlier than a tomb in the Cyprus Museum from the Halefga Forest Station. Superficially, both might at the first look be classified as belonging to Middle Cypriote III. Both contain Middle Cypriote wares, such as Black Slip II and III, Red Slip, Red-on-Red, Red-on-Black, White Painted V wares, but some of the Black Slip II ware pots show distinct late features, notably the flat-based juglets, usually of soft grey or matt clay and matt black slip that easily flakes off. This Black Slip II (Late Cypriote) ware, as I would like to call it, is represented in the first burial group of Ayios Iakovos tomb 8 by no. 51 (a flat-based juglet) and by no. 92 (ovoid body, pointed base). . . . The Red-on-Black jug no. 44 is probably Late Cypriote."

By the time of the second burial period (layer 5) the L.C. Wares had already been introduced and gained numerical ascendancy, though they had still not entirely replaced the lingering M.C.III fabrics.⁶⁶ B.R.I is represented by six vases, B.S.III and Plain White Wheel-made by two vases each, and B.S.II, R.-on-B., White Shaved and Black Lustrous Wheel-made by a single example. The sherd count shows 29.7% R.-on-B., 14.7% Plain White Wheel-made, 13.9% R.S. (=R.P.IV?), 13.0% B.S.II, 11.2% B.R., 8.3% W.S., and smaller proportions of R.-on-R., Plain White Hand-made and

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46. The presence of the M.C.III sherds in these deposits makes Åström's suggested date of L.C.IB for the construction of the fortress *a priori* unlikely (*SCE* IV:1C, p. 32).

⁵¹ *SPC*, p. 277.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁵³ *SCE* IV:1C, p. 32.

⁵⁴ *ND*, pp. 80 ff.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89, fig. 26.10, p. 82.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 89, fig. 26.111, p. 100.

⁵⁸ *Myrtou-Pigadhes*, p. 37, fig. 18.135.

⁵⁹ See above, p. 57.

⁶⁰ *ND*, p. 111.

⁶¹ *SCE* I, pp. 325 ff.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 333 f.

⁶⁵ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 219.

⁶⁶ *SCE* I, p. 333.

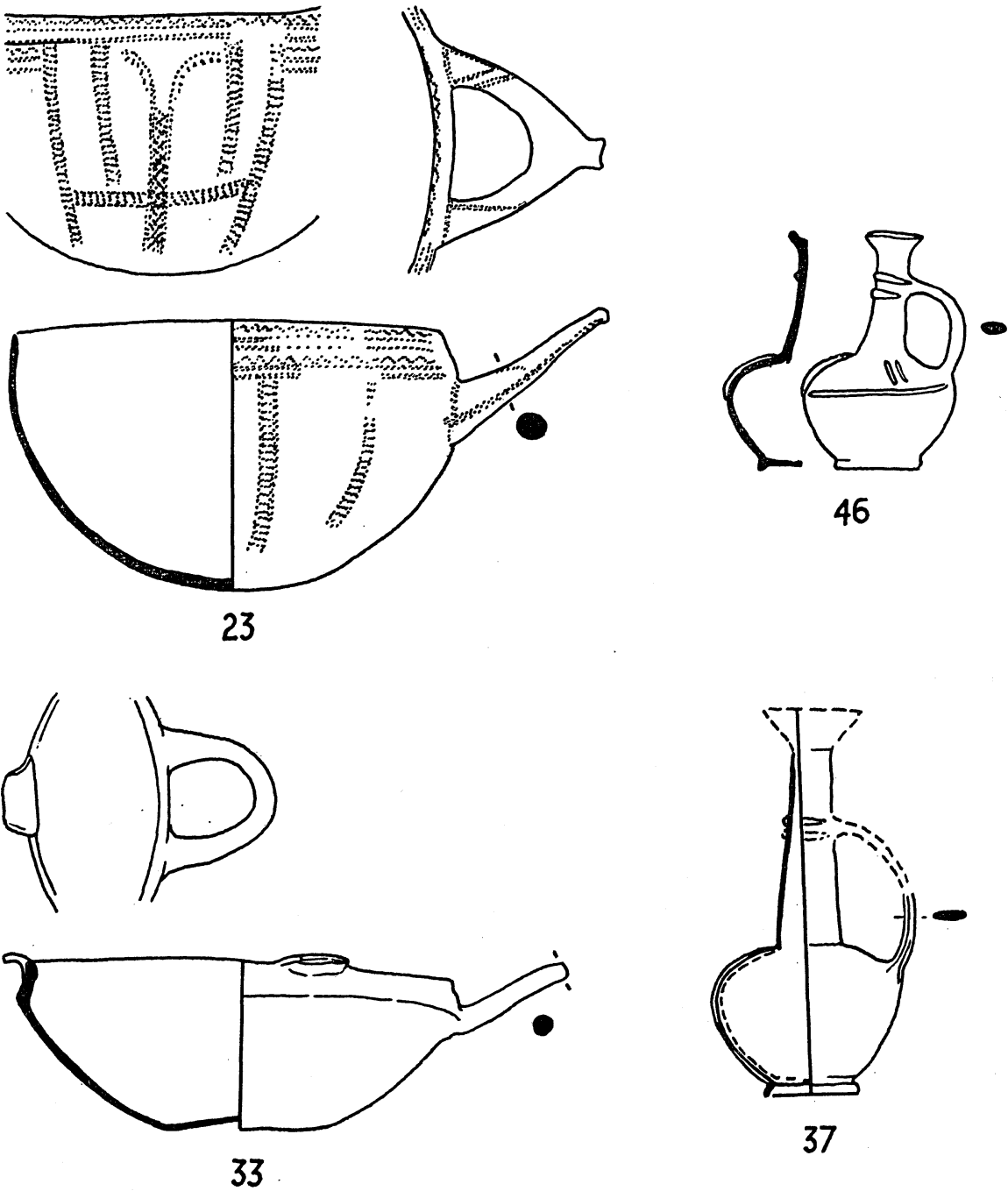


Fig. 4. Pottery from Myrtoú Stephania Tomb 5. No. 23: White Slip I milk bowl; No. 33: Monochrome bowl; No. 37: Base-ring I juglet; No. 46: Base-ring I juglet

W.P. Wheel-made.⁶⁷ Åström considers that the layer “ belongs to the stage immediately succeeding the *Stephania* phase ”,⁶⁸ i.e. the beginning of L.C.IB.⁶⁹

The stratification of the fortress at Korovia *Nitovikla* in the Karpass reveals a similar cultural progression.⁷⁰ Below the floor of Period I the pottery was characterized in one section (section I, between walls 8/30 and 20, 89·0–87·0) by relatively large quantities of B.S. Wheel-made (55 sherds), R.-on-B. and R.-on-R. (34 and 7 sherds respectively), B.S. II (33 sherds), and smaller proportions of R.P.IV, R.S., R.S. Wheel-made, W.P. and Bichrome Wheel-made, and a solitary sherd of W.P. The remains on the floor in the same section (91·0–89·0) belonging to Period I show, outside a large increase in the quantities of pithos ware, a substantial increase in the number of B.S. Wheel-made sherds (76), a sharp decline in R.-on-B. (7 sherds), a less pronounced reduction in B.S.II (20 sherds) and the presence of two B.S.III sherds. R.P.IV and W.P. are no longer attested, but the R.S., W.P. and Bichrome Wheel-made Wares continue to occur in small amounts. The ensuing Period IIA, which saw the construction of the fortress, had the same material culture. In a stratum of this period (square H₄, 93·0–90·8) were found fifteen B.S. Wheel-made sherds, ten R.-on-B. and two R.-on-R., eighteen B.S.II, ten R.S. Wheel-made, eight W.P. Wheel-made and eleven Bichrome Wheel-made. At the end of this phase the fortress was destroyed, then rebuilt in Period IIIA, when the first unmistakable signs of L.C. cultural penetration appeared. While B.S., R.S., W.P. and Bichrome Wheel-made Wares still occur in representative deposits (e.g. square H₄, 101·0–99·2) in very small numbers, the first sherds of Monochrome (three), B.R. (two) and W.S. (one), as well as two B.S.III sherds, make their appearance. Like the fortress site of Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis-Nikolidhes*, the structure at Korovia *Nitovikla* appears to have been abandoned in L.C.IIA.⁷¹

Though the excavator maintains that “ not a single sherd of definite Late Cypriote type ” was encountered in the levels of Period IIA,⁷² this statement should be seen in the light of his later admission that B.R., W.S. and Monochrome “ are sometimes found also on the floors of Period IIA, but only in places where the stratigraphical and architectural analysis has shown that these floors were reused during Period IIIA, or later ”.⁷³ Despite the author’s attempt to explain away the occurrences of L.C. sherds in Period IIA by alleging their uniformly intrusive character, the widespread distribution of their relatively numerous findspots challenges *a priori* the argument that all the pottery was out of context, and leaves the suspicion that some of the sherds may in fact have been correctly stratified and should therefore be associated with the other wares thought distinctive of M.C.III.

While this speculation does not in itself constitute any firm proof that Period IIA was occupied as late as L.C.I, other circumstantial evidence heightens the possibility. It must first be remembered that Korovia *Nitovikla* is geographically remote from the centres where the ceramic hall-marks of the L.C. period were originally made and must therefore have received its first B.R., W.S. and allied Wares at a somewhat later date. For instance, Korovia *Nitovikla* T. 2^{II} shows that even after the arrival of fully developed B.R.I pots at the site, M.C. fabrics such as R.-on-B., R.-on-R., W.P. and B.S. still predominated, though some of the specimens reveal their debt to L.C. shape conventions, such as the use of flat bases (Nos. 18, 40).⁷⁴ Since these advanced representatives of the characteristically L.C. B.R.I Ware are nevertheless typologically the earliest found at the site, it seems logical to deduce that the material culture of Korovia *Nitovikla* remained overwhelmingly M.C. in nature and betrayed its contemporaneity with the ceramically identifiable L.C.IA deposits in the north-west and centre of the island largely through the adoption of morphological changes in its pottery. Lack of detailed publication of the stratified sherds from the fortress does not, however, enable us to check for signs of L.C. typological influence on the M.C. fabrics discovered during the dig.

In his treatise on the M.C. Bronze Age, Åström maintains that the stronghold of Korovia

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

⁶⁸ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 220.

⁶⁹ *Kalopsidha*, p. 52.

⁷⁰ *SCE* I, pp. 403 ff.

⁷¹ *SCE* IV:1C, p. 35.

⁷² *SCE* I, p. 406.

⁷³ *SCE* I, loc. cit.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. LXIX.3, nos. 18, 40; pp. 412 f.

Nitovikla was built at the very end of M.C.III, and that a few additions made to the structure in Period IIB probably belong to L.C.IA, "as the floor of the first fortress was in use in this period".⁷⁵ However, the occurrence of Bichrome Wheel-made Ware as early as pre-Period I makes it highly unlikely that the site itself, let alone the stronghold, was first settled much before the end of M.C.III, as this particular fabric is not attested elsewhere in Cyprus in closed deposits earlier than L.C.IA.⁷⁶ For example, it has been encountered in Period IIA at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, belonging to L.C.IA⁷⁷; Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* (Åström) Trench 9 Layer 68,⁷⁸ which, though disturbed, cannot be earlier than L.C.IA—early IB⁷⁹; and in Akhera *Paradisi* T. 1 No. 1,⁸⁰ Dhenia *Kafkalla* T. 1,⁸¹ Milea *Vikla Trachonas* Tombs 10, 11, 13,⁸² and Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* (S) T. 13 No. 162⁸³ and (F) T. 5⁸⁴ No. 265⁸⁵ and No. S. 7,⁸⁶ none of which antedates L.C.I. Even the disturbed deposits containing Bichrome Wheel-made Ware, such as the Ayia Irini *Palaikastros* group,⁸⁷ the unnumbered tomb in the Cyprus Museum from Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*⁸⁸ and Maroni *Zarukas* T. 9⁸⁹ and T. 24,⁹⁰ do not appear to antedate L.C.I. The only other context with Bichrome Wheel-made Ware, for which a M.C.III date has been claimed, is Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* (Gjerstad) strata 1–2.⁹¹ Though Åström has kindly confirmed in a letter dated June 13th 1969 the attribution of the pots to a deposit on the last floor of the house excavated by Gjerstad, he states that the "last phase of the Kalopsida house stands on the threshold of Late Cypriote I",⁹² and further notes that in his own Trench 3, dated to the second half of M.C.III, "there is no sign of Late Cypriote I and it may be significant that Bichrome Wheel-made ware is missing".⁹³

It seems, therefore, extremely unlikely that Bichrome Wheel-made Ware began to reach Cyprus much, if at all before L.C.IA, though Korovia *Nitovikla*, being geographically closer than any of the other sites to northern Syria, where the Ware apparently evolved,⁹⁴ may have been amongst the first in the island to receive it. Accordingly pre-Period I of the fortress may well have begun in M.C.III, but almost certainly ended in L.C.IA, no doubt early. It may further be postulated that Period I and the initial occupation of the stronghold in Period II belong to L.C.IA, and that the destruction of the building took place at much the same time as that of the fortified structure at Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis-Nikolidhes*, i.e. about L.C.IA–B, since the re-occupation levels at both show the same distinctly marked increase in the presence of L.C. Wares.

As a cultural entity, Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik*, situated in the eastern Mesaoria, seems to have been very much *sui generis* in the context of the rest of the island's civilization at this time. In the L.C. settlement at the locality of *Koufos*, Åström opened Trench 9, the lowest layer in the northern part of which was numbered 72 and found undisturbed.⁹⁵ It represented a pure M.C.III deposit and contained sherds of R.P., R.S., B.S.II, Plain White Wheel-made and W.P., including W.P. Pendent and Cross Line Styles in roughly equal proportions of about 13% each of the total W.P. complement, which made up 60.7% of the sum total of sherds found. This proportion of W.P. Ware is in striking contrast to the situation in Period I at Myrtou *Pigadhes*,⁹⁶ where monochrome fabrics predominated, whereas in Layer 72 at Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* B.S. and R.S. formed only 37.3% of the total. For the succeeding levels Åström's analysis may be quoted verbatim. "White Painted Ware is in majority in this layer [71], the Cross Line Style being represented by 884 sherds (29.5%), while there

⁷⁵ *MCBA*, pp. 3 f.; cf. *SCE* IV:1C, p. 33.

⁷⁶ *SCE* IV:1C, pp. 114 ff.

⁷⁷ See above, p. 57.

⁷⁸ *Kalopsidha*, pp. 51, 53, 60 f.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 52 f.

⁸⁰ *ND*, p. 89, fig. 26.1; pl. VII, 1, pp. 80, 105, 111.

⁸¹ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 229.

⁸² *QDAP* VIII (1938), pp. 1 ff.

⁸³ *SCE* I, pl. LXXXV.162, p. 533; *Problems*, pp. 104 f.

⁸⁴ *MCBA*, p. 220, n. 4.

⁸⁵ *EA* I, p. 180, fig. 71.265; p. 202, fig. 78.21, p. 196.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 201, fig. 77.5; p. 162, fig. 66, centre right; p. 200.

⁸⁷ *BCH* XC (1966), p. 304, figs. 11–13; pp. 302 f.

⁸⁸ *Op. Ath.* V (1964), p. 71.

⁸⁹ *BMC* I: II, p. 138 C732, fig. 271 = *CVA* Great Britain Fasc. 2, *British Museum*, Fasc. 2, pl. 5.10; *BMC* I:II, p. 138 C733, fig. 272 = *CVA* Great Britain Fasc. 2, *British Museum*, Fasc. 2, pl. 5.12; *PEQ* (Jan.–June 1965), p. 51.

⁹⁰ *BMC* I:II, p. 155 C802, pl. IV = *CVA* Great Britain Fasc. 2, *British Museum*, Fasc. 2, pl. 9.8; *ND*, p. 105.

⁹¹ *MCBA*, p. 171.

⁹² *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

⁹³ *Kalopsidha*, p. 47.

⁹⁴ *PBW*, pp. 186 f.

⁹⁵ *Kalopsidha*, pp. 49 f.

⁹⁶ See above, p. 57.

are only 168 Pendent Line Style sherds (5.4%). Red Slip Ware is on the retreat, while the percentage for Black Slip II Ware is about the same or slightly less than before. Monochrome, Base-ring I, Black Lustrous Wheel-made and probably a Red Slip juglet are new Late Cypriote I features. Surprisingly, no White Painted VI, Proto Base-ring, Proto White Slip or White Slip sherds occur. A great problem, still unresolved, is whether Base-ring I Ware appears already in the Stephanía phase (Late Cypriote IA, c. 1575–1525) or if it is a land-mark for the following, Late Cypriote IB period. To judge by this layer it occurs already in the Late Cypriote IA layer, but it is not excluded that the 20 certain Late Cypriote sherds are intrusive; they are all very diminutive and could easily have penetrated low down. The material found in this layer covers the latter part of Middle Cypriote III and Late Cypriote IA, possibly the beginning of Late Cypriote IB.

“*Layer 70* (above layer 71) was unfortunately disturbed to some extent, since it contained an Iron Age sherd. The rest of the material is of Late Cypriote I character, containing 4 Base-ring I, 1 White Slip I (plain juglet fragment), 163 Monochrome, 2 Bichrome Wheel-made, 4 Black Lustrous Wheel-made, 1 White Painted Wheel-made, 8 White Painted VI Soft Triglyphic Style sherds. The quantity of Cross Line Style sherds is enormous (2,238 sherds), while the Pendent Line Style has diminished further (161 fragments). This is consistent with a Late Cypriote IA–early IB date, but owing to the disturbance statistics may be misleading”.⁹⁷

It is significant that in these meticulously recorded excavations Åström should have been struck by the absence of the so-called Proto W.S. Ware and the scarcity of Proto B.R. (both B.S. and R.S. varieties) from the earliest of the undisturbed L.C.I levels in Trench 9, though he observed that there was probably no interruption from M.C.III to L.C.II in the development of the pottery.⁹⁸ When we turn to the cemeteries of Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik*, it appears at first sight that none of the tombs which have so far been cleared could belong to the L.C. period, as not one of the readily distinguishable features such as the W.S., B.R. or Monochrome Wares is represented amongst the remains. But in view of the fact that the M.C. settlement was occupied into L.C. times without an obvious break,⁹⁹ it can be assumed *a priori* that contemporary interments must also have been made.

I have already shown above that deposits of M.C.III complexion were apparently still being laid at the start of L.C.I, and suggested elsewhere that the contents of Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* Tomb 11, which superficially at least produced nothing that looks later than M.C.III, could have largely belonged to L.C.IA.¹⁰⁰ Proving this contention is rendered somewhat difficult by the state of the remaining material,¹⁰¹ whose *in situ* disposition is unknown, and the suspicion that more than one burial period is represented by the grave-goods. There are, nevertheless, sufficient similarities between a substantial proportion of the vases from the tomb and the pottery found in Milea *Vikla Trachonas* Tombs 10 and 11, and other corroborative evidence, to argue that a L.C.IA deposit may have been the last to be made in the tomb.

In the first place, Tell el-Yahudiya Ware, of which Kalopsidha Tomb 11 yielded several specimens,¹⁰² turned up also in Milea Tomb 10 (Nos. 26–29),¹⁰³ whose earliest deposit does not antedate L.C.IA,¹⁰⁴ and in a closed group in Tomb 11 (No. 2),¹⁰⁵ belonging probably to the start of L.C.IB.¹⁰⁶ Secondly, the shape of the Plain White Wheel-made bowl from Kalopsidha Tomb 11¹⁰⁷ can be matched by a larger Bichrome Wheel-made bowl from Milea Tomb 11 (No. 20).¹⁰⁸ One of the W.P.V bowls from Kalopsidha Tomb 11¹⁰⁹ belongs to the same type as a W.P.V bowl from Milea Tomb 11 (No. 4),¹¹⁰ and one of the W.P. Cross Line Style juglets¹¹¹ has a parallel in Milea Tomb 11

⁹⁷ *Kalopsidha*, pp. 52 f.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁰⁰ *Op. Ath.* VI (1965), p. 146.

¹⁰¹ *Kalopsidha*, pp. 18 ff.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pl. 6, fig. 10.2:2, pp. 19, 21.

¹⁰³ *QDAP* VIII (1938), pl. I.26–29, p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII (1938), p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII (1938), pl. VI, Tomb 11, 2, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ See below, p. 73.

¹⁰⁷ *Kalopsidha*, pl. 6, fig. 10.3:2, p. 19.

¹⁰⁸ *QDAP* VIII (1938), pl. VI, Tomb 11, 20, p. 12.

¹⁰⁹ *Kalopsidha*, pl. 6, fig. 10.3:3, p. 19.

¹¹⁰ *QDAP* VIII (1938), pl. VI, Tomb 11.4, p. 11; *MCBA*, p. 66.

¹¹¹ *Kalopsidha*, pl. 15, fig. 46.1:10, p. 21.

(No. 9).¹¹² These comparisons are enough to demonstrate that a L.C.IA group could have been present in the grave at Kalopsidha, though they are not on their own conclusive proof of contemporaneity with the Milea tombs.

On the other hand circumstantial evidence from Kalopsidha itself constitutes at least no objection to a lower dating than is usually accepted for the bulk of the contents, and even in fact favours the hypothesis. Though there are signs of an earlier, M.C.II deposit, to which such vases as the W.P.IV String-hole Style juglet¹¹³ and the R.P. black-topped bowl¹¹⁴ may have belonged, there is nothing in the rest of the pottery or its respective proportions relative to the whole assemblage which would be incompatible with a L.C.IA date. Despite the apparently total absence of the typical L.C. Wares, the R.S., B.S.II, R.P., Plain White Wheel-made, W.P. Pendent Line and Cross Line Style, W.P.V and R.-on-B. Wares, which do occur in the tomb, are all found in (Åström) Trench 9 Layers 67B and 67A,¹¹⁵ of L.C.IA date, where B.R.I, W.S.I and Monochrome are conspicuous by their extreme scarcity. In both Tomb 11 and these two levels, W.P. greatly outnumbers any other Ware, and more significantly W.P. Cross Line Style is more in evidence than W.P. Pendent Line Style, itself a pointer to the L.C. period.

There are other factors, such as Kalopsidha's distance from the production centres of B.R. and W.S. and the site's unique ceramic traditions, which could be advanced to account for the fact that no L.C. fabrics found their way into a collection of grave-goods deposited in L.C.IA; but their validity can be accepted only with due reservations for the unknown condition of the tomb at the time of its clearance and the element of chance in the choice of the objects. Nevertheless there is sufficient evidence to maintain that Kalopsidha Tomb 11 was used in L.C.IA before B.R. and W.S. Wares had yet assumed their dominance over the island's material culture. This conclusion is at variance with Åström's attribution of the tomb to the latter half of M.C.III,¹¹⁶ though he adduces no other evidence than the Tell el-Yahudiya vases to back up his case.

The eastern coastal site of Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*, whose stratigraphic excavation since 1945 still awaits complete publication, appears to have had cultural affinities with both the Karpass and Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik*. While some scholars have professed to see evidence for a pure M.C.III occupation at the site,¹¹⁷ others consider that the site was merely established before the end of the period, obviously inferring that the initial phase of its settlement lasted into L.C.IA.¹¹⁸ Stewart, in a very perceptive comment quoted by Åström, stated as follows: "I am dubious about the supposed M.C.III level at Enkomi, as it is never easy to sort sherds accurately. The earlier stages of L.C.I at Stephania would certainly give the impression of an M.C.III date if represented only by sherds, and I suspect that this may be the position at Enkomi, which may have been settled at the very beginning of L.C.I, possibly by a movement from Kalopsida. While the tombs mentioned as being possibly of M.C.III date certainly look at home in that period, I am not entirely convinced by them".¹¹⁹

Such preliminary data as are available tend rather to favour Stewart's view. The pottery remains from the deposits between bedrock and the earliest occupied floor levels in Area III of the site, while predominantly M.C.III in character, contained isolated L.C. sherds. Dikaïos, in a note quoted by Åström, writes that "in Room 47 of the L.C.I 'fortress' under the original floor (floor X) I found a thick filling (0.50 m.) resting on bedrock which contained an overwhelming quantity of M.C.III pottery. A pit in the bedrock in the same room contained only M.C.III pottery. With the exception of a Base Ring I sherd and a doubtful Monochrome sherd all the other sherd material (which was found in vast quantities) in the filling under floor X was M.C.III."¹²⁰ According to Popham, a Proto W.S. sherd came "from between bed rock and the earliest floor, Floor VI, in Room XI (East) of Area III of Dr. Dikaïos' excavations. In this particular section the only other normal Late Cypriot

¹¹² *QDAP* VIII (1938), pl. VI, Tomb 11, 9, p. 11.

¹¹³ *Kalopsidha*, pl. 6, fig. 10.2:4, p. 20.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 15, fig. 46.1:1, p. 22.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 53 f.

¹¹⁶ *MCBA*, p. 196.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 164; *BCHLXXXV* (1961) p. 301; *Op. Ath.* V, p. 71.

¹¹⁸ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), pp. 141, 156, No. 54a.

¹¹⁹ *MCBA*, p. 164, n. 7.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

ware, in a considerable quantity of pottery, was a Monochrome sherd. White Slip I did not occur until Floor VI itself."¹²¹ There is further significance in the discovery of this sherd, for, as Popham implies,¹²² the Ware must have been extremely scarce at the site, thereby matching the stratigraphic evidence from Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* where Proto W.S. and Proto B.R. were notably absent.¹²³ Finally Åström has observed that much R.-on-B. was found "in the bottom strata or on the rock" and "in Late Cypriote I and II strata".¹²⁴ The cultural relationship of Enkomi to sites in the Karpas, such as Korovia *Nitovikla*, is in this way firmly established.

While none of this evidence is conclusive, it does suggest that the initial period of settlement preceding the stronghold's erection, which is represented by the layer of filling immediately above the bedrock, is contemporary with those phases at other sites which are characterized by a preponderant M.C.III ceramic industry with the occasional appearance of L.C. Wares such as Monochrome, B.R. and W.S. This stage at Enkomi could accordingly be equated with Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* (Åström) Trench 9 Layer 71, which covers late M.C.III and L.C.IA,¹²⁵ and probably also coincides with pre-Period I and Period I at Korovia *Nitovikla*, which together span much the same period of time.¹²⁶ The construction of the fortress could accordingly be dated to the very beginning of L.C.I, though Åström does not exclude the possibility that it was built at the end of M.C.III.¹²⁷ Dikaïos suggests that after a first destruction perhaps at the same time as that of Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis-Nikolidhes*, which took place probably at the end of L.C.IA,¹²⁸ it was rebuilt with alterations and lasted in use until some time in L.C.IB¹²⁹ or early L.C.IIA.¹³⁰ Its history appears therefore closely to have paralleled that of the fortified sites at Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis-Nikolidhes* and Korovia *Nitovikla*.

Though we must await the detailed publication of the Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* strata before attempting to reach any final conclusions on their dating, it is still possible to argue a revised chronology for the earliest tombs so far brought to light in the settlement. By general consensus the first of these is (F) Tomb 12 (1946), which has been placed in M.C.III by both Schaeffer¹³¹ and Åström.¹³² The closest parallels for its contents are to be found not so much at Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* as in Myrtou *Stephania* Tomb 10, which has now been attributed to the beginning of L.C.IA.¹³³ The B.S.II (Reserved Slip) jug (No. 1),¹³⁴ whose Ware can hardly be dated before L.C.IA,¹³⁵ has a counterpart in the amphora from Myrtou *Stephania* T. 10 No. 1.¹³⁶ The B.S.II jug of reddish fabric (No. 2)¹³⁷ resembles one of the same Ware from Myrtou *Stephania* T. 10 (No. 8).¹³⁸ The juglet of Tell el-Yahudiya shape, of burnished grey-black ware (No. 3),¹³⁹ which Åström called B.S.III,¹⁴⁰ can be matched by the B.S.III copy of a Tell el-Yahudiya juglet from Myrtou *Stephania* T. 10 (No. 6).¹⁴¹

Other comparisons may be made with the pottery from Milea *Vikla Trachonas* Tomb 10, which, though disturbed, contained nothing that need be earlier than L.C.IA.¹⁴² The juglet of Tell el-Yahudiya type (No. 3) has an exact parallel in Tomb 10 (No. 27).¹⁴³ The juglet of uncertain Ware, which has a hard buff fabric but no remaining slip (No. 4),¹⁴⁴ resembles in shape and size a R.-on-B. juglet from Tomb 10 (No. 83),¹⁴⁵ which also contained a R.-on-B. bowl (No. 65)¹⁴⁶ of the same type as the R.-on-B. bowl from Enkomi (F) Tomb 12 (number unknown).¹⁴⁷ The unnumbered W.P.V

¹²¹ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 287.

¹²² *Ibid.*, IV (1962), p. 286.

¹²³ See above, pp. 65-66.

¹²⁴ *Op. Ath.* V (1964), p. 71.

¹²⁵ See above, p. 65.

¹²⁶ See above, p. 64.

¹²⁷ *SCE* IV; 1C, p. 38.

¹²⁸ See above, pp. 61-62.

¹²⁹ *Kyp. Spoud.*, 1960, p. 10.

¹³⁰ *SCE* IV; 1C, p. 38.

¹³¹ *EA* I, pp. 23 ff.

¹³² *MCBA*, p. 195.

¹³³ See above, p. 60.

¹³⁴ *EA* I, p. 25, fig. bottom row, right.

¹³⁵ See above, p. 6.

¹³⁶ *Stephania*, pls. XVI, XLVI.1.

¹³⁷ *EA* I, p. 25, fig. bottom row, left.

¹³⁸ *Stephania*, pl. XLVII, 8.

¹³⁹ *EA* I, p. 25, fig. centre row, second from left.

¹⁴⁰ *MCBA*, p. 107.

¹⁴¹ *Stephania*, pl. XLVI.6.

¹⁴² *QDAP* VIII (1938), p. 8.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* VIII (1938), pl. I.27, p. 4.

¹⁴⁴ *EA* I, p. 25, fig. centre row, second from right.

¹⁴⁵ *QDAP* VIII (1938), pl. I.83, p. 6.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* VIII (1938), pl. I.65, p. 5.

¹⁴⁷ *EA* I, p. 25, fig. centre row, centre.

bowls from Tomb 12¹⁴⁸ also have their counterpart in Milea Tomb 10 (No. 58).¹⁴⁹ Finally the B.S. Wheel-made bowl (No. 5),¹⁵⁰ which Åström ascribed to W.P.V,¹⁵¹ can be closely paralleled by two Plain White Wheel-made specimens from Milea Tomb 13 (Nos. 25, 26),¹⁵² whose contents do not antedate L.C.I.¹⁵³

Consequently, despite the M.C.III appearance of the contents of Tomb 12, it may be argued that the deposit, which is evidently homogeneous, was made at the beginning of L.C.IA, before any of the typical L.C. Wares had yet made their presence effectively felt in that part of the island. Though this date is lower than any so far proposed, Åström put the grave in the latter half of M.C.III, "preferably towards the end of the period; it is not likely that it is separated by too many years from the other early Enkomi tombs",¹⁵⁴ such as (F) Tomb 11 and (S) Tomb 20, which Sjöqvist dated to L.C.IA, though neither displays any distinctive L.C. features.¹⁵⁵ Åström, while agreeing that these two tombs are contemporary, chose to assign them both "to the end of M.C.III, although a slightly later date is not excluded".¹⁵⁶ A good case can, however, be made out for confirming Sjöqvist's chronology. (F) Tomb 11 contained four Tell el-Yahudiya juglets (Nos. 2, 4, 7, 10)¹⁵⁷ of types which also occur in Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* Tomb 11 and Milea *Vikla Trachonas* Tomb 10,¹⁵⁸ the former of which has been redated in large part to L.C.IA,¹⁵⁹ the latter being no earlier than this phase.¹⁶⁰ It also produced some bowls, of which two at least are W.P.V of L.C. fabric. No. 5¹⁶¹ had a soft buff fabric with a matt creamy white slip and matt black painted decoration round the inside of the rim and on the exterior surface, consisting of a horizontal wavy line below the rim, broken by a group of four parallel vertical lines descending from the rim to the base. No. 6¹⁶² was made of a soft, greeny-buff fabric with matt creamy white slip and matt black painted decoration on the exterior surface of two pairs of alternating wavy and double parallel horizontal lines, from below which descend diagonally groups of multiple parallel lines. The tomb further contained a W.P. Cross Line Style juglet (No. 3),¹⁶³ which had a soft, yellow-buff clay with green tinge, traces of a matt, drab whitish slip and friable matt black painted decoration, resembling in this technical aspect the W.P.V bowl No. 6.

Not only is the soft ware of Nos. 3, 5 and 6 typical of the L.C. W.P. fabrics,¹⁶⁴ but they, like the Tell el-Yahudiya juglets, can also be paralleled in Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* Tomb 11.¹⁶⁵ These points constitute firm justification for dating Enkomi (F) Tomb 11 to L.C.IA. The evidence for (S) Tomb 20 is no less unequivocal. The Tell el-Yahudiya juglet (No. 4)¹⁶⁶ has parallels in Milea *Vikla Trachonas* Tombs 10 and 11,¹⁶⁷ whose deposits are not earlier than L.C.IA.¹⁶⁸ The W.P.V-VI jar (No. 3)¹⁶⁹ belongs to the same type as a jar from Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* Tomb 11,¹⁷⁰ probably of L.C.IA date,¹⁷¹ and the W.P.V tankard (No. 2)¹⁷² has a close parallel in Myrtou *Stephania* T. 10 No. 14,¹⁷³ which has now been placed at the head of L.C.IA.¹⁷⁴ The grave also produced a R.S. Wheel-made jug (No. 1).¹⁷⁵

Finally in this survey of the archaeological data, Åström records the existence of an interesting tomb group from Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*, now in the Cyprus Museum (No. 1939/VII-18/1). Amongst

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25, fig. top row, right; centre row, left and right.

¹⁴⁹ *QDAP* VIII (1938), pl. I.58, p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ *EA* I, p. 25, fig. top row, left.

¹⁵¹ *MCBA*, p. 67.

¹⁵² *QDAP* VIII (1938), pl. VI.25, 26, p. 17.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* VIII (1938), p. 20.

¹⁵⁴ *MCBA*, p. 195.

¹⁵⁵ *Problems*, pp. 101 f.

¹⁵⁶ *MCBA*, p. 195.

¹⁵⁷ *Missions*, pl. XXXI.b, c, d, p. 72, fig. 30.2, 4, 7, p. 140.

¹⁵⁸ *MCBA*, pp. 130 f.

¹⁵⁹ See above, pp. 65-66.

¹⁶⁰ *QDAP* VIII (1938), pp. 8 f.

¹⁶¹ *Missions*, pl. XXXI, e, p. 72, fig. 30.5, p. 140.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI.a, p. 72, fig. 30.3, p. 140.

¹⁶⁴ *Kalopsidha*, pp. 92, 141.

¹⁶⁵ *MCBA*, p. 195; *Kalopsidha*, pp. 18 ff.

¹⁶⁶ *SCE* I, pl. LXXXVII.3, no. 4, p. 570; *MCBA*, fig. XXX, 22.

¹⁶⁷ *MCBA*, p. 131.

¹⁶⁸ *QDAP* VIII (1938), pp. 8 f., 13.

¹⁶⁹ *SCE* I, pls. LXXXVII.3 no. 1, CIX.9, p. 570; *MCBA* fig. XVI, 11.

¹⁷⁰ *MCBA*, pp. 68, 194 f.; *Kalopsidha*, p. 21.

¹⁷¹ See above, pp. 65-66.

¹⁷² *SCE* I, pl. LXXXVII.3, no. 2, p. 570; *MCBA*, fig. XV, 8.

¹⁷³ *Stephania*, pl. XLVII. 14.

¹⁷⁴ See above, p. 60.

¹⁷⁵ *SCE* I, pl. LXXXVII.3, no. 1, p. 570.

the 16 pots recovered were a R.-on-B. tankard, a W.P.V and a W.P.V-VI jug of similar type, a W.P.V-VI jar, a W.P. Cross Line Style jug, a W.P.VI tankard and amphora of the same ware, two W.P. Wheel-made tankards, three Bichrome Wheel-made tankards and four Tell el-Yahudiya juglets.¹⁷⁶ Most significantly he dates this assemblage to the beginning of L.C.IA.

The definition of the L.C.IA ceramic culture at Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* both confirms and amplifies the evidence from Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik*. The stratified data from Enkomi, scanty though information is at present, suggest that the site was continuously inhabited from its foundation, probably at the end of M.C.III, and retained its M.C. pottery heritage basically unchanged until the arrival *en masse* at the start of L.C.IB of the B.R., W.S. and Monochrome Wares from the west of the island. The extreme scarcity of Proto W.S.¹⁷⁷ and Proto B.R.¹⁷⁸ at the site, and the fact that the forms and fabrics of the characteristic L.C. Wares, when they finally appear in strength, as, for example, in (F) Tomb 5,¹⁷⁹ at the end of L.C.IA, are already on the way to full maturity, supports the impression left by the stratified sherd material that throughout L.C.IA the pottery remained overwhelmingly M.C.III in style, and that while the ceramic hall-marks of the L.C. period were evolving in the west, the culture of the east resisted the penetration of these new elements. On cultural grounds, therefore, it seems plausible to argue that Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* (F) Tomb 12 (1946), (F) Tomb 11 and (S) Tomb 20, as well as Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* Tomb 11, not only belonged chronologically to L.C.IA, but were representative of the pottery culture prevailing at the time in this area of the eastern Mesaoria. When, however, the change in ceramic orientation took place at the start of L.C.IB, it appears to have been somewhat abrupt, at least at Enkomi, where funerary deposits show a sudden and complete break between the M.C. and L.C. repertoires. This observation will nevertheless have to be reviewed against the cultural sequence as revealed by the levels of occupation in the settlement.

From this survey of the material remains of the island in the first phase of L.C.I emerges a picture of considerable complexity, whose one and only constant distinguishing feature is the persistence of regional M.C. ceramic traditions. Broadly there are two basic strains discernible—the monochrome tradition of the western Mesaoria and the painted tradition of the east of the island. In the east a further subdivision can be made between the W.P. culture of the eastern Mesaoria and the R.-on-B. and allied culture of the Karpas. It should, however, be stressed that the boundaries, if such in fact existed in antiquity, cannot now be too finely drawn, as these different cultural regions tend to merge imperceptibly into each other and their dividing lines are in any case blurred by the spread of styles outside the areas which were clearly their homes. All the same, these geographical units, which correspond to regions where one particular pottery style predominated, are not without their potential historical significance, as the distribution, even localized concentration of distinctive Wares, clearly shows.

If now we proceed from the areas whose association with one class of related fabrics is best defined to those whose connections are as yet less well established, it will be possible to delineate the overall cultural/geographical pattern in Cyprus at this time, as well as by a process of elimination help corroborate the more tentative findings based on internal evidence alone. To begin with, Åström notes that “The home of this ware [R.-on-B.] is the Karpas, where it has been found in abundance at sites such as Paleoskoutella and Galinoporni. . . . It is abundantly represented only in the Karpas and in areas immediately bordering it; in the rest of the island it is comparatively scarce being represented by few pots except where excavations have yielded a large number of vases, as at Politiko.”¹⁸⁰ It is clear that the R.-on-B. and allied fabrics were developed and manufactured in the Karpas, whence they spread to other parts of the island. To this region belong the sites of *Ayios Iakovos Melia* and *Korovia Nitovikla*, where R.-on-B. was particularly common. The cultural sphere of the eastern Mesaoria is typified by the settlements at Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* and Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*, where the W.P. ceramic traditions flourished. As Åström argues, “In view of the abundance

¹⁷⁶ *Op. Ath.* V (1964), p. 71.

¹⁷⁷ See above, pp. 67–68.

¹⁷⁸ *SCE* IV: 1C, pp. 126 ff.

¹⁷⁹ *EA* I, pp. 156 ff.

¹⁸⁰ *Op. Ath.* V (1964), p. 78.

of certain pot fabrics which have been found almost exclusively or in greatest numbers at Kalopsidha, it may be suggested that the White Painted Framed Caduceus Style, Pendent Line Style and Cross Line Style, White Painted V Tangent Style, White Painted V Eyelet Style and, perhaps, the wide Composite Ware bowls were actually made there."¹⁸¹

If the monochrome wares of the western part of Cyprus are nowhere as distinct as the painted styles in the east, the evolution of the typical L.C. fabrics which belong basically to this tradition, such as W.S., B.R. and Monochrome, separates this region from the rest of the island. In his study on the Proto W.S. Ware, Popham shows that "The majority of the pots with a provenience come from sites either in the lower foothills of the Eastern part of the central mountain range or just below them along the river valleys."¹⁸² The sites of Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis-Nikolidhes* and Akhera *Paradisi*, where early W.S. wares are conspicuous, fall within this region. The home of the B.R. and Monochrome fabrics seem more likely to have lain in the north-western part of the island, where Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Myrtou *Stephania* are both located. The discoveries at Myrtou *Stephania* suggest this locality as the most probable source of origin.¹⁸³

Now these two main cultural regions have not only a spatial but also a temporal dimension, as their respective L.C.IA deposits reveal. In the west, where they were originally made, the B.R., W.S. and Monochrome Wares must *ipso facto* appear from the beginning of L.C.IA onwards. Their earliest stratified occurrences are consequently to be found in Myrtou *Pigadhes* Period IIA, and in the initial period of occupation of the Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis-Nikolidhes* fort before its destruction, both of which belong to L.C.IA. While their acceptance into everyday usage gives the impression of having been gradual, the inclusion of the new Wares in funerary deposits shows no such orderly progression. This is undoubtedly due in part at least to the fact that whereas household ceramics are largely functional in design and make few concessions to non-practical requirements, thereby retaining a conservative character in keeping with the not greatly changing nature of human demands, pottery destined for burial purposes must have had to conform to other, such as religious criteria, as well as the purely mundane. For this reason the evidence from tombs, though at first sight inconsistent and so of limited value, has greater historical significance. For, if allowance is made for the variable effect which personal, religious, economic and other factors could have had on the ultimate choice of grave-goods, it will be seen that the new ceramic inventions had a far greater impact on burial customs than on the habits of everyday life. Thus the L.C.IA groups from Pendayia *Mandres* Tomb 1, Akhera *Paradisi* Tomb 1 and in the cemetery of Myrtou *Stephania* (with the notable exception of Tomb 10) demonstrate the rapid infiltration of the new wares into the ceramic repertory of the time, and even if the extant tomb deposits do not as yet allow the cultural development of the period to be traced chronologically in full, the available pots themselves enable the evolution of fabrics and shapes to be followed without interruption. In this context the M.C.III aspect of Myrtou *Stephania* Tomb 10 is probably to be attributed to the various unknown factors which could have determined the composition of the offerings. The steady increase in the popular use of the typical L.C. wares as the period wears on is confirmed by the L.C.IB levels at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (Period IIB) and Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis-Nikolidhes* (upper house floor), where the quantities of B.R. and W.S. are proportionately greater than before.

In the Karpas and the eastern Mesaoria the situation was altogether different. Geographically distant from the new Wares' centres of production and culturally retarded by the persistence of M.C. fabrics, this region during L.C.IA appears to have largely resisted the intrusion of the earliest forms of Monochrome, B.R. and W.S., though it adopted some of the new morphological conventions, such as flat bases, and techniques, such as softer wares. Pre-Period I and Periods I and II at Korovia *Nitovikla*, Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiftlik* (Åström) Trench 9 Layers 71, 67B and 67A, and the level preceding the construction of the fortress at Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* and the floors occupied before the

¹⁸¹ *Kalopsidha*, p. 138.

¹⁸² *Op. Ath.* IV (1964), p. 286.

¹⁸³ *Stephania*, pp. 48 f.

building's destruction, illustrate the continuity of M.C.III pottery styles during L.C.IA, with only an insignificant admixture of the new wares imported from the west. The evidence of the deposits in Ayios Iakovos *Melia* Tomb 8^I, Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* Tomb 11 and Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* (F) Tombs 12 and 11 and (S) Tomb 20, confirms the indications of the settlement remains that M.C.III Wares persevered during L.C.IA to the almost complete exclusion of Monochrome, B.R. and W.S. It was not until L.C.IB, as represented in Korovia *Nitovikla* Period III, Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* (Åström) Trench 9 Layer 6g, which followed Layer 67A, and succeeding layers,¹⁸⁴ Ayios Iakovos *Melia* Tomb 8^{II}, and the tombs of this phase at Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*, for example, (F) Tomb 5^I,¹⁸⁵ that the first large-scale invasion of the typical L.C. Wares takes place. In this the contrast between the L.C.IA and B funerary deposits is even more striking than between the contemporary settlement strata, and as in the west of the island, has a more important bearing on the interpretation of the period's history because of its reflection on contemporary cultural trends, suggesting that the change in pottery fashions was as complete as it was abrupt.

However, the L.C.IA burial deposits in the east do more than simply corroborate the evidence for a marked degree of cultural isolation in this part of Cyprus, for they also contained the bulk of the Tell el-Yahudiya and Bichrome Wheel-made Wares so far found in the island.¹⁸⁶ Both Wares must during L.C.IA have been imported from abroad. As all the Tell el-Yahudiya vases discovered in Cyprus have the same clay, shapes, particularly the form of handle, and decoration, as the very numerous specimens from the Delta site in Egypt which gave the Ware its name,¹⁸⁷ it seems safe to conclude that the imports came originally from the Nile Valley. This gives their distribution in the island particular chronological and historical importance. In the first place, the Ware is almost wholly confined to the eastern Mesaoria and the south-eastern coastal region, though even then it is best represented in the east at sites such as Milea *Vikla Trachonas*, Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Chiflik* and Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*.¹⁸⁸ It is therefore to be closely associated, commercially at least, with the eastern cultural region. Furthermore there is no closed deposit in Cyprus which demands a date earlier or later than L.C.IA. Though Oren, without so much as an attempt to analyse the archaeological evidence from Cyprus, asserts that "Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware apparently belongs exclusively to MCIII, disappearing perhaps before the end of this phase",¹⁸⁹ simply because (without any justification) he considers Palestine the arbiter of the island's relative chronology. Examples of the Ware are found in L.C.IA contexts in Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* (F) Tombs 12 and 11, (S) Tomb 20 and in the unnumbered tomb group.¹⁹⁰ Those from Milea *Vikla Trachonas* Tomb 10 cannot be earlier than L.C.IA.¹⁹¹ Particularly noteworthy is the presence of a Tell el-Yahudiya juglet in a burial deposit in Milea *Vikla Trachonas* Tomb 11 (No. 2),¹⁹² which also contained a B.S.III juglet (No. 1),¹⁹³ a B.R.I bottle (No. 3)¹⁹⁴ and a B.R.I tankard (No. 16).¹⁹⁵ These last three vases can be paralleled exactly in Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* (F) Tomb 5^I,¹⁹⁶ which opens at the start of L.C.IB and appears to cover the whole phase.¹⁹⁷ Now as Tell el-Yahudiya Ware evidently ceased being made in Egypt after the expulsion of the Hyksos,¹⁹⁸ the end of L.C.IA must be coterminous with the end of the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt. The occasional interment of a vase of this Ware just after the break need cause as little surprise in Cyprus as in Egypt. The implication of this chronological finding is that eastern Cyprus' trade relations with Egypt and cultural exclusivity underwent a sudden and drastic change when the Egyptians drove the Hyksos from their country.

Despite Oren's equally unfounded claim that Tell el-Yahudiya and Bichrome Wheel-made Wares

¹⁸⁴ *Kalopsidha*, pp. 54 ff.

¹⁸⁵ *EA* I, pp. 200 ff.

¹⁸⁶ *MCBA*, pp. 130 f.; *SCE* IV: 1C, pp. 114 ff.

¹⁸⁷ *MCBA*, p. 236.

¹⁸⁸ *Op. Ath.* VI (1965), p. 146.

¹⁸⁹ *Op. Ath.* IX (1969), p. 137.

¹⁹⁰ See above, p. 68.

¹⁹¹ See above, p. 66.

¹⁹² *QDAP* VIII (1938), pl. VI, Tomb 11.2, p. 11.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* VIII (1938), pl. VI, Tomb 11.1, p. 11.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* VIII (1938), pl. VI, Tomb 11.3, p. 11.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* VIII (1938), pl. VI, Tomb 11.16, p. 11.

¹⁹⁶ *EA* I, p. 204, fig. 79.9, 10 (nos. 284, 273), pp. 197, 196; p. 204, fig. 79.15 (No. 358), p. 199; p. 204, fig. 79.18 (No. 352), p. 199 respectively.

¹⁹⁷ *SCE* IV: 1C, p. 46.

¹⁹⁸ *CBAPFE*, pp. 96 f.; *Op. Ath.* IX, pp. 136 f.

cannot have been contemporaneous in Cyprus because, he alleges, "not a *single* deposit in Palestine has yielded both Tell el-Yahudiyeh and Bichrome wares in the same context" (*sic!*),¹⁹⁹ Bichrome Wheel-made Ware is known from L.C.IA contexts in Myrtou *Pigadhes* Period IIA²⁰⁰ and Korovia *Nitovikla* Periods I and II,²⁰¹ thus occurring in Cyprus at the same time as the Tell el-Yahudiya imports, and appears to have been associated with Tell el-Yahudiya Ware in the same burial deposit from the unnumbered tomb at Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*.²⁰² It did, however, have a later history, as it carried on in the island into L.C.IB. This means that during L.C.IA both the east and the west were trading with the Levantine regions where this Ware was then being made. Accordingly the distribution of Cypriote exports to Syria, Palestine and Egypt should correspond with the pattern of imports from these countries in Cyprus, i.e. during L.C.IA western Cypriote wares should be found only in Syria and Palestine, not Egypt, but eastern Cypriote fabrics may be found in all three localities. In L.C.IB only the typical L.C. wares of the west, such as Monochrome, B.R. and W.S. should occur throughout the Levant.

This hypothesis is strikingly borne out by an analysis of the deposits in Syria and Palestine, which contained both Cypriote and Bichrome Wheel-made Wares. Dr. Epstein distinguishes two phases in the life span of the Bichrome Wheel-made Ware.²⁰³ In the first (Phase I) the Ware was most commonly associated with Monochrome bowls, which originated in the west of the island, and W.P.VI juglets with trefoil mouths, whose Cypriote find-spots are concentrated in the east.²⁰⁴ This conjecture is entirely in keeping with the distribution of Bichrome Wheel-made Ware in Cyprus during L.C.IA. In Phase II, which may therefore be equated with L.C.IB, the Ware occurs for the first time with B.R.I vessels, mainly juglets, which implies that the principal Cypriote export had become the Ware which began in the west but by L.C.IB had spread in its developed form to the rest of the island. In Egypt, on the other hand, whose trade with Cyprus in L.C.IA lay exclusively with the east of the island, only W.P. wares, such as W.P.VI juglets with trefoil mouths, are firmly attested in the late Second Intermediate Period, though an occasional B.R.I vase may have succeeded in finding its way to the Nile Valley before the end of this period.²⁰⁵ Significantly enough, Cypriote W.P. imports or their imitations have been found in Egypt at this time with copies of the Bichrome Wheel-made Ware.²⁰⁶ No Monochrome Ware is known to have reached the Nile Valley in the late Hyksos period (nor in fact has any turned up yet at all), but after the XVIIIth Dynasty came to power, when L.C.IB also began, only B.R.I vases, again mostly juglets, were imported from Cyprus.²⁰⁷ In this respect the data from Egypt precisely reflect the ceramic history in eastern Cyprus, as L.C.IA was marked by the continuance of the W.P. pottery industry and L.C.IB saw the take-over by B.R. and W.S. at a similarly advanced stage of development. It is interesting to note that just as no Proto B.R. or Proto W.S. has yet been encountered in Egypt, neither Ware is more than barely represented in the east of the island.

The cultural distinctions between east and west in Cyprus begin therefore to assume more than co-incidental importance, as they appear to have been related to a different pattern of commercial liaisons with the Levant. In this connection it should not be forgotten that though a direct correlation has been established between the distribution patterns of Cypriote pottery in the island, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, the painted wares of the east far outnumber the contemporary Monochrome vases brought to light in Syria and Palestine.²⁰⁸ Now these very attachments may have grown to depend on other than simple marketing factors, and so have had consequences transcending the purely economic. The changes in the cultural history of the island in L.C.I hint at more than an undisturbed evolution of ceramic tastes and styles, and other signs point in the same direction. All students of Cypriote Bronze Age archaeology have been struck by the evidence for social instability

¹⁹⁹ *Op. Ath.* IX (1969), p. 137.

²⁰⁰ See above, p. 57.

²⁰¹ See above, p. 64.

²⁰² See above, pp. 69-70.

²⁰³ *PBW*, pp. 141 f.

²⁰⁴ *SCE* IV:1C, pp. 57 f.

²⁰⁵ *CBAPFE*, p. 191.

²⁰⁶ *PBW*, pp. 138 ff.

²⁰⁷ *CBAPFE*, pp. 192 f.

²⁰⁸ *Op. Ath.* IX (1969), pp. 137 ff.

in the remains from the L.C.I period. For the first time substantial fortified buildings are put up on strategic sites in different parts of the island, and burial deposits show unprecedented variations. These phenomena stand in marked contrast to the peaceable nature of the finds from the E.C. and M.C. periods, and must have owed their occurrence to changed political, economic or social circumstances inside or outside the island.

According to Catling, the most outstanding of the fortified monuments belonging to the Bronze Age in Cyprus is the promontory stronghold of Krini *Merra*.²⁰⁹ It lay on the southern side of the Kyrenia range, a few miles west of the Kyrenia pass, and was matched in the east on the other side of the pass by another, less impressive fortified hill site at Dhikomo. Others in the island's north-western quarter were located at Asomatos *Potemata* and Karpasha *Styllomenos*, adjoining contemporary open settlements. The same arrangement prevailed at Ayios Sozomenos, where a high plateau with two fortified compounds at *Barsak* and *Glyka Vrysis-Nikolidhes*²¹⁰ overlooked two large open settlements below. In the Karpass there were strongholds at Phlamoudhi *Vounari*, Dhavlos *Pyrghos*, Ayios Thyrsos *Vikla*²¹¹ and Korovia *Nitovikla*,²¹² and one was built at Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*.²¹³ Catling gives the unexcavated fortified sites no more specific date than the M.C. period, and remains uncertain whether any of the sites in the southern Kyrenia foothills or above the Aloupos valley were occupied into L.C.I.²¹⁴ Åström, however, is inclined to attribute them to the end of M.C.III with the clear implication that they had a L.C. history.²¹⁵ This deduction is confirmed by their inclusion in his descriptive catalogue of L.C. fortifications.²¹⁶ As it has already been argued that the fortresses at Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis-Nikolidhes*, Korovia *Nitovikla* and Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* were probably all built in early L.C.IA, destroyed by force during L.C.IA/B and peacefully abandoned around L.C.IB/II, it may be postulated that the other strongholds passed through a parallel sequence of events. This hypothesis, however, needs to be verified by excavation.

That this unrest was probably as real as the fortresses make it appear is demonstrated by the mass burials belonging to L.C.I. Graves of this kind have occurred all over the island and stand out because they too have no antecedents in the E.C. and M.C. periods. Deposits in which a large number of skeletons were found associated with a disproportionately small number of offerings have been encountered in Myrtou *Stephania* Tomb 12,²¹⁷ which belongs to L.C.IA²¹⁸; Pendayia *Mandres* Tomb 1,²¹⁹ dated to early L.C.IA²²⁰; Ayios Iakovos *Melia* Tomb 8^{II},²²¹ assigned to the beginning of L.C.IB²²²; Ayios Iakovos *Melia* Tomb 10A,²²³ whose contents, though placed by the excavators at the beginning of L.C.I, closely parallel those of Tomb 8^{II} and should be redated accordingly; Ayios Iakovos *Melia* Tomb 12^{II},²²⁴ attributed to the start of L.C.I by the excavators,²²⁵ but, because of the B.R.I juglet (No. 31), probably to be put nearer the middle of the period; and Ayios Iakovos *Melia* Tomb 14^I,²²⁶ which, though also dated to the beginning of L.C.I,²²⁷ contained two late features, the B.R.II bull vases (Nos. 30, 33), which, if not intrusive, suggest that this deposit cannot be earlier than the start of L.C.IB. In fact Sjöqvist argues that Tombs 14^I and 8^{II} are contemporaneous.²²⁸ In addition the cemeteries of Lapithos *Vrysis tou Barba* on the northern coast and Korovia *Paleoskoutella* in the Karpass were abandoned at the onset of L.C.I in circumstances suggesting that abnormal conditions had begun to affect the pattern of contemporary life.²²⁹

And to reinforce the general atmosphere of insecurity conveyed by the preceding phenomena,

²⁰⁹ *CAH*² Fasc. 43, p. 38.

²¹⁰ See above, pp. 61–62.

²¹¹ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 140.

²¹² See above, pp. 64–65.

²¹³ See above, pp. 67–68.

²¹⁴ *CAH*² Fasc. 43, p. 54.

²¹⁵ *Kalopsidha*, p. 140.

²¹⁶ *SCE* IV:1C, pp. 41, 43.

²¹⁷ *Stephania*, p. 31.

²¹⁸ See above, p. 57.

²¹⁹ *ND*, p. 18.

²²⁰ See above, p. 60.

²²¹ *SCE* I, pp. 328 ff.

²²² See above, p. 62.

²²³ *SCE* I, pp. 338 f.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 341 f.; *Problems*, pp. 100 ff.

²²⁵ *SCE* I, p. 345.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 349 ff.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

²²⁸ *Problems*, p. 100.

²²⁹ *MCBA*, pp. 278 f.

Catling has noted the substantial increase in the weaponry accompanying burials made during and up to the end of the M.C. period.²³⁰ This evidence is matched by the earliest graphic representation of armed men which has so far turned up in the Bronze Age. A W.P. Wheel-made tankard from Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* (B) Tomb 8o²³¹ depicts a row of four men, one of whom holds in his up-raised hands a mace or sling and a sword. It belongs to L.C.I.

We must now ask ourselves what events or stresses could have caused a break-down in the relatively peaceful conditions which appear to have existed in Cyprus up till the end of the M.C. period. There have been numerous attempts at interpreting the evidence. Sjöqvist reasoned that the mass burials could be due only to one of two causes—plague or warfare,²³² and finally came down on the side of warfare, arguing that the destruction of Korovia *Nitovikla* and the incidence of multiple interments were directly linked with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt.²³³ He contended that a tribe related to the Hyksos had established itself in eastern Cyprus, building the fort at Korovia *Nitovikla* and putting down bases at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* and Milea *Vikla Trachonas*. Upon the retreat of the Hyksos from Egypt the Cypriotes rose in a “war of liberation” against the invaders, thus bringing about the fall of Korovia *Nitovikla* and the mass burials, in all of which the Egyptian fleet may perhaps have played a part. Schaeffer first suggested a correlation between the destruction of Korovia *Nitovikla* and the end of the cemetery at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* and set them against the background of the contemporary disturbances in the rest of the Levant, the most important of which was the ejection of the Hyksos from the Nile Valley.²³⁴ He later saw in the remains of the period evidence for “a certain social and economic upheaval”,²³⁵ which may have given rise to outbreaks of plague in the island.²³⁶ While observing that the mass interments appeared to indicate haste, he did not accept that these were the resting places of warriors, because of the absence of weapons and of wounds on the skeletons. Stewart quotes Sjöqvist’s interpretation with his own imaginative gloss, but adduces few new facts or observations to substantiate or amplify the picture.²³⁷ He did, however, postulate a land war in eastern Cyprus, following the sea raid on Korovia *Nitovikla*, to account for the destruction of Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis-Nikolidhes* and the multiple interments at Ayios Iakovos *Melia*. When Åström first considered the problem, he pointed out that there was no evidence that the Hyksos had any authority in Cyprus, and that even though the archaeological events of the period were contemporaneous with the final stages of the Hyksos rule in Egypt, the disturbances might well have been due to internal Cypriote conflicts.²³⁸ Later, in a study on Ayios Iakovos *Melia* Tomb 8, he interprets the absence of weapons from the deposits in the second burial period in completely the opposite sense to Schaeffer, proposing that they perhaps indicate wartime rather than plague since the metal was probably needed to make weapons for fighting.²³⁹ Åström returns to his original argument in the latest of his works to be published, maintaining that to say that the Hyksos after being expelled from Egypt and Palestine conquered Cyprus or found their refuge there is an uncertain speculation.²⁴⁰ Dikaios thought that the fortress at Korovia *Nitovikla* was built probably as a precaution against invaders connected with the Hyksos movement,²⁴¹ and Hennessy likewise believed that Cyprus, more particularly eastern Cyprus, seems to have become involved, if only indirectly, in the political and economic changes affecting the whole of the Levant at this time.²⁴²

A quite different set of hypotheses has been advanced by Catling. He suggests that the threat to the Cypriotes’ security came not from outside the island but from within, since the geographical distribution and topographical position of the fortified sites indicates that they were used rather as refuges for the residents of neighbouring settlements in the case of local attack than to guard strategic

²³⁰ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 141; *CAH*³ Fasc. 43, pp. 38 f.

²³¹ *BMC* I:II, p. 141 C737, Fig. 273; *CVA* Great Britain Fasc. 2, *British Museum*, Fasc. 2, pl. 5, 9, p. 7.

²³² *Problems*, p. 100.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

²³⁴ *Missions*, p. 63.

²³⁵ *Strat. Comp.*, p. 400.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

²³⁷ *NMH*², pp. 147 f., 156 f.

²³⁸ *MCBA*, pp. 278 f.

²³⁹ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 220.

²⁴⁰ *Kalopsidha*, p. 140.

²⁴¹ *Kyp. Spoud.*, 1960, p. 8.

²⁴² *Stephania*, p. 51.

points of the island against potential invaders from abroad.²⁴³ This, he considers, may reflect a growing land and water hunger in step with a growing population, forcing communities already in possession of the best springs—and therefore of irrigable land—to have to defend their holdings against the attacks of others less fortunate. He adds that such a situation may have been aggravated by one of the phases of protracted drought to which Cyprus is periodically susceptible.²⁴⁴ He sees no need to suppose that any part of the Karpass was a foreign enclave or that Korovia *Nitovikla* was garrisoned by foreigners,²⁴⁵ and is not certain whether the multiple burials are to be attributed to disturbed political conditions or to some natural misfortune.²⁴⁶ Karageorghis is unable to choose between plague or warfare to explain the mass interments at Pendaria *Mandres* and Ayios Iakovos *Melia*, but suggests the possibility of a connection between them and the disasters caused by the movements of the Hyksos.²⁴⁷ I myself have also suggested that the towns of eastern Cyprus may have been to some extent involved in the complicated political manoeuvres which preceded the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt.²⁴⁸

From this survey of conjecture and conclusion emerge several vital historical leads. Firstly it must be accepted that the instability which seems to have reigned in the island owed its origins to internal pressures, which could themselves have been stimulated by external events, but not to those overseas developments as such. This may be taken to mean that neither the Hyksos nor any part of the peoples to whom they belonged ever physically intervened in Cyprus' internal affairs. Not only is there no unequivocal archaeological evidence for any direct foreign involvement, but the known commercial and inferred political situation in the Levant at the end of the Middle Bronze Age gives no grounds for supposing that Cyprus ever became or need have become prey to hostile advances from abroad. Cypriote, more particularly eastern Cypriote trade with the Levant was pursued during M.C.III and L.C.IA on a considerable scale,²⁴⁹ and was reciprocated by Syro-Palestinian exports of Bichrome Wheel-made Ware to the island and by the exchange of Tell el-Yahudiya Ware from Egypt. Indeed, the Hyksos, the only regional power which might have posed a threat to the security of the eastern Mediterranean world, appear to have had nothing but peaceful diplomatic and commercial relations with their immediate and more distant neighbours.²⁵⁰

Secondly, the only internal distinctions so far detected in the archaeological data from Cyprus, which could potentially have had more far-reaching and profound implications, are the cultural and commercial differences between the east and the west. In this regard two points need to be stressed. Cypriote trade with the rest of the Levant began to assume significant proportions only in M.C.III,²⁵¹ and, as revealed by the remains from Syria, Palestine and Egypt, the east of the island appears to have largely monopolized the newly expanded commercial outlets until the end of L.C.IA. Account should also be taken of the fact that foreign trade was to have a decided impact on the pattern and size of L.C. Bronze Age settlement, as can be readily seen at the end of M.C.III, when major centres of M.C. civilization went into a sharp decline, even to the point of virtual desertion (e.g. Lapithos *Vrysis tou Barba*), and substantial coastal cities began to emerge and develop in new locations.²⁵² It will be obvious that the opportunities for increasing wealth and prosperity through overseas trade must have begun to unleash new forces in the island's economic and social evolution. When taken in conjunction with the cultural disunity of Cyprus in L.C.IA, these new forces could well have been responsible for the unsettled conditions in the island. For if the purveyors of the west's ceramic inventions wished to assert their burgeoning cultural ascendancy with a view to loosening the east's hold over the Levantine market and sharing in the profits of this trade, but encountered internal and external resistance in its attempts to make some advancement, then it is not difficult to imagine that rivalry between the protagonists of the two regions could have led to animosity and even aggression.

²⁴³ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 141; *CAH*² Fasc. 43, p. 38.

²⁴⁴ *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 141.

²⁴⁵ *CAH*² Fasc. 43, p. 40.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Fasc. 43, p. 54.

²⁴⁷ *ND*, pp. 55 f.

²⁴⁸ *Op. Ath.* VI (1965), p. 147.

²⁴⁹ *MCBA*, p. 278; *Kalopsidha*, p. 139.

²⁵⁰ *CBAPFE*, pp. 191 f.; *JEA* 51 (1965), pp. 202 ff.

²⁵¹ *CAH*² Fasc. 43, p. 44.

²⁵² *Op. Ath.* IV (1962), p. 141; *CAH*² Fasc. 43, pp. 37 f.

This would have manifested itself in the destruction of the fortified structures and in the multiple interment of people killed as a result of the fighting or struck down by side effects emanating from the outbreak of hostilities. The obvious strength of its commercial ties with Syria, Palestine and Egypt could well have buttressed the east of Cyprus in its efforts to hold on to its markets and contest the take-over bid from the west. The east, however, cannot have counted on the resurgence of the native Egyptian dynasts, who, at the same time as western Cyprus was vigorously developing new pottery wares and shapes, as well, perhaps, as products such as opium, and trying to spread them eastwards inside and outside the island, forced the Hyksos from Egypt and pursued them into Palestine. The consequent disruption and changes in the Levantine markets could then have provided the island's west with a timely and favourable occasion to take advantage of the temporary eclipse of the west's traditional trading partners as well as the appearance of new commercial outlets, and consequently of the east itself, to spread its culture more rapidly across the island and expand its trade with the mainland.

The abrupt change from M.C. to L.C. styles as reflected in the pottery from L.C.IB tombs at Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* and the disappearance of the Tell el-Yahudiya Ware imports at the end of L.C.IA from the east of the island can have co-incided only with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, as there is no other event of such magnitude known from inside or outside the island which could reasonably have produced the termination of the east's traditional exports and the arrival in numerical ascendancy of typologically advanced L.C. fabrics from the west. Yet this also shows that though the west may have given the initial stimulus to increased and diversified trade with countries abroad through the creation of new wares and production of different commodities, the east was not slow in adopting (or finding itself obliged to accept) the cultural innovations of the west and exploiting them to good commercial advantage.

The following abbreviations have been used in addition to the standard *Levant* ones:

<i>BMC I: II</i>	Walters, <i>Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum</i> , vol. I, part II, London 1912.
<i>CAH</i> ²	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 2nd edition.
<i>CBAPFE</i>	Merrillees, <i>The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery Found in Egypt</i> , Lund, 1968.
<i>CBMW</i>	Catling, <i>Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World</i> , Oxford, 1964.
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
<i>EA I</i>	Schaeffer, <i>Enkomi-Alasia</i> , vol. I, Paris, 1952.
<i>Kalopsidha</i>	Åström, <i>Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus</i> , Lund, 1966.
<i>Kyp. Spoud.</i>	<i>Kypriakai Spoudhai</i>
<i>MCBA</i>	Åström, <i>The Middle Cypriote Bronze Age</i> , Lund, 1957.
<i>Missions</i>	Schaeffer, <i>Missions en Chypre 1932-1935</i> , Paris, 1936.
<i>Myrtou-Pigadhes</i>	Joan du Plat Taylor, <i>Myrtou-Pigadhes</i> , Oxford, 1957.
<i>ND</i>	Karageorghis, <i>Nouveaux documents pour l'étude du bronze récent à Chypre</i> , Paris, 1965.
<i>NMH</i> ²	<i>Handbook to the Nicholson Museum</i> , 2nd edition, Sydney, 1948.
<i>Op. Ath.</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>
<i>PBW</i>	Claire Epstein, <i>Palestinian Bichrome Ware</i> , Leiden, 1966.

Pottery and Chronological Terminology:

B.R.	Base-ring
B.S.	Black Slip
R.L.	Red Lustrous
R.-on-B.	Red-on-Black
R.-on-R.	Red-on-Red
R.P.	Red Polished

R.S.	Red Slip
W.P.	White Painted
W.S.	White Slip
E.C.	Early Cypriote
M.C.	Middle Cypriote
L.C.	Late Cypriote
<i>Problems</i>	Sjöqvist, <i>Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age</i> , Stockholm, 1940.
<i>SCE</i>	<i>Swedish Cyprus Expedition</i>
<i>SPC</i>	Gjerstad, <i>Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus</i> , Uppsala, 1926.
<i>Stephania</i>	Hennessy, <i>Stephania</i> , London, 1963.
<i>Strat. Comp.</i>	Schaeffer, <i>Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale</i> , Oxford, 1948.

I should like to express my gratitude to Professor Åström for giving me permission to refer to his forthcoming *SCE*, Vol. IV: 1C, and for allowing me a preview of Oren's "Cypriot Imports in Late Bronze I Context of Palestine" in *Op. Ath.* IX (1969), pp. 127 ff. He has also been kind enough to read through the typescript of this article.