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Cultural Innovations in Cyprus Relating to the "Sea Peoples"

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Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation

By far the largest part of my archaeological activities during the last fifteen years, both in the field and in publications, has been devoted to the problems of the end of the Late Bronze Age with particular reference to Cyprus. I, therefore, run the risk of repeating myself. In fact, about one year ago a colleague, reviewing the proceedings of a recently held international conference on the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age, referred to my contribution as "Karageorghis summarizes his often expounded views on the end of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus," without supporting or refuting them (Rupp 1993:802). I am fully aware that the few decades around 1200 B.C. constitute a slippery ground for all those who attempt to tread over it, and we have not yet reached a consensus as to how the cultural changes that came about in the Levant and Cyprus should be interpreted; who caused them, if they were really changes, and when exactly did they occur. There is no doubt that Cyprus is situated right at the heart of the problem, the more so because these cultural changes had a lasting effect on the political and cultural evolution of the Cypriots; if the U.N. has been called upon, for the last 30 years or so, to solve what is known as the "Cyprus Problem," a historian should seek its roots in what happened around 1200 B.C. Of all the lands visited by the "Sea Peoples," only in Cyprus do we witness the effects of their activities more than 3000 years afterward. Being a Cypriot, I often find myself in an embarrassing position, always running the risk of being

influenced, or of being accused of having been influenced in my scholarship by present-day politics in Cyprus. A Syrian, an Israeli, or an Egyptian is in a much easier position in their research into the cultural changes, if any, in their respective countries at the time of the "Sea Peoples."

This having been said, I will attempt an "overview" of the subject, as far as possible, without entering into detail on chronological controversies or into problems relating to the ethnic identity of the various branches of the "Sea Peoples." In this respect, however, I am tempted to mention a suggestion that was made recently by Merrillees: that the Sea Peoples were pirates who were disrupting the economic and commercial life in the Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1200 B.C., as a result of the expansion of maritime trade. "The marauders became settlers, establishing the roots of the Greek-speaking community which was destined to supplant all other linguistic groups, both indigenous and imported" (Merrillees 1992:91). Though this speculation leaves quite a number of questions as to how the marauders become settlers (or should one say the marauders were followed by Greek-speaking settlers?), we mention it here because of its novelty.

In this overview I will inevitably have to repeat quite a number of arguments and ideas that I have expressed elsewhere in print. I shall try to be very brief on matters on which I have already published my ideas, and devote more time to exploring some new directions. Various aspects of the cultural changes referred to above will be surveyed in turn.

Pottery

The appearance in Cyprus of new ceramic styles just after ca. 1200 is a fact that nobody denies. Analyses have shown that at least some of the Mycenaean-style pottery found in Cyprus, imitating the forms and the decoration of vessel types known from the Aegean, was made with Cypriote clay at the beginning of the 12th century B.C., as it was also locally made in several sites in the Levant (see recently a general survey by Stager 1995:334–336). This pottery, often referred to as Myc. IIIC:1b locally made, almost completely ousted the traditional Cypriote fabrics, the Base-ring and White Slip wares, which for centuries had been the dominant local fine wares (Figs. 13.1, 2).

It must be stressed that no imported Myc. IIIC:1 pottery has yet been found in Cyprus or in the Lev-

ant. A few fragments and one complete skyphos from Enkomi may be classified as Myc. IIIB:2 (Karageorghis and Demas 1984:47). Thus it seems clear that Myc. IIIC:1b-type pottery was not imitated by Cypriots following imported models, but rather was created by potters who were accustomed to this style in their own homelands. It is true that the Cypriots started imitating Mycenaean pottery, especially the shallow conical bowls, at the very end of LCIIIC, at a time when Mycenaean pottery was becoming rather rare. The assemblage of such vases found in a well at Kalavassos is a good example; most of the bowls and cups are true Mycenaean but there were also several local imitations (South 1988:228, fig. 2, pl. XXXV).

Several scholars have underlined elements of "continuity" in ceramic production from the LCIIIC to the

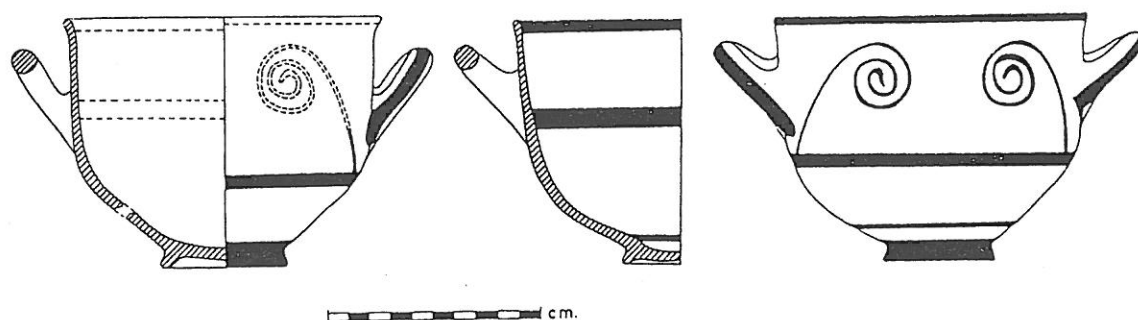


Figure 13.1. Pyla-Kokkinokremos. Myc. IIIC:1b skyphoi.

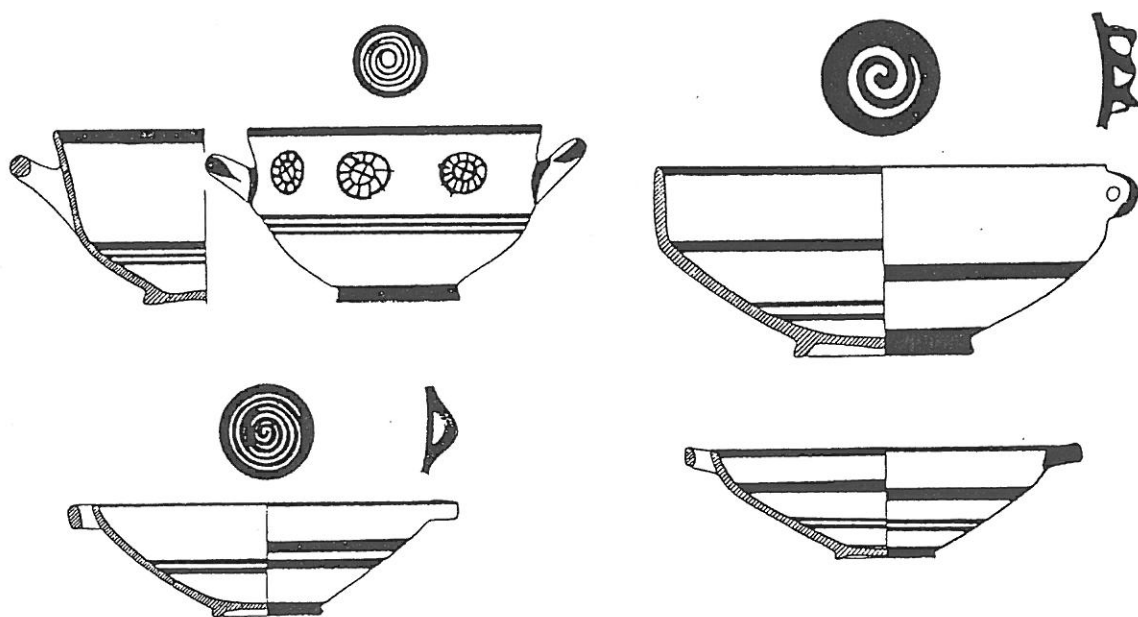


Figure 13.2. Palaepaphos-Mantissa. Skyphos and bowls, locally made.

LCIIIA period, minimizing the importance of the stylistic changes that occurred with the massive appearance of the new, Myc.IIIC:1b style (cf. Kling 1989a, 1989b; Sherratt 1991). It is not surprising, however, that neither in pottery production nor in any other aspect of material culture was there an immediate and total eclipse of local style. The newcomers did not eradicate the existing Cypriote material culture, which had reached a high level of development during LCIIIC-LCIIIA and was deeply rooted in the island.

The affinity of the new types to Aegean pottery cannot be disputed, and they can hardly be dissociated from the bulk of the other cultural changes that occurred at the same time in the island. It should be said, however, that up to now we cannot pinpoint one particular region in the Aegean with which the Myc.IIIC:1b-style pottery of Cyprus may be associated. Much more work is needed before this becomes feasible. When the LHIIC pottery of Crete, the Cyclades, and the Dodecanese becomes better known, perhaps such comparisons will become more convincing. But I agree with Susan Sherratt and others that the change of pottery styles alone does not necessarily prove the presence of a new population in the island (for a general discussion see Karageorghis 1994:2-4).

Since 1986, when the appearance of Handmade Burnished Ware in Cyprus was first recognized and associated with the arrival of a new population at sites such as the newly fortified military outpost of Maa-Palaeokastro (Karageorghis 1986) (Fig. 13.3), much ground has been covered in identifying and interpreting its appearance in the island soon after 1200 B.C. (for a bibliography see Pilides 1992:183-184). We shall not repeat the arguments we expressed at that time. The situation has been summarized in a recent study by Pilides (1992:182-183; see also *idem* 1994) as follows:

Since HBW is a new ware on the island and since its introduction into the Cypriot ceramic repertoire coincides with the influx of locally made LHIIC painted pottery on three sites (Sinda, Enkomi, Maa-Palaeokastro) and continues to occur, some of it probably imported, with locally made painted pottery of Late LH IIIC affinities, its arrival in Cyprus may be connected with the arrival of Aegean population elements. . . What the HBW evidence from Cyprus indicates is that a special group of people amongst the Mycenaean society, or whatever the functions of this pottery were, it arrived in Cyprus in association with the Mycenaean painted wares from the beginning of the LC III, and remained in use in small quantities down to the end of the Bronze Age and into the Early Cypro-Geometric.

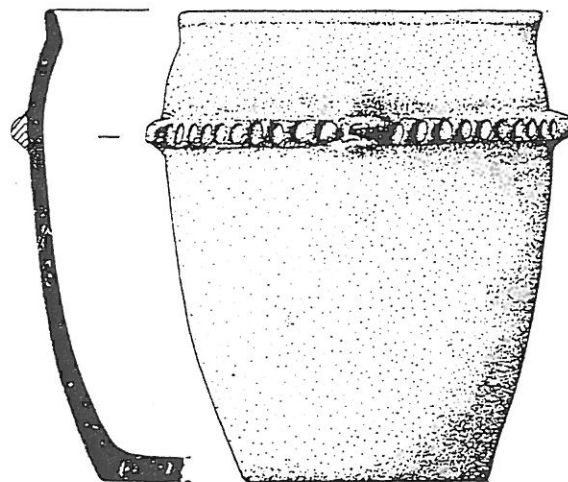


Figure 13.3. Maa-Palaeokastro.
Handmade Burnished Ware jar.

Some useful conclusions may be drawn from a recent study of the so-called Trojan Grey Ware that was found at Tell Mique-Ekron (Heuck Allen 1994). Its appearance in Cyprus has been observed at various sites, even in levels that may be dated after 1200 B.C. This very rightly induced Heuck Allen to suggest that "contacts between the east and the Aegean did not cease entirely after 1200 B.C. as has been generally believed" (*ibid.*, p. 44). Thus Cyprus, and possibly Syria, where such pottery is found in early 12th-century contexts, "may have participated longer in the Aegean's dwindling contacts in the east" (*ibid.*). She finds that Muhly, who sharply criticized attempts to relate the occurrence of such ware in the east with the presence of Trojans at these sites "has gone too far by rejecting any relationship between the Grey Ware vessels in Cyprus and those at Troy" (*ibid.*, 45). Her own interpretation of the evidence is:

the latest vessels (of this ware) found in 12th century B.C. contexts and contemporary with Troy VIIa, represent trophies seized or the treasured personal possessions of a Trojan diaspora... So we may in part be discussing Troy VIIa inhabitants, refugees from Troy VIIh, victors, or possible groups of marauding Sea Peoples. . . Trade and migration hypotheses appear to indicate a small number of individuals with a few personal possessions who left Troy and ended up in Cyprus and the Levant (*ibid.*).

The importance of these conclusions is self-evident. They support the idea that a foreign ethnic presence appeared in Cyprus as well as in the Levant (see recently Stager 1995) early in the 12th century B.C.

Coroplastic Art

Turning now to coroplastic art, we notice profound changes, which may be connected with the radical social and religious innovations that occurred in Cypriote society during the Late Cypriote IIIA period. Whereas before ca. 1200 B.C. the predominant types of figurines (usually placed in tombs) were nude female figurines and bull-shaped rhyta, both associated with fertility, we now witness the appearance of new styles of anthropomorphic figurines that were either imported from the Aegean or imitated Aegean types, as well as bovine figurines with strong Aegean typological affinities (Fig. 13.4). Patrick Begg proposed a theory according to which the figurines of female figures (his Type II) were used as personal amulets in tombs, or as symbols in foundation deposits ensuring the continuing good fortune of a structure, while figurines of his Types I (anthropomorphic, Aegean-inspired representations) (Fig. 13.5) and III (Aegean-inspired bovid examples) (Fig. 13.6) are associated mainly with ritual structures (Begg 1991:32). He stresses the foreign-inspired iconography of his Type I and III figurines and suggests that:

an élite level of Late Cypriot society cultivated strong links with the dominant religion of the period in order to legitimise and further cement their position. The external symbols of this situation can be found in the shape of foreign-de-

rived iconographical objects—Types I and III figurines, while the lower strata of society could only claim access to rather socially ubiquitous good-luck charms in the shape of Type II figurines (*ibid.*, p. 53).

Who were these élite people in Cypriote society of the LCIII period? Certainly they did not derive from old aristocratic levels, which existed in earlier periods, but were a new economic élite, who were seeking the assistance of religious cult in order to succeed and justify their role. The life-blood of the economy of the island, as Begg suggests,

was provided by metallurgical and agrarian industries, and both appear to have required a very deliberate ritual involvement. What it is important to realise is that the cultic representations present in these situations are those with a basis in the élite levels of worship. Bearing this in mind, it is certainly plausible to posit the connection between Types I and III figurines, cult, Late Cypriot élites, and industrial/economic institutions. Clearly, therefore, religion—and by extension its physical manifestation—was vital not only in a spiritual, but also in a very secular sense to Late Bronze Age Cypriots' (*ibid.*, p. 54).

Within this social and religious context we may interpret the appearance of the important and impos-

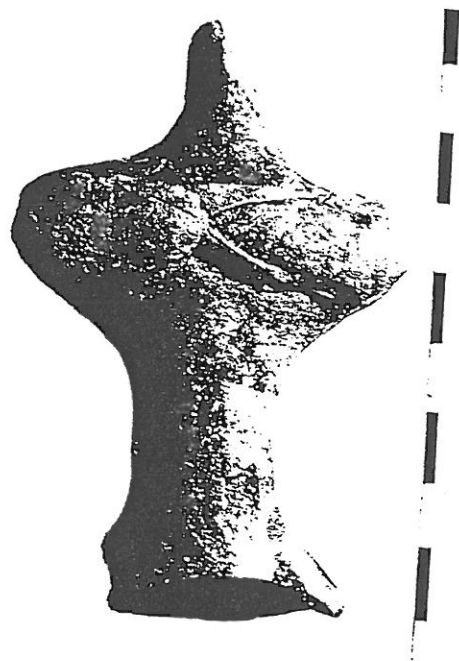
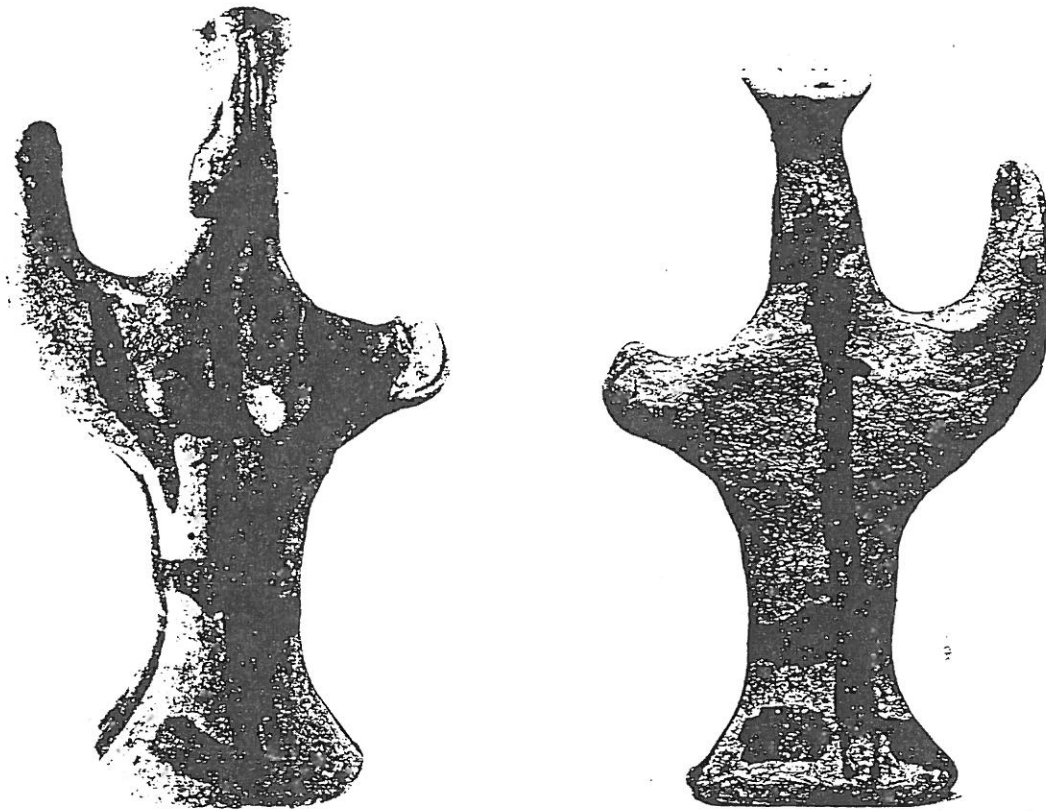


Figure 13.4. Terracotta figurine from Hala Sultan Tekke (photo Paul Åström).



Figure 13.6. Terracotta figurine from Enkomi, Musée du Louvre, AM2100 (photo Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figures 13.5a, b. Terracotta figurine from Cyprus, Musée du Louvre, AM159
(photo Réunion des Musées Nationaux).

ing sanctuaries of Enkomi, Kition, and Myrtou-Pigadhes (Figs. 13.7, 8), with their respective cult symbols, particularly the figurines of Begg's Types I and III mentioned above, but also the two well-known bronze figurines that were used as cult statues at Enkomi, the "Horned God" and the "Ingot God," the latter quite clearly justifying Begg's theory. This is a theme that has been expounded in great detail on several occasions by Knapp and others (for references, see Begg 1991; see also Knapp 1988). Such profound social, economic, and religious changes could not have occurred so suddenly had it not been for new ideas that were due to a new ethnic element that settled in Cyprus just after 1200 B.C.

In our recent study of the coroplastic art of Cyprus in this period attention was drawn to the Mycenaean and Minoan affinities of the bull figurines with wheel-made bodies (cf. also Kourou and Karetsou 1994). They have painted decoration, and are naturalistically rendered, with a dewlap, genitals, muzzle, and shoulder hump. Similar figurines existed during the same period in the Aegean (Karageorghis 1993:35–43).

A similar observation may be made about the new types of anthropomorphic figurines. The changes are manifested both in the style of some of the new types of figurines, recalling features of Aegean figurines, but also in the increased numbers of male figurines, compared to the LCII period (*ibid.*, pp. 26–32). These changes were already noted by Catling in 1971 (Catling 1971:30–31; cf. also *idem*, 1994a:149). Particularly worthy of mention are two female figurines of Aegean type, which are made of Cypriote clay and have matte-painted decoration; both were found in Cyprus. The first is in the Louvre (Karageorghis 1993: no. K(i)10); it has been described by Catling (1994a:150) as Mycenaean rather than an imitation, but he obviously has not examined the clay and paint of the figurine.¹ The other was discovered at Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström et al. 1983:68, N 2000, figs. 285 and 286).

Female figurines of Aegean appearance are also known in the 12th century B.C. in the Levant (Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, and Tell Qasile (Dothan 1982:234–249).

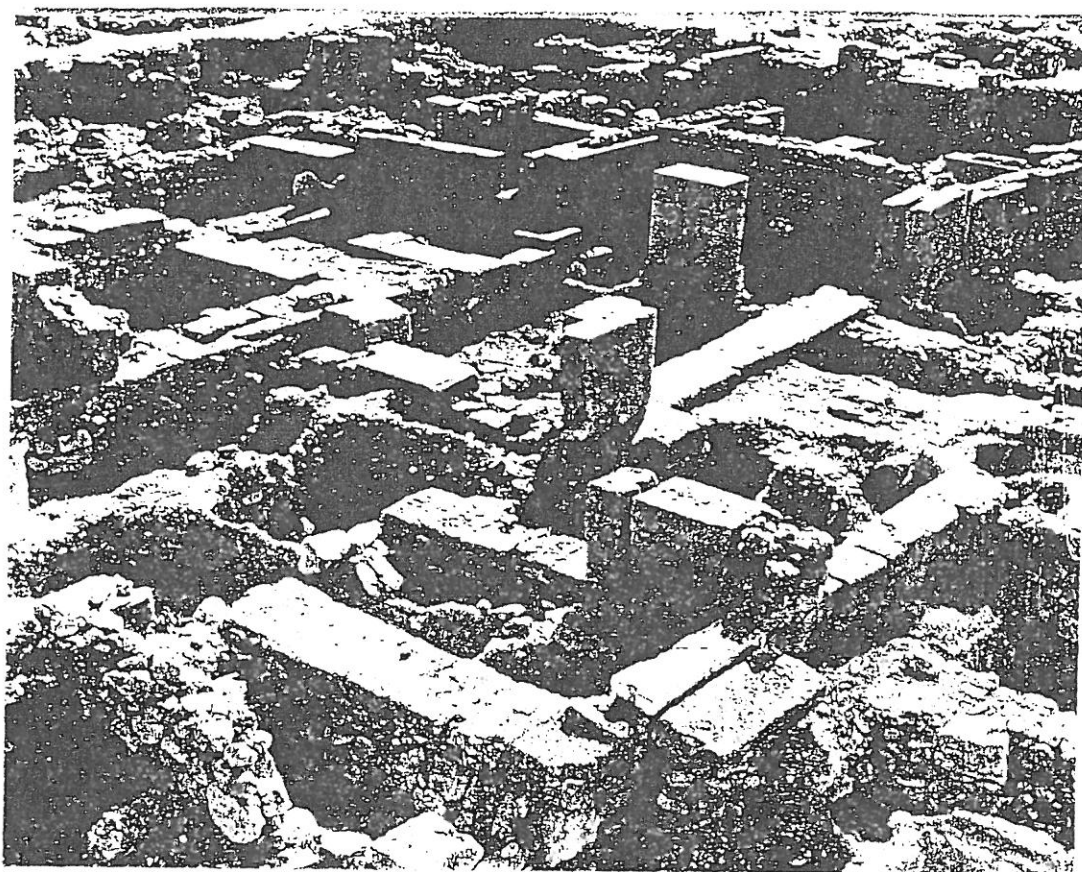


Figure 13.7. Enkomi. The Sanctuary of the Horned God (photo Cyprus Museum).

Bronzework

Ever since the publication of Catling's basic work on Cypriote bronzework during the Late Bronze Age it has been clear that the flourishing of metalworking in Cyprus during the 12th century B.C. may have owed much to the technological skills of the new Mycenaean immigrants, as well as to Levantine influences (Catling 1964:299–302; *idem* 1984, 77–78; *idem* 1986). At the same time Cyprus was a center of innovation in ironworking, which again may be partly attributable to the metallurgical skills of the new immigrants (Karageorghis 1994:4–6). The question of ironworking in Cyprus has been extensively discussed by various scholars (for references see *ibid.*). The possibility that Italy may have been the source of iron may be strengthened if we consider that this area may also have provided other commodities, in addition to metals: for example, alum, "an important mineral in leather working, textile dyeing, pharmacy and wood construction (Jones and Vagnetti 1991:141).

We have already referred to the Aegean connections of the two bronze statues (the Horned God and Ingot God) from Enkomi, though their Levantine connections (as well as those of other bronze figurines of the same period) cannot be denied. There was also a considerable increase in production of other bronze figurines, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, mainly of bulls. Furthermore we should mention the introduction of weapons of a Mycenaean type (Naue II-type swords and bronze greaves) (Fig. 13.9), both necessitated as a result of the adoption of the rail-type chariot, which was introduced from the Aegean. To these may be added items of personal use, such as fibulae, which constitute an innovation, gradually replacing the traditional Cypriote pin. It is not necessary to expand in detail on these new elements in Cypriote bronzework, which have already been discussed elsewhere (Karageorghis 1990a:27–30; *idem*, 1992:81).

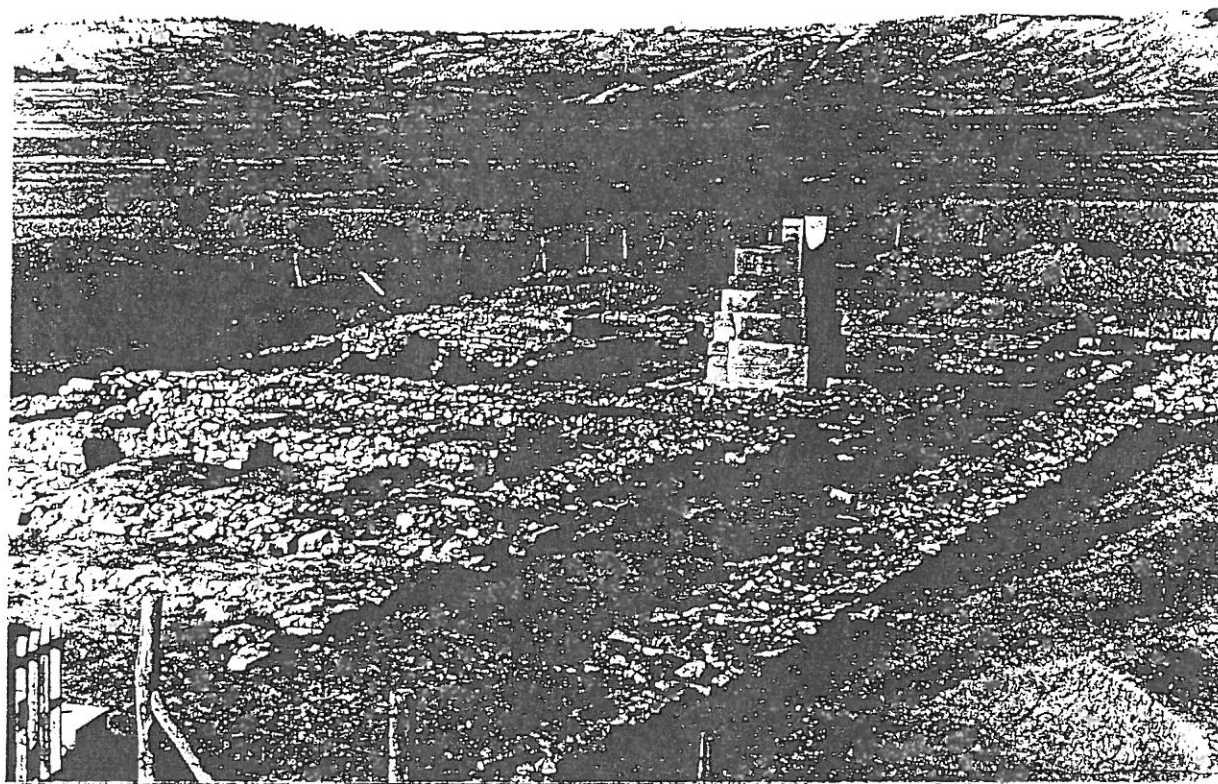


Figure 13.8. Myrtou-Pigadhes. The sanctuary (photo Cyprus Museum).

Religious Symbols

Although the ground plans of sanctuaries erected just after ca. 1200 B.C. are based on Levantine architectural tradition, as seen at Kition, at the same time there were some interesting innovations in the use of religious symbols. In some of the major sacred areas of the island, namely at Kition, Palaepaphos, and Myrtou-Phigadhes "horns of consecration" have been found, in association with monumental altars (Karageorghis 1990a:28). This symbol also occurs on a cul-

tic trough from Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Karageorghis 1976:76–78) and as part of the decoration of a locally made crater from Hala Sultan Tekke (Karageorghis 1990a:16, pl. X:1) (Fig. 13.10). Religious symbols appear very frequently on LMIIIB sarcophagi (e.g., Kanta 1980: pls. 36.1 and 113.1) as well as on LMIIIB vases (e.g., Tzedakis 1970:111–112; Popham 1970: fig. 3); one such vase was found at Pyla-Kokkinokremos in Cyprus (Dikaios 1969: pl. 237:1).

Ship Iconography

Ten years ago when Basch and Artzy studied the graffiti of ships engraved on the south wall of Temple I at Kition (Basch and Artzy 1985) (Fig. 13.11), they hesitated to pronounce on the identification of the

engravers. However, they compared the representations with Mycenaean ships of the end of the Late Bronze Age, and did not exclude their identification with the ships of the "Sea Peoples" (ibid., p. 336),

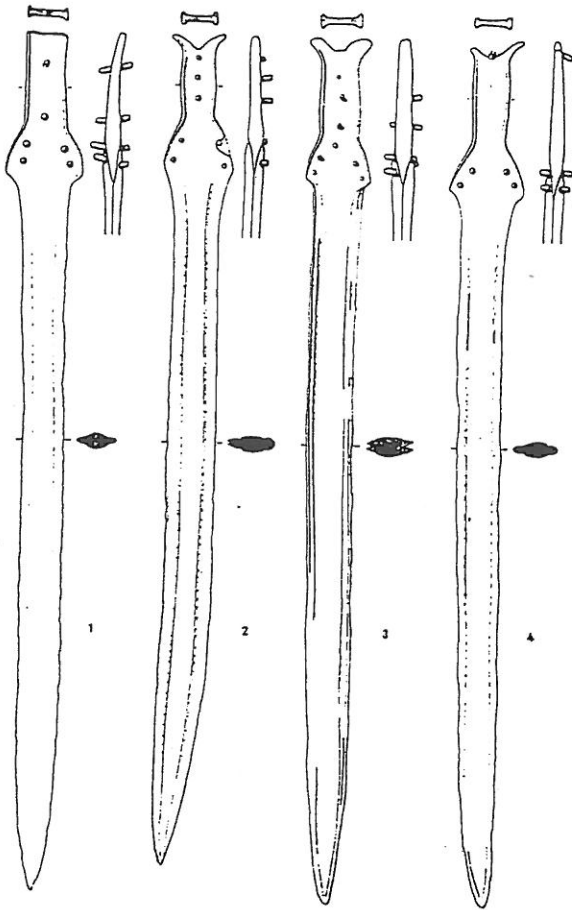


Figure 13.9. Bronze swords from Enkomi (after Schaeffer, *Alasia I*:410, fig. 18).

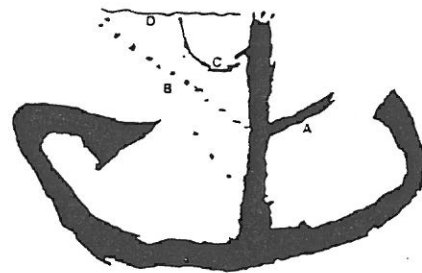
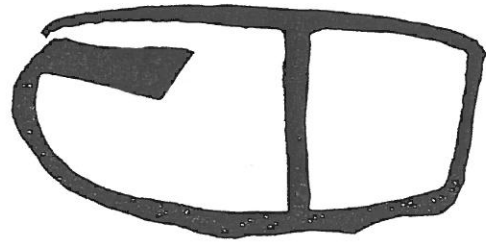


Figure 13.11. Drawings of ships engraved on stones at Kition.

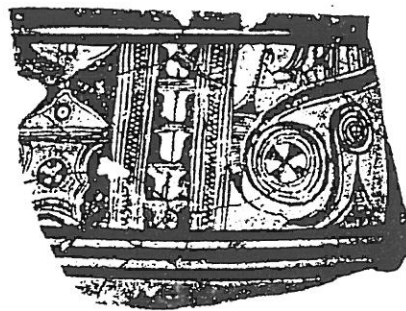
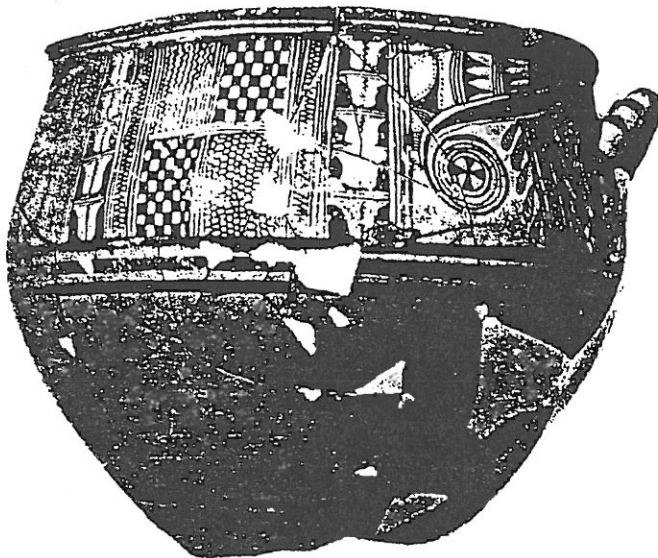


Figure 13.10. Two fragments from a crater from Hala Sultan Tekke (photo Cyprus Museum).

with their inwardly curved "fan" on the stem. In a communication read in an international symposium in 1994 Wachsmann was more explicit. In studying five depictions of "Sea Peoples" vessels as they appear in Ramses III's sea battle relief at Medinet Habu, he concludes: "these ships' architecture indicates that their prototype was an oared vessel with an open

rower's gallery that finds its closest parallels in contemporary Aegean (Mycenaean) ships. The bird-head device capping the stems of the Medinet Habu ships finds exact parallels in Aegean stem devices" (Wachsmann 1994:35, and in this volume; see also Basch 1994).

Loomweights

A large number of reels of unbaked clay, almost always in association with loomweights, have been found at sites such as Kition and Enkomi. A satisfactory interpretation of these objects has not yet been reached. L. Stager found 150 such reels at Ashkelon, in levels dating to the 12th century B.C. He compared them with those of Enkomi and Kition, but also with similar objects from Tiryns, Pylos, and Mycenae (Stager 1991:36–37, and n.12 for references; *idem* 1995:346). We may mention also some identical objects found at Knossos in Late Minoan IIIc levels, which have been associated with "gaming tables" (Warren 1982–1983:85, figs. 58, 73). Other

scholars consider them loomweights. Stager considers that these reels, identified as loomweights, which occur also at Tel Miqne-Ekron at the same period, provide "persuasive evidence" that they were "made and used by immigrant weavers" of Mycenaean origin. Though this proposal is very attractive, and the occurrence of these reels in the Aegean, Cyprus, and the Levant at the same time cannot be a coincidence, we need further research as to their possible use. Barber, in her excellent survey on ancient textiles, also associates these loomweights with the Sea Peoples (Barber 1991:302–303).

Tomb Architecture

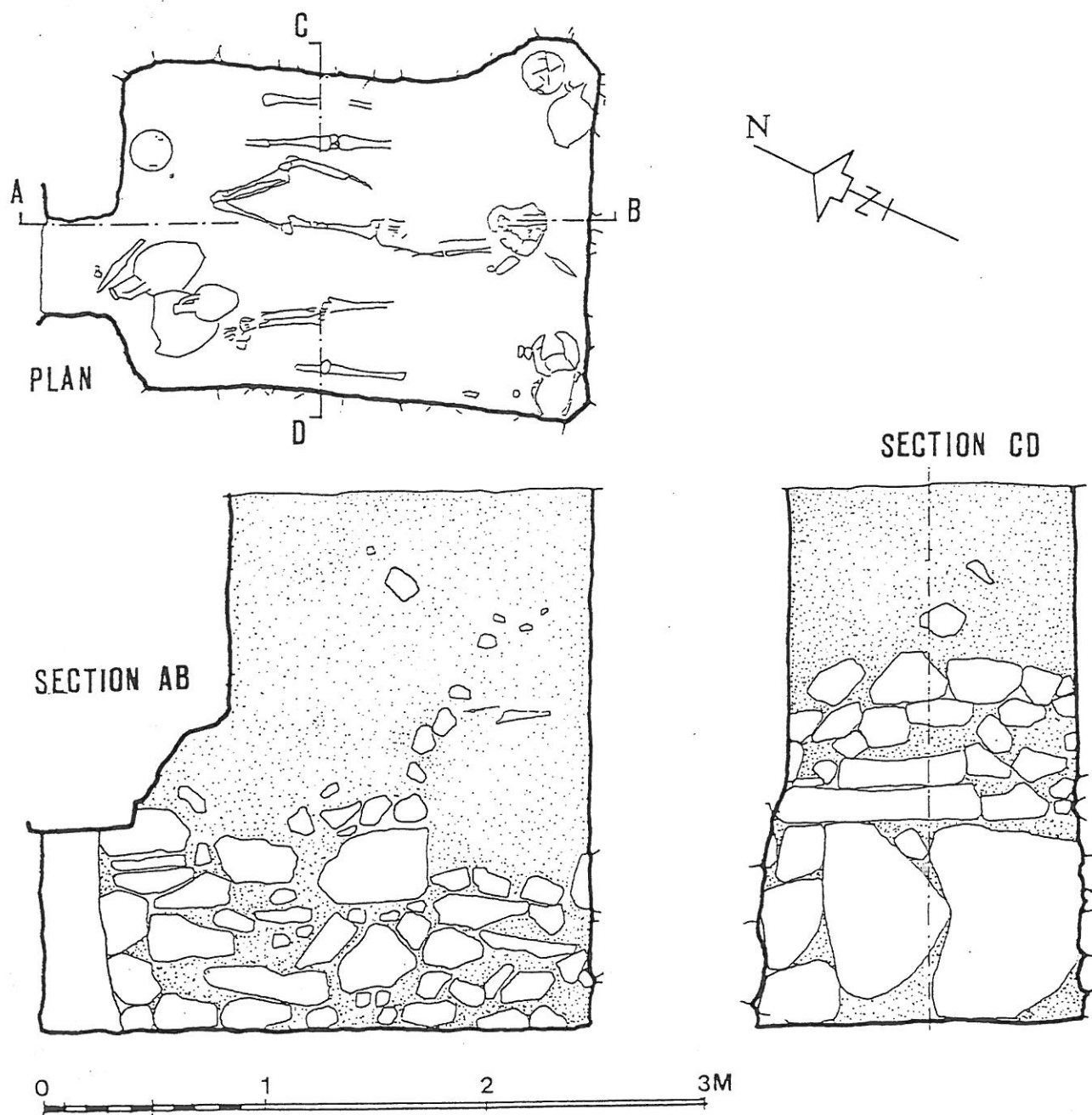
Dikaïos was very preoccupied by the appearance of the pit or shaft grave in the tomb architecture of Enkomi in the LCIIIA and B periods (Fig. 13.12), and he tried to explain it with various scenarios: that these tombs were used for emergency burials or for the autochthonous or less important people, and that the regular burials of more important people were made in separate cemeteries, perhaps outside the city wall, which have not yet been found. He realized, however, that "the problem is complex and pending further investigation . . . final judgement should be withheld" (Dikaïos 1969:431–433). A similar pit burial was found at Kition, which we dated to the end of the LCIIIA to the beginning of the LCIIIB period (Karageorghis 1960:514, 568–569). Dikaïos stressed the fact that in some of these tombs no gifts at all were found, and in others all the gifts were Cypriote, with no Myc.IIIC:1b-type pottery. It is true that this problem is evident at other Late Bronze Age sites in Cyprus.

At Palaepaphos, however, the picture is different. The excavator, F. G. Maier, reports:

Part of the cemetery of the first Achaeans immigrants has been discovered at Palaepaphos, in

contrast to contemporary sites in the east of the island. The Tomb in the Fosse contained three significant Mycenaean IIIC:1 deep bowls; not far from it the burial with exclusively Mycenaean IIIC:1 pottery was excavated; the Mycenaean pottery found in the Gate area on Site KA, coming most likely from destroyed tombs, yielded more Mycenaean IIIC:1 material. All this seems to provide evidence for the possible cemetery of the Achaeans. It is tempting to think that the new settlers preferred the higher burial grounds of *Marcello* and upper *Kaminia*, while the local population continued to bury their dead on the slopes of lower *Kaminia* and *Mantissa*, but this is a somewhat speculative hypothesis (Maier, in Maier and Karageorghis 1984:79).

It is unfortunate that a considerable proportion of the material (21 out of a total of 47 tombs) is not yet published. We have in mind the 21 shaft graves excavated at Palaepaphos-*Kaminia* by the British Mission of the St. Andrews and Liverpool Museums in 1950–1954 and which, forty years afterward, still remains unpublished (Cading 1979). These tombs are even more intriguing in the light of the short ac-



ENKOMI T. 15

Figure 13.12. Shaft grave from Enkomi (after Schaeffer, *Alasia I:231*, fig. 85).

count of them published by Catling (*ibid.*), who dates the cemetery to the LCIIIA-IIIB periods and underlines its "great potential interest" and "its suggestion of a marked distinction, whether of race or class, within the 12th century B.C. population of Kouklia" (*ibid.*, p. 273).

At Hala Sultan Tekke a shaft grave was excavated, Tomb 23, which has been dated to "the transition between LCIIIA1 and LCIIIA2, c.1175 B.C." (following Åström's dating of the LCIIIA period; Åström et al. 1983:183). Niklasson, who excavated this tomb, proposes that the burial

took place immediately or a short time after some of the buildings in the settlement had collapsed; this destruction seems to coincide with a series of catastrophes attested at several other, Late Cypriote IIIA1, occupation sites. It may be possible to connect these events with the ravaging of the so-called Sea Peoples, whose raids were ended by their defeat by Ramesses III in his eighth regnal year, c. 1176 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 185).

Karin Niklasson-Sönnerby made a useful general survey of all the shaft graves of the LCIII period hitherto found (Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987). A brief summary may be given here. The shaft graves are either rectangular or mere pits, dug in the rock or in earth, just large enough to provide room for the dead to be buried in a dorsal outstretched position with a few tomb gifts. Some are elaborately constructed, entirely or partially lined with rubble or masonry. The dead were accompanied by only a few personal objects, unlike the abundance of gifts attested to in the chamber tombs of the preceding period. The only exceptions are the rich burial in a shaft grave at Hala Sultan Tekke (mentioned above), where an adult was buried with a large number of rich gifts, and another rich shaft grave found at Kourion-Kaloriziki, Tomb 40, dating to the end of the LCIII period, where a rich assemblage of objects was found, including the famous gold and enamel scepter. The dead were cremated and there is strong evidence that the people buried in this tomb were of Greek origin (McFadden 1954:134; Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987:224). While admitting that this change in funerary architecture in the LCIII period may be interpreted as "based on changes due to external factors" (*ibid.* 1977:225),

Niklasson-Sönnerby is not specific as to how these changes came about. She would rather agree with Dikaios that those buried in the shaft graves, at Enkomi at least, were Cypriots who remained in the town after the destruction of Level IIC and the erection of the Level IIIA buildings (*ibid.*). This explanation is not very satisfactory, however, if we consider that the phenomenon of the shaft graves is not one isolated at Enkomi, but that it occurs also at Kition, Kourion, Palaepaphos, and Hala Sultan Tekke. Although we have nothing more precise to offer, we would record it as yet another novelty in the culture of Cyprus in LCIIIA, without excluding an influence from the Aegean. Whether this was the result of unstable conditions of poverty in the island (Iacovou 1994:158–159) or a result of uncertainty until the final abandonment of earlier cemeteries and the establishment of new ones, with the specifically Mycenaean-type tombs as seen at Alaas and elsewhere (*ibid.*) is a matter that should be investigated further. In the meantime it is interesting to note that similar phenomena (pit graves or cists) existed also in ~~LIII~~ ^{LIII-LHIIIC} Greece, alongside reused chamber tombs (Iakovides 1970:22–25; Dickinson 1983:66–67; *idem* 1994:228, 231; Hood 1991:910), and in LMIII Crete (Evans 1906:11–15; Hood 1958–1959).

In this respect we should also like to mention a type of tomb that is known in LMIII Crete (Khania and Knossos) and that also appears in the 11th century B.C. cemeteries of Alaas and Lapithos in Cyprus. In the publication of the cemetery of Alaas we suggested that this type of tomb was probably an adaptation of local Cypriote traditions. Hallager and McGeorge (1992:45), commenting on this type of tomb as it appears at Khania and Knossos, suggested a Cypriote origin, while Catling (1994b:35) very recently proposed that this is an Aegean-type tomb, a suggestion to which we would subscribe. At Zapher Papoura (Evans 1906:15–21, figs. 11a, b, and c) this type appears as early as the LMIIIA2 period. The "pit-cave" could also be compared with a type occurring at Perati in the 12th century B.C. (Iakovides 1970:24–25), for which, however, Catling proposes a different ancestry (personal communication, 9.3.95). At Knossos, the pit-cave also appears in the 11th century B.C. for the internment of cremated remains, which makes the connection with the Alaas tomb even more direct (Catling, 1994b:135).

Military Architecture

We have argued elsewhere that the introduction of "Cyclopean"-type walls at the very beginning of the LCIIIA period at Enkomi, Kition, Sinda, and Maa-

Palaekastro was (Fig. 13.13) due to the arrival of Mycenaean settlers in Cyprus (Karageorghis and Demas 1988:63–64; Karageorghis 1992:81). Is it acci-

dental that this major architecture should occur at sites where quite a number of other cultural changes occurred during the same period? This phenome-

non, taken together with all these changes (*ibid.*, pp. 80–81), is significant for determining the identity of those who caused it.

Hearths²

The appearance in Cyprus in the LCIIIA period of free-standing hearths, prominently positioned in large rooms, has already been remarked as one of the novelties that occurred at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. (Karageorghis and Demas 1988:60–61; Karageorghis 1992:81). Recently I had the opportunity to elaborate on this theme during an international conference on the "Sea Peoples" held in Jerusalem; thus I shall give here only a brief summary of that paper.

Dikaios stressed the importance of free-standing hearths at Enkomi, and drew comparisons with hearths in "megaron"-type buildings in the Aegean (Dikaios 1969; 1971:48–49, 106, 112, 113, 174–175, 183, 186). Such hearths occupy a prominent place in large rooms at Enkomi, occasionally in association with benches where people could sit (Fig. 13.14). At Maa-Palaeokastro (Karageorghis and Demas 1988:

60–62) similar hearths appear in "assembly halls," in which people gathered mainly for eating and drinking (Fig. 13.15). A hearth was recently brought to light in a room of a large ashlar building at Alassa-Paliotaverna, most probably dating to the LCIIIA period (Hadjisavvas 1994; see now Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavvas 1997). A hearth with substratum of pithos sherds was found at Hala Sultan Tekke in the center of a large hall dating to the early 12th century B.C. (mentioned here with the kind permission of the excavator, Prof. Paul Åström).

In the Aegean, hearths appear in palaces (Mycenae, Pylos, Tiryns, Mallia), but also in ordinary houses, e.g., in Mycenae and Khania (Crete) (for a general account see Werner 1993). The free-standing hearths in the Levant, namely at Tel-Miqne, Tel Qasile, and Ashkelon are well known.³

Bathrooms and Bathtubs

In publishing the limestone bathtub found in an 11th-century B.C. tomb at Palaepaphos (Karageorghis 1983:437–438), I suggested that the introduction of baths and bathtubs in Cyprus in the 12th century B.C. might be associated with the arrival in the island of new ethnic elements from the Aegean, who introduced a number of novelties as described above. In this paper I will attempt to strengthen the arguments in favor of this proposal, in the light of further evidence that has come to light since then.

The earliest terracotta "bath-shaped basin" so far known from Cyprus was found on the floor of the Ayios Iakovos Sanctuary, dating to the 14th century B.C. The excavators describe it as a "terracotta bath-shaped basin, placed in a shallow pit in the rock. The edges rose 0.33 m above the floor. The exterior dimensions of the basin are 1.28 x 0.63 x 0.47 and the average thickness of the wall is 0.05 m. . . . The bottom of the basin consists of a flat, sawn piece of conglomerate" (Gjerstad et al. 1934:356, 358 no. 52). The main accumulation of votive gifts was found in and around this basin (*ibid.*, p. 359), which also con-

tained ashes and burnt bones (Åström 1972:1). It is not certain whether this basin was ever used as a bathtub, or whether it really resembled a bathtub. It has not survived, as far as we know, and the published photographs (Gjerstad et al. 1934:360, figs. 136 and 137) are not very helpful in reconstructing the original shape.

Enkomi, as might be expected, has provided a number of examples of bathtubs, in association with bathrooms. One, carved out of a single block of limestone, was found in a LCIIIA context text, inside a bathroom(?) in a private house within the complex of the large ashlar building known as "Bâtiment 18." It was found by Schaeffer and was published by Courtois (1992); its present location is not known. It measures 1.23 x 0.68 x 0.64 m, with four rectangular projections below the rim forming the handles.

Four examples of terracotta bathtubs were also found during Schaeffer's excavations. One was found east of Bâtiment 18, in a house that may be considered as an annex of the latter building. It measures 1.40 m x 0.58 (w.), and had only two handles, one in

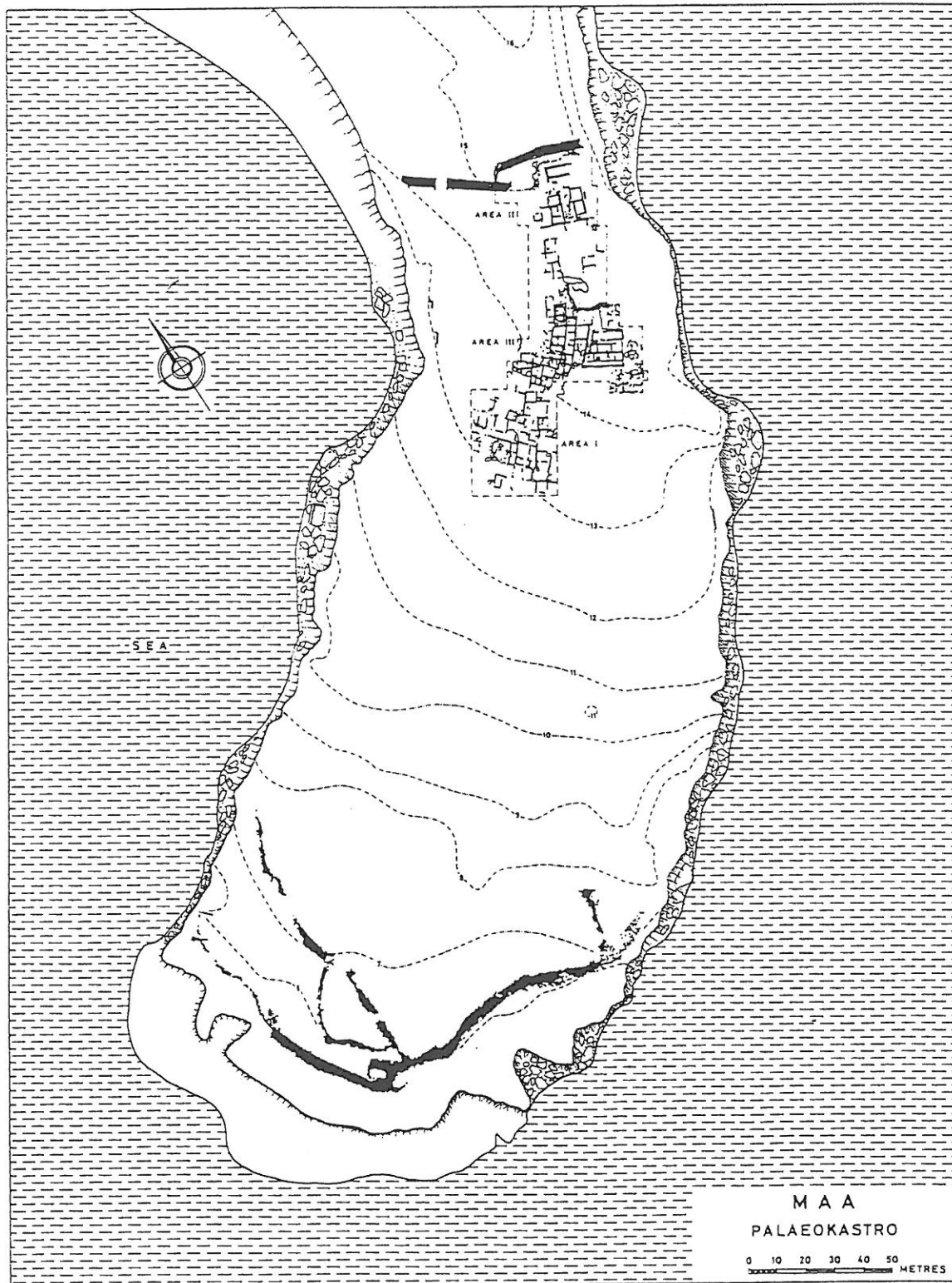
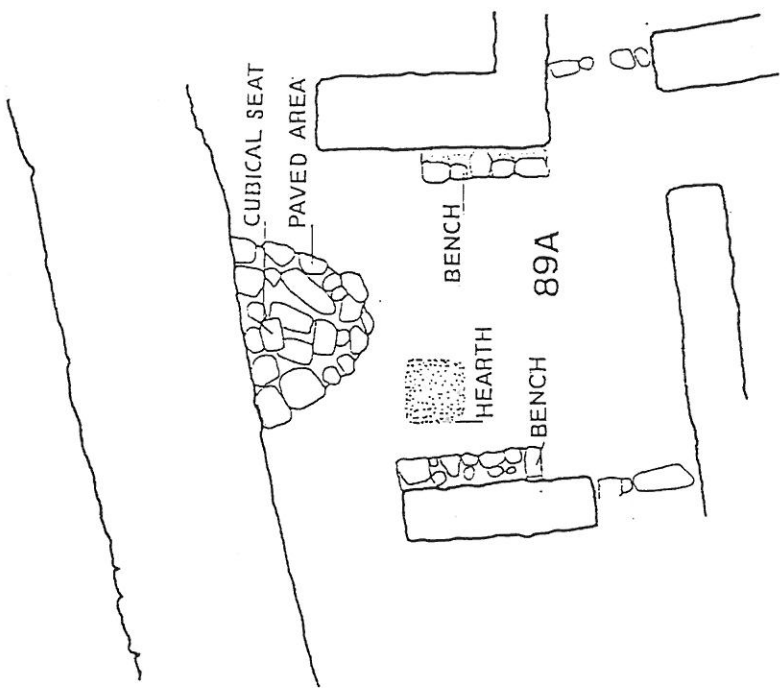
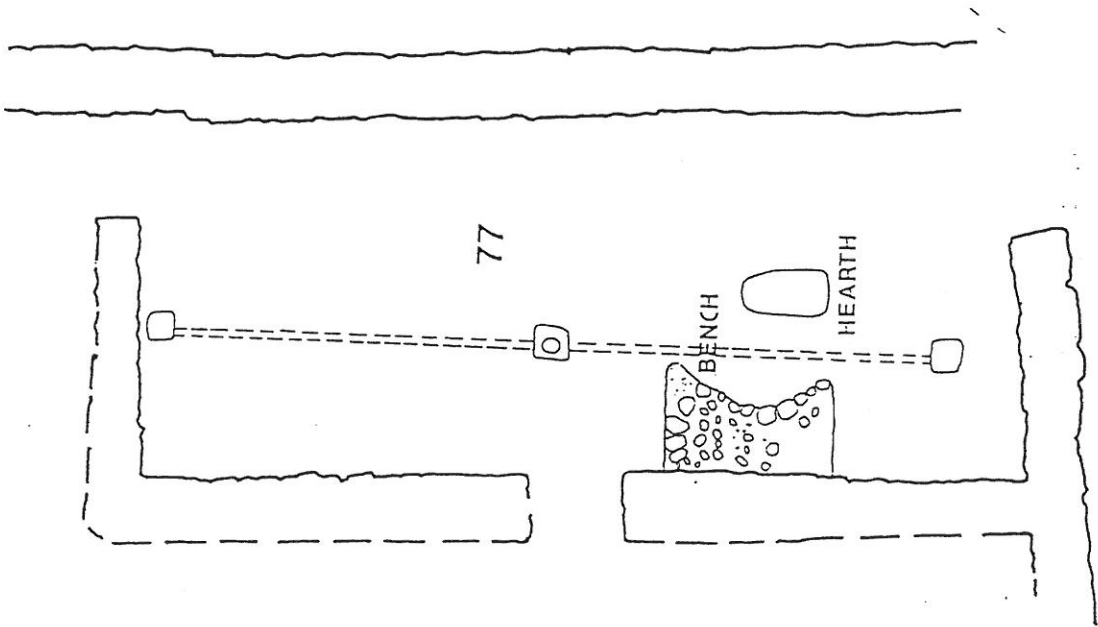


Figure 13.13. The peninsula of Maa-Palaeokastro with excavated areas (I, II, III) and the Northern and Southern Fortifications.



ENKOMI, AREA III



ENKOMI, AREA III

Figure 13.14. Hearths at Enkomi (after Dikaios, Enkomi, Excavations 1948-1958).

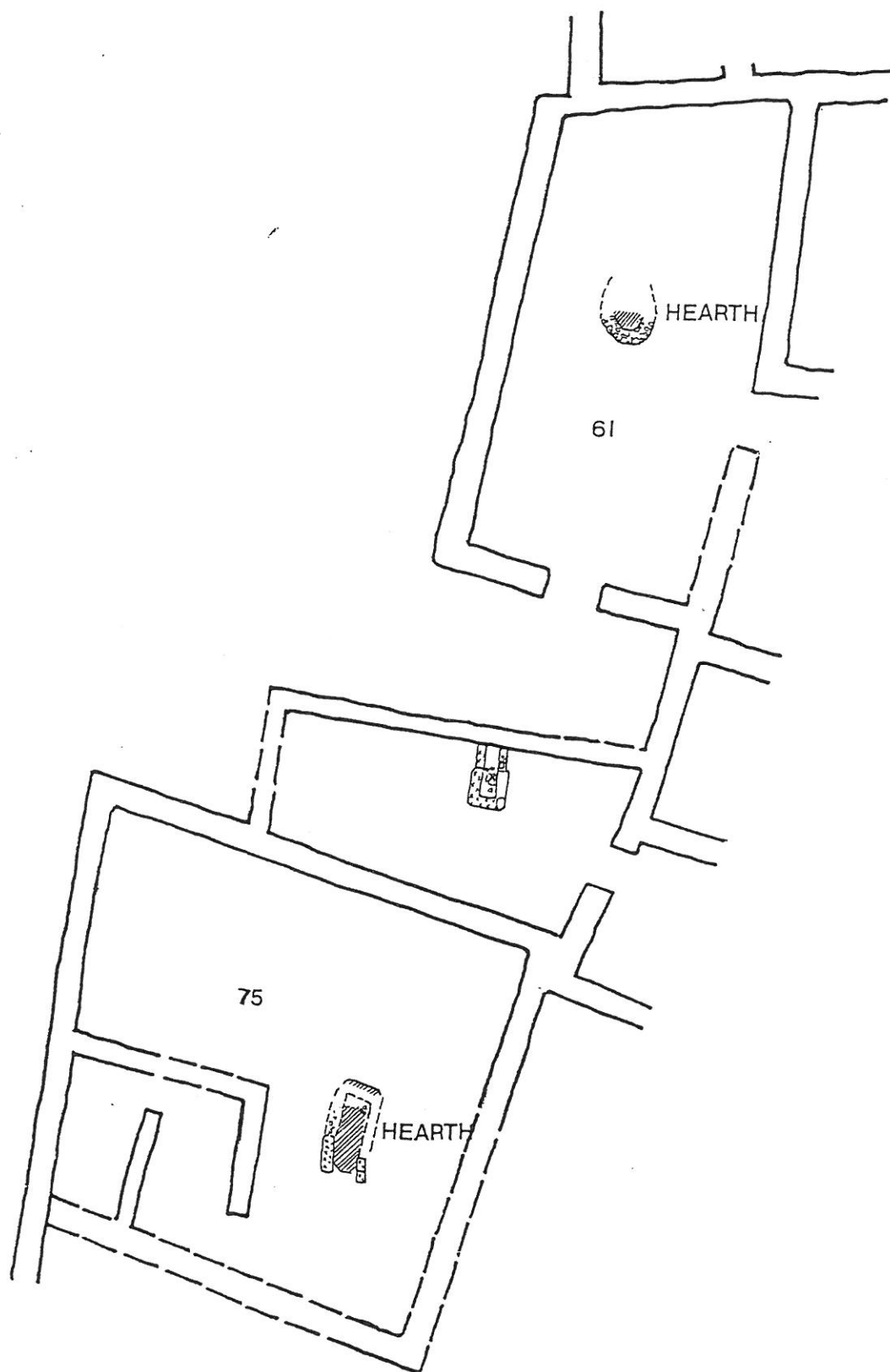


Figure 13.15. Hearths at Maa-Palaeokastro.

the middle of each side. It was found next to a large built well. The second one, measuring 1.75 m x 0.70(w.) was found in a house west of Bâtiment 18, resting against a wall; only two handles on one side were recorded. Schaeffer showed both these bathtubs on the general plan of the site but described them as "sarcophages" (Schaeffer 1952: pls. IX and LXXXVII). We have not been able to trace the whereabouts of these two bathtubs.

A third bathtub, also of terracotta, was found in a house in Quartier 4E (Courtois 1992:152–153, n. 2) and a fourth in Quartier 5W, this time upside down (Courtois and Lagarce 1986:52, pl. XIV.4). The fourth bathtub measures 1.10 x 0.54 x 63.5(h.) and has a hole as an outlet at the bottom, in the middle of one of the short sides. It is quite probable that it may be the one we published as possibly from Enkomi (Karageorghis 1983:435, fig. 1). A fifth clay bathtub may also have been found; a photo of it was kindly sent to me by E. and J. Lagarce, but its present location is not known.

Bathtubs were also found at Enkomi by Dikaios. Two limestone bathtubs are recorded in Area III, Level IIIA: one of them measures 0.76 x 0.50 m and was found in an area paved with slabs, near a well (Dikaios 1969:107). The other one, also in Area III, was found in Level IIIA, on a concrete floor, but may also have continued to be used in Level IIIB (*ibid.*, p. 141). Two other bathtubs, one of them fragmentary, were found in the Ashlar Building in Levels IIIA and IIIB respectively, the first one in fragments (*ibid.*, p. 181). The other is recorded as rectangular, 0.80 x 0.45 m, and was found in the reconstructed Ashlar Building. In the same building a very interesting feature is recorded. In Room 40 a toilet was found: a slab with a central perforation, 50 cm in diameter, was placed over a pit; at a later stage a wall screened off the toilet; the remaining part of the room was covered with a fine concrete floor and, according to Dikaios, was presumably used as a bathroom (*ibid.*, p. 205). This feature demonstrates the high degree of progress in hygienic installations at Enkomi. Other bathrooms with fine cement floors are recorded at Enkomi, mainly in Level IIIA (*ibid.*, pp. 98, 107, 148).

Bathtubs of terracotta have been recorded from other Late Bronze Age sites in Cyprus, as follows:

KALAVASSOS-AYIOS DHIMITRIOS

A bathtub was discovered in a large "official" room 11.50 x 3.90 m, of LCIIIC date, not far to the south of the "palatial" Building X (Fig. 13.16). In the north-east corner of the room was a terracotta bathtub (1.00 m x 0.65(w.) x 0.63(h.)), sunk below floor level, with its rim projecting a short distance above

the floor surface; the floor itself was a hard white plaster (South 1980:38–39). The tub has an outlet hole, two vertical loop handles on each side, and it is decorated with four parallel relief bands on the exterior. As South rightly remarks, it is unlikely that this large room was used as a bathroom, and the bathtub must have been put there for some other purpose (*ibid.*, p. 39).

ALASSA-PALIO TAVERNA

In a room of the large ashlar building that was recently uncovered (see also hearth room in the same building, mentioned above) a clay bathtub is reported almost identical with that found in the sanctuary at Palaepaphos (Hadjisavvas 1994:112, pl. XIX:2).

MAA-PALAEOKASTRO

Though a large number of fragments of terracotta bathtubs were found at this site, both on Floors I and II (LCIIIA) (Karageorghis and Demas 1988:226, 235, 249–251), it is only in one room that an almost complete specimen was found, Room 79 of Building III, no. 588. It was found smashed within the debris of Floor II, above the pithos paving (*ibid.* 1988:29). It has straight sides, with two vertical loop handles on each side; it is perforated at the base through one of the short sides (0.995 m x 0.51(w.) x 0.567(h.); *ibid.*, pls. LXI, CLXXXIV). Though no doubt some of these bathtubs may have been used originally for bathing, in some cases they may have been simply used to hold water or another liquid.



Figure 13.16. Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios. Bathtub in situ (after RDAC [1980]:36, fig. 4).

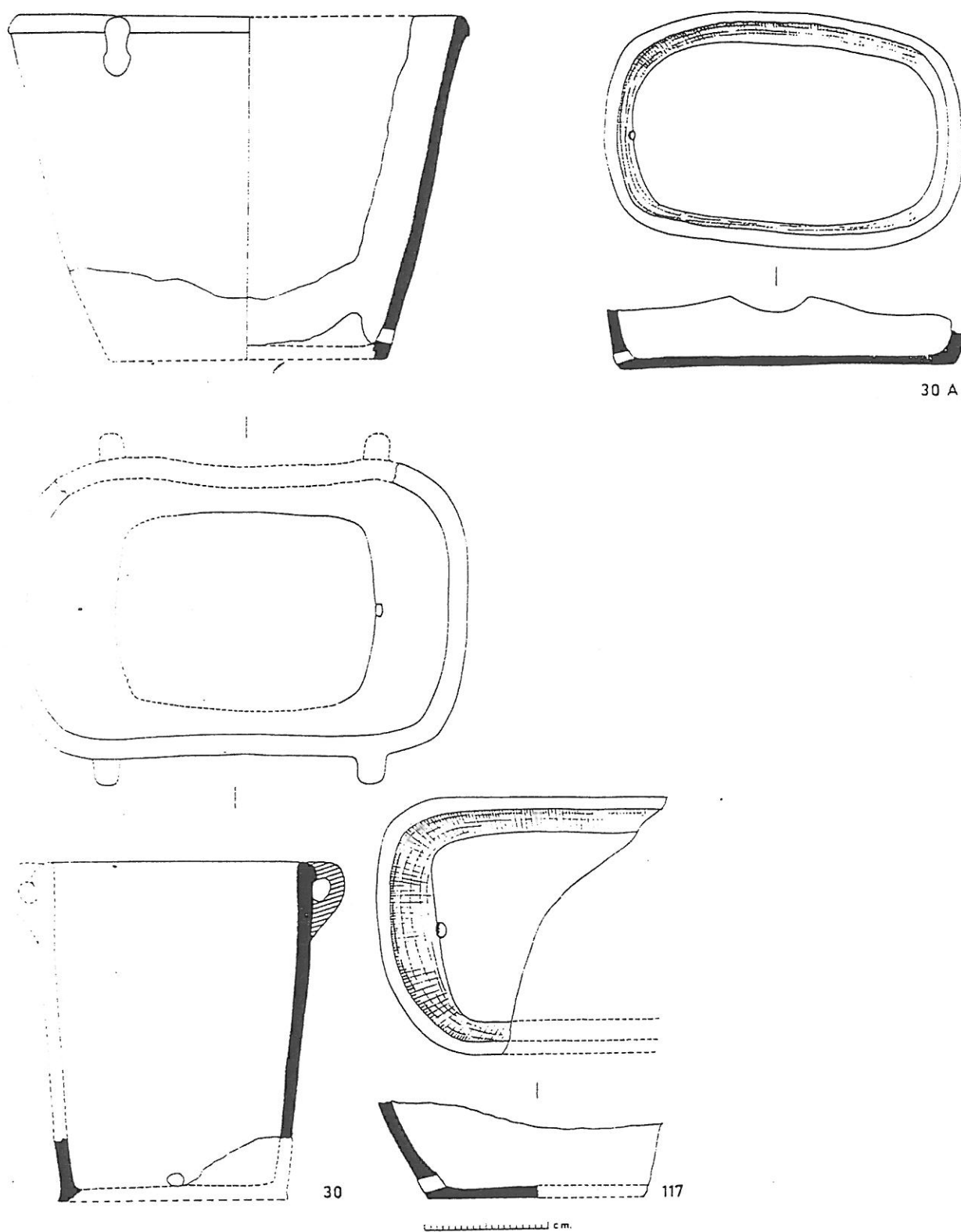


Figure 13.17. Bathtubs found at Pyla-Kokkinokremos.

PYLA-KOKKINOKREMOS

Within the relatively small area that was excavated at this site, three terracotta bathtubs have been found: nos. 30, 30A, and 117 and one (fragmentary) in limestone (Karageorghis and Demas 1984:35, 52, 59, pls. XXI, XLII) (Fig. 13.17). The terracotta examples have four handles and an outlet hole. No. 30 is the only more or less complete example, measuring 74 cm. in length, 57.4 cm in height, and 46 cm in width. It is too short for an adult to have lain flat, but one could have sat in it.

KITION

Only one fragment of a terracotta bathtub has been found at Kition (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:Part II, 30, 34, no. 913/1) in the residential-industrial Area I, in a LCIIIA context. In the same area there is a room with a finely cemented floor, which may be identified with a bathroom (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:Part I, 9-12). There is a similar case at Enkomi (Dikaïos 1969:57-58), where a bathroom is located in the midst of an industrial quarter.

HALA SULTAN TEKKE

There is no published evidence for bathtubs from this site. A room with a stone slab floor and with walls revetted with regular plaques of limestone, dating to the LCIIIA period, has been identified as a bathroom or well-house (Åström et al. 1977:78-79, figs. 73-77). At one end of this room a "well" was found, covered by a slab with a hole in the middle; this was obviously used as a latrine. The identification as a bathroom is by no means certain, although the association of this example with Minoan bathrooms or lustral basins is very tempting (cf. Graham 1987:255-269). If this is correct, it is yet another example of influence from Crete, which adds to the other cultural elements of a Cretan nature (e.g., pottery and religious symbolism) mentioned above.

PALAEPAPHOS

A terracotta bathtub, 72 cm long, was found in the Late Cypriote III "Sanctuary of Aphrodite;" it was discovered in fragments in a deep, narrow, rock-cut trench in the Hall of the sanctuary. It has an outlet hole, and its size may be compared with that of Pyla-Kokkinokremos, described above (Maier 1976:95-96, pl. XIX.4; Maier and Karageorghis 1984:94-96, fig.

78). Its function in the sanctuary cannot be defined with certainty (cf. Karageorghis 1983:438).

The limestone bathtub from an 11th-century B.C. tomb at Palaepaphos-Skales is already well known. It is the most elaborate limestone bathtub found up to now in Cyprus. Its dimensions are larger than those of the majority of the clay bathtubs described above, and it is slightly larger than the limestone bathtub from Enkomi. It was not used as a coffin (cf. bathtubs from Kourion-Bamboula, below), but its function in the tomb is not absolutely certain. We suggested that like the bathtubs found in sacred places, it may have been used for purification rituals (ibid., p. 438).

KOURION-BAMBOULA

In a tomb recently excavated at Bamboula a clay bathtub was found (Fig. 13.18). It is dated to the end of the LCIIIB—beginning of the Cypro-Geometric I period. It has two loop handles on either side and measures 0.92 x 0.62 x 0.63 m. (h.) Like the Palaepaphos-Skales bathtub, it was not used as a coffin for a burial; several tomb-gifts were found in it (Christou 1994:180-183, figs. 6, 9:6; and personal communication).

From the foregoing it is quite clear that the LCIIIA period coincided with the appearance in Cyprus, apart from the communal halls with hearth, of another feature, the extensive use of bathtubs, mainly in domestic quarters but also occasionally in association with sacred areas and tombs. Such bathtubs are known in the Aegean (for references, see Karageorghis 1983:437 n. 16).

We mention in particular the bathrooms of the palaces of Tiryns and Pylos. At Tiryns the three-room bathroom complex was located near the main megaron (Müller 1930:150). It is not certain that a bathtub sherd found on the Acropolis belonged to this bathing complex. At the Palace of Pylos a bathtub was found in a bathroom, Room 43, near the throneroom. It may have been used by the king and also by important visitors (Blegen and Rawson 1966:186-189). The bathtub, with handles, was small, like most of the Cypriote bathtubs, in which the bather sat while water was poured over him by an attendant (ibid., p. 188). Another bathtub was found in the House of the Frescoes at Mycenae (Taylour 1964:55), but it must have had a sacred or ritual function. An oval hearth is set in the center of the room, with a bench nearby. The ritual use of this bathtub may be compared with that of the bathtub found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos.

Several possible bathrooms in Mycenaean houses have been suggested, but the only certain examples are those lying within palatial complexes. Bathtubs, however, have been found at several sites, mainly dat-

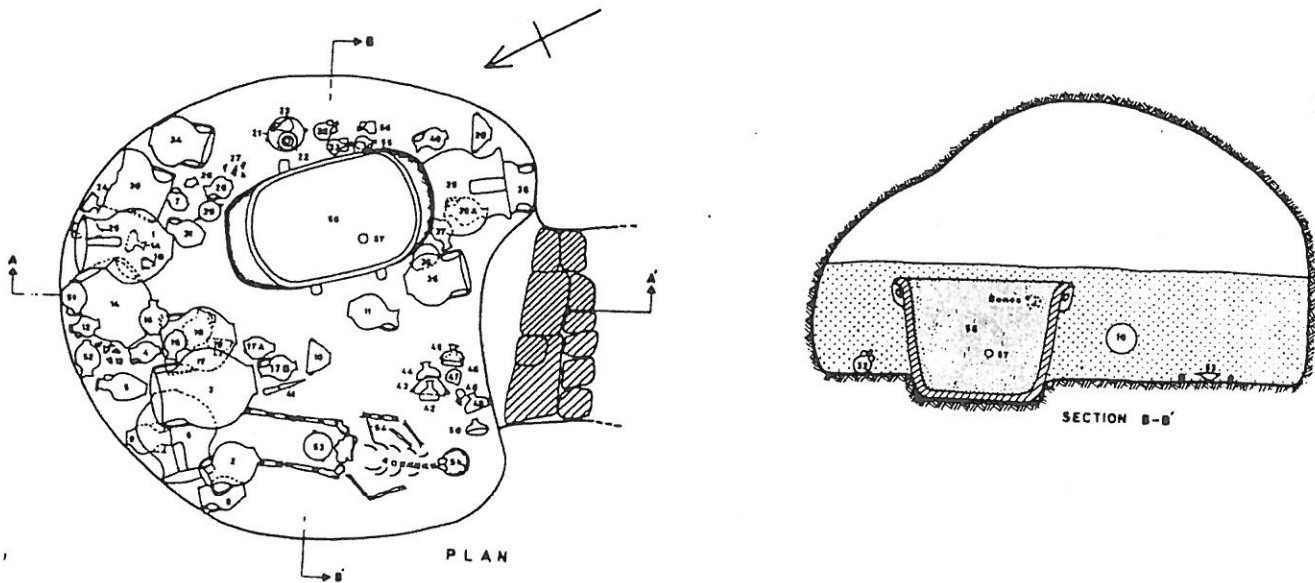


Figure 13.18. Kourion-Bamboula. Bath tub found in tomb 35.

ing to the LHIIIB period (e.g., at Mycenae, Pylos, Zygouries, and Midea⁴), though there were earlier bathtubs in Crete (Vandenabeele and Olivier 1979: 177-179).

Bathrooms were known in Minoan Crete from the MMIII period onward and were used both as ordinary bathrooms for cleaning the body as well as "lustral basins" for ceremonial and ritual purposes (Graham 1987:255-269). Clay bathtubs were used in bathrooms, but the same type of basin was also used for burials (Ginouves 1962:29-32). Ginouves rightly suggests that they were primarily used as bathtubs and that their form made them suitable also to be used as sarcophagi (*ibid.*, p. 29 and n. 1; see also Rutkowski 1968).

It seems reasonable to propose that bathtubs and bathing were yet another innovation that came from the Aegean, together with so many other ideas that were introduced at the same time. Apart from the real bathtubs of clay and limestone, attention should be drawn to a number of miniature bathtubs of stone and ivory found in Cyprus and dating to the same period (Karageorghis 1983:437, nn. 14 and 15; *idem* 1990b:107). The LCIIIC date of the bathtub from Kalavassos does not change the overall impression.

Apart from Cyprus and the Aegean, bathtubs are also known in the Levant. We mention one in terracotta from Tell Abu Hawam (Hamilton 1935:24, no.

100, pl. XXXVI), which does not differ much from those of Cyprus. It was found broken, but in position, in Stratum III (1100-925 B.C.).

A clay bathtub in secondary use was found in Stratum XII at Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1963:72, pl. 2.2-3).

The recent excavations at Tel Mique-Ekron have brought to light a fragmentary stone bathtub "found in one of the rooms of a building adjacent to a large megaron-type building. The bathtub is from Stratum VI, dated to the last two thirds of the 12th century B.C.E." (personal communication from Dothan and Gitin, 23.8.94).

A clay bathtub from Akko, with four loop handles and four horizontal parallel ridges all round below the handles—very similar to that found at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios (see above)—was also found in a tomb that is dated, according to the excavator, to the 14th century B.C. (Ben-Arieh and Edelstein 1977:19, pl. XV.10). It is attributed to "the Aegean cultural sphere" (*ibid.*). (Not having seen the object, or the material found in the tomb, we cannot pronounce an opinion on the date of the tomb, but from the published photos of the Cypriote vases it seems that the suggested date may be too high).

The chest-shaped larnax from Gezer, found in a tomb, is not a bathtub but a real coffin, dating to the LBAI period (for references, see *ibid.*, p. 19, n. 44).

A large terracotta bathtub, measuring 1.41 m x 0.82 x 0.65(h.), was found at Tel Dan. According to the excavator, it "served some cultic purpose" (Biran 1994:174, fig. 136), and had a raised flat seat at one end. It may be contemporary with the bathtub from Gezer (10th century B.C.). A fragment of a clay bathtub was found in the old excavations at Tell Qasile (mentioned here with the kind permission of A. Mazar). At Megiddo a clay bathtub was found in a

room with a cemented floor, which has been identified by the excavators as a wine or oil press, in Stratum VI and is dated to 1150–1100 B.C. (Loud 1948:45, fig. 386, Room 2022). There is also another clay bathtub from Megiddo Stratum III-II (Lamon and Shipton 1939: pls. 18.91 and 54). For a possible stone bathtub from Megiddo Stratum VIA, see Loud, *op. cit.* 45, fig. 87.

Conclusions

An important aspect of the problem of the "Sea Peoples" is that of the origin of these newcomers. The question arises whether the cultural changes observed in Cyprus can be linked with one or more regions in the Aegean or elsewhere. Pottery should be more helpful than other aspects of material culture, but the existing evidence does not seem to offer conclusive results.

Jalkotzy has recently suggested, perhaps rightly, that the newcomers "either had been natives of the Aegean, or else . . . had been acculturated to the Mycenaean civilization" (Deger-Jalkotzy 1994:19). It is true that the newcomers to Cyprus did not bring with them the Linear B script of the Aegean. This may suggest that they came to the island from other regions of the Aegean, having in the meantime lost the art of writing. The fact that "horns of consecration," which is a distinctly Minoan religious symbol, is among the new introductions may support the hypothesis that some may have come from Crete. Furthermore all the other cultural changes that occurred in Cyprus at the beginning of the 12th century B.C., including free-standing hearths and "Barbarian" ware, are also found on Crete. It may not be accidental that, in addition to the Peloponnese (Arcadia), from where the bulk of the Greek-speaking immigrants may have come in the 11th century B.C., some of them may also have originated from Crete, bringing with them the "Goddess with uplifted arms" and other elements of their culture (Karageorghis 1968; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994:23–24). In this respect we should underline what has already been suggested by Coldstream (1994:144–145) that the 12th-century B.C. establishment of Aegeans in Cyprus was well organized, following their earlier commercial relations with Cyprus. This no doubt helped them to choose their new homes during the 11th-century migrations. More research is necessary to find out whether there are particularly close resemblances between the

"Myc. III C:1b"-style pottery of the Levant and that of Crete (cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 1994:17). It can be convincingly argued that the newcomers did not come to Cyprus immediately after the destruction of the palaces on the Mycenaean mainland (*ibid.*), but rather that their arrival in Cyprus may have occurred sometime after these destructions. In the meantime they may have sought refuge in other places in the Aegean before sailing further east to Cyprus and the Levant⁵ (see also Stager 1995:348). Finally it must again be stressed that the changes described above did not alter the local Cypriot culture completely and overnight, but there was certainly continuity and cohabitation. It is significant that these changes did not all occur at the same time, or indeed in the same way. Some towns were destroyed (such as Enkomi), others abandoned (Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios), and others rebuilt (Kition), while at least two new military outposts were built (Maa-Palaeokastro and Pyla-Kokkinokremos). But we cannot overlook the extent of the cultural changes that took place all over the island, and the permanence of their effect, which was to be felt even more deeply in the 11th century B.C.

The preceding discussion does not solve the problems related to the "Sea Peoples," neither that of their identity, nor the exact time of their activities. The discussions about the nature of their involvement in Cyprus and the extent of their responsibility for the changes observed at the close of the Late Bronze Age on the island will no doubt continue to cause controversy. But as was stated at the beginning of this paper, the only hope of one day finding a solution, or at least a relative consensus, is to examine the evidence as a whole, not just pottery or bronzes in isolation, and place it within a broad Mediterranean context, comparing it with similar events elsewhere in the Levant. I hope that this paper offers a small contribution in this direction.

Notes

1. Elizabeth French commented on this figurine as follows: "The banding can be paralleled on the mainland in LHIIIC but the uneven arms not—this is an earlier rare feature. The type is Mycenaean but it is clearly locally produced. This would suit the overall LHIIIC picture very well." (personal communication 13.4.95).
2. Thanks are due to my Research Assistant Maria Philokyprou, who collected much of the bibliography on hearths as well as bathtubs for our weekly seminars at the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus.
3. For references see the Proceedings of the Jerusalem Conference referred to above.
4. For this section of my paper on Aegean bathtubs, I have profited considerably from the unpublished doctoral thesis of Thea K. Smith, who kindly sent me the relevant chapters. For further references, see also Vandenabeele and Olivier 1979:176–180. Also worthy of mention is a clay sarcophagus in the shape of a bathtub found in a chamber tomb at Khania; it recalls the bathtubs from Palaepaphos and Kourion, but this one, unlike the Cypriote examples, was used for a burial (Godart and Tzedakis 1992:55).
5. I have profited greatly by a discussion of these matters with Sigrid Jalkotzy in Salzburg, in March 1995.

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