

UGARIT-FORSCHUNGEN

Internationales Jahrbuch
für die
Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas

Herausgegeben von
Wilfred Watson • Nicolas Wyatt

Band 48
2017



$$\frac{U}{F}$$

2017

Inhalt

Artikel

Noga Ayali-Darshan

- The Death of Mot and his Resurrection (KTU³ 1.6 II, V)
in the Light of Egyptian Sources 1

Shlomo Bahar

- Biblical Hebrew Parallels to Phrases and Expressions in the El Amarna
Letters from Canaan that are elsewhere unattested in Akkadian 21

Stefan Bojowald

- Ein neuer Anlauf zur Erklärung des Wortes *grf*
in der ägyptischen Hungersnotstele 29

Joachim Bretschneider – Athanasia Kanta – Jan Driessen

- Pyla-Kokkinokremos (Cyprus). Preliminary Report on the 2015-2016
Campaigns 35

Teresa Bürge – Peter M. Fischer

- New Insights on Burial Practices at the Late Bronze Age City of
Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus 121

Israel Finkelstein

- What the Biblical Authors knew about Canaan before and in the
Early Days of the Hebrew Kingdoms 173

Erasmus Gaß

- Jeremia und der Überrest von Aschdod (Jer 25,20)
Der schwierige Spagat zwischen Realität und Fiktion..... 199

Graciela Gestoso Singer

- Beyond Amarna: The “Hand of Nergal” and the Plague in the Levant 223

Jean-Georges Heintz – Rijad Mehmedi – Jana Mynářová – Juan-Pablo Vita

- Bibliographie d’El-Amarna: Supplément VI [2008 – 2017]
– [= Supplément à I.D.E.A., Vol. 2 (1995), pp. 1-119] –
[Addenda & Corrigenda – Édition du 27 Juillet 2017] 249

Josué J. Justel – Bárbara E. Solans

- L’accadico di Emar by S. Seminara: an “Index of texts”
and Other Resources 273

Szabolcs-Ferencz Kató

- Baal auf seinem Kriegswagen in KTU 1.3 IV 25–27? Ein neuer Vorschlag... 363

Shirly Natan-Yulzary

- The Use of Resumptive Repetition for the Construction
of Time and Space in the Ugaritic Epic of Aqhat 373

Juan Oliva

- Zum Hurritischen und zum Akkadischen des Qaṭna-Briefes TT2
mit historischer Einzelauswertung 391

Yitzhak Paz

- Prisoners of Worship? Interpreting the ‘Orant’ Posture
in Ancient Near Eastern Imagery 413

Clemens Steinberger

- RS 25.460: Ein Marduk-Hymnus zwischen Tradition und Innovation 431

Ryan Thomas

- אלקנהארץ: Creator, Begetter, or Owner of the Earth? 453

Juan-Pablo Vita

- Oil in Ugarit: its price, its use as a means of payment and administrative
procedures. *Addendum*: Oil for wool 525

Juan-Pablo Vita

- A note on Ugaritic *kndwṭ* /*kindawattu*/ (a garment) 545

Nicolas Wyatt

- National Memory, Seismic Activity at Ras Shamra and the Composition
of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle 551

Wolfgang Zwickel

- High/Low Chronology und Geschichte Israels am Beispiel von Tirza 593

Actes du colloque – Société et religion à Ougarit Collège de France (15-16 septembre 2016)

Valérie Matoïan – Thomas Römer

- Introduction* 609

Khozama Al-Bahloul

- New evidence on sanctuaries in Ugarit: Court III of the recently
discovered “Great Building” of the Rampart Area 613

Dominique Charpin

- Le roi d’Ugarit et la demeure de Zimri-Lim 637

Sophie Cluzan

- Un monde à l’horizontal dans la glyptique d’Ugarit:
une culture ancienne au service de la mythologie et des croyances
d’un royaume du Bronze récent 653

Françoise Ernst-Pradal – Juan-Pablo Vita

Paléographie des textes hourrites syllabiques d'Ougarit (suite et fin)	
Synthèse et conclusion	675

Jean-Marie Husser

What if the <i>goodly gods</i> were bonnie princes?	
An integration rite for royal princes in KTU 1.23	685

Bérénice Lagarce-Othman

Un groupe particulier de scarabées du Bronze récent à Ugarit: questions d'origine et d'original	695
---	-----

Michel Al-Maqdissi

Notes d'Achéologie Levantine LXI. L'archéologie syrienne et les travaux de Claude F.A. Schaeffer (1898-1982).....	709
---	-----

Valérie Matoïan

Le roi et la « quête » d'éternité	
Réflexion à propos du vase inscrit au nom de Niqmaddu (RS 15.239)	727

Patrick Maxime Michel

L'emprunt lexical à Ougarit: indication(s) sur les pratiques rituelles ?	767
--	-----

Françoise Ernst-Pradal

Paléographie des textes hourrites syllabiques d'Ougarit (suite et fin) :	
La bilingue RS 15.010	787

Thomas Römer

Baal et Yhwh face à la mort.....	807
----------------------------------	-----

Nicolas Wyatt

The Problem of "Dying and Rising" Gods: The Case of Baal	819
--	-----

Replik**Ludger Hiepel**

Forgotten Stories? Die Ugarit-Forschung in Münster und das Lemma „Ugarit“ im <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i>	847
--	-----

Buchbesprechungen und Buchanzeigen

Shawn Zelig ASTER : *The Unbeatable Light: Melammu and Its Biblical Parallels*.

AOAT 384 (Anne-Caroline Rendu Loisel)	855
---	-----

Stefan NOWICKI (Hrsg.): »*They Called Me to Destroy the Wicked and the Evil*«.

Selected Essays on Crime and Punishment in Antiquity.

KEF 1 (Jan Dietrich)	858
----------------------------	-----

Giuseppe MINUNNO : *Ritual Employs of Birds in Ancient Syria-Palestine*.

AOAT 402 (R. Hunziker-Rodewald) 859

Abkürzungsverzeichnis 861

Indizes

A. Stellen 869

B. Wörter 873

C. Namen 875

D. Sachen 879

Anschriften der Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter 883

New Insights on Burial Practices at the Late Bronze Age City of Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus

Teresa Bürge, Vienna – Peter M. Fischer, Göteborg

1. The history of excavations of tombs at Hala Sultan Tekke

In 1894 J.L. Myres opened a number of trenches west of the Larnaca Salt Lake without finding any cultural layers except for stray sherds. In 1897 and 1898 representatives of the British Museum opened a number of tombs near the mosque.¹ The main objective of these diggings was to find spectacular finds. These expeditions, which lasted only a few weeks and were carried out with some 40 workers, were led by H.B. Walters, assistant on the staff of the Greek and Roman Museum Department of the British Museum, and J.W. Crowfoot, a student at the British School at Athens. Their records were of low standard and cannot be used to locate the tombs which they excavated. It appears from the material which could be traced that Crowfoot's scantily recorded tombs can be dated mainly to Late Cypriot (LC) II–III.

Rescue excavations were carried out in 1968 by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus led V. Karageorghis who excavated two partly preserved rich Late Bronze Age tombs (Tombs 1 and 2) to the west of the mosque which were exposed due to erosion and partly looted.² In 1974, during levelling work another one or more tombs were discovered in the area west and in front of the mosque.³

In the 1970s P. Åström, the then-director of the Swedish excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke (re)excavated several disturbed and looted tombs.⁴ In 1979, as a result of electro-magnetic prospecting an undisturbed intramural LC IIIA shaft-tomb (Tomb 23) with rich burial gifts for a single 30–40-year-old male, was discovered by the co-author of this paper assisted by L. Åström.⁵ In 1982, another LC II tomb (MLA 1162) was accidentally discovered some 50 m north of Tombs 1 and 2.⁶ Yet another tomb was exposed in 1983 during construction work for the parking lot in front the mosque approximately 50 m south-east of Tombs 1 and 2 (MLA 1173),⁷ which was later published by Samaes and Nys.⁸ This tomb seems to have been used from LC IIA(?) to the beginning of LC IIIA.

¹ Bailey, 1976; Fischer, 2012a, 74.

² Karageorghis, 1976.

³ Karageorghis, 1984, 922.

⁴ E.g. Åström *et al.*, 1983, *passim*.

⁵ Fischer, 1980, 16–18, 33–34; Schulte-Campbell, 1983; Niklasson, 1983, 183.

⁶ See above; Karageorghis, 1983, 915.

⁷ Karageorghis, 1984, 922.

⁸ Samaes / Nys, 2010.

2. The present project

After the untimely passing of P. Åström in 2008 the Swedish excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke were resumed under the directorship of P.M. Fischer. In the course of eight seasons of the resumed excavations three new city quarters, viz. CQ1–3, were located and partly exposed in the northern part of the city close to the Bronze Age harbour (fig. 1).⁹ This area corresponds to the western shore of today's Larnaca Salt Lake which was formed when the harbour became a lagoon cut off from the Mediterranean at the outgoing 2nd Millennium B.C.E.¹⁰ In 2013, another intramural tomb, that dates to LC IIA–B, was found in CQ2. This tomb, which had already been disturbed in Late Cypriot times, contained, *inter alia*, numerous textile production tools and cylinder seals.¹¹

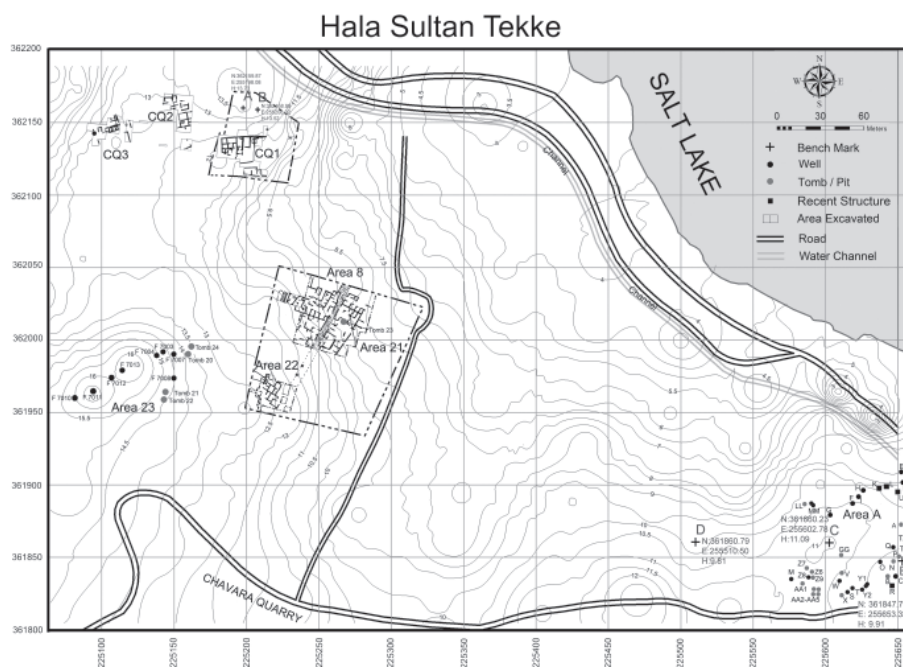


Fig. 1: Topographic map of the areas of excavation at Hala Sultan Tekke (drawing M. Al-Bataineh and T. Bürge).

⁹ Fischer, 2011; Fischer, 2012a; Fischer, 2012b; Fischer / Bürge, 2013; Fischer / Bürge, 2014; Fischer / Bürge, 2015; Fischer / Bürge, 2016; Fischer / Bürge, 2017a; Fischer / Bürge, 2018a; Fischer / Bürge, 2018b.

¹⁰ Fischer, 2017.

¹¹ Fischer / Bürge, 2014, 75–77; Fischer / Bürge, 2018b, 124–134.



Fig. 2: Air photograph of Area A (foreground), and the mosque of Hala Sultan Tekke and the Salt Lake (background) looking east (photo T. Bürge and P.M. Fischer).

In 2013 and 2014 a surface survey and subsequent geophysical survey (magnetometer, georadar) were carried out in Area A – a plateau approximately 600 m east of CQ1 and opposite the mosque (figs. 1–3). The surface survey led to the discovery and subsequent excavation of a Late Cypriot well, which was reused as a tomb in LC IIIA (Tomb A; fig. 3 shows the position of the so far excavated geophysical anomalies). This tomb contained six human skeletons and the skeleton of a fairly large dog.¹² Following this discovery, geophysical prospecting of roughly 1.1 ha indicated roughly 80 circular anomalies (“pits”).¹³

The following features, which were excavated 2014–2017, are of main relevance to this paper:

- Chamber Tomb X
- Shaft Tomb LL
- The six Offering Pits B, P, Z6, Z7, V and GG

¹² Fischer / Bürge, 2015.

¹³ Trinks, 2015.

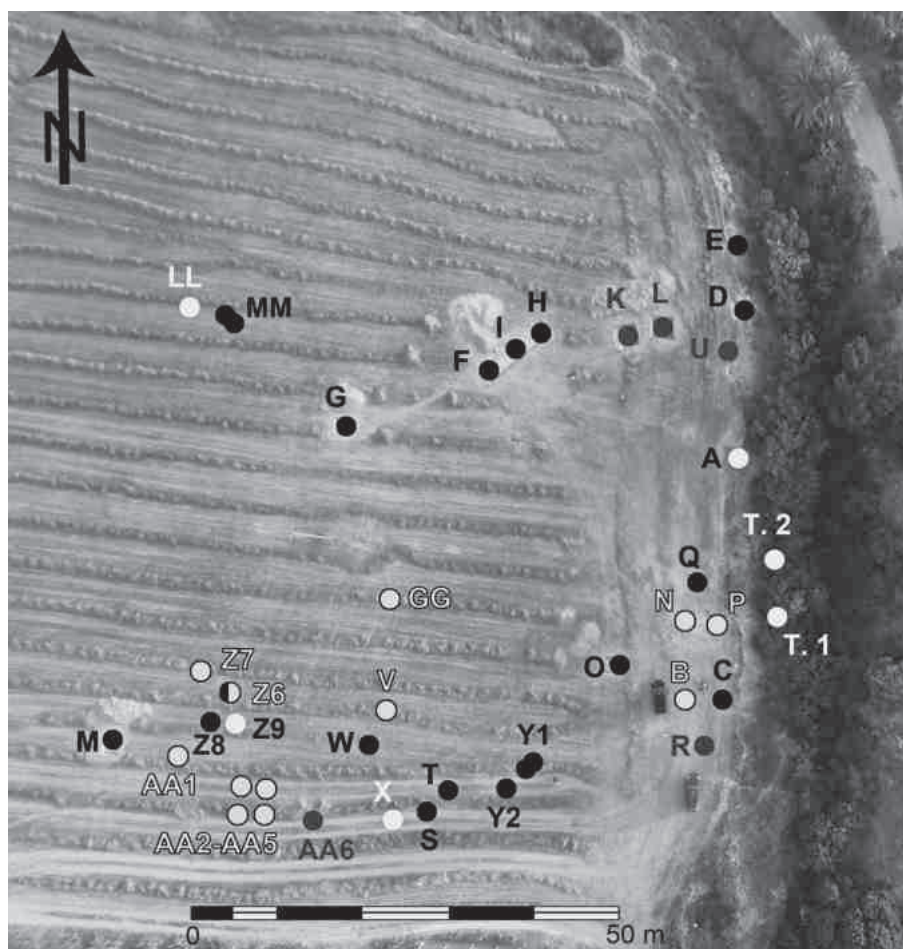


Fig. 3: Air photograph of Area A with the positions of the excavated geophysical anomalies; wells are black, tombs are white, offering pits are light grey with black outlines, recent structures are grey (photo T. Bürge and P.M. Fischer).

Chamber Tomb X

The shape of Tomb X (fig. 4) comprising two interconnected chambers is best described as a recumbent “8” which is orientated west–east. This shape is almost identical with that of Offering Pits V and GG. It is 3.75 m × 2.5 m in size and was dug into fairly soft, clayey, soil down to a depth of 1.35 m from today’s surface. Just below colluvial soil and on top of this double pit, fairly centrally placed with only a slight deviation towards west, an approximately 1 m wide circular feature, which turned out to be a short shaft of backfilled and somewhat darker soil, became visible just below the ploughed soil. However, the original shaft has certainly been longer than the preserved 20–30 cm to which it has been reduced by farming and erosion. Approximately 0.8 m from the surface the first find of human remains was a non-

articulated human cranium which appeared in the north-eastern portion of the double chamber. Other non-articulated human bones, many of them fragmented, were found along the periphery of the two chambers in addition to 272 mainly intact teeth. Of these, 120 teeth are from the western chamber, Locus 48 West (= L48 West), and 152 teeth from L48 East. The estimation of the minimum number of buried individuals (17) and their age at death is based on the teeth, viz. their number, type and degree of development and attrition.¹⁴

In L48 West the minimum number of the buried individuals is eight. Their estimated age is as follows: one infant 5–6 years, one infant 6–8 years, two infants 8–10 years, four adults of whose two are roughly between 20 and 30 years and two around 40 years. In L48 East the minimum number of the buried individuals is nine. The estimated age is as follows: four infants 6–9 years, five adults of whom three are roughly 20–30 years, one around 40 years and one between 40 and 50 years. No severe pathological conditions could be distinguished in the osteological remains of the eight infants and the nine adults. Some teeth show carious lesions. Many of the teeth of the adults are covered with calculus which in most cases leads to periodontal disease, i.e. the premature loosening and finally losing of the teeth.

The sequence of the burials of the seventeen individuals could not be fully established because the tomb was used during a considerable period. There are, however, numerous undisturbed or only slightly moved finds along the periphery of the tomb, which enabled us to present a stratigraphic model of the sequence of the burials and the associated burial gifts.

The obvious disorder amongst the skeletal remains has a common element, viz. that the tomb has been reused for several interments. Prior to each interment, the skeletal remains and finds were swept aside along the periphery of the tomb (fig. 5). Finally, at the end of the life span of the tomb it had been reopened once again in order to prepare it for (an)other burial(s). Again, skeletons and finds were swept aside along the periphery of the tomb where the majority of the skeletal remains and intact vessels were found. Afterwards, the tomb was closed again without a new interment and not reopened until our excavations in 2016, as no *in situ* burials could be traced. This tomb may have accidentally opened by people who prepared for another burial or when they dug for a well: Obviously, they were not aware of the presence of a tomb but when they realized that they in fact were digging into a grave they closed it again without looting it. Another explanation may be that a secondary treatment took place (see below). Considering the number and nature of the finds that were found by the expedition the tomb was not looted.

¹⁴ Fischer, 1986, 6–46; AlQahtani *et al.*, 2010.



Fig. 5: Tomb X: south-eastern part with repositioned skeletal remains and tomb gifts (photo P.M. Fischer).

Comments on the pottery and chronology

The oldest possible date of this tomb is provided by imports – for instance, a Late Minoan (LM) IB / Late Helladic (LH) IIA jug, together with a number of Cypriot produced vessels, including White Painted VI and White Slip I, and to some extent numerous vessels of Base-Ring I, and Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware. The most recent acceptable date for the tomb is also offered by local and Mycenaean imported pottery. Between these two chronologically separated groups of finds is the bulk of pottery from Tomb X. Below, the pottery¹⁵ and other finds are presented in three chronological arranged periods: the material belonging to the most ancient burials, followed by an intermediate period and the most recent burials. This implies that the transitions between these periods of burials are floating, which points to several interments in each of the periods.

¹⁵ Only vessels with complete or almost complete profiles or those with distinctive decoration will be discussed.

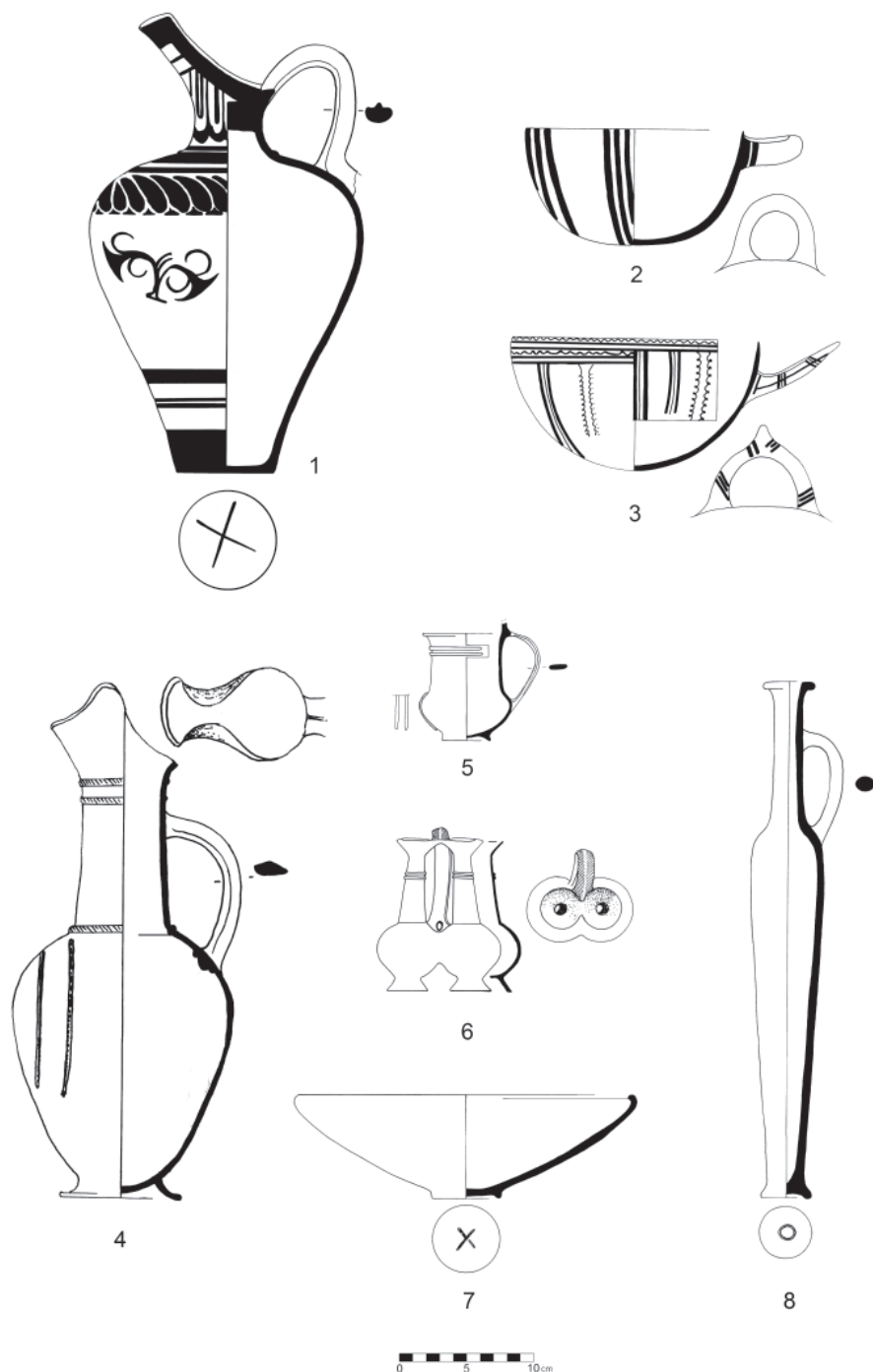


Fig. 6: Tomb X: LH IIA / LM IB beaked jug (1), White Painted VI bowl (2), White Slip I bowl (3), Base-ring I jug (4), tankard (5) and twin juglets (6), Red Lustrous Wheel-made platter (7) and spindle bottle (8) (drawings M. Al-Bataineh).

Vessels belonging to the most ancient burials

Amongst the approximately 80 vessels is an import, which comes from the western chamber and provides a convenient relative date and a *terminus post quem*: a LH IIA / LM IB beaked jug (FS¹⁶ 141; fig. 6:1) which is amongst the earliest known Aegean imports to Cyprus.¹⁷ Selected parallels from both spheres of cultures include a find from Cyprus itself: a cup with a corresponding papyrus motif from Limassol *Enaerios* Tomb 621-VI, which is described as LM IB (= LH IIA).¹⁸ A related beaked jug comes from Volos/Iolkos Tomb 6 which is dated there to the LH IIB period.¹⁹ The production date of our beaked jug might well have been just before or at the beginning of Hatshepsut's / Thutmose III's reign.

Amongst the oldest locally produced vessels from Tomb X is a hemispherical bowl of White Painted VI ware (fig. 6:2). Usually, this ware is dated from late Middle Cypriot III to the beginning of LC IB.²⁰ A close parallel comes from Laksha tou Riou (north of the Larnaca Salt Lake), Tomb 4.²¹ However, the chronology of White Painted wares is problematic as good parallels from undisputable stratigraphical contexts are not known to the authors.

Another locally produced bowl which can be used to define the highest possible date for our tomb is of White Slip I ware (fig. 6:3). The renewed excavations at Tell el-^cAjjul produced – in addition to late Middle Bronze Age pottery – mainly Late Bronze Age pottery of which many vessels were imported from Cyprus but also the remainder of the southern Levant and Egypt.²² White Slip I monochrome and bichrome decorated appears at Tell el-^cAjjul in H5A, the more recent sub-stratum of H5. H5A starts in LC IA2.²³ As regards chronology there are – in addition to the well-stratified ceramic material from H8 (oldest) to H1 at Tell el-^cAjjul²⁴ – 48 pieces of pumice which hint at absolute dates. According to Neutron Activation Analyses of these 48 samples of pumice, 45 samples are from the Minoan eruption of the Thera volcano (and only one from the Pre-Minoan eruption at Thera and two from Nisyros).²⁵ The absolute date of the Minoan eruption of the Thera volcano is a hotly discussed topic. The conventional (low) chronology, which mainly is based on the Egyptian genealogy and appearance of White Slip I at Tell el-Dab^ca, dates the eruption in the second half of the 16th century B.C.E.²⁶

¹⁶ FS refers to Furumark Shape and FM to Furumark Motif; see Furumark, 1941.

¹⁷ Valuable input on the Mycenaean pottery has thankfully been received from P. Mountjoy and R. Jung.

¹⁸ Karageorghis / Violaris, 2012, 112, 176: pl. 44:4; here described as “lily-flowers” FM 9.

¹⁹ Mountjoy, 1999, 834, fig. 334:36; see context in Theochares / Theochares, 1970.

²⁰ Åström, 1972a, 700; see more recent discussion in Crewe, 2007, 35–36, 113–115; Maguire, 2009, 69–75; see also Manning, 2014, 189, fig. 36.

²¹ Myres, 1897, 150, fig. 7:12.

²² Two seasons of excavations produced 830 sherds/vessels from Cyprus, 55 from the Jordan Valley / Southern Lebanon and 31 from Egypt; Fischer 2003: 264, tables 1 and 2.

²³ Fischer, 2003, 273–279.

²⁴ Fischer / Sadeq, 2000; Fischer / Sadeq, 2002; Fischer, 2003; Fischer, 2009.

²⁵ Fischer, 2003, 265–271, see esp. 270, table 5. The NAA analyses were kindly carried out by M. Bichler, Atomic Institute, University of Vienna.

²⁶ See e.g. Bietak, 2003; Warren, 2009; Wiener, 2009.

However, according to numerous radiocarbon dates the eruption of Thera is placed in the last quarter of the 17th century B.C.E.²⁷ This high chronology has support in the radiocarbon dates from Tell el-^cAjjul.²⁸ However, the well-known calibration plateau in this timespan, i.e. roughly 1675 cal B.C.E. to 1525 cal B.C.E.,²⁹ would also allow a lower date for the Theran eruption according to the dates from Tell el-^cAjjul – unless pumice from the Minoan eruption would appear in the so far insufficiently excavated occupational layer H6 which predates H5B at Tell el-^cAjjul and which would support a high chronology.³⁰ Based on stylistic grounds, viz. the quite sloppily applied monochrome decoration of the bowl from Tomb X, we propose to date this vessel quite near the end of the life span of White Slip I with a proposed date around the middle of the 15th century B.C.E.

Excellently executed Base-ring I is another ware which – to some extent – can be used to establish the highest possible date for Tomb X. Ten of the fourteen recorded Base-ring vessels from Tomb X belong to the Base-ring I³¹ type. These include four bowls, two tankards, a jug, two juglets, and a twin juglet. As regards the surface treatment, we can distinguish between two sub-groups in the tomb: the first, “Red Base shows a red to reddish-brown lustrous slip and can usually be found on smaller vessels; the second, “Grey Base-ring I”, which is most commonly represented by larger vessels, has a dark grey and sometimes almost black surface which is often slightly lustrous although there are also matt variants.

Amongst “Red Base-ring I” is a small tankard with plastic decoration (N66; fig. 6:5), several juglets amongst which are twin juglets with a shared handle and plastic and incised, herringbone decoration (N61; fig. 6:6), another juglet with plastic decoration and a bowl. All of them are thin-walled and very hard fired. “Grey Base-ring I” is represented, *inter alia*, by a tankard and an almost 50 cm high jug (fig. 6:4).

According to Åström³² the production of Base-ring I began already in LC IA2 in the 16th century B.C.E. and continues at least until LC IIA2, thus including the reign of Thutmose III and much of the LC IB period. However, it should be emphasized that Åström’s classification is mainly based on tomb material of an uncertain chronology, as at the beginning of the 1970s, when Åström published his book, well stratified Base-ring I material was – and still is – scarce. Manning³³ dates “the adoption of mature Base-ring I” to roughly the mid-16th century B.C.E. As far as export is concerned it seems to be evident from a number of publications that it culminated in Egypt during the reign of

²⁷ Friedrich / Heinemeier, 2009; Manning, 2014, 189, fig. 36 and *passim*.

²⁸ Fischer, 2003; Fischer, 2009, 264–265, fig. 4.

²⁹ E.g. Bronk Ramsey *et al.*, 2004.

³⁰ In the last season at Tell el-^cAjjul only 64 square meters of H6 have been exposed; see Fischer / Sadeq, 2002.

³¹ Our modified “Swedish system”, which subdivides Base-ring ware into Base-ring I and Base-ring II, is used here. The validity of the “Swedish system” can be questioned and a new system of classification was proposed based on ware types; see Vaughan, 1991; 2001. Unfortunately, this was never followed up.

³² Åström, 1972a, 700.

³³ Manning, 2014, 189, fig. 36.

Thutmosis III,³⁴ which is also confirmed by the bulk of this ware in H3–4 at Tell el-^cAjjul.³⁵

A further group of vessels, which would support the possibility that Tomb X could have been used for the first time before the reign of Thutmosis III, consists of seven spindle bottles (one in fig. 6:8) and a platter of Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware (fig. 6:7). The provenance of this distinctive ware is still under discussion. Besides (North) Syria, Cilicia, and even Egypt,³⁶ now mainly Cyprus³⁷ and Anatolia³⁸ are discussed as places of origin or manufacture. It is not excluded that it was produced both on Cyprus and Anatolia. However, Knappett *et al.*³⁹ suggested that this ware derives from a single source, with northern Cyprus the most likely candidate although clay samples from this region are insufficiently analysed. The first author, Knappett, has though noted that the southern Anatolian coast in the area of Anamur and Ovacik is at least broadly compatible geologically with the fabric of this ware.⁴⁰ Recent studies by Grave *et al.*⁴¹ suggest a provenance from the Mamonia Complex in western Cyprus.

³⁴ E.g. Merrillees, 2001; Eriksson, 2001.

³⁵ Fischer, 2003, 264, 289.

³⁶ See compilation by Eriksson, 1991, 82–83, table 10.1.

³⁷ Eriksson, 1991; Eriksson, 1993.

³⁸ Knappett, 2000.

³⁹ Knappett *et al.*, 2005.

⁴⁰ See also Schubert / Kozal, 2007, who come to a similar conclusion.

⁴¹ Grave *et al.*, 2014.



Fig. 7: Tomb X: Base-ring II jug (1), Base-ring II lentoid flask (2), Bucchero jug (3), White Slip II early (4, 5) and normal/mature (6) bowls, White Shaved juglet (7), Mycenaean jug (8), bowls (9, 10), krater (11), stemmed goblet (12) and piriform jar (13) (drawings M. Al-Bataineh).

Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware is attested on Cyprus from LC IA2⁴² to the end of LC IIC. At Kalavassos, for instance, the peak of this ware seems to occur somewhat later, viz. in LC IIA2.⁴³ As far as export of this ware to Egypt is concerned it has been suggested that it peaked there during the time of Thutmosis III,⁴⁴ which is not contradicted by Åström⁴⁵ and Manning.⁴⁶ In Anatolia, Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware appeared at the beginning of the 15th century B.C.E., and the quantitative peak of this ware was already passed before Šuppiluliuma I's period around 1350 B.C.E.,⁴⁷ which contradicts older views claiming an appearance only from the 14th century B.C.E. on.⁴⁸

Red Lustrous Wheel-made spindle bottles flourished during the entire life-span of this ware.⁴⁹ According to Eriksson⁵⁰ the life-span of the relatively rare platters or bowls with ring-bases should be narrowed to the LC IIA2 period, which is included in the intermediate period of burials in Tomb X. Nevertheless, since most of the published Red Lustrous Wheel-made material comes from tombs with uncertain stratigraphies the life-span of platters and bowls might have been longer.

Vessels belonging to the intermediate period of burials

There are four vessels amongst the locally-produced Base-ring II ware; two jugs (one in fig. 7:1), a juglet and a lentoid flask (fig. 7:2), which are decorated with white paint. Similarly to Base-ring I, Base-ring II vessels are insecure chronological indicators since there is a period of overlap in LC IIA (and possibly longer), in which both sub-types were in use.⁵¹ Base-ring II is attested from the LC IIA to LC IIC or the beginning of LC IIIA. The bulk of Base-ring II from Tell el-^cAjjul stems from H2.⁵² The latest Base-ring II can be dated to the outgoing 13th century or the beginning of the 12th century, according to the material from the current excavation in the settlement of Hala Sultan Tekke,⁵³ which corresponds to the evidence of other sites on Cyprus, for instance Maa.⁵⁴

Two jugs (one in fig. 7:3) and a juglet of hand-made Bucchero ware, which is a subtype or variant of Base-ring II,⁵⁵ were registered so far. The ware is attested from roughly LC IIA to LC III.⁵⁶

⁴² And most likely the end of that period according to Eriksson, 2007b, 54.

⁴³ South / Steel, 2007, 188.

⁴⁴ Eriksson, 1993, 149.

⁴⁵ Åström, 1972a, 701.

⁴⁶ Manning, 2014, 189, fig. 36.

⁴⁷ Mielke, 2007; Schoop, 2011, 262.

⁴⁸ E.g. Eriksson, 1993, 133–134.

⁴⁹ Eriksson, 2007b, 52.

⁵⁰ Eriksson, 1993, 40, 140, fig. 40.

⁵¹ See already Åström, 1972a, 700; Åström, 1972b, 137.

⁵² LC IIA–B; Fischer, 2003, 264, table 6; p. 289.

⁵³ Fischer / Bürge, 2018b.

⁵⁴ Jung, 2011, 66.

⁵⁵ Åström, 1972b, 425; Karageorghis, 2012, 235.

⁵⁶ Åström, 1972a, 701.

As regards the recorded 23 White Slip II bowls from Tomb X, four are of the early type (two in fig. 7:4, 5), which Åström⁵⁷ dates to LC IIA. Amongst these are two large bowls with concave bases (one in fig. 7:4) decorated with ladders, lattices and (framed) lozenges. Eriksson⁵⁸ dates these bowls to LC IB–IIA1.⁵⁹ Close parallels from Limassol *Enaerios*, Tomb 621-IV⁶⁰ and Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Tomb 4,⁶¹ are dated to the LC IIA period based on the associated finds. A similar pattern compared to our large bowls comes from a bowl at Tell el-^cAjjul, Stratum H2,⁶² which corresponds to the LC IIA–B period.⁶³

Five White Slip II bowls are of the normal type (fig. 7:6) which covers a time span from the LC IIA1 to the LC IIC1 according to Eriksson.⁶⁴ At Tell el-^cAjjul it occurs in Strata H2(A) and 1B,⁶⁵ which are dated from LC IIA(2) to IIC.⁶⁶

There is only one (!) hand-made White Shaved juglet (fig. 7:7). Parallels come, for instance, from the cargo of the Uluburun ship wreck⁶⁷ which sank around 1300 B.C.E.⁶⁸ These juglets are present from the LC IB to LC IIB or possibly longer according to Åström.⁶⁹ The fairly short life span of this ware in Åström's table is contradicted by evidence from the new excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke which shows that these vessels existed until the early LC IIIA.⁷⁰ The shapes and production techniques of hand-made White Shaved juglets remain virtually unchanged until around 1200 B.C.E. Therefore, this type of pottery is a poor chronological indicator.

As regards Mycenaean imports, the majority are from the LH IIIA2–B period, therefore only selected vessels will be discussed. The trefoil mouthed-jug (FS 139; fig. 7:8) with a bovid on the shoulder can be dated to the LH IIIA2 period, as its body is left as a single decorative unit filled with a foliate band (FM 64) in contrast to LH IIIB type, where the bull's bodies are divided into three zones each with different decoration.⁷¹ The shallow cup (FS 220; fig. 7:9) has a characteristic

⁵⁷ Ibid., 700.

⁵⁸ Eriksson, 2007a, 13, table 1B.

⁵⁹ The White Slip chronology presented by Eriksson, 2007a is mainly based on evidence from multi-period tombs and must therefore be considered with caution.

⁶⁰ Karageorghis / Violaris, 2012, 171, pl. XXXIX:2.

⁶¹ South *et al.*, 1989, nos. K-AD 150, K-AD 513; fig. 52; pl. XXV.

⁶² Fischer, 2003, 277, fig. 5:2.

⁶³ Ibid., 289, table 6.

⁶⁴ Eriksson, 2007a, 13, table 1B.

⁶⁵ Fischer, 2003, 277, fig. 5:4–9; 286–287.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 289. The normal (mature) type may survive into the later part of the Late Bronze Age at Tell el-^cAjjul, which corresponds to the first half of LC IIC, but these – the most recent layers in the area of the excavations at Tell el-^cAjjul – are only scantily represented.

⁶⁷ Hirschfeld, 2011, 115, 117, fig. 1a–c.

⁶⁸ Pulak, 1998, 213–214; Manning *et al.*, 2009; see also comments in Bachhuber, 2006, 347, note 15.

⁶⁹ Åström, 1972a, 701.

⁷⁰ Fischer, 2012b, 100, fig. 8:8–9; Fischer / Bürge, 2018b.

⁷¹ Mountjoy, 1993, 84.

LH IIIA2 feature with its slightly concave base.⁷² The Mycenaean shallow bowls (FS 296) with n-pattern (fig. 7:10) can be dated to the LH IIIB period.⁷³ An undecorated stemmed goblet (FS 267; N65; fig. 7:12) has good parallels at LH IIIB1 destruction contexts from Mycenae.⁷⁴ One of the piriform jars from Tomb X (fig. 7:13) has a carefully painted scale pattern. This scale pattern (FM 70) is relatively rare on this shape on the Mycenaean mainland. Our visual and preliminary petrographic examination of the fabric suggests that this vessel is not Mycenaean but was produced in Cyprus.

The large Mycenaean “fish krater” (FS 281; fig. 7:11) can be dated to the early LH IIIB period, i.e. roughly the first half of the 13th century. This ring-based krater (FS 281) appears in LH IIIB1.⁷⁵ A close parallel is a krater from Cyprus,⁷⁶ which is dated to the LH IIIB period on typological and stylistic grounds. The three remaining decorated vessels from the LH IIIA2–B period cannot be dated more exactly: These include two globular stirrup jars (FS 171) and a straight-sided alabastron (FS 94; N68).

Vessels belonging to the most recent burials

As stated above, a number of wares were produced over quite a long time span. However, there are vessel types which we classify as belonging to the latest phase of occupation of the tomb.

⁷² Mountjoy, 1986, 84, 110.

⁷³ Cf. a bowl from Hala Sultan Tekke, Tomb 2; Karageorghis, 1976, 84, no. 205.

⁷⁴ French, 1967, 176, fig. 17:K4 and K5; 190.

⁷⁵ Mountjoy, 1986, 93.

⁷⁶ Vermeule / Karageorghis, 1982, no. V.128.

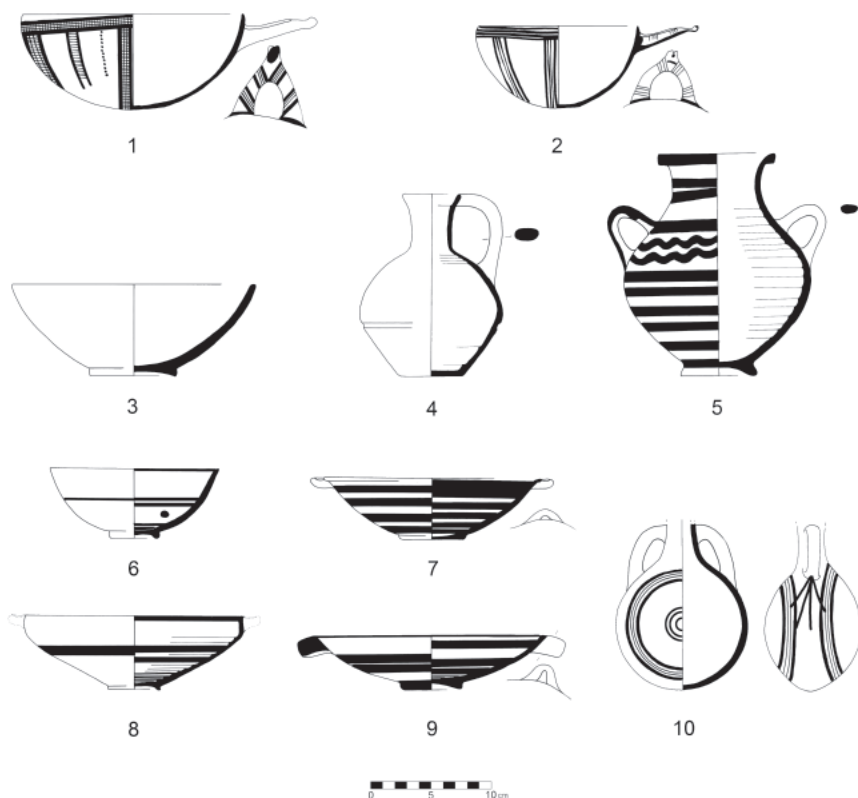


Fig. 8: Tomb X: White Slip II mature/late bowls (1, 2), Plain White Wheel-made bowl (3) and jug (4), White Painted Wheel-made amphoriskos (5) and bowls (6–8), Mycenaean bowl (9) and Southern Levantine imported lentoid flask (10) (drawings M. Al-Bataineh).

Eight White Slip II bowls are of the transitional normal/late type (one in fig. 8:1). Five are of the late type (two are N59 in fig. 8:2; and N62). These two groups of late types are characterized by a thinner, less bright slip and more carelessly painted decoration. They can most likely be dated to the 13th century B.C.E., i.e. LC IIC.⁷⁷ There is an obvious overlap between the normal and late style, which can be demonstrated at Tell el-^cAjjul, where both styles occur in Stratum 1B.⁷⁸

There are a number of Plain White Wheel-made vessels, which are difficult to date: four bowls (one in fig. 8:3), a krater and two jugs (one in fig. 8:4). This ware occurs from LC I to LC III and is therefore a very poor chronological indicator.

An “oddity”, which causes difficulties of dating, is the amphoriskos of White Painted Wheel-made ware (fig. 8:5). It somewhat resembles Southern Levantine Late Bronze Age amphoriskoi⁷⁹ but it has a considerably shorter neck than the

⁷⁷ Eriksson, 2007a, 13, table 1B.

⁷⁸ Corresponding to LC IIB/C; Fischer, 2003, 277, fig. 5:4–9; 286–287.

⁷⁹ Tel Qashish: Ben-Tor / Bonfil, 2003, 272, fig. 111:15; Beth-Shean: Mullins, 2007, 436–438; 487, pl. 47:9; Tell Abu al-Kharaz: Fischer, 2006, 274, fig. 295:1.

Levantine vessels. The syntax of the decoration corresponds to Levantine counterparts. Another influence might come from Mycenaean pottery: The amphoriskos with vertical handles (FS 62) appears in the later part of the LH IIIB period, i.e. just after the last period of use of Tomb X, and continues well into the Proto-geometric period but is rare throughout all periods.⁸⁰ In any case – despite the ware and the surface treatment – the rim stance definitely speaks against an assignment of this vessel to the group of Mycenaean imports. According to preliminary petrographic analyses it was produced at Hala Sultan Tekke or in its vicinity. We suggest assigning this vessel to the late group of burial gifts.

Locally made shallow bowls of Mycenaean style (FS 296), i.e. White Painted Wheel-made Geometric Style⁸¹ (fig. 8:7–8) and two other bowls of the same shape, which are most likely Mycenaean imports (one in fig. 8:9), are dated to the LH IIIB or possibly to early IIIC corresponding to the transition LC IIC/IIIA.⁸²

Another import is a lentoid flask (N60; fig. 8:10), which according to preliminary petrographic analyses⁸³ was produced in the region south of the Carmel coast to Tell Qasile (*Hamra* group). Almost identical fabrics have been identified, for instance, at Tel Ifshar, Aphek, Tell Jatt and Tel Zeror in Israel. In Cyprus two-handled lentoid flasks appear in the Late Bronze Age and were a common vessel shape in the Eastern Mediterranean. This shape (FS 186–188) was adapted by Mycenaean potters mainly for export in the Eastern Mediterranean⁸⁴ although it differs considerably from its Levantine forerunner. Our lentoid flask was wheel-made in two halves joined at the body, which is the standard procedure in the Levant. The decoration consisting of concentric circles is the most common decoration although undecorated lentoid flasks are also frequent. The prevailing Levantine shape of the Late Bronze Age is characterized by a short neck, loop handles from the mid-/lower part of the neck to the shoulder, which wrap around the neck, and a broad rim.⁸⁵ A close parallel as regards the shape comes from Sahem in northern Jordan,⁸⁶ which is dated to the transition from the Late Bronze to the early Iron Age, i.e. around 1200 B.C.E. The LH IIIB simple style counterparts found in the Levant have somewhat longer necks, which more resemble our flask – but they have flat handles and the decoration is clearly different.⁸⁷

⁸⁰ Mountjoy, 1986, 202.

⁸¹ Fischer, 2012a, 78–79.

⁸² See references in Kling, 1989, 132, and fig. 5b.

⁸³ The analyses are carried out by Paula Waiman-Barak.

⁸⁴ Mountjoy, 1986, 81; Leonard, 1994, 80–84: see distribution in maps 20–21; see also the development from the Minoan to the Mycenaean type in Mountjoy, 1993, 71, fig. 151.

⁸⁵ See e.g. Ugarit: Courtois / Courtois, 1978, 265, fig. 23:3, from Tomb 4642 dated to Ugarit Récent 2, ca. 1450–1365 B.C.E.; Kamid el-Loz: Metzger, 1993, pls. 138–139; Tel Dan: Ben-Dov, 2002, 76–77, 91, fig. 2.60, from the “Mycenaean Tomb”, dated to the second half of the 14th to the beginning of the 13th century B.C.E.; Tell Abu Hawam: Hamilton, 1935, 42, no. 255, from Stratum V, dated to 1400–1230 B.C.E.; Lachish: Yannai, 2004, 1111, fig. 19.32, from Level VIIa, which was destroyed at the end of the 13th century B.C.E.

⁸⁶ Fischer, 1997, 118, fig. 15:1.

⁸⁷ Ben-Dov, 2002, 106, fig. 2.77, from the “Mycenaean Tomb” at Tel Dan; Yadin *et al.*, 1961, pl. CXXXVII:3, from Hazor, Stratum 1B, dated to the LB II.

Although there are a few vessels, which could possibly be dated to the transition from LC IIC to IIIA, Tomb X does not display the “usual” 12th century repertoire, which is well known from the settlement (i.e. large amount of White Painted Wheel-made, especially the deep bowls, locally made pictorial kraters and others).

Scarabs



Fig. 9: Tomb X: two gold-mounted and one plain scarabs of steatite (photos P.M. Fischer).

One of the more spectacular imports is one of the gold-mounted steatite scarabs from L48 West. It shows the remains of blue glaze on the steatite (N78; fig. 9:1). To the left is the depiction of the pharaoh, clad in a kilt, walking to the right. He carries the “blue crown” (*hprš*), the uraeus on the forehead and the *hq*-scepter in the bent front hand. The other hand is straight behind the body. To the right is a cartouche which reads *Mn-hpr-r^c/Men-kheper-(ka)-Re* (“Lasting are the manifestation and the spirit of Re”) which corresponds to the throne name of Thutmose III who reigned 1494–1440 B.C.E.⁸⁸ Nowadays, these dates are generally preferred amongst Egyptologists and are not contradicted by radiocarbon dates.⁸⁹ The heavy gold mounting suggests the secondary use of the scarab as a ring bezel. Our gold-mounted scarab has parallels in the original area of its production, Egypt. Three scarabs, for instance, are recorded as part of a hoard including various Egyptian and apparently Syrian and other Near-Eastern jewellery objects within the ruins of the main temple of the goddess Bastet at Bubastis.⁹⁰ Amongst the numerous parallels with the cartouche of Thutmose III without gold-mounting from outside Egypt is one from Tell el-^cAjjul.⁹¹

⁸⁸ The period of the co-reign with Hatshepsut is included.

⁸⁹ Cf. the summarizing paper on the chronology of his reign in Aston, 2012.

⁹⁰ Brandl, 2010, 210, b, d, e. The dates which are in the catalogue have been confirmed by H. Brandl (emails 5 August, 14 November 2016).

⁹¹ Keel, 1997, 277, no. 508.

In general, scarabs are poor chronological indicators – in specific those bearing the cartouche of Thutmosis III. They have been produced and circulated long after his reign and in a vast area, of which there are numerous examples.⁹² In addition, scarabs with the cartouche of this mighty pharaoh, which actually were produced during or shortly after his reign, could have been kept as heirlooms for a considerable period of time. Nevertheless, O. Keel considers the somewhat stylized engraving of the hieroglyphs as an indication that they were inscribed after his reign, maybe as late as the 13th century B.C.E. or 19th Dynasty.⁹³ In any case, this scarab provides a *terminus post quem*.

The second scarab from Tomb X (N75; fig. 9:2), which is also of gold-mounted steatite, is of little help for more exact dating. It shows the uraeus and a reed leaf (j) or a Maat feather. There are numerous parallels from the Levant, for instance from Beth Shean,⁹⁴ Beth Shemesh,⁹⁵ Tell el-Far'ah South,⁹⁶ and Megiddo.⁹⁷ We suggest a date in the 13th century, viz. mainly 19th Dynasty, which also is suggested by Keel (personal communication 24 June 2016).

The third scarab (N86; fig. 9:3) – likewise of little chronological help – is also of steatite. Horizontally arranged are the *dd*-pillar which is flanked by two uraei. A good parallel comes from Lachish.⁹⁸ Less exact parallels with additional elements are from Tell el-Far'ah South⁹⁹ and Gezer,¹⁰⁰ which are both dated into the 18th Dynasty. Others are from Shilo¹⁰¹ and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh.¹⁰² We suggest a date in the 13th century, viz. mainly 19th Dynasty (see also Keel above).

Cylinder seals

There are five cylinder seals of which four (N72, N73, N76 and N80) stem from the western chamber and one (N64) from the eastern chamber. Three of the cylinder seals are of haematite (N64, N73, N76), one is of chlorite or haematite (N72),¹⁰³ and one is of steatite (N80). We consider all seals manufactured in Cyprus.

- N64 (fig. 10:1) shows a human figure holding a stick, a quadruped to the left and a bow and arrow in front of the animal. To the right of the human is a standard.

⁹² Keel *et al.*, 1990, 205; see also a scarab from 11th century B.C.E. Tell Abu al-Kharaz in Jordan in Fischer, 2013, 540, fig. 466:2.

⁹³ Personal communication with O. Keel 23 June 2016.

⁹⁴ Keel, 2010a, no. 94.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 211.

⁹⁶ Keel, 2010b, nos. 514, 631.

⁹⁷ Guy, 1938, pl. 100:6.

⁹⁸ Tufnell *et al.*, 1940, pl. 32:23.

⁹⁹ Keel, 2010b, nos. 756, 824.

¹⁰⁰ Keel, 2013, nos. 81, 677.

¹⁰¹ Brandl, 1993, 215, no. 13.

¹⁰² Eggler / Keel, 2006, 376, no. 22.

¹⁰³ It is often difficult to distinguish haematite from the black-coloured chlorite with the naked eye. XRF-analyses will be carried out in order to verify the material of the seal.

- N73 (fig. 10:2) belongs to the group of Cypriot Common Style seals.¹⁰⁴ It is engraved with a human person standing next to a palm tree with a large bucranium between the two motifs and several other filling motifs, such as an “in-got-shaped” oblique cross, a circle with central drilling and lines. The seal is engraved in an angular manner and corresponds to a standardized scheme of Cypriot style seals. Similar seals are known, e.g., from Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb 1,¹⁰⁵ from an uncertain tomb at Enkomi,¹⁰⁶ and Tell Abu Hawam Stratum V.¹⁰⁷
- N76 (fig. 10:3) depicts three human figures, most likely females, in long robes with upraised arms. Two of them are holding horned animals – stags or gazelles – which hang down head first. Next to the third figure is a standing animal – a lion judging from the paws. Above is a bucranium and a sun symbol. Two Cypriote seals from Ugarit-Récent 2 show a similar motif with stags but are not as rich in detail as our seal.¹⁰⁸
- N72 (fig. 10:4) depicts a female figure with bent arms. Next to her are a lion (?) and another quadruped standing/sitting opposite each other. Above the lion is a scorpion and above the quadruped another, smaller, quadruped. Four dots arranged in a lozenge are drilled in between the arm of the human and the quadrupeds. The motif may be interpreted as “mistress of the animals”.
- N80 (fig. 10:5) shows a human figure and two quadrupeds, which are carved lengthwise. There is a tree between the two animals. Several drilled dots fill the empty spaces around the figures. A relatively close parallel is a steatite seal from Tomb 3 at Maroni which also depicts a tree and attendant animals.¹⁰⁹

Other jewellery

This group of finds include two pairs of earrings of gold with “grape-/mulberry-like” adornments of soldered spherical beads (one pair with five and the other with eleven beads; N77, N79). Close parallels come from Late Bronze Age tombs from Limassol,¹¹⁰ and from Enkomi, Tomb 57.¹¹¹ Similar earrings were also found at other sites in the Levant, for instance Alalakh, Ugarit, Megiddo, Lachish, Gezer and Tell el-^cAjjul and occur from the end of the Middle Bronze Age through the Iron Age and beyond.¹¹² Amongst the geographically most remote parallels are similar earrings in 13th century tombs from Assur,¹¹³ where they are considered to have been imported from Cyprus.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁴ Porada, 1948, 194, Group XII; esp. pl. XI, no. 55 from Kourion.

¹⁰⁵ Porada, 1976, 98, fig. 77; pp. 101–103, fig. 80; dated here to LC IIB–C, approximately 1320–1200 B.C.E.

¹⁰⁶ Kenna, 1971, 34, no. 114 = British Museum BM 1897,0401.696. In 1897, this seal was acquired by the British Museum from the Turner Bequest Excavations at Enkomi.

¹⁰⁷ Hamilton, 1935, 64–65, pl. XXVI, no. 514; dated to 1400–1230 B.C.E.

¹⁰⁸ Amiet, 1992, 191, no. 455; 192, no. 472; dated to 1450–1300 B.C.E.

¹⁰⁹ Kenna, 1971, no. 17; Johnson, 1980, no. 45 = British Museum BM 1898,1201.17; context dated to 1550–1375 B.C.E.

¹¹⁰ Karageorghis / Violaris, 2012, 169, pl. XXXVII:621-II:5.

¹¹¹ Goring, 1983, pl. 14.

¹¹² Ibid., 206–208 with further references.

¹¹³ Pedde, 2015, 32, pls. 6, 75, 76.

¹¹⁴ Personal communication with F. Pedde August 2016.

A leaf-shaped sheet of gold with an incised net pattern (N69) most likely was used as headband or diadem. Similar diadems were found, e.g., at Kition, Akko, Megiddo, Beth-Shean and Ugarit.¹¹⁵

In addition, there are five beads of gold (N83), of which three are fluted and two plain, thirty beads of carnelian, of which one is spool-shaped, three disc-shaped, one fluted and twenty-five globular, a globular glass bead (N71), a bead of white paste, an oblong bead of turquoise (N63) and an oblong bead of amethyst (N82).



Fig. 10: Tomb X: cylinder seals of haematite, chlorite (?) and steatite, and impressions (photos T. Bürge).

¹¹⁵ Goring, 1983, 129–130 with further references; cf. also Graziadio, 2013.

A pendant of faience depicts the Egyptian god Bes with enlarged genitals (N67). The god Bes functioned as apotropaic deity keeping away disease from babies and women in childbed¹¹⁶ and was not only popular in Egypt but also in the Levant and especially on Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age and later periods.¹¹⁷

Other finds

An oval plaque of elephant ivory¹¹⁸ with incisions at the sides was most likely used as a kind of lid. A parallel comes from Hala Sultan Tekke, Tomb MLA 1173.¹¹⁹ Additional worked osteological material are three *ovis/capra* astragali, of which one is very worn. Astragali are frequently found in funerary and ritual contexts on Cyprus and in the Levant.¹²⁰ They are often interpreted as gaming pieces, comparable to dices.¹²¹ Reese¹²² suggested that the presence of astragali in ritual contexts may hint at an evidence for astragalomancy, i.e. the fall of bones indicates the deity's will.

Three spindle whorls of which one is decorated with incised concentric circles are of black stone (chlorite?). A bronze dagger has a leaf-shaped blade with a low central ridge and rounded butt with three rivets. A similar dagger with three rivets comes, for instance, from Toumba tou Skourou¹²³ and two from Erimi, Tomb 5.¹²⁴ This type of dagger is common in LC I–II tombs.¹²⁵ Other, only partly preserved, objects of bronze are not yet cleaned and conserved: the rim of a bronze bowl, two bracelets, a finger ring, a rivet, a toggle pin and an amorphous piece.

Shaft Tomb LL

This rich tomb was discovered and excavated as recently as June 2017, i.e. the same month in which this paper was finalized. Consequently, only preliminary observations and conclusions, and selected photographs will be presented.

¹¹⁶ Dasen, 2013, 67–75; Pinch, 1993, 44.

¹¹⁷ Wilson, 1975.

¹¹⁸ Personal communication D. Reese, November 2016.

¹¹⁹ Samaes / Nys, 2010, 227, fig. 6:9.

¹²⁰ Gilmour, 1997.

¹²¹ Smith, 2009, 157–159.

¹²² Reese, 1985, 389.

¹²³ Vermeule / Wolsky, 1990, fig. 100.

¹²⁴ Karageorghis / Violaris, 2012, 186, pl. LIV: Erimi T.5:4, 6; 217, pl. LXXXV: Erimi T.5/4, T.5/6.

¹²⁵ See the compilation by Catling, 1964, 125–128, fig. 15, pl. 15.



Fig. 11: Tomb LL during excavation (photo P.M. Fischer).

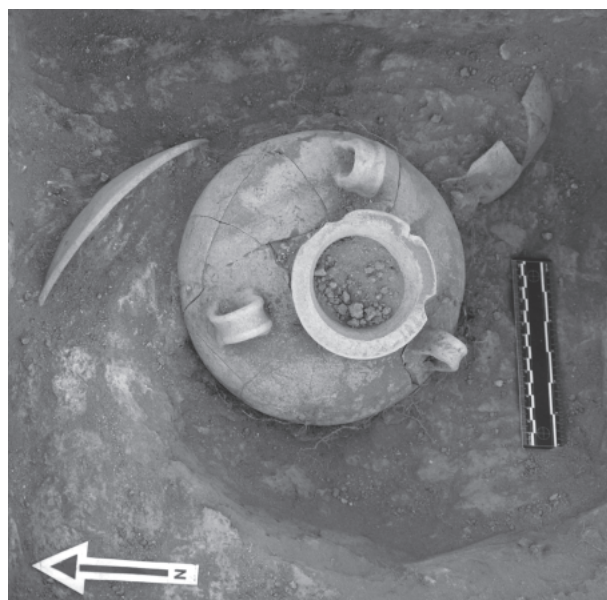


Fig. 12: Tomb LL: Late Minoan II/III A1 piriform jar, White Painted Wheel-made bowl and White Slip bowl *in situ* (photo T. Bürge).

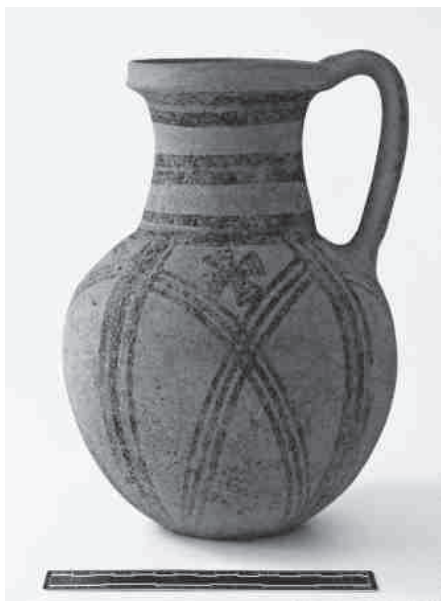


Fig. 13: Bichrome Wheel-made jug from Tomb LL (photo T. Bürge).



Fig. 14. Miniature vessels from Tomb LL (photo T. Bürge).

The rectangular shaft which contained the skeletal remains is orientated west-east and cut in to fairly soft clay-rich soil. Its dimensions are 0.50–0.55 m × 2.60 m (fig. 11). On a somewhat higher level than the actual shaft the tomb widens to reach 2.4 m (north-south). The bottom of the actual shaft is constructed of a layer of pebbles which were covered by an almost flat bed of fine clay on which the skeletal remains rested and most of the finds were placed. The vast majority of the human bones were not articulated whereas many finds were not only complete but also intact. The find material comprises pottery (at least 20 intact/complete vessels), jewellery of gold, silver, bronze, faience and amethyst, weights of haematite and a loom weight of fired clay. The estimation of the minimum number of the buried individuals is ten.



Fig. 15: Late Minoan II/III A1 piriform jar from Tomb LL
(photo P.M. Fischer).

Amongst the earliest Cypriot produced pottery are two virtually intact jugs of Bichrome Wheel-made Ware with red and black decoration. The smaller jug with a wide mouth and a height of 24 cm shows motifs of a cross and an abstracted palm tree (fig. 13), and the larger jug with a long neck and a narrow mouth only geometric decoration. There is also jug of an early type of Red Lustrous Wheel-made which may be Cypriot-produced or imported from southern Anatolia.¹²⁶ Undisputable Cypriot products include an undecorated White Slip I tankard, a Base-ring I bowl and a miniature juglet, a bowl of Monochrome Ware, White Shaved normal and miniature juglets, and Plain White Wheel-made bowls and juglets. Amongst the latest wares is a miniature White Slip II bowl (see all miniature vessels in fig. 14).

Imported ware is represented by a complete Late Minoan II/III A1 piriform jar of medium size (figs. 12, 15). It is decorated with a complicated pattern of birds and other pictorial motifs which have excellent parallels on vessels from the Palace of Knossos.¹²⁷

Jewellery of metal comprises a diadem of gold which is pierced at the ends, a ring of silver forming a double-spiral, a ring of bronze and two bracelets or anklets. Other pieces of jewellery are beads of faience and amethyst.

Around the bones of the hand of one of the skeletons were nine unmarked balance weights of haematite and a whetstone, possibly of hornblende (fig. 16). They were intentionally placed there, most likely in a bag of perishable material, e.g. leather or textile. They are of the sphendonoid shape and are flattened on one side in order to minimise rolling about in the balance pan. Their masses are (in g):

¹²⁶ See discussion and references in Fischer / Bürge, 2017b, 182–184.

¹²⁷ Crouwel / Morris, 1995.

28.3, 19.5, 7.4, 5.6, 4.0, 2.9, 2.1, 1.8, 1.0. It is interesting to notice that the “standard weight” of 9.4 g is missing.¹²⁸ It may be the case that this “main” balance weight was kept by the surviving relatives as a memory and consequently did not follow the deceased into the tomb.



Fig. 16: Haematite weights and whetstone of hornblende (?) from Tomb LL (photo P.M. Fischer).

Based on the standard mass of 9.4 g our intuitive calculations resulted in the following sequence: $3 \times (28.3)$, $2 \times (19.5)$, $4 \div 5 (7.4)$, $3 \div 5 (5.6)$, $2 \div 5 (4.0)$, $1.5 \div 5 (2.9)$, $1 \div 5 (2.1)$, $1 \div 5 (1.8)$, $0.5 \div 5 (1.0)$. Much advice has been given by K. Petruso who presented a different sequence (also based on the standard mass): $3 \times (28.3)$, $2 \times (19.5)$, $3 \div 4 (7.4)$ and $1 \div 3 (2.9)$.

Our observations concerning the non-articulated skeletal remains, the fragmentary and the intact/complete pottery support our hypothesis that the contents of the tomb reflect a secondary burial, i.e. the skeletal remains originate from another spot and were buried together with the original tomb gifts (some broken and incomplete) and new tomb gifts (complete and intact).

The offering pits from Hala Sultan Tekke, Area A

Amongst the recently excavated anomalies are a number of pits, which were interpreted as offering pits. These are characterized by the richness of the deposited material but the lack of human skeletal remains and can be divided into two groups according to their shape:

- Circular, or roughly circular pits, which contain complete or almost complete objects
- Recumbent-8-shaped, which mainly contain broken tableware

Some of them are published¹²⁹ others will be presented in greater detail in forthcoming publications.¹³⁰ Here, the offering pits will be presented in a summarized way taking into account the contents, chronology and type of deposition.

¹²⁸ Petruso, 1984, 296. He suggested the Egyptian *quedet* with a mass round 9.4 g as the most common standard during this and other periods.

¹²⁹ Fischer / Bürge, 2015, 45–46; Fischer / Bürge, 2016, 51–52; Fischer / Bürge, 2017b, 195–209.

¹³⁰ Fischer / Bürge, 2018a.

Circular offering pits with complete objects

Pits B, P, Z6 and Z7 belong to this group. These circular features have diameters of 1 – 1.5 metres. Their depths range from 2 metres to more than 3 metres. In one case, Pit Z6, the upper part of a well was reused as an offering pit.

The pits contained various objects, which were intact, complete or almost complete. The objects were concentrated on one or two levels within each feature, the depths of which vary. In Pit B, for instance,¹³¹ the first complete finds were located 0.25 m below surface, whereas the bulk of objects were found at a depth between 2.70 m and 3.00 m. In Pit P, most of the objects came to light between 1.5 m and 2.1 m below surface, in Pit Z6 1.20 to 1.70 m and in Pit Z7 1.10 m to 2.00 m below topsoil.

Three of the four presented pits, viz. Pits B, Z6 and Z7, contained layers of ochre-coloured soil. In Pits B and Z7 the ochre layer was found on top of the “main deposition”, from where it continued downwards building quite a thick layer. In contrast, in Pit Z6 the ochre was found below the main concentration of objects. Many finds from these three pits exhibit severe discolouration, i.e. they are dark yellow stained.

Finds and chronology of Pit B

As mentioned above, the finds from Pit B were found at different levels: The first layer, just below surface and above the ochre “sealing” contained an intact Mycenaean alabastron (fig. 17:11) and a Mycenaean juglet (fig. 17:8), and parts of a baking tray. Below the layer of ochre, several other complete objects were found fairly close together: a loom weight of fired clay lying inside a complete White Slip II bowl (fig. 17:3), another White Slip II bowl, a bowl of Monochrome Ware (fig. 17:4), a cooking pot, a lamp, a baking tray of Coarse Ware (fig. 17:5), a wall bracket and a bone shuttle.

¹³¹ See plan and section in Fischer / Bürge, 2015, 45, fig. 23.

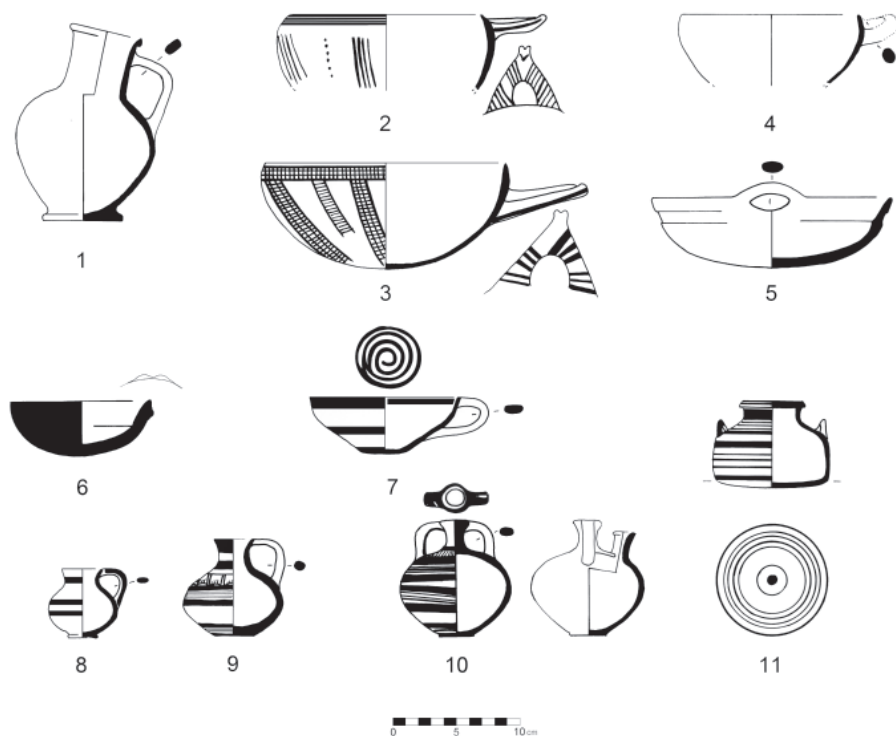


Fig. 17: Selected vessels from Pit B (drawings M. Al-Bataineh).

The next layer of soil contained a Mycenaean juglet (fig. 17:9), a Mycenaean shallow cup (fig. 17:7), two Mycenaean stirrup jars (one in fig. 17:10), the upper part of a White Painted Wheel-made trefoil-mouthed jug, the rim of a Plain White Wheel-made jar, two White Slip II late bowls (one in fig. 17:2), the lower part of a Bucchero jug, a Base-ring II jug (fig. 17:1), two small hand-made bowls with vestigial handles and black slip and a highly burnished surface (one in fig. 17:6), and a stone grinder. Between 300 and 400 fragments of scale mail were positioned along the outlines of the shaft.

Faunal remains from Pit B comprise fish and bird bones, a bird eggshell and much crushed *hexaplex*. Preserved botanical remains include a capsule fragment of *Linum usitatissimum* and a cereal grain – which could have ended up in the pit by coincidence judging by this very small amount.¹³² The material can be dated to the 13th century B.C.E., i.e. the LC IIC period.

Finds and chronology of Pit P

Finds from this pit comprise four shallow bowls of Plain White Wheel-made ware (one in fig. 18:3), a lamp of Plain ware, a bowl of Monochrome ware, four bowls

¹³² The study of animal bones and shells from Pits B, P and V, Z6, Z7 and GG were/will be carried out by D. Reese; the botanical studies by D. Kofel. The study of the organic material from Pits Z6, Z7 and GG is forthcoming.

(one in fig. 18:4), two juglets (one in fig. 18:5), a jug and a tankard (fig. 18:6) of Base-ring I ware, the rim of a krater of Bichrome Wheel-made ware, a fragment of a Proto-White Slip bowl, a White Slip I bichrome bowl (fig. 18:1), and a White Slip I monochrome bowl (fig. 18:2). A flat, square inlay (?) of ivory, and nine circular, oval or pyramidal loom weights were also found in the fill.

Faunal remains from the pit include bones of small mammals, birds and rodents and three ground-down astragali of *ovis/capra*. The numerous complete and even intact finds can be dated mainly to LC IB (15th century B.C.E.).

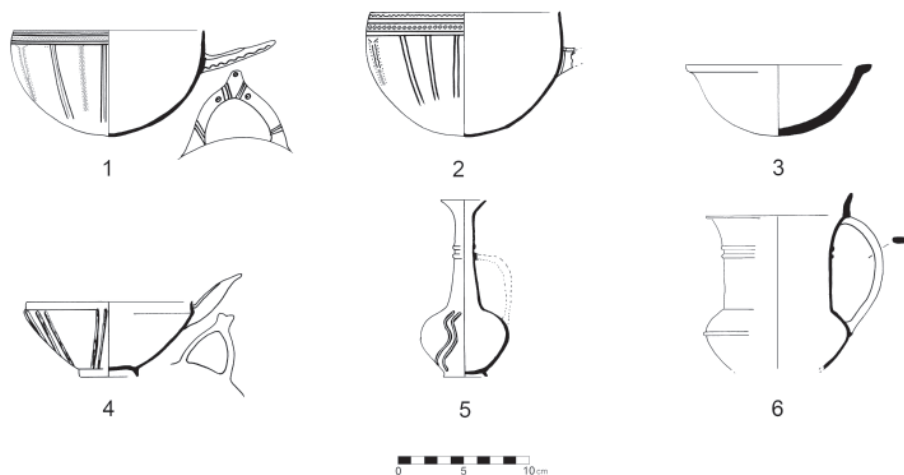


Fig. 18: Selected vessels from Pit P (drawings M. Al-Bataineh).

Finds and chronology of Pit Z6

The main deposition in Pit Z6 consists of five White Shaved juglets, a Monochrome bowl, two White Slip II bowls, a White Painted Wheel-made shallow bowl, a Coarse Ware lamp, a wall bracket, a part of a basin and a small hand-made bowl with black slip and a highly burnished surface – almost identical to those from Pit B. Mycenaean imports include, inter alia, a shallow bowl and a squat stirrup jar. A large number of fragments of a Minoan (?) transport stirrup jar were found, which – due to their bad state of preservation – could not be reconstructed so far. Two Base-ring figurines were deposited in the same context: a female and a bovine (fig. 19). In addition, four weights of stone or clay and a loom weight, and a number of notched bones, amongst them an *ovis* and a *bos* scapula (fig. 20) come from this layer of deposition. Two worked bones come from the ochre layer below the deposition, and two almost complete bone shuttles from the layer below.

The osteological and botanical materials from Pit Z6 are not studied yet. Our preliminary analysis of the material suggests a dating of the deposition to the LC IIC, i.e. the 13th century, thus being roughly contemporary with that of Pit B.



Fig. 19: Base-ring II figurine of bovine from Pit Z6 (photo T. Bürge).



Fig. 20: Notched scapulae of bovine (upper) and ovine (lower) from Pit Z6 (photo T. Bürge).

Finds and chronology of Pit Z7

Only a few items come from the layer above the main deposition. These include a Mycenaean juglet and a kylix, a loom weight of clay, a stone weight, a round stone tool and two worked bones.

Finds, which belong to the main deposition include three White Slip II bowls, a Monochrome bowl, a Base-ring bowl, two White Painted Wheel-made bowls, two small hand-made bowls with black slip and a highly burnished surface – again almost identical to those from Pits B and Z6 –, two *Bucchero* jugs, a Coarse Ware baking tray and two Coarse Ware cooking pots. There are four Mycenaean imports: a shallow cup, a shallow bowl and two juglets. In addition, a part of an open vessel of faience, a bone needle, a bone shuttle and two *ovis/capra* astragali were deposited here. The most striking object from Pit Z7 is a spindle or distaff (fig. 21), of which the wooden spindle is partly preserved. There is a main whorl of ivory, of 3.0 cm diameter and 0.7 cm thick, which is decorated with rings and dots, and four whorls of 0.1–0.2 cm thin ivory discs of 2.8 cm diameter.

Here, too, the osteological and botanical materials are not studied yet. Our preliminary analysis of the material suggests a dating of the deposition to the LC IIC, i.e. the 13th century, thus being roughly contemporary with that of Pits B and Z6.



Fig. 21: Spindle/distaff of wood and ivory from Pit Z7
(photo T. Bürge).

The offering pits with tableware

Pit V (figs. 22, 23) and Pit GG are double-chamber pits in the shape of a recumbent “8”, very similar to that of Tomb X. All of them are orientated east–west. The maximum size of Pit V is approximately 3.55 m × 2.2 m, and that of Pit GG 2.8 m × 1.8–2.2 m. Since the contents of Pit V are processed it will be described in greater detail. Pit GG was excavated in June 2017. Consequently, the description of the finds is preliminary and cursorily.

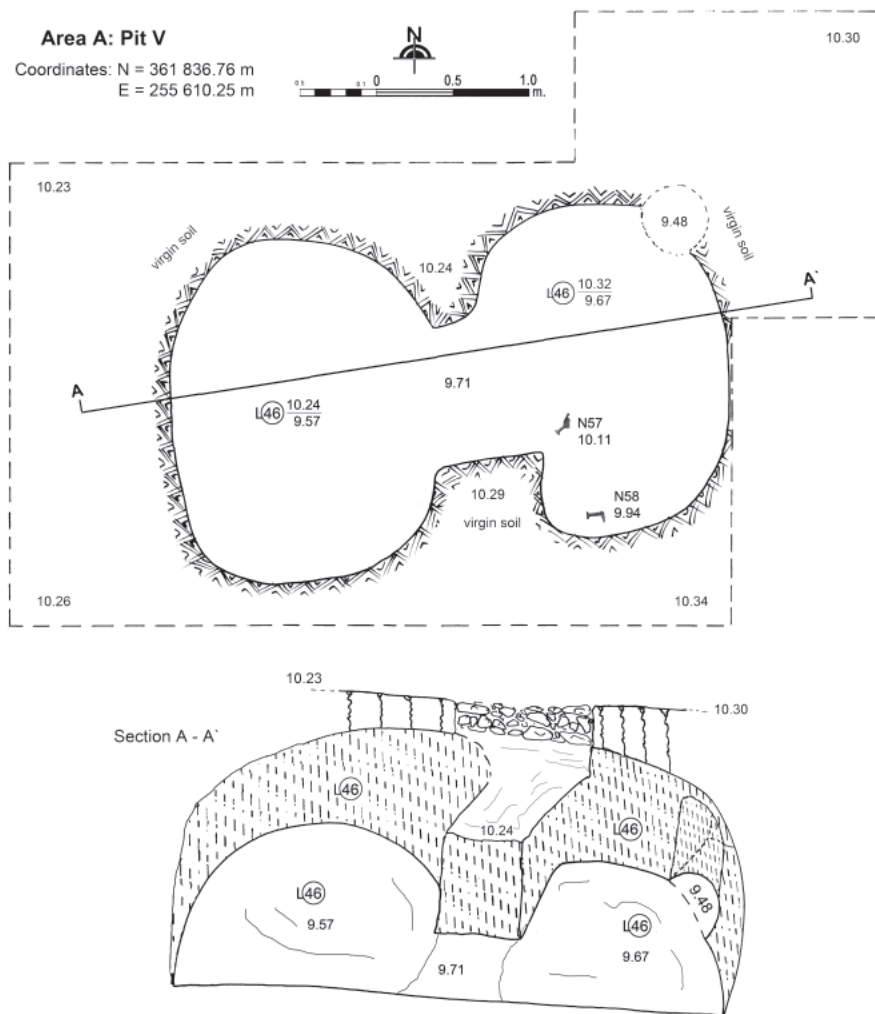


Fig. 22: Pit V: since the remains of vessels were discovered all over this double-pit they are not included in the drawing (drawing M. Al-Bataineh).

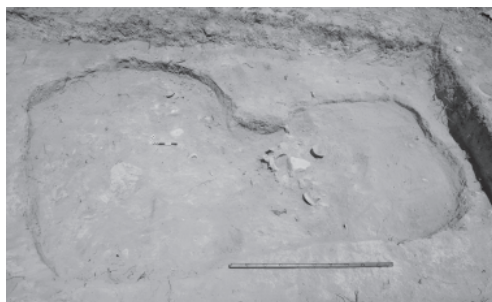


Fig. 23: Pit V: photo during excavation (photo T. Bürge).

Finds and chronology of Pit V

Except for a small fragment of a faience bowl there are only finds of pottery in Pit V. Considering the large number of fragments it was not possible to reconstruct all vessels in the short time at our disposal between the excavation and the present report. Therefore, only the reconstructed vessels, which have complete profiles or when large parts of the profile were preserved, will be mentioned (60 so far). Further conservation and study of the material will certainly increase the number of vessels.

Amongst the locally produced wares are eleven White Slip II bowls (one in fig. 24:1), two Base-ring I jugs with plastic decoration, three Base-ring II jugs with painted decoration, a Base-ring II juglet with painted decoration, three Base-ring bowls, a Base-ring jug or juglet, and a Base-ring juglet. In addition, two jugs of *Bucchero* ware have been reconstructed so far. White-Painted Wheel-made ware from Pit V includes five shallow bowls (one in fig. 24:3), a deep bowl (fig. 24:2), a spouted juglet of possible Mycenaean type, and a jug. Another bowl is of Plain-White Wheel-made ware. A handle of a jug of Plain ware with a potmark should be mentioned. There is also a White Shaved juglet and two Red Lustrous Wheel-made spindle bottles, of which petrography and neutron activation analyses are underway, in order to contribute to the study of the provenance of this ware.

A total of 19 Mycenaean imports have been recorded so far: six piriform jars (one in fig. 24:4), two straight-sided alabaster, a jug (fig. 24:7), a juglet, a jug with cutaway neck (fig. 24:6), a beaked jug (fig. 24:5), a stirrup jar, a flask (FS 190/192), and a krater (FS 8/9). There are four Mycenaean amphoroid kraters (FS 54/55) which have pictorial motifs (two of them in figs. 25, 26).

The well-stratified excavations at Tell el-^cAjjul with reference material from Cyprus, the Levant, and Egypt brought to light “early”, “normal/mature”, and “late” White Slip II.¹³³ According to the Tell el-^cAjjul classification, the “early type” is missing in the White Slip material of this feature, and only “normal/mature” (see one in fig. 24:1) and “late” are represented. At Tell el-^cAjjul, “normal/mature” White Slip II is dated to LC IIA–B.¹³⁴ The Base-ring I and II vessels are insecure chronological indicators: Base-ring I has a long life span and Base-ring II was used parallel with Base-ring I. The latest Base-ring II can be dated to the outgoing 13th century. The deep bowl of White Painted Wheel-made ware (fig. 24:2) has a pre-LC IIIA shape and decoration. The shallow bowls with carinated rim (one in fig. 24:3) are attested from the LC IIC–IIIA period.¹³⁵

¹³³ Fischer, 2003, 277.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 289.

¹³⁵ See references in Kling, 1989, 132 and fig. 5b.

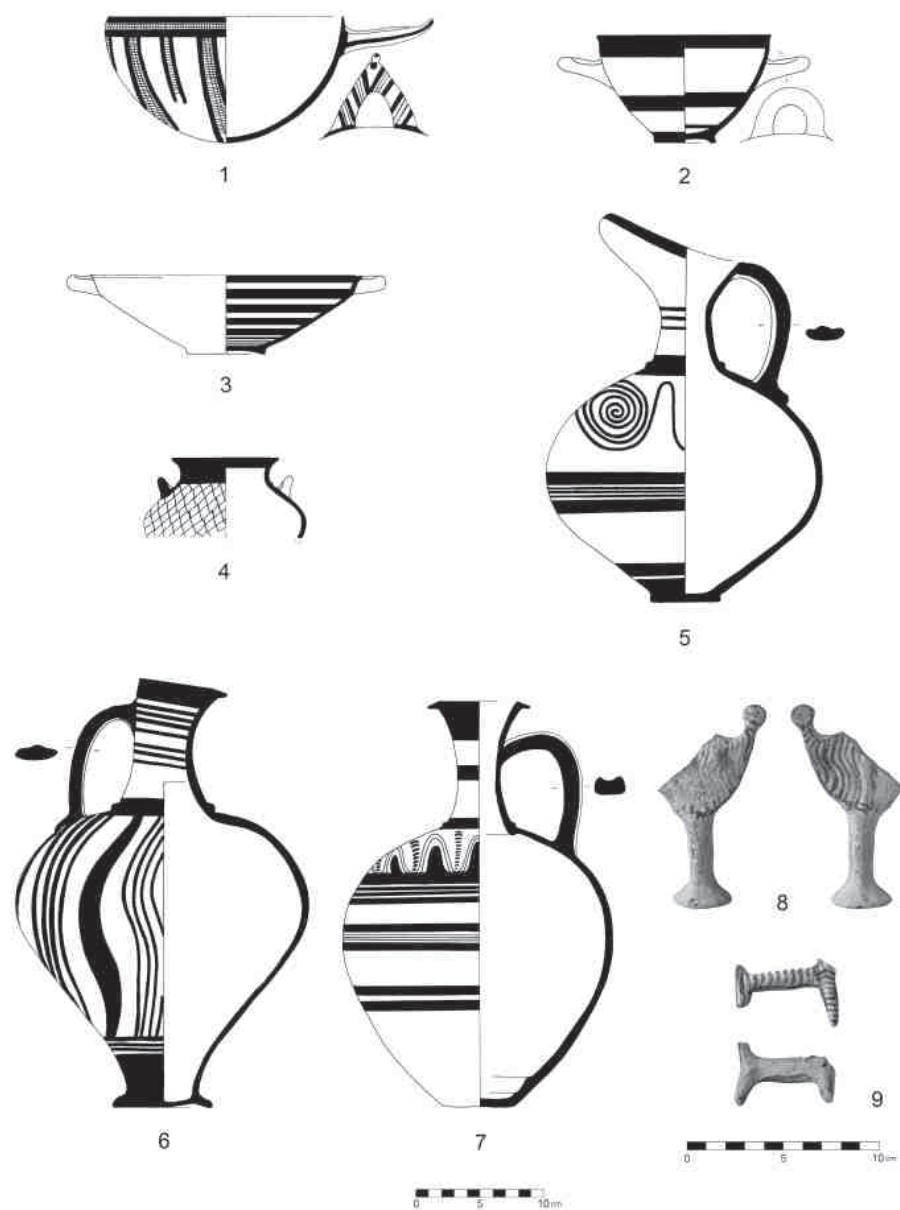


Fig. 24: Pit V: Selected pottery and figurines from Pit V
(drawings M. Al-Bataineh).

The earliest Mycenaean imports are represented, for instance, by a beaked jug (FS 144/145; fig. 24:5) decorated with curve-stemmed spirals (FM 49) on the shoulder/belly and a tassel (FM 72) below the handle. A beaked jug from LH IIIA1 Ialysos/Rhodes¹³⁶ shows the same decoration, which makes a date of our beaked jug into the LH IIIA1 period likely. In addition, one of the piriform jars (FS 47; fig. 24:4) with scale pattern (FM 70) may be dated in the LH IIIA1 period. However, the fabric and surface treatment is more at home in the local pottery repertoire, which has been confirmed by our ongoing petrographic study. The jug with cutaway neck (FS 132/133; fig. 24:6) and curved stripes (FM 67) is attested from LH IIIA1, for instance, at Vourvatsi/Attica,¹³⁷ and remains almost identical until LH IIIA2 late, after which it dies out.¹³⁸

Nevertheless, the great majority of the recorded Mycenaean vessels with complete or almost complete profiles, which comprise mainly kraters and closed shapes, can be dated to the LH IIIA2–B period. There is an import in the shape of a narrow-necked jug (FS 120; fig. 24:7), the decoration, fabric, and surface face treatment of which strongly suggest an import from the Minoan sphere of culture. The shape is attested from the LH IIIA2 period¹³⁹ until the LH IIIB1 period. The decoration on the shoulder with semicircles (FM 43) and parallel arcs in between has a parallel on a stirrup jar from LM/LH IIIA2 Karpathos/Dodecanese.¹⁴⁰

The lower part of the vessel with the large female figure next to a chariot and another minor individual (fig. 25) most likely belongs to a large amphoroid krater. The decoration of this vessel is unusual in many respects, may even be unique. The pictorial decoration is applied on the lower part of the vessel, which usually is decorated only with horizontal bands. Female figures appear on Mycenaean kraters with chariots but are always very stylized. Our female with the bell-shaped dress with panels and volants, who is painted in great detail, closely resembles representations of females on Aegean wall paintings and seals.¹⁴¹ A very remote and much more stylized “parallel” is a fragment of a krater from Kouklia / Palaipaphos.¹⁴² We suggest a LH IIIA2 date for our vessel.

¹³⁶ Mountjoy, 1999, 991, fig. 401:10.

¹³⁷ Mountjoy, 1986, 58, fig. 66:1.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁴⁰ Mountjoy, 1999, 976, fig. 397:13.

¹⁴¹ See e.g. Immerwahr, 1990, pls. 22, 23, 55, 56, 57; see also the compilation by Warren, 2005, 140–141.

¹⁴² Vermeule / Karageorghis, 1982, no. III. 11.



Fig. 25: Pit V: LH IIIA2 chariot krater; head reconstructed
(photo P.M. Fischer, drawing M. Al-Bataineh).

The amphoroid kraters with chariot scenes on both sides (FS 53–55) could almost completely be reconstructed. The first, (fig. 26), which depicts two chariots with two people and a pair of horses on each side, is moving from left to right. There are details in white paint and an “H”-shaped potmark under the base of this vessel. On the second chariot krater the chariots, horses, and people are moving from right to left. The direction is unusual, as by far the most frequent direction is from left to right. Similar chariots are known from Cyprus,¹⁴³ Ugarit,¹⁴⁴ and Tel Dan.¹⁴⁵ Compared to the other chariot krater the decoration is more sloppily executed and the details in white paint are missing. A good parallel as regards style, fill motifs, and execution comes from Ugarit and was dated to the LH IIIB (ripe pictorial) period.¹⁴⁶ Both our chariot kraters can be dated to the LH IIIA2–IIIB period, and should be located close to the end of this time span.

¹⁴³ Ibid., nos. IV.2, 27, 48, 65–67 and V.1, 2.

¹⁴⁴ Yon *et al.*, 2000, 216, fig. 6, no. 39; 243 pl. I, no. 39 / VK 12.

¹⁴⁵ Ben-Dov, 2002, 100–102, 110–111.

¹⁴⁶ Yon *et al.*, 2000, 217, fig. 7, no. 40; 243, pl. I, no. 40 / VK 10.

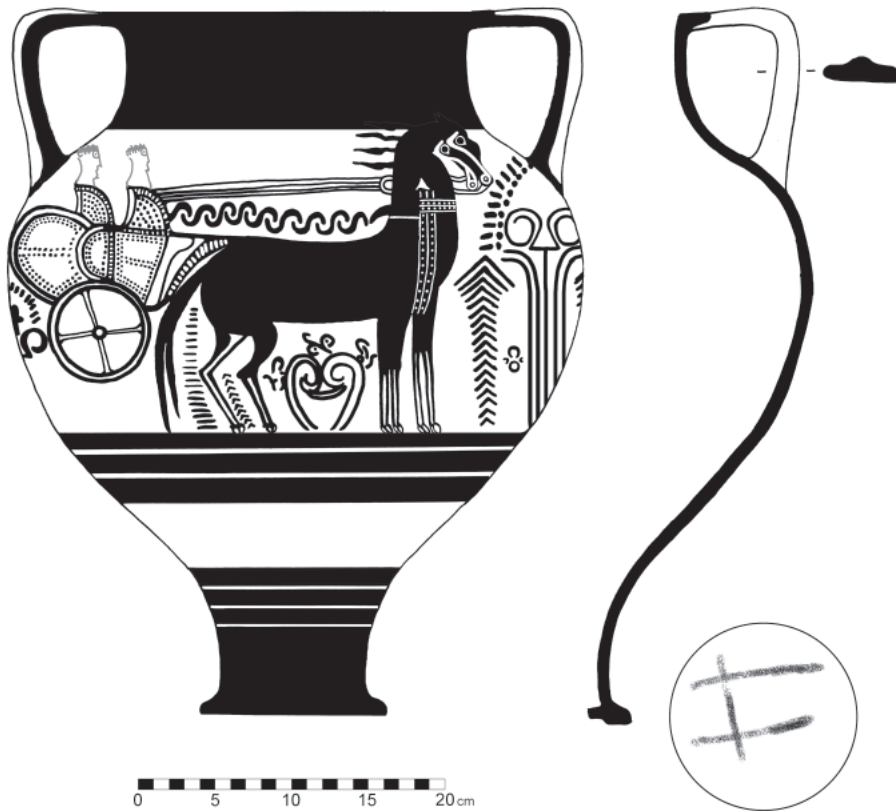


Fig. 26: Pit V: LH IIIA2–B amphoroid chariot krater
(drawing M. Al-Bataineh).

In general, the relatively high number of rare, skilfully executed, pictorial vessels in Pit V, shows that there was some demand for these exclusive objects at Hala Sultan Tekke. The three vessels with chariots may indicate that their owners participated in warfare and/or hunting, or they may refer to a (funerary) procession.¹⁴⁷ The painted motifs are meant to highlight their social status: The possession of horses certainly was restricted to members of a high social class,¹⁴⁸ as these animals were not only expensive to acquire but also to maintain.

The two figurines from Pit V include a Mycenaean Psi-figurine (fig. 24:8) and a Mycenaean part of a horse (fig. 24:9), which belonged to a chariot. In addition, two fragments of other horse and chariot figurines were found. Considering the rare occurrence of these figurines in the Levant and especially on Cyprus,¹⁴⁹ it is even more remarkable that more than two come from one and the same context. In addition, it seems not to be coincidental that three chariot kraters and parts of ceramic chariots were found in the same context. Despite a possible cultic mean-

¹⁴⁷ Steel, 1998, 293–294.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. e.g. Pappi / Isaakidou, 2015.

¹⁴⁹ See discussion and references in Fischer / Bürge, 2017b, 208.

ing of horses or chariots in the Late Bronze Age Cypriot society, which in any case would be difficult to assess, the combination of painted decoration of chariots on pottery and chariot figurines can be interpreted as an expression of a wealthy élite.

In summary, some of the Mycenaean imports can be dated to the LH IIIA1 period (or roughly the first half of the 14th century B.C.E.). However, the majority of the pottery should be dated from the LC IIB / LH IIIA2 to the LC IIC / LH IIIB period, i.e. from 1350–1200 B.C.E. There are no sherds which can be dated to a period later than LH IIIB or LC IIC. As this time span of c. 200 years seems relatively long for one single deposition episode, it is evident that more than one deposition is reflected in the backfill of this pit. The pit contained exclusively pottery, mainly fine tableware, and two figurines. We suggest that many objects were broken and deposited in the course of rituals very likely in connection with the burials in Tomb X (see below) and/or other nearby tombs.

A preliminary report of Pit GG

The contents of Pit GG resemble to a large extent that of Pit V. Except for one complete cooking pot high up in the pit the remainder of the rich contents is fragmentary. In addition to a large amount of pottery there is a bronze arrow head and an ivory disk. The pottery consists mainly of local and imported fine wares, for instance, Base-ring, White Slip II and Mycenaean, amongst them fragments of at least three chariot kraters. The chronology does not differ very much from that of Pit V, i.e. the majority of the pottery should be dated from the LC IIB / LH IIIA2 to the LC IIC / LH IIIB period, i.e. from 1350–1200 B.C.E.

Conclusions: burial practices, offering rituals and feasting at Hala Sultan Tekke

Ever more evidence supports our hypothesis that Area A, which is directly to the west of the mosque of Hala Sultan Tekke, together with the area of the deep ditch (the irrigation channel built in 1952) between Area A and the area of the mosque, and the actual area surrounding the mosque, have functioned as a cemetery (see fig. 3). If we discard the extremely incomplete and insecure information on the location of numerous looted and (re)excavated tombs from the early diggings at Hala Sultan Tekke in the 1890s, there are another four tombs which were recorded in the 1960s and 1980s (see above). In addition, we received fairly reliable information by local people, who during previous decades actually participated in construction work in the area to the east (irrigation channel) and south of Area A, that many more tombs were disturbed, looted and finally destroyed between 1968 and our expedition. Consequently, the total number of tombs in this roughly 2 ha area is considerable. In addition, there are no stone structures which could point to a settled area and which eliminate the possibility that these tombs are intramural features.

However, there is also evidence of a number of intramural tombs at Late Bronze Age Hala Sultan Tekke: City Quarters 1–3 in the northern part of the city and close to the ancient harbour, which are some 500–600 m to the west, flourished in LC IIC/IIIA (fig. 1).¹⁵⁰ In CQ2 we exposed an intramural LC IIA–B tomb, and

¹⁵⁰ Fischer, 2011; Fischer, 2012b; Fischer / Bürge, 2013; Fischer / Bürge, 2014; Fischer / Bürge, 2015; Fischer / Bürge, 2016; Fischer / Bürge, 2017a; Fischer / Bürge, 2018b.

in Area 8, which is to the south of CQ1, there is another very rich, intramural, tomb, Tomb 23, from LC IIIA (see refs. above).

Another area, Area 23 to the west of Area 22, contains four tombs (Tombs 20–22, 24) and eight wells which were found in a spatially restricted zone (western part in fig. 1). The four tombs are dated to LC IB–IIC.¹⁵¹ In Area 23 though, it seems that the tombs are to some extent separated from the wells which is not the case in Area A where the tombs are intermingled with the wells. The authors also mentioned that two of these tombs, Tombs 20 and 24, might have been intramural tombs and that the absence of architectural remains could be explained by destruction during farming. Prospecting by georadar, which our team carried out in 2012, seems to confirm that farming has destroyed stone structures in this area. Therefore, it seems that both burials in specifically reserved areas and intramural burials occurred simultaneously at Late Cypriot Hala Sultan Tekke, at least from LC IB onwards.

Despite the relatively simple architectural design of Tomb X with two chambers in the shape of a recumbent “8”, which could be approached from a single shaft, the number and quality of the finds point to individuals of high rank who might have belonged to the ruling class of the city of Hala Sultan Tekke. The sequence of the buried seventeen individuals, who comprised eight infants and nine adults, could not be fully established, because the remains of previously buried individuals were swept aside before each new interment.¹⁵² An explanation for the find situation in Tomb X may be that a secondary treatment of the deceased took place. Such treatments may include exhumations of older burials in order to inter them into the new tomb together with the most recently deceased.¹⁵³ This practice was suggested by Keswani for a number of other tombs from the Early and Middle Cypriot¹⁵⁴ to the Late Cypriot period.¹⁵⁵ It is also possible that the tomb – at least partly – was emptied and refilled again with the same material, which would explain the extremely high fragmentation of human bones. Judging from local and imported pottery, Tomb X was in use from roughly the second half of the 16th century to 1200 B.C.E., i.e. from LC IB to IIC.

A similar secondary treatment of the skeletal remains of the deceased is evident in Tomb LL, where no complete skeletons but only parts were found. However, the material from this tomb needs further studies since it has been discovered just a couple of months ago before this manuscript was submitted (June 2017). The question if Tombs X and LL were used for related individuals – which is our hypothesis – may be answered by the planned aDNA project. In addition, the movements of these individuals during their life time and/or possible immigration will be investigated by $87\text{Sr}/86\text{Sr}$ isotopic analyses.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ Åström / Nys, 2007, 27.

¹⁵² Cf. the corresponding situation at Toumba tou Skourou: Vermeule / Wolsky, 1990, 324–325.

¹⁵³ Keswani, 2004, 101–104, 158.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 191–192, table 4.1.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 217–218, table 5.1.

¹⁵⁶ These analyses will be carried out in connection with an advanced grant financed by the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences, which will run from 2017 to 2021.

The relatively high number of pits in Area A, which did not contain human skeletal remains but complete objects including high amounts of tableware may give us insights into feasts and rituals related to the burials. Pit V, only a couple of metres north of Tomb X is also a double pit with a shape and orientation which mirrors almost exactly that of Tomb X: a recumbent “8” aligned west–east. It contained exclusively ceramic products of mainly fine tableware, and two figurines – but no skeletons. All the vessels have been intentionally broken and thrown into the chambers. No doubt, many lower parts of large vessels show an untypical break-pattern, viz. they were deliberately cut to form cups, which points to their secondary use as drinking vessels before they were thrown into the chambers – possibly combined with deliberate breaking, i.e. “ritual killing” of vessels.¹⁵⁷ We suggest that the vessels from this pit were deposited in the course of rituals and worship of the departed – very likely in connection with burials and during ceremonies honouring earlier deceased relatives or important persons. We can assume a similar function of Pit GG. As the suggested time span based on the pottery from Pit V, i.e. roughly 1350–1200 B.C.E. (see above), excludes a single deposition, it is evident that this pit has been used for a considerable time. Thus, it is likely that the contents of the pit come from somewhere else and were finally deposited there: rituals connected with the burials or worship of the deceased might have taken place at various locations in the area, and the material remains from these ceremonies might have been moved to their final resting place in various pits: one of them is Pit V, another seems to be Pit GG, the material of which needs further study.

In addition, there are offering pits in Area A, which have a circular layout and contain mainly complete objects including pottery, both table and kitchen ware comprising cooking pots and baking trays, figurines, textile production tools, metal objects and objects related to cultic activity such as astragali, notched scapulae and other notched bones. These pits most likely reflect a single deposition according to the life-span of the deposited objects. We have already suggested elsewhere that Offering Pit P and Tomb 2 from 1976 – both are along the western edge of the irrigation channel – are associated with each other.¹⁵⁸ The fairly rich but partly looted Tomb 2¹⁵⁹ contained numerous skeletons whereas Pit P had several complete vessels but no skeletons. We propose that Pit P functioned for the deposition of offerings during a ritual connected with the earliest burial of Tomb 2 and/or other burials in its vicinity. Karageorghis dated the earliest burials of Tomb 2 to the end of LC I or the end of the 15th century B.C.E.¹⁶⁰ We suggested LC IB, roughly the 15th century B.C.E. for Pit P,¹⁶¹ based on White Slip I bi-chrome which is present in both features. Offering Pits B, Z6 and Z7 may have had similar functions: Pit B may reflect offerings connected to one (or more) of the burials in Tomb 1, which is dated starting at the end of the LC IIB and lasting to the end of the LC IIC period, i.e. covering roughly the time span from 1320–

¹⁵⁷ On this topic see e.g. Morrison / Park, 2008.

¹⁵⁸ Fischer / Bürge, 2016, 51–53; Fischer / Bürge, 2017b, 210.

¹⁵⁹ Karageorghis, 1976.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁶¹ Fischer / Bürge, 2016, 52.

1200 B.C.E.¹⁶² No tombs can be associated to Offering Pits Z6 and Z7 – possibly because the tombs have not been discovered yet. Other explanations may be that all these offering pits are not directly associated to any specific burial or that the position and the proximity between a burial and the associated offering pit was less important to the people of Hala Sultan Tekke than we may expect.

Feasting rituals, and in specific those for the deceased, are not only attested in Cyprus, but also in the Aegean, the Levant, and Egypt.¹⁶³ However, in these regions outside Cyprus there is plenty of written and iconographic evidence of such rituals, whereas on Cyprus we have to rely solely on the archaeological evidence. This evidence includes mainly deposits of tableware similar to that of our Pits V and GG, in combination with large amounts of animal bones and other food remains, such as seeds. This is reported from the administrative building X at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*.¹⁶⁴ Another interesting parallel are the fillings of two wells, TE III and TE VIII, at Kouklia *Evreti*,¹⁶⁵ which contained fragments of local, and Mycenaean and Minoan imported ceramics, bronze vessels and weapons, faience and stone objects, textile production and metallurgical tools, seals and weights, worked bones, animal horns, and an ivory hoard. This deposit may at least partly display the disposal of feasting debris, which was accumulated over a long period of time.

The interior of the ashlar-built Tomb 66 at Enkomi, which is one of the wealthiest tombs known in Cyprus, with a low bench against two of the walls allowed several persons to sit or stand inside. Crewe¹⁶⁶ therefore suggested that such stone-built tombs not only housed the deceased but were also places for ritual feasting, a practice which has parallels in the Aegean and in the Near East, where this kind of tomb architecture and such rituals are well-documented – for instance at Ugarit, Byblos or Qatna.¹⁶⁷

At Hala Sultan Tekke, not only Pits B, P, Z6, Z7, V and GG reflect the remains of ritual feasting or offering. There are also a number of well fillings which may display feasting debris,¹⁶⁸ similar to those at Kouklia *Evreti*. In addition, there are a number of shallow pits (AA1–AA5; see position in fig. 3), which may also be interpreted as offering pits. As the evaluation of the material of these features is still ongoing, no conclusions can be presented yet. Drinking and serving vessels found in the Late Bronze Age tombs at Hala Sultan Tekke could also have been used for feasting rituals, before they were placed next to the deceased. In order to establish, what exactly might have been consumed during these rituals, residue analyses of vessels in the tombs and offering pits are needed and planned. Narrow-necked containers, which may have contained unguents or scented oils, were possibly used for libation or represent personal belongings of or gifts to the buried persons. Jewellery, scarabs, seals and weapons from the tombs certainly were personal items disclosing the rank of the deceased.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶² Karageorghis, 1976, 89.

¹⁶³ E.g. Wright, 2004; Pfälzner *et al.*, 2014.

¹⁶⁴ South / Russell, 1993; Steel, 2004a, 169–174.

¹⁶⁵ Von Rügen *et al.*, 2016.

¹⁶⁶ Crewe, 2009.

¹⁶⁷ Niehr, 2015.

¹⁶⁸ Bürge, 2017.

¹⁶⁹ Keswani, 2004, 136–139.

The particularly high amount of Mycenaean imported vessels in Tomb X (roughly 20%) is not surprising, and is comparable to other Late Bronze Age élite burials on Cyprus (Steel 1998; South 2006).¹⁷⁰ The percentage of Mycenaean imports in Pit V is even higher (roughly 35%) – which may have also chronological reasons, as the bulk of material from this pit can be dated to the period of most intense influx of pottery from the Aegean to Cyprus. In contrast, apart from a few sherds, there are no complete Mycenaean imported vessels in Tomb LL – the only Aegean import is the complete Late Minoan II/IIIA1 piriform jar with the bird motifs which is quite a unique find on Cyprus. Therefore, we suggest that Tomb LL should be dated to the period before the bulk of Mycenaean vessels reached Cyprus, i.e. before the LH IIIA2 period (or around 1400 B.C.E.). However, the high number of Mycenaean imports found in tombs during the LC IIB–C (LH IIIA2–IIIB) period needs further explanations other than merely the presence of Mycenaeans in Cyprus which certainly was the case. It seems that these imports – especially the skilfully decorated pictorial vessels – functioned as status symbol of the Late Cypriot élite and may first have been used in domestic contexts and then deposited in tombs.¹⁷¹ This would explain the low percentage of Mycenaean imports usually found in the settlement of Hala Sultan Tekke (approximately 1–2%). It would go beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the complex topic of functional development of Mycenaean imports in Cyprus in sepulchral or ritual contexts but a gradual appropriation of Mycenaean imported drinking sets in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E. is well documented.¹⁷² This goes along with a decrease of the variety of shapes in local fine wares, such as White Slip II and Base-ring, which is also visible in Tomb X and Pit V. Compared to the Greek mainland, the range of shapes is restricted. At the same time, specific shapes are especially popular or occur exclusively in Cyprus, which suggests that there was a specific need and demand for this ware on the island¹⁷³ and implies that these vessels met the taste of a Cypriot élite.

The imported tomb gifts from the Late Bronze Age tombs at Hala Sultan Tekke in general, and in specific from Tomb X, derived from a vast area stretching from mainland Greece over Crete to the Levant and from Anatolia (possibly) to Egypt to the south. This underlines the importance of Hala Sultan Tekke as a harbour and a hub for trade and intercultural relations in the Late Bronze Age. As regards burial practices and the connection between the tombs and the offering pits at Hala Sultan Tekke, the evidence from Area A contributes to a better understanding of burial practices in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

References

- AlQahtani, S.J. / Hector, M.P. / Liversidge, H.M., 2010: Brief Communication: The London Atlas of Human Tooth Development and Eruption. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 142. 481–490.

¹⁷⁰ Steel, 1998; South, 2006.

¹⁷¹ Steel, 1998, 293; Steel, 2004b, 77–78.

¹⁷² E.g. Steel, 1998; 2004b; van Wijngaarden, 2002, 183–202; Graziadio / Pezzi, 2009; Graziadio / Pezzi, 2013.

¹⁷³ Van Wijngaarden, 2002, 183–202; Steel, 2004b; Steel, 2013, 130–131.

- Amiet, P., 1992: *Corpus des cylindres de Ras Shamra-Ougarit*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Aston, D., 2012: Radiocarbon, Wine Jars and New Kingdom Chronology. Egypt and the Levant. *International Journal for Egyptian Archaeology and Related Disciplines* 22–23. 289–315.
- Åström, P., 1972a: Relative and Absolute Chronology, Foreign Relations, Historical Conclusions. In L. Åström / P. Åström (eds.): *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Volume IV, Part 1D. The Late Cypriote Bronze Age. Other Arts and Crafts – Relative and Absolute Chronology, Foreign, Relations, Historical Conclusions*. Lund: The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. 675–855.
- Åström, P., 1972b: *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Volume IV, Part 1C. The Late Cypriote Bronze Age. Architecture and Pottery*. Lund: The Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Åström, P. / Åström, E. / Hatziantoniou, A. / Niklasson, K. / Öbrink, U. (eds.), 1983: *Hala Sultan Tekke 8. Excavations 1971–1979*. Göteborg: Åström.
- Åström, P. / Nys, K. (eds.), 2007: *Hala Sultan Tekke 12. Tomb 24, Stone Anchors, Faunal Remains and Pottery Provenance*. Sävedalen: Åström.
- Bachhuber, C., 2006: Aegean Interest on the Uluburun Ship. *American Journal of Archaeology* 110. 345–363.
- Bailey, D.M., 1976: The British Museum Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke in 1897 and 1898. The Material in the British Museum. In P. Åström / D.M. Bailey / V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Hala Sultan Tekke 1. Excavations 1897–1971*. Göteborg: Åström. 1–32.
- Ben-Dov, R., 2002: The Late Bronze Age “Mycenaean” Tomb. In A. Biran / R. Ben-Dov (eds.): *A Chronicle of the Excavations and the Late Bronze Age “Mycenaean” Tomb*. Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology. 35–234.
- Ben-Tor, A. / Bonfil, R., 2003: The Stratigraphy and Pottery Assemblages of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages in Area A. In A. Ben-Tor / R. Bonfil / S. Zuckerman (eds.), *Tel Qashish. A Village in the Jezreel Valley. Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1978–1987)*. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University. 185–276.
- Bietak, M., 2003: Science versus Archaeology: Problems and Consequences of High Egyptian Chronology. In M. Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. II. Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000 – EuroConference, Haindorf, 2nd of May – 7th of May 2001*. Vienna. 23–33.
- Brandl, B., 1993: Scarabs and Other Glyptic Finds. In I. Finkelstein / S. Bunimovitz / Z. Lederman (eds.), *Shiloh. The Archaeology of a Biblical Site*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology. 203–222.
- Brandl, H., 2010: The 1992 Hoard Called the “New Treasure” of Bubastis. In M. I. Bakr / H. Brandl / F. Kalloniatis (eds.): *Egyptian Antiquities. From Kufur Nigm and Bubastis*. Berlin: Opaion. 207–215.
- Bronk Ramsey, C. / Manning, S.W. / Galimberti, M., 2004: Dating the Volcanic Eruption at Thera. *Radiocarbon* 46, H. 1. 325–344.
- Bürge, T., 2017: Ritual Depositions versus Garbage Pits: A Re-evaluation of Pottery Deposits and Offering Pits at the Late Bronze Age City of Hala Sultan

- Tekke, Cyprus. Egypt and the Levant 27, 133–150.
- Catling, H.W., 1964: Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Courtois, J.-C. / Courtois, L., 1978: Corpus céramique de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Niveaux historiques d'Ugarit. Bronze Moyen et Bronze Récent. In C.F.-A. Schaeffer (ed.): Ugaritica VII. Paris: Collège de France. 191–370.
- Crewe, L., 2007: Early Enkomi. Regionalism, Trade and Society at the Beginning of the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Crewe, L., 2009: Feasting with the Dead? Tomb 66 at Enkomi. In T. Kiely (ed.), Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum. Essays in Honour of Veronica Tatton-Brown. London: British Museum Press. 27–48.
- Crouwel, J.H. / Morris, C. E., 1995: Pictorial Pottery of Late Minoan II–III A2 Early from Knossos. The Annual of the British School at Athens 90. 157–182.
- Dasen, V., 2013: Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Eggler, J. / Keel, O., 2006: Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien. Vom Neolithikum bis zur Perserzeit. Fribourg: Academic press / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Eriksson, K.O., 1991: Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware: A Product of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In J.A. Barlow / D.R. Bolger / B. Kling (eds.): Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record. Philadelphia: A.G. Leventis Foundation; The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania. 81–96.
- 1993: Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware. Jonsered: Åström.
- 2001: Cypriot Ceramics in Egypt during the Reign of Thutmose III: The Evidence of Trade for Synchronizing the Late Cypriot Cultural Sequence with Egypt at the Beginning of the Late Bronze Age. In P. Åström (ed.): The Chronology of Base-Ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-Made Ware. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held in the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm, May 18–19, 2000. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 51–68.
- 2007a: The Creative Independence of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. An Account of the Archaeological Importance of White Slip Ware. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- 2007b: Using Cypriot Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware to Establish Cultural and Chronological Synchronisms during the Late Bronze Age. In I. Hein (ed.): The Lustrous Wares of Late Bronze Age Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. Papers of a Conference, Vienna 5th–6th November 2004. Vienna. 51–60.
- Fischer, P.M., 1980: Applications of Technical Devices in Archaeology. The Use of X-rays, Microscope, Electrical and Electro-magnetic Devices and Subsurface Interface Radar. Göteborg: Åström.
- 1986: Prehistoric Cypriot Skulls. A Medico-anthropological, Archaeological and Micro-analytical Investigation. Göteborg: Åström.
- 1997: A Late Bronze to Early Iron Age Tomb at *Saḥem*, Jordan. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2003: The Preliminary Chronology of Tell el-^cAjjul: Results of the Renewed Excavations in 1999 and 2000. In M. Bietak (ed.): The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. II. Proceedings of the SCIE M 2000 – EuroConference, Haindorf, 2nd of May –

- 7th of May 2001. Vienna. 263–294.
- 2006: Tell Abu al-Kharaz in the Jordan Valley. II: The Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
 - 2009: The Chronology of Tell el-ʿAjjul, Gaza: Stratigraphy, Thera, Pumice and Radiocarbon Dating. In D.A. Warburton (ed.): *Time’s Up! Dating the Minoan Eruption of Santorini*. Acts of the Minoan Eruption Chronology Workshop, Sandbjerg, November 2007. Århus. 253–265.
 - 2011: The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2010: Excavations at Dromolaxia *Vizatzia*/Hala Sultan Tekke. Preliminary Results. With Appendices by P. Klingborg, F. and F. Kärffve, C. Hagberg, O. Svensson, S. Macheridis and L. Franz. *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 4. 69–98.
 - 2012a: SIMA and the New Swedish Cyprus Expedition at Hala Sultan Tekke. In J.M. Webb / D. Frankel (eds.): *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology: Fifty Years On*. Uppsala: Åström. 73–80.
 - 2012b: The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2011: Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke. Preliminary Results. With appendices by T. Bürge, L. Franz and R. Feldbacher. *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 5. 89–112.
 - 2013: Tell Abu al-Kharaz in the Jordan Valley. III: The Iron Age. Including special studies by Teresa Bürge and Eva Maria Wild. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
 - 2017: The 12th Century BCE Destructions and the Abandonment of Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus. In P.M. Fischer / T. Bürge (eds.): “Sea Peoples” Up-to-Date. New Research on Transformations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th–11th Centuries BCE (Proceedings of the ESF-Workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 3–4 November 2014). Vienna. 177–206.
- Fischer, P.M. / Bürge, T., 2013: The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2012: Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke. Preliminary Results. With Contributions by I. Trinks, B. Stolle, K. Heiß, J.A.I. van der Does & D.M. Blattner. *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 6. 45–79.
- / —, 2014: The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2013: Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke. Preliminary Results. *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 7. 61–106.
 - / — 2015: The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2014: Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke. Preliminary Results. *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 8. 27–79.
 - / — 2016: The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2015: Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke. Preliminary Results. *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 9. 33–58.
 - / — 2017a: The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2016: Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke (The Söderberg Expedition). Preliminary results. With contributions by L. Recht, D. Kofel and D. Kaniewski, N. Marriner & C. Morhange. *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 10. 50–93.
 - / — 2017b: Tombs and Offering Pits at the Late Bronze Age Metropolis of Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 377. 161–218.

- / — 2018a: The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2017: Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke (The Söderberg Expedition). *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 11, 29–79.
- / — 2018b: Two Late Cypriot City Quarters Hala Sultan Tekke: The Söderberg Expedition 2010–2017. Uppsala: Åström.
- Fischer, P.M. / Sadeq, M., 2000: Tell el-^cAjjul 1999. A Joint Palestinian-Swedish Field Project: First Season Preliminary Report. *Egypt and the Levant. International Journal for Egyptian Archaeology and Related Disciplines* 10, 211–226.
- / —, 2002: Tell el-^cAjjul 2000. Second Season Preliminary Report. *Egypt and the Levant. International Journal for Egyptian Archaeology and Related Disciplines* 12, 109–153.
- French, E., 1967: Pottery from Late Helladic IIIB 1 Destruction Contexts at Mycenae. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 62, 149–193.
- Friedrich, W.L. / Heinemeier, J., 2009: The Minoan Eruption of Santorini Radiocarbon Dated to 1613 ± 13 BC. In D.A. Warburton (ed.): *Time's Up! Dating the Minoan Eruption of Santorini. Acts of the Minoan Eruption Chronology Workshop*, Sandbjerg, November 2007. Århus, 65–63.
- Furumark, A., 1941: *The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification*. Stockholm: Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
- Gilmour, G.H., 1997: The Nature and Function of Astragalus Bones from Archaeological Contexts in the Levant and Eastern Mediterranean. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 16, H. 2, 167–175.
- Goring, 1983: Goring, E. S.: *Late Cypriot Goldwork*. Ph. D. thesis.
- Grave, P. / Kealhofer, L. / Marsh, B. / Schoop, U.-D. / Seeher, J. / Bennett, J. W. / Stopic, A., 2014: *Ceramics, Trade, Provenience and Geology: Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age*. *Antiquity* 88, H. 342, 1180–1200.
- Graziadio, G., 2013: The Importance of Mouth Coverings in the Late Cypriot Burial Customs. In L. Bombardieri / A. D'Agostino / G. Guarducci / V. Orsi / S. Valentini (eds.): *SOMA 2012. Identity and Connectivity. Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology*, Florence, Italy, 1–3 March 2012. Oxford: Archaeopress, 345–351.
- Graziadio, G. / Pezzi, E., 2009: The Late Bronze Age Tombs at Enkomi (Cyprus): A Case Study. In E. Borgna / P. Càssola Guida (eds.): *Dall'Egeo all'Adriatico. Organizzazioni sociali, modi di scambio e interazione in età postpalaziale (XII–XI sec. a. C.)*. Atti del seminario internazionale (Udine, 1–2 dicembre 2006). Roma: Ed. Quasar, 63–78.
- Graziadio, G. / Pezzi, E., 2013: Some Considerations on the Function of the Mycenaean Pottery Found in the Enkomi Tombs. *Pasiphae. Rivista di filologia e antichità egee* 7, 67–76.
- Guy, P.L.O., 1938: *Megiddo Tombs*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hamilton, R.W., 1935: Excavations at Tell Abu Hawam. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 4, 1–69.
- Hirschfeld, N.E., 2011: The Cypriot Ceramic Cargo of the Uluburun Shipwreck. In W. Gauß / M. Lindblom / R.A.K. Smith / J.C. Wright (eds.): *Our Cups are Full: Pottery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age. Papers Presented to Jeremy B. Rutter on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 115–120.

- Immerwahr, S.A., 1990: *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*. University Park Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Johnson, J., 1980: *Maroni de Chypre*. Göteborg: Åström.
- Jung, R., 2011: Innovative Cooks and New Dishes: Cypriote Pottery in the 13th and 12th Centuries BC and its Historical interpretation. In V. Karageorghis / O. Kouka (eds.): *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loomweights and Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighbouring Regions*. An International Archaeological Symposium Held in Nicosia, November 6th–7th, 2010. Nicosia. 57–85.
- Karageorghis, V., 1976: Two Late Bronze Age Tombs from Hala Sultan Tekke. In P. Åström / D.M. Bailey / V. Karageorghis (eds.): *Hala Sultan Tekke 1. Excavations 1897–1971*. Göteborg: Åström. 71–89.
- 1983: *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1982*. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 107, H. 2. 905–953.
- 1984: *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1983*. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 108, H. 2. 893–966.
- 2012: III. The Artefacts. In V. Karageorghis/Y. Violaris (eds.), *Tombs of the Late Bronze Age in the Limassol Area, Cyprus. (17th–13th Centuries BC)*. Nicosia: Municipality of Limassol. 219–241.
- Karageorghis, V. / Violaris, Y. (eds.), 2012: *Tombs of the Late Bronze Age in the Limassol Area, Cyprus. (17th–13th Centuries BC)*. Nicosia: Municipality of Limassol.
- Keel, O., 1997: *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Katalog, I: Von Tell Abu Farağ bis ʿAtlit*. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 2010a: *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Katalog, II: Von Bahanan bis Tell Eton*. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 2010b: *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Katalog, III: Von Tell el-Farʿa Nord bis Tell el-Fir*. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 2013: *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Katalog, IV: Von Tel Gamma bis Chirbet Husche*. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Keel, O. / Shuval, M. / Uehlinger, C., 1990: *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel, III: Die frühe Eisenzeit. Ein Workshop*. Fribourg: Academic press / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Kenna, V. E. G., 1971: *Catalogue of the Cypriote seals of the Bronze Age in the British Museum*. Göteborg: Åström.
- Keswani, P., 2004: *Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus*. London: Equinox.
- Kling, B., 1989: *Mycenaean IIC:1b and Related Pottery in Cyprus*. Göteborg: Åström.
- Knappett, C., 2000: *The Provenance of Red Lustrous Wheel-Made Ware. Cyprus, Syria, or Anatolia?* Internet Archaeology 9.
- Knappett, C. / Kilikoglou, V. / Steele, V. / Stern, B., 2005: *The Circulation and Consumption of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware: Petrographic, Chemical and*

- Residue Analysis. *Anatolian Studies* 55. 25–59.
- Leonard, A., 1994: *An Index to the Late Bronze Age Aegean Pottery from Syria-Palestine*. Jonsered: Åström.
- Maguire, L. C., 2009: *The Cypriot Pottery and its Circulation in the Levant*. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- Manning, S. W., 2014: *A Test of Time and a Test of Time Revisited. The Volcano of Thera and the Chronology and History of the Aegean and East Mediterranean in the Mid-Second Millennium BC*. Oxford, Philadelphia: Oxbow Books.
- Manning, S.W. / Pulak, C. / Kromer, B. / Talamo, S. / Bronk Ramsey, C. / Dee, M.W., 2009: Absolute Age of the Uluburun Shipwreck: A Key Late Bronze Age Time-Capsule for the East Mediterranean. In S. W. Manning / M.J. Bruce (eds.): *Tree-rings, Kings, and Old World Archaeology and Environment. Papers Presented in Honor of Peter Ian Kuniholm*. Oxford, Oakville, CT: Oxbow Books. 163–188.
- Merrillees, R.S., 2001: The Cypriote Base-ring I Jug from a Secondary Burial in Saqqara Mastaba 3507. In P. Åström (ed.): *The Chronology of Base-Ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-Made Ware. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held in the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm, May 18–19, 2000*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 23–30.
- Metzger, M., 1993: *Kāmid el-Lōz, 8. Die spätbronzezeitlichen Tempelanlagen: Die Kleinfunde*. Bonn: Habelt.
- Mielke, D.P., 2007: Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware from Hittite Contexts. In I. Hein (ed.): *The Lustrous Wares of Late Bronze Age Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. Papers of a Conference, Vienna 5th–6th November 2004*. Vienna. 155–168.
- Morrison, J.E. / Park, D. P., 2008: Reconstructing the Ritual Killing of the Ceramic Vessels from Tomb 15. In J.S. Soles (ed.): *Mochlos IIA. Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery. The Sites*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press. 207–223.
- Mountjoy, P.A., 1986: *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery: A Guide to Identification*. Göteborg: Åström.
- 1993: *Mycenaean Pottery. An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- 1999: *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*. Rahden/Westf.: Leidorf.
- Mullins, R.A., 2007: The Late Bronze Age Pottery. In A. Mazar / R.A. Mullins (eds.): *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean, 1989–1996. Volume II. The Middle and Late Bronze Age Strata in Area R*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. 390–547.
- Myres, J. L., 1897: Excavations in Cyprus in 1894. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 17. 134–173.
- Niehr, H., 2015: The King's Two Bodies: Political Dimensions of the Royal Cult of the Dead at Ugarit, Byblos and Qatna. In P. Pfälzner / M. al-Maqdissi (eds.): *Qatna and the Networks of Bronze Age Globalism. Proceedings of an International Conference in Stuttgart and Tübingen in October 2009*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 157–177.
- Niklasson, K., 1983: Tomb 23: A Shaft-Grave of the Late Cypriote III Period. In P. Åström / E. Åström / A. Hatziantoniou / K. Niklasson / U. Öbrink (eds.):

- Hala Sultan Tekke 8. Excavations 1971–1979. Göteborg: Åström. 169–213.
- Pappi, E. / Isaakidou, V., 2015: On the Significance of Equids in the Late Bronze Age Aegean. New and Old Finds from the Cemetery of Dendra in Context. In A.-L. Schallin / I. Tournavitou (eds.): *Mycenaeans Up to Date. The Archaeology of the North-Eastern Peloponnese – current Concepts and New Directions*. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens. 469–481.
- Pedde, F., 2015: *Gräber und Gräfte in Assur II. Die mittellassyrische Zeit*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Petruso, K.M., 1984: Prolegomena to Late Cypriot Weight Metrology. *American Journal of Archaeology* 88, H. 3. 293–304.
- Pfälzner, P. / Niehr, H. / Pernicka, E. / Lange, S. / Köster, T., (eds.), 2014: Contextualising Grave Inventories in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of a Workshop at the London 7th ICAANE in April 2010 and an International Symposium in Tübingen in November 2010, both organised by the Tübingen Post-Graduate School “Symbols of the Dead”. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Pinch, G., 1993: *Votive offerings to Hathor*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.
- Porada, E., 1948: The Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. *American Journal of Archaeology* 52, H. 1. 178–198.
- Porada, E., 1976: Three Cylinder Seals from Tombs 1 and 2 of Hala Sultan Tekke. In P. Åström / D.M. Bailey / V. Karageorghis (eds.): *Hala Sultan Tekke 1. Excavations 1897–1971*. Göteborg: Åström. 98–103.
- Pulak, C., 1998: The Uluburun Shipwreck: An Overview. *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 27, H. 3. 188–224.
- Reese, D., 1985: Shells, Ostrich Eggshells and Other Exotic Faunal Remains from Kition. In V. Karageorghis / M. Demas (eds.): *Excavations at Kition V. The pre-Phoenician Levels*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities of Cyprus. 340–415.
- Samaes, M. / Nys, K., 2010: T.1 MLA 1173, An Extra Urban Tomb of the Late Bronze Age Site near Hala Sultan Tekke. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 2010. 199–228.
- Schoop, U.-D., 2011: Hittite Pottery: A Summary. In H. Genz / D.P. Mielke (eds.): *Insights into Hittite History and Archaeology*. Leuven: Peeters. 241–273.
- Schubert, C. / Kozal, E., 2007: Preliminary Results of Scientific and Petrographic Analyses on Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware and Other LBA Ceramics from Central Anatolia and Cyprus. In I. Hein (ed.): *The Lustrous Wares of Late Bronze Age Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. Papers of a Conference, Vienna 5th–6th November 2004*. Vienna. 169–177.
- Schulte-Campbell, C., 1983: A Late Bronze Age Cypriote from Hala Sultan Tekke and Another Discussion of Cranial Deformation. In P. Åström / E. Åström / A. Hatziantoniou / K. Niklasson / U. Öbrink (eds.): *Hala Sultan Tekke 8. Excavations 1971–1979*. Göteborg: Åström. 249–252.
- Smith, J. S., 2009: *Art and Society in Cyprus from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age*. Oxford, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- South, A., 2006: Mycenaean Pictorial Pottery in Context at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios. In E. Rystedt / B. Wells (eds.): *Pictorial Pursuits. Figurative Paint-*

- ing on Mycenaean and Geometric Pottery. Papers from two Seminars at the Swedish Institute at Athens in 1999 and 2001. Stockholm. 131–146.
- South, A. / Russell, P. / Keswani, P.S., 1989: Vasilikos Valley Project, Part 3. Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios II. Ceramics, Objects, Tombs, Specialist Studies. Göteborg: Åström.
- South, A. / Steel, L., 2007: Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware from Kalavassos. In I. Hein (ed.): *The Lustrous Wares of Late Bronze Age Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean*. Papers of a Conference, Vienna 5th–6th November 2004. Vienna. 179–190.
- South, A.K. / Russell, P., 1993: Mycenaean Pottery and Social Hierarchy at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Cyprus. In C. Zerner (ed.): *Proceedings of the International Conference Wace and Blegen: Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age, 1939–1989*. Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Athens, December 2–3, 1989. Amsterdam. 303–310.
- Steel, L., 1998: The Social Impact of Mycenaean Imported Pottery in Cyprus. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 93. 285–296.
- 2004a: A Goodly Feast ... A Cup of Mellow Wine: Feasting in Bronze Age Cyprus. In J.C. Wright (ed.): *The Mycenaean Feast*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. 161–180.
- 2004b: A Reappraisal of the Distribution, Context and Function of Mycenaean Pottery in Cyprus. In J. Balensi / J.-Y. Monchambert / S. Müller Celka (eds.): *La céramique mycénienne de l'Égée au Levant. Hommage à Vronwy Hankey*. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée. 69–85.
- Steel, L., 2013: *Materiality and Consumption in the Bronze Age Mediterranean*. New York: Routledge.
- Theochares, D.R. / Theochares, M.D., 1970: From the Cemetery of Iolkos. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 3. 198–203.
- Trinks, I., 2015: Appendix 1: The Geophysical Survey at Hala Sultan Tekke. An Overview. *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* 8. 56–59.
- Tufnell, O. / Inge, C.H. / Harding, G.L., 1940: *Lachish II. The Fosse Temple*. London: Oxford University Press.
- van Wijngaarden, G.J., 2002: *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy (1600–1200 BC)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Vaughan, S.J., 1991: Material and Technical Classification of Base Ring Ware: A New Fabric Typology. In J. A. Barlow/D. R. Bolger/B. Kling (eds.), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*. Philadelphia: A.G. Leventis Foundation; The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania. 119–130.
- 2001: Colour Photographs of Base-ring Ware Fabrics. In P. Åström (ed.): *The Chronology of Base-Ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-Made Ware*. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held in the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm, May 18–19, 2000. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 123–125.
- Vermeule, E. / Karageorghis, V., 1982: *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.

- Vermeule, E.D.T. / Wolsky, F.Z., 1990: *Toumba tou Skourou. A Bronze Age Potters' Quarter on Morphou Bay in Cyprus*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- von Rüden, C. / Georgiou, A. / Jacobs, A. / Halstead, P., (eds.), 2016: *Feasting, Craft and Depositional Practice in Late Bronze Age Palaepaphos. The Well Fillings of Evreti*. Rahden/Westf.: Marie Leidorf.
- Warren, P., 2005: *Flowers for the Goddess? New Fragments of Wall Paintings from Knossos*. In L. Morgan (ed.): *Aegean Wall Painting. A Tribute to Mark Cameron*. London: British School at Athens. 131–148.
- Warren, P., 2009: *The Date of the Late Bronze Age Eruption of Santorini*. In D.A. Warburton (ed.), *Time's Up! Dating the Minoan Eruption of Santorini*. Acts of the Minoan Eruption Chronology Workshop, Sandbjerg, November 2007. Århus. 181–186.
- Wiener, M. H., 2009: *The State of the Debate about the Date of the Theran Eruption*. In D.A. Warburton (ed.): *Time's Up! Dating the Minoan Eruption of Santorini*. Acts of the Minoan Eruption Chronology Workshop, Sandbjerg, November 2007. Århus. 197–206.
- Wilson, V., 1975: *The Iconography of Bes with Particular Reference to the Cypriot Evidence*. *Levant: Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History* 7. 77–103.
- Wright, J.C. (ed.), 2004: *The Mycenaean Feast*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Yadin, Y. / Aharoni, Y. / Amiran, R. / Dothan, T. / Dothan, M. / Dunayevsky, I. / Perrot, J., (eds.), 1961: *Hazor III–IV. An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavations, 1957–1958*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- Yannai, E., 2004: *The Late Bronze Age Pottery from Area S*. In D. Ussishkin (ed.): *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University. 1032–1146.
- Yon, M. / Karageorghis, V. / Hirschfeld, N.E., 2000: *Céramiques mycéniennes d'Ougarit*. Paris, Nicosia: ERC-ADPF; A.G. Leventis Foundation.