

STUDIES IN MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY
VOL. CXXXIX

J.R.B. STEWART
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL LEGACY

edited by

A. Bernard Knapp, Jennifer M. Webb and Andrew McCarthy



ÅSTRÖMS FÖRLAG
UPPSALA 2013

STUDIES IN MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Volume CXXXIX

Founded by Paul Åström

Editors-in-Chief

Jennifer M. Webb David Frankel

La Trobe University, Melbourne
sima@astromeditations.com

Advisory Board

Vassos Karageorghis Carl-Gustaf Styrenius
Robert Merrillees

Editorial Board

Shlomo Bunimovitz	Reinhard Jung
Jan Driessen	Demetrios Michaelides
Nikos Efstratiou	Edgar Peltenburg
Peter Fischer	Despo Pilides
Jeannette Forsén	Nancy Serwint
Maria Iacovou	Joanna S. Smith

Cover image: Middle Minoan II Kamares ware cup from Crete, found by James Stewart in Tomb 11B at Karmi *Palealona* in 1961

Published by Åströms förlag
Banérg 25 SE 752 37
Uppsala, Sweden
www.astromeditations.com

© Åströms förlag 2013
ISSN: 0081-8232
ISBN: 978-91-7081-253-8
Printed in Sweden



Frontispiece. James and Eve Stewart in Singapore, 1955 (photo courtesy of the Dorothy Evelyn Stewart Archive, University of New England)

Contents

Table of contents	v
Editors' preface, by A. Bernard Knapp, Jennifer M. Webb and Andrew McCarthy	vii
Eleanor Stewart remembered, by Robert S. Merrillees	ix
Eve Stewart on James Stewart	xiii
Bibliography: Eleanor Stewart, Eve Stewart and James R.B. Stewart, compiled with the help of Robert Merrillees, Judy Powell and Kenneth Sheedy	xv
List of contributors	xvii

Archaeology

1. Cyprus at 2200 BC: rethinking the chronology of the Cypriot Early Bronze Age, by Sturt W. Manning	1
2. Interactive communities at the dawn of the Cypriot Bronze Age: an interdisciplinary approach to Philia phase ceramic variability, by Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou	23
3. Exotica in Early and Middle Bronze Age Cyprus: exploring aspects of the secular and sacred economy, by Maria Mina	33
4. Figurines and figurative vessels at Early Cypriot Bellapais <i>Vounous</i> , by Daisy Knox	47
5. 'The mantle of Vasilia': have Stewart's views on the centrality of the copper trade in prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus stood the test of time?, by Jennifer M. Webb	59
6. Living with the legacy of death: recent results from the multi-period site of Prasteio <i>Mesorotsos</i> , by Andrew McCarthy	73
7. 1955–2013: the necropolis of Nicosia <i>Ayia Paraskevi</i> almost 60 years after Stewart's excavations, by Giorgos Georgiou	81
8. The development and organisation of labour strategies in prehistoric Cyprus: the evidence from Erimi <i>Laonin tou Porakou</i> , by Luca Bombardieri	91
9. Early and Middle Cypriot remains at Paramali, Limassol District, by Pavlos Flourentzos	103
10. The emergence of the state on prehistoric Cyprus: J.R.B. Stewart and V. Gordon Childe, by A. Bernard Knapp	109

11. 'On a clear day the Taurus Mountains hang like a cloud': on environmental thought in the archaeology of Cyprus, by Catherine Kearns	121
12. The trouble with typologies: Stewart's pottery classifications and regional styles, by Lisa Graham	133
13. J.R. Stewart's ceramic classification: lessons from 50 years of use, by Ellen Herscher	141
14. Moving into the world: a region of southern Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age, by Alison South	149
15. The 'Cypriot Goddess' at the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age: a 'Cypro-centric' approach, by Giorgos Papantoniou	161
16. Market strategy—Cypriot Bichrome Wheel-made ware for export, by Michal Artzy, Ragna Stidsing and Yossi Salmon	175

Biography

17. Professor J.R. Stewart—archaeologist, numismatist and soldier of Cyprus, by Robert S. Merrillees	185
18. The field records of J.R. Stewart's excavations at <i>Vounous</i> : archival material at the Medelhavsmuseet, by Kristian Göransson	195
19. James Stewart and Walter Beasley: Australia, Cyprus and the Australian Institute of Archaeology, by Christopher J. Davey	201
20. James Stewart as Nicholson Museum curator (1954–1962), by Craig Barker	211
21. The J.R.B. and D.E. Stewart archive, by Judy Powell	223
22. The legacy of Eve and James Stewart at CAARI and in the taxonomy of Cypriot Bronze Age metal, by Stuart Swiny	229

Editors' preface

The 3rd of July, 2013 marked the 100th anniversary of the birth of James Rivers Barrington Stewart, the Australian archaeologist best known for his pioneering work on the Early Bronze Age of Cyprus. Stewart conducted his first and perhaps most famous excavations (1937–38) in the cemetery of Bellapais *Vounous* on the island's north coast. As an eminent prehistorian and excavator, he established many of the typological and chronological markers that we still use today, especially in Cyprus. As a teacher and researcher, he built a strong foundation in Cypriot and Near Eastern archaeology at the University of Sydney and helped to establish important collections of Cypriot and Near Eastern materials in university departments, galleries and museums in both Australia and New Zealand. His legacy is felt strongly in eastern Mediterranean archaeology, but an honest and wide-ranging evaluation of his impact on the archaeology, the people and the institutions he touched, has never been attempted. After Stewart died at an early age in 1962, his estate was safeguarded by his widow Eve: it was under her stewardship that the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI) in particular benefited from her husband's legacy. Today CAARI retains a portion of the Stewart archives and the J.R. Stewart residence honours his name.

On the weekend of 1–3 March 2013, CAARI organised a conference with the title 'J.R.B. Stewart: An Archaeological Legacy', which we have adopted for the present publication. The volume is arranged in two sections: the first is a collection of archaeological studies demonstrating how Stewart's legacy has impacted the discipline, our interpretations of prehistory and our methodologies; the second contains a number of biographical pieces about Stewart, his colleagues and the role his widow, Eve, played in sustaining his work. Part archaeology, part historiography and part biography, this volume seeks to embed Stewart's legacy into 20th century archaeological scholarship, and to identify the ties between Australia, America, Europe and the Mediterranean that he left behind. In these extensively revised papers from the CAARI conference, individual authors discuss aspects of their research that fit within the overall theme of

evaluating Stewart's legacy. Both the archaeological and biographical pieces were written exclusively for this publication.

Twenty-two scholars from Cyprus, Australia, Britain, the USA, Italy, Sweden, France and Israel present research related to the prehistoric and protohistoric periods of Cyprus and the Levant that captured James Stewart's attention. The majority of the archaeological papers are concerned with Cyprus' Early and Middle Bronze Ages, treating everything from radiocarbon chronology (Sturt Manning, Cornell University) and an environmental retrospective (Catherine Kearns, Cornell University) through site and survey reports (Luca Bombardieri, University of Torino, Italy; Giorgos Georgiou, Cyprus Department of Antiquities; Andrew McCarthy, CAARI; Pavlos Flourentzos; Alison South) and specialist studies on pottery (Michal Artzy *et al.*, University of Haifa; Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou, University of Cyprus; Lisa Graham, University of Edinburgh; Ellen Herscher), to the copper trade (Jennifer Webb, La Trobe University, Melbourne), exotica (Maria Mina, University of Cyprus), figurative representation (Daisy Knox, University of Manchester), ritual transformations (Giorgos Papantoniou, Trinity College, Dublin) and the emergence of the 'state' (A. Bernard Knapp, CAARI). Several Australian scholars (Robert Merrillees, Christopher Davey, Judy Powell, Craig Barker), along with Kristian Göransson (Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm) and Stuart Swiny (University of Albany, New York), present papers honouring the legacy of Stewart and his wife Eve, or discussing the impact of his work and ideas on archaeology and museums in Cyprus, Australia and Europe. The volume also includes a short tribute to Eleanor Stewart, James Stewart's first wife, by Robert Merrillees.

Three aspects of the present publication warrant emphasis: the archaeology and the historiography of Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean, and biographical work concerning James Stewart. While some biographical essays related to Stewart have been produced in recent years (e.g. papers in Barker 2012), and most recently an entire monograph (Powell 2013), most have considered distinct aspects of his life and

career. This volume brings together several of these aspects to produce a comprehensive evaluation of his life and legacy in academia and museum work in Australia, New Zealand, America, Europe and the Mediterranean, in particular on Cyprus. In addition to honouring Stewart's contributions, this retrospective account of his life and the context in which he worked should appeal to anyone interested in the history of archaeology or museum studies, as well as in the archaeology of the colonial era.

This retrospective on James Stewart, an important figure in both Cypriot and Near Eastern archaeology, also provides an historiographic overview that should help us to understand better the early stages of archaeological work in the Mediterranean and the links between scholars working in this area. The past 50 years have seen a real paradigm shift in the way we approach archaeological data, including theoretical and methodological advances as well as the sophisticated application of scientific analyses. There is a real need amongst Cypriot and Mediterranean archaeologists to take stock of what lessons from our predecessors we should continue to use and what we ought to avoid.

Several chapters focus on current archaeological fieldwork and research in Cyprus and the Levant, which will engage scholars working on interconnections in the eastern Mediterranean Bronze and Iron Ages. In addition to providing important new primary data, these studies link current research with 20th century methodological precursors in ways that illuminate both. Whilst these papers illustrate the legacy of Stewart, they also serve as a source of new primary data for anyone engaged with materiality and connectivity in the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean.

There are several people we wish to thank, both for their role in the conference and in the preparation of this publication. First of all, we are most grateful to the Embassy of the United States in Nicosia for providing a substantial subvention toward publication costs. Robert and Helen Merrillees sponsored a reception held at CAARI following the opening, keynote lecture delivered by Robert Merrillees. The following evening CAARI Advisory Board member Maria Kyriakou and

her husband, Athos, hosted a dinner at their home for all conference participants. On the final evening of the conference, Australian High Commissioner Trevor Peacock and his wife, Pattie, welcomed us to the High Commissioner's residence, where we were treated to impromptu digressions by Trevor Peacock and Robert Merrillees on Stewart, Australians working in Cyprus, and the Australian diplomatic character. We are especially grateful to CAARI's indispensable staff—Administrator Vathoulla Moustoukki, Librarian Katerina Mavromichalou and housekeeper Phodoulla Christodoulou—for their impeccable work on the organisation and implementation of the conference. Through such conferences, CAARI continues to serve the needs of the international archaeological community and fosters links between Cyprus, the USA, Australia and many other countries in Europe, the Middle East and around the world.

The editors also wish to express their thanks to several ASOR (American Schools of Oriental Research) scholars who provided feedback and commentary on the content and organisation of the volume (Joe Greene, Kevin McGeough, Executive Director Andrew Vaughan). Finally, Bernard Knapp and Andrew McCarthy would like to thank their co-editor Jennifer Webb, who not only facilitated the prompt publication of this volume in the *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* series, but also undertook the entire layout of the volume.

A. Bernard Knapp
Jennifer M. Webb
Andrew McCarthy

6 November 2013

Bibliography

- Barker, C.D. (ed) 2012: *Aphrodite's Island: Australian Archaeologists in Cyprus*, Sydney: Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney
- Powell, J. 2013: *Love's Obsession: The Lives and Archaeology of Jim and Eve Stewart*, Kent Town: Wakefield Press

Eleanor Stewart remembered

In the welter of tributes paid, deservedly, to Dorothy Evelyn (Eve) Stewart (née Dray) for her devotion to realising the projects and ambitions left unfulfilled by her husband, James R. Stewart (JRS), on his premature death, there has been a tendency to minimise or overlook the contribution made by his first wife, Eleanor, to his archaeological achievements and career. Not only was the authorship of the Bellapais *Vounous* excavation report and its summer 1940 preface shared between them, but JRS acknowledged in November 1946 that ‘... the work is divided between us. My wife has been responsible for nearly all of the cataloguing of finds, and I have done the description of the graves’ (Stewart & Stewart 1950: 9–10). Though this was the only writing of hers that was ever published on Cypriot prehistory, it set a standard for the recording of antiquities that represented a significant advance on the summary descriptions given by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition of their finds and the even less full recording by Dikaios (1940) of the objects from his own excavations at Bellapais *Vounous* in 1931/1932. In particular, hers were amongst the first entries of this kind that described the pots’ fabrics, which are a crucial ingredient in the classification and determination of wares.

There is, perhaps not surprisingly in the light of subsequent events, no tribute to Eleanor in Stewart’s (1962) follow-up synthesis on the Early Cypriot Bronze Age in Volume IV: 1A of the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* (SCE)—the ‘Stewart, E.’ in the index refers to Eve (p. 400). Moreover, Eleanor’s given name was reduced to an ‘E’ in the reference to the *Vounous* excavation report in the second edition of the *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum* (Stewart 1948: 126). Even if this was done for editorial reasons, it is not hard to imagine why some might think the initial in the names of the authors meant Eve rather than Eleanor. Even Eve, in a letter to me of 20 May 1981, commenting on one of my earlier papers about JRS, said that ‘... Eleanor might be given more credit; like me, she was the Junior Partner in Jim’s work: she did much of the Vounous cataloguing; many of the notes of the Balikesir Survey, Vounous & other sites are in her handwriting’. Some of these documents no doubt still exist amongst JRS’s

records in Australia, Sweden or elsewhere. It should be noted in this regard that all the field records for the excavations at Bellapais *Vounous* are housed in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm (see Göransson, this volume).

Eleanor was not destined to become involved in archaeological research, though she proved a natural fit. The oldest girl, and second of six children, Eleanor Mary Neal was born on 4 August 1911 in Kingsdon, Somerset, England. Her father, John Franklin Neal (1878–1919), was a landowner who had been educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, and married her mother, Marian Geraldine Kate (née Stewart) (1885–1949), in 1908. Both of her grandfathers were vicars. She was educated at home until 1920, then went to Grassendale School for Girls in Southbourne, Hampshire, and subsequently attended the Gloucestershire School of Domestic Science. She also taught for a time at a school in Birmingham. It is understood that she met JRS through her elder brother, John Stewart Neal, who was born on 29 July 1909 also at Kingsdon, and educated at Harrow and Chillon College, Montreux, Switzerland. From 1927–1930 he attended Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the Mechanical Sciences Tripos, being awarded a BA in 1930 and MA in 1937. JRS was a student at Trinity Hall from 1931–1934, reading the Archaeology and Anthropology Tripos, and did not therefore overlap with Neal, at least at undergraduate level. While at university, however, JRS was a frequent visitor to the Neal family residence in Kingsdon, and he and Eleanor became engaged in April 1934. They were married on 1 July 1935 at All Saints Parish Church in Kingsdon. Until the onset of the Second World War, when in England they stayed at Park Cottage, the Kingsdon home of Eleanor’s mother and sisters, and used it as their base.

Prior to that Eleanor and JRS had already embarked on their numerous expeditions and trips, the first to join Professor Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie, on what turned out to be the last of his seasons’ excavations in the winter of 1933/34 at the Bronze Age site of Tell el-‘Ajjul on the south coast of Palestine. They were there for only a short time, from December through to

January, but were not listed by Hilda Petrie amongst those who had originally signed up for the expedition (minute of 18 September 1933—Rockefeller Museum file ATQ/14/6). Eleanor has also been mistakenly identified as JRS's wife or Mrs Stewart in the literature recording this episode (e.g. Drower 1985: 398—not J.M. Stewart). Shortly after their wedding, they left for a visit to Australia, with the intention of returning to England via the Near East, where JRS was to take up Cambridge University's Anthony Wilkin Studentship in Ethnology and Archaeology, which he had been awarded for research in Asia Minor. After arriving in Palestine on 29 October 1935, and paying their respects to Petrie in Jerusalem, they accepted an invitation from Lieutenant-Commander Noel Frederick Wheeler to go to Cyprus, which they reached on 14 November.

Wheeler was a former Royal Navy officer who had retired in 1921, studied Egyptology and joined several American and British archaeological expeditions to Egypt, including Petrie's final dig at Tell el-'Ajjul where he had met the Stewarts. He used Cyprus, more specifically Kyrenia, as his base, and died there on 10 January 1977. While in Cyprus the Stewarts made the acquaintance of the archaeological community, local and foreign alike, explored the island and collected antiquities. It was the beginning of JRS's—and Eleanor's—commitment to Cyprus. In January 1936, they finally arrived in Turkey where they spent the next six months excavating, touring sites and recording antiquities. In this endeavour Eleanor played a key role, as she had by now become an accomplished note-taker, draftsman and photographer. These skills were to stand them both in excellent stead when they set off again from England in early 1937, this time to begin the excavations in the Bronze Age cemetery at Bellapais *Vounous* which were to lay the foundations of JRS's archaeological career and reputation. It was a major undertaking, involving the careful and thorough clearance, planning and recording of some 85 fully furnished tombs, and yielded a substantial volume of antiquities, many of which were allocated to the expedition in the division of finds with the Cypriot Department of Antiquities. JRS and Eleanor opened the fieldwork on 13 March 1937 and continued working in Cyprus until the last quarter of 1938 before returning once more to Kingsdon.

Until the outbreak of war, the Stewarts attended to all the chores connected with their successful season at *Vounous*, including an exhibition of their finds at the Institute of Archaeology in Regents Park, which was opened by the Chancellor of London University on 10 March 1939. A pamphlet was produced to accompany the exhibition, which was scheduled to run from 13 March to 6 April. On 19 February 1940, Stewart applied for enlistment with the Cyprus Regiment and on 24 July 1940 was appointed to an emergency commission as a Second Lieutenant. He and Eleanor sailed for Australia in September and JRS returned in December to join his Regiment, which

was then stationed in Egypt. Eleanor spent part at least of the war years in Australia before returning to England, and in both countries she worked as a cook with the Women's Voluntary Services. After being liberated from the prisoner of war camp in Germany where he had spent the previous four years, JRS was repatriated to England in April 1945 and reunited with Eleanor at Park Cottage. Their only child, Peter Hugh Stewart, was born on 28 April 1946. Faced with many professional and personal challenges and few viable options, JRS finally and with some reluctance accepted the offer of a position in the University of Sydney, and on the way back to Australia paid a visit to Cyprus, alone. Eleanor and Peter left England early in 1947 for the sea journey to Sydney, and JRS joined the ship in Port Said.

In a letter of 10 June 1947 to Professor Einar Gjerstad, editor of the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, written on board the S.S. *Asturias* in the Indian Ocean, JRS wrote the following:

It looks as if Eleanor and I are going to break up our marriage—we have failed to adjust ourselves since the war, and it is no use continuing. If it does come to a divorce this year, I shall marry Eve Dray, the girl who has been helping me with the drawings for *Vounous* and *Lapithos*. She was trained in field work by Mortimer Wheeler, and was at London University. She is fairly competent both as an excavator and as a draughtsman, and worked with Joan Taylor in the *Karpass*. In any case she is coming to Sydney as soon as she has finished the drawings in *Nicosia*, to help me with S.C.E IV. 1. I have so much University work that I must have assistance with the material—she can sort the drawings and do distribution lists, as well as check references. I don't know what effect all this is going to have. I may lose my job for being messed up in divorce, but in any case a lot of my private ambitions will have to be shelved, as my young son and Eleanor must be provided for. I hope it won't drive me out of archaeology, since Eve and I should make a fairly good team—but I don't suppose it will.

By the second half of 1947 JRS, Eleanor and Peter were back in Australia and Eve arrived later. JRS and Eve were married on 11 March 1952, after Eleanor and he had divorced. On 5 April the same year, Eleanor married Kenneth Sydney Jacobs, a barrister and later a Justice of the High Court of Australia. They had one daughter, Rosemary Sarah, who was born on 9 November 1953 in Sydney. By a singular coincidence, Jacobs was asked in 1963 by Sir Garfield Barwick, then Australian Minister for External Affairs, at the behest of the British Government, to take up a position as President of the Supreme Constitutional Court of the new Republic of Cyprus for a period of three years. He accepted the appointment, which was announced by the Australian and Cypriot governments on 17 December that year. He was due to leave Australia on 2 January 1964 to assume his new duties on 14 January,

but the political crisis created by the Cypriot President Makarios over proposed changes to the constitution and the ensuing communal disturbances, put this plan on hold and eventually led to its annulment (National Archives of Australia, Serial No. A1209/109, Item No. 1961/1217). Jacobs was knighted in 1976.

In 1979, Sir Kenneth and Lady Jacobs went to live in the United Kingdom near Marlborough, Wiltshire, where Eleanor died on 12 May 2002. She had written nothing about her archaeological activities and experiences and gave no public talks, but throughout her life held fond memories of Cyprus, the country. I never met her or heard anyone talk about her in my presence while JRS was still alive. For obvious reasons I forbore from asking any questions about her and even in Cyprus I do not recall her name coming up in conversation. I visited Bellapais on many occasions while accompanying JRS's archaeological expedition to Cyprus in 1960/61 and though we met a number of the Cypriots who were involved with the excavations at *Vounous* in 1937/38, we did not, for reasons unexplained, ever visit the site itself. We did, however, celebrate appropriately at Yiannis Cleanthous' coffee shop in Ayios Georgios near Kyrenia the 24th anniversary of the start of the excavation. The only contemporary accounts about the Stewarts' fieldwork in Cyprus before the Second World War that I know of were published by O.G.S. Crawford (1955).

The first related to the last quarter of 1937, about which Crawford (1955: 245–246) wrote:

... at this time James and Eleanor Stewart were conducting their first season's excavations in the Bronze Age cemetery of *Vounous* near Bellapais, and were living in picturesque quarters in a room at the abbey overlooking a precipice, with a gorgeous view over the coastal plain and across the sea to the snowy peaks of Taurus in Asia Minor. The room was mainly occupied by pots in various states of repair, amongst which prowled the cats who, after the manner of cats, had immediately discovered that the Stewarts were friendly.

The second episode from August 1938 was recounted in the following terms (Crawford 1955: 260–261):

... before going to land at Nicosia we flew to Kyrenia, flying low and dipping as we passed Bellapais, where we saw the Stewarts, who were expecting us, waving.... Then we went off to Kyrenia in a taxi and found the Stewarts awaiting us in the Dome Hotel.... That evening we were dining at Bellapais with the Stewarts, in their romantic abode. We sat out on the wooden balcony and once more I gazed out across the lovely landscape to the Taurus, now pink in the glow of sunset.... We had our meal surrounded by Bronze Age pots and cats. Amid all the excitement, someone filled my tumbler with gin instead of water and neither of us found it out until too late. My memory of the rest of the evening is hazy....

This account of Eleanor Stewart's life has benefited greatly from the information and advice generously supplied by Peter Stewart, who lives in the Stewart ancestral home at 'Strath', opposite 'Mount Pleasant' ('The Mount'), now 'Abercrombie House', near Bathurst, New South Wales, where I spent parts of 1959–1961 as a student and research assistant at Sydney University. Rosemary Henderson (née Jacobs) has been good enough to let me have details about the Neal family, and both she and Peter read through an earlier draft of this paper and made pertinent drafting suggestions. Laila Haglund and the Alumni offices of Trinity College and Trinity Hall also willingly answered my queries. I alone, however, am responsible for the text. The addition of this notice at an advanced stage in the preparation of this volume for publication was kindly approved by the editors; to them and to all who have helped me finalise it under pressure of time, I am most grateful. The initiative to write this piece came from me as a way of rounding out the history of James Stewart's career and giving due recognition to a person who was closely associated with a formative stage of his development as an archaeologist, but has never been properly acknowledged. I trust this contribution will go some way to redeeming Eleanor's role in the introduction of professional archaeological studies in Australia, of which I am one of the lucky beneficiaries.

Robert S. Merrillees

October 2013

Bibliography

- Crawford, O.G.S. 1955: *Said and Done: The Autobiography of an Archaeologist*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Dikaïos, P. 1940: *The Excavations at Vounous-Bellapais in Cyprus, 1931–2* (*Archaeologia* 88), Oxford: Society of Antiquaries of London
- Drower, M.S. 1985: *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, London: Victor Gollancz
- Stewart, J.R. 1948: Cyprus, in A.D. Trendall & J.R. Stewart, *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum* (2nd edition), 115–199, Sydney: University of Sydney
- Stewart, J.R. 1962: The Early Cypriote Bronze Age, in P. Dikaïos & J.R. Stewart, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Volume IV Part IA. The Stone Age and the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus*, 205–401, Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition
- Stewart, E. & J. Stewart 1950: *Vounous 1937–38. Field-Report on the Excavations Sponsored by the British School of Archaeology at Athens* (*Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 14), Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup

Eve Stewart on James Stewart

The following is a typescript of an audio tape made by Eve Stewart, six years before her death, for the Fourth Conference on Cypriot Studies held at La Trobe University, Melbourne, in July 1999.

I am Eve Stewart speaking from Wentworth Falls in the Blue Mountains of New South Wales. Welcome to the Fourth Conference on Cypriot Studies held at La Trobe University 30th July–1st August 1999. Dr Jenny Webb very kindly invited me to attend, but old age is catching up on me and I had to decline, so I am sending this tape instead.

My husband was James R.B. Stewart, known as Jim Stewart. He was an Australian descended from the Stewarts of Appin in Scotland. He was educated at the King's School, Paramatta, and then went to Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

I expect that most of you, if you think of Jim at all, associate him with the Bronze Age of Cyprus; you think of *Vounous* 1937–38, published in Lund in 1950 and *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV:1A, published in Lund in 1962, but these are only a small part of his work and knowledge.

He joined Sir Flinders Petrie's team for their final season at Tell el-'Ajjul, Gaza, in southern Palestine, and then the Wilkin Scholarship enabled him to excavate and travel extensively in Turkey. He also stayed at the British School of Archaeology in Athens, where he met Dale Trendall (later Professor of Greek at the University of Sydney). While he was at the British School in Athens, he decided to concentrate on Cyprus. The Swedes had cleared a large cemetery at *Vounous* near the village of Bellapais, to the east of Kyrenia.

Vounous had been sampled in 1932 by Porphyrios Dikaïos, at that time Curator of the Cyprus Museum, and the following year Professor Claude Schaeffer of the Louvre had spent a few weeks there. In 1936 Professor Schaeffer had published a travel book *Missions en Chypre*, which included a few of his tombs, while it appeared that Dikaïos' report, which was published in 1940, would only deal very briefly with his pots.

Jim decided that *Vounous* was an important site

and needed fuller investigation, so he embarked on two seasons of work there. At weekends he and his foreman, Tryphonas Koulermos, often explored other Bronze Age sites on the north of the island; they collected sherds from Deneia, *Mavro Nero*, Dikomo and Vasilia among other sites. Vasilia to the west of Kyrenia, which appeared to be entirely of the Philia culture, was chosen as a site for future excavation and Karmi *Lapatsa*, which was about half way between *Vounous* and Vasilia, was also selected.

The outbreak of the Second World War put a stop to writing the report on *Vounous* and planning further excavation. Jim enrolled as a lieutenant in the Cyprus Regiment; he was taken prisoner in Crete and spent the rest of the war in Germany.

Jim devoted his four years as a POW to study; he bought books (often paying for them with packets of cigarettes) published in Germany which, of course, were not obtainable in England. He wrote copious notes and reviews in books provided by the Red Cross, on such varied topics as the Luristan bronzes, Aegean architecture, prehistoric pottery in China etc. He also learnt Turkish.

After he was demobilised he had to find employment. Two jobs were on offer; Director of Antiquities in the Sudan, or to join Dale Trendall at the University of Sydney. He chose the latter and arrived in Sydney in August 1947.

At that time there was no Department of Archaeology at Sydney; in fact no archaeology was taught at any of the Australian universities, so for 1948 Jim was a Teaching Fellow in the Department of History, dealing with the prehistoric and early AD periods.

He was fantastically busy; as well as being Professor of Greek, Dale was also Curator of the Nicholson Museum, which had a good collection of Egyptian objects and Italian and Greek pots, but was woefully short in other areas, so Jim wrote to his friends and colleagues begging pots or sherds.

At the same time he wrote the sections on the Near East and Middle East (from Crete to India) for the second edition of the *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum*, while Dale wrote the Greek and Italian

parts. The book was published just in time for the start of the 1948 season. He and Dale also worked together, planning the Department of Near Eastern Archaeology, which was founded in 1949—just over a year after Jim's arrival in Sydney. Dale became Professor of Archaeology, as well as Professor of Greek, for the next few years. To start with, while Dale concentrated on Greek and Italian, Jim dealt with the rest of the Near East. The position eased when Basil Hennessy, one of Jim's first students, was appointed to the staff of the Department of Archaeology.

Jim went overseas on three occasions, between the time of his arrival in 1947 and his death in 1962. In 1955–56 we dug briefly at Vasilia and *Ayia Paraskevi*, before going on to Europe. On our return to Australia, Paul Åström, Professor Gjerstad's best student, and Laila Haglund came with us. Paul was to write the Middle Bronze Age part of *Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV* as his doctoral thesis. He stayed with us at our home, Mount Pleasant, just outside Bathurst, for six months. He spent all day reading in Jim's library; in the evenings he and Jim would discuss the Bronze Age and its ramifications (Laila and I sat on the floor playing Patience—she stayed with us for 18 months).

In 1958 we went to Europe, taking Robert Merrillees, one of Jim's best students, with us. We spent about six weeks in Paris recording and often photographing or drawing everything we could find of Professor Schaeffer's *Vounous* material; many of the best pieces he had at his home in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. He handed over his publishing rights to Jim.

In England Jim spent some time in the British Museum studying their coins of the Crusader period, and having casts made of some of them. He and Robert also went to University College, where they studied and photographed Base-ring, Punctured ware etc.

The third and final trip overseas was in 1960–61, when we dug two cemeteries near Karmi, 1000 or so feet up the side of the Kyrenia Range and some five miles west of Kyrenia. I'm sorry, I still think in terms of feet and miles. I think I should have said 'about 400 metres and 10 or 12 kilometres'.

In 1960 Jim was, at last, able to get staff for the Department—Alexander Cambitoglou, Judy Birmingham and Vincent Megaw, with Derek Howlett as Conservationist. Derek joined us in Cyprus for the Karmi digs.

Jim's excavations had always produced something of interest or importance. At *Vounous* he found an imported pot from Syria and magnificent chalices with model animals on the rim; at *Ayia Paraskevi* he got Philia and *Vounous* material in the same tomb, and also strings of small, coloured beads and little fishes, while Vasilia had a large imported alabaster bowl. But Karmi *Palealona* surpassed them all: on the wall of the *dromos* of Tomb 6 was the earliest bas relief

human figure ever found in Cyprus, while Tomb 11B contained an imported, decorated Kamares ware cup [see cover image]. The last thing Jim wrote, before his death in February 1962, was the report of this tomb, which he called 'The Tomb of the Seafarer', published in *Opuscula Atheniensia* Volume 4, Lund 1962.

If he were alive today Jim would be 86, and still writing, no doubt. He would have done the reports on the 1955 and 1961 digs and then finished and published his major work, the *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age*, ensured that Schaeffer's tombs were published, and written the section on Cyprus in Chamber's Encyclopedia, and many other things.

As it was, Derek Howlett and I finally managed to extract our tomb groups from Alex Cambitoglou, who had assumed possession of them, and we were cleaning, mending, drawing and photographing the objects. Then in 1971 Basil Hennessy returned from overseas and joined us; he offered to write up the tombs, leaving me free to work on the *Corpus*.

Ayia Paraskevi and Vasilia, written by J.B. Hennessy, K.O. Eriksson and I.C. Kehrberg, was published, rather briefly, in *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* Volume 82 in 1988. Kathryn Eriksson has been working on the Karmi tombs, on and off, ever since then. I hope they will soon be completed, so that I can finish the *Corpus*.

Probably Jim's earliest published material is the booklet on *Vounous* for an exhibition at the Institute of Archaeology, the University of London, March–April, 1939. His work is still being published.

I think one can say that archaeology was his 'bread and butter' and numismatics his 'cake'. He started collecting Roman coins when he was a boy—he used to take his favourite coin to bed with him and sleep with it under his pillow. Later he expanded his collection and was an expert not only on Roman coins but also Byzantine and the Crusades, up to the end of the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus, in the 16th century AD.

He wrote 'The dream of Sulla on a denarius of L. Aemilius Buca' for the *Report of the Numismatic Society of New South Wales* Volume 10 1949, pp. 33ff. He contributed an article on 'A Latin-Byzantine hybrid coin' to the *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*. And at the time of his death he was about to write the section on the coinage of the Crusades for the *American History of the Crusades*. He had so much knowledge stored in his head, waiting to be published—and now it is lost for ever.

If any of you would like to see what Jim and Porphyrios Dikaïos looked like, there is a video cassette of our Karmi excavations kept at CAARI in Nicosia. There is quite a long sequence of Jim and Porphyrios discussing the bas relief. If anyone wants more information please write to me at 16 Armstrong Street, Wentworth Falls, NSW 2782.

Bibliography: Eleanor Stewart, Eve Stewart and James R.B. Stewart

Eleanor Stewart and James R.B. Stewart

Stewart, E. & J. Stewart

- 1950 *Vounous 1937–38: Field-Report on the Excavations Sponsored by the British School of Archaeology at Athens (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom 14)*, Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup

Eve Stewart (née Dray)

Dray, E. & O.H. Myers

- 1946 Glazed quartz beads of the Romano-Arab period, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 32, 65–68

Dray, E. & J. du Plat Taylor

- 1937–39 Tsambres and Aphendrika: two Classical and Hellenistic cemeteries in Cyprus, *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 24–123

James R.B. Stewart

- 1936 Excavations at Kusura near Afyon Karahisar: the cemetery, *Archaeologia* 86, 54–64
- 1937 Excavations at Vounous, Cyprus, *Antiquity* 11, 356
- 1937 Turkish water bottle, *Antiquity* 11, 482–483
- 1939 An imported pot from Cyprus, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 71, 162–168
- 1939 Decorated tomb façades, Cyprus, *Antiquity* 13, 461–463
- 1939–1941 Ein Gräberfeld der Yortan-Kultur bei Babaköy, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 13, 1–28 (with K. Bittel)
- 1940 Toggle pins in Cyprus, *Antiquity* 14, 204–209
- 1940 Three jugs of the Cypriote Iron Age in the Biblical Museum, Melbourne, *Man* 40 (October), 145
- 1948 Cyprus, in A.D. Trendall & J.R. Stewart, *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum* (2nd edition),

115–199, Sydney: University of Sydney

- 1948 Kazaphani, *University of Liverpool. Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 28, 5–7
- 1948 The Dorchester hoard, *Report of the Numismatic Society of New South Wales* 10, 12–17
- 1949 The dream of Sulla on a Denarius of L. Aemilius Buca, *Report of the Numismatic Society of New South Wales* 10, 33–35
- 1949 The Sydenham Sale, *Report of the Numismatic Society of New South Wales* 10, 44–45 (in the Report of the Hon. Secretary, listing coins from this sale purchased for the Nicholson Museum)
- 1949 Recent coin hoards, *Report of the Numismatic Society of New South Wales* 10, 46–47
- 1949 Some recent publications, *Report of the Numismatic Society of New South Wales* 10, 67–71
- 1949 Review of Gustave Schlumberger, F. Chalander, A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1943), *Report of the Numismatic Society of New South Wales* 11, 5–8
- 1949 Review of Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Volumes II and III* (Cambridge, 1948), *Report of the Numismatic Society of New South Wales* 11, 10–12
- 1950 Review of K.M. Sutton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311–1388*, *American Journal of Philology* 71, 438–440
- 1950 The Nicholson Museum, *The Union Recorder*, June 29, 121
- 1953 A Latin-Byzantine hybrid coin, in G.E. Mylonas & D. Raymond (eds), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson on his Seventieth Birthday, Volume 2*, 251–260, St. Louis, Missouri: Washington University
- 1955 When did Base-Ring Ware first occur in Palestine? *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 138 (April), 47–49
- 1957 The Melbourne Cyprus Expedition, 1955, *University of Melbourne Gazette* 13.1 (11 April), 1–3

- 1958 The Department of Archaeology and research in the Near East, *The Gazette, University of Sydney* 1 (May), 216–217
- 1960 Review of Joan du Plat Taylor, *Myrtou-Pighades. A Late Bronze Age Sanctuary in Cyprus* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1957), *American Journal of Archaeology* 64, 290–292
- 1960 The freshman's guide to the University XXI: The Nicholson Museum, *The Union Recorder* 40: 25 (20 October), 226–227
- 1960 The centenary of the Nicholson Museum, *The Gazette, University of Sydney* 1:20 (November), 294–295
- 1962 The Early Cypriote Bronze Age, in P. Dikaios & J.R. Stewart, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Volume IV Part IA. The Stone Age and the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus*, 205–401, Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition

Posthumous publications

Stewart, J.R.

- 1963 The tomb of the seafarer at Karmi in Cyprus, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 4, 197–204

Stewart, J.R.

- 1965 Notes on Cyprus, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 6, 157–164

Stewart, J.R. (prepared for publication by Hanna E. Kassis)

- 1974 *Tell el-'Ajjul: The Middle Bronze Age Remains* (SIMA 38), Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag

Stewart, E. & P. Åström (eds)

- 1988 *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age Part I by James R. Stewart* (SIMA 3.1), Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag

- 1992 *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age Part II by James R. Stewart* (SIMA 3.2), Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag

Stewart, E. (ed)

- 1999 *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age Part III:1 by James R. Stewart* (SIMA 3.3), Jönsered: Paul Åströms Förlag

Metcalf, D.M. (ed)

- 2002 *Lusignan Cyprus and Its Coinage by the Late J.R. Stewart*. 2 Volumes, Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation

Webb, J.M. & D. Frankel (eds)

- 2012 *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age Part 4 by James R. Stewart* (SIMA 3.4), Uppsala: Åströms Förlag

Related works

Hennessy, J.B., K.O. Eriksson & I.C. Kehrberg

- 1988 *Ayia Paraskevi and Vasilia: Excavations by J.R.B. Stewart* (SIMA 82), Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag

Webb, J.M., D. Frankel, K.O. Eriksson & J.B. Hennessy

- 2009 *The Bronze Age Cemeteries at Karmi Palealona and Lapatsa in Cyprus. Excavations by J.R.B. Stewart* (SIMA 136), Sävedalen: Paul Åströms Förlag

Compiled with the help of Robert Merrillees, Judy Powell and Kenneth Sheedy

List of contributors

Michal Artzy
Hatter Laboratory
Recanati Institute for Maritime Studies
University of Haifa, Haifa 31905, Israel
martzy@research.haifa.ac.il

Craig Barker
Nicholson Museum
University of Sydney, New South Wales 2006,
Australia
craig.barker@sydney.edu.au

Luca Bombardieri
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici
Università di Torino, Via Sant'Ottavio 20, 10141
Torino, Italy
luca.bombardieri@unito.it

Christopher J. Davey
Australian Institute of Archaeology
La Trobe University, Victoria 3086, Australia
cdavey@aiarch.org.au

Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou
Archaeological Research Unit
Department of History and Archaeology
University of Cyprus, P.O. Box 20537, 1678 Nicosia,
Cyprus
m.dikom@ucy.ac.cy

Pavlos Flourentzos
1 Estias St. 2001 Strovolos, Nicosia, Cyprus
pflourentzos@yahoo.com

Giorgos Georgiou
Department of Antiquities
1 Mouseiou Avenue, 1516 Nicosia, Cyprus
ath-geo@cytanet.com.cy

Kristian Göransson
Swedish Institute of Classical Studies
Via Omero 14, 00197 Rome, Italy
goransson@isvroma.org

Lisa Graham
CAARI
11 Andreas Demetriou Street, 1066 Nicosia, Cyprus
LGraham2@staffmail.ed.ac.uk

Ellen Herscher
3309 Cleveland Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20008,
USA
herschere@yahoo.com

Catherine Kearns
120 Goldwin Smith Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca,
NY 14853-3201, USA
cmk244@cornell.edu

A. Bernard Knapp
CAARI
11 Andreas Demetriou Street, 1066 Nicosia, Cyprus
bernard.knapp@glasgow.ac.uk

Daisy Knox
Department of Archaeology
University of Manchester, Oxford Road, M13 9PL, UK
daisy.knox@manchester.ac.uk

Sturt W. Manning
Department of Classics, Cornell Institute of
Archaeology and Material Studies, and Malcolm and
Carolyn Wiener Laboratory for Aegean and Near
Eastern Dendrochronology
Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853-3201, USA
sm456@cornell.edu

Andrew McCarthy
CAARI
11 Andreas Demetriou Street, 1066 Nicosia, Cyprus
director@caari.org.cy

Robert S. Merrillees
'Le Mimosa', 3 Place de la République, 89660 Mailly le
Château, France
phmrsm@free.fr

List of contributors

Maria Mina
Archaeological Research Unit
University of Cyprus, P.O. Box 20537, 1678 Nicosia,
Cyprus
m.mina@ucy.ac.cy

Giorgos Papantoniou
Department of Classics
Trinity College Dublin, Dublin 2, Ireland and Institute
for Mediterranean Studies, Melissinou & Nikiforou
Foka 130, P.O. Box 19, Rethymnon 74100, Crete, Greece
papantog@tcd.ie

Judy Powell
School of Social Sciences
University of Queensland, St Lucia, Queensland 4072,
Australia
judy.powell@uq.edu.au

Yossi Salmon
Hatter Laboratory
Recanati Institute for Maritime Studies
University of Haifa, Haifa 31905, Israel
yossi.salmon@gmail.com

Alison South
Vasilikos Valley Project
Kalavassos 7733, Larnaca, Cyprus
ian.alison@cytanet.com.cy

Ragna Stidsing
Hatter Laboratory
Recanati Institute for Maritime Studies
University of Haifa, Haifa 31905, Israel
rstidsing@hotmail.com

Stuart Swiny
Institute of Cypriot Studies
Department of Anthropology
University at Albany, Albany, New York 12222, USA
swiny@albany.edu

Jennifer M. Webb
Department of Archaeology, Environment and
Community Planning
School of Historical and European Studies
La Trobe University, Victoria 3086, Australia
jenny.webb@latrobe.edu.au

Market strategy – Cypriot Bichrome Wheel-made ware for export

Michal Artzy, Ragna Stidsing and Yossi Salmon

Abstract

This study is concerned with exports and imports of Bichrome Wheel-made ware of the mid-second millennium BC. The history of this ware and the change in its assumed area of origin—from the Levant to Cyprus, where it was produced and shipped to the Levant—have been presented in the past. The question of why Cyprus was not seen as the source of this ware is dealt with briefly, as are comparable vessel shapes, their frequency of appearance in Cyprus, and those that were exported to the mainland Levant. This study also treats the frequency of presence as a possible result of market demand, and the way mainland markets coped with the imports when they did not fulfill the receiving market's taste requirement, or were not cost efficient.

Introduction

During the 1960s and early 1970s, several works appeared on Bichrome ware. Studies based on stylistic arguments assigned it to the Levantine area, and in particular to Tell el-'Ajjul in the southern coastal Levant. These studies followed the excavation reports and analyses of the 1930s, especially on Cyprus, where most of the finer examples of this ware were found. The similarities in particular shapes of this ware to Cypriot rather than to Levantine pottery styles gave rise to the assumption that Levantine potters produced Bichrome ware for the Cypriot market. This was the majority view, although others, including James Stewart, expressed an opposing view, one that remained in the minority.

Once the assumed provenance of the ware changed from the Levant to Cyprus as a result of chemical and quantitative analyses (e.g. Artzy *et al.* 1973), other, more conservative assumptions had to be confronted. Why, for example, was Cyprus not seen as the source of this ware? And why is there an abundance of typical Bichrome ware shapes, such as kraters, found on sites in the coastal Levant?

In this study we argue that the frequency of

presence in sites along the Levantine coast of vessels that had a Cypriot provenance but were manufactured in Levantine shapes (e.g. kraters), may serve as an indicator of market demand. We also suggest that certain types of local, non-Cypriot vessels served as replacements for some shapes, such as tankards/jugs and bowls. We conclude that market demand for foreign-made prestige items such as the tankards or bowls did not fill the taste requirements of the receiving market, or else were not cost efficient.

Bichrome Wheel-made ware

Initially Cyprus was rejected as the source of Bichrome Wheel-made ware, even though almost all the vessel shapes and some of the decorative motifs were very similar to those found in Cyprus at the time. W.F. Heurtley, who was not a specialist in Cypriot or Palestinian archaeology, felt that he should explain why the style of Bichrome should be considered mainland and not Cypriot, a possibility he obviously entertained. Already in 1939, he wrote (Heurtley 1939: 33):

That the style is a mainland and not a Cypriot style is thus established by the evidence at Megiddo for its origin and growth. Further proof, if required, is that the vases are wheel-made at a time when the wheel was still scarcely used in Cyprus. Moreover, the otherwise peculiar fact that of the pieces found in Cyprus all come from the east coast becomes, if they were imports from Palestine, intelligible.

At the time that Heurtley worked on the ware, noting the importance of the Cypriot group and especially the Milia tombs published by Westholm (1939) in the same issue of the journal, he wrote (Heurtley 1939: 33): 'There is uniformity about the Cyprus group which suggests that they formed part of a single consignment and the form of the jugs can be explained by supposing that they were especially designed to satisfy Cypriot tastes'.

A further study by Liliane Courtois in the 1960s, which culminated in her PhD (1971) was made public

to the scholarly community. She analysed the clays of Bichrome vessels found in Cyprus by means of petrography. Her conclusions, shown eventually to be problematic, were that the finer vessels, with well levigated fabrics, found in Cyprus, were not produced of local paste and the less fine ones, made of less well levigated clays, were of Cypriot paste (Courtois 1971: 145–147). Her work did not include Heurtley's earlier group from Megiddo, of which no examples were found in Cyprus. NAA carried out on the same vessels (Artzy *et al.* 1973, Artzy 2001) subsequently showed that Courtois' work was faulty, due to the absence of temper in the clay, which thus limited the suitability of the technique.

In addition, Cyprus was rejected as the source of Bichrome ware by archaeologists working in Cyprus, mainly because of misconceptions regarding the use of the potter's wheel (e.g. Dikaios 1969–1971: 226, cf. Sjöqvist 1940: 87–90). Studies carried out at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory (Artzy *et al.* 1976)—made possible by Gjerstad's providing Isadore Perlman with the first large assemblage of pottery from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition—concluded that the potters in Cyprus during the MC III–LC I era were not only aware of the potter's wheel, but used it as well.

Our introduction to the contribution of James Stewart, to whose memory this study is dedicated, came when Artzy attempted to understand the geographical position of the site of Sharuhén mentioned in the pharaoh Ahmose's account of the three years' siege of the location. While most scholars followed Albright's identification of Sharuhén as Tell el-Farah south (Albright 1929: 7, who called the site Tell el-Fâri'), two others identified it as Tell el-'Ajjul. One was Aaron Kempinski (1974) and the other, even earlier, was Stewart. Stewart's studies concerning Tell el-'Ajjul, however, were not published at the time they were written. His notes were compiled, edited and prepared for publication by Hanna Kassis in the 1970s (Stewart 1974).

Stewart's work also contributed to an understanding of the difficulties in the attribution of the origin of Heurtley's 'mature' Bichrome ware to the southern Levantine mainland. In notes compiled in 1949 for his students at Sydney University, Stewart stated in a postscript concerning the Bichrome Wheel-made ware: 'I now consider that this ware, especially the Ajjul style was made in Cyprus and sometimes copied in Palestine, where certain shapes unknown in Cyprus are found' (Stewart 1974: 120, n. 16). Stewart's views, especially on the origin of Bichrome ware, remained a footnote, a minority view. Working from within the Cypriot archaeological world, he was influenced in the early 1950s by the work of another Australian (and his student), Basil Hennessy, in whose excavations at Myrtou *Stephania* a rather early Bichrome ware vessel, albeit hand-made, was said to belong to MC III (Hennessy 1963). Åström (2001) later

dealt more widely with topic of hand-made Bichrome ware.

The Synchronization of Civilizations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium BC project (SCIEM 2000), conducted under the auspices of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the patronage of UNESCO, supported a renewed study of Cypriot Bichrome Wheel-made ware. Officially directed by Irmgard Hein, researchers from many countries contributed to it. In addition to an extensive catalogue and regional and typological studies of the ware, the SCIEM team members participating in the project produced a distribution map of Bichrome Wheel-made ware, later compiled by Stidsing, who also re-examined the typologies of the vessels and the motifs (Fig. 1). As is evident, its spread was mainly coastal and along key routes of trade or movement. Had this map existed earlier, it is likely that Stewart's intuition would not have remained a minority view. As part of the renewed SCIEM project, in addition to fabric analysis of Bichrome Ware, Artzy and Salmon undertook a re-study of Bichrome ware NAA results that had originated in the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory and were previously published (Artzy *et al.* 1973, 1976).

In the SCIEM re-study of the NAA results, most of the original conclusions were deemed to be sound. Even so, several new observations were reached mainly as the result of improved statistical capabilities, a larger sample base and renewed study of the assemblage. We noticed, for instance, that there were slight chemical differences in the clay utilised by Cypriot potters in their production for the Cypriot market, and that of the vessels exported to Tell el-'Ajjul and the Levantine coast. At first we entertained the thought that the differences might be chronological. While comparable clay would have been prepared for each production cycle, slight differences may be expected. As the study proceeded, however, it became clear that another explanation is more likely. We noted that there was variation between the assemblages from eastern Cyprus and those from the coastal Levant. We can only assume that this was due to considerations about the durability of the pottery during arduous maritime travel.

The reliability of the NAA method can be demonstrated in the specific case of pottery excavated by Petrie at Tell el-'Ajjul and collected for Artzy's original study. Two sherds collected, originally thought to belong to two separate vessels, instead belonged to a single vessel. Another example includes four pieces, originally sampled as four distinct vessels, but which upon renewed observation were found to be from the same krater or large bowl. During the reliability check, it became clear that although Cypriot Bichrome ware imports at Tell el-'Ajjul belonged to more than one sub-group, of the approximately 60 samples tested, 17 fell into a clear and tight Cypriot chemical group. While they are clearly of the eastern

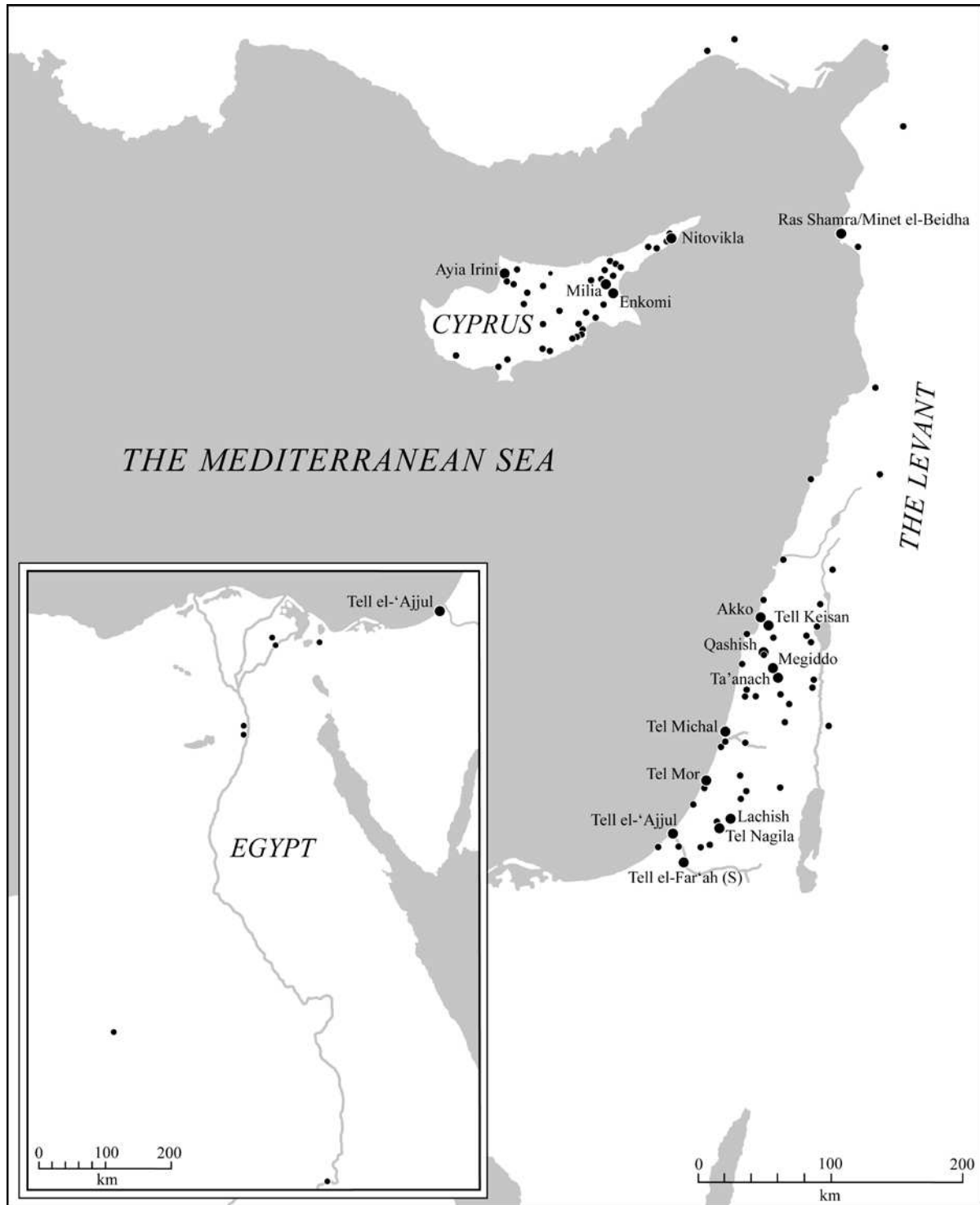


Figure 1. Distribution map of Cypriot Bichrome Wheel-made ware (prepared by Ragna Stidsing). Larger dots refer to sites mentioned in the text

Cypriot clay ‘family’, they are so similar to one another that we would argue they originated from the same production batch, in the Milia region. We venture to suggest that they were actually part of the same shipping consignment.

The tankard shape is closely associated with the graves at Milia Vikla Trachonas (Fig. 2.1, 4). These

tankards are special, not only in their extravagant shapes but also in the paste from which most were produced. They are so well levigated that the ware, as noted above, baffled Lilian Courtois, who had conducted petrographic analysis (Courtois 1971: 147). When we compared assemblages within Cyprus, we found that the closest relation, chemically and

typologically, to the Milia main group, was the one from Ayia Irini *Palaeokastro* (Fig. 2.5). That particular assemblage consists mainly of tankards and was excavated in tombs, just like that from Milia *Vikla Trachonas*. Among the few Cypriot tankards found in the Levant, we did not find the exact clay matrix as that of the main Milia group, although the Cypriot type tankards are clearly members of the eastern Cypriot clay type. In fact there are not many examples of Bichrome ware tankards of Cypriot provenance found in the Levant, at least not thus far, and there is a dearth of the tankards with pronounced elongated necks. In an earlier work, we showed that the local Canaanite tradition of producing jugs (Fig. 2.3) replaced the Cypriot tankards (Fig. 2.4), especially in Megiddo (Artzy *et al.* 1978). Moreover we identified, especially in the renewed study, other production centres in the northern Canaanite area through the use of both NAA and petrography.

But the differences between Cyprus and the coastal

Levant do not stop with tankards and jugs. Far more Bichrome kraters appear in the coastal Levant than in Cyprus. This was especially noticeable when we compared the finds from the Levantine coast to those originating in the tombs at Milia *Vikla Trachonas*. For instance, among the 51 vessels found at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) in the northern Levant, 13 are kraters. At Tell el-Ajjul in the southern Levant, 138 of the 661 pieces we collected are of kraters, and at Megiddo 23 of 132 vessels are kraters. Those numbers should be compared with those from the Milia *Vikla Trachonas* cemetery, where of 118 examples collected, only five are kraters. It should be borne in mind, however, that the dearth of Bichrome Wheel-made kraters in Cyprus is not true of all sites, and might result at least in part from the fact that the Cypriot finds usually stem from graves. In the fortress at Korovia *Nitovikla*, unlike the other assemblages in Cyprus, 37 out of 193 sherds registered are of kraters. It may be noted, furthermore, that Hult (1992: 186 and table 5) registered many



Figure 2. Tankards of Cypriot origin (1, 2–5) and Megiddo local clay (3)

more pieces of Bichrome and White Painted wares than she actually catalogued and described. One possible explanation here is that, given its location, Korovia *Nitovikla* may have had a closer relationship with the Levant than other Cypriot sites, and these relationships were not only mercantile, but cultural as well.

Another vessel, which we feel is closely related to the krater in its distribution pattern, is the bowl. While in Milia *Vikla Trachonas* only one bowl was noted, at Tell el-'Ajjul sherds of 70 bowls were found among the 661 samples collected. And, once again, the fortress in Korovia *Nitovikla* has more bowls proportionally than is usual at other Cypriot sites. Of the 193 specimens catalogued from the site, 12 were bowls.

The situation we noticed in the Tell el-'Ajjul assemblage seems to entail a pattern that repeats itself at other sites along the Levantine coast which we have checked. For example, during the 1970s, Artzy collected 18 samples of Bichrome Wheel-made ware from the American excavations at Tell Ta'anach,

now housed in the Albright Institute. This is a well-produced, well-levigated assemblage of Cypriot imports (only black/white photos were taken at the time, and attempts to re-photograph them in recent years have not met with great success). Although Tell Ta'anach is situated barely 8km southeast of Megiddo, there are clear differences between the two Bichrome ware assemblages. Of the 18 Ta'anach examples, 14 sherds are of kraters and at least two of bowls (Fig. 3.5–7). This impressive collection should be viewed with special interest because of the site's proximity to Megiddo and the fact that much of Megiddo's Bichrome ware was produced locally and/or not imported from Cyprus. By contrast, the Tell Ta'anach assemblage is of Cypriot provenance, at least those sherds given to Artzy in the 1970s. Most of the pieces analysed have yet to be published so it is hard to establish, at this juncture, if most or all of them originated in one excavation area.

Even in sites where very few Cypriot Bichrome ware sherds were found, they are usually comprised

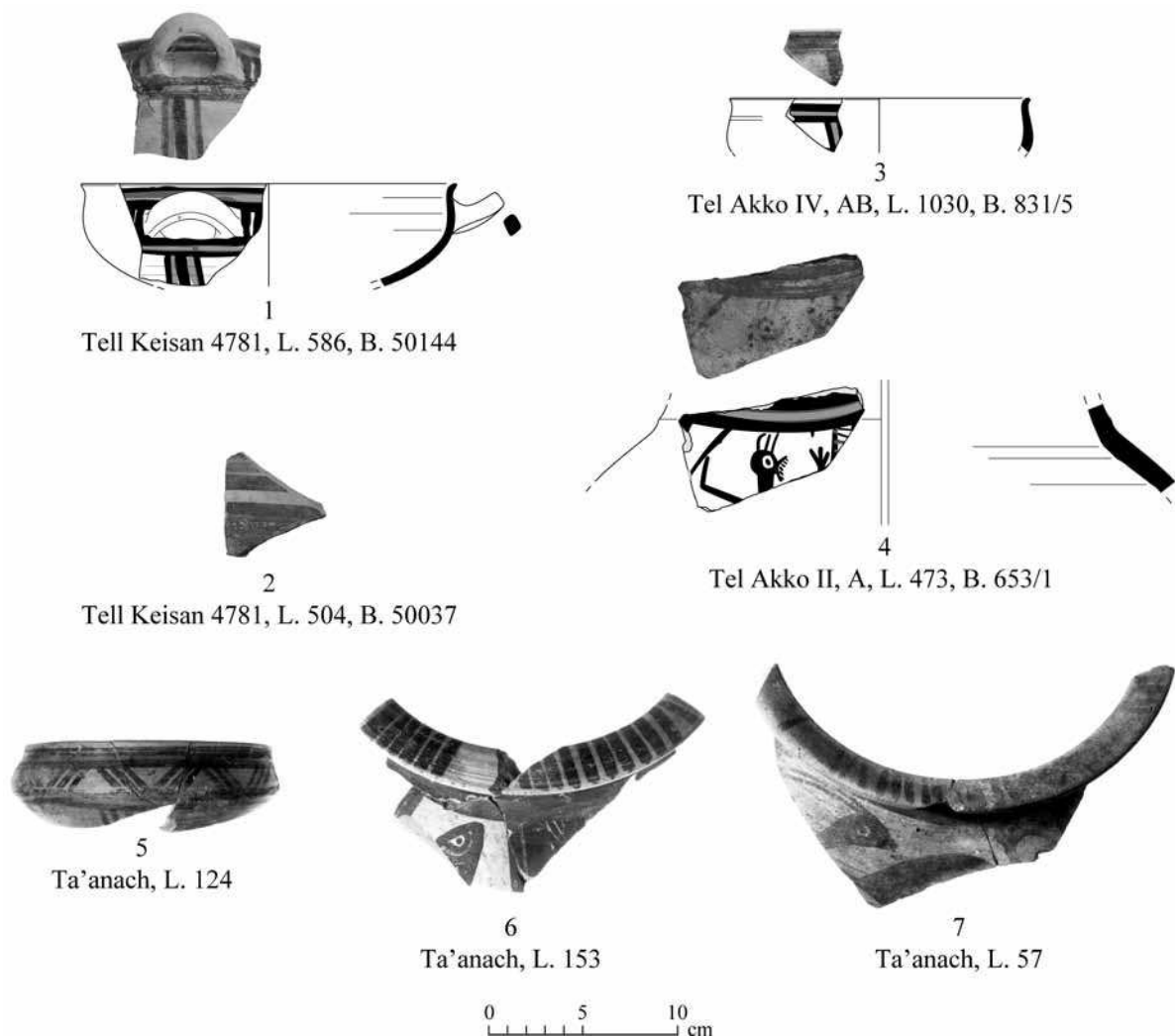


Figure 3. Cypriot bowls and kraters from Keisan (1–2), Akko (3–4) and Ta'anach (5–7)

of kraters and in quite a few instances also of bowls, although not necessarily from the same *loci*. From Tel Akko, for example, an active anchorage site in northern Israel, of the 16 sherds or complete vessels found, ten are kraters or presumed to have come from kraters, three are bowls, and one is a jug, all of Cypriot origin (Fig. 3.3–4). The remaining two pieces are clearly local or imports, but not from Cyprus. Another case is that of Tell Keisan (Tel Kison) in the Akko valley, where in a recent, limited salvage excavation, three sherds were found, one clearly of a krater, one of a bowl and one of a closed shape (Fig. 3.1–2). All three are from Cypriot imports. At Qashish in the Jezreel Valley, all seven examples are of kraters or presumed kraters, with only one most likely of non-Cypriot origin. At Tel Michal, of the eight examples found, five are from kraters, although not all are of Cypriot origin (only one bowl and two unidentified sherds). At Tel Mor, assumed to have been the port of Ashdod, there are at least 46 examples, of which at least 15 are kraters, one a bowl and one a goblet. At Lachish at least 31 and possibly more examples are from kraters, nine are from bowls and one may be from a goblet. Not all the material from Ashkelon has been processed, but from what we have seen there are at least 12 bowls and one krater. If we compare the distribution of these shapes to the Cypriot sphere, we find that while kraters were

found in the Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* excavations, albeit not in large numbers, bowls are even fewer and far between. At Milia *Vikla Trachonas*, only one bowl was found, while at Korovia *Nitovikla* once again the numbers are closer if not the same as those from the southern Levantine coastal sites (e.g. 12 bowl sherds were noted).

The results obtained from assemblages at Ras Shamra and Megiddo have been left for last, as they may involve a narrative slightly different from those of either the southern coastal Levant or Cyprus. While numerous kraters have been found in Ras Shamra, there are very few bowls and those reported were of a different type from the ones found farther south (because bowls tend to break into very small pieces, it is possible that some of the fragments were thrown out during excavation). At Megiddo, as published previously (Artzy *et al.* 1978; Artzy 2001), Cypriot tankards were replaced by jugs of local clays (see Fig. 2.3). No distinction was made in earlier publications between the local 'Palestinian' jugs and the Cypriot ones (e.g. Amiran 1969; Epstein 1966). Only one possible Cypriot bowl sherd, reported by Epstein, was published. We did not see this particular sherd, but of the six vessels identified as bowls, there are none that could be identified as Cypriot products. Instead, the inhabitants of Megiddo reverted to a form

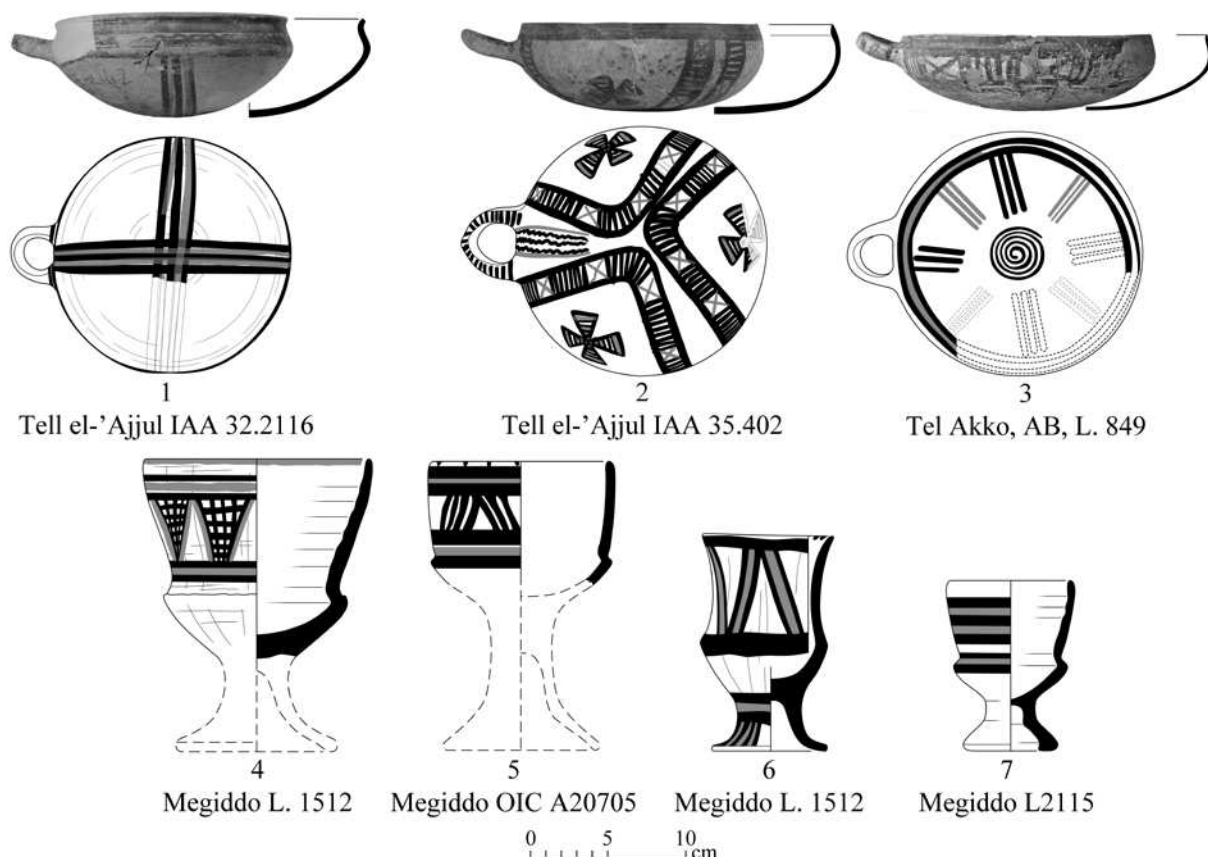


Figure 4. Bowls of Cypriot origin (1–3) and goblets of local Megiddo clay (4–7)

they were accustomed to in the past, namely goblets (Fig. 4.4–7), which were likely more durable and less costly. No such goblets have been found in Cyprus at Korovia Nitovikla, Milia Vikla Trachonas or Enkomi Ayios Iakovos, or at Ras Shamra for that matter. Even at Tell el-'Ajjul, of the examples noted, several could well be parts of tankard necks, although among the mostly local, southern coastal examples (recognised as goblets or tankards), there may be a few Cypriot imports. More pieces from the southern Levant have been classified as goblets and of probable Cypriot origin. Barako (2007), for example, has classified a near-complete goblet from Tel Mor as a Cypriot product. Whether this is actually the case cannot be known with certainty, considering how well the local potters could imitate the Cypriot Bichrome fabric.

The tankards, kraters and bowls/goblets may well have made up part of the 'banquet paraphernalia' of the coastal Levant. A comprehensive study of Late Bronze feasting in Canaan was published by Zuckerman (2007), who concentrated on the finds from excavations at Hazor and proposed working criteria for such vessels, including the suggestion that

they should be considered as prestige items. While elites such as the Pharaoh's peers who are mentioned in the Amarna texts could afford to send metal vessels as gifts to one another (Cochavi-Rainey 1999), the sub-elites, namely the rulers of Canaanite towns along the coast, may have been able to obtain special ceramic containers for banqueting.

It has been suggested that one element often appearing in Canaanite banquet scenes is the large two-handled krater (Liebowitz 1980: 165; Ziffer 2005: 150–154; Barnett 1982: 26–27). Most of the Bichrome ware kraters meet these specifications (Fig. 5.1–5). While banquets and the cultural paraphernalia associated with them might reveal some differences, there is no reason to assume that, during the mid-second millennium BC, there is any need to consider the appearance of one type of ceramic ware or another as an 'innovation' (following Yasur-Landau 2005). The second millennium BC was no longer the age of the 'diffusion of innovation', as suggested for earlier periods (Shortland 2004: 4–6), especially not for the distribution of pottery between such close geographical areas as the Levant and Cyprus. The

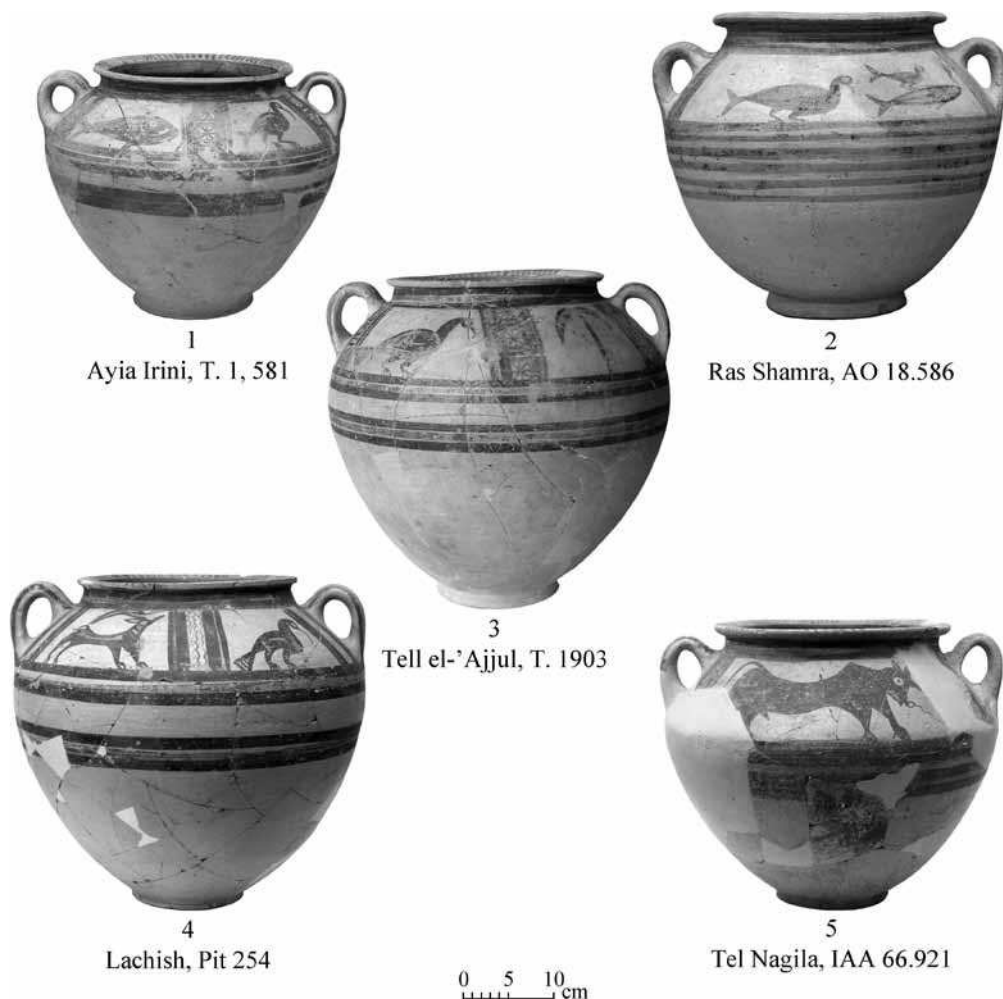


Figure 5. Kraters of Cypriot origin (1–5)

topic of banqueting paraphernalia has been covered in the studies noted above (see also Dabney *et al.* 2004), and thus is not considered further here.

Discussion and conclusion

Banquets, no doubt, were common practice among the elite, or for that matter among sub-elite groups. Kraters were already common in the earlier parts of the Middle Bronze II (early second millennium BC) at various Levantine sites, as were goblets and bowls (Amiran 1969: pls 28–29); these could well have been used as drinking vessels, like the jugs of the same period. If any ‘innovation’ is to be considered, it has to do with the distributor or middleman, who formed an important link in a mercantile chain. The order of events associated with the appearance and short life of the exported Cypriot Wheel-made Bichrome ware has more to do with its price and availability to the purchasing market. The necessary prerequisite was to have the Cypriot potters, in particular those few who were producing Wheel-made Bichrome ware, manufacture the forms that would appeal to buyers at a higher price than the local wares. The exotic element of the decoration might thus fetch a ‘good price’ to be shared by producer, shipper and especially the middleman or distributor.

The high price of the more elaborate vessels—kraters, tankards and bowls—served as a status symbol of the elite, a circumstance not that much different from the one described by Steel (1998, 2004) for Mycenaean dinner services and pictorial ware. The tankards were quick to be replaced by the vessels of local potters, so that few were found in the Levant. The kraters, by contrast, are the most common shapes found in excavations. This factor may have to do with their utilitarian capabilities, namely the ability to hold liquids for a longer time than the porous local products. Kraters might have also lasted longer, minimising their overall cost. The bowls, as noted above, appear alongside the kraters, but while direct imports to Tell el-Ajjul were initially more numerous, their number diminishes as can be seen in the Megiddo corpus. They are not as sturdy and do not travel as well as the kraters. Yet even in the sites where only a few pieces of Cypriot Bichrome ware were recovered (e.g. Tel Akko, Tell Keisan), bowl sherds are found among them, so there is at least one krater and one bowl in such assemblages. Even if the local Canaanite elite preferred to drink their mead or other stimulant using bowls, the local potter could not imitate the bowls. Thus the local bowls and especially the goblets, which had been in use in earlier periods, reappear with bichrome decoration to accompany the imported kraters.

This brings us back to the situation in Nitovikla, where so many krater and bowl sherds were found. Does that situation indicate that a (foreign?) population

consuming the forms in demand along the Levantine coast existed side-by-side with the local population, or did the site serve as a depot for distributing such forms to the coastal Levant? Whatever the reason, Nitovikla’s corpus was different from that of other sites in Cyprus and closer to that of the Levantine coast, especially Tell el-Ajjul. No goblets were found in Nitovikla, yet concurrently with a part of the period in which the Cypriot Bichrome ware was produced, Proto-White Slip and White Slip bowls came into the market. The reason(s) behind the appearance of these White Slip wares in the southern coastal Levant, and in extremely limited numbers in the northern Levant, is beyond the scope of this study.

However, when compared to later Cypriot exports to the Levant, such as White Slip or Base-ring wares, the export or import of Bichrome ware was rather limited, not only temporally but also numerically. Like these later imports from Cyprus, the distribution patterns of the available shapes and variants reveal differences between Cyprus and the Levant. In the case of Bichrome ware, the exporters, together with a limited number of workshops, would have produced the ware to appeal to the taste and needs of importers along the Levantine coast. Heurtley’s (1939: 33) statement—‘There is uniformity about the Cyprus group which suggests that they formed part of a single consignment and the form of the jugs can be explained by supposing that they were especially designed to satisfy Cypriot tastes’—should be reversed, and indeed Stewart was right. The so-called ‘mature’ Bichrome ware was certainly produced in Cyprus. The coastal Levantine market demanded particular shapes and the Cypriot potters—via whoever acted as their distributors—fulfilled the demand in a most satisfying manner. How lucky the Canaanites were, finally, to have some aesthetically pleasing ceramics for their banquets.

Acknowledgements

Data collected by Artzy and analysed at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory with the aid of an NSF grant, has been previously published only partially along with a few additional tests of special vessels, chosen by Artzy, Stidsing and Salmon, which were analysed by Hans Mommsen at the Helmholtz-Institut für Strahlen-und Kernphysik, University of Bonn. Drawings for this study were made by Svetlana Zagorski-Reyblat and Stidsing and the photographs taken by Stidsing and Artzy.

Bibliography

Albright, W.F. 1929: Progress in Palestinian archaeology during the year 1938, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 33, 1–10

- Amiran, R. 1969: *The Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society
- Artzy, M. 2001: A study of the Cypriot Bichrome Ware: past, present and future, 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*, 157–174, Stockholm: Kungl. Vitenhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien
- Artzy, M., F. Asaro & I. Perlman 1973: The origin of the 'Palestinian' Bichrome Ware, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93, 446–461
- Artzy, M., I. Perlman & F. Asaro 1976: Wheel-made pottery of the MC III and LC I periods in Cyprus, *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 20–28
- Artzy, M., I. Perlman & F. Asaro 1978: Imported and local Bichrome Ware in Megiddo, *Levant* 10, 99–111
- Åström, P. 2001: Bichrome hand-made ware and Bichrome wheel-made ware on Cyprus, 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*, 131–142, Stockholm: Kungl. Vitenhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien
- Barako, T. J. 2007: *Tel Mor: The Moshe Dothan Excavation, 1959–1960*, Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority
- Barnett, R.D. 1982: *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East (Qedem 14)*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society
- Cochavi-Rainey, Z. 1999: *Royal Gifts in the Late Bronze Age: Fourteenth to Thirteenth Centuries BCE*, Beer Sheva: Department of Bible and Ancient History
- Courtois, L. 1971: Description Physico-chimique de la Céramique Ancienne: La Céramique de Chypre au Bronze Récent. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Clermont
- Dabney, M.K., P. Halstead & P. Thomas 2004: Mycenaean feasting on Tsoungiza at ancient Nemea, in J.C. Wright (ed), *The Mycenaean Feast (Hesperia 73.2)*, 77–94, Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens
- Dikaios, P. 1969–1971: *Enkomi. Excavations 1948–1958*. 3 Volumes, Mainz-am-Rhein: Philip von Zabern
- Epstein, C. 1966: *Palestinian Bichrome Ware*, London: E.J. Brill
- Hennessy, J.B. 1963: *Stephania. A Middle and Late Bronze-Age Cemetery in Cyprus*, London: Bernard Quaritch Ltd
- Heurtley, W.A. 1939: A Palestinian vase-painter of the sixteenth century B.C., *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 8, 21–37
- Hult, G. 1992: *Nitovikla Reconsidered (Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 8)*, Stockholm: Medelhavsmuseet
- Kempinski, A. 1974: Tell el-'Ajjul—Beth-Aglayim or Sharuhén?, *Israel Exploration Journal* 24, 145–152
- Liebowitz, H. 1980: Military and feast scenes on Late Bronze Palestinian ivories, *Israel Exploration Journal* 30, 162–169
- Shortland, A. 2004: Hopeful monsters? Invention and innovation in the archaeological record, in J. Bourriau & J. Phillips (eds), *Invention and Innovation: The Social Context of Technological Change 2. Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East 1650–1150*, 1–11, Oxford: Oxbow
- Sjöqvist, E. 1940: *Problems of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age*, Stockholm: Swedish Cyprus Expedition
- Steel, L. 1998: The social impact of Mycenaean imported pottery in Cyprus, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 93, 258–296
- Steel, L. 2004: A goodly feast...a cup of mellow wine: feasting in Bronze Age Cyprus, in J.C. Wright (ed), *The Mycenaean Feast (Hesperia 73/2)*, 161–180, Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Stewart, J.R. (compiled by H. Kassis) 1974: *Tell el-'Ajjul. The Middle Bronze Age Remains (SIMA 38)*, Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag
- Westholm, A. 1939: Some Late Cypriot tombs at Milia, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 8, 1–20
- Yasur-Landau, A. 2005: Old wine in new vessels: intercultural contact, innovation and Aegean, Canaanite and Philistine foodways, *Tel Aviv* 32, 168–191
- Ziffer, I. 2005: From Achemhöyük to Megiddo: the banquet scene in the art of the Levant in the second millennium BCE, *Tel Aviv* 32, 133–167
- Zuckerman, S. 2007: '...Slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine...': feasting in Late Bronze Hazor, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 139, 186–204