

MYCENAEAN TRADE WITH THE SOUTH-EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

BY

VRONWY HANKEY

The background and ancestry of the Indo-European Mycenaeans are still debated questions. Among recent enquiries the most opposed are those of Hammond (1), who links the Mycenaeans with the Kurgans of central Europe, and of Astour (2), who argues a Semitic origin for the Danaans of the Argolid. Most scholars agree that Mycenaean culture should be recognised as Greek, and all must agree that in southern Greece, in the seventeenth century B.C., the Mycenaeans emerged decisively as a powerful group, physically stronger and better armed than their neighbours (3). They became dominant at a time when the Aegean mainland had partly recovered from the set-back which its urban experiments of the Early Bronze Age had suffered in consequence of the Indo-European invasions about 2000 B.C. It was, too, a time when the people of Europe were increasingly exploiting their metal resources and developing trading communications far beyond the limited horizons of farming communities.

Some scholars maintain that towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age (4) connections between the Aegean mainland and Egypt were very

(1) N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 62 (1967), 96 ff.

(2) M. ASTOUR, *Hellenosemitica* (1967).

(3) G. MYLONAS, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (1967), 109, 197 f.

(4) For the chronology of the Aegean see A. FURUMARK, *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery* (1941); H.L. THOMAS, *Near Eastern, Mediterranean and European Chronology* (1967), 62 f., 84 ff. There is a margin of choice and error in correlating the beginning of the Aegean Late Bronze Age (Late Minoan, Late Helladic or Mycenaean) with the begin-

close, and that the Mycenaeans acquired the gold of Mycenae and their extravagant funerary ideas from the Egyptians when they served as mercenary soldiers in Ahmose I's war of liberation against the Hyksos (1). But the Mycenaean shaft graves continue a Middle Helladic mainland tradition, it is doubtful whether the Egyptians in Upper Egypt could have established tactical communications with the Mycenaeans, separated as they were by the Hyksos in the Nile Delta and by the sea, and it is not known whether at this time the Egyptians controlled the sources of gold in Kush and Nubia (2). Some of the gold of Mycenae could have been traded in an unworked state along the same routes that brought amber from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, but the sudden burst of wealth at Mycenae can be explained best as the result of indigenous activity stimulated by contact with the Minoans.

Communications between the early Mycenaeans and Egypt via the coast of the south-eastern Mediterranean do not seem very likely. During the seventeenth century B.C., when the Mycenaeans began to acquire their first wealth, there was no great overseas trading activity (as there had been before about 1700 B.C.) at cities from Alalakh to Gaza, and no Middle Minoan III or Middle Helladic pottery has been found in the area. Indeed, Schaeffer observed a hiatus from about 1700 to 1550 B.C. at many sites (3).

ning of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt at c. 1567, 1550, or 1530 B.C. The date given in *Cambridge Ancient History* (rev. ed.), Fasc. 34 (1965) is followed here. There is some disagreement about the transition from Mycenaean IIIA 2 to IIIB (A.J.B. WACE, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 52 (1957), 220 ff.), and about the date of transition from Mycenaean IIIB to IIIC (THOMAS, *op. cit.*, 62 f.; V. HANKEY, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 62 (1967), 131 f.). H.L. Thomas notes the dangers of inconsistency in following a given chronology in *Opuscula Atheniensia* 8 (1968), 11 ff.

(1) S. MARINATOS, *Crete and Mycenae* (1960), 81 ff.; G. MYLONAS, *op. cit.* in p. 3, Note 3, 90.

(2) A. LUCAS and J.R. HARRIS, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (1962), 225 f.; W. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* ii (1959), 74.

(3) C. SCHAEFFER, *Stratigraphie comparée* (1948) passim. The Grey Minyan in Late Bronze Age contexts at Lachish and Tell Abu Hawam is not Middle Helladic Grey Minyan ware made on the Greek mainland. See O. TUFNELL, *Lachish* iv (1958), 213 f.; HANKEY, *op. cit.* in p. 3, Note 4, 124, n. 28.

Kenyon remarked that Palestine in the Middle Bronze period was a comparative backwater, and had little foreign trade, except with Egypt (1). There is evidence of trade between Cyprus and the coast of the south-eastern Mediterranean and Egypt during the seventeenth century. But, in spite of its copper and position as a port of call between the south-eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean, there is little trace of any material contact between Cyprus and the Aegean, least of all the Greek mainland, throughout the Middle Bronze Age (2).

Much has been made of possible exchanges between Crete and Egypt during the Middle Bronze Age, and there is solid evidence for trade before 1700 B.C., in the Middle Minoan II period (3). But no Middle Minoan III object has yet been found in Egypt, and the calcite lid inscribed with the cartouche of Khyan, the Hyksos ruler, found in a Middle Minoan IIIA deposit at Knossos, is perhaps the only sure evidence for contact during the seventeenth century (4). In fact, there is little foundation at present for assuming that the Mycenaeans had any direct contact with Egypt, or indirect contact via the coast of the south-eastern Mediterranean or via Crete before the final expulsion of the Hyksos about 1567 B.C. Asiatic goods or influences reaching Mycenae before about 1550 B.C. may have arrived there via Anatolia and the north-east, but this is not the place for discussing the possibility.

Horizons widened with the establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, and consequently the wealth of Mycenae attracted trade from the south-eastern Mediterranean and Egypt. Direct Egyptian imports, such as the box in Egyptian sycamore from Circle A, Grave V (5), are out-numbered by goods which are Minoan in design and technique, or which combine Egyptian and Minoan features, such as the duck bowl in rock crystal from

(1) K. KENYON, *Cambridge Ancient History* (rev. ed.), Fasc. 48 (1966), 39 f.

(2) H. CATLING, *Cambridge Ancient History* (rev. ed.), Fasc. 43 (1966), 43 ff.

(3) H. KANTOR, *American Journal of Archaeology* 51 (1947), 3 ff.; F. SCHACHERMEYER, *Ägais und Orient* (1967).

(4) J. PENDLEBURY, *Aegyptiaca* (1930), 22.

(5) G. KARO, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* (1933), 144, no. 812.

Circle B, Grave O (1). It seems likely, then, that the materials for these luxuries were provided by the Minoans, whose trade expanded rapidly as the demand grew. An example of their trade and skill may be seen in the stone vases found in Crete and at Mycenae. Some of these are in origin Egyptian stone vessels of the Early and Middle Kingdoms and of the Second Intermediate period, which were re-worked by Cretan craftsmen into acceptable Minoan shapes (2).

There is little evidence from the south-eastern Mediterranean to show how the Mycenaean and Minoans paid for their lapis-lazuli, glass, silver and gold, ivory and ostrich eggs. No Late Minoan IA or Mycenaean I pottery or objects are known from the area, but a Late Minoan IA cup with spirals was the model for a jumbo offering shown in the wall paintings of the tomb Senmut at Thebes (3). Senmut was the architect and steward of Hatshepsut the great female Pharaoh and stepmother of Thothmes III. Furumark regards these paintings, the earliest in the Theban series, as the only record of an actual visit. The un-named foreigners are Minoans who visited the Egyptian court some years before 1493 B.C. when the tomb was completed (4). To this we can, at present, add no more than hypothetical exports, timber, always in demand in Egypt, honey, the best sweetening agent then known to man, olive oil, woollen textiles, of first importance in a world that had no cotton, silk or hemp as we know it.

Until recently it was assumed that most of the trade with the south-eastern Mediterranean was carried by Aegeans in Aegean ships. Bass, however, claims that Syrians and Phoenicians had a early share in the copper trade (5), and Frost's studies of Middle and Late Bronze Age anchors may provide valuable information on this subject (6). It is also

(1) G. MYLONAS, *op. cit.*, in p. 3, Note 3, 190 ff.

(2) P. WARREN, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 33 (1967), 44; *Minoan Stone Vases* (1969), 105.

(3) J. VERCOUTTER, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique* (1956), 203 ff., Document 232.

(4) A. FURUMARK, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 6 (1950), 239.

(5) G. BASS, *Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck* (1967), 77.

(6) H. FROST, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 45 (1969), 425 ff; *Ugaritica* vi (1969), 235 ff; *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1970, 14 ff.

possible that in shipping a general free-for-all prevailed, with no single group in control.

The beginning of the fifteenth century, the Late Minoan IB and Mycenaean IIA period, was a time of vital co-operation between Minoan and Mycenaean artists and craftsmen, which left its permanent mark on almost all aspects of Mycenaean life. Minoan gaiety and brilliance combined with Mycenaean order and solidity to produce works in which it is hard, even for the partial eye, to distinguish what is Minoan and what Mycenaean(1). This collaboration is reflected in the small amount of Mycenaean II and Late Minoan IB pottery found in Cyprus, at nine or ten sites from Alalakh to Gaza, and at six sites in Egypt (2). The two principal shapes are 1. the squat jar or alabastron with three handles (Fig. 1a, based on sherds from Alalakh, FS 82, average height 8 cms.), which combines a Middle Helladic shape with an Egyptian stone alabastron form, and 2. the pithoid jar (Fig. 1b, restored from sherds from Amman, FS 24, height 35 cms. or more), a Minoan shape which became a Mycenaean speciality. Only eight out of the twenty-one pots from Egypt come from excavations, but here, as elsewhere, the Mycenaean element is conspicuous (3). The finds are too few for tracing trade patterns, or for deciding whether the Minoan colony at Trianda in Rhodes was an intermediate stage in the organisation of this trade (4). As before, part of the trade may have consisted of raw materials and woollen textiles from Crete. If woollen textiles were exported, their success would have depended on quality, since woollen textiles were rated

(1) M. POPHAM, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 62 (1967), 342 f.

(2) For detailed study of Mycenaean and some Minoan pottery in the south-eastern Mediterranean see F.H. STUBBINGS, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant* (1951); H. CATLING and V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 55 (1960), 109 ff.; V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Nouveaux documents pour l'étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre* (1965); HANKEY, *op. cit.* in p. 3, Note 4, 107 ff. In the description of pottery in the present article 'FS' refers to the catalogue of shapes in A. FURUMARK, *The Mycenaean Pottery* (1941), 583 ff. The two maps (1, 2) give an up-to-date distribution of Mycenaean and Minoan pottery in the south-eastern Mediterranean, excluding Cyprus. Further exploration is sure to add more sites.

(3) FURUMARK, *op. cit.* in p. 6, Note 4, 213.

(4) FURUMARK, *op. cit.* in p. 6, Note 4, 177 ff.

second to gold in the tribute at Ugarit, and the Syrian textile industry was itself very important (1). Indeed, Albright has suggested that the name 'Canaanite' may come from a fifteenth century word for 'dealer in purple dye' or 'textile merchant' (2). Killen's study of Linear B tablets at Knossos has shown that at the time of its destruction, soon after 1400 B.C., the palace controlled a wool industry based on organised animal husbandry (3).

It is difficult to calculate when these Aegean exports reached the south-eastern Mediterranean. Most of the finds come from tombs, which, even when undisturbed by later burials or by robbers, tend to contain objects made long before the time of burial. Others come from contexts without any clear stratification, and even where the stratification is clear the range of dating is wide. The Fosse Temple I at Lachish, in which a fine Mycenaean IIA stemmed cup was found, was dedicated about 1475 and lasted until about 1325 B.C. (4). The Mycenaean IIA jar from Amman (Fig. 1b) was already old when it was deposited as a broken offering in the fill of a temple built about 1300 B.C. (5).

Recent discoveries in a continuation of abandoned excavations on Thera, the volcanic island 120 kilometres north of Crete, have brought general acceptance of the view that a cataclysmic eruption ended Minoan prosperity and made it possible for the Mycenaeans to step into the coveted shoes of Minos (6). One academically traditional picture shows the Mycenaeans and Minoans as rivals, contending for control of an environment that had become too small to hold them both, a struggle which the powerful and heavily armed Mycenaeans would have won without the intervention of a natural catastrophe. Yet if their close artistic collaboration means anything, it may well be that before, during

(1) C. SCHAEFFER, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit* iv (1956), 43 f., 47 f.

(2) W.F. ALBRIGHT, *Cambridge Ancient History* (rev. ed.), Fasc. 51 (1966), 37.

(3) J.T. KILLEN, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 59 (1964), 1 ff.

(4) O. TUFNELL, C. INGE, G.L. HARDING, *Lachish* ii (1940), 21 f.

(5) J.B. HENNESSY and V. HANKEY, *A Late Bronze Age Temple at Amman*, forthcoming.

(6) S. MARINATOS, *Excavations at Thera*: i (1968), ii (1969); J.V. LUCE, *The End of Atlantis* (1969).

and after the eruption of Thera the Mycenaeans and Minoans were closely linked in all their activities, including trade and social organisation. The occupants of Knossos after about 1450 B.C. saw no need to fortify the palace against a hostile population, and to the end Knossos remained, as it had been from the first, an open-door palace. The bureaucratic development seen so minutely in the Linear B tablets of Knossos was made possible by a combination of Mycenaean language and Minoan technology, and was perhaps part of a concerted and successful effort to conserve manpower and resources, and thus keep alive the chief centre of Aegean society in Crete. Such action would explain the continued, though minimal, quantity of Late Minoan IIIA pottery found in the south-eastern Mediterranean.

About 1425 B.C. the ornate Palace Style of Late Minoan II and Mycenaean IIB was replaced by the more sober decoration of the Mycenaean IIIA 1 and Late Minoan IIIA period. A few alabastra, jars and sherds of this period have been found in Cyprus, and at nine sites from Alalakh to Gaza. None has been published from Egypt. They represent a small amount of trade in ivory, gem-stones and perishable goods such as travelled in the Canaanite storage jars found at Mycenae and in Attica in Mycenaean IIIA 1 contexts (1). In this period of apparently limited overseas activity the Mycenaeans increased their settlements throughout mainland Greece.

Soon after the destruction of Knossos, about 1380 B.C. (the date and cause are still disputed) the Mycenaeans needed more copper for weapons in an increasingly competitive and hostile world, and the first European export drive began. The copper sources in Cyprus became the objective of organised export trade from the Argolid. The trade did not, however, materially change Cypriote culture, and it is unlikely that Mycenaeans settled in significant groups in Cyprus, or along the neighbouring coasts, during the Mycenaean IIIA 2 and early IIIB periods (2).

(1) V. GRACE in *The Aegean and the Near East* (1956), 80 ff.

(2) H.W. CATLING, *Cypriote Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (1964), ch. ii; L. ÅSTRÖM, *Studies on the Arts and Crafts of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (1967), 145 ff.

Mycenaean IIIA 2 pottery has been found in great quantities in Cyprus, and on a smaller scale at between forty and fifty sites from Carchemish on the Euphrates to Gaza, and at ten sites in Egypt, notably Tell el Amarna. Tell el Amarna was inhabited from the fourth regnal year of Amenophis IV (Akhnaten) until the third regnal year of Tutankhamen, from about 1375 to 1358 B.C. Here Mycenaean deposits in houses as well as tombs provide a solid foundation for the chronology of the Mycenaean III period (1). After Cyprus, the most numerous finds are from Ugarit, Alalakh and in Palestine. Among a variety of shapes four utilitarian types stand out as typical of this trade: 1. the square-sided squat jar or alabastron (Fig. 2a from Alalakh, FS 93-95, average height 8 cms.) which replaced the earlier squat type, 2. the small piriform jar with three handles (Fig. 2b, from Alalakh, FS 45, average height 15 cms.), 3. the stirrup-jar (Fig. 2c, from Cyprus, FS 166, 171 and 178, average height 15 cms.), Minoan in origin but typical of Mycenaean society everywhere, and 4. the pilgrim bottle or flask (Fig. 2d, from Alalakh, FS 187-189, average height 15 cms.), oriental in origin, but with Minoan and Mycenaean variations. These shapes, standardised in an excellent technique, form and decoration, are too small for storage capacity, and seem too modest to have a high aesthetic appeal.

According to Merrilllees opium was exported from Cyprus in Base-Ring juglets which imitated the form of the poppy-head from which a general panacea was prepared (why did this Late Bronze Age aspirin have no sale in the Aegean?) (2). There is, however, no indication that any of the standardised motifs on Mycenaean storage jars was a guide to the contents of the vessels which were in use for nearly two hundred years over a wide area, and were copied in clay, faience and stone in the export areas. It is certain that some of the jars contained oil, the importance of which can

(1) W.H.F. PETRIE, *Tell el Amarna* (1894), 15 ff.; FURUMARK, *op. cit.* in p. 3, Note 4, 57; P. ÅSTRÖM, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 4 (1962), 221 ff.

(2) R.S. MERRILLEES, *Antiquity* 36 (1962), 287 ff.; *The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery found in Egypt* (1968), 154 ff.

hardly be over-estimated. Oils and animal fats were used for lighting, preparing and preserving foods, for keeping the body clean, and oils were used for preparing paints (1). In the absence of alcohol, which was not known in Egypt until the fourth century B.C. (2), refined oils and fats were the best medium for absorbing and retaining perfumes and essences, and were used in many cosmetic and pharmaceutical preparations. The House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae is believed to have been a factory for preparing special olive oil for export (3), and traces of the large stirrup-jars used for the transport of such oil have been found at Ugarit (4), Beth Shan and Tell Abu Hawam (5). Olive oil has not been identified among at least seven varieties of oil sent in 2007 vessels to Burraburias of Babylon by Akhnaten (6), but frescoes from Tell el Amarna, and garlands of olive leaves in royal tombs show that the olive was properly appreciated in Egypt, where it does not grow easily (7).

Resins were perhaps also exported from the Aegean mainland, which is still addicted to the use of resin in wine, to Egypt, where they were used for many purposes, including adhesives. The first complete Mycenaean pot found at Tell el Amarna, a pilgrim flask, contained a resinous substance, which unfortunately was not analysed (8). A closer analysis of oils, resins and sediments in whole pots might help to turn guess-work into certainty. Meanwhile, it must be allowed that the Mycenaean pots sold well because their contents were unobtainable in the south-eastern Mediterranean or were of better quality than the local product.

One ceremonial shape, the pictorial krater, also stands out (Fig. 3, from Amman, *FS* 54-55, average height 35 cms.). It has been found whole

(1) LUCAS and HARRIS, *op. cit.* in p. 4, Note 2, 330 ff.

(2) LUCAS and HARRIS, *op. cit.* in p. 4, Note 2, 85 f.

(3) A.J.B. WACE, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 48 (1953), 9 ff.

(4) C. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* ii (1949), figs. 54, 15; 58, 15.

(5) HANKEY, *op. cit.* in p. 3, Note 4, 125, 127.

(6) *The Tell el Amarna Tablets*, ed. S.A.B. MERCER, i (1939), Tablet 14.

(7) LUCAS and HARRIS, *op. cit.* in p. 4, Note 2, 335.

(8) J.D.S. PENDLEBURY, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17 (1931), 235.

at over twenty sites in Cyprus, and at twelve sites from Alalakh to Gaza, mostly in fragments. No pictorial pieces have been published from Egypt. These vases, too large for a man to drink from, too small to bury him in, were decorated with scenes involving a variety of horses, chariots, processions, strange beasts and birds, and are now known to have been made principally in the Argolid (1).

Lebanon shows a variation from this pattern of trade during Mycenaean IIIA 2. Pottery has been found at Beirut, Sidon, Sarafand and Kamed el Loz, but so far no Mycenaean IIIA 2 is known from Byblos. This may be accidental, but the lack could reflect the unrest and disruption described by Rib-Addi of Byblos in his letters to Akhnaten (2). Further south, however, a similar unpeaceful condition did not prevent Mycenaean IIIA 2 pottery from reaching ports like Tell Abu Hawam, or from being traded inland along caravan routes which, no less than Byblos, Batroun or Arqa, were threatened by the attacks of the Sa.Gaz people of the Amarna tablets.

The beginning of the Mycenaean IIIB period, which Furumark dates about 1300 B.C., saw no change in organised trade with Cyprus and the coast of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, except that Mycenaean pottery now reached Byblos, and less came to Egypt. As in the previous period and throughout the whole period of Mycenaean trade after about 1400, a great amount of Cypriote accompanied the Mycenaean wares. This continued an earlier pattern of trade between Cyprus, the south-eastern Mediterranean coast and Egypt, where Base-Ring I and White Slip I were imported on a large scale long before organised Mycenaean trade began. Except for Tell el Amarna, all sites in the south-eastern Mediterranean seem to have imported far more Cypriote Base-Ring II and White Slip II than Mycenaean III pottery. The explanation for this seems to be that the best and the bulk of the Mycenaean exports went to Cyprus. The empty cargo space was then loaded with Cypriote goods for onward trading. When these

(1) H.W. CATLING and A. MILLET, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 60 (1965), 212 ff. In 1969 a whole chariot krater was found at Tell Dan, north of Lake Huleh, *Israel Exploration Journal* 20 (1970), 92 ff.

(2) *Op. cit.* in p. 11, Note 6, particularly Rib-Addi's letters nos. 13, 21, 29, 45, 53, 54.

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were sold the ship turned round with a small cargo for the Aegean and a large cargo for Cyprus. This in turn was off-loaded in Cyprus and a full cargo of copper taken to Greece. This pattern may also explain why, except for the special case of Tell el Amarna, relatively little Mycenaean IIIA 2 and IIIB pottery has been found in Egypt, and few objects which can be dated to the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties have been found in the Aegean. From an Aegean point of view one would expect the Mycenaeans to have had a major share of the shipping, but the Ugarit archives (1) alone give evidence of the importance of Syrian or Phoenician shipping which flourished in spite (or even because of) growing friction between the countries bordering on the south-eastern Mediterranean.

Some time in Mycenaean IIIB, perhaps quite early, the trading pattern changed. The uniformity of earlier exports from the Argolid was gradually replaced by a variety of mediocre products from different centres. In Cyprus Mycenaean pottery began to be made in variations on the standard shapes, and in a rough but lively pictorial style, the so-called Rude Style. Except for Tell Abu Hawam, where Stubbings noted a consistently Attic style of Mycenaean pottery, the later Mycenaean IIIB pottery found in the south-eastern Mediterranean could, to judge by its appearance, have been made at Pylos, in Cyprus, or even in Crete, which had managed to keep a small share in trade. There were also more local imitations than in the previous period. At the same time a marked Mycenaean influence began to be seen in the international style of carvings in ivory at Enkomi, Ugarit and Megiddo, which suggests that craftsmen in luxury goods, who tended to be migrants, moved eastwards in search of material and work. These changes must be related to troubles in Greece. About 1300 B.C. the palace at Thebes in Boeotia was destroyed (2), and a large quantity of lapis-lazuli left in the ruins of its work-rooms. Some years later at Mycenae, town

(1) *Le palais royal d'Ugarit* v (1965), no. 56; no. 62, advising the king of Ugarit to equip ships; F. THOREAU-DANGIN, *Syria* 12 (1931), 228 ff. lists twenty-eight different categories of boat or ship.

(2) *Illustrated London News* Dec. 5, 1964, 896 ff.; W.S. STEVENSON SMITH, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (1965), 87.

houses, including the House of the Oil Merchant were burned down (1), and the second Cyclopean defences were begun (2). Whether these destructions were due to civil disturbance, attack or accident, they coincide with the beginning of a shift of Mycenaean society from its main centres to its outer edges, making trade less regular and less organised. This may explain why pottery of early Mycenaean IIIB or even IIIA 2 type is sometimes found in later contexts, as, for instance, at Deir Alla. Here, in a small sanctuary destroyed by an earthquake sometime after 1200 B.C., Mycenaean pottery of early and late IIIB types was found with an Egyptian faience vase carrying the cartouche of Tausert, widow of Seti II. This is the most closely dated context for a late use of Mycenaean IIIB pottery (3).

Towards the end of Mycenaean IIIB and in the next period, Mycenaean IIIC 1, groups of Mycenaeans arrived in Cyprus to settle by violence where before they had traded peaceably. They were also among the motley bands of land-seekers known as the Sea Peoples, who moved south along the Syrian coast, destructive but not numerous enough to settle at Alalakh, Ugarit, or Byblos. Traces of their migration have been found at Ugarit (4), Tell Sukas, Beth Shan, Tell es Saidiyeh (5), Tell Fara (6) and Ashdod. One group of Mycenaeans also had a share in the movement which brought the Peleset or Philistines to Palestine and with them the characteristic pottery found above the destruction layers which mark the end of the Late Bronze Age in Palestine.

Important finds at Perati in Attica (7) show that trade with the southeastern Mediterranean survived conditions which were remembered in the Homeric question 'Are you merchantmen or pirates?' The Mycenaean settlements in Cyprus which traded with Attica during the twelfth and

(1) E. FRENCH, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 62 (1967), 149 ff.

(2) MYLONAS, *op. cit.* in p. 3, Note 3, 19 ff.

(3) HANKEY, *op. cit.* in p. 3, Note 4, 131 ff.

(4) C. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* iii (1956), 169 ff.

(5) HANKEY, *op. cit.* in p. 3, Note 4, 130; *American Journal of Archaeology* 70 (1966), 169 ff.

(6) J. WALDEBAUM, *American Journal of Archaeology* 70 (1966), 331 ff.

(7) S. IAKOVIDIS, *Περσική* (1969) ii, 312 ff., 456 ff., 468 ff.

eleventh centuries were a vital element in the Iron Age development of the island, and had their influence on the cities of the Phoenician coast. Here we find the latest reminders of the Mycenaean organised trade, in two amphoriskoi from the Iron Age cemetery at Khalde, Beirut (1). These derivations from the Mycenaean IIIA 2 alabastron are eleventh century recollections of the Mycenaean craftsmen, traders and emigrants, and of their share in the ancient dialogue between the two areas whose accumulated human and religious experience formed the principal foundation of the modern world.

SUMMARY.

No material trace has so far been found of any direct exchange of trade between the Mycenaean mainland of Greece and the south-eastern Mediterranean coast and Egypt before about 1475 B.C. The few early Mycenaean trade goods found in the area are intimately and perhaps inextricably linked with Minoan trade, and imply collaboration between the Mycenaeans and Minoans until the destruction of Knossos about 1380 B.C. In the fourteenth century B.C. Mycenaean pottery was made on a large scale in the Argolid for export, chiefly to Cyprus, the source of copper. The organisation, quality and quantity of this trade declined in the later part of the thirteenth century. There is little evidence of Mycenaean trading colonies in the area. In the last quarter of the thirteenth century an eastward migration brought Mycenaean settlers among the Sea Peoples, and they continued sporadic trade with the Mycenaeans of Attica during the twelfth century B.C. They also influenced the Iron Age development of the Phoenician coast.

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(1) E. SAIDAH, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 19 (1966), 89, nos. 14, 48.

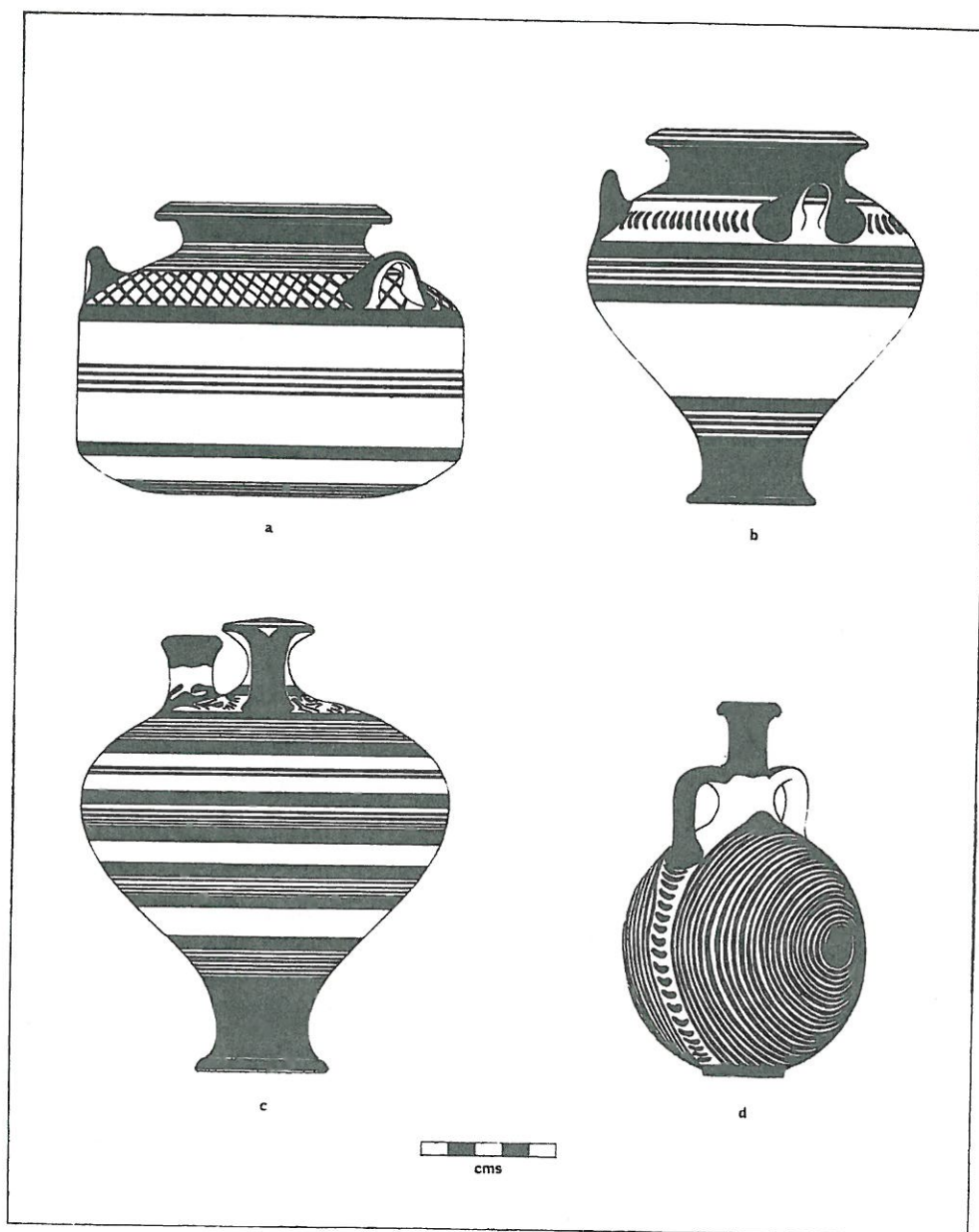


FIG. 2. Mycenaean IIIA 2 exported pottery: (a), (b), (d) from Alalakh; (c) from Laxia
tou Riou, Cyprus.