BEYOND CYPRUS:

INVESTIGATING CYPRIOT CONNECTIVITY IN THE

MEDITERRANEAN FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE

TO THE END OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

Edited by Giorgos Bourogiannis



Cypriot Connectivity in the Mediterranean

AURA SUPPLEMENT 9 • ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ AURA 9

BEYOND CYPRUS:

INVESTIGATING CYPRIOT CONNECTIVITY IN THE

MEDITERRANEAN FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE

TO THE END OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

Edited by Giorgos Bourogiannis

AURA SUPPLEMENT 9 ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ AURA 9

ATHENS
UNIVERSITY
REVIEW OF
ARCHAEOLOGY

This volume was published as part of the research project "Cypriot Connectivity in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Classical Period" (acronym CyCoMed). CyCoMed was hosted by the Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, and was implemented in 2018–2022 within the framework of the programme "Hellenic World and the East" of the Section of Greek and Roman Antiquity. CyCoMed was funded by the Hellenic Foundation for Research and Innovation (HFRI) and the General Secretariat for Research and Innovation (GSRI), under grant agreement no. 481.







Cover: CyCoMed Project logo, created by the Post-Spectacular Office.

ISSN: 2732-9267 (printed edition)

ISSN: 2732-9275 (digital edition)

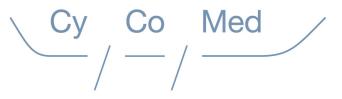
ISBN: 978-618-85619-7-7 (printed edition)

ISBN: 978-618-85619-8-4 (digital edition)

BEYOND CYPRUS:

INVESTIGATING CYPRIOT CONNECTIVITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE TO THE END OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

Edited by Giorgos Bourogiannis



Cypriot Connectivity in the Mediterranean

AURA SUPPLEMENT 9 • ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ AURA 9

EDITORS • ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ

Konstantinos Kopanias • Yiannis Papadatos

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD • ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ

Georgios Vavouranakis • Yannis Galanakis • Georgia Kourtessi-Philippakis

Eleni Mantzourani • Christos Doumas • Diamantis Panagiotopoulos

Eleftherios Platon • Naya Polychronakou-Sgouritsa • Arnulf Hausleiter

Panagiotis Kousoulis • James Osborne • Panos Valavanis

Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos • Pavlina Karanastasi • Stylianos Katakis

Eurydice Kefalidou • Georgia Kokkorou-Alevras • Antonis Kotsonas

Nota Kourou • Vasileios Lamprinoudakis • Dimitrios Bosnakis • Olga Palagia

Lydia Palaiokrassa • Eleftheria Papoutsaki-Serbeti • Dimitris Plantzos

Michael Tiverios • Sophia Kalopissi-Verti • Maria Konstantoudaki-Kitromilidou

Georgios Pallis • Maria Panagiotidou • Platon Petridis • Andreas Rhoby

Peter Dent • Panagiotis Ioannou • Theodora Markatou • Evgenios Matthiopoulos

Efthymia Mavromichali • Dimitris Pavlopoulos • Soultana-Maria Valamoti

Lilian Karali-Giannakopoulou • Vasileios Kylikoglou • Alexandra Livarda

Ioannis Basiakos • Sevi Triantaphyllou • Marlen Mouliou • Alexandra Bounia

Maria Oikonomou • Eleftheria Paliou • Konstantinos Papadopoulos • Apostolos Sarris

PROOFREADING • ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ

Giorgos Bourogiannis • Jennifer Webb • Vanessa Pappa • Katerina Boukala-Karkagianni

LAYOUT • $\Sigma X E \Delta I A \Sigma M O \Sigma$

Katerina Boukala-Karkagianni

Editorial • Εκδοτικό Σημείωμα

The Athens University Review of Archaeology (AURA) is an international, peer-reviewed archaeological journal published by the Faculty of History and Archaeology of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. It is dedicated to the publication of original research articles and reports focusing on, or related to the archaeology, art and material culture in the broader Greek world, from the earliest Prehistory to the Modern Era.

Part of the AURA journal is the AURA Supplement series, comprising studies in Greek or English, which, due to their extent, cannot be published in the journal as articles. The series share the same areas of interest with the journal.

AURA is a fully open access journal. Each issue of the journal and each monograph is published electronically as a PDF file. All papers are available on the internet to all users immediately upon publication and free of charge, according to the Creative Commons (BYNC-ND 4.0). AURA issues and monographs can also be distributed on a print-on-demand basis and posted or collected from the bookstore of the Kardamitsa Publications, 8 Ippokratous str, Athens.

Το Περιοδικό του Τομέα Αρχαιολογίας και Ιστορίας της Τέχνης (AURA) είναι ένα διεθνές περιοδικό με σύστημα διπλής ανώνυμης αξιολόγησης, το οποίο εκδίδεται από το Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Εθνικού και Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών. Στόχος του είναι η δημοσίευση πρωτότυπων εργασιών που εστιάζουν στην αρχαιολογία, την τέχνη και τον υλικό πολιτισμό του ευρύτερου ελληνικού κόσμου, από την απώτερη προϊστορία έως και τη σύγχρονη εποχή.

Μέρος της έκδοσης του περιοδικού AURA αποτελεί η σειρά μονογραφιών με τίτλο «AURA Supplements». Περιλαμβάνει μελέτες στα ελληνικά ή στα αγγλικά, που λόγω της μεγάλης τους έκτασης δεν μπορούν να δημοσιευθούν με τη μορφή άρθρου στο περιοδικό. Η θεματολογία των μονογραφιών είναι ίδια με εκείνη του περιοδικού.

Το περιοδικό και η σειρά μονογραφιών είναι ελεύθερης και ανοικτής πρόσβασης. Τα τεύχη του περιοδικού και οι μονογραφίες δημοσιεύονται ηλεκτρονικά ως αρχεία PDF. Όλα τα άρθρα είναι δωρεάν διαθέσιμα για όλους στο διαδίκτυο αμέσως μετά τη δημοσίευσή τους και σύμφωνα με την άδεια Creative Commons (BY-NC-ND 4.0). Τα τεύχη του περιοδικού AURA και οι τόμοι της σειράς «AURA Supplements» μπορούν επίσης να εκτυπωθούν κατόπιν παραγγελίας και να αποσταλούν ταχυδρομικά ή να παραληφθούν από το βιβλιοπωλείο του Εκδοτικού Οίκου Καρδαμίτσα, Ιπποκράτους 8, Αθήνα.

CONTACT • $E\Pi IKOIN\Omega NIA$

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Faculty of History and Archaeology University Campus, GR-15784 Athens, Greece

Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών Φιλοσοφική Σχολή / Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας Πανεπιστημιόπολη Ζωγράφου / Αθήνα 157 84

Website • Ιστοσελίδα http://aura.arch.uoa.gr/ email: aura@arch.uoa.gr

Editing • Επιμέλεια: Giorgos Bourogiannis (gbourogiannis@eie.gr)

Layout • Σχεδιασμός: Katerina Boukala-Karkagianni (kmpoukala@gmail.com)

© Faculty of History and Archaeology, NKUoA © Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας, ΕΚΠΑ All papers in this volume are subjected to the Creative Commons CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 License (https://creativecom-mons.org/licenses/by-ncnd/4.0/).

Όλα τα άρθρα αυτού του τόμου υπόκεινται στην άδεια χρήσης Creative Commons CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 (https://creative-commons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/deed.el).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE15
ABBREVIATIONS19
ROBIN OSBORNE Cypriot connectivity in the Mediterranean2
JENNIFER M. WEBB Cyprus' maritime connectivity before and during the transition to the Late Bronze Age. The
case of the north and northwest
ELENI MANTZOURANI AND GIORGOS VAVOURANAKIS The anthropomorphic figurines of Cyprus in the
Bronze Age. Style, local traditions and foreign associations
GEORGE PAPASAVVAS Egyptian gold at Enkomi. A material manifestation of a ruling ideology on Late Bronze Ago Cyprus4
HARTMUT MATTHÄUS Cyprus, Egypt and the Levant during the Late Bronze Age. New evidence from Enkomi
VASILIKI KASSIANIDOU Tracing Cypriot connectivity with the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond through the
trade of copper and other metals73
HANAN CHARAF Disentangling the relationships between Cyprus and Lebanon during the second millennium BC
What Sidon can bring to the table
MICHAL ARTZY AND HUIXIN SHA Late Bronze II Cypriot counterparts from the Tell abu Hawam anchorage. The
TATIANA PEDRAZZI Canaanite jars in Cyprus in the 13th–12th centuries BC. Transfer of goods, transformation o networks
ANGELOS PAPADOPOULOS Cypriot products and Cypriots away from the coast? A view from Late Bronze Ago
Tell el-Hesi
SARAH VILAIN Towards a reassessment of Levantine and Egyptian jugs and juglets related to Cypriot Base Ring
Ware141
ANNALEKKAPotteryfashionintheLateBronzeAge.Anoverviewof thestylisticsimilaritiesbetweenCypriotandotherAnnalyticsandotherAnnalyticsA
local wares in the Mediterranean
NIKOLAS PAPADIMITRIOU Cyprus and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age179
CASSANDRA M. DONNELLY Cypro-Minoan abroad, Cypriots abroad?195
JOANNA S. SMITH Cypriot seals and Cypriots overseas202

JAN SIENKIEWICZ Social assemblages of things. Drinking practices and inter-cultural interaction between Rhodes and Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age
FOTEINI ZERVAKI From Cyprus to Rhodes and beyond. Cypriot imports and influence in Rhodes in the 11th and early 10th centuries BC. Links to the Aegean and the central Mediterranean
KONSTANTINOS KOPANIAS, ERATO VEMOU AND KATERINA SIDIROPOULOU 3D model analysis of some Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age swords from Cyprus
ANNA LUCIA D'AGATA Networks of similarities, worlds of shared practices. On the use of the term koine for the connections between Cilicia and Cyprus in the first centuries of the first millennium BC263
ANASTASIA CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU Ancient migration or ancient mobility? Perspectives from Cyprus273
GIUSEPPE GARBATI Cypriot (?) gods beyond Cyprus. Some notes on the western Phoenician evidence287
ADRIANO ORSINGHER Sailing east. Networks, mobility, trade and cultural exchanges between Cyprus and the central Levant during the Iron Age
KONSTANTINOS KOPANIAS, DIMITRIS PAPAGEORGIOU, CHARA THEOTOKATOU AND IOANNIS VOSKOS External contacts and a reassessment of socio-political evolution in the Kouris region during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age
ANNA GEORGIADOU AND MARIA DIKOMITOU-ELIADOU The Iron Age pictorial pottery of Salamis within and beyond. An overview of ceramic styles, wares and fabrics
FRANCISCO J. NÚÑEZ The beginning of the Cypro-Archaic I period. A revision proposal351
GIORGOS BOUROGIANNIS Cypriot Black-on-Red pottery in Early Iron Age Greece. In search of a beginning and an end
NICHOLAS SALMON The "Spaghetti Workshop" of Rhodes. Cypriot inspirations, Rhodian alterations389
NOTA KOUROU The artist and the donor. The inscribed statuettes of Cypriot type found in the Aegean revisited
NUMAN TUNA, NADIRE ATICI, İLHAM SAKARYA AND ÜFTADE MUŞKARA The connectivity of Cyprus and Knidia. Limestone votive statuettes found at the Archaic Apollo sanctuary411
STELLA DEMESTICHA Transport containers and maritime networks. The case of Cyprus421
ALINA DIMITROVA Beyond Cyprus. The evidence from the Black Sea
ANNE DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES The evolution of the specific contribution of Cypriot coins in the relations of the island with other geographic entities in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Achaemenid period. The case of Kition and Salamis
EVANGELINE MARKOU AND YOAV FARHI A rare coin of Idalion from Israel and Idalion's coin production and circulation in the 5th century BC

ANNA CANNAVÓ Mercenaries. Cypriots abroad and foreigners in Cyprus before the Hellenistic period473
AGNIESZKA HALCZUK Paphians outside Paphos. Inscriptions in the Paphian syllabary found outside Cyprus485
ARTEMIS KARNAVA Incoming goods and local writing. The case of classical Marion in Cyprus497
EIRINI PAIZI Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical pottery from the Knossos Unexplored Mansion. New evidence or connections between Crete and Cyprus
MARGIT LINDER <i>Omnium eorum ars urbibus excubabat, pictorque res communis terrarum erat.</i> Artists' mobility in the Mediterranean from the Archaic era to the end of the Classical period
MARIA CHRISTIDIS Equestrian scenes from Kerameikos to Cyprus
GABRIELE KOINER Cypriot antiquities in Austrian collections and Cypriot archaeology in Graz. Ar update
JOHN LUND Cypriot connectivity from the Late Classical to the Roman periods. A diachronic perspective
INDEX OF SITES AND GEOGRAPHIC TERMS565

Canaanite jars in Cyprus in the 13th-12th centuries BC

Transfer of goods, transformation of networks

Tatiana Pedrazzi

Istituto di Scienze del Patrimonio Culturale (ISPC), Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Milan

ABSTRACT1

Canaanite jars are well attested in Cyprus between the 13th and 12th centuries, during a period of socio-political and economic transformation and change. An examination of the specimens found at the two key sites of Maa Paleokastro and Pyla Kokkinokremos allows us to define the spread of the different morphological types of coastal Levantine origin. Contrary to what one might expect, the commercial amphora with angular shoulder is less common in Cyprus, where, on the other hand, bellied jars of coastal Syrian origin are found. From an overview of the Canaanite jars, it would seem reasonable to assume that Cyprus, during the transitional Late Bronze Age (LBA) to Early Iron Age (EIA) period, was part of a trade network involving the island itself, the Syrian coast and the southern Anatolian area.

The so-called "Canaanite jar" is a well-known category of storage and transport container, typical of the Levantine coast (Fig. 1), broadly dated from the Middle Bronze (MBA) to the Iron Age, with particular success in LB II.² The study of this category of pottery offers many suggestions on the continuity/discontinuity of the exchange networks and maritime trade routes in the "age of transformations", formerly called the "crisis years", a period of transformations and change, nevertheless rooted in a basic cultural continuity.³ In this paper, the focus is mainly on the 13th and 12th centuries, which represent the end of the LBA and the transitional period between the LBA and EIA. The island of Cyprus played a key role in this crucial phase: the island does not seem to suffer from the crisis of the 12th century, but rather flourishes in the age of transformation, being among the areas least affected by the crisis.⁴ An investigation into the presence of Canaanite jars in Cyprus in the 13th and 12th centuries can contribute to the study of the changes in trade patterns and their impact on the economy.

Canaanite jars include types with rounded shoulders and types with slightly or sharply carinated shoulders. In any case, defining morphological types must not be limited solely to examining rim fragments, given that similar types of rims are used for very different jars. The chronological sequences and functional and cultural interpretation of vessels should, where possible, be based on the complete form, that corresponds to the potter's initial "mental idea".⁵

¹ This contribution is a product of the Project PRIN 2017 "Peoples of the Middle Sea. Innovation and Integration in the Ancient Mediterranean (1600-500 BC)", Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca (MUR), Italy.

² The Canaanite jar of LB II represents a wide category of amphoras characterised by a generally tapered bottom, with a maximum diameter in the upper half of the body. Grace 1956; Parr 1973; Sagona 1982; Killebrew A. 2007; Pedrazzi 2007; 2016.

³ On the cultural interconnections in the LBA, see Badre 2011. On the crisis and transformations, Bachhuber and Roberts 2009; Knapp and Manning 2016. On the crisis-induced mobility in the Mediterranean, see also Jung 2018.

⁴ Knapp and Manning 2016, 137; Broodbank 2013, 473.

⁵ The examination of morphological types of jars presented here is based on the complete typology of full shapes: Pedrazzi 2007. For

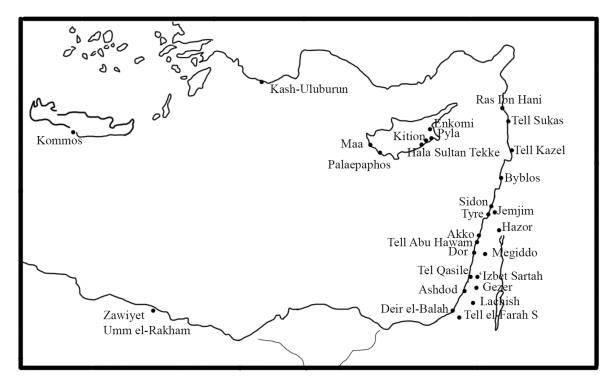


Fig. 1. Map showing the main sites cited in the text (drawn by the author).

Our brief investigation of Canaanite jars in Cyprus during the "transformation years" starts with a few questions. Firstly, which specific morphological types were present in Cyprus and where are they likely to have come from; what purposes did these jars serve and for the transport of what commodities; and, lastly, was there local production of Canaanite jars in Cyprus? Two case-studies, Maa *Palaeokastro* and Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, are discussed here, as both sites are "cultural indicators" of the "transformation years". In fact, Maa and Pyla are two key sites for understanding connectivity in the transition from Late Cypriot (LC) IIC to IIIA, when the island was a sort of "patchwork" of autonomous entities. A few political centres survived after the crisis at the end of LC IIC (e.g. Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition, Paphos). Maa and Pyla were founded at the end of LC IIC near two major centres, Palaepaphos and Kition. Nevertheless, Maa and Pyla are clearly short-lived settlements: spanning the last decades of the 13th to the first half of the 12th century. The Canaanite jars from Maa were studied by Hadjicosti more than 30 years ago, with the petrographic and Neutron Activation Analyses (NAA) carried out by Jones and Vaughan; a new study was undertaken by Jung, with NAA by Mommsen and myself. Canaanite jars from Pyla were first published by Karageorghis and Demas, and then by Karageorghis and Kanta, with a contribution by Georgiou, in the volume of 2014. Recent excavations at Pyla, by Kanta, Bretschneider and Driessen, have brought to light more Canaanite jars.

The Canaanite jar assemblage at Maa is comprised of ten reconstructed jars and a totality of 5022 potsherds that possibly represent 84 whole vessels. Hadjicosti identified three main types: her first type (Hadjicosti type 1) is a jar with a slightly carinated shoulder and button-toe base; a second type (Hadjicosti type 2) is an ovoid vessel

the study of Canaanite jars in Cyprus I am grateful to Reinhard Jung who involved me in his research project focused on Cypriot materials. Some results of this collaborative work are now in press: see Jung et al. (forthcoming).

⁶ Georgiou 2012; 2015.

⁷ Hadjicosti 1988, 340-85; Jones and Vaughan 1988, 386-98.

⁸ Jung et al. (forthcoming).

⁹ Karageorghis and Demas 1984.

¹⁰ Karageorghis and Kanta 2014.

¹¹ Bretschneider et al. 2015.

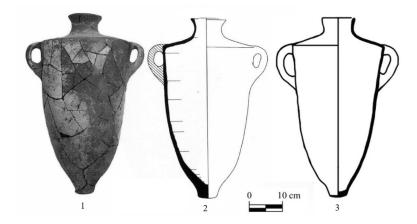


Fig. 2. Angular shouldered jars (Type 5-4): 1–2. Pyla, photo and drawing from Georgiou 2014, pl. Xi, cat. N. 138; 3. Megiddo, drawing from Guy 1938, Pl. 17:4 (redrafted by Pedrazzi 2007, fig. 3.24:d).

with a rounded base; and the third type (Hadjicosti type 3) is a four-handled jar; a further type corresponds to the Egyptian variant of the Canaanite jar (Maa jar no. 585).¹² Maa's collection also consists of other sherds belonging to different types: some pierced bases, a few fragments of painted jars and one fragment of an angular shoulder, belonging to the commercial angular-shouldered jar of LB II, a well-known transport container used in the maritime trade. In fact, this angular-shouldered jar (Pedrazzi Type 5-4, see Fig. 2)¹³ is a very typical and well-known LB II commercial container: this specific category was manufactured in various parts of the coastal Levant. Hundreds of complete jars have been found at Minet el-Beida, the port of Ugarit, and about 150 have been recovered in the Kash-Uluburun shipwreck (most of them belong to this type). Although this vessel was used for maritime transport and travelled to Mycenaean centres and to Egypt, it has been recovered in Cyprus in relatively small numbers.¹⁴

The fragment of angular shoulder from Maa could also belong to another shape (Pedrazzi Type 5-2),¹⁵ a jar with a very flat shoulder, a shorter neck and a rounded base. This is the evolution of the LB angular-shouldered jar in the Iron Age: it is known from Tyre stratum XIII, Tel Dor, Tel Qasile stratum X, and in Cyprus at Palaepaphos *Skales* in the 12th and 11th centuries.¹⁶ In any case, looking at the rim sherds from Maa, we do not find examples of these truly short necks. Thus, we can argue that the small fragment of shoulder can safely be attributed to the standardised Type 5-4 of the 13th century. We ascribe to the same type also the stump base, described by Jones and Vaughan as "imported".¹⁷ A complete example of Type 5-4 has been found at Pyla and published by Georgiou in 2014, confirming the presence of the commercial jar on the island.¹⁸

If this commercial jar *par excellence* was not so common at Maa and Pyla, another morphological type was appreciated on the island: the Canaanite jar with a slight carination on shoulder and a "bellied" profile (Pedrazzi

¹² Hadjicosti 1988.

¹³ Pedrazzi 2007, 75-7, type 5-4.

¹⁴ A full study of Canaanite jars from Tiryns is now being published by Day, Barak and others, and this study will confirm the origin and production in a number of centres in the Levant (Day et al. 2020).

¹⁵ Pedrazzi 2007, 72-3.

¹⁶ Bikai 1978, pl. 35:12; Raban 2000, fig. 9.24:7, 18-9; Mazar 1985, pl. 47:11; Karageorghis 1983, pls. CLXVI:40, CXIV:2, CLIV:46.

¹⁷ Hadjicosti 1988, 347 cat. no. 73; 366 no. 24, pl. C:19; Jones and Vaughan 1988, 387, 393.

¹⁸ Georgiou 2014, pl. XI:138.

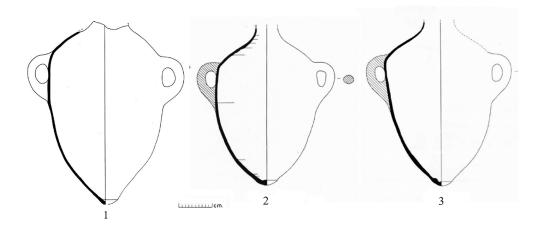


Fig. 3. Bellied jars with sloping shoulder (Type 4-2): 1. Maa, after Hadjicosti 1988, cat. n. 658; 2. Pyla, after Georgiou 2014, Pl. XI:160; 3. Pyla, after

Type 4-2, see Fig. 3).¹⁹ This shape is known mainly, but not exclusively, in the northern Levant, in the final stages of LB II, and during the transition LB–Iron Age.²⁰ Excavations in Areas II and IV at Tell Kazel, in coastal Syria, provided a significant number of similar vessels.²¹ It is less frequent in the central-southern Levant area: a few examples have been identified, such as a complete vessel at Hazor (LB II). It should be noted that the necks and rims are very similarly shaped to the necks and rims of the angular Type 5-4, which is the reason why these two separate types can be confused in the site typologies.

The bellied type with sloping shoulder (Type 4-2) is widespread in LB II and Iron I. A variant (Pedrazzi Type 4-3), attested at Tell Kazel in LB II–Early Iron transitional levels, has a different rim. This shape of rim is well-known and widespread: many examples come from Pyla.²² In any case, it is worth remembering that the rim is not enough for a correct morphological and typological attribution.

In the EIA, a few transformations occur: the shoulder becomes more convex and rounded; the slight carination is preserved. The renewed shape in the EIA, with rounded shoulder (Pedrazzi Type 4-1), already produced in the very last phase of the LBA in centres such as Ugarit and Tell Kazel, circulated in a more restricted network, virtually limited to the northern Levant and Cyprus, where it is known at Kition (both in Floor II and I).²³ We can suggest that none of the complete examples from Maa belongs to Type 4-1.

A number of vessels preserved at Maa and Pyla, and also at Hala Sultan Tekke,²⁴ therefore, are representative of Type 4-2, with a sloping shoulder; rim fragments and bulbous bases seem relevant to this type, too. The "bellied" jars, in Floor II and Floor I at Maa, and at Pyla, are represented mostly by the ancient shape (Type 4-2), rather than by the recent one (Type 4-1). As we have seen, the bellied jars definitely outnumbered the angular "commercial" jars: this means that jars commonly and widely used at Maa and Pyla did not belong to

¹⁹ Pedrazzi 2007, 66-9, fig. 3.17.

²⁰ Type 4-2 is also documented at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham in Egypt (Snape and Wilson 2007, fig. 3.21:C2.7).

²¹ Badre et al. 2018, pl. XXVII.

²² In Lebanon, at Tell Jemjim in the hinterland of Tyre, this shape of rim is also known, as the recent excavations by Oggiano and Khalil revealed; petrographic and chemical analyses on jars from Tell Jemjim (Lebanon) are currently in progress.

²³ Kition: Karageorghis 1985, pl. CCXXXVII:4637, Floor I, bothros 24; Karageorghis 1985, pl. LI:839, Floor II-I, room 22A.

²⁴ Bürge and Fischer 2018, 225, fig. 3.16 (CAN 2).

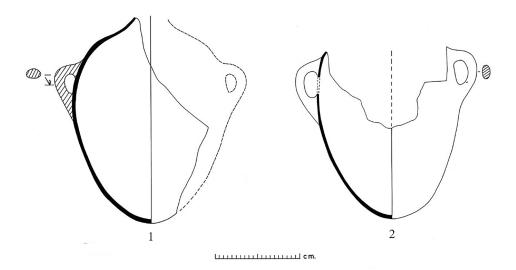


Fig. 4. Ovoid jars (Type 2-1): 1. Maa, after Hadjicosti 1988, cat. n. 265+500; 2. Maa, after Hadjicosti 1988, cat. n. 339.

the standardised type used in the long-distance trade managed by the palaces. It cannot be a mere coincidence that, at Ugarit, the 80 jars found in the storeroom in the port area (Minet el-Beida) belong to the standardised commercial Type 5-4 (the jars are practically identical to those of the Kash-Uluburun shipwreck), whereas in tombs or in residential contexts the bellied jars (Type 4-2) are better represented.²⁵ A functional difference is evident, which also emerges from the different contexts of discovery. In the light of these considerations, one would expect to find a large quantity of the commercial and "international" type (5-4) in Cyprus; but, on the contrary, it is the "bellied" type of coastal Syria that also spread to the island. The scarcity of commercial jars in Cyprus shows that, within the distribution network of this shape, the island's role cannot have been that of the destination and sale of the products contained in these specific jars (terebinth resin, as in the Kash-Uluburun jars, or resinated wine). Conversely, in the last decades of the 13th century Cyprus must have been what in network analysis can be defined as a *crossing point* in the international trade network of the end of the LBA.

The petrographic analysis of the jars from Kash-Uluburun suggested that 80% come from the Carmel coast, the rest from the Tyre-Sidon area and Ugarit; the reference to the Carmel coast is confirmed also by the number of jar sherds from Tell Abu Hawam discussed by Artzy. ²⁶ Moreover, analyses indicated different origins for the 32 Canaanite jars from Kommos (Crete): the northern Syrian coast, the Akkar plain; the coast between Sidon and Akko, the Jezreel valley and the Carmel-Sharon coast. ²⁷

Jars from Maa and Pyla also included the ovoid shape, derived from Middle Bronze models. This ovoid type (Pedrazzi Type 2-1, see Fig. 4)²⁸ appeared at the beginning of the EIA in the Levant, as at Tell Sukas in coastal Syria (Period H2).²⁹ It was also produced in a variant (Pedrazzi Sub-Type 2-1-1) showing an added button-like base, as at Pyla and Kition.³⁰ In 1995, Eriksson proposed that a number of the Maa jars (Hadjicosti type 2b),

²⁵ Ugarit (Monchambert 2004, fig. 56: 820), from a domestic context; Monchambert 2004, fig. 56: 826, from a tomb, and Courtois 1969, figs. 1:C, 2:E (tombs).

²⁶ See Artzy 2007.

²⁷ Gilboa et al. 2015.

²⁸ Pedrazzi 2007, 57-8, fig. 3.8.

²⁹ Tell Sukas (Riis 1970, fig. 10:h; Buhl 1983, fig. I:11).

³⁰ For Pyla, see Karageorghis and Demas 1984: trial A/2. For Kition, see Karageorghis 1985, pl. LXII: 230/1, 231.

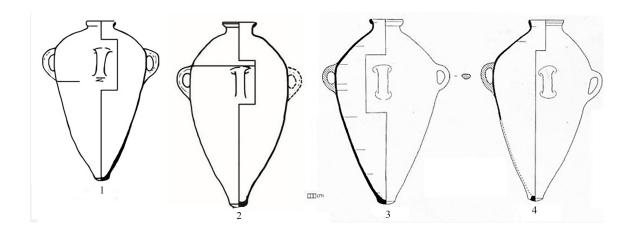


Fig. 5. Four-handled slender jars (Type 6-2): 1. 'Izbet Sartah, after Finkelstein 1986, fig. 9:2; 2. Byblos, after Salles 1980, Pl. 27:9; 3. Pyla, after Georgiou 2014, Pl. X, n. 136; 4. Pyla, after Georgiou 2014, Pl. X, n. 137.

found in Area III, Floor I,³¹ may have originated from Egypt, since their fabric (Fabric 8) petrographically pointed to an Egyptian source. Eriksson also suggested that the neck (missing in the example from Maa) may have initially been high, large and cylindrically shaped: this hypothesis cannot be correct, since the width of the orifice is not compatible with that of Egyptian high-necked jars. Instead, this morphological type probably comes from the northern Levant. An incomplete jar from Pyla could possibly also be ascribed to this type, although Georgiou has suggested the presence of a slight carination at the shoulder.³²

As for the four-handled jar, Hadjicosti reconnected it to a Levantine tradition originating in the MBA. Nonetheless, the four handles must not be taken as a distinctive feature which could be used in establishing a single morphological model, as many Levantine jar types have a four-handled version.³³ At Maa, the presence of a specific type (Pedrazzi Type 6-2, Fig. 5) can be recognised: this is a "slender" jar, taller than the commercial type (about 60 cm high), with rounded shoulders and a tapering base.³⁴ At Maa, these jars are known mostly from Floor II (and in one case from a pit in Floor I). The same type was found at Pyla.³⁵ The best comparison with the specimens from Pyla is a jar from Byblos, found in a LBA tomb.³⁶ Type 6-2 is a specific jar that spread in LB II and in the EIA. The EIA specimens, such as those from 'Izbet Sartah, feature a shorter neck, a typical development of that period. This morphological type seems to have a southern Levantine origin: in LB II, the shape is found at Lachish (in Stratum VI, and in a tomb), in the Deir Al-Balah cemetery, and in a tomb at Tell el-Farah South in Palestine;³⁷ the northernmost find is at Byblos; in the EIA, the type is also documented at Ashdod (Stratum 6) and at 'Izbet Sartah in the central hill country.³⁸ One may wonder whether this type was used for

³¹ Eriksson 1995; see Hadjicosti 1988, cat. nos. 265+500, 339.

³² Georgiou 2014, pl. XI:158.

³³ E.g., the cylindrical jars with a slightly carinated shoulder, of the EIA, at Gezer were also produced in the four-handled version (Pedrazzi 2007, 83, fig. 3.34 (Type 5-5); Dever 1986, pl. 27: 1-2).

³⁴ Pedrazzi 2007, 90-1.

³⁵ Georgiou 2014, cat. nos. 136-37.

³⁶ Salles 1980, 95, pl. 27:9.

³⁷ Lachish: Tufnell 1958, pl. 87:1020; Deir Al-Balah: Dothan 1979, 16-7; Tell el-Farah South: Duncan 1930, pls. XIX, 43:W2.

³⁸ Ashdod: Dothan 1971, fig. 83:1-2; 'Izbet Sartah: Finkelstein 1986, fig. 9:2.

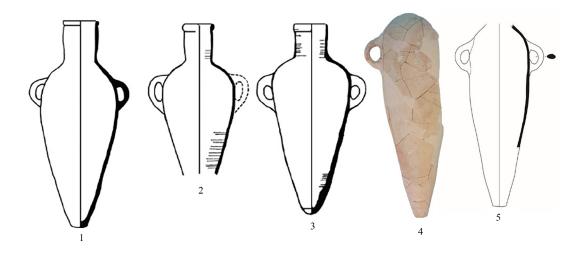


Fig. 6. Egyptian-type storage jar (Type 7-1): 1. Gurob (Egypt), after Thomas 1981, Pl.7:195; 2. Akko, after Ben Arieh and Edelstein 1977, fig. 10:9; 3. Malqata (Egypt), after Wood 1987, n. 7; 4. Maa, cat. n. 585 (photo: courtesy of Reinhard Jung); 5. Maa, cat. n. 585 (drawing: courtesy of Reinhard Jung).

specific purposes or for particular contents. Possibly, the tapered and elongated body and the four handles suggest something about the way these containers were moved and transported.

The greater height of the Type 6-2 jars does not correspond to a greater capacity: from a calculation made with Autocad, we can deduce that the capacity of Type 4-2 (considering both the Cypriot and the Levantine specimens) ranges from 26.5 to 28.5 litres, while for Type 6-2 the capacities are similar to Type 6-1 (which is identical in shape, even if two-handled), ranging between 22.7 and 28.7 litres.³⁹ Therefore, the four-handled jars at Maa and Pyla appear to have similar capacities to those of the bellied jars. The ways in which these containers were transported and moved, however, change: the four handles imply that the jars may have been loaded, unloaded and moved by two people together.

If we look at the coexistence of different types in the same contexts in the Levant, we can highlight some specificities in function. In the burials at Deir Al-Balah, on the southern Palestinian coast, in the 13th century, the presence of the commercial jar (Type 5-4) recalls the importance of the economic context and maritime traffic; the presence of the Egyptian amphora points to contacts with the Nilotic area, while the tapered jar with four handles (Type 6-2) appears as a less common type that seems more directly intended for rituals, since it is always placed near the head of the sarcophagus.⁴⁰

At Maa, a more elongated jar (Pedrazzi Type 7-1, Fig. 6) should be considered as an Egyptian evolution of the Canaanite jar. The NAA have recently confirmed the Egyptian origin of the fabric.⁴¹ Numerous specimens have been recovered from the coastal sites of the Levant, predominantly in burial contexts.

A type less common on the island, even if attested at Pyla and also at Enkomi (Level IIIB), is the cylindrical type with a slightly carinated shoulder (Pedrazzi Type 5-5), widespread in the southern Levant, between Galilee and Philistia (at both Tell Keisan and Tel Qasile) during the EIA.

³⁹ We suggest this capacity range according to the calculation of the capacities of Type 6-1, which are morphologically similar and only differ in the fact that they have two handles instead of four.

⁴⁰ See Dothan 1979.

⁴¹ Jung et al. (forthcoming).

At Pyla, a Levantine domestic jar, also referable to the Canaanite shape, is documented: this small globular jar (Pedrazzi Type 12-1)⁴² has been found in the settlement.⁴³ Recent NAA carried out by Mommsen have not provided attribution to an already known class.⁴⁴ This type appears in LB II, in coastal Syria (at Tell Kazel), but it is widespread mainly in Galilee, at the Canaanite site of Hazor.⁴⁵ It was intended for domestic use, as its morpho-functional features make these containers useful more for household purposes than for transfer or exchange. These domestic jars probably also travelled by sea, perhaps as part of the personal belongings of the merchants who moved between the Levant and Cyprus.

Painted jars would require a full discussion, which is not feasible here. But it is important to recall that painted decoration can be applied on different morphological types, almost all types. As for the inscribed jars, Cypro-Minoan (CM) signs were incised after firing, as on a few jars from Pyla. When an amphora arrived on the island from the Levantine coast, it could be marked with the local signs, probably in order to indicate the contents of the vessel.

Some scholars have suggested a Cypriot production of a few "Canaanite jars", as Jones and Vaughan at Maa, but, as recent NAA show, no match with Cypriot chemical groups has been found. ⁴⁶ Only one sample (jar no. 656) corresponded to a group close to a chemical group of the central Levant. In any case, we have to consider, also, the poor availability of chemical and petrographic data for the Syrian area. Gilboa, Waiman-Barak and Jones have recently suggested that "some complete jars at Maa Floor II (not sampled) must also be Syrian". ⁴⁷

In conclusion, the identification of the different morphological types present in Cyprus in the period between the 13th and 12th centuries leads us to some preliminary remarks on the circulation and use of Canaanite jars in Cyprus between the end of the LBA and the EIA. At this stage, the diffusion of bellied jars (Types 4-2 and 2-1) and the low incidence of commercial jars (Type 5-4) might suggest that Cyprus, during the LBA–EIA transitional period, was part of a trade network involving the island itself, the Syrian coastal area and the southern Anatolian area. On the other hand, a privileged connection also seems to emerge with Egypt, thanks both to the appearance of the Egyptian jars (Type 7-1) and to the presence of the four-handled slender jar (Type 6-2), a unique container, widespread especially in southern Palestine in the areas affected by Egyptian influence. The cylindrical jar with a slightly carinated shoulder (Type 5-5), which was produced and used in Galilee and Philistia in the EIA, seems less frequent in Cypriot 12th century strata, although in Galilee (at least at Tell Keisan) this type was already in use in the 12th century.

Moreover, to further clarify, in the future, the significance of the presence of Canaanite jars on Cyprus, it would be useful to have stronger data on the possible local production, on the island, of at least a few specimens, and more data on the provenance of fabrics. For the 12th century, the evidence is scant: as mentioned, analyses conducted by Jones and Vaughan on the storage jars from Maa suggested that a few vessels (eight samples) came from the southern Levant and others (five vessels) from a region including Lebanon and the Akko plain; but recent analyses by Mommsen did not confirm this picture. 48 Furthermore, as discussed in this paper, the morphological tradition behind the jars found in 12th century levels at Maa (and Pyla) recalls the Syrian coast more than the southern Levant. Even if the Carmel coast surely was "one of the most active regions in inter-regional exchanges following the LBA collapse", as Gilboa and Sharon have stated, 49 nonetheless the Syrian coast, in the years immediately after the collapse, was not excluded from the network of commercial and cultural relations with Cyprus. The morphological "model" of storage jar preferred (and selected) at Maa *Paleokastro* might sug-

⁴² Pedrazzi 2007, fig. 3.63.

⁴³ Karageorghis and Demas 1984, pl. 38:109.

⁴⁴ Jung et al. (forthcoming).

⁴⁵ Tell Kazel: Badre 1994, figs. 42:a, 44:a. Hazor: Yadin et al. 1960, pls. CXXXVIII:7-8, CXCIX:18, CCXCIII:5-6.

⁴⁶ Jung et al. (forthcoming).

⁴⁷ Gilboa et al. 2015, n. 27. Looking at the shape, we agree; they belong to Pedrazzi Types 4-2 and 4-1.

⁴⁸ Jung et al. (forthcoming).

⁴⁹ Gilboa and Sharon 2017, 291.

gest that such relations between Cyprus and the Syrian coast continued *before and after* the collapse of major Syrian sites such as Ugarit.

In any case, the cultural context in which Canaanite jars were used, between LC IIC and IIIA, as we see at least at the key sites of Maa and Pyla, was clearly a mixed and open one: encounters, cultural mixtures, migration of human groups, exchanges of goods and ideas are suggested by the presence of many objects with an iconography and style of Minoan, Mycenaean, Canaanite, Anatolian, Sardinian or Egyptian derivation, together with local Cypriot products and traditions. It is certainly fashionable to talk about *entanglement* and *hybridity* or *hybridisation* and *creolisation*; this persistent "fashion" in our studies, at least, has enabled us to avoid oversimplified mono- or bidirectional reconstructions of intercultural relations. What role the so-called Sea Peoples had in this context is not yet quite clear. For sure, an accurate analysis of the different types of Canaanite jars in circulation in the Eastern Mediterranean, together with their provenance, can help us to understand a part of the complex economic and social patterns of the "transformation years".

^{50 &}quot;Use of terms hybridity, creolization, and entanglement, when studying changes in material culture, emphasized the complexity of the outcome of intercultural contacts and acted, to a degree, as a deterrent to simplistic reconstructions of past contacts": Yasur Landau 2017, 143.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Artzy, M. 2007. "Tell Abu Hawam: News from the Late Bronze Age". In *The Synchronization of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium BC*, III, edited by M. Bietak and E. Czerny, 357–64. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bachhuber, C., and R.G. Roberts, eds. 2009. Forces of Transformation: The End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean.

 British Association of Near Eastern Archaeology Publication Series 1. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Badre, L. 1994. "Tell Kazel, Syria. AUB Museum Excavations 1985-1987. Preliminary Reports." Syria 71:259-346.
- _____. 2011. "Cultural Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean: Evidence from Tell Kazel in the Late Bronze Age." In *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by K. Duistermaat and I. Regulski, 205–23. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 202. Louvain: Peeters.
- Badre, L, E. Capet, and B. Vitale. 2018. *Tell Kazel au Bronze Récent. Études céramiques. BAH* 211. Beirut: Institut français du Proche-Orient.
- Ben Arieh, S., and G. Edelstein. 1977. Akko. Tombs near the Persian Garden. 'Atiqot XII. Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities and Museums.
- Bikai, P. 1978. The Pottery of Tyre. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Bretschneider, J., A. Kanta, and J. Driessen. 2015. "Pyla-Kokkinokremos. Preliminary Report on the 2014 Excavations." *UgaritF* 46:1–37.
- Broodbank, C. 2013. *The Making of the Middle Sea. A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World.* London: Thames & Hudson.
- Buhl, M.-L., 1983. Sukas VII. The Near Eastern Pottery and Objects of Other Materials from Upper Strata. Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 9. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.
- Bürge, T., and P. Fischer 2018. "The Pottery." In *Two City Quarters at Hala Sultan Tekke. The Söderberg Expedition* 2010–2017, by Peter M. Fischer and Teresa Bürge, 187–416. *SIMA* 147. Uppsala: Åström Editions.
- Courtois, L. 1969. "Le mobilier funéraire céramique de la tombe 4253 du Bronze Récent." In *Ugaritica* VI. *XXXe campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra (1968) sous la direction de Claude F.A. Schaeffer, Mission de Ras Shamra* XVII, edited by J-Cl. Courtois, 121–38. *Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* LXXXI. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Day P.M., A. Hein, E. Kardamaki, J. Maran, M. Tenconi, and P. Waiman-Barak. 2020. "Maritime Commodity Trade from the Near East to the Mycenaean Hearthland: Canaanite Jars in Final Palatial Tiryns". *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts* 135:1–99.
- Dever W.G., ed. 1986. *Gezer* IV. *The 1961–71 Seasons in Field* VI, *the Acropolis*. Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.
- Dothan, M. 1971. *Ashdod* I–III. *The Second and Third Seasons of Excavations 1963, 1965. 'Atiqot* IX–X. Jerusalem: Central Printing Press.
- _____. 1979. Excavations at the Cemetery of Deir el-Balah. Qedem 10. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Duncan, J.G. 1930. Corpus of Dated Palestinian Pottery. British School of Archaeology in Egypt. London: University College, W.C.I.
- Eriksson, K.O. 1995. "Egyptian Amphorae from Late Cypriot Contexts in Cyprus". In *Trade, Contact, and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean. Studies in Honour of J. Basil Hennessy*, edited by S. Bourke and J.-P. Descœdres, 199–205. *Mediterranean Archaeology* Suppl. 3. Sydney: MEDITARCH.
- Finkelstein, I. 1986. 'Izbet Sartah. An Early Iron Age Site near Rosh Ha'ayin, Israel. BAR-IS 299. Oxford: BAR Publishing.
- Georgiou, A. 2012. "Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Paleokastro: A Comparison of Two Naturally Fortified Late Cypriot Settlements". In *Cyprus: An Island Culture. Society and Social Relations from the Bronze Age to the Venetian Period*, edited by A. Georgiou, 65–83. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- _____. 2014. "Appendix III. The 'Canaanite Jars." In *Pyla Kokkinokremos. A Late 13th Century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 2010–2011*, edited by V. Karageorghis and A. Kanta, 175–88. *SIMA* 141. Uppsala: Paul Åströms Förlag.

- Gilboa, A., and I. Sharon. 2017. "Fluctuations in Levantine Maritime Foci across the Late Bronze/Iron Age Transition: Charting the Role of the Sharon-Carmel (Tjeker) Coast in the Rise of Iron Age Phoenician Polities." In "Sea Peoples" Up-to-Date: New Research on Transformations in the Eastern Mediterranean in 13th–11th Centuries BCE, edited by P.M. Fischer and T. Bürge. 285–98. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- Gilboa, A., P. Waiman-Barak, and R. Jones. 2015. "On the Origin of Phoenician Pottery at Kommos, Crete: Regional and Diachronic Perspectives across the Bronze to Iron Age Transition." *BASOR* 374:75–102.
- Grace, V.R. 1956. "The Canaanite Jar." In *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, edited by S.S. Weinberg, 80–109. Locust Valley, New York: J.J. Augustin.
- Guy, P.L.O. 1938. *Megiddo Tombs. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications* 33. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hadjicosti, M. 1988. "Canaanite' Jars from Maa-Palaeokastro". In *Excavations at Maa-Palaeokastro 1979–1986*, by V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, 340–85. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Jones, R.E., and S.J. Vaughan 1988. "A Study of Some 'Canaanite' Jar Fragments from Maa-Palaeokastro by Petrographic and Chemical Analysis". In *Excavations at Maa-Palaeokastro 1979–1986*, by V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, 386–98. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Jung, R. 2018. "Push and Pull Factors of the Sea Peoples between Italy and the Levant." In *An Archaeology of Forced Migration: Crisis-induced Mobility and the Collapse of the 13th c. BCE Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by J. Driessen, 273–306. Louvain-La-Neuve: Presses Universitaires de Louvain.
- Jung, R., H. Mommsen, and T. Pedrazzi. Forthcoming. "The External Contacts of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age". In *The Decline of Bronze Age Civilisations in the Mediterranean: Cyprus and Beyond*, edited by P.M. Fischer and T. Bürge. *SIMA*. Nicosia: Åström Editions.
- Karageorghis, V. 1983. *Palaepaphos-Skales. An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus. Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern* 3. Constance: Konstanz Universitätsverlag.
- Karageorghis, V. 1985. *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Areas I and II*, Part I. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Karageorghis, V., and M. Demas 1984. *Pyla-Kokkinokremos. A Late 13th Century B.C. Fortified Settlement in Cyprus.* Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Karageorghis, V., and A. Kanta 2014. *Pyla-Kokkinokremos. A Late 13th Century BC Fortified Settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 2010–2011. SIMA* 141. Uppsala: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Killebrew A. 2007. "The Canaanite Storage Jar revisited". In "Up to the Gates of Ekron": Essays on the Archaeology and History of the Eastern Mediterranean in Honor of Seymour Gitin, edited by S.W. Crawford, A. Ben-Tor, J.P. Dessel, W. Dever, A. Mazar and J. Aviram, 166–88. Jerusalem: W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research: Israel Exploration Society.
- Knapp, A.B., and S.W. Manning. 2016. "Crisis in Context: The End of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean". *AJA* 120:99–149.
- Mazar, A. 1985. *Excavations at Tell Qasile*, I. *The Philistine Sanctuary. Architecture and Cult Objects. Qedem* 12. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Monchambert, J.-Y. 2004. *La céramique d'Ougarit. Campagnes de fouilles 1975 et 1976. Ras Shamra-Ougarit* XV. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Parr, P.G. 1973. "The Origin of the Canaanite Jar." In *Archaeological Theory and Practice. Essays Presented to W. F. Grimes*, edited by D.E. Strong, 174–80. London: Seminar Press.
- Pedrazzi, T. 2007. Le giare da conservazione e trasporto del Levante. Uno studio archeologico dell'economia fra Bronzo Tardo II e Ferro I (ca. 1400–900 a.C.). Pisa: ETS.
- _____. 2016. "Canaanite Jars and the Maritime Trade Network in the Northern Levant during the Transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age". In *Maritime Transport Containers in the Bronze–Iron Age Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by S. Demesticha and A.B. Knapp, 57–77. *SIMA-PB* 183.Uppsala: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Raban, A. 2000. "Dor-yam: Maritime and Coastal Installations at Dor in their Geomorphological and Stratigraphical Context". In *Excavations at Dor. Final Report*, vol IB. *Areas A and C. The Finds*, edited by E. Stern, 285–354. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Riis, P.J. 1970. Sukas I. The North-East Sanctuary and the First Settling of Greeks in Syria and Palestine. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Sagona, A.G. 1982. "Levantine Storage Jars of the 13th to the 4th Century B.C." *OpAth* XIV:73–110.
- Salles, J.-F. 1980. *La Nécropole 'K' de Byblos. Recherche sur les grandes civilisations. Mémoire* no. 2. Paris: Editions ADPF. Snape S., and P. Wilson. 2007. *Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham* I. *The Temple and Chapels.* Bolton: Rutherford Press.

- Thomas, A.P. 1981. *Gurob* I. A New Kingdom Town: Introduction and Catalogue of Objects in the Petrie Collection. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Tufnell, O. 1958. Lachish IV (Tell ed-Duweir). The Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East. The Bronze Age. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wood, B.G. 1987. "Egyptian Amphorae of the New Kingdom and Ramesside Periods." BA:75-83.
- Yadin, Y., Y. Aharoni, R. Amiran, T. Dothan, I. Dunayevski, and J. Parrot. 1960. *Hazor* II. *An Account of the Second Season of Excavations 1956*. Jerusalem: Oxford University Press and Magnes Press.
- Yasur Landau, A. 2017. "Some Notes on Philistines, Migration and Mediterranean Connectivity." In "Sea Peoples" Up-to-Date: New Research on Transformations in the Eastern Mediterranean in 13th–11th Centuries BCE, edited by P. Fischer and T. Bürge, 141–48. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.