

# TELL KAZEL AND THE MYCENAEAN CONTACTS WITH AMURRU (SYRIA)

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Tell Kazel is situated in coastal Syria near the modern city of Tartous and close to the present day border to Lebanon. The Tell lies in the Akkar Plain, about 3.5 km from the present-day seashore, at the river Nahr-el-Abraš. It measures 310 × 280 m and rises approximately 20–25 m above the Akkar Plain. The current excavations on the Tell have been conducted on an annual basis since 1985 by the Museum of the American University of Beirut under the direction of Leila Badre.<sup>1</sup>

Different ancient sources suggest that Tell Kazel should be identified with the city of Sumur/Simirra. Sumur belonged to the region, which during the Late Bronze Age was called *Amurru* and stretched between the Mediterranean Sea and the plain of Homs.<sup>2</sup> Whereas the Akkar Plain was divided between three city states during the Middle Bronze Age, the situation changed around the middle of the second millennium BC. Tell Kazel was then the sole urban site with monumental buildings in the plain. This is the most important argument for its identification with the city of Sumur.<sup>3</sup> During the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC Amurru was constituted as a kingdom under

Aziru and eventually passed to Hittite overlordship, but always remained a point of contention by Egyptians and Hittites.<sup>4</sup> Sumur may even have been the capital of the kingdom of Amurru. At any rate it was definitely an important centre of this principality and played a part in its historical developments.<sup>5</sup>

From the time of Hittite domination there is a historical document, which gives us some insight into the background of our Mycenaean pottery finds at Tell Kazel. In the Šaušgamuwa treaty between the Hittite Great King Tuthaliya IV (or renumbered: Tuthaliya III) and Šaušgamuwa, the last known Bronze Age king of Amurru, a trade embargo is imposed upon Assyria by the Hittites. In this context Tuthaliya IV writes to Šaušgamuwa: “*Wie der König von Assyrien (aber?) Meiner Sonne Feind (ist), so soll er auch dir Feind sein! Ein Kaufmann von dir darf nicht ins Land Assyrien gehen, einen Kaufmann von ihm aber darfst du nicht in dein Land lassen, er darf (auch) nicht durch dein Land gehen! ... Und weil ich, Meine Sonne, mit dem König von Assyrien Krieg führe: ... Ke[in] Schiff des Landes Ahhiyawa soll zu ihm fahren!*”<sup>6</sup> The natural route from the seashore

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<sup>1</sup> Following my first visit to the Tell in 2001, Leila Badre entrusted me with the study of the Aegean pottery from the site – an opportunity for which I am very grateful. I would also like to thank Rami Yassine, who digitalised my drawings, and Laure Salloum, who together with Leila Badre provided me with the vital stratigraphical assignments of the sherds. Thanks are also due to Emmanuelle Capet, who gave me an advance copy of her study on Area II. For useful comments (especially on the pieces Fig. 8,2 and 11) I thank Penelope Mountjoy. The German Archaeological Institute (DAI), Near East Section, provided substantial financial support, which allowed me to participate in the 2003 campaign at Tell Kazel. For this support I express my sincerest gratitude to the Institute and especially to Markus Gschwind, DAI Damascus. Last but not least I wish to thank Emily Schalk, who checked the English. Drawings are published according to the conventions in Aegean archaeology. Thus, all paint on the vessel exterior is given in black and all paint on the interior in grey, irrespective of the actual paint colour (which on Mycenaean pots can differ in places on one and the same vessel without being intentionally bichrome). Furthermore, I

would like to remark that drawings and dates given in the present article represent the actual state of research. Differences in respect to previous preliminary publications of Mycenaean pottery from Tell Kazel indicate progress in research. Vague statements regarding this pottery in previous reports should not be used to argue against definite statements in the present study and vice-versa. A more extensive treatment of the Mycenaean pottery from Tell Kazel and its cultural and historical implications will appear in *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 15.

<sup>2</sup> KLENGEL 1992, 161.

<sup>3</sup> THALMANN 2002, 364 fig. 3; 365; see also KLENGEL 1984, 16–18, and BADRE 1995, 88.

<sup>4</sup> KLENGEL 1992, 160–174.

<sup>5</sup> KLENGEL 1984; IDEM 1992, 164; SINGER 1991, 158; IDEM 1999, 645 n. 126.

<sup>6</sup> KÜHNE and OTTEN 1971, 14–17 Rs. IV, lines 14–17.19.23; There is a more recent alternative reading, in which “*Kriegsschiff [von Amurru]*” instead of “*Schiff des Landes Ahhiyawa*” has been proposed, see STEINER 1989; but cf. KLENGEL 1995, 171. To most philologists and historians, however, this new reading seems to be less plausible because of the treaty context, and because it would constitute a

towards Assyria runs through the “Homs Gap”, opening between the Lebanon Mountains and the Jebel Ansariye. The heartland of Amurru, the Akkar Plain, is part of that geographical feature. Therefore, the king of Amurru is urged to block this vital land route from his seashore to Assyria.<sup>7</sup> There is widespread agreement today, that Ahhiyawa can be identified with the kingdom of Mycenaean Greece or with one of several Mycenaean kingdoms. Ahhiyawa repeatedly came into conflict with the Hittites during its political and military expansion to western Asia Minor in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.<sup>8</sup> The Šaušgamuwa treaty can be approximately dated between 1234 and 1223.<sup>9</sup> Thus, we may expect the Amurru-Ahhiyawa trade to have functioned at least until the beginning of the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC.

With Tell Kazel as the principal site on the Akkar Plain one should expect that the Ahhiyawa trade through the Homs Gap would have left some traces at the site. It is now obvious, I think, to assume that the significant quantities of imported Mycenaean pottery found at Tell Kazel were brought by those “ships of Ahhiyawa”.<sup>10</sup>

During the recent excavations at the Tell Mycenaean pottery was mainly found in two large excavation areas, Areas II and IV. Area II is an extensive habitation quarter, whereas in Area IV a huge temple complex was uncovered. The excavation has reached levels of LBA II date in both areas. Leila Barde and Emmanuelle Capet established the synchronisation

of the two independent areas based on the characteristics of architecture and finds as well.<sup>11</sup>

The repertory of imported Aegean pottery is astonishingly Helladic in character. This holds true for types and decoration and also for fabrics. Cypro-Mycenaean products, such as imitations of Cypriote handmade types, stemmed shallow bowls FT 309–310 and kraters painted in the Pastoral Style, which are all known e.g. from the neighbouring kingdom of Ugarit,<sup>12</sup> are almost completely absent at Tell Kazel.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Late Minoan III pottery is absent at Tell Kazel, but by contrast present at Ugarit.<sup>14</sup> It is my impression that the majority of the Aegean imports is not only Hellado-Mycenaean in type, but even of Argive production. In the meantime, a programme of NAA analyses by Hans Mommsen in Bonn and petrographic analyses by Marie-Claude Boileau in Athens has confirmed this macroscopic fabric classification. Considering this origin, in the present study the finds from Tell Kazel are preferably evaluated in an Argive perspective.<sup>15</sup>

However, even though the majority of the imported Mycenaean pottery originates from the Argolid, it should be noted that the percentages of imported types at Tell Kazel reflect local, Syrian preferences and do not copy Helladic vessel sets. Amphoroid kraters FT 54–55 predominate over ring-based kraters FT 281/282 and stemmed kraters FT 8/9. Shallow cups and bowls (mainly FT 295/296<sup>16</sup>) are more common than kylikes FT 257–258, while deep

*hapax legomenon*, see LEHMANN 1991, 111; SINGER 1991, 171. Cf. also MAYER 1995, 212 (in favour of the older reading); DIETRICH and LORETZ 1998, 341 (undecided).

<sup>7</sup> KLENGEL 1992, 173.

<sup>8</sup> For an overview see NIEMEIER 1999. Even in HEINHOLD-KRAHMER's critical view (2003, 207–210; 214) Ahhiyawa is most probably located in Mycenaean Greece.

<sup>9</sup> VAN DEN HOUT 1995, 114.

<sup>10</sup> On the other side of the sea possibly the group of Kassite cylinder seals and of pieces of lapis lazuli from the Mycenaean palace at Thebes in Boeotia can be interpreted as a royal gift by the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I to the kingdom of Ahhiyawa in the last decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, as Edith Porada proposed (Porada 1981/82, 68 f.; MAYER 1995, 212). The stratigraphic context of this treasure most probably belongs to the final destruction of the palace (ARAVANTINOS 2001, 97 f.) in LH IIIB Final.

<sup>11</sup> BADRE 2003; CAPET, 2004, 117.

<sup>12</sup> J.-C. COURTOIS and L. COURTOIS 1978, 294 f. fig. 33,21; 330 f. fig. 45,1.2; LEONARD 1994, 104 nos. 1591–1592; 127 nos. 1904–1906; KARAGEORGHIS in: YON, KARAGEORGHIS and HIRSCHFELD 2000, 57 f. nos. 47–49; 62 no. 64; HIRSCHFELD *ibid.*, 148 nos. 424–426; 157 nos. 473.474; 236 fig. 26,424–426; 241 fig. 31,473.474; 251 pl. 9,473.474.

<sup>13</sup> The sherd of a Pastoral Style krater from Area II is an exceptional piece.

<sup>14</sup> J.-C. COURTOIS and L. COURTOIS 1978, 346 f. fig. 54,4524; HIRSCHFELD in: YON, KARAGEORGHIS and HIRSCHFELD 2000, 125 no. 280; 229 fig. 19,280; 247 pl. 5,280.

<sup>15</sup> An additional reason is the fact, that the Argolid still provides the most important settlement stratigraphies on which the Mycenaean pottery chronology is based. For the results of the analyses see BADRE, BOILEAU, JUNG, and MOMMSEN 2005.

<sup>16</sup> Furumark defined two different types for these shallow bowls: FT 295, “Hellado- and Rhodo-Mycenaean”, and FT 296, “principally Levanto-Mycenaean” (FURUMARK 1941, 636). However, neither his typological subdivision nor his geographical assignment seem to be valid any more. There is no real difference in shape between some of the pieces cited and assigned by him to the two different types; compare FT 295 no. 3 (A. WACE 1921–1923, 22 fig. 6.g) and 13 (MOUNTJOY 1999, 129 fig. 29,214) with FT 296 no. 3 (YON, KARAGEORGHIS and HIRSCHFELD 2000, 239 fig. 29,450) and 34 (SCE I, pl. 117,E.18.86). For similar comments see LEONARD JR. 1994, 123 f. The carinated bowl FT 295 should, however, be clearly separated from the rounded type FT 295/296 (cf. MOUNTJOY 1986, 153 f. with fig. 197,1;



Fig. 1 Imported Mycenaean pottery from Area IV, Level 6, upper or lower floor. Scale 1:3

bowls FT 284/285 are almost totally missing. In addition, a high percentage of small closed shapes – mainly stirrup jars, but also alabastra, globular flasks and piriform jars – was noted. This overall picture contrasts strongly with settlement assemblages from the Greek mainland, but it resembles those from other Near Eastern and also Cypriote sites.<sup>17</sup>

The stratigraphical discussion of the finds from Tell Kazel cannot yet be based on strictly quantitative analyses, as the study of the material is still under progress. Qualitative and semi-quantitative data can, however, be presented. They are representative for the Mycenaean repertory from Tell Kazel.

### PHASE 1

So far the earliest phase with Mycenaean imports is mainly represented by Level 6 in Area IV and dates to Late Bronze Age II. In some places this Level can

be subdivided by means of two superimposed floor levels, inside the temple cella, but mainly outside in the wide courtyard to the north of the temple.<sup>18</sup> Until now no significant Mycenaean material can be assigned to the lower floor with any certainty. Only a general ascription to Level 6 is possible for some pieces, which could originally have belonged to the lower floor. One of these is a large (ca. 19.5 cm rim diameter) pictorial kylix FT 257 with horned handles. It shows vertical hybrid flowers in the centre of both sides, flanked by fish at least on one side (Fig. 1,1). The production of this shape in combination with the hybrid flower motif began in LH IIIA Late and continued during LH IIIB Early,<sup>19</sup> whereby the fish on this shape are unique.<sup>20</sup> Turning to other shapes, the first shallow rounded bowls with thickened rim and strap-handles FT 295/296 belong to the same stratigraphical horizons. They either carry only

PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Knickwandschale Nr. 5”). Subdivisions of FT 295/296 should be based on rim variations. Finally, the rounded FT 295/296 is not only present in the Levant, but in Greece as well (VERDELIS, E. FRENCH and D. FRENCH 1966, 147 fig. 6.3.5; 148). Moreover, many of the Cypriote and Levantine finds might turn out to be imports from the Greek mainland, once they are analysed by NAA.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. LEONARD JR. 1994; Steel 1998, 286–288; HIRSCHFELD in: YON, KARAGEORGHIS and HIRSCHFELD 2000, 71 f.

<sup>18</sup> BADRE in: BADRE and GUBEL 1999–2000, 137 fig. 8; 139; 142–145.

<sup>19</sup> Apart from the fish a good parallel can be found in a LH IIIB Early context at Thebes, 14 Oedipus Street (no

secure closed context: “group B”), see SYMEONOGLOU 1973, 23; 27 f.; 40 no. 69; pl. 57 fig. 195–196. For the production period of shape and hybrid flower motif in the Argolid see E. FRENCH 1965, 165 fig. 2.5.8; 180 fig. 7.6; 201 f.; SCHÖNFELD 1988, 155 tab. 1 no. 7; 158; 161; 168; 180; 182. In the present article the relative phase names of the Tiryns system are used, because the Tiryns Lower Citadel excavations in the 1970s and 80s have produced a continuous stratigraphical sequence from LH IIIA Late down to Submycenaean, to which single phased contexts (e.g. from Mycenaean or Tsoúngiza) can be linked, cf. KILLIAN 1988a, 117 f.; 120 f.; SCHÖNFELD 1988, 163 tab. 4; GÜNTNER 2000, 3; 362–376.

<sup>20</sup> The fragment listed by GÜNTNER as “Kylix” is rather a stemmed bowl; cf. GÜNTNER 2000, 12; 129; pl. 61,1.

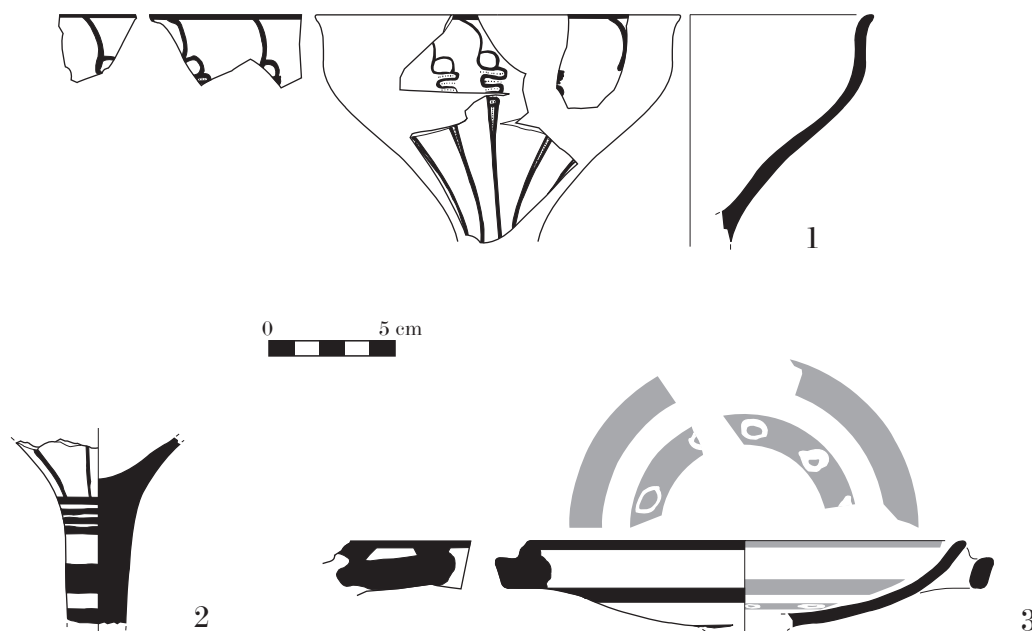


Fig. 2 Imported Mycenaean pottery from Area IV, Level 6, upper floor (1,3) and upper or lower floor (2). Scale 1:3

linear decoration (Fig. 1,2) or they show additionally different motifs on their interior (Fig. 1,3). Comparable linear bowls are attested since LH IIIB Early at Mycenae,<sup>21</sup> whereas those with interior motifs seem to have started with LH IIIB Middle.<sup>22</sup> The scarcity of shallow bowls in stratified settlement contexts in Greece, however, limits their reliability as chronological indicators abroad.

## PHASE 2

Some indicative pieces were found on the upper floor level of building Level 6 in Area IV. The first is a kylix FT 258B showing a continuous row of vertical whorl-shells. Both shape and motif suggest a date from LH IIIB Early to IIIB Middle (Fig. 2,1).<sup>23</sup> A kylix fragment preserving parts of bowl and stem is decorated with the same pattern, but cannot be assigned to a specific floor of building Level 6 (Fig. 2,2). A shallow rounded bowl with lipless rim and strap-handles FT 295/296 should probably be

ascribed to the upper floor level (Fig. 2,3). On the lowest of its interior bands small circles are added in white paint. In the Argolid the earliest shallow bowls decorated in this technique are known from LH IIIA Late Mycenae, but more pieces were found in later contexts (LH IIIB Middle–Final) at Tiryns.<sup>24</sup>

## PHASE 3

From the next stratigraphical phase onwards, both Late Bronze Age excavation areas on the Tell provided architectural contexts with Mycenaean pottery. Phase 3 is represented by contexts from the lower floor of Level 5 in Area IV and from Level 6 in Area II. From Area IV, Level 5, lower floor, there is a krater with either vertical handles and stemmed foot FT 8/9 or horizontal handles and ring base FT 281/282, which carries an octopus motif (Fig. 3,1). It has a rim band decoration (type 7.1: rim band and band below the rim inside and out), which is not found at Mycenae and Tiryns in contexts before

<sup>21</sup> Mycenae, LH IIIB Early: E. FRENCH 1965, 177; 180 fig. 7,26; 186 f. fig. 9,5.6. The shape is also attested at Tiryns, where its innovation falls into LH IIIB Early, see SCHÖNFELD 1988, 155 tab. 1,59; 166.

<sup>22</sup> Mycenae, LH IIIB Middle: E. FRENCH 1966, 223; pl. 49.e.

<sup>23</sup> SCHÖNFELD 1988, 155 tab. 1,43, tab. 2,39; 158; 164; 167–170; 175 fig. 5,4; 182 f.; 186; 188; 192. This date holds for kylikes FT 258B with a continuous row of vertical whorl-shells. Kylikes FT 257 with a hybrid flower flanked

by vertical whorl-shells already appeared in LH IIIA Late, see E. FRENCH 1965, 165 fig. 2,8.

<sup>24</sup> Mycenae, LH IIIA Late: E.B. WACE 1954, 277; pl. 48,c,10.11; cf. SCHÖNFELD 1988, 166. Tiryns, LH IIIB Middle: SCHÖNFELD 1988, 190; 193 fig. 9,13.16. Tiryns LH IIIB Developed–Final: VERDELIS, E. FRENCH and D. FRENCH 1966, 147 fig. 6,3; 148. Tiryns, LH IIIB Final: PODZUWEIT 1981, 198; 199 fig. 51. In general see PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Schale Nr. 1” pl. 38,1–6.10.

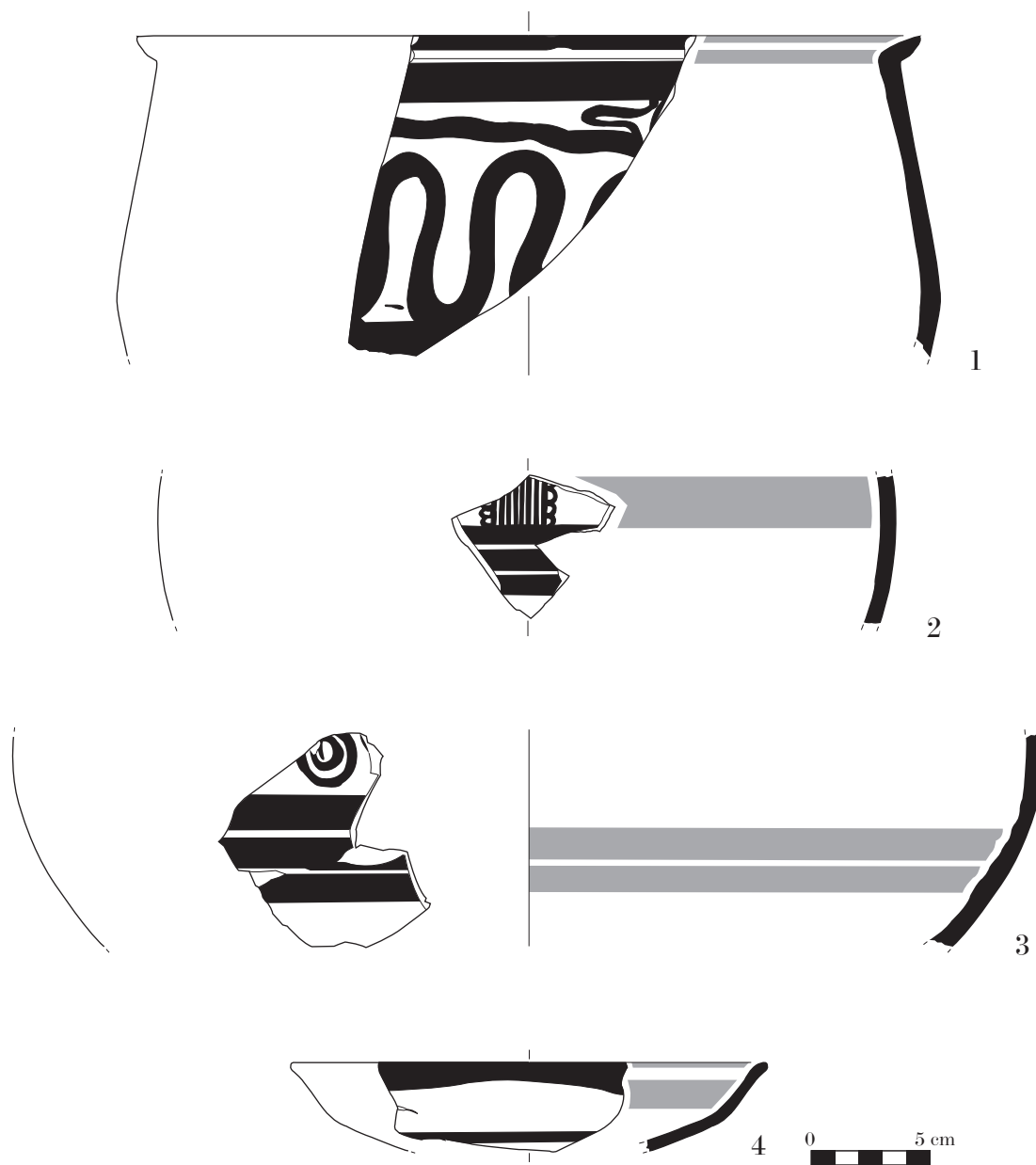


Fig. 3 Imported Mycenaean pottery from Area IV, Level 5, lower floor (1.4) and lower or upper floor (2.3). Scale 1:3

LH IIIB Middle.<sup>25</sup> This kind of rim decoration became very common by LH IIIB Developed and especially IIIB Late.<sup>26</sup> The octopus motif was not used very often for decorating kraters in the Argolid. There is, however, an example of FT 8/9 from a LH IIIB burial at Ialissós on Rhodes,<sup>27</sup> which is a

very good stylistic match for our piece. Wolfgang Güntner regards it as intermediate between the LH IIIB Middle and Developed styles.<sup>28</sup> Two further krater fragments can be ascribed to the ring-based type with horizontal handles FT 281/282, because they show bands on the middle or lower part of their

<sup>25</sup> Mycenae, LH IIIB Middle: MOUNTJOY 1976, 85 fig. 4.18. Tiryns, LH IIIB Middle: SCHÖNFELD 1988, 189; 191 fig. 8.6.8.14. For the typology of linear decorations used in the present study see PODZUWEIT 1992, suppl. 78; JUNG 2002, 575–580; pl. I–XVII.

<sup>26</sup> PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Krater”; suppl. 39.

<sup>27</sup> BENZI 1992, 357 no. 2; pl. 90.g; MOUNTJOY 1999, 1021 no. 101; 1022 fig. 417,101.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. GÜNTNER 2000, 319 n. 297.

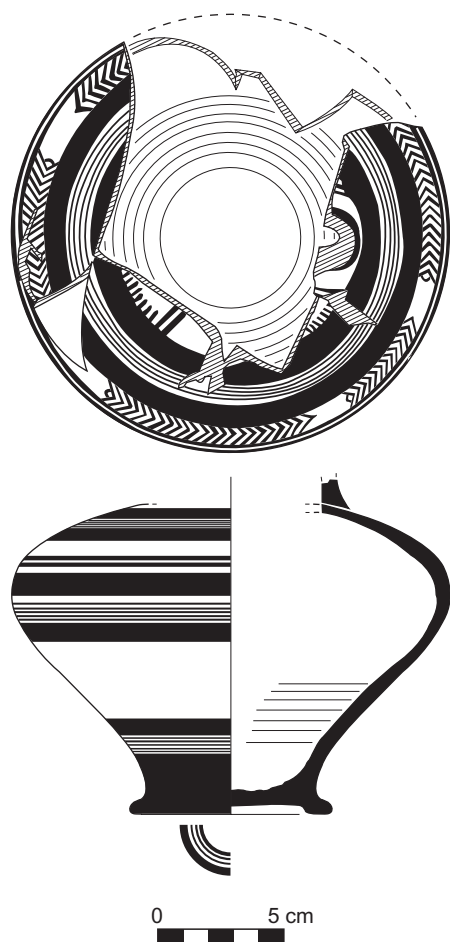


Fig. 4 Imported Mycenaean stirrup jar from Area IV, Level 5, lower floor. Scale 1:3

interior wall<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 3.2.3). Production of FT 281/282 in the Argolid may have commenced during LH IIIB Early, but it was increased only by LH IIIB Middle.<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, both sherds from Tell Kazel cannot be securely assigned to one of the two superimposed floor levels of building Level 5 of Area IV.

Moving to the closed vessels, two stirrup jars should be noted first, one from Area IV, Level 5, lower floor, the other from Area II, Level 6 (Fig. 4; 5.1). The first stirrup jar represents FT 182 with depressed shoulder, conical lower body and torus base. This type was not produced before LH IIIB Middle,<sup>31</sup> as the limited evidence of well preserved examples in stratified settlement contexts in the northeast Peloponnese suggests. The second vessel (Fig. 5.1) is a medium sized globular stirrup jar FT 170, which judging by its slightly depressed shoulder and conical lower body shows a typological tendency towards the later FT 175. Its spout and false neck are joined by a single oval band (without extra circles around the bases of spout and false neck). This kind of decoration between false neck and spout was thought to be painted only from LH IIIB Developed onwards,<sup>32</sup> but stirrup jars from Thebes, 14 Oedipus Street,<sup>33</sup> and Mycenae, West House,<sup>34</sup> prove that there were examples in LH IIIB Early and Middle respectively. On the shoulder of our stirrup jar there is a row of alternating V and Λ motifs. Such aligned motifs arranged in a circle are typical for stirrup jars especially in LH IIIB Final.<sup>35</sup> Although there is no stratified exact parallel for this piece, a date in the second rather than the first half of LH IIIB seems reasonable.

From Area II, Level 6, there are two squat stirrup jars FT 178/180/181 (Fig. 5.2,3) – a shape which is attested from LH IIIB Early to Middle in the Argolid.<sup>36</sup> Both do not exhibit any patterns on their shoulders, a feature which is rather rare for stirrup jars used in the Aegean and much more common in the range of pottery exported to the Near East.<sup>37</sup> Amongst the open shapes shallow rounded bowls FT 295/296 with lipless rim and linear decoration only are still present in this phase,<sup>38</sup> as demonstrated by examples from both excavation areas (Fig. 3.4; 5.4).

<sup>29</sup> Such bands do not occur on kraters with a stemmed foot and vertical handles FT 8/9 (MOUNTJOY 1986, 110).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. MOUNTJOY 1986, 115.

<sup>31</sup> Tsoúngiza, EU 2 Pit 1, LH IIIB Middle: THOMAS 1992, 45; 135 no. TS 64; 138 f. no. TS 77; 543 fig. 9,10,23.

<sup>32</sup> PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Kleine Bügelkanne”; suppl. 60 KN-HE no. 3.

<sup>33</sup> SYMEONOGLOU 1973, 19; 23; 33 f.; 36–38 no. 29–43; 41; pl. 42–50 fig. 127–171.

<sup>34</sup> VERDELIS 1963, 21 fig. 25 (left one and probably right one, too).

<sup>35</sup> PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Kleine Bügelkanne”; suppl. 61. They are also found on stirrup jars of the following phase LH IIIC Early, cf. MOUNTJOY 1999, 154 f. with fig. 40,310.311; 346 f. with fig. 117,100; 682 f. with fig. 261,179.

<sup>36</sup> Mycenae, LH IIIB Middle: E. FRENCH 1966, 218 fig. 1.4; 219; WARDLE 1969, 267 fig. 2.2.6; 270. Tiryns, LH IIIB

Early and Middle: SCHÖNFELD 1988, 155 tab. 1.52; 171 fig. 3.5.6; 192. The piece in Fig. 5.3 was in fact found in a silo of Level 6 Final, where it had been deposited together with other Mycenaean and Cypriot imports. Thus, it seems to have been in secondary context and most probably had already been imported during the preceding Level 6.

<sup>37</sup> LEONARD JR. 1994, 59.

<sup>38</sup> Analogous examples from the Argolid confirm, that the production period of linear shallow bowls FT 295/296 continued in LH IIIB Middle (E. FRENCH 1966, 220 fig. 2.9; 223), IIIB Developed (VERDELIS, E. FRENCH and D. FRENCH 1966, 147 fig. 6.5 [Developed–Final]), IIIB Final (E. FRENCH 1969, 84 fig. 10.6–8; 85; WARDLE 1973, 318 no. 88; 319 fig. 12.88) and LH IIIC Early (PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Schale Nr. 1”; suppl. 48).

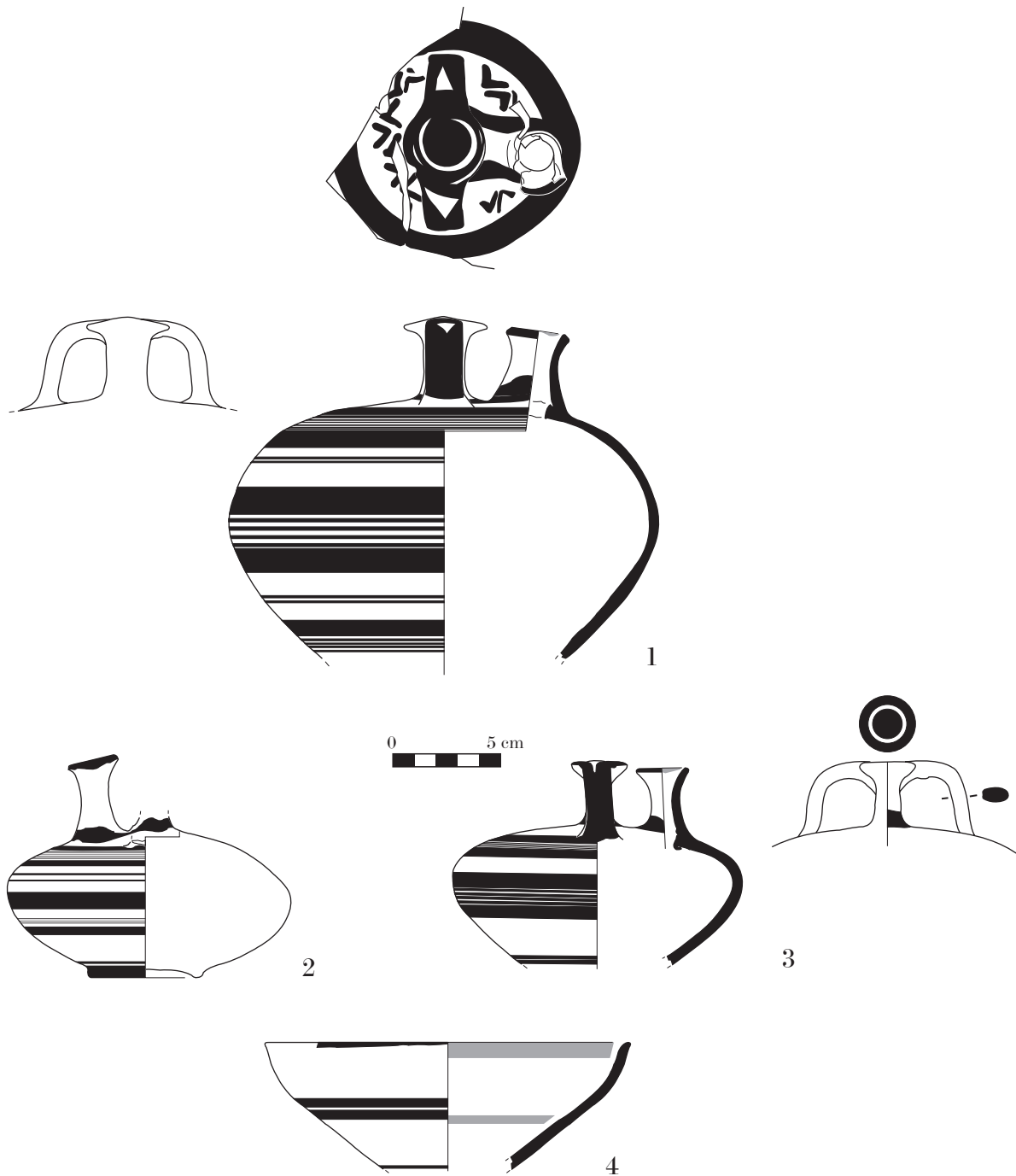


Fig. 5 Imported Mycenaean pottery from Area II, Level 6 (except for no. 3). Scale 1:3

**PHASE 4**

The next subphase in Area IV, the upper floor of Level 5, is terminated by a severe conflagration, contemporary with the burned Level 6 Final of Area II.

In Levantine chronological terms we are at the very end of Late Bronze Age II or during the transition to Iron Age I.<sup>39</sup> Imported Mycenaean vessels are very rare in this phase, and none of the imports from the preceding levels must necessarily be dated to LH

<sup>39</sup> CAPET, 2004, 66, 99, 117.

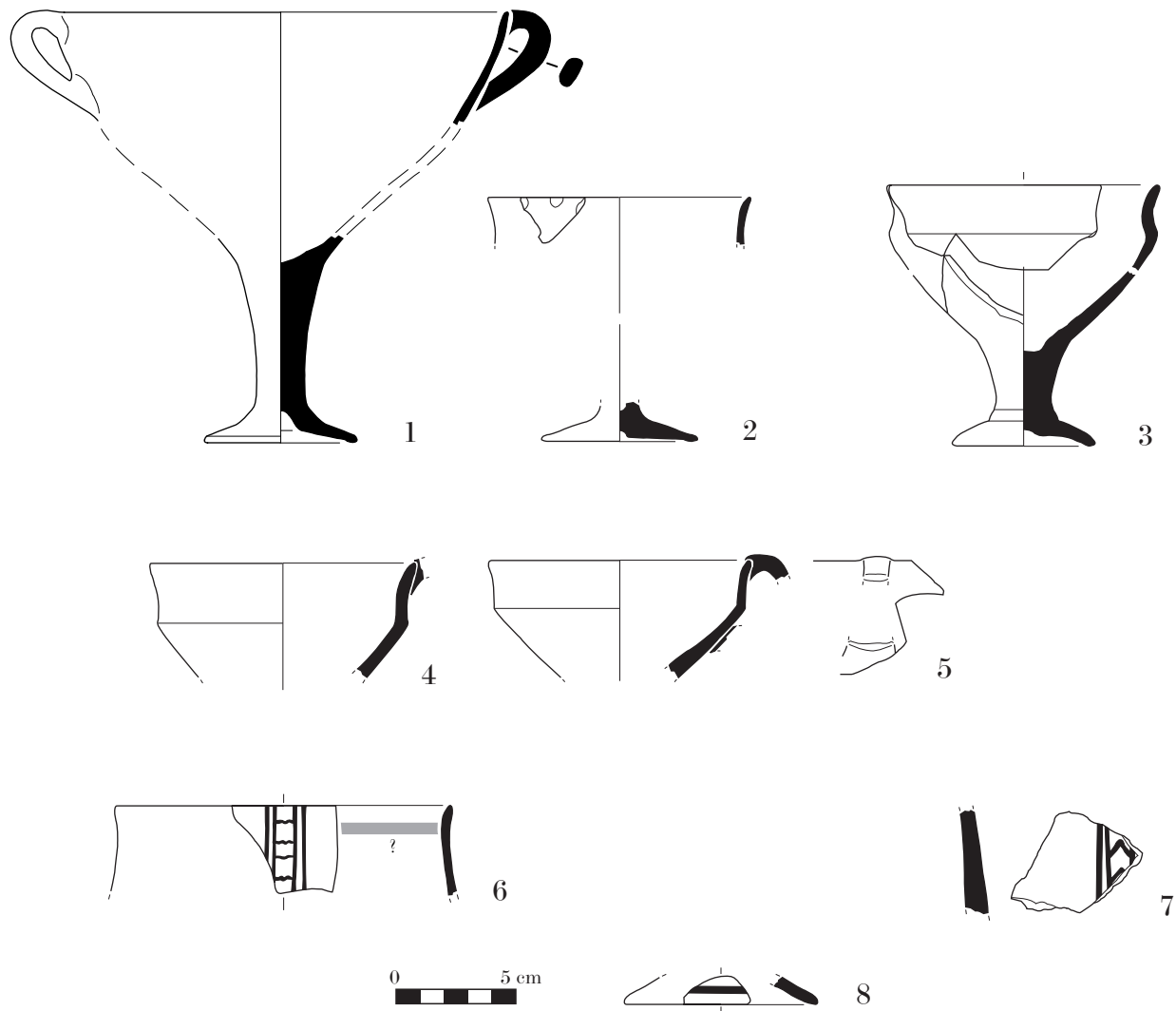


Fig. 6 Group of local Mycenaean pottery from Area II, Level 6 Final, above last floor of rooms U-V in Building II. Scale 1:3

IIIB Final. This observation may be of importance in correlation with the Hittite trade embargo referred to above. It is also in accordance with the thesis of a severe decline in Aegean maritime trade, dated to the time after LH IIIB Middle by Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Wolfgang Güntner.<sup>40</sup>

In the levels of the Bronze/Iron Age transition locally produced vessels of Mycenaean type are found in both Areas II and IV. Their local production was verified by the chemical, petrographic and technological analyses (cf. above). We are dealing with dull painted vessels without any surface treatment; fine wheel-marks are clearly visible. This local Mycenaean pottery is very hard (having been fired at high temperatures), harder than the Syrian-type pottery.

The local Mycenaean wares display medium to large quantities of mainly white inclusions, which seem numerous and of considerable size when compared to Mycenaean production series in Greece, but few and small when compared to the standard Syrian-type pottery. In addition, the quality of the red paint differs significantly between painted pots of local Mycenaean and of Syrian type. Only few basic fabric varieties exist for this local Mycenaean ware: some finer ones for small vessels and more coarse ones for kraters and large closed shapes. From a technological point of view this production can be compared with some of the Mycenaean type pottery produced locally in Cyprus during LC IIIA and IIIB.<sup>41</sup> The LH IIIC pottery from Cilicia also seems to be similar in tech-

<sup>40</sup> DEGER-JALKOTZY 2002, 50–53; GÜNTNER 2000, 369–372.

<sup>41</sup> KLING 1989, 1; EADEM 2000, 282.



nological aspects.<sup>42</sup> By contrast, LH IIIC pottery in Greece (even as far north as Macedonia) often shows more or less carefully smoothed and/or slipped surfaces; a total or nearly complete lack of surface treatment is rare.<sup>43</sup>

We may refer to this local production of Tell Kazel as *local Mycenaean pottery*, because Mycenaean shapes, linear decorations and motifs are faithfully reproduced – without becoming a slavish copy of Mycenaean pottery from the Aegean. This kind of local Mycenaean pottery can be quite clearly distinguished by typological and technological criteria from other classes of local pottery at Tell Kazel which exhibit some links to Aegean ceramic traditions. These are, firstly, productions in which Syrian and Mycenaean features are combined, such as large amphoroid kraters and piriform jars with white slip and red paint showing Syro-Palestinian syntax of decoration and motifs,<sup>44</sup> secondly, unpainted Mycenaeanising pottery with non-Aegean typological and technological peculiarities,<sup>45</sup> and third Mycenaean shapes with bichrome decoration and non-Mycenaean motifs.<sup>46</sup>

An important general remark needs to be addressed here. For two reasons “local Mycenaean pottery” and “Mycenaeanising pottery” should henceforth replace Furumark’s term “Mycenaean IIIC:1b”, which is outdated but still frequently used in the Levant and on Cyprus. First, it was possible to refine the Furumark phasing system of LH IIIC

based on results from recently excavated settlement stratigraphies at Mycenae, Tiryns and Lefkandí. Accordingly, Furumark’s phase LH IIIC:1b<sup>47</sup> no longer exists, as it is neither the second subphase of LH IIIC, nor does it fully coincide with any of the recently defined subphases of LH IIIC. Second, this former chronological term (“LH IIIC:1b”) underwent a semantic shift and became a stylistic label for any kind of seemingly “late” Mycenaean pottery (mainly deep bowls) in Cyprus and in the Levant. Thus, stylistic classification and chronological assignment were confused, which frequently led and still leads to circular argument. Therefore, the chronologically neutral, typological terms *local Mycenaean* and *Mycenaeanising pottery* suggested above should be shown preference.<sup>48</sup>

The repertory of local Mycenaean pottery from the destruction debris of Level 6 Final in Area II and from the upper floor of Level 5 in Area IV is fundamentally different from the imported Mycenaean repertory of the preceding phases. To be precise, the local producers of Mycenaean pottery did not try to copy the previously imported vessels in order to fill the gap of the reduced overseas exchange in goods. On the contrary, the composition of locally produced Mycenaean vessel types compares very closely to sets of Hellado-Mycenaean vessels in the Aegean. Moreover, for the first time in the sequence of Tell Kazel considerable quantities of unpainted Mycenaean

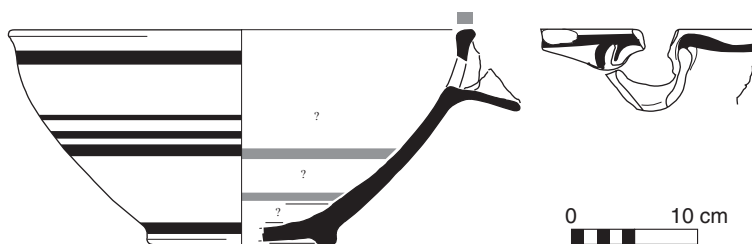


Fig. 7 Local Mycenaean spouted basin from Area II, Level 6 Final, above last floor of rooms U-V in Building II. Scale 1:6

<sup>42</sup> GOLDMAN 1956, 207; fig. 330,1304; 331,1259; E. FRENCH 1975, 55.

<sup>43</sup> Such descriptions are, of course, rather subjective, when it comes to details and fine nuances. Therefore cf. JUNG 2002, 43–47; 48; 322–410 (Macedonia); 566–573 (Argolid). The material cited in that volume was described by the present author. Thus, the classification categories (well smoothed, wet smoothed, slipped etc.) are the same as those employed for the Tell Kazel material.

<sup>44</sup> BADRE in: BADRE and GUBEL 1999–2000, 173 fig. 31.j; BADRE 2003, 89 fig. 5,2; 93 fig. 8,1 (drawings were not

reproduced to scale by the editors); CAPET, 2004, 84 fig. 21,n; 108 fig. 43,k; 109 fig. 44,a; 112.

<sup>45</sup> BADRE, GUBEL, CAPET and PANAYOT 1994, 321 fig. 47,g; 337 fig. 59,c; BADRE 2003, 93 fig. 8,2; CAPET, 2004, 69 f. with fig. 7,d; 72; 75 fig. 10,b; 89 fig. 27,b; 91; 108 fig. 43,j; 112.

<sup>46</sup> CAPET, 2004, 80, 86 fig. 23,a.

<sup>47</sup> For his definition and the find complexes on which he based it, see FURUMARK 1944, 202–209.

<sup>48</sup> This solution was advocated by most Aegean scholars during the debates in the “Mycenaean and Sea Peoples Section” on the 2<sup>nd</sup> SCIEEM 2000 EuroConference.

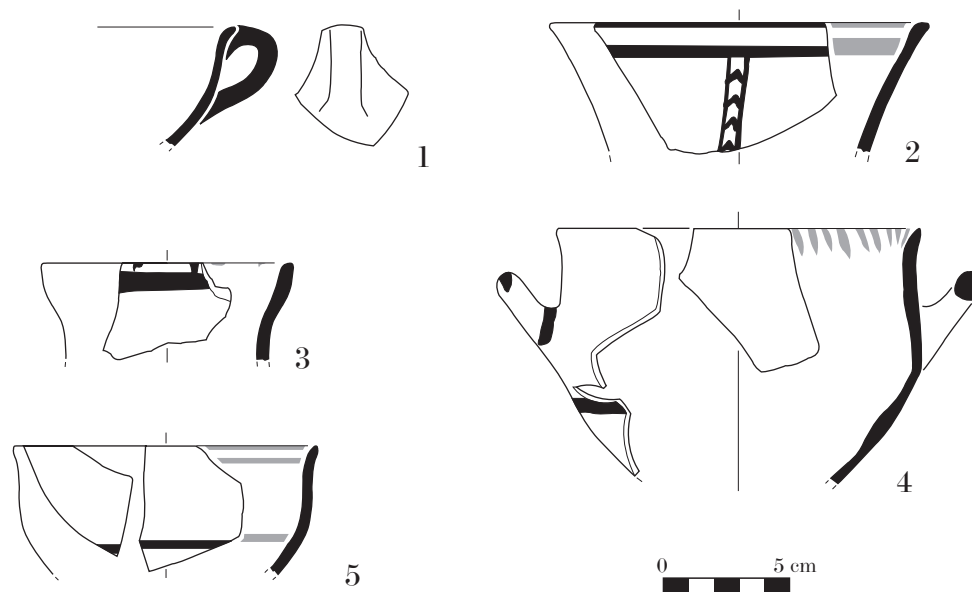


Fig. 8 Local Mycenaean pottery from Area II, Level 6 Final (1.2.4.5) and from Area IV, Level 5, upper or lower floor (3). Scale 1:3

types were in use. The following is an example of a representative assemblage: The destruction debris above the last floor of rooms U–V in Building II (Level 6 Final in Area II) contained fragments of at least four unpainted carinated kylikes FT 267 (Fig. 6,2–5), one unpainted conical kylix FT 274 (Fig. 6,1), a deep bowl FT 284/285 type A<sup>49</sup> with panelled pattern (Fig. 6,6), two linear spouted basins FT 302 (one is illustrated in Fig. 7), a krater wall sherd again with panelled pattern (Fig. 6,7) and a kylix base (Fig. 6,8). In other find contexts we have few additional types, such as an unpainted shallow cup FT 220 (Fig. 8,1), a mug FT 226 (Fig. 8,2) and finally some fragments of large closed vessels (such as Fig. 8,3).

It has already been pointed out, that there are technological characteristics shared by the locally produced Mycenaean pottery of the transitional Bronze–Iron Age contexts at Tell Kazel, on one hand,

and the local Mycenaean pottery from LC IIIA–IIIB Cyprus and from Cilicia on the other. However, when we consider the repertory of vessel types and motives, significant differences between these regions should be emphasized. At Tell Kazel we do not have any one-handled conical bowls FT 242, known on Cyprus since LC IIIA<sup>50</sup> and present in considerable quantities at Tarsos.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, although deep bowls FT 284/285 are present at Tell Kazel, they do not show any spiraliform motifs,<sup>52</sup> which are so frequent on Cyprus,<sup>53</sup> in the (post-Sea Peoples) reoccupation phase of Ibn Hani in Syria<sup>54</sup> or in the Mycenaeanising productions of Iron Age I Palestine.<sup>55</sup> Finally, the most important difference is the marked presence of unpainted Mycenaean pottery at Tell Kazel. Few unpainted carinated kylikes are known from Ugarit. Moreover, in contrast to the Tell Kazel pieces they show a much finer fabric with smoothed surface and

<sup>49</sup> In this study the Tiryns terminology is used. *Deep bowl type A* refers to any deep bowl with linear or no decoration on the interior. *Deep bowl type B* is used for all deep bowls with an entirely painted interior (monochrome interior in the Aegean terminology). *Monochrome deep bowl* refers to completely painted deep bowls, while horizontal lines and stripes can be left reserved from paint. For these definitions see PODZUWEIT 1981, 195; IDEM 1992, chapter “Skyphos A”; BENZI 1992, 148 f.

<sup>50</sup> Maa-Palaiokastro, floor I: KARAGEORGHIS and Demas 1988, 188 no. 574 pl. 235,574.

<sup>51</sup> E. FRENCH 1975, 61; 64 f. figs. 14–15.

<sup>52</sup> Motifs such as antithetic, running or stemmed spirals

known in the Aegean throughout LH IIIB and IIIC, see e.g. VERDELIS, E. FRENCH and D. FRENCH 1966, 140 fig. 1,3,4,7,8; 141 fig. 2,9,10; 142 fig. 3,2,4,6; WARDLE 1969, 274 fig. 6,50; PODZUWEIT 1978, 475 fig. 28,8,13; 477 fig. 29,12,14; 479 fig. 30,5; 487 fig. 35,4,7,8; SCHÖNFELD 1988, 177 fig. 6,14,15,17,19,20.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. KLING 1989, 95–100.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. BOUNNI, E. LAGARCE, J. LAGARCE and SALIBY 1978, 280; 281 fig. 28,1; J. LAGARCE and E. LAGARCE 1988, 143; 312 fig. 5,A,B (D–G are kraters). There are a few deep bowls type A with antithetic and stemmed spirals at Ugarit, too (YON, KARAGEORGHIS and HIRSCHFELD 2000, 242 fig. 32,486–

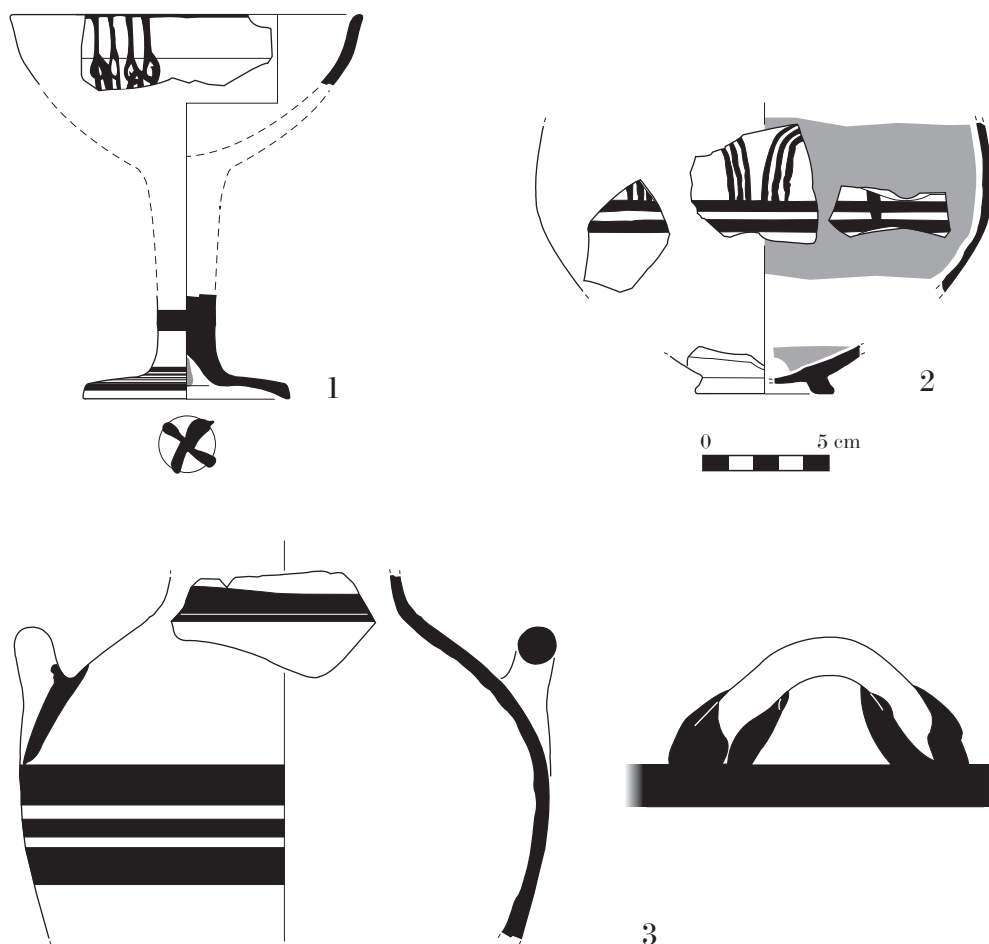


Fig. 9 Imported Mycenaean pottery from Area II, Level 6 Final (1.3) and from Area IV, Level 5, upper floor (2). Scale 1:3

thus most probably represent imports.<sup>56</sup> In Cyprus this unpainted Mycenaean type does not seem to ever have been very popular. There are just two examples at Maa-Palaiokastro. Compared to painted Mycenaean pottery, the unpainted variety, in general, was not en vogue in LC IIC and IIIA Cyprus.<sup>57</sup> This is at least the impression one gets from the sometimes selective publications. If it is confirmed in the future, this situation

stands in marked contrast with the one observed at Tell Kazel, which in this respect compares much better with assemblages from the Greek mainland.<sup>58</sup>

Let us look now at the pottery of the Late Bronze II/Iron I transitional phase in some detail. Few imports can be ascribed to these layers with some confidence.<sup>59</sup> A kylix FT 258B with a group of vertical whorl-shells resembles the so-called Zygouries

488). At Tell Afis in northern Syria antithetic spirals appear on a krater (contrary to Bonatz who terms it “skyphos”; see BONATZ 1998, 217 f.; 229 fig. 5,1).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. DOTHAN 1982, 204–209 with figs. 65–67,4; DOTHAN and ZUKERMAN 2004, 10 f. fig. 6,16–19; 12 f. fig. 8,1–6; 15 fig. 10–12; 37 f.

<sup>56</sup> HIRSCHFELD in: YON, KARAGEORGHIS and HIRSCHFELD 2000, 145 cat. no. 399; 234 fig. 24,399. At Tell Kazel there is one unpainted conical kylix FT 274, which is surely an import.

<sup>57</sup> Maa-Palaeokastro, floor II: KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS 1988, 122 no. 579; 124 pl. 192, Bothros 1/2.579. In general see KLING in: KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS 1988, 328 f. and PODZUWEIT 1992, chapters “Zypern – Zusammenfassung”; “Ergebnisse und Schlußfolgerungen”.

<sup>58</sup> There the majority of Mycenaean pottery from settlements is unpainted, from LH IIIA through LH IIIC Early, see PODZUWEIT 1992, suppl. 38; JUNG 2002, 192 with fig. 67. However, a large fraction of the unpainted pottery is made up by coarse and medium-coarse storage and kitchen wares, which are very rare at Tell Kazel (most of the cooking pots and all of the pithoi at Tell Kazel being of Syrian and not Aegean type).

<sup>59</sup> Most fragments of imported Mycenaean vessels are so small, that they should be interpreted as being in secondary position. For the provenance of the better preserved ones (Fig. 9,1–3) see now BADRE, BOILEAU, JUNG, and MOMMSEN 2005, 33, 36 and KERSCHNER *ibid.* 36 f.

type (FT 258A) of LH IIIB Early–Middle,<sup>60</sup> but has a rim band and a banded stem (Fig. 9,1). Exact analogies are not available from the Aegean. A closed vessel with linear decoration only (Fig. 9,3) is not easy to classify and therefore cannot be dated exactly.<sup>61</sup> Finally, there are fragments of a deep bowl FT 284/285 type B with tricurved arch pattern (Fig. 9,2). Its decoration detail of a reserved circle in the interior base is not known before LH IIIB Developed in the Argolid.<sup>62</sup> It is interesting that all three of these imported vessels belong to fabrics, which are unknown in the preceding phases with Mycenaean imports and which on macroscopic examination do not seem to be from the Argolid.

Let us now turn to the locally produced pieces, and look first at the assemblage as a whole. There are no deep bowls type B (with monochrome interior), but only deep bowls type A (without monochrome interior). This contrasts with approximately contemporary settlement assemblages from the Argolid or Boeotia. However, even there in the time from LH IIIB Developed until LH IIIC Early deep bowls type A outnumbered deep bowls type B by far.<sup>63</sup> At Tell Kazel the deep bowls type A exhibit a variety of linear decorations, some of which can be found in the Aegean too. Some carry single bands in the middle or lower zone of the interior wall (Fig. 8,5, like the one in Fig. 10,7 from the next stratigraphical phase). This banded decoration of deep bowls type A starts at the

beginning of LH IIIC Early in the Aegean.<sup>64</sup> The repertory of patterns on deep bowls type A is limited to panels (Fig. 6,6) and single horizontal wavy or zigzag lines.

Monochrome bowls (decoration 11.0), which appeared in the Argolid during the second half of LH IIIB,<sup>65</sup> but became common only in LH IIIC Early, are absent at Tell Kazel. There are also no stemmed bowls FT 304/305, which during LH IIIB Developed were still common in the Argolid, but decreased considerably during LH IIIB Final and were practically out of use by LH IIIC Early.<sup>66</sup> Among the unpainted material the most common type is the carinated kylix (Fig. 6,2–5). Likewise in the Aegean carinated kylikes belonged to the commonest shapes of the unpainted table ware from LH IIIA Late<sup>67</sup> to LH IIIC Middle.<sup>68</sup>

Looking at a few single examples one might reasonably start with the well preserved spouted basin (Fig. 7). In the Aegean from the second half of LH IIIB onwards some of the basins FT 294 were provided with spouts and, thus, can be classed as FT 302. However, this shape became common only by LH IIIC Early.<sup>69</sup> On Cyprus it was in use since LC IIIA,<sup>70</sup> which started sometime during LH IIIC Early. One parallel is known from a tomb at Ugarit.<sup>71</sup> Although without a direct analogy, the mug carries a characteristic simple panelled pattern with chevron fill (Fig. 8,2), which has parallels (mainly on deep

<sup>60</sup> Cf. THOMAS 1992, 300 f.; 305 f.; 382–385; 592–594 figs. 58–60. Discussion of the production period in the Argolid: MOUNTJOY 1986, 113–115 with fig. 141,1–11; SCHÖNFELD 1988, 155 tab. 1 nos. 42.65; 171 fig. 3,17; 173 fig. 4,19; 176; 183; 188; 191 fig. 8,9; 199 fig. 11,17; 200; 205.

<sup>61</sup> Because of its size (belly diameter 21.5 cm) it stands between the belly-handled amphora FT 58 and amphoriskos FT 59 or the small and large collar-necked jar (FT 64 and 63); the hydria FT 128 or 129 is also a possibility, like the one from House E (last floor level) in the city centre of Ugarit (YON, Lombard and RENISIO 1987, 97; 98 fig. 78; 99 fig. 80,81/890; 101).

<sup>62</sup> PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Skyphos B”. Tiryns, LH IIIB Developed: KILIAN 1988b, 118 fig. 13,1.3. Mycenae, LH IIIB Final: WARDLE 1973, 316 fig. 11,65 (also with tricurved arch). 317 no. 65. Midea, LH IIIB Final: DEMAKOPOULOU 2003, 81f. with fig. 5,3.

<sup>63</sup> Tiryns and Mycenae: PODZUWEIT 1992, chapters “Skyphos B”; “Zusammenfassung und Ergebnisse”; suppl. 33; 44a–b. Thebes: Andrikou 1999, 80 pl. 1 and 2. When using the Tiryns’ definition of type A and B, compare the rim fragments of plate 1 with plate 2.

<sup>64</sup> PODZUWEIT 1978, 487 fig. 35,4; IDEM 1992, chapters “Skyphos A”; MOUNTJOY 1997, 122 fig. 7,42.43; 126 fig. 9,51. There may be a few exceptions in LH IIIB Final

(DEMAKOPOULOU 2003, 82 fig. 5,2, with a rim shape close to a stemmed bowl rim).

<sup>65</sup> PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Monochromer Skyphos”; suppl. 16–17; DEMAKOPOULOU 2003, 84.

<sup>66</sup> PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Hochfüßiger Skyphos”; suppl. 8; 20–21.

<sup>67</sup> Mycenae, LH IIIA Late: E. FRENCH 1965, 173. Mycenae, LH IIIB Early: E. FRENCH 1965, 182 fig. 8,16; 183. Mycenae, LH IIIB Middle: MOUNTJOY 1976, 98–100 with fig. 12,144–147; 111 tab. 3. Mycenae, LH IIIB Final: WARDLE 1973, 322 f. with fig. 14. Thebes, LH IIIB Final: ANDRIKOU 1999, 81; 85; 90 no. I.17; 91 no. I.19; 100 no. II.58.

<sup>68</sup> Phylakopi, LH IIIC Middle: MOUNTJOY 1985, 189 tab. 5.6; 190 fig. 5.20, 351–353; 192.

<sup>69</sup> In general see PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Schüsseln”; pl. 48,6; 50,4. Tiryns, Epichosis, LH IIIB Developed–Final: PODZUWEIT 1992, pl. 48,6. Lefkandi, phase 1b (LH IIIC Early–Developed): POPHAM/MILBURN 1971, 336f. with fig. 2,1. Ayia Irini (Kea), temple, stage 2 (LH IIIC Late): CASKEY 1984, 245; 251 fig. 9,b.

<sup>70</sup> KLING 1989, 135. Examples e.g. at Maa-Palaeokastro, floor I: KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS 1988, 170 no. 137; 199 pl. 125,137; 224,137; 149, South of Room 80/2.

<sup>71</sup> J.-C. COURTOIS/L. COURTOIS 1978, 332 no. 2; 333 fig. 46,2.

bowls type A and B) only in LH IIIB Final<sup>72</sup> and the beginning of LH IIIC Early.<sup>73</sup>

One last feature of the local Mycenaean pottery of this phase at Tell Kazel merits some comment. A number of deep bowls type A show a series of long vertical strokes on the interior rim; additionally, they may have an exterior rim band or no rim band at all (Fig. 8,4 – compare Fig. 10,4). This kind of rim decoration seems to be typical for the site. No close parallels have been published, neither from the Levant, from Cyprus, from Cilicia nor from the Aegean. Therefore, I would ascribe this feature to a local Amurru style. It seems very questionable, whether or not this can be correlated with linear deep bowls with dotted rims (decorations no. 12), which are known in the Argolid from LH IIIC Developed until LH IIIC Late.<sup>74</sup> It may also be difficult to relate these rims with stroke decoration to Rhodian deep bowls, kylikes and various bowl types with dotted interior rims and without further rim banding from LH IIIC Early or Middle tomb contexts at Ialissós and Pilóna, although these Rhodian vessels do show some tendency towards longer dots with pointed tips.<sup>75</sup> Alternatively, it is possible that this feature was adopted for the local Mycenaean deep bowls from LB II Syrian-type chalices, like the two from the lower floor of Level 6 in Area IV.<sup>76</sup>

To date the whole Mycenaean assemblage from the Late Bronze II/Iron I transitional phase at Tell Kazel precisely, one can first emphasise the fact that vessel or decoration types that are characteristic for LH IIIC Developed on the Greek mainland are not represented. The temporally latest features of the finds point to a date either in LH IIIB Final or in LH IIIC Early. These two phases are very difficult to separate, even in mainland Greece. LH IIIB Final is the very latest

phase of LH IIIB and basically defined by the destruction deposits in the citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns,<sup>77</sup> Midea in the Argolid and the palace of Thebes in Boeotia as well. The beginning of LH IIIC Early is defined by the *postpalatial* reconstruction phase immediately following these destructions.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, a precise date to one of these two phases is of special historical interest. A number of new features of LH IIIB Final, which are first attested at the Tell during the LB II/IA I transitional phase became common in the Aegean only in LH IIIC Early. Therefore, I would date the destruction of Tell Kazel, Level 6 Final in Area II and upper floor of Level 5 in Area IV, to the beginning of LH IIIC Early and, thus, to a moment shortly after the breakdown of the Mycenaean palace system. However, a date to LH IIIB Final cannot be excluded due to the limited amount of datable pottery at Tell Kazel.

## PHASE 5

The destruction of the site and then a short period of abandonment were directly followed by a new building phase<sup>79</sup> – Level 5 in Area II and Levels 4–3 in Area IV –, that can be dated to Iron Age I in Levantine terms. This ended again in destruction, a severe conflagration, which according to Emmanuelle Capet might have been due to extensive use of wood as building material.<sup>80</sup> The local Mycenaean pottery repertory did not change markedly in comparison with the preceding phase. However, there are some pieces, which hint at a slightly younger date of this phase. A kylix fragment with a band deep inside its bowl (Fig. 10,9) might belong to a linear conical kylix FT 274-275. In the Argolid this type might have been in use by LH IIIB Final, but it is securely attested only from LH IIIC Early onwards.<sup>81</sup> The carinated

<sup>72</sup> Mycenae: E. FRENCH 1969, 80 fig. 5,18; 81 fig. 6,17; WARDLE 1973, 313 fig. 9,53. Thebes: SYMEONOGLOU 1973, 19 pl. 18,5; ANDRIKOU 1999, 96 no. II.19.

<sup>73</sup> Íria, Annex (no securely closed find context, but cf. MOUNTJOY 1999, 36); DÖHL 1973, 171 no. A 13/5; pl. 68,5,A 13/5. A mug from the underground fountain on the Athens acropolis is similar to the Tell Kazel piece, but its triglyphs are slightly different (MOUNTJOY 1999, 555 fig. 202,261).

<sup>74</sup> Cf. PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Punktrandskyphos”; IDEM 1978, 479 fig. 30,3 is only broadly comparable to the Tell Kazel pieces, since the strokes are arranged in groups.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. BENZI 1992, pl. 37,p,q,s,t,u; 38,a; 60,l-o; 72,i; 170,d,e; MOUNTJOY 1999, 1060 fig. 434,233; KARANTZALI 2001, 55 no. 16784 (local Rhodian according to ICP-AES analyses); 172 fig. 40,16784.

<sup>76</sup> BADRE in: BADRE and GUBEL 1999–2000, 146; 156 fig. 16,b,e; Compare also others from the LB II temple at Kamid el-Loz (METZGER and BARTHEL 1993, pl. 78,12;

127,3) and from Ugarit (J.-C. COURTOIS and L. COURTOIS 1978, 235 fig. 11,2; 245 fig. 15,2).

<sup>77</sup> KILIAN 1988a, 118; 121 fig. 3; PODZUWEIT 1992, chapters “Die Stratigraphie von Tiryns”; “Charakterisierung der Phasen”.

<sup>78</sup> This labelling of the time phases follows the Tiryns system, see above n. 19 (as an alternative to the phase label “LH IIIB2/IIIC Early transitional” which is used at Mycenae, see E. French and P. A. Mountjoy, this volume).

<sup>79</sup> BADRE in: BADRE and GUBEL 1999–2000, 185; EADEM 2003, 94.

<sup>80</sup> CAPET, 2004, 101; 117.

<sup>81</sup> For the date at Tiryns see PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Kylix”; pl. 53,14,16; 54,3,5. Thanks are due to Ursula Damm-Meinhardt and Tobias Mühlenbruch, who checked the stratigraphic assignments for me. For the unusual absence of bands on the stem cf. KOEHL 1984, 211 with n. 10; 212 fig. 3,5,8; 219. There is a possibility that the type was already present in Level 6 Final of Area II (see Fig. 6,8).

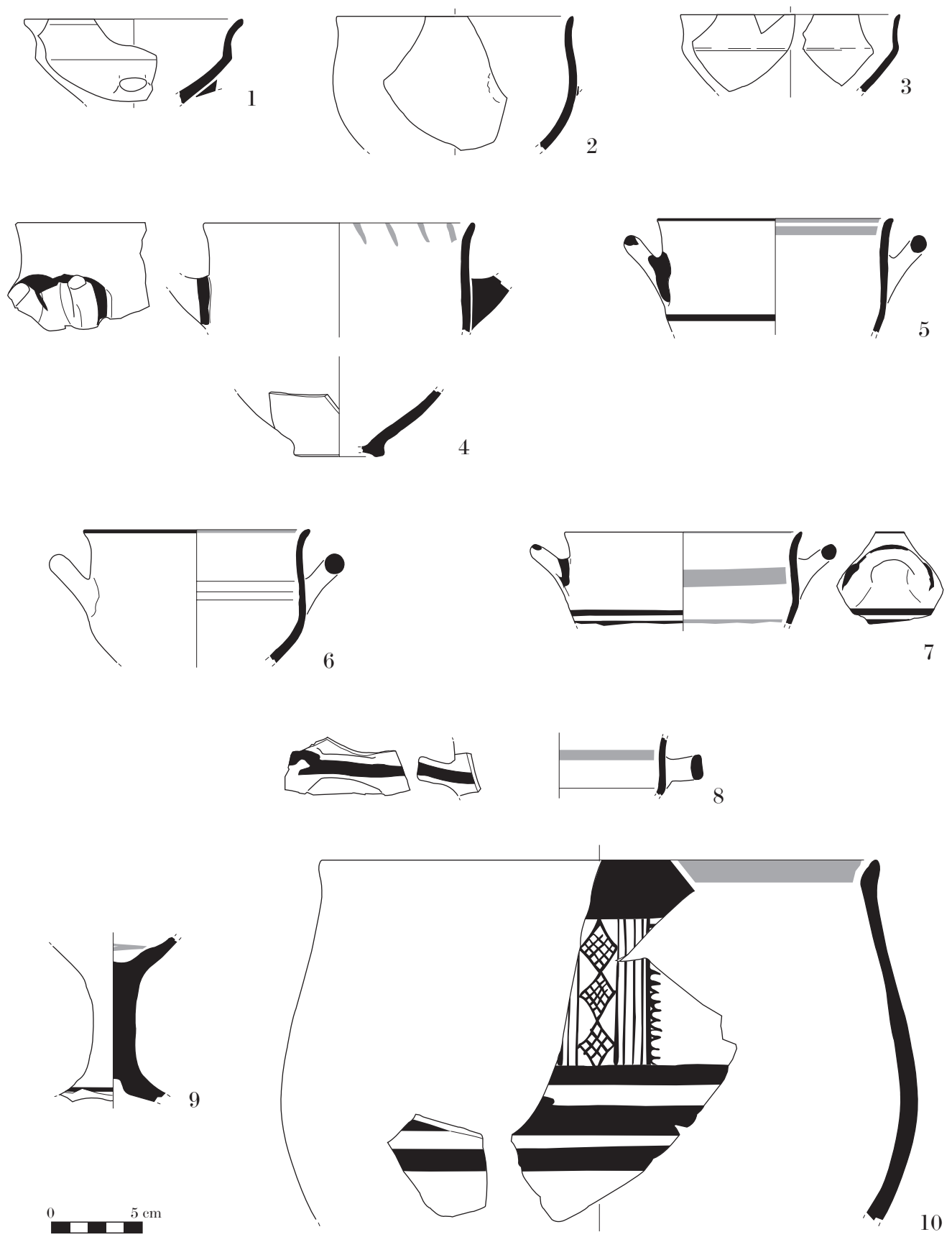


Fig. 10 Local Mycenaean pottery from Area II, Level 5 (1-7.10) and from Area IV, Level 4 (8.9). Scale 1:3

strap-handled bowl FT 295 with high upper body and linear decoration (Fig. 10,8) is more significant. Its earliest Aegean parallels may belong to LH IIIC Early, but the type became common only during LH IIIC Developed.<sup>82</sup> On Cyprus it is possibly attested in LC IIC, but surely in LC IIIA.<sup>83</sup> There are no exact parallels for this piece at Ugarit.<sup>84</sup> Unpainted carinated kylikes and unpainted deep bowls were still in use, and the same applies for linear and patterned deep bowls type A (Fig. 10). Since it is not easy to date the local Mycenaean style precisely, one can additionally try to establish a *terminus ante quem* for this phase, which ended in the second fiery destruction of the Tell. One indication is provided by a large amphoriskos of Proto-White Painted fabric (Fig. 11).<sup>85</sup> It was found in a pit that cuts into Level 5 of Area II. The local Syrian-type pottery from this pit dates to Iron Age I.<sup>86</sup> The best parallel for the decoration syntax and some of the complicated motifs of the amphoriskos can be found on a straight-sided alabastron from Enkomi, destruction of Level IIIB.<sup>87</sup> The style of these two vessels from Tell Kazel and Enkomi is close to the so-called Carpet Style, which occurred during LH IIIC Late in the Aegean.<sup>88</sup> The local Mycenaean pottery assemblage from the end of Level IIIB at Enkomi points to the same date.<sup>89</sup> There is no exact parallel on Cyprus for the shape of the Tell Kazel amphoriskos, especially for its baggy profile. One might only cite a smaller Proto-White Painted amphoriskos from tomb 17 in the Alaas necropolis,<sup>90</sup> while the linear decoration of rim and

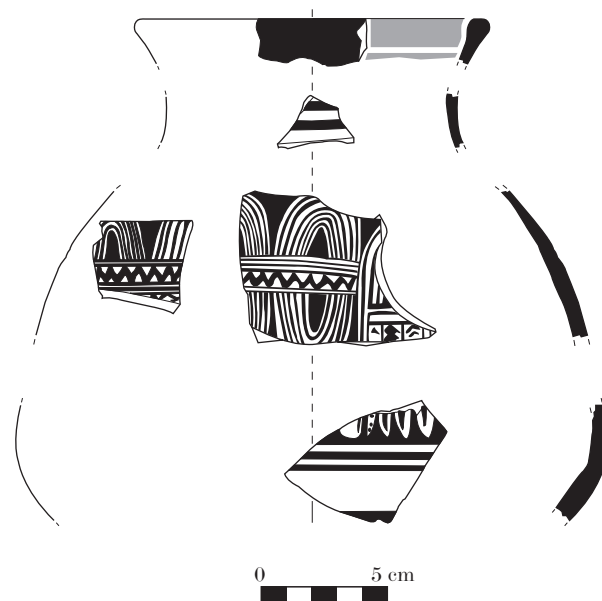


Fig. 11 Proto-White Painted amphoriskos from Area II, pit cutting into Level 5. Scale 1:3

neck has good parallels in a number of Proto-White Painted amphoriskoi at that site.<sup>91</sup>

I would like to conclude this short presentation of the Mycenaean type material from Tell Kazel with some historical considerations. In particular, I would like to comment on the chronological position of the Sea Peoples' destruction. From Egypt we have two written sources by Ramesses III, which refer to a severe destruction of the kingdom of Amurru, one

<sup>82</sup> PODZUWEIT 1992, suppl. 50; pl. 42,10.11.13.15–17; 43.4. Those on pl. 42,15; 43.4 are the earliest possible examples at Tiryns, but the latter piece may be from a disturbed context. I wish to thank Tobias Mühlenbruch and Philipp Stockhammer for the stratigraphical assignments of those finds and Stockhammer also for a discussion on the type and its production period.

<sup>83</sup> Enkomi, end of Level IIB (LC IIC): DIKAIOS 1969/71, 572 no. 5563/1; pl. 66,21. Enkomi, Level IIIA (LC IIIA): *ibid.*, 176; 318; pl. 94,21; 98,4; 123,9. Maa-Palaiokastro, floor II: KARAGEORGHIS and DEMAS 1988, 107 no. 292 pl. 175,292; floor I: *ibid.*, 156 f. pl. 219, Room 8/5. Room 8/6.

<sup>84</sup> There are similar bowls, which however do not seem to represent this type in particular (YON in: YON, KARAGEORGHIS and HIRSCHFELD 2000, 15; 25 fig. 8,d,e), because they do not show the typical concave-convex profile with high upper part above the carination (which characterises the piece from Tell Kazel). Instead their profile with short upper part (which often widens) has better parallels on Cyprus during LC IIC (cf. DIKAIOS 1969/71, pl. 67,22; SOUTH 1988, 226 fig. 2,K-AD 1257).

<sup>85</sup> Rim diameter 14 cm; Here I wish to thank Vassos Karageorghis, who confirmed my classification as Proto-White

Painted and discussed this piece with me during his stay at Tell Kazel during the 2003 campaign.

<sup>86</sup> Information kindly provided by Laure Salloum.

<sup>87</sup> DIKAIOS 1969/71, 609 no. 4485/13; pl. 82,27.

<sup>88</sup> PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter "Krater".

<sup>89</sup> Cf. deep bowls type B and monochrome deep bowls with multiple horizontal wavy lines (DIKAIOS 1969/71, 595 no. 232; 597 nos. 732/7.734/2; 603 no. 3316/8.3316/9; 613 no. 5734/1; pl. 79,26.27.28.30; 83,10.22), cups with single wavy line (*ibid.*, 595 nos. 239.244; 608 no. 4096/7 pl. 79,19.24; 83,24), large closed vessels with wavy lines on the neck (*ibid.*, 595 nos. 229.230; pl. 80,7.8) etc.. For the date of their Aegean parallels from LH IIIC Advanced to mainly LH IIIC Late see PODZUWEIT 1992, chapters "Skyphos mit Wellenband"; "Tassen"; "Charakterisierung der Phasen"; MOUNTJOY 1999, *passim*.

<sup>90</sup> KARAGEORGHIS 1975, 19 no. 23; pl. 14,no. 23; 59,T.17/23.

<sup>91</sup> KARAGEORGHIS 1975, pl. 54,T.15/4; 59,T.17/18.23; with these parallels in mind one might reconstruct a slightly taller neck for the Tell Kazel piece. The drawing in Fig. 11 shows only minimum vertical distances between the various non-joining pieces. Moreover, it is possible that the lowest belly fragment should be moved upwards somewhat.

Levantine relative chronology	Tell Kazel, Area IV: stratigraphy	Tell Kazel, Area II: stratigraphy	Events in the Aegean	Aegean relative chronology
Late Bronze Age II	Level 6, lower floor	not well known	Petsas' House destruction at Mycenae	LH IIIA Late
Late Bronze Age II	Level 6, upper floor	not well known	first destruction of Thebes palace	LH IIIB Early
Late Bronze Age II	Level 5, lower floor	Level 6	Mycenae, Tiryns: destructions, new fortifications	LH IIIB Middle – LH IIIB Devel.
Late Bronze Age II/Iron Age I Transition	Level 5, upper floor:  <b>destruction</b> (Sea Peoples)	Level 6 Final:  <b>destruction</b> (Sea Peoples)	<b>Final destruction of palaces</b> at Mycenae, Tiryns, Thebes, and the citadel at Midea	(LH IIIB Devel.), LH IIIB Final  – beginning of LH IIIC Early
Iron Age I	Levels 4–3: destruction	Level 5: destruction		– before LH IIIC Late

Fig. 12 Chronological chart (internal synchronisation of Tell Kazel Areas II and IV according to E. CAPET, 2004, 117, and L. BADRE, 2003)

from his regnal year 5 and the other from year 8, both inscribed on Ramesses' memorial temple at Medinet Habu. The latter inscription explicitly mentions the Sea Peoples as cause for this destruction: “*An encampment was [estab]lished in one place in Amor and they desolated its people and its land as though they had never come into being. ... Their confederation consisted of Pelest, Tjekker, Shekelesh, Danu<na> and Weshesh...*”.<sup>92</sup> Another source from Syria itself seems to fit into the picture of enemy threat before that catastrophe. In a letter to the king of Ugarit by a certain Paršu from Amurru, the king is asked to communicate all news concerning the movements of an unnamed enemy, as was the custom until then between Ugarit and Amurru. Furthermore, Paršu writes that ships will be put at the disposal of Ugarit by Amurru.<sup>93</sup> This strongly is reminiscent of the letters exchanged between the kings of Ugarit and Alashiya as well as an unknown king about attacking enemy ships, probably the

Shikalayu, from the latest phase of the kingdom of Ugarit.<sup>94</sup> The latest datable written documents from Ugarit belong to the reign of Siptah (1194–1188 BC) or Tausret (1188–1186).<sup>95</sup> It is assumed here, that Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani were indeed destroyed by the Sea Peoples shortly before Ramesses' III year 8.<sup>96</sup> Subsequently at least Ras Ibn Hani was reoccupied.<sup>97</sup>

From the above it seems reasonable to make the Sea Peoples responsible for a destruction of Amurru, including Sumur/Tell Kazel. The architectural findings of humble quality in Area II, Level 6 Final, together with the paucity of imports in this phase in both areas II and IV suggest a time of severely reduced international trade and economic crisis ending in violent destruction. The local pottery from that phase already allows a synchronisation with Early Iron Age sites on the Syrian coast.<sup>98</sup> The local Mycenaean pottery assemblage is clearly earlier in type than the local Mycenaean pottery from the

<sup>92</sup> PEDEN 1994, 29. The expression “*W3h Jhj*” for “establishing an encampment” is used in other texts for temporary (military) camps; it does not signify a permanent settlement (personal communication, gratefully received from Ernst Czerny, Vienna).

<sup>93</sup> RS 20.162, see IZRE<sup>EL</sup> 1991, 98–100; KLENGEL 1992, 174; SINGER 1991, 175 f.; IDEM 1999, 721.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. KLENGEL 1992, 150; NOORT 1994, 85–88; SINGER 1999, 719–723. In the light of a re-evaluation of these letters it seems now possible, that such seaborne raids lasted for a longer period than previously thought (cf. MALBRAN-LABAT 1999).

<sup>95</sup> SINGER 1999, 715. The absolute dates given in the present study are based on Kitchen's chronology of the Egyptian pharaohs (KITCHEN 2000).

<sup>96</sup> For a summary of recent discussions with bibliography see SINGER 1999, 725–731.

<sup>97</sup> BADRE 1983; J. LAGARCE and E. LAGARCE 1988. There seems to have been a limited reoccupation of Ugarit, too (cf. YON in: YON, KARAGEORGHIS and HIRSCHFELD 2000, 15).

<sup>98</sup> CAPET, 2004, 64–99; 117 f.



(post-Sea Peoples) reoccupation (lower floor) at Ibn Hani.<sup>99</sup> These arguments make the earlier destruction of Tell Kazel during the transition from Late Bronze II to Iron Age I the better candidate for the Sea Peoples' invasion<sup>100</sup> and not the later conflagration during the developed Early Iron Age (Level 5 in Area II and 3 in Area IV), which in turn can be chronologically linked to the reoccupation of Ibn Hani (upper floor) by Syrian-type painted pottery.<sup>101</sup>

The first destruction of Tell Kazel contains Mycenaean pottery which is best dated to the beginning of LH IIIC Early, as we have seen. Consequently, Tell Kazel may provide a *terminus ante quem* for the beginning of LH IIIC Early through its destruction by the Sea Peoples, which would be 1176 BC, according to Ramesses III year 8 inscription, or alternatively 1179 BC, according to Ramesses III year 5 inscription.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>99</sup> The local Mycenaean pottery from this phase at Ibn Hani has parallels in Cyprus at Enkomi, Levels IIIA–IIIB (compare BOUNNI, J. LAGARCE, E. LAGARCE, SALIBY and BADRE 1979, 249 fig. 25,1–4; BADRE 1983, 205 fig. 1,a–c with DIKAIOS 1969/71, pls. 70,23; 73,33; 74,7.18: Enkomi, Level IIIA; *ibid.* pl. 80,29.33: Level IIIB). Some features of the kraters, such as their stroke decoration on the rim, the lower bands consisting of a broad band flanked by two narrow ones, and a kind of double banded handle decoration (the so-called “long splash system”), are known in the Aegean only from the later LH IIIC phases Advanced and Late (compare BOUNNI, J. LAGARCE, E. LAGARCE, SALIBY and BADRE 1979, 249 fig. 25,1.7.8; BADRE 1983, 205 fig. 1,a,b with POPHAM and MILBURN 1971, 341 fig. 5,5; pl. 57,3.4; MOUNTJOY 1999, 186–188 with fig. 57,437.438; PODZUWEIT 1992, chapter “Krater”; pl. 37,5; 119). For these latest features of Ibn Hani, lower floor of the reoccupation, there are also parallels on kraters at Enkomi (J.-C. COURTOIS 1971, 267 fig. 104,A.D.F), which support the synchronisation of these features with the abovementioned Aegean phases.

<sup>100</sup> The sequence of events is unclear in Ramesses' III year 8 inscription. To me the most plausible reconstruction is,

that first Amurru including Tell Kazel was destroyed, then the Sea Peoples established their base camp somewhere in the Akkar Plain (cf. above n. 92). Alternatively, they may have already established a camp in order to besiege the Tell. Indeed, local Mycenaean pottery and handmade burnished ware (BADRE 2003) are already present in that destruction layer at the Tell, which most probably was caused by the Sea Peoples. This means the production and use of these classes of pottery predate the destruction of Amurru by the Sea Peoples and cannot be ascribed to these invaders.

<sup>101</sup> BADRE in: BADRE and GUBEL 1999–2000, 189; 192; 193 fig. 44,b (citing BOUNNI, J. LAGARCE, E. LAGARCE, SALIBY and BADRE 1979, 253 fig. 27,3). See also CAPET, 2004, 72 with n. 15, in comparison with J. LAGARCE and E. LAGARCE 1988, 153–155, in respect to the gradual introduction of bichrome decoration at Tell Kazel and Ibn Hani. However, a full publication of the finds from the reoccupation layers at Ibn Hani is necessary in order to verify this synchronisation.

<sup>102</sup> On the 2<sup>nd</sup> SCIEEM 2000 EuroConference Kitchen expressed the view, that 1180–1160 BC are the extreme margins for Ramesses' III 8<sup>th</sup> year.

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