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Approaching Levantine shores

Aspects of Cretan contacts with Western Asia during the MM-LM I periods*

Annette Højen Sørensen

“... she (*Europa*) crossed the salty water [from her homeland to Crete,] overpowered by Zeus’ wiles.he gave her a gift, [a golden necklace, which] Hephaestus, glorious craftsman, [himself had made] with expert mind, [a beautiful ornament,] bringing it to his father; and he received the gift [and gave it himself] to the daughter of illustrious Phoenix. ...long-ankled Europa [She bore sons] to Cronus’ very strong son commanders of many men, [sovereign Minos] and just Rhadamanthys [and godly Sarpedon,] excellent and strong.”¹

Abstract

This article presents an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the foreign relations of Crete towards the Levant² and beyond, from their first encounter to the end of the New Palace Period, with the main focus on the MM-LM I periods. The archaeological material indicates contacts during the EM II and from the MM I period onwards, whilst the textual evidence strongly indicates direct royal connections perhaps from the Old Palace Period or early New Palace Period, and furthermore offers a mythological remembrance of these contacts during the Late Bronze Age.

This article does not review the Western Asian imports in Crete as these have been extensively discussed by Cline³, Lambrou-Phillipson⁴ and recently by Colburn.⁵ Neither does it lend the place for substantial theoretical discussions of trade and its mechanisms.⁶

Introduction

The present contribution has been divided into four parts and follows a chronological path. This path is,

however, not easy to stay on as there is “conflicting evidence for Mesopotamian chronology”⁷ as well as regional differences in the Levantine material.⁸

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¹ Hesiod *Catalogue of Women*, Loeb 2007, 160–3, no. 90, P. Oxy. 1358 fr. 1.

² The geographical definition of the “Levant” varies from author to author and there seems to be no consensus on any single definition. Definitions differ from the Mediterranean coastline of Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Palestine to a larger territory of Syria from the coast to the Euphrates, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine and Jordan to the inclusion of Iraq. The present contribution will use the term “Levant” for the region including Syria to the Euphrates, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine and Jordan. However, the Syrian city of Tell Hariri/Mari lies in the cultural sphere of Mesopotamia and will thus be included in the larger geographical term “Western Asia”.

³ Cline 1994 (reprinted and updated in 2009).

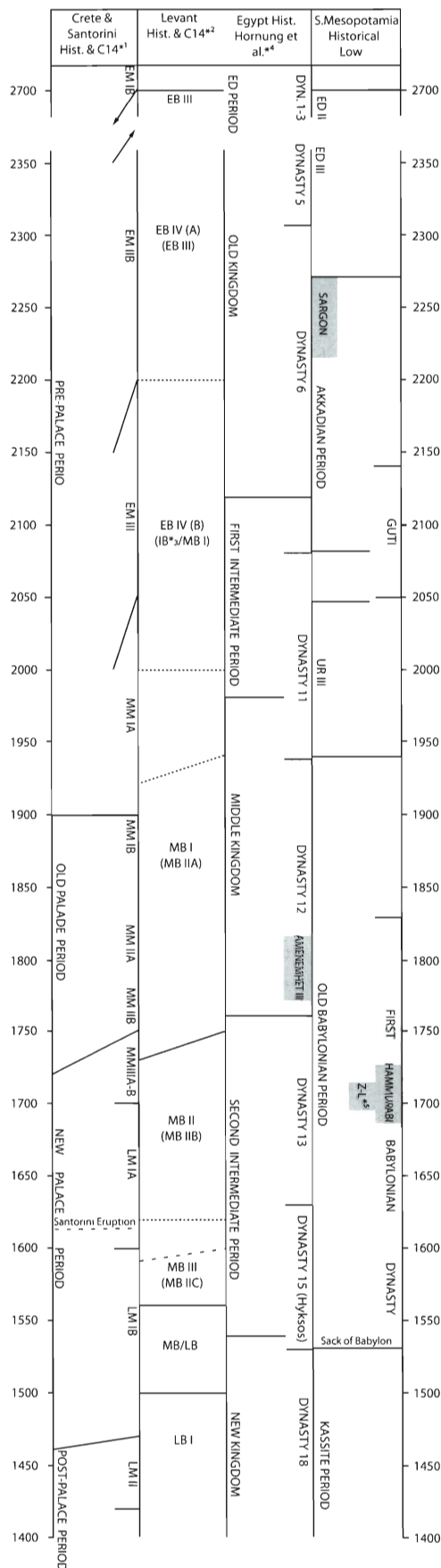
⁴ Lambrou-Phillipson 1990.

⁵ Colburn 2008.

⁶ This article is part of a PhD project (University of Aarhus) in which the theoretical and economic aspects of trade and exchange will be discussed further.

⁷ Hunger 2009, 146.

⁸ Cf. for instance Parr 2009 and Chapman 1989 & 1990; For an in depth discussion on chronological problems and synchronisation of cultures see Warburton 2009 and Bietak 2000; 2003; 2007a. A complicating factor when working with Levantine chronology is a lack of consensus about the period names applied. The MB period covers roughly 500 years and



A time table (Fig. 1) has been developed as a supplement to the text in an attempt to correlate data and to present an overview of the period. However, this table only represents a few of the many theories on chronology based on historical records and radiocarbon dates. Depending on which Aegean and Mesopotamian chronology one chooses to use, the political scenery shifts accordingly. Thus I have chosen, where relevant, to render the state of affairs if one applies both the “middle” and “low” Mesopotamian chronology.

The first three parts open with a brief historical overview of the periods in Western Asia and Egypt. Part 1 is devoted to the earliest phases of the Bronze Age and Part 2 to the Middle Bronze Age, and is accompanied by a catalogue of Minoica and the textual evidence from Western Asia. It seeks to collect a corpus of data on Cretan overseas contacts during the first half of the second millennium BC. Part 3 follows these contacts down to the Late Bronze Age and Part 4 sums up the conclusions drawn in the first three parts.

1. The Early Bronze Age (EB)

An overview

The southern part of the Levant was in close contact with Egypt during the periods preceding the EB II, but during the EB II-III these relations ceased almost entirely.⁹ From the EB II and onwards it

ends around 1500 BC, depending on the chronology used. However, the use of a single relative Levantine chronology is not without difficulties when working with finds from so many sites and from a large geographical region.

⁹ Ben-Tor 1982, 3–9.

Fig. 1. Time Table. ^{*1} Friedrich *et al.* 2006 (Eruption); Manning 1995, 1999–2006 (EM-MM); Manning 2009 (LM). ^{*2} Thalmann 2006, 2008 (Arqa) (EB); Yasur-Landau & Cline 2008 (MB); Fischer 2009 (Ajjul) (MB III (IIC)-LB I). ^{*3} Intermediate Bronze Age. ^{*4} Hornung *et al.* 2006. ^{*5} Zimri-Lim.

seems the northern focus of the Egyptians, shifted entirely to Byblos. The relationship between Egypt and Byblos was commenced and close already during Naqada I in the 4th millennium BC¹⁰ but the exact nature of the relationship eludes us.¹¹

The largest and most powerful coastal site in the southern Levant seems to have been Ashkelon.¹² Further north, many city-states also flourished during the mid 3rd millennium, but the urbanisation process was effectively stopped by the expanding Akkadian Empire (based in South Mesopotamia) during the rule of Sargon and his grandson Naram-Sin. According to two Neo-Assyrian texts, Sargon of Akkad proclaimed himself ruler of the areas from the Gulf to the Mediterranean, which also included Crete and Cyprus.¹³ The archaeological material shows destruction layers in many Western Asian cities in this period (*e.g.* Ugarit, Ebla, Mari and Hama), which supports the claims of Sargon.¹⁴

The Akkadian empire fell to the Gutu, and made way for the Third Dynasty of Ur. In Egypt the First Intermediate Period was ended as the last kings of Dynasty 11 managed to reunite the Kingdom forming a long period of stability. During the final years of the 3rd millennium, many centres in the Levant collapsed¹⁵ and cities like Ugarit, Ashkelon and Byblos present a hiatus in the occupation of the site. Some centres, however, managed to escape destructions, one of which was Mari on the Euphrates.¹⁶

First contact

The most recent research in human genetics shows evidence of Anatolian and Syro-Palestinian genes in the inhabitants of Bronze Age Crete.¹⁷ A similar pattern is seen in the first use of bread wheat, which spread from Anatolia, the Levant, Cyprus and over to Crete during the Neolithic period.¹⁸ Comparable conclusions have been deduced from the material culture of Neolithic Crete.¹⁹ Some scholars do indeed suggest that the Minoan language was of an Indo-European²⁰ or Semitic²¹ origin, but at present there seems to be no consensus on the origin of either the language or the Minoan scripts.

It can be observed that 13% of the analysed cop-

per, lead and silver artefacts from Egypt and the Levant from EB contexts are consistent with the

¹⁰ Chapman 2009, 6.

¹¹ Chapman 2009, 2.

¹² Ashkelon flourished during the EB I-III and MB II/MB IIA periods with an occupational hiatus during the EB IV/MB I period (Stager 2001, 634).

¹³ The two texts dated to the 1st millennium seem to be copies of the same original text describing the time of Sargon of Akkad (Horowitz 1998, 67: a Neo-Assyrian tablet VAT 8006 and a Late Babylonian tablet BM 64382+82955). The texts mention Sargon's empire as if it encompassed almost the entire known world, which also included Crete: "Anaku and Kaptara, the lands across the Upper Sea." (Horowitz 1998, 73, 72: line 41 "*a-na-ku^k kap-ta-ra^k mā-tā-tu(kur.kur) eberti(bal-ri) [tam] ti eliti(an.ta)*"). The very late date of these two texts makes it hard to conclude anything about the knowledge of Crete during the reign of Sargon.

¹⁴ Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, 277–8. According to Chapman 2009, 4 the Akkadians conducted two raids on the Levant—by Sargon and Naram-Sin. While Sargon destroyed the sites in the north (*e.g.* Ugarit) Naram-Sin sieged both the cities of the north (*e.g.* Ugarit) and south as far as Byblos.

¹⁵ For references to theories on collapse, see Parr 2009; Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, 283–4; Cohen 2002, 14–6.

¹⁶ Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, 286.

¹⁷ King *et al.* 2008, 212.

¹⁸ King *et al.* 2008, 208, 210. However, these results do not apply to mainland Greece, where early gene flows seem to have Balkan roots (King *et al.* 2008, 208). Of further interest might also be the fact that the Egyptian gene cluster falls far from the Greek (King *et al.* 2008, 208–9). These facts might indicate that people crossed the Eastern Mediterranean from Cyprus and the Levant in search of land (?) and reached Crete from an eastern direction rather than a southern or northern one. Furthermore, another recent study of the gene spread of the Phoenicians in modern-day people shows a distinct Phoenician genetic footprint at old colonial sites such as Cyprus and Tunisia, and emphasises the Cretan connection found by King *et al.* 2008 (Zalloua *et al.* 2008).

¹⁹ Colburn 2008, 204.

²⁰ Owens 2004, 303: Indo-European; Best & Woudhuizen 1988 and Woudhuizen 1989: The language of the Phaistos Disc is Luwian.

²¹ Gordon 1966, 38–9: Semitic; some of the early Byblian syllabic signs are similar to Minoan Linear signs. These signs are simple and might occur independently. Dunand compared the two scripts in 1945 and did not find the Cretan signs significantly linked to the Byblian signs. Best 1989, 36, 39, 42, 44 however argued for a Byblian ancestor of some Linear A signs. Best & Woudhuizen 1988: Linear A was Old Phoenician; Many but not all Byblian signs were adapted from the Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts (Hoch 1990, 116), but the written language or dialect was Semitic (Hoch 1990, 115); *Cf.* also Best 1989, chapter 1 on the Minoan language.



Fig. 2. Byblos “tea-pot” spout, Dunand 1937, pl. LXXXV, no. 6625.

Laurion ores.²² Only 7% of the Cretan EM copper originated from Wadi Araba and Iran;²³ hence regional, primarily Cycladic, ores were favoured.²⁴ Tin bronze is found in Crete from EM I-II, but the tin source(s) still eludes us.²⁵

Branigan found that the earliest Levantine imports in Crete were from Byblos and were dated to the final stages of the 3rd Millennium.²⁶ In a recent study on the Pre-Palatial Period in Crete, Colburn argues that the earliest objects of Near Eastern and Egyptian²⁷ origin were imported during the EM II period and that these imports were of great importance to the social status of the Cretan elite during the Pre-Palatial Period.²⁸

We might also find a few traces of these EM contacts within the archaeological material from the Levant. A stone lid and its accompanying bowl from Byblos²⁹ have been ascribed a possible EM/EM II origin and have been compared to the famous Mochlos and Ayia Triadha lids, both decorated with a lying dog and carved in one piece.³⁰ The Byblos specimen, however, is decorated with a lying bull, which has been attached to the lid. More bowls or fragments of the same type of bowl were found in Byblos and were found to be Aegean or local in style.³¹ Whether the Byblos lid and bowls are proper Minoan imports is questionable, but the lids might demonstrate artistic inspiration.

Another piece worth mentioning is a spout from a possible EM “teapot”, likewise from Byblos. It has an attached eye and is decorated with red lines (Fig. 2). The piece has not been recognised as Minoan in any previous literature known to the present author, but it might be an Early Minoan import.³²

²² Stos-Gale & Gale 2003, pl. XVIIIb

²³ Stos-Gale & Gale 2003, pl. XVII; Stos-Gale 2001, 202 fig. 10.2: 14 %.

²⁴ A similar study of obsidian would be most desirable and would shed more light on the complexity of trade. For instance Neolithic Byblos presented obsidian from several sources (Renfrew & Dixon 1976, 140, 145–8). Unfortunately the research in obsidian has placed emphasis on the Neolithic period during which Melos or Giali obsidian has not yet been registered in the Levant. (Tristan Carter pers. comm. Oct. 29 2008).

²⁵ Stos-Gale 2001, 204; Stos-Gale & Gale 2003, 91: In the Aegean from EB II; Map of tin sources in: Gillis *et al.* 2003, pl. XXIa.

²⁶ Branigan 1966, 117 fig.1.3; 125 fig.3A; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 243–4, no.165 pl.78; 244 no.166 pl.78; Stos-Gale pers. comm. March 14 2002: Dagger: HM 1902: Isotopic content not typical for EM-MM, closest parallel in Taurus and at Lake Van, 6% tin; Branigan 1967, 117 fig. 1.3: HM 1930 from Byblos; Stos-Gale, pers. comm. March 14 2002: Dagger: HM 1930: Isotopic content matches Laurion (6% lead, 4% tin).

²⁷ Phillips 2008, 226: Egyptian imports from EM IIA and egyptianized objects from MM IA in Crete; *Cf.* also Warren & Hankey 1989, 125 Egyptian Early Dynastic stone vases in EM IIA-MM IA contexts at Knossos.

²⁸ Colburn 2008, 208 and n. 54. *Cf.* also Colburn 2008 for a brief overview of theories on the development of EM societies. *Cf.* Phillips 2008 for Egyptian imports and egyptianisation in Crete.

²⁹ Money-Coutts 1936, 129–39: EM II; Branigan 1970, 186–7: Earliest Minoan import along with catalogue numbers Bb 21–2; Strøm 1966, 159: EM; Hood 2000, 22: Oriental/local; Bevan 2007, 214–5, 220, L5–6, EB II-III.

³⁰ Warren 1969, P456a-b/HM 1013; P457/HM 1282.

³¹ Beirut National Museum: Bowl, intact, fragmented lid, deco: on rim: concentric lines and herringbone pattern, interior: offset for lid. Context: Foundation deposit below a temple. Money-Coutts 1936, 130 + 134 pl. XXVIII; Montet 1921–22, 259–60 pl. XIX no. 9 fig. 16: Aegean; 1928, 80–1 fig. 30; 1929, pl. XLVI no. 124 and 124a; Hood 2000, 22; Byblos exc. no. 2351: Rim fragment of bowl, deco: herringbone pattern, Context: Temple, Salle D, Levée VII. Dunand 1939a, 160, 2351: Mycenaean. (The use of the term Mycenaean is restricted to the LH period. However, during the early 20th century the term was sometimes used to designate Bronze Age Aegean or even Minoan material); Dunand 1937: pl. CXLVI, 2351; Byblos exc. no. 3389: Rim fragment of bowl, deco: herringbone pattern, Context: Levée XIV (25.40–25.20), Salle E. Dunand 1939a, 233, no. 3389; Dunand 1937, pl. CXLVI, 3389.

³² Byblos exc. no. 6625. Dunand 1939a, 432: Cycladic?; Dunand 1937, pl. LXXXV, 6625; Momigliano pers. comm. (Wilson) April 17–18 2008: EM II/Anatolian/Anatolianizing; Knappett pers. comm. (Wilson and MacDonald) June 3 2008: Perhaps EM II; Bachhuber pers. comm. June 19 2008: Does not look Anatolian; All comments made from Dunand’s publication picture and his description of the piece.

From the first occurrences of tin-bronze in the Aegean and the stratified Levantine imports in Crete as well as the possible EM import found in Byblos and the possibility of artistic inspiration, it seems contacts might have been initiated well before the turn of the 2nd millennium and perhaps during the EM II.

2. The Middle Bronze Age (MB)

An overview

At the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, the 11th Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom reunited Egypt. Around the same time, the Amorites gradually became the ruling class of many cities throughout the Levant, bringing prosperity and stability to the region. The kingdom of Yamhad, centred in Aleppo, was ruled by Amorite kings and became the central power of Northern Syria for approximately two centuries until around 1600 BC (middle) or 1550 BC (low) (*cf.* below). Other contemporary centres and kingdoms of influence and power in Western Asia were Mari, Qatna, Hazor, Apum³³, Kabri, Ashkelon and Byblos. The kingdom of Yamhad might have stretched its territory to the Mediterranean and might have included Alalakh³⁴ and Ugarit.³⁵ This must have given the king of Yamhad control of the trade route from the borders of Mari to the Mediterranean. Mari was a transit centre on the trade route which linked Mesopotamia and Iran with Syria. Qatna was likewise strategically placed on the trade routes North - South from Aleppo via Hama to Damascus and East - West from Mari crossing the Syrian Desert to the Mediterranean most probably via the Akkar Plain.

The largest and most powerful inland Kingdom of the Southern Levant was Hazor, which was also strategically situated at the crossroads of trade.³⁶ Like Aleppo, Byblos and Qatna, Hazor was part of the world mentioned in the Mari texts. The rulers of Hazor³⁷ and Ashkelon as well as the Asiatics at Byblos and Ashkelon were cursed in the Egyptian Execration Texts dating from the Middle Kingdom,³⁸ which might be interpreted in the direction that they posed a threat to Egypt.³⁹ The

city of Mari was sacked by Hammurabi of Babylon during the reign of Zimri-Lim, around 1760/1757 BC (middle) or c. 1695 BC (low). Mari never regained its status and the transit centre of trade on the Euphrates was moved upstream to Terqa.⁴⁰

The texts from the Middle Kingdom in Egypt referred to the rulers of Byblos as princes, which might suggest subordination,⁴¹ but this remains unconfirmed. The ties between the Egyptian Middle Kingdom and the port town of Byblos were certainly strong, but these relations did not exclude trade between Byblos and Mari.⁴²

In the south, on the coast, lay Ashkelon, which was superior (at least in size) to Ashdod and Ajjul and had centres such as Gezer, Beth Shemesh, and Lachisch (from EB) in its hinterland.⁴³ Kabri and Ashkelon seem to have been the central South Levantine sites during the MB II period.⁴⁴

According to the present excavators of Kabri, the city of Kabri thrived from the MB I period until its destruction around 1600 BC.⁴⁵ During its heyday, a port at the small fortified site of Nahariya could have been in use by the rulers and traders of Kabri to conduct seaborne trade.⁴⁶ Hazor lay 40 km east of Kabri, almost in a straight line, with no great mountains to cross.

Towards the end of the 17th century BC (middle) or during the 16th century BC (low) the Hittite kings made campaigns into the Yamhad Kingdom,

³³ Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, 318. Tell Sakka was an important city in the Apum Kingdom. This kingdom was centred in the Damascus region.

³⁴ Klengel 1992, 60.

³⁵ Klengel 1992, 78.

³⁶ Josephson Hesse 2008, 170–4, figs. 5.3, 5.4.

³⁷ Yadin *et al.* 1958, 3.

³⁸ Ritner 1997 50–2.

³⁹ Stager & Schloen 2008, 7; Ritner 1997, 50.

⁴⁰ Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, 317.

⁴¹ Phillips 2008, 226; Montet 1928, 277.

⁴² Klengel 1992, 79.

⁴³ Stager 2001, figs. 31.2 and 31.3. According to Stager & Schloen 2008, 7, the name of “Ashkelon” is rooted in the Semitic “to weigh”, which they consider a consequence of Ashkelon’s status as a seaport that might have thrived on overseas trade before the 18th century BC.

⁴⁴ Yasur-Landau *et al.* 2008, 59

⁴⁵ Yasur-Landau *et al.* 2008, 59.

⁴⁶ Yasur-Landau *et al.* 2008, 61.

which ended the heyday of Yamhad as they sacked both Alalakh⁴⁷ and Aleppo.⁴⁸ In fact, the Hittite army campaigned all the way to Babylon. It also seems that Ugarit and centres further south experienced some kind of decline for a short period around this time; however, centres like Ugarit,⁴⁹ Byblos and Ashkelon soon regained their strength and resumed the urbanisation process, while a site like Kabri shows only few signs of activity during the Late Bronze Age.⁵⁰

In Egypt, Dynasty 13 gradually lost control of the country, which paved the way for the Hyksos, who settled a dynasty in the eastern Nile Delta. This second interlude in the history of the unified Egyptian kingdom is known as the Second Intermediate Period.

*Kaptara*⁵¹ in the Mari texts

Yahdun-Lim (Table 1)

The first contemporary Middle Bronze Age texts to mention Cretans and Cretan goods have been found in the vast archives of Mari. The archives contained more than 25,000 tablets, the majority of which are dated to the reign of Zimri-Lim, the last king of the city.⁵² However, the earliest texts in which Cretan objects are mentioned date, most possibly, to Yahdun-Lim, the father of Zimri-Lim, who reigned during the late 19th (middle) or the mid 18th century BC (low).

In Table 1 at least 3 pairs of Cretan shoes and six gold bowls of Cretan type were inventoried as possessions of Yahdun-Lim.

These nine objects might have reached Mari through gift exchange or middlemen, or they could have been acquired when Yahdun-Lim went on campaign to the Mediterranean coast. This campaign was described by Yahdun-Lim in the *Foundation Inscription* from the Shamash temple at Mari where he, like Sargon before him, claimed to have subjugated the lands as far as the coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

“Since the days of old, when god built Mari, no king residing in Mari had reached the sea. To the Cedar Mountain, and the Boxwood (Mountain), the great Mountains, they had

not reached; they had not felled their trees. (But) Yahdunlim, the son of Yaggidlim, the mighty king, a wild ox among kings, marched to the shore of the sea in irresistible strength. To the “Vast Sea” he offered his great royal sacrifices, and his troops cleansed themselves with the water in the “Vast Sea”....He subjugated the land on the shore of the “Vast Sea”.⁵³

The “Boxwood Mountain” and the “Cedar Mountain”⁵⁴ have been interpreted as being part of the Amanus range, which, according to Meiggs,⁵⁵ the

⁴⁷ Alalakh was sacked by Hattushili I (middle: 1650–1620 or low: 1586–56)

⁴⁸ Aleppo and Babylon was sacked by Murshili I (middle: 1620–1590 or low: 1556–26)

⁴⁹ Yon 2006, 24.

⁵⁰ Kempinski 2002, 5; Lehmann 2002, 74.

⁵¹ Literary and mural sources known from Egypt have been used to interpret *Keftiu* as Crete. This interpretation was presented as early as in 1858 by Brugsch (Hall 1901–02, 163). This theory is now widely accepted (e.g. Vercoutter 1956; Wachsmann 1987; Haider 2001 480 n. 6). Opponents of this interpretation included Strange 1980, who interpreted Cyprus as *Keftiu*. And Hall who in 1901–02 was inclined to think that the designation of *Keftiu* covered the coastal areas from Crete to Cyprus. However, occasionally the term would have been used only for Crete (175). The correlation of *Keftiu* with the Akkadian *Kaptara* (Dossin 1939, 111) and the Biblical *Kafzor* is likewise accepted (e.g. Guichard 1993a, 1999, 2005). The primary Egyptian sources used in the interpretation, are the paintings from a few New Kingdom tombs at Thebes and a statue base from Amenhotep III’s temple at Kom el-Hetan, which indicates the names of several Cretan Bronze Age sites of importance (Strange 1980, Text no. 3, 21–7; Haider 1988, 1–18). A few Egyptian texts which mention *Keftiu* might be of earlier origin (The Admonitions of Ipu-wer/Leiden Papyrus 344 (Gardiner 1909) and Papyrus Ebers (Kislev *et al.* 1993, 152). The surviving copy of the Leiden Papyrus 344 dates to the New Kingdom, but the original text has been interpreted as a poem from the First Intermediate Period, Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period or alternatively with no historical references (for references on dating cf. Wachsmann 1987, 123 n. 77; Strange 1980, 72 n. 393; references on its non-historical origin cf. Shupak 1997, 93).

⁵² The texts are published in the series *Archives Royales de Mari (ARM)*, the latest volume of which is no. 31 by M. Guichard (2005).

⁵³ Malamat 1992, 213. Cf. also this reference for a discussion about the religious importance of the Mediterranean Sea.

⁵⁴ Warnock & Pendleton 1991, 109; Meiggs 1982, 73; Klengel 1992, 18.

Mesopotamians preferred over the Lebanon Mountains. However, the cedars from Lebanon were famous in Egypt, and Mari was in contact with Byblos at least from the time of Zimri-Lim.⁵⁶ Furthermore, when the mythical palace of the Ugaritic god Baal was built on Mount Sapan, cedars from Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon were used rather than the nearby Amanus woods.⁵⁷ Likewise, the Old Babylonian version of “Gilgamesh and The Cedar Forest” refers to the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountains as the gathering place of the gods.⁵⁸ It thus seems possible that Yahdun-Lim was referring to Lebanon⁵⁹ as the “Cedar Mountain”, and perhaps he reached Byblos (and Ugarit?) as well as the Amanus (Boxwood) Mountains before returning to Mari.

Zimri-Lim (Table 2)

31 texts are numbered in Table 2, representing the known objects of Cretan style or manufacture in the possession of Zimri-Lim.⁶⁰ Shoes/sandals/boots (?), leather belts, textile (?), weapons, gold and silver vases, and a replica of a Minoan boat are the objects described in the texts.

From year 3 of Zimri-Lim’s reign, objects of Cretan type had made their way to Mari. A leather cist or box (Text 1) was constructed for a Cretan weapon, which must have been of some value; however, no specifications for the weapon are given in the text. A few Cretan leather belts and footwear were also mentioned, but only once do we find a possible mention of Cretan textile in the dossiers (Text 3).

Texts 6–9 mention a Cretan mace⁶¹ decorated with lapis lazuli, a semi-precious stone, which was mined in Afghanistan. If the mace was of pure Cretan manufacture, the lapis might have been transported through Mari as unworked stone and then on to Crete, only to return to Mari as a finished product, but this cannot be verified.⁶² Nor is it possible to deduce whether the lapis lazuli was some kind of artificial blue composition⁶³ or if the object was reworked and the lapis lazuli thus added in Mari.⁶⁴

The Cretan vessels of gold⁶⁵ and silver⁶⁶ in Texts 12–29 have been treated by Guichard.⁶⁷ The exact

⁵⁵ Meiggs 1982, 72–3.

⁵⁶ Dossin 1939, 111.

⁵⁷ Dietrich *et al.* 1976, KTU 1.4; Smith & Pitard 2009, 540, lines 50–55: “Quickly, the house [build,] Quickly erect the pal[ace]. Quickly shall you buil[d] the house, Quickly shall you erect the pal[ace], Amid the summit of Sapan.”, 593, lines 18–21: “He [we]nt to Lebanon for its trees, To [Si]ryan for its choicest cedars. [Le]banon for its trees, Siryan for its choicest cedars.”; Gordon 1966, 71, 51:VI:17–21; Caquot *et al.* 1974, 212, II AB VI.; According to Robinson 1974, 119 Mount Zaphon (Sapan) was Mount Casios/Jebel Al-Aqra north of Ugarit; *cf.* Smith & Pitard 2009, 101 n. 26 more references to discussions of Mount Sapan.

⁵⁸ Smith 1994, 112.

⁵⁹ Smith & Pitard 2009, 611.

⁶⁰ The absolute number of objects is unknown since some of the objects have been listed in the archive more than once due to the administrative system (J. Eidem pers. comm. April 13, 2004. Guichard 2005; See also notes on Table 2.). The fact that thousands of texts have not yet been published (J. Eidem, personal communication April 13, 2004.) also makes the actual number impossible to determine at this stage.

⁶¹ Guichard 1999, 170. The same weapon is mentioned in three texts; *cf.* notes on the texts in Table 2.

⁶² Caubet 1998, 106; Colburn 2008, 208, Table 1, fig. 5, Table 3, Table 4: The first secure occurrence of lapis lazuli in Crete dates to the MM I or perhaps earlier during the EM.

⁶³ Caubet 1998, 106; Feldman 2006, 117; “lapis from the kiln”– blue glass, is known from the Late Bronze Age.

⁶⁴ Caubet 1998, 106. According to Guichard 1999, 170 “Cette arme a sans doute fini au four, puisqu’on la voit mentionnée au sein d’un lot d’armes remis à des forgerons.”

⁶⁵ Cretan gold vessels appear for the first time during year 10 (Guichard 2005, 208) (Text 16). According to Guichard (2005, 208) the vase of Text 21 (line 7”) and Text 22 (line 23), year 11, was the same vase offered as a present to Hammurabi of Babylon. Five times Cretan vases occur decorated with some kind of motif. These vessels were of considerable weight of up to 80–90 shekels (Guichard 2005, 208) (roughly 666–750g (1 mina = 500 g)) (Text 18, line 2). In Text 28 a stand for a Cretan vase is mentioned, which indicates its inability to stand. Consequently the vase must have had a pointed foot (Guichard 2005, 208).

⁶⁶ For the silver vases Guichard 2005, 208 stated that three bur-zi were more likely three *sappum* (different bowl types have been applied for the same three bowls, *cf.* text below for description of vase types) and were present in the treasury listed in a text of year 5 (Text 13) and later in year 9 (Text 14). In year 10, after the long journey to Ugarit, there were 4 Cretan silver vases in the king’s possession (Text 16). Guichard is however of the opinion that the fourth vase might not have been acquired on the long journey but was already in Zimri-Lim’s stock and was a *sappum*-shaped vase (Text 17). The four Cretan silver vases were accounted for again in year 13 where they were specified as having a handle (Texts 24–26 (The reason for Guichard not mentioning Texts 24 and 26 is that he regards 25 and 26 to be copies of 24. The line mentioning the

number of vases is not quite clear since a number of the objects are mentioned more than once.⁶⁸ Some of the vases were, however, specified as having a handle and some were decorated.

If we take a look at the vase types presented in the texts of Tables 1 and 2 it becomes quite clear that we are dealing with vessels mainly belonging to the act of pouring and drinking. As we shall see further below, these vase types correspond well, with the Cretan imports found in the Levant.

The Mariote vase types specified as Cretan in the published Mari texts:⁶⁹

Bur-zi/pursitum = bowl⁷⁰

GAL (Sumerian) = *kásum* (Akkadian) = precious drinking vessel⁷¹

Gullum = hemispherical (drinking) bowl/cup⁷²

Kursalum = basket⁷³

Sappum = bowl for pouring water or wine in a religious context⁷⁴

According to Guichard, the Sumerian term “gal”, which was used for many of the vases at Mari, is still mysterious; however, “L'idéogramme *gal* apparaît dans les textes avec la signification de grandeur, en taille ou en nombre—dix mille. Il compose avec le terme d'«homme» le mot *lugal* qui veut dire roi”.⁷⁵

The possibility exists that the precious Cretan vases might be imitations made in the Levant.⁷⁶ According to Guichard, it seems nevertheless improbable that Cretan imitations were made in Mari.⁷⁷ For some reason, however, the vases were described as Cretan and were used in the diplomatic gift exchange between Mari, Babylon, Carchemish and Aleppo.⁷⁸

The court of Mari and possibly the king himself set out on a journey to Ugarit in the years 8–9 of Zimri-Lim.⁷⁹ On this journey they brought, among other things, tin from Elam⁸⁰ to give to the rulers of the Levant, and a small portion of this was also handed over to two Cretans in Ugarit (Text 30). Some of the Cretan objects in the dated tablets do not appear in the archives until after Zimri-Lim returned from Ugarit, so a number of these objects might have been presented as gifts to the king when he visited Ugarit.

The mention of a Cretan interpreter, chief of

the Minoan traders in Ugarit, might be an indication of a Minoan trading post at Ugarit.⁸¹ Furthermore, since he received tin from Mari, he must have been very important.⁸² “The man of Crete” in the same text was assumed to be the king or prince of Crete.⁸³ If this interpretation is true it might indicate a royal summit meeting staged in Ugarit between the courts of Crete and Mari.⁸⁴ It would also seem reasonable to assume that they arranged the meeting beforehand. But why would it be relevant for these distant leaders to meet in person? Perhaps to consolidate good relations – but of what interest were good relations with Crete to Mari, on the Euphrates? To the Cretans, the steady supply in tin might seem a good explanation. However, Mari

Cretan vases is the best preserved in Text 25)). Later during his reign, there seems to be no mention of the objects. Text 12 is not discussed by Guichard as being one of the former vases, but he mentions the objects listed in the text as within the treasury (2005, 78: “le bâtiment de l'intendant...”). A wooden basket covered with silver was also termed Cretan in the dossiers of Mari (Text 15).

⁶⁷ Guichard 1999; 2005.

⁶⁸ Guichard 2005, 208.

⁶⁹ Guichard 1999, 171: The general vase type is most commonly followed by a more precise description of the vase, like for instance “*gal* Cretan” or “*gal* Mariote” (Cf. Guichard 2005, 230).

⁷⁰ Guichard 2005, 261–3.

⁷¹ Guichard 2005, 1–11.

⁷² Guichard 2005, 189.

⁷³ Guichard 2005, 219–20.

⁷⁴ Guichard 2005, 294.

⁷⁵ Guichard 1993b, 199 n. 2; 1993b, 197 and 2005: About 200 texts dealt with “vases-*gal*”, which is about one thousandth of all the Mari texts, and that “vases-*gal*” were found in gold, silver, bronze and stone.

⁷⁶ Guichard 2005, 165–6.

⁷⁷ Guichard 2005, 78, 165.

⁷⁸ Cf. notes on Table 2.

⁷⁹ Villard 1986, 387; Sasson 1984, 250, 251: theorised over the reasons why Zimri-Lim might have undertaken such a long journey, two of them being to accomplish what his father and Sargon of Akkad before him did and to maintain good relations.

⁸⁰ Heltzer 1989, 13; Sasson 1984.

⁸¹ Guichard 2005, 163.

⁸² Guichard 2005, 163.

⁸³ Guichard 2005, 162–3 n. 8.

⁸⁴ Durand 1990, 40 n. 3; This theory was not corroborated by Malamat 1998, 35–6, who doubted Cretan royalty since “LU” was not indicated in connection with the Cretan man.

was not in control of the trade route beyond its own realm. The next link in the chain of trade was probably in the hands of the Yamhad Kingdom, Qatna and others (*cf.* MB overview, p. 13–4).

It thus seems more likely that the two courts had more business in Ugarit, as described below, but happened to have had the opportunity to meet;⁸⁵ though it still seems rather remarkable that they found their way to Ugarit at the same time. As far as we know, Zimri-Lim only made the journey once, like his father before him.

The Cretan officials in Text 30 are mentioned along with the kings of at least Hazor and Qatna. It has also been proposed that the king of Yamhad joined Zimri-Lim on the last part of the journey to Ugarit.⁸⁶ This might prove that many kings were present at Ugarit on this specific occasion. It thus seems more reasonable to think that Zimri-Lim's business in Ugarit was to arrange royal summits with Levantine kings, perhaps to secure ties with them. This must indeed also have been an ideal opportunity for the Cretans to do the same and to secure the supply of tin with the King of Yamhad and Qatna and the supply of other stable goods, perhaps by promoting their own craftsmanship. The amount of diplomatic presents exchanged during these summits must have been very large. However, the amount of tin received by the Cretans was very small in comparison to what, for instance, the king of Hazor received from Mari, which was more than 25kg. Unfortunately, the tablet is incomplete as to the amount received by the Cretan prince, but it was probably between 650g and 5kg.⁸⁷

Whether the encounter was carefully planned or not, the Minoans nevertheless appear to have made an impression on the king of Mari, since he returned home and built a replica of a Minoan ship, presumably for a religious event (Text 31).⁸⁸

From the textual evidence presented in Tables 1 and 2, there is no evidence of Cretans who travelled as far inland as Mari, but their handicraft and reputation did.

We will now turn to the archaeological material from the Levant attesting to the presence of Minoans and Minoan goods in Western Asia.

Minoica from the Levant and beyond (Catalogue)

Cornerstones of the research on Minoica found in the Levant and dated to the MM-LM I period are Merrillees' 2003 article on Kamares ware⁸⁹ and various articles by Hankey, which focused primarily on LM/LH material.⁹⁰ Hankey and Leonard collaborated on a corpus which collected material from the entire Bronze Age.⁹¹ Part of this work was published in 1992 when a map on Aegean objects in Egypt and the Levant appeared. At the same time, a gazetteer was announced as an accompaniment to the map, but to my knowledge no notes exist on this as yet unpublished gazetteer.⁹²

The present contribution does not aim to fill the gap left by the unpublished gazetteer, but the time seems ripe to present the published Minoica in a corpus and to investigate the archaeological evidence of Cretan MM-LM I connections shown from the Mari archives.

*Collecting Material*⁹³

When working with the material presented, it is important to keep some factors in mind which

⁸⁵ As it might be observed in the Time Table (Fig. 1) if the "low" Babylonian chronology is employed this event took place during the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt which means some Levantine powers to a larger extent might have sought alliances and trading partners within the Yamhad Kingdom.

⁸⁶ Sasson 1984, 248–9.

⁸⁷ *Cf.* notes on Text 30; Guichard 1999, 168: "moins de cinq kilo".

⁸⁸ Guichard 1999, 168.

⁸⁹ Merrillees 2003.

⁹⁰ Hankey 1967; 1970–71; 1973; 1974; 1981; 1993; 1995.

⁹¹ Hankey & Leonard 1992; 1998.

⁹² TAVO B 96 *Gazetteer of Sites with Aegean Pottery in the Middle East* by Vronwy Hankey and Al Leonard; According to Al Leonard (Pers. comm. 2008), Vronwy Hankey was responsible for the Minoan material. Jorrit Kelder, who has worked with Hankey's notes in the British School at Athens, did not recover important records on the TAVO material. Pers. comm. September 2008.

⁹³ Hankey and Leonard's map from 1992 has been helpful to this study but has also opened up new questions. Thus some of the objects recorded in the map have not been verifiable.

might be significant to the traits emerging from the analyses. These factors include the life time of a given site, its degree of excavation in strata from the relevant period, and the proper identification of objects. Thus, several uncertainties make the number of catalogued Minoica far from definite. However, the intention is to show a reasonable picture of the period in collaboration with the textual evidence presented above.

The criteria used to select material for the corpus of Minoica are as follows.

1. The objects have been considered of Minoan origin by one or more scholars. In the cases where this origin has not been rejected due to classification errors,⁹⁴ the objects have been included.⁹⁵

This is true for Pella, Hama, Ashdod and Amman pieces (Hankey 1974: only LH II sherds published, though she felt one of the LH II pieces had strong Minoan affinities). As mentioned in 1973 Hankey found LM IB/LH IIA pottery at Amman – it thus seems Hankey changed her mind towards one or more of the Amman pieces from 1973 to 1974 and again in 1992. The description of the Amman LH II piece is shown in brackets () in the present catalogue description of Am 01 since this might be one of the uncertain number of Minoan pottery vases found in Amman. However, I have chosen not to depend on the LH II three-handled vase from Amman in the analyses below, as one of the 1–10 LM I-II pieces mentioned in the 1992 TAVO map by Hankey). With regards to Ashdod, sherds mentioned as LH IIA-B (by Dothan & Freedman 1967) were regarded the earliest Mycenaean imports at the site. These sherds are mentioned in brackets () in the present catalogue description for Ad 01. If this (these) are the pieces meant by Hankey & Leonard in 1992, it is puzzling that she did not mention Ashdod along with the other sites presenting LM I/LH IIA pottery in her 1973 article. In the analyses below, I have chosen not to rely on the LH IIA-B piece(-es) being Hankey’s LM I-II pieces in the 1992 TAVO map. Another troubling thing when working with the map is the size of the boxes indicating the number of Aegean finds. In some cases it is impossible to discern whether it deals with 1 or 2–10 objects from a given site. This is true for Ugarit, Beirut, Ta’annek, Pella, Amman and Gezer. This naturally adds to the uncertainty with regards to the number of Minoica found in the Levant.

⁹⁴ The famous LM IB “Marseille ewer” was earlier inventoried as perhaps found in Tyre. A total rejection of Tyre was made by Merrilliees & Evans 1980, 22, 23, who traced the ewer to Egypt. Likewise, a sherd from Hazor has been dismissed from petrographic analyses, cf. Hz 01. A cylinder seal found in

2. The contexts and/or stylistic dates should be placed within the period 2000–1500 BC. Objects which have been found in much later contexts than implied by the stylistic dates have been included since they might be “heirlooms”, late exports or found in secondary contexts.
3. Items with the attribution “Minoan” but without dates have been given the benefit of the doubt and are thus included.

Only 81 objects have been found to fit the given criteria. Of these, 22 were found in Byblos and 14 in Ugarit. Pottery accounts for the majority of the Minoica since 49 pieces have been catalogued. Apart from pottery, metal objects, stone vases, seals, frescoes⁹⁶ and one graffito are included.

Ugarit was presented as Minoan by Amiet 1992, 190, no. 486 fig. 87. This was rejected by Müller: pers. comm. January 21 2009. Cylinder seals were as far as we know not manufactured in Crete. Four terracotta bulls heads from Byblos were interpreted as Minoan by Money-Coutts 1936, 135–6 (published in Dunand: 1927, 97–8 pl. XXIV; 1939a, 254–5; 1937, pl. LXXXII), however their stylistic traits cannot be placed within the known Minoan material (Guggisberg, pers. comm. February 2 2009; Caubet, pers. comm. February 25 2009). Dunand and Money-Coutts (Dunand: 1927, 97–8 pl. XXIV; 1939a, 254–5; 1937, pl. CXLVIII; Money-Coutts: 1936, 135–6) also implied that a terracotta torso of a human figure was Minoan. The style and (description of the) clay is local according to Caubet (pers. comm. February 25 2009). Last but not least, an inscription found at Lachisch (Finkelberg *et al.* 1996, 195–207, fig. 1, 2; Ussishkin 2004, vol I, 67, 302, 311; Finkelberg *et al.* 2004, vol III, 1629–38, fig. 24.16; Finkelberg 1998) has been published as an intermediary script (Linear A-B) in the Eastern Mediterranean (Finkelberg 1998, 269). The limestone bowl with the inscription is of local origin and its context (LB IIIB) complicates its origin further. In addition Del Frio & Zurbach (pers. comm. February 21 2009) finds that the combination of signs and context makes Linear A unlikely.

⁹⁵ Since the presented material has not been studied first-hand by the author, a number of specialists have been consulted to review some of the attributions and add alternative opinions. It must, however, be stressed that all the scholars’ comments are based on publication pictures of varying quality and the comments have thus been made with certain reservations.

⁹⁶ The frescoes from Kabri (Kb 02a-e) and Alalakh (Al 07a-d) are regarded as one import each. They have been given separate entries in the catalogue (a-e) due to the motifs and context; Cf. Niemeier & Niemeier 2002, 279–82 for discussion and references to the origin of the frescoes from Alalakh, Kabri and Dab’a.

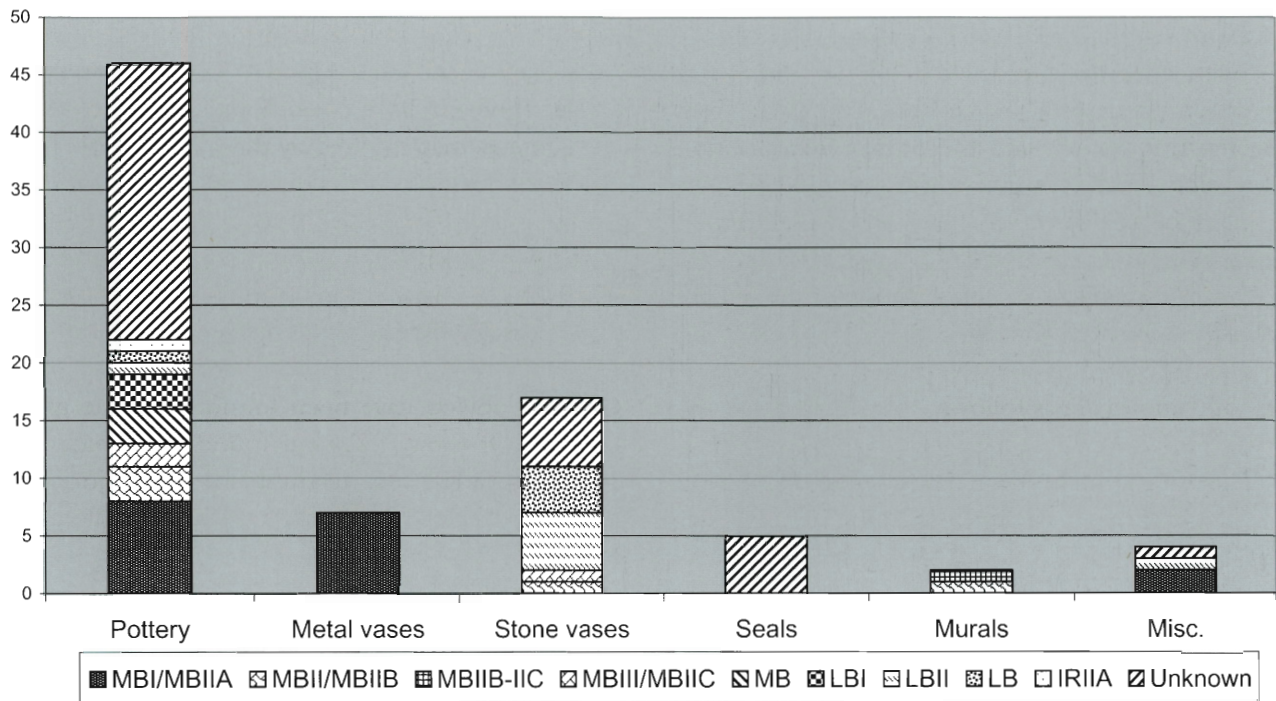


Fig. 3. Context dates by object – Levant. *MB I/MB IIA*: Ak 01; Bb 11–17, 21; Br 01; Nm 01; Sd 01; Ug 01–02, 04, 07–08. *MB II/MB IIB*: Kb 01–02e; Ug 03, 05, 11. *MB IIB-IIC*: Al 07a–d. *MB III/MB IIC*: Al 04; Hr 01; Hz 01. *MB*: Bb 02, 07–08. *LB I*: Al 01–02; Ta 01. *LB II*: Al 05–06; Am 02–04; As 01; Ug 10. *LB*: AS 02; KL 01; Ug 12–14. *IR IIA*: Lc 01. *Unknown*: Ad 01; Aj 01–02; Al 03; Am 01; AS 01; Bb 01, 03–06, 09–10, 18–20, 22; Gz 01–04; Hm 01; Hz 02–03; MB 01; Mc 01; Pl 01; Qt 01; Sk 01; Ug 06, 09; Uk 01–05.

Objects of debatable origin

Some of the catalogued items have been attributed an alternate place of origin than Crete by one or more scholars. There are all together 31 numbers of debatable origin. Some of the alternative attributions might prove correct if the objects were re-studied, but until then, they have been kept in the catalogue. 13 of the 31 objects are pottery dated to either the LM I or the LH I or II periods. Most of these have been described by Hankey, who stated that this group of pottery “may be claimed Mycenaean or Minoan according to the academic bias of the beholder.”⁹⁷ The objects are: Aj 01; Al 02–03, 07a–d; Am 02–04; AS 02; Bb 09–17; Gz 01, 03; Hz 02; Kb 02a–e; Lc 01; Mc 01; Nm 01; Sk 01; Ta 01; Ug 04, 09–12.

Context dates (Fig. 3)

In Figure 3 it is shown that 37 of the 81 objects have been found in more or less closely dated con-

texts. The context dates of 44 objects are thus vague (MB and LB) or unknown. Many old excavations, among them Byblos, have an ambiguous stratigraphy which consequently adds many objects to the number of uncertain context dates.⁹⁸

The resumed excavations at Kabri have shown that the Kabri frescoes could be earlier than the Alalakh frescoes.⁹⁹ This stands in contrast to Bietak’s recent interpretations of the paintings, since he believed the Alalakh paintings to be older.¹⁰⁰

The period after the turn of c.1500 BC, the Late

⁹⁷ Hankey 1973, 107. She mentioned eight sites in the Levant (Alalakh, Ugarit, Byblos, Hazor, Ta’anek, Gezer, Ajjul and Amman) where LM IB/LH IIA pottery was found. She was, however, not explicit about whether she thought all the early LB Aegean sherds found at these sites were of equally disputed origin.

⁹⁸ Sørensen 2009; Merrillees 2003; Cf. Lauffray 2008 on the architectural chronology of the site until the EB II.

⁹⁹ Yasur-Landau & Cline 2008, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Bietak 2007, fig. 2.

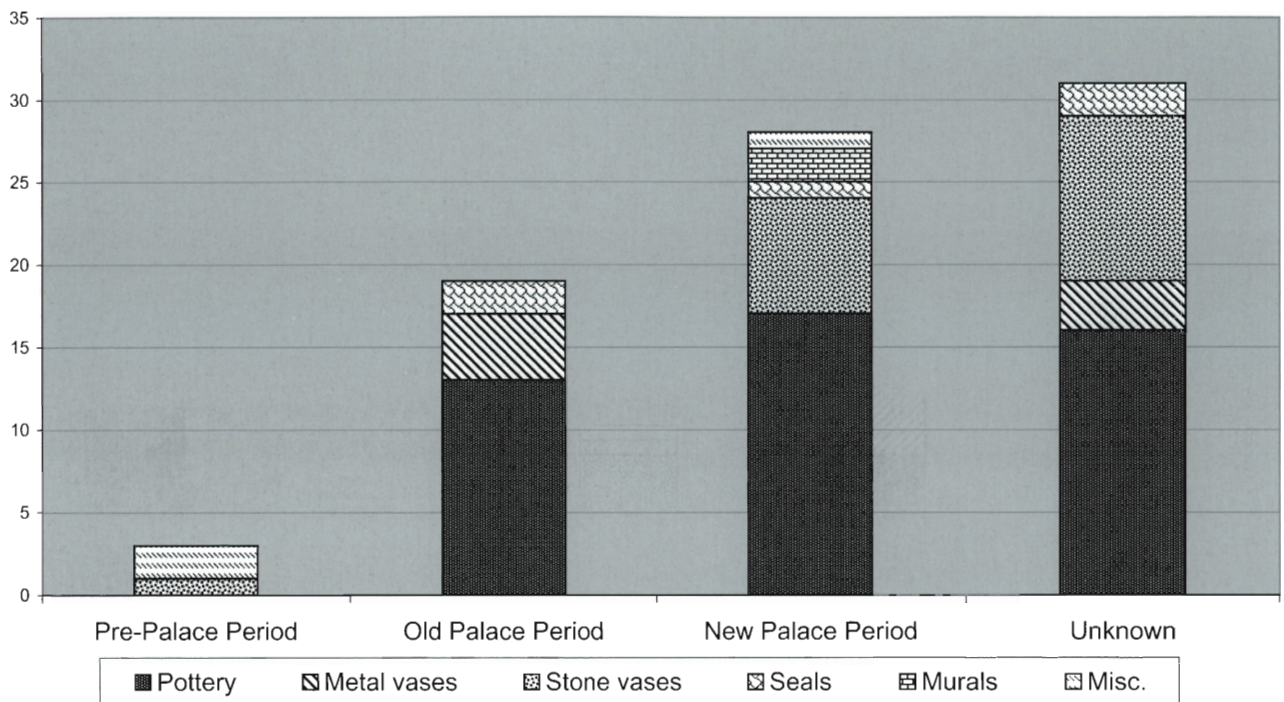


Fig. 4. Stylistic dates by period¹⁰¹ – Levant. *Pre-Palace Period*: EM-MM IA: Bb 21–22; Gz 04. *Old Palace Period*: MM IB-MM IIB: Ak 01; Bb 01–04, 11–12, 15–16; Qt 01; Sd 01; Ug 01–06; Uk 02–03. *New Palace Period*: MM III-LM IB: Aj 01–02; Al 01–03, 07a–d; Am 02–04; As 01; Bb 09–10, 18–20; Gz 01–03; Hz 02–03; Kb 01–02e; KL 01; Lc 01; Mc 01; Ta 01; Ug 09–10. *Unknown*: Ad 01; Al 04–06; Am 01; AS 01–02; Bb 05–09, 13–14, 17; Br 01; Hm 01; Hr 01; Hz 01; MB 01; Pl 01; Sk 01; Ug 07–08, 11–14; Uk 01, 04–05.

Bronze Age, yielded 15 of the catalogued Minoica. One object was found in an Iron Age context at Lachish.

Stylistic Dates (Fig. 4)

Figure 4 demonstrates the same pattern as that seen in Figure 3; many objects lack precise dates. However, 19 objects were dated to the Old Palace Period, but the majority – 28 Minoica – have been dated to the New Palace Period. Murals and perhaps stone vases are not found as imports before the New Palace Period. The Middle Minoan palatial Kamares ware has been recognised in 20 instances. In contrast, no certain LM IA pottery has been published, whereas possible LM IB pottery counts 10 specimens. The lack of firmly dated LM IA pottery does not necessarily indicate a break in contacts during this period; however, the only possible LM IA objects which have been dated are the murals from Kabri and Alalakh VII. LM IA pottery

from these two sites in particular would be most welcome, and with the resumed excavations this will hopefully be possible.

The absolute chronology of the Levant as well as Crete is debated,¹⁰² and it can thus be quite difficult to explore the possible lifetime of an object from manufacture to deposition. However, a number of objects are provided with both useable context and stylistic dates. They are: Ak 01; Al 01–02; 07a–d; Am 02–04; As 01; Bb 11–12, 15–16, 21; Br 01; Hz 01; Kb 01–02e; Lc 01; Sd 01; Ta 01; Ug 01–05, 10.

The stone vases found at Amman, if indeed Minoan, are the only items which can be regarded as heirlooms. The remaining objects have comparable stylistic and context dates, like the Kabri paintings, if likewise Minoan, which are remarkable for their

¹⁰¹ Nm 01 has not been considered in this diagram due to its nature as a stable good.

¹⁰² Cf. above and Bietak 2000; 2003; 2007a; Warburton 2009.

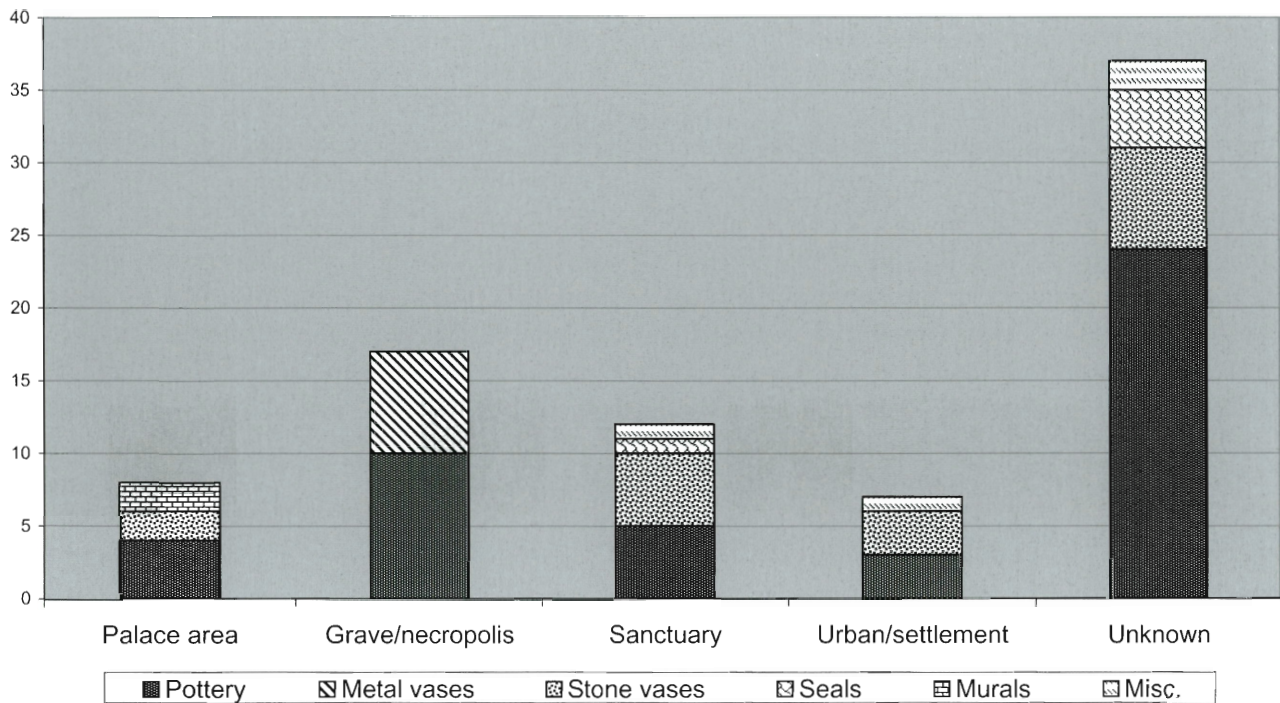


Fig. 5. Contexts – Levant. *Palace area*: Al 06–07a–d; Gz 01; Kb 01–02e; Qt 01; Ug 07–08, 14. *Grave/necropolis*: Bb 02, 11–17; Br 01; KL 01; Sd 01; Ug 01–03, 05, 09–10. *Sanctuary*: Al 01, 04; Am 02–04; As 01; Bb 05–06, 10, 20; Hr 01; Ug 13. *Settlement/urban*: Ak 01; Al 05; AS 02; Hz 01; Lc 01; Nm 01; Ug 12. *Unknown*: Ad 01; Aj 01–02; Al 02–03; Am 01; AS 01; Bb 01, 03–04, 07–09, 18–19, 21–22; Gz 02–04; Hm 01; Hz 02–03; MB 01; Mc 01; Pl 01; Sk 01; Ta 01; Ug 04, 06, 11; Uk 01–05.

very short lifetime, as they were dismantled during a renovation of the palace.¹⁰³

Contexts (Fig. 5)

Figure 5 shows 45 objects with usable information relating to their contexts. Some objects relate to royalty. Five fine ware fragments were unearthed in contexts surrounding the Levantine palaces of Gezer, Qatna and Ugarit. These contexts might all be secondary. However, Minoica have been found within the palace walls of Alalakh, Kabri and Ugarit, and seven additional objects were found in two royal tombs in Byblos and one in the royal tomb at Kāmid el-Lōz.

The objects with royal ties are primarily silver vases and murals, though one stone vase and two pottery pieces are also part of the collection. 12 objects were found in relation to sanctuaries. Among these were three possible LM I rhyta and an inscribed Minoan sherd, which had been deliberately

cut away from the pithos and deposited in a sanctuary at Haror. Only 7 objects might be ascribed to an urban context. Among these are the many charred seeds found at Nami; however, the remaining pottery found in graves might also be assigned to a more mundane context.

Distribution pattern (Fig. 6)

More than half of the catalogued Minoica were found in Byblos, Ugarit and Alalakh. The presence of Minoica in Byblos and Ugarit can be explained by their function as centres of trade for long periods during the Bronze Age (*cf.* MB overview, p. 13–4). Ugarit might very well have functioned as gateway to Alalakh, which, like Ugarit, was part of the Yamhad Kingdom. The fairly large number of imports at Amman was explained by Hankey, who suggested that nomads in the area began to settle

¹⁰³ Yasur-Landau & Cline 2008, 8; 2009, 3. *Cf.* Kb 02a–b, d–e.

and therefore built a temple and filled it with plunder acquired west of the Jordan River.¹⁰⁴ However, this theory remains unconfirmed.

In Part 1, Byblos was introduced as possibly the first direct contact established by the Minoans with the Levant. The corpus of Minoica presented in the present part seems to confirm this theory, though the amount of objects is far from impressive. However, besides Byblos, Gezer produced a possible Pre-Palatial Period stone vase.

Most of the catalogued Minoica have been found at sites near the Mediterranean coast (Fig. 6). This is true for 48 objects from Minet el-Beidha to Ajjul. Sites featuring MM-LM I objects as far inland as east of the Orontes and Jordan River are Hama, Qatna, Amman, Pella and Assur. Only 8 of the 81 objects in the catalogue were found at these sites. Of these, only the items from Qatna and perhaps Hama seem to belong to the Old Palace Period. Qatna was connected to the trade route from Mari to the Levantine coast. Furthermore, the king of Qatna was present at Ugarit at the same time as Zimri-Lim and might thus also have made acquaintance with Cretans during the late Old Palace Period or early New Palace Period, as it has been proposed above (p. 16–7).

A tentative conclusion to be drawn from the material presented would be that Byblos was chosen as a favourite port of call at least from EM II–MM II(A?). The EM II contacts might have been direct but perhaps reduced or broken during the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period in Egypt. This picture is paralleled in Crete by the Aegyptiaca recently studied and published by Phillips who found a break in contacts from the Old Kingdom to the late Dynasty 11 at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.¹⁰⁵

The Cretan connection to Byblos did not, however, seem to have ceased completely, but focus was broadened to include Ugarit during the late Old Palace Period.¹⁰⁶ The texts from Mari concur with the Cretan presence in Ugarit during the MM IIB (middle) or MM III (low) period and it might even be hypothesised that this inclusion of Ugarit was founded on the trade routes maintained by Yamhad and Mari. Egypt was, at this point, ruled by Dynasty 13 which unifying power gradually crum-

bled. This might have strengthened the position of Yamhad and thus Ugarit in comparison to Byblos, which was traditionally closely tied to Egypt.

Later, during the New Palace Period, contacts were still kept with Ugarit, but one or more ports in the southern part of the Levant were also receiving Minoica from where the imports were distributed inland. Whether this might be seen in the light of the establishment of the Hyksos and later the 18th Dynasty in Egypt which might have reopened a southern connection is impossible to conclude from the presented material but chronologically it might be a possible factor. The Egyptian imports in Crete during the MM III–LM IA periods contemporary with the Second Intermediate Period and the early New Kingdom were few and of an earlier date whereas the LM IB destruction layers yielded the larger part of the Egyptian material.¹⁰⁷ Western Asian imports in Crete during the LM I Period were, on the other hand, scarce.¹⁰⁸

In comparison, the first Minoan imports in Cyprus turned up in Lapithos during the EM III–MM IA period,¹⁰⁹ and Cypriote copper began to be imported into Crete from the EM II period.¹¹⁰ Cretan contacts with Cyprus were intensified during the New Palace Period.¹¹¹

The Middle Bronze Age in the Aegean has yielded only very few metal objects from secure contexts. Consequently, it is not possible to give a general picture of the metals trade during that period.¹¹² During the New Palace Period, Laurion was dominant, but still 8% of the copper derived from Iran and Wadi Araba.¹¹³

¹⁰⁴ Hankey 1974, 142–3. Apart from the LM I objects, many Mycenaean vases were also found in the temple.

¹⁰⁵ Phillips 2008, 226.

¹⁰⁶ No objects found in Ugarit have been dated earlier than MM IIA or in earlier strata than MB I/MB IIA.

¹⁰⁷ Phillips 2008, 230–1.

¹⁰⁸ Cline 1994, Tables 19 and 31: 12 objects.

¹⁰⁹ Sørensen 2008, 163–4, Table 2–3.

¹¹⁰ Stos-Gale & Gale 2003, 91; Stos-Gale 2001, Table 10.2.

¹¹¹ Sørensen 2008, 157, 159.

¹¹² Stos-Gale & Gale 2003, 93–94.

¹¹³ Stos-Gale 2001, fig. 10.2.

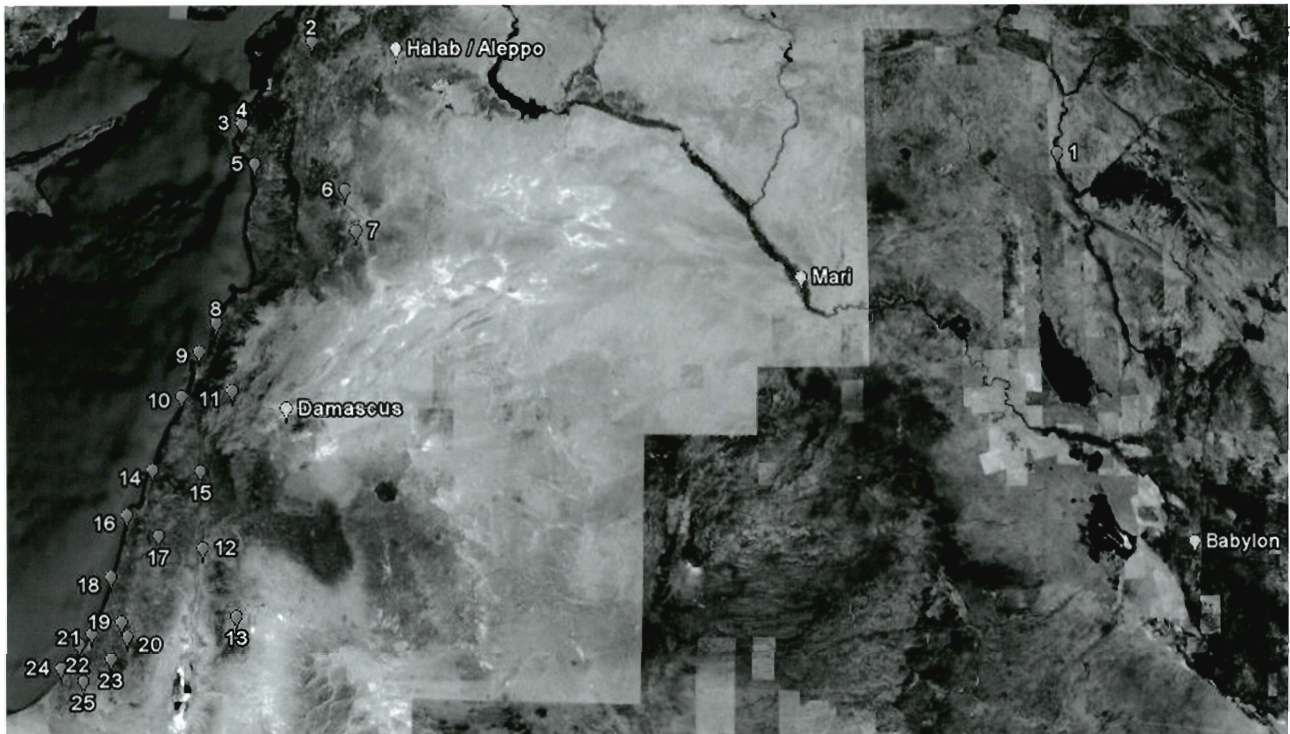


Fig. 6. Distribution map of Minoica in Western Asia; Google Earth, May 2009. Sites and number of Minoica from each site. 1. Assur: 1; 2. Alalakh: 7; 3. Minet el-Beidha: 1; 4. Ugarit: 14; 5. Sukas: 1; 6. Hama: 1; 7. Qatna: 1; 8. Byblos: 22; 9. Beirut: 1; 10. Sidon: 1; 11. Kāmid el-Lōz: 1; 12. Pella: 1?; 13. Amman: 4; 14. Kabri: 2; 15. Hazor: 3; 16. Nami: 1; 17. Ta'annek: 1; 18. Michal: 1; 19. Gezer: 4; 20. Ain Shems/Beth Shemesh: 2; 21. Ashdod: 1?; 22. Ashkelon: 1; 23. Lachish: 1; 24. Ajjul: 2; 25. Haror: 1; Unknown: 5.

Gifts and commercial goods

The Mari texts refer to the knowledge of Cretan handicraft at least from the late 19th (middle) or mid 18th (low) century BC. From the early (middle) or late (low) 18th century, the Mariotes also knew Cretan people and were inspired to imitate Cretan workmanship. During the late 17th to early 16th century, Minoans possibly decorated palace walls in Kabri and Alalakh. These proofs of firsthand knowledge and use of Cretan styles and techniques all seem to have been part of an elaborate system of royal gift exchange in Western Asia.

The question arises of whether it is also possible to find proof of commercial trade in organic materials. One group of Minoica which can hardly be recognized in Levantine contexts is transport containers used for agricultural produce. Only two fragments from large coarse ware containers have been recognised (Ug 06 and Hr 01¹¹⁴). Additionally, two sherds from a three-handled jar of semi-coarse

ware were found in Hazor (Hz 02). Five alabaster might also have carried a liquid substance. However, the *Lathyrus Clymenum* seeds from Nami provide the best proof of trade in organic products.

The theory of Cretan trade in woollen textile¹¹⁵ can only be attested once, in Text 3 from Mari. Leather footwear and belts were also found in Mari. However, these objects were most likely acquired through gift exchange rather than commercial trade.

Most of the identified pots are cups or fragments hereof, counting at least 16 specimens. Four additional pieces might also derive from cups (Bb

¹¹⁴ On several occasions it has been noted that the clay of the pithos was found locally (Finkelberg 1998, 2004); however, in 1999 Day *et al.* published results pointing towards Crete.

¹¹⁵ Hankey 1970–71, 15–6: on the LM IB period. She stressed that “the Syrian textile industry was itself very important”, thus if Cretan textiles were exported “their success would have depended on quality”.

01, Gz 03, Ug 07–08). Three rhyta and the five bridge-spouted jars were also part of the imported Minoica. Cups, bowls, rhyta and bridge-spouted jars must have been brought to the Levant for their own sake, and were therefore not secondary to their content, since they do not seem to be obvious transport containers.

These open vase types lend themselves to the actions of pouring and drinking – *i.e.* to feasting and libation – and correspond well with the evidence presented in the Mari texts described above. The most striking factor of divergence is the material; clay versus precious metals. However, a few of the Minoica referred to in the Mari archive might find their silver and bronze counterparts in the finds from the royal Tombs I and II at Byblos (Bb 11–17). Metal vessels for pouring and drinking were likewise represented in the hands of the Keftiu people in the Tombs of The Nobles in Egypt.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the Minoan imports found in Cyprus parallel this picture.¹¹⁷

To sum up, metal vases, elaborated weapons and possibly murals were used in the system of royal gift exchange. Some fine ware vases ended up in graves and stone vases in sanctuaries; other pots were shattered and found in secondary contexts.

3. The Late Bronze Age (LB)

An overview

The decline in Amorite power in the Levant was followed by a period with no regional power/–s. The new unified Kingdom of Egypt ruled by the 18th Dynasty expelled the Hyksos and thus ended the Second Intermediate Period. The new imperialistic 18th Dynasty campaigned in the southern part of the Levant and the Egyptians ultimately seem to have gained control of the entire Levantine coastline including the inland areas to the south of Qatna. The Egyptian hegemony in the Levant lasted until the Hittites also wanted control of the Levant during the 14th century BC. However, the areas south of Qadesh remained subject to the Egyptians until the final years of the LB.¹¹⁸

*Kaptara in the Ugarit texts (Table 3)*¹¹⁹

The Crete and Cretans delineated in the Ugaritic texts are of a different character than that shown in the Mari tablets. The texts from Ugarit are dated to the 13th century BC and thus post-date the focal period of this contribution. However, the texts are important as they might be reflections of the MB contacts.

Texts 1–4 (Table 3) refer to the god of art, handicraft, architecture and engineering, Kothar-wa-Khasis, and to his residence in Crete. Texts 1–3 belong to the mythological cycle of Ba'al and his toils to become supreme god of the world by slaying Yam-Nahar. He ultimately succeeds with the aid of Kothar-wa-Khasis. Text 4 is a religious snake bite incantation.

Text 5 is a declaration by the king of Ugarit to free the merchant Sinaranu and his ships from taxes upon their return from Crete. The last three texts (6–8) are administrative lists which mention Cretans.

If we compare the texts from Mari and Ugarit, it is worth noting that while most Mari texts are concerned with objects of a certain shape or origin, in Ugarit, at least Texts 6–8, which are administrative documents, deal with people most likely present in the Ugaritic kingdom.

If we keep in mind that we are dealing with LB texts from a coastal centre of trade, the only Cretan people mentioned in the Mari archives are the delegates present at Ugarit at the same time as Zimri-Lim. This fact might indicate the only direct encounter between the two civilizations – at least during the reign of Zimri-Lim. The Cretan products in Yahdun-Lim's possession might derive from

¹¹⁶ Wachsmann, 1987, pl. XXIII, LIV (Senmut T. 71), pl. XXVII–XXXII, LV (Useramun T. 131), pl. XXXIV–VII, LVI–II (Mencheperresonb T. 86), pl. XL–III, LVIII (Rechmire T. 100).

¹¹⁷ Sørensen 2008, 158.

¹¹⁸ Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, 329.

¹¹⁹ According to the standard collection of *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* (KTU) from 1976 (Dietrich, Loretz & Sanmartin, 1976, v.) 1341 texts written in Ugaritic were unearthed between 1929 and 1970. More texts have been found after 1970, and the corpus now counts over 1400 texts in Ugaritic, but texts in many other languages have also been found on the tell.

his campaign to the Mediterranean (*cf.* above p. 14) or could have been gifts from other kings.

As has already been mentioned above (p. 17) on the texts from Mari, the Cretan reputation rather than the Cretans themselves travelled inland. Their reputation as skilled craftsmen was not forgotten by the close of the Middle Bronze Age; rather it remained in the collective memory of the people of the Levant, and ultimately the Cretans became mythical. In an attempt to bring myth into reality once again, we might look at the text KTU 1.2 IV: 11 and 18, which reads as follows: “Kothar fashions the weapons, And he proclaims their names”.¹²⁰ These were the weapons with which Ba'al defeated Yam-Nahar. The weapons have been interpreted as either two clubs¹²¹ or maces.¹²² Recalling the Mari texts, at least one elaborately decorated Cretan mace found its way into the palace of Zimri-Lim. Might a specific Cretan mace of such exquisite handicraft also have found its way into the mythical hands of Ba'al? This is purely hypothetical, but it seems most likely that the precious Cretan objects in Mari were part of the material which gave Kothar from Crete his reputation during the Late Bronze Age. Later, in Greece, Kothar-wa-Khasis was transformed into *Hephaistos*,¹²³ whom we know as just as skilled as Kothar-wa-Khasis.

4. Conclusions

Beginning in the EM II period, Crete had contacts with the Levant, which can be observed in Crete and the Levant; however, at present it is impossible to say of what nature these early contacts were and if they were direct. If so, it seems highly likely that Crete initiated the contacts in search for natural resources, and that the destination was Byblos. The reason why Byblos became the Minoans' first Levantine contact might be due to the strong ties between Byblos and Egypt. From the Egyptians, the Minoans might have become acquainted with the Levant.

The relations were interrupted but later resumed and intensified over time, and perhaps from the late Old Palace Period or early New Palace Period Cretans took active part in the royal gift exchange of

Western Asia, which might have secured deliveries. It was likewise during the Old Palace Period that focus was broadened to include Ugarit, perhaps a result of events in the Levant, where Yamhad came to hold a strong position of power and trade and was on good terms with Mari, which supplied tin to the region. The royal contacts during the late Old Palace Period/early New Palace Period do not, however, exclude the possibility of commercial trade, but there is no firm proof of its existence. During the New Palace Period (possibly LM IB) the foreign activities of the Minoans were further spread out on the Levantine coast, with one or more centres to the very south being incorporated in the foreign affairs of Crete. No contemporary texts describe the nature of these contacts, but in the later part of the Bronze Age, Ugaritic commercial activities conducted with Crete were described.

Throughout the MB-LB I periods, intermediaries were most probably used to distribute Minoan goods inland. The Cretans conducted their business in the coastal emporia and did not travel inland. The only possible exception might be the execution of mural paintings in the palace of Alalakh.

The corpus presented includes only 81 objects which might be of MM-LM I origin. It thus seems reasonable to ask whether we are dealing with direct contacts on a regular basis throughout this 500-year period of the MM-LM I. On the basis of the archaeological and textual evidence presented, it seems fair to make the tentative conclusion that contacts were kept throughout the MM-LM I periods and that these relations were initiated dur-

¹²⁰ Smith 1994, 322, 338–40: Discussion of the interpretation of “šmdm” = “weapons”, and archaeological and iconographical interpretations of the weapons of Baal.

¹²¹ Gordon 1966, 47.

¹²² Gibson 1999, 194.

¹²³ Dietrich pers. comm. February 24, 2009; Hurwit 1994, 360; Morris 1992, 100: Kothar wa-Khasis = *Daidalos*. According to Gordon 1965: Text 2028 (PRU 5.28/RS 18.295/KTU 4.423: 2): side, 281 “Register of fields named after specific men but in the possession or under the supervision of other men (= transferred land-grants?)”, “*bd.ddl*” was interpreted by Gordon as the personal name *Daidalos*; According to del Olmo Lete & Sanmartín 2003, 266: the etymology of this personal name is unclear.

ing preceding periods. The reputation of Minoan craftsmen went onto the palace walls and ultimately into the myths. Both the textual and archaeological evidence throughout the period point to the attire for feasting as the favoured Minoan manufactured items in the Levant, but a distinction seems clear in the presented material: pottery for the people and metals for the monarch.

The scale of the contacts is nevertheless hard to determine since much material must have disintegrated or have been melted down so that the metal could be reused. Another possibility is that much Minoan pottery was not recognised by previous excavators in the Levant.¹²⁴ There seems to be no doubt, however, that to both civilisations, the mutual contacts were secondary to their regional network.

However, the refined and complex systems

of interaction which were developed during the Early Bronze Age and increased during the Middle Bronze Age were the contacts which blazed the trail for the succeeding Mycenaeans.

¹²⁴ Cline 1999, 122–3, 2003, 174; MacGillivray 2003, 23, on Kamares ware: “could cause one to wonder if these fine decorated pieces in the Levant weren’t the tip of a less apparent ceramic ‘ice-berg’.”

Tables

Table 1. Mari texts, Yahdun-Lim

	Text	Transliteration	Translations/interpretations
1	T 341: 37	3 <i>te-ni-i kuš-e-sir k[ap-ta-ri]-tum</i>	3 (pairs of) shoes ¹
2	T 420/ARM 31, 7: 4	6 gal <i>gu-lu kap-ta-ru-ú</i>	6 hemispheric gold bowls ²

Table 1³ The reign of Yahdun-Lim⁴

¹ Guichard 1993a, 44: “de chaussures”.

² Guichard 2005, 190, 208: “chacune 31 sicles (260g)”, 209, 344–5, weighing “(2 ma-na 4 su)”; Guichard 1999, 174: “six ‘gullum’ (coupes sphérique)”.

³ Tables 1 and 2 are largely based on Guichard 1999 and 2005, in which he republished some texts from earlier ARM volumes; only new fragments were added to many of the tablets.

⁴ Guichard 2005, 208: most probably during his reign or at least pre Zimri-Lim; Guichard 1999, 169: 1815–1798 BC (middle).

Table 2. Mari texts, Zimri-Lim

	Text	Transliteration ¹	Translations/interpretations	Year of reign
1	11404 ARM 23, 104: 30	1 kuš <i>na-ah-ba-at giš-tukul kap-ta-ri-im</i>	Leather box for a weapon ² , sack containing weapons ³	3
2	ARM 21, 342: 5–6	1 [KUŠ <i>me-še-en</i>] SUHUB ₂ <i>k[a-a] p-ta-ri-/tum</i>	1 (pair of) shoes ⁴ , 1 (pair) of sandals ⁵ , boots ⁶	4/6?
3	ARM 22/2, 324 col. 2: 9	[x]x x <i>ni ka-ap-[ta]-ri-tum</i>	Textile(?) ⁷	10–11
4	Guichard 1999, 170	<i>Nêbehum</i>	Leather belts ⁸	?
5	M. 1264 + M.12643 + ARM 21, 252 ARM 25, 39: 10/ ARM 31, 161: 32	[1 <i>i-mi-tu</i> (?)] <i>zabar kap-ta-ri-[tum] kù-GI gar-ra]</i>	? ⁹ , 1 bronze lance ¹⁰	10
6	A.675* ARM 25, 601: 10–13	1 ^{sis} <i>tukul kap-ta-ru-ú mu-<uh>-ha-šū ù i-ši-is-sú-ú KÙ.GI uh-hu-uz mu-uh-ha-šū ta-am-li na₄ za-gìn</i>	1 weapon covered with gold and inlaid with lapis lazuli ¹¹	?

7	ARM 24/1, 98: 10 ARM 24/1, 98: 14	[xxxx]-ku ka-ap-ta-ra-yu mu-uh-ha- šu tam-li na ₄ -za-gìn ...ka-ap]-ta-ra-i n[a ₄ -za-gìn ?] gar-ra	Object ¹² , weapon with gold and lapis lazuli ¹³ , mace? ¹⁴ Object with lapis lazuli ¹⁵	? ?
8	Dossin 1939, 112	^{is} kakkeu kap-ta-ru-ù mu-ha-šu ù i-ši-is- sú-ú hurâša(m) uh-hu-uz mu-uh-ha- šu ta-am-li ^{aban} uknê(m).	Weapon with gold and lapis lazuli ¹⁶ , dagger ¹⁷ , mace ¹⁸	?
9	ARM 21, 231:3–5 ARM 21, 231:15–16	[1] i-mi-tu kap-ta-[ri-tu GIŠ....] KÛ-GI GAR-[RA] SI-LÁ] ia-si- im- ^d [a-gan] 1 GIŠ-TUKUL kap-ta-ra-yu KÛ- GI šu-lu-úš tam-li NA ₄ ZA-GÌN	Wooden lance with gold ¹⁹ 1 weapon with gold and in- laid with lapis ²⁰	? ?
10	Dossin 1939, 111	ka-ta-pu-um ka-ap-ta-ru-ú	Small pair of tongs/fire tongs/tweezers ²¹ , weapon ²² , object ²³	
11	11959 ARM 25, 610: 8–9	1 mar-ha-šu UD.KA.BAR kap-ta- ru-ú ši-ki-[ir-šu]	1 bronze dagger ²⁴ , bronze object ²⁵	?
12	M.11510 ARM 25, 347: rev. 2/ARM 31, 80: R.31	1 sà ^l -ap-pu kap-ta-ru-ú	1 goblet or cup ²⁶ , silver bowl ²⁷	5?
13	M.11512 ARM 25, 393: 13/ ARM 31, 85: 12	3 bur-zi kap-ta-ra-a-iu	3 vessels ²⁸ , 3 silver bowls ²⁹	5
14	M.8807 + M.12363 ARM 25, 522: côté/ ARM 31, 156: coté 2*	3 gal kap-ta-r[e-tum...]	3 vases ³⁰	9
15	M.12059 ARM 25, 507: rev. 2/ ARM 24, 103/ ARM 31, 177: 11	[1] ^{gis} ku-ur-sa-lu kap-ta-ru-ú	Wooden silver coated ob- ject ³¹ , 1 wooden basket with silver application ³²	10
16	M.11387 ARM 25, 499: 21/ ARM 31, 173: 21 ARM 25, 499: rev.16/ARM 31, 173: 44	4 gal kap-ta-ra[WA-tum kù-babar 2? ma-n]a 7 su ki-[lá-bi] 1 gal kap-ta-ra-WA-tum kù-GI	4 vases ³³ , 4 silver vases ³⁴ 1 gold vase ³⁵	10
17	M.11874 + 12552 ARM 25, 513: rev.6/ ARM 31, 258: rev.6	1 sà ^l -ap-pu-um ^r ka-ap-ta ^l -ru-ú (...)	1? ³⁶ , 1 silver bowl ³⁷	Pre 10

18	A.4672 ARM 25, 45: 2/ ARM 31, 184: 2 ARM 25, 45: 4/ ARM 31, 184: 4 ARM 31, 184: 10 ARM 31, 184: rev. 4	2 gal <i>kap-ta-re-tim ša ú-sú-ur-tim ša la s[u-gu-n]im</i> <i>ù 1 gal [k]ap-ta-ri-tim ša i-na <qa>-ap-li-tim pa-ap-pa-ar-<hi>-tum</i> [2 gal <i>kap-ta-re (?)</i>] - <i>tum</i> 1 gal <i>kap-ta-ri-tum kù-GI ša su-gu-nim 2/3 ma-n[a 9 su] ki-lá-bi</i>	2 silver vases ³⁸ ; 2 gold vases ³⁹ 1 silver vase ⁴⁰ ; 1 gold vase ⁴¹ 2 vases? ⁴² 1 gold vase ⁴³	11
19	M.8796 ARM 25, 530: 2/ ARM 31, 185: 2-3 ARM 31, 185: 4	2 gal <i>kap-ta-ri-tim ša ú-sú-ur-tim ša la su-gu-nim 1 ki-ra-di [] im</i> <i>ṛùṛ [1 gal kap-ta-ri-tim ša i-n]a ṛqaṛ -ab-li-tim pa-<ap>-pa-a[r-hi-tum]</i>	2 vases ⁴⁴ , 2 bronze vases ⁴⁵ , 2 gold vases ⁴⁶ 1 gold vase ⁴⁷	11
20	M.8098 ARM 31, 186:7 ARM 25, 515: 8/ ARM 31, 186: rev. 9	2 [gal <i>kap-ta</i>]- <i>re-[tum]</i> 1 gal <i>kap-ta-ri-tum kù-GI 2/3 ma-na 9 su ki-lá-bi</i>	2 vases ⁴⁸ 1 gold vase ⁴⁹	11
21	M. 12822 ARM 31, 188: 1 ARM 25, 511: 6-7/ ARM 31, 188: 7''	<i>ṛ1ṛ [gal ka]p-ta-ri-tum ša [ú-sú-ur-tim (?) kù-GI 1 ma-na x su ki-lá-bi]</i> 1 gal <i>kap-ta-ri-tum kù-GI 2/3 ma-na 2 ½ su ki-lá-bi</i>	1 gold vase ⁵⁰ 1 gold vase ⁵¹	11
22	M.11280 + M.11402 ARM 25, 10:10/ ARM 31, 192: 23 ARM 25, 8/ ARM 25, 10: 14/ARM 31, 192: 27	[1] [gal] <i>kap-ta-ri-tum 2/3 ma-na 2 ½ s[u ki-lá-bi]</i> [1] [gal <i>k]ap-ta-ri-tum 1/3¹ ma-na 6 ½ su [ki-lá-bi]</i>	1 gold vase ⁵² 1 gold vase ⁵³	11
23	M.12380 ARM 31, 227: 6'' ARM 25, 523: 12/ ARM 31, 227: 12''	1 gal <i>kap-[ta-ri-tum...]</i> 1 <i>kap-ta-ṛ[i¹-tum kù-GI 2/3 ma-na 9 su]</i>	1 gold vase ⁵⁴ 1 Caphtorian ⁵⁵ , vase ⁵⁶ , 1 gold vase ⁵⁷	Post 11
24	ARM 24, 91: 23/ ARM 31, 214: 23	[4 gal] <i>kap-ta-ṛ[e-tum] 1-àm su-gu-nu</i>	? ⁵⁸ , 4 silver vases ⁵⁹	?
25	11908 ARM 25, 526: 4/ ARM 31, 215: 5	4 gal <i>kap-ta-ra-e-tum ša 1-àm su-gu-ni</i>	4 vases ⁶⁰ , 4 silver vases ⁶¹	13

26	M.12069 ARM 31, 216: 5–6	4 gal <i>kap-ta-re-tum ša 1-àm kù-ba-bar su-gu-ni {x}</i>	4 silver vases ⁶²	?
27	M. 11251 ARM 25, 517/ARM 31, 235: 11	[1] <i>ka-an-nu ša ka-ap-t[a-r]a-i-tim</i>	Stand ⁶³ , 1 silver stand for a “Cretan” ⁶⁴	12–13
28	M.12657 ARM 31, 237: 9 ARM 31, 237: rev. 14	1 gal <i>[ka-ap-ta-r]a-i-tum ša mušen kù-GI</i> 1 <i>ka-an-um ša ka-<ap>-ta-ri-tim</i>	1 gold vase ⁶⁵ 1 silver stand for a “Cretan” ⁶⁶	End of reign
29	Dossin 1939, 112	GAL <i>kap-ta-ri-tum</i>	Vase ⁶⁷	?
30	A.1270 ARM 23, 556: 28–31	1+ x/3 ma-na an-na a-na <i>kap-ta-ra-i-im</i> 1/3 ma-na an-na a-na lù <i>ta-arga-ma-an-nim ug-la [dam-gà]r k[a]p-ta-ra-i i-na ú-ga-ri-tim</i> ^{ki}	Tin to Cretans in Ugarit ^{68 69 70}	Undated (9–10)
31	M.10374 Guichard 1993a, 44, 1–5	20 ma-na na ₄ <i>za-gi-id-r[u i-dí-ia-tam am-hu-ur (vacat) i-nu-ma giš-má tur ka-ap*-ta-ri-tam</i> ^{*ki}	A ship built by Cretans ⁷¹ , a ship in the Cretan style ⁷²	Late 10 or later

Table 2⁷³ The reign of Zimri-Lim⁷⁴

¹ Transliterations follow Guichard 2005, (ARM 31) where possible, since it is the latest volume with most joins published. For the remaining texts I have used the transliterations from other ARM vols. where these numbers could be traced. Unfortunately, the only ARM volumes with a concordance list between Mari text numbers and the publication numbers used in this work are ARM 23, 25 and 31.

² Bardet *et al.* 1984, 102–3 mentions that *giš-tukul* in line 31 translates as “masses d’armes” *i.e.* maces. In commenting upon the Caphtorian *giš-tukul* he settles on calling it “une arme crétoise”. *Kuš* means leather receptacle, he states, and *nahbátum* means box or cist; Cline 1994, 127 D.6.: “(with/for) a Caphtorian weapon”; Guichard 1999, 171: “d’un coffre particulier pour une arme crétoise”.

³ Heltzer 1989, 14: ...“a sack of ‘Cretan weapons’”.

⁴ Durand 1983, 454: “1 (paire de) souliers comportant des *šuhuppum*, à la crétoise”, Cline 1994 D.7, 127: “one pair of leather shoes in the Caphtorian style”.

⁵ Heltzer 1989, 14: “1 (pair) of sandals *šuhuppum* in Cretan (style)”. Heltzer’s note 58 gives the transliteration for ARM 22/1, 324 col. 2: 9 and he thereby confuses this with ARM 22, 342, *i.e.* his notes 58 and 59 are reversed.

⁶ Guichard 1999, 170: “des bottes (*mešén šuhuppátim*)” ... “des chaussures (*mešénum*)”, ZL 6.

⁷ Kupper 1983, 503; Malamat 1998, 417: “textiles”. The text lists different textile objects. To associate the Cretan object with textile seems plausible for this reason; Dossin 1939, 111–2 speaks of a Cretan object or textile “dont le nom est perdu, *k[a-a]p-ta-ri-tum*”. This might refer to the present text; Heltzer 1989, 14, refers to Dossin.

⁸ Guichard 1999, 170: “des ceintures”.

⁹ Limet 1986, 14. “[] ka [?]*kap-ta-ri-*[]” Without translation; Malamat 1998, 417.

¹⁰ Guichard 2005, 458: summary of the luxury items given to Zimri-Lim on the journey to the west, 462; Villard 1986, 390.

¹¹ Limet 1986, 183–4: “1 arme crétoise, dont le sommet et le côté sont plaqués d’or, son sommet est serti de lapis-lazuli;” Cline 1994, 126–127, D.5; Malamat 1998, 417; Text A.675* presents a problem. The number refers to another text, but the asterisk implies that a double numbering occurred when the text was registered. Text A.675 has been published in ARM 26/1, 259 and does not refer to Crete (J. Eidem, pers. comm. April 13, 15 2004).

¹² Talon 1985, 60–1. *Cf.* note XVIII.

¹³ Cline 1994, 126 D.3. Adapts Talon’s proposition to reconstruct line 10: “[*GIŠ ka-ak]-ku*”.

¹⁴ Heltzer 1989, 14: “A ‘Cretan mace’ (?)”. In note 53 he states that ARM 24/1, 98: 10 is the same as Dossin 1939, 112, and quotes this.

- ¹⁵ Cline 1994, 126 D.3; Heltzer 1989, 14, n. 53: “– the same we read in line 14”.
- ¹⁶ Dossin 1939, 112: “une arme caftorite dont le sommet et la base sont sertis d’or, dont le sommet est incrusté de lapis-lazuli”; Heltzer 1989, 14, n. 53: = 24, 98: 10; Bardet *et al.* 1984, 104 n. 10 refers to this text as being the same as A.675. Dossin’s text is kept in the present list since its identification in the ARM publications is not certain.
- ¹⁷ Maxwell-Hyslop 1970, 165; Malamat 1998, 416–7, cites Maxwell-Hyslop and agrees with the identification of the object as a dagger. Malamat produced a print error since A.675 is identified as ARM 25, 610: 10–3 (Mari text 11959). Both numbers are ascribed to the present text no. 8.
- ¹⁸ Talon 1985, 61, is commenting on his own publication of ARM 24/1, 98 and refers to the similarities between ARM 24/1, 98: 10, and Dossin’s transliteration of text no. 8: “*Kaptarayum* la description de cet objet crétois est fort proche de celle d’une masse d’armes (Dossin 1939, 112): giš-tukul *kap-ta-ru-ù mu-ha-šu ù i-ši-is-sú-ù kù-gi uh-hu-uz mu-uh-ha-šu ta-am-li na₄-za-gìn* “une masse d’armes crétoise dont le sommet et la base sont plaques d’or (et) dont le sommet est incrusté de lapis-lazuli”. “Faut-il restituer, l. 10, giš-tukul^{ku} ou 1 giš ka-ak-ku?”. Talon cites Dossin incorrectly in both the transliteration and the translation and makes Dossin determine the object as a mace. Guichard 1999, 170: “Une masse d’arme (designée par le générique simple *kakkum*) est mentionnée dans trois inventaires différents: “Son sommet et sa base sont plaqués or; son sommet est incrusté de lapis-lazuli.” Un de trois documents précise que cet or ne recouvre qu’un tiers de l’objet.”
- ¹⁹ Durand 1983, 258–9: “1 lance crétoise en bois [...], plaquée or; confié à Yasim-Dagan”. According to J. Eidem Yasim-Dagan was some kind of Mari officer (pers. comm. April 13 2004), Heltzer 1989, 14; Cline 1994, 126, D.4.; Malamat 1998, 417, reverses the content of ARM 21, 231: 3–5 with 15–6 and turns the weapon in 15–6 into more. Guichard 1999, 170: “de lance... *imitum*... offerte par le roi de Hašsum... placage en or.” In my personal correspondence with Guichard (April 21 2004), he said that “la lance de luxe venant de Hassum est à revoir, d’après une collation effectuée en Syrie par J-M Durand (il n’y a donc pas d’objet de ce genre passant par l’Anatolie attestés comme je l’avais pensé)”.
- ²⁰ Durand 1983, 260–1: “1 arme crétoise son or est triple: incrustation de lapis”. Guichard 1999, 170: “cet or ne recouvre qu’un tiers de l’objet.”; Cline 1994, 126 D. 4; Heltzer 1989, 14; Malamat 1998, 417.
- ²¹ Dossin 1939, 111: “Zimrilim envoie à...le roi de la ville *Ra-za-ma-a^{ki}* une ‘pincette caftorite’”.
- ²² Bardet *et al.* 1983, 103 states that a *katappum* belongs to the military equipment; Heltzer 1989, 14; Guichard 1999, 170 and n. 12 refers to the *katappum* as either “une masse d’arme” or “une sorte de ‘cimenterre’”. Furthermore, he states that this “*katappum* transita par Mari avant de rejoindre l’amurerie d’un roi de Razamâ.”
- ²³ Cline 1994, 127: “A Caphtorian object of metal”.
- ²⁴ Limet 1986, 187: “1 (poignard) de Marhaši en bronze, de Crète, sa poignée en []”; Cline 1994, 127 D.8.: “Marhaši is to be located in Western Iran”; Guichard 1999, 171.
- ²⁵ Malamat 1998, 418: “...the Akkadian term designating the object eludes us”.
- ²⁶ Malamat 1998, 417. Gives no text reference, but mentions the shape “*sappum*”.
- ²⁷ Guichard 2005, 78, 294, silver bowl; Guichard 1999, 174: this piece is mentioned several times in the archive and it is even stored in the palace treasury.
- ²⁸ Limet 1986, 124. Without translation; Malamat 1998, 418, n.22, states that *bur-zi* should be read *pursitum* ... “referring to a cultic vessel”.
- ²⁹ Guichard 2005, 208: “La forme “*bur-zi kap-ta-ra-yu*” se comprend mal car *bur-zi* est généralement féminine à Mari”, and the theory is that these 3 were not *bur-zi* but really *sappum*, a bowl type, 209: “argent + anse”, 263, 408; Guichard 1999, 173: ... “3 *pursitum* (une terme courant pour “bol”)...”, Guichard 1999, 174, the contents of these were “de l’huile ou de la saponaire”; Guichard 1999, 173 mentions that the 3 bowls in this text were mentioned again later on but this time only as “3 crétoises”, *cf.* next text.
- ³⁰ Guichard 2005, 208: These vases are identical to the 3 *bur-zi* above. The present text was written when Zimri-Lim was preparing his journey West, 209: “argent + anse”, 455; Limet 1986, 165–6. The text is not translated.
- ³¹ Limet 1986, 162. Without translation. Guichard 1999, 174. States that it imitates a basket and “sans doute un présent du roi d’Alep.” Malamat 1998, 418. Misquotes the object as appearing in line 3.
- ³² Guichard 2005, 209: “bois + placage d’argent”, 220, 478.
- ³³ Malamat 1998, 417 mentions that both pottery vases and vases of precious metals were listed in the Mari archives, but he does not elaborate on the material of the vases or the following Cretan vases; According to Bardet *et al.* 1984, 457–75, Sasson 1984, 250, and Villard 1986, 392, Zimri-Lim executed his journey to Ugarit during the last 2 months of his 8th year and the first months of the 9th year of his reign.
- ³⁴ Guichard 2005, 209: “argent + anse” weighing “([2’ ma-n]a 7 su)”, dated «ix/ZL10 », 473; Guichard 1999, 172: “Un lot de quatre ‘crétoises’ d’argent est mentionné à trois reprises dans des inventaires.” “...première fois dans un document rédigé après le retour du voyage de Zimri-Lim à Ougarit.” The text is dated “Le 1 du IX, l’an 9”.
- ³⁵ Guichard 2005, 209: “or + (anse)”, 475; Limet 1986, 160. Without translation. Guichard 1999, 173, mentions that “un autre vase”.... “apparaît à deux reprises”.... “est responsable le fonctionnaire Bêl-šunu”.
- ³⁶ Limet 1986, 163: “1 [] *ka a ka-ap-ta-ru-ù*”. Without translation.
- ³⁷ Guichard 2005, 294, silver bowl, 530; Guichard, pers. comm. April 21 2004: silver and with a handle.
- ³⁸ Limet 1986, 15: “8 mine 8 [sicles] d’argent; 2 vases crétois, avec gravures, sans [anse(?)]; 1 *kiradu* et 1 vase crétois à la base

duquel (il y a) une pierre (?); dedans, 1/3 de mine, poids sans anse;” Limet 1986, 273, “ (2) *uṣurtum*, “gravure, ciselage”... (4) *pappartum*, emprunt au sumérien babar; ce terme désignerait quelque chose de blanc, une pierre semi-précieuse blanche ou avec de veines blanches?”. Guichard 1999, 173 gives the translation of a text which, in some ways is much like Limet’s but differs greatly in others: “8 mines 7 sicles d’or: c’est le poids-d’un bassin-*šušmarrūm* comportant (un motif de) spirale; – de deux vases de luxe crétois comportant un décor incise, dénués d’anse; – d’un vase en forme d’animal-*kirādum*; – et d’un vase de luxe crétois qui a au milieu un motif végétal *papparhūtum*, y faisant 20 sicles, [mais] dépourvu d’anse”. The differences are obviously the specification of weight, the material – gold or silver – and Guichard’s description that the text he cites dates to year 10 of Zimri-Lim’s reign. ARM 25, 45, is undated.

³⁹ Guichard 2005, 209, 483: “2 coupes crétoises comportant un décor incisé, dénuées d’anse ...”. From Aleppo; Guichard 2005, 483, the text is a recapitulation of several smaller documents.

⁴⁰ Limet 1986, 15. Cf. note XXXVIII; Guichard 1999, 173. Cf. note XXXVIII.

⁴¹ Guichard 2005, 209, 483: “une coupe crétoise qui a en son milieu un motif végétal-*papar<hī>tum*, y faisant 20 sicles, dépourvu d’anse.” From Aleppo.

⁴² Guichard 2005, 483, “[x coupe(s) crétoise(s) (?)]”.

⁴³ Guichard 2005, 483, “1 coupe crétoise en or dotée d’une anse, dont le poids est de 1/3 mine d’or”. From Aplaḥanda-king of Karkemish.

⁴⁴ Limet 1986 167. Translation on 284: “2 vases crétois avec dessins graves, et sans anse (?)”. Dated to year 10 of Zimri-Lim’s reign.

⁴⁵ Cline 1994, D.9. 127: “Two Caphtorian vases with engraved decorations, without handles””. “Presumably of bronze”.

⁴⁶ Guichard 2005, 483, duplicate of text A.4672/ARM 31 184.

⁴⁷ Guichard 2005, 483, duplicate of text A.4672/ARM 31 184; 484.

⁴⁸ Guichard 2005, 484, states that this text is a short version of A.4672/ARM 31 184 and M. 8796/ARM 31 185.

⁴⁹ Limet 1986, 164. Without translation, although the total weight and year (10) have been noted; Malamat 1998, 417.

⁵⁰ Guichard 2005, 209, “or + sans anse + motif”.

⁵¹ Limet 1986, 163. The text is not translated; Malamat 1998, 417 states that the reference is in line 8, and he does not mention the material from which the vase was made; Guichard 1999, 173: ...“pesant 2/3 mine 2 ½ sicles”; Guichard 2005, 209: “or + (anse)”, “1 gal kap-ta-ri-tum (2/3 ma-na 2 ½ su)”. The weight specification differs but the material is mentioned as gold.

⁵² Guichard 2005, 209: “or + (anse)”, 490: According to the text the vase was intended as a present to Hammurabi, king of Babylon, but came to Mari from Karkemish; Guichard 1999, 173: “...deux ont été offerts par le roi de Carkémish: le premier est d’or pourvu d’une anse, pesant 2/3 mine x sicle”. Since the publication of ARM 25/Limet 1986 many new joins have been found to the published texts. Such joins are visible in the text presented.

⁵³ Guichard 2005, 209 : “or + (anse)”, 490; Guichard 1999, 173: “...deux ont été offerts par le roi de Carkémish.....le second pèse 1/3 mine 6 1/2 sicles”. From Mari the vase was sent to Atamrum, king of Andariq.

⁵⁴ Guichard 2005, 209: “or + (anse)”, 512.

⁵⁵ Limet 1986, 166. Without translation. It reads “1 Caphtorian”.

⁵⁶ Malamat 1998, 417. Lists the text among other texts mentioning vases.

⁵⁷ Guichard 2005, 209: “or + (anse)”, 512.

⁵⁸ Talon 1985, 55: “[x gal] HUB” -u’-[xxx] -àm *su-gu-nu*”.

⁵⁹ Guichard 2005, 504; Guichard 1999, 172: Cf. notes XXXIV and XXXV. The cited part of Guichard’s article in note XXXIV and “Deux autres inventaires montrent que ce lot était toujours présent dans le palais de Mari trois ans après”. They must refer to the following two texts.

⁶⁰ Limet 1986, 166. Without translation; Malamat 1998, 417, cf. note XXXIII.

⁶¹ Guichard 2005, 209: “argent + anse”, 504–5 : Quasi duplicate of ARM 31, 214; Guichard 1999, 172: “chacun d’entre eux était pourvu d’une anse”.

⁶² Guichard 2005, 505: Quasi duplicate of ARM 31, 214 and 215.

⁶³ Limet 1986, 164: “[] *ka-an-nu ša ka-za-[]*”.

⁶⁴ Guichard 2005, 207: “argent-support de “Crétoise””, 517.

⁶⁵ Guichard 2005, 209 : “or + sans anse + motif”; Guichard 1999, 173–4. “un vase crétois avec motif d’oiseau en or, pesant 1 mine 13 ½ sicles”. He mentions that this vase might be one of the three vases from his cited text (cf. note XXXVIII), that the vase was placed in a storage room with other vases, that it had a silver stand and consequently must have been rounded or pointed at the base, and that the text was not dated.

⁶⁶ Guichard 2005, 207: “argent-support de “Crétoise””, 518.

⁶⁷ Cline 1994, 128, D.12; Dossin 1939, 112; Heltzer 1989, 14. This vase could be one of the other presented texts, but since no ARM no. or inventory no. is given I have not been able to trace this text.

⁶⁸ Bardet *et al.* 1984, 528–9. Without translation; Heltzer 1989, 12: “1+x/3 minas tin (to the Cretans) (or Cretan) 1/3 mina tin (to the) interpreter (of the) Chief [*tamk]ār* (trader) of the Cretans in Ugarit”; Cline 1994, 126 D.2; P. Villard 1986, 391; Guichard 1999, 168.

⁶⁹ Guichard 2005, 162–3 n. 8: “L’expression *ana Kaptarā’im*, litt. “au Kaphtoreéen”, désigne le “prince/roi de Crète””: this means

that the Mariotes saw Crete as ruled by one prince or king, which made his name superfluous. “Une mine x tiers d’étain pour l’Homme de Crète; un tiers d’étain pour l’interprète, *chef des marchands crétois*”. ; Durand 1990 40, n. 3.

⁷⁰ Pohl 1950, 509 cites Dossin from the Assyriological conference in Paris in 1950: “In einem Wirtschaftstexte werden Geschenke Ibbi-Addu genannt: *a-na Kap-ta-ra-i-im*, dann *a-na Ka-ra-i-ina Ugaritim^h*”; Ibbi-Addu was the king of Hazor; Malamat 1960, 19; Kitchen 1966, 81; Gray 1966, 32. Gifts from Hazor to Crete.

⁷¹ Villard 1986, 402: “lorsque les Crétois ont construit une barque”, note 106: “*i-nu-ma giš-má tur / ka-pi-ta-ri-’ ju’^{ki} / i-pu-šu*.” He states that the text was dated to the 8th month of the 9th year of Zimri-Lim’s reign.

⁷² Guichard 1993a, 44: “20 mines (= 10 kilo) de lapis-lazuli: j’ai reçu d’Iddiyatum, lorsqu’on fait la barque crétoise”; Guichard 2005, 163, also with translation, some months after the kings return to Mari; Guichard 1999, 168; Malamat 1998, 418; Caubet 1998, 108.

⁷³ The arrangement of the texts follows Guichard 1999, 167–77: Leather, weapons and vases.

⁷⁴ Guichard 1999, 169: 1775–1761 BC (middle).

Table 3. Ugarit texts

No	Text	Transliteration ¹	Translations/interpretations
1	RS 3.63/Louvre AO 16.628 + 16.639/A 2739 + 2737/CTA 3, F col. VI : 14/KTU 1.3 VI: 14–15	<i>’il klh kptr ksu tbt</i>	To Kaphtor the throne that he sits on ² For Kaphtor, the throne where he sits ³
2	AO 16.643, RS 3.361/ CTA 1 KTU 1.1 III: 1	[...kpt]r*.ksu*[.tbt.hkpt. ars.nhlth]	[Kaphtor] is the throne of his sitting ^{4 5}
	KTU 1.1 III: 18	<i>atm.bštm.w an*[.šnt.kptr]</i>	[Kaphtor] is indeed far, O Gods ^{6 7}
3	AO 16.640 + 16.640 bis, RS 3.346/CTA 2 KTU 1.2 III : 2	[kpt]r*.l r*ḥ*q*[-i]l *[m. hkpt.l rḥq]	[Kaphtor] ⁸
4	RS 24.244 KTU 1.100: 45–46	<i>špš um ql bl ’m ktr w hss kptrh</i>	Take my message to Kothar-wa-Khasis to Kaptar ⁹
5	RS 16.238: 9–11	[i]’ ^s <i>elep-šu za-ka-at [š]um-ma iš-tu^{mat} kabtu-ri [?][i]’^s <i>elep-šu ta-la-ka</i></i>	His ship is exempt when it arrives from Crete ^{10 11}

6	DO 4810/RS 18.80/PRU 5.78 KTU 4.371: 17–18	<i>bn apn krty</i>	<i>Apn</i> , son of the/a Cretan ¹²
7	RS 34.122 KTU 4.760: 1	<i>krty</i> []	?, ¹³ A Cretan ¹⁴
8	DO 5031/RS 19.44/PRU 5.117 KTU 4.617: 20 KTU 4.617: 39	<i>krty 1 ildy*</i> [] <i>krty. 1</i>	A Cretan ¹⁵ receive servants A Cretan ¹⁶ receive servants

¹ Follows KTU.

² Virolleaud 1937, 138; Virolleaud 1938, V AB, F, 14; Caquot *et al.* 1974, 99, 178; Cunchillos *et al.* 2003, 351.

³ Smith & Pitard 2009, 366, lines 14–5.

⁴ Smith 1994, 159, 156: “Lines 1–6 are reconstructed from 1.3 VI 12–25, 155: [*kptr*]*.ks[’u.tbth. h̄kpt. ’ar̄.n hlth]”.

⁵ Dietrich *et al.* 1976, 3, note 1.1 III (1): “z. 1–5 = KTU 1.3 VI 12–24”.

⁶ Smith 1994, 160, 156: “’atm.b̄stm.w’dnf.šnt.kptr]”, 158: Lines “17–21a are reconstructed on basis of 1.3 IV 32–6. See also the poorly preserved version in 1.2 III 2–3”.

⁷ According to Dietrich *et al.* 1976, note 1.1 III (5) the reconstruction of *kptr* made on grounds of the following *hkpt* in line 19 – corresponding to KTU 1.3 VI.

⁸ Dietrich *et al.* 1976, 7 note 1.2 III (1): Reconstructed on grounds of KTU 1.1 III; Smith 1994, 211: “*kpt]r.lr[h]q[.’ilm h̄kpt.lrhq]*”. “Lines 2–3 are reconstructed on basis of 1.3 IV 32–6. See also the poorly preserved version in 1.2 III 2–3”.

⁹ Dietrich & Loretz 2000, 307, 338 Z.46, snakebite incantation; Caquot & Tarragon 1989, 88; Bordreuil & Pardee, 2004, text 6, X. 46.

¹⁰ Heltzer 1988, 12; the merchant Sinaranu is exempted from paying taxes.

¹¹ Nougayrol 1955, 107.

¹² Dietrich 2007, 74: the texts are concerned with the first month of the year; Gordon 1965, Text 2078, 17–18, § 1314 in his Glossary; Virolleaud 1965, 104. The text lists men from the town of Riś.

¹³ Bordreuil 1975, 22–3: “La première ligne est pratiquement illisible. La forme du *l̄* est inhabituelle mais elle est connue par ailleurs.”

¹⁴ Dietrich 2007, 74; a list that might mention a Cretan.

¹⁵ Dietrich 2007, 74; servants are being appointed to a Cretan; Virolleaud 1965, 140. Found in the little palace; Gordon 1965, Text 2117, the text deals with personnel and their quotas.

¹⁶ Dietrich 2007, 74; servants are being appointed to a Cretan.

Catalogue of MM-LM I objects found in the Levant and beyond

All measurements are given in cm unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations

Deco:	Decoration
Exc:	Excavated
Exc. no.:	Excavation number
Ext:	Exterior
H:	Height
Imi:	Imitation
Imp:	Import
Int:	Interior
Inv. no.:	Inventory number
L:	Length
T:	Thickness
W:	Width
Ø:	Diameter

Ashdod

Ad 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: –.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM I-II.

Comments: Hankey & Leonard: 2–10 pieces indicated; (Dothan & Freedman: A few pieces from the stratum of Myc. pottery. The described piece is dated LH IIA-B, B 161/5. Rim sherd, bowl with handle attachment, deco: red; Stratum 3, locus 521, large building, LB II, early). Impossible to verify if these are the pieces indicated by Hankey & Leonard.

References: Hankey & Leonard 1992, map 4/5; (Dothan & Fredmann 1967, 76, fig. 18.14, pl. XIV.1)

Ajjul

Aj 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: LZ9.1032.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Alabastron, body sherd, deco: large rosette.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Building S of palace.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM IB/LH II.

Comments: Hankey & Leonard: LM IB or LH II; Petrie: Egyptian.

References: Leonard 1994, LM#21a, 197; Petrie 1933, 12, pl. XLII:42; Hankey & Leonard 1992, map 4/5; Hankey & Leonard 1998, 32; Hankey 1973, 107; Hankey 1974, 136 n. 24.

Aj 02

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: –.

Material: –.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM I, possibly.

Comments: The piece(s) has(-ve) not been verified.

References: Hankey 1973, 104.

Ashkelon

Ak 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares cup, rim, deco: “wavy-line”.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Moat Deposit, Gate 1 Phase 14/Gate 2 Phase 13.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA/Early 13. Dyn.

Stylistic date: MM IIB.

Comments: Stager: Well dated context as the only Kamares piece in the Levant. Dab^a in Egypt also firm date.

References: Stager 2002, 357, fig. 19;

Merrillees 2003, 136; Stager *et al.* 2008, 231, fig. 14.25; Bietak *et al.* 2009, fig. 1.14.

Alalakh

Al 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: ATP/48/16.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Body sherd, deco: red spiral.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Level V, tempel ruins.

Context date: LB I.

Stylistic date: MM III.

Comments: Åström: 1550–1435 BC.

According to Albright's chronology; Woolley: 1595–1447 BC.

References: Woolley 1955, 71, 370 pl. CXXIXa; Åström 1961–62, 148; Hankey 1993, 105 no.11; Strøm 1982, 369; Betancourt & Weinstein 1976, 336.

Al 02

Inv. no./exc. no.: ATP47/50.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Alabastron, sherd, deco: marine style.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Level VI, disturbed stratum.

Context date: Betancourt & Weinstein: destroyed around 16. cent. BC.

Stylistic date: LM IB/LH IIA.

Comments: –.

References: Betancourt & Weinstein 1976, 336, 338; Strøm 1982, 369; Woolley 1955, pl. 129.

Al 03

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Alabastron, fragments, deco: rosette and curved floral motif.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.
Context date: –.
Stylistic date: LM IB(?) or LH IIA(?).
Comments: –.
References: Leonard 1994, LM#21, 197; Hankey & Leonard 1992, map 4/5; Hankey & Leonard 1998, 32; Hankey 1973, 107; Hankey 1970–71, 15, fig. 1a (reconstruction).

AI 04

Inv. no./exc. no.: AT/47/82.
Group: Stone vase.
Description: Lamp, stemmed, fragmented, base and bowl same Ø.
Material: Basalt.
Measurements: Ø rim: 65.
Context: Temple, near altar, destruction level VII.
Context date: MB III/MB IIC.
Stylistic date: Minoan.
Comments: Sparks: Maybe Aegean craftsman in Alalakh; Woolley 294: Ø=61, pl. LXXVIIq; Ø=65.
References: Sparks 2007, 279, no. 1; Woolley 1955, 294, pl. LXXVIIIq.

AI 05

Inv. no./exc. no.: BM GR 1950.1–25.1. AT/39/280
Group: Stone vase.
Description: Stone lamp, unfinished, 12 wick holes.
Material: Brownish-red lime stone with white inclusions (Woolley: Marble).
Measurements: H: 16.1, Ø: rim 32.1, Ø: base 18.2.
Context: House 39/C, rubbish pit, between NW wall of room 16 and SW wall of main building.
Context date: LB IIB/Early Level II period (c. 1350 BC).
Stylistic date: MM III-LM IIIA.
Comments: Hankey: LM I; Sparks: Aegean craftsman in Alalakh or shipped unfinished?
References: Siebenmorgen 2000, 316, no. 299; Woolley 1955, 191, 294–5, pl. LXXIX; Warren 1969, 55–56, P 310a–b; Hankey 1973, 104; Sparks 2007, 9, 279, no. 2.

AI 06

Inv. no./exc. no.: AT/38/146.

Group: Stone vase.
Description: Table or stand, almost intact.
Material: grey and white “marble”.
Measurements: Ø rim: 10.3.
Context: Palace, room 27, Level IV, on floor.
Context date: LB IIA.
Stylistic date: MM-LM.
Comments: Woolley: Niqmepa’s palace.
References: Sparks 2007, 8, fig. 1.2, 279, no. 5; Woolley 1955, 296, pls. LXXX, LXXXII, 25.

AI 07a

Inv. no./exc. no.: AM no. 1957.35.
Group: Mural.
Description: 15 fragments of creme coloured grass blown by the wind, red background. “Buon fresco” and details in “al secco”.
Material: Lime plaster painted with inorganic colours.
Measurements: 25 x 20. T. intonaco max: 0.1.
Context: Yarimlim’s palace: Level VII, storeroom 13, fallen from room 4 – “Great salon” SW part.
Context date: MB III/MB IIC or late MB II/MB IIB.
Stylistic date: LM I/Aegean.
Comments: Woolley: West Asian artists made the Minoan frescoes. Niemeier: The other way around. Niemeier 2000: Perhaps placed between two horizontal beams in the wall; Yarimlim: Woolley: c. 1750 BC.; Niemeier: 2/2 of 17. cent. BC.
References: Woolley 1955, 94, 228, 231, pl. XXXVIIIa; Niemeier 1991, 190, 193, pl. XLVIb; 1998, 69–71; 2000, 783–4, fig. 16; Evely 1999, 47; Nunn 1988, 11–3, 24, 27–8, 31, 203, Table 2–3 fig. 69; Smith 1965, 102–3 fig. 136.

AI 07b

Inv. no./exc. no.: AM no. 1957.36 & 1957.37.
Group: Mural.
Description: 1957.36: Yellowish brown bulls horn and black spot; 1957.36, 37: yellow, black and purple horizontal band on white back-

ground. “Buon fresco” with details “al secco”.
Material: Lime plaster painted with inorganic colours.
Measurements: 29 x 16, bulls horn H: 22, T. intonaco max: 0.1.
Context: Yarimlim’s palace: Level VII, door opening between store rooms 11 & 12, or in room 12, fallen from room 4 – “Great salon” NE part.
Context date: MB III/MB IIC or late MB II/MB IIB.
Stylistic date: LM I/Aegean.
Comments: Niemeier 1998 & 2000: Horn from bucranium with double axe between the horns; Woolley: West Asian artists made the Minoan frescoes; Niemeier: The other way around; Yarimlim: Woolley: c. 1750 BC.; Niemeier: 2/2 of 17. cent. BC.
References: Woolley 1955, 94, 231 pl. XXXVIIIb; Niemeier 1991, 194; 1998, 69–71, 83, pl. Vie; 2000, 781–82 figs. 14–5; Evely 1999, 47; Nunn 1988, 11–3, 24, 27–8, 31, 203, Tables 2–3 fig. 72; Smith 1965, 102–3; Bietak 2007b, 282, fig. 16.

AI 07c

Inv. no./exc. no.: AM no. 1957.38 & 1957.39.
Group: Mural.
Description: 1957.38: Purple-brown triangles on red background, ending in a wavy line against white ground. Above this red again red background and green-grey ladder pattern; 1957.39: Red background with 2 narrow and 1 broad white line. “Buon fresco” with details “al secco”.
Material: Lime plaster painted with inorganic colours.
Measurements: 1957.38: 54 x 30.5cm, 1957.39: 27x70, T. intonaco max: 0.1.
Context: Yarimlim’s palace: Level VII, storeroom 13, fallen from room 4 – “Great salon”.
Context date: MB III/MB IIC or late MB II/MB IIB.
Stylistic date: LM I/Aegean.
Comments: Woolley: Treetrunk and part of the tree top. Niemeier 1998

& 2000: Wing of a griffin. Lying griffin on a rough surface. Woolley: West Asian artists made the Minoan frescoes. Niemeier: The other way around; Yarimlim: Woolley: c. 1750 BC; Niemeier: 2/2 of 17. cent. BC. *References:* Woolley 1955, 94, 230–1, pls. XXXVib, XXXVIIb–c; Niemeier 1991, 193–4, pl. XLVI; 1998, 84–5, pl. VI; 2000, 784–9 figs. 17–22; Evely 1999, 47 and fig. p. 48; Nunn 1988, 11–3, 24, 27–8, 31, 203, tables 2–3, figs. 70–1; Smith 1965, 102–3, fig. 137; Bietak 2007b, 282, fig. 15.

Al 07d

Inv. no./exc. no.: AM.

Group: Mural.

Description: Plastered and painted basalt orthostats, deco: creamy yellow, brown and black marbling, above: representation of architecture. “Buon fresco” with details “al secco”.

Material: Lime plaster painted with inorganic colours.

Measurements: –.

Context: Yarimlim’s palace: Level VII, room 5 = chamber of audience
Context date: MB III/MB IIC or late MB II/MB IIB.

Stylistic date: c. LM IA/Aegean.

Comments: Made in a later part of phase VII since it covered the earlier orthostats. Woolley: West Asian artists made the Minoan frescoes. Niemeier: The other way around; Yarimlim: Woolley: c. 1750 BC; Niemeier: 2/2 of 17. cent. BC. *References:* Woolley 1955, 92, 232; Niemeier 1991, 192–3; 2000, 772, 781.

Amman

Am 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: –.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM I–II.

Comments: Hankey & Leonard: between 1 and 10 LM I–II pottery pieces from Amman; (Hankey 1967:

(5 sherds) broken in antiquity, heirloom; 1967: One rim sherd with foliate band published independently from the reconstructed jar; 1974: 7 sherds, new reconstruction). Three-handled jar, seven sherds including base and rim, deco: palm tree, Ø base: 10; H: c. 3.5; Ø: 30–35, from LB II temple; Hankey 1970–71: Minoan shape, Mycenaean speciality; Kalogeropoulos: LH IIB Boeotia. *References:* Hankey & Leonard 1992 map 4–5; (Hankey 1973, 107, 108–9; Hankey 1967, 135–6, fig. 7, pl. 31, a I, b; 1970–71; 1974, 145, no. 1, fig. 1, pl. XXIXA; Kalogeropoulos, 2005, 395–7, pl. LXXXVIIIa).

Am 02

Inv. no./exc. no.: AM (1980.308–10); Amman Archaeological Museum / S 44.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: Neck, rhyton, Warren Type B I; Koehl Type II HL Ovoid.

Material: Cretan limestone.

Measurements: H: 2.7; Ø: 6.6; W rim: 2.3; H of reconstructed rhyton: 20.

Context: Temple.

Context date: LB II.

Stylistic date: LM I/Local.

Comments: Koehl: LB III context; Sparks: local chariot fitting, profile wrongly reproduced by Hankey, ‘lower edge’ turns in, not out. *References:* Hankey 1973, 104, 109; Hankey 1974, 175, fig. 3.44; Koehl 2006, no. 218, 105, 346; Sparks 2007, 12.

Am 03

Inv. no./exc. no.: AM (1980.308–10) Amman Archaeological Museum / S 45.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: Neck, rhyton, Warren Type B I; Koehl Type II HL Ovoid.

Material: Cretan limestone.

Measurements: H: 2; Ø: 6.4; W rim: 2.

Context: Temple.

Context date: LB II.

Stylistic date: LM I/Local.

Comments: Sparks: local chariot fitting.

References: Hankey 1973, 104, 109; Hankey 1974, 176, fig. 3.45; Koehl 2006, no. 219, 105, 346; Sparks 2007, 12.

Am 04

Inv. no./exc. no.: S 49.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: Stand, small, concave.

Material: Cretan limestone.

Measurements: H: 2.5; Ø: upper 2.6; Ø: lower 3.8.

Context: Temple.

Context date: LB II.

Stylistic date: LM I/Egyptian.

Comments: Sparks: Egyptian.

References: Hankey 1973, 104; Hankey 1974, 175, fig. 3.49, pl. XXXIV D; Sparks 2007, 11–2, fig. 20.1, 329, no. 610.

Assur

As 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: BM 116360 / Assur S 20176.

Group: Misc.

Description: Rhyton, top; Koehl Type II HL Ovoid.

Material: Faience, frit.

Measurements: H: 8.8, W: 10.8, mouth: 6; Ø rim: 8.2.

Context: Ishtar temple, Room 5 below mud filling, coordinates eB7III.

Context date: LB IIB, late.

Stylistic date: LM I(B)?

Comments: Koehl: LM I(?); Erection of temple: Tukulti Ninurta I (1244/3–1208/7 BC).

References: Hall 1928a, 64–74, fig. 5; Pendlebury 1939, 225; Bär pers. comm. Feb. 2008, Andrae’s notes on Ashur exc.; Hall 1928b, 226, fig. 299; Koehl 2006, no. 213, 105, 346, table 23, fig. 9, pl. 17; Evans 1935, 534–5, 779–80; Andrae 1935, 98, 99 pl. 41u.

Ain Shems/Beth Shemesh

AS 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares, sherd, dark red clay, deco: matt white geometric band on black–purple slip.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Below the Byzantine church.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM.

Comments: –.

References: Mackenzie 1911, 141; Ström 1982, 370; Åström 1961–62, 145.

AS 02

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: Bowl or jar, miniature

Material: ‘Alabaster’.

Measurements: H: 2.8, Ø: rim 2.4, Ø: base 2.

Context: Cistern 19, area R.30, stratum IV.

Context date: LB.

Stylistic date: Minoan?/(Egyptian?).

Comments: Sparks: Minoan? or maybe Egyptian. Catalogued as Minoan; Grant & Wright: Small alabaster pot.

References: Sparks 2007, fig. 1.4, 11, 279–80, no. 7; Grant & Wright 1938, pl. LVII.19.

Byblos

Bb 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: 4170.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Cup or bowl, deep, handleless, deco: red slip, white crossing lines and stylized trees and dots in three superimposed zones.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Levée XXI (4–4.2 m depth), level II, N of paving, room XXIII.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM I(B).

Comments: Byblos exc. In layers of 20 cm – no natural stratigraphy; Schaeffer: MM I – earliest imported Cretan vase in the Levant; Merrillees: MM IB.

References: Schaeffer 1948, 66, fig. 74, I; Dunand 1937, pl. CLXIV nos. 4170 & 1939a, 311 no. 4170; Betancourt 1998, 6; Smith 1965, fig. 20d; Åström 1972, 259; Merrillees 2003, 132; Ward 1971, 77, n. 313.

Bb 02

Inv. no./exc. no.: Museum of the American University at Beirut case 14 no. 17 no. 55. 121.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares, bridge-spouted jar, intact, finely levigated red clay, deco: floral, white and red.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: H: 14.4, Ø: 15.5.

Context: Tomb.

Context date: MB?

Stylistic date: MM I–IIB.

Comments: Found during construction work along with EB I and MB II *Material;* Buchholz: tea-pot shape; Kemp & Merrillees: MM I; Merrillees 2003: MM IIA; MacGillivray: MM IIB.

References: Baramki 1967, 25 pl. III; Kemp & Merrillees 1980, 274; Cadogan 1983, 514; Baramki 1973, pl. IV,1 and fig. 4,2; Buchholz 1974, 400; Merrillees 2003, 131, 135; MacGillivray 1998, 106; Siebenmorgen 2000, 317, no. 300; Caubet 1998, fig. P. 96.

Bb 03

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum no. B 3375.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares cup, rim, “egg-shell” ware, hemispherical; clay: fine, buff; deco: white and orange-red.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: Ø: 13.5.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM IIA.

Comments: –.

References: Cadogan 1983, 514, n.111; Merrillees 2003, 132, fig. 4.

Bb 04

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum B 3406.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares cup, base, deco: white.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM IIB.

Comments: –.

References: Cadogan 1983, 514, n. 111, 121; Merrillees 2003, 132, fig. 5.

Bb 05

Inv. no./exc. no.: 2986, Beirut National Museum, missing.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares, sherds, bridge-spout. 7 sherds found, among these 1 handle and 1 spout. These sherds derived acc. to Dunand (Schaeffer and Smith) from 2 vases (this and the next number); Dunand’s reconstruction with 6 of 7 sherds.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Temple (?), Levée X.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM I–IIIA.

Comments: From all 7 sherds one reconstruction was made (Smith fig. 19, Betancourt pl. IIB). Mentioned as Mycenaean by Dunand; This and the next no. are conceived as one jar by Kemp & Merrillees and Betancourt; Lambrou–Phillipson and Kemp & Merrillees: MM I; Betancourt: MM II; MacGillivray: MM IB–early MM IIIA; Cadogan: MM IIA.
References: Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 69; Smith 1965, 13, fig.19; Cadogan 1983, 514; Schaeffer 1948, 66–67, fig. 74,2–4; Betancourt 1998, 6 pl. IIB; Kemp & Merrillees 1980, 274; Dunand 1939a, 191, no. 2986; 1937, pl. CLXXVII, no. 2986; Merrillees 2003, 131–2; MacGillivray 1998, 106; Cadogan 1983, 514.

Bb 06

Inv. no./exc. no.: 2986, Beirut National Museum.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares, sherd(s). Uncertain shape; (7 sherds found, among these 1 handle and 1 spout. These sherds derived acc. to Dunand (Schaeffer and Smith) from 2 vases (this and the former number)).

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Temple (?), Levée X.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM I-III A early.
Comments: From all 7 sherds one reconstruction was made (Smith 1965, fig. 19, Betancourt pl. IIB). Mentioned as Mycenaean by Dunand; This and the former no. are conceived as one jar by Kemp & Merrillees and Betancourt; Lambrou-Phillipson and Kemp & Merrillees: MM I; Betancourt: MM II; MacGillivray: MM IB-early MM IIIA.
References: Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 69; Smith 1965, 13, fig. 19; Cadogan 1983, 514; Schaeffer: 1948, 66-7, fig. 74,2-4; Betancourt 1998, 6 pl. Iib; Kemp & Merrillees 1980, 274; Dunand 1939a, 191, no. 2986; 1937, pl. CLXXVII no. 2986; Merrillees 2003, 131-2; MacGillivray 1998, 106.

Bb 07

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum.
Group: Pottery.
Description: Kamares cup, strap handle.
Material: Clay.
Measurements: -.
Context: Niveau II.
Context date: MB I/IIA-II/IIB.
Stylistic date: MM.
Comments: Exc. in 1939; unpublished; Merrillees: exc. in 1938.
References: Schaeffer 1948, 71; Kemp & Merrillees 1980, 274; Dunand 1939b, 77; Merrillees 2003, 132, 135; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 69.

Bb 08

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum.
Group: Pottery.
Description: Kamares cup, strap handle.
Material: Clay.
Measurements: -.
Context: Niveau II.
Context date: MB I/IIA-II/IIB.
Stylistic date: MM.
Comments: Exc. in 1939; Unpublished; Merrillees: exc. in 1938.
References: Schaeffer 1948, 71; Kemp & Merrillees 1980, 274; Dunand 1939b, 77; Merrillees 2003, 132,

135; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 69.

Bb 09

Inv. no./exc. no.: 6549.
Group: Pottery.
Description: 3 sherds, deco: "ogival canopy", Palace style.
Material: Clay.
Measurements: T: 0.5.
Context: Tranchée 67, bordering the sea and the "zone quadrilée".
Context date: -.

Stylistic date: LM IB/LH IIA.

Comments: Dunand & Stubbings: Mycenaean.
References: Dunand 1939a, 6549; 1937, pl. CLXXVII; Stubbings 1951, 53-4, fig. 10a-c; Hankey 1973, 107.

Bb 10

Inv. no./exc. no.: 1575.
Group: Pottery.
Description: Sherd, closed shape, deco: Marine style.
Material: Clay.
Measurements: -.
Context: Temple, Levée II, 28.80-28.60 m.
Context date: -.
Stylistic date: LM IB/LH IIA.
Comments: By Dunand not recognized as Aegean.
References: Mountjoy 1984, 217, fig. 27; Dunand 1927, 106, no. 1575, pl. CLXXVII; Stubbings 1951, 54, fig. 10d; Leonard 1994, 129, no. 1923; Hankey 1973, 107.

Bb 11

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum.
Group: Metal vase.
Description: Bowl, fragmented with spiral deco. in 2 bands.
Material: Silver.
Measurements: Ø: c. 15.
Context: Limestone sarcophagus in Tomb I (Abishemu), Djebail rock S-W of castle.
Context date: MB I/IIA, Ammenemhet III.
Stylistic date: MM IB-MM IIB/Anatolian/(Local) imi.
Comments: Davis: not Minoan - more likely Anatolian. Pottier:

Mycenaean; MacGillivray: MM IIB; Cadogan: MM IB/MM II or imi., c. 1800-1790 BC.
References: Virolleaud 1922, 284, figs. 4-5, no. 11 and pl. LXIV; Cadogan 1983, 514; Schaeffer 1948, fig. 63M; Montet 1928, 191-2, no. 748; 1929, pl. CXI, 748; Davis 1977, 83-5, fig. 64; Pottier 1922, 298-300; Kantor 1947, 20; Buchholz 1999, fig. 101a; MacGillivray 1998, 105-6.

Bb 12

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum.
Group: Metal vase.
Description: Bowl, 13 fragments, deco: spirals in repoussé.
Material: Silver.
Measurements: -.
Context: Tomb II (Ypchemouabi, son of Abishemu), near Tomb I, Djebail rock SW of castle.
Context date: MB I/MB IIA, Ammenemhet III-IV.
Stylistic date: MM IB/MM II/Anatolian/(Local) imi.
Comments: Davis: Possible imi. of the bowl in Tomb I and regards Anatolia as the most probable origin of the original; Cadogan: imp or imi.
References: Cadogan 1983, 514; Davis 1977, 79, 83-5; Montet 1928, 192 no. 749; 1929, pl. CXIII, 749.

Bb 13

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut Museum, 17309.
Group: Metal vase.
Description: Jug with high foot, int. repairs, channeled body, long spout and high looped handle.
Material: Silver.
Measurements: H: 14; Ø: 15.6.
Context: Limestone sarcophagus in Tomb I (Abishemu), Djebail rock SW of castle.
Context date: MB I/MB IIA, Ammenemhet III.
Stylistic date: Minoan?/Anatolian/(Local) imi.
Comments: Davis: not Minoan - more likely Anatolian. Pottier: Mycenaean; Montet: local; Higgins: Minoan or imi.; MacGillivray: not

central Crete.

References: Virolleaud 1922, 282 figs. 4–5 no.10 and pl. LXIV; Schaeffer 1948, 65, fig. 63; Montet 1929, pl. CXI, 746; Davis 1977, 79–83, fig. 60; Pottier 1922, 300–1; Kantor 1947, 20; Montet 1928, 189–90, no. 746; MacGillivray 1998, 105–6; Warren 1980, 105; Higgins 1967, 40; Caubet 1998, 85, fig. in text p. 83.

Bb 14

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum.

Group: Metal vase.

Description: Jug, very similar to jug from Tomb I, though larger and with lid and sieve.

Material: Silver.

Measurements: H: 17.1.

Context: Tomb II (Ypchemouabi, son of Abishemu), near Tomb I, Djebail rock SW of castle.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA, Ammenemhet III–IV.

Stylistic date: Minoan?/(Local) imi.

Comments: Davis: Later than the silver jug from Tomb I and possibly a local copy of it.; Montet: Local; Higgins: Minoan or local imi.

References: Schaeffer 1948, fig. 63; Montet 1928, 190–1 no. 747; 1929, pl. CXII 747; Davis 1977, 79–83, fig. 59 & 61; Kantor 1947, 20; Warren 1980, 105; Higgins 1967, 40.

Bb 15

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum.

Group: Metal vase.

Description: Cup, semiglobular/hemispherical, smooth with out-turned rim.

Material: Bronze.

Measurements: Ø: 7.

Context: Limestone sarcophagus in Tomb I (Abishemu), in pot no. 7, Djebail rock SW of castle.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA, Ammenemhet III.

Stylistic date: MM IB/MM II/ imi?

Comments: Cadogan MM IB or MM II imp. or inspiration.

References: Cadogan 1983, 514; Vi-

rolleaud 1922, 279 fig. 2+2bis (Only one of this and the next no. is depicted – uncertain which).

Bb 16

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum.

Group: Metal vase.

Description: Cup, hemispherical, smooth, out-turned rim.

Material: Bronze.

Measurements: Ø: 7.

Context: Limestone sarcophagus in Tomb I (Abishemu), in pot no. 7, Djebail rock SW of castle.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA,

Ammenemhet III.

Stylistic date: MM IB/MM II/imi.?

Comments: Cadogan MM IB or MM II imp. or inspiration.

References: Cadogan 1983, 514; Virolleaud 1922, 279, fig. 2+2bis (Only one of this and the former no. is depicted – uncertain which).

Bb 17

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum.

Group: Metal vase.

Description: Jug, hole in body.

Material: Bronze.

Measurements: H: 35.

Context: Limestone sarcophagus in Tomb I (Abishemu), Djebail rock SW of castle.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA, Ammenemhet III.

Stylistic date: Minoan/Aegean.

Comments: Evans: Minoan.

References: Virolleaud 1922, 288, pl. LXVI 1.12, fig. 4.12; Kantor 1947, 20; Evans 1928, 655.

Bb 18

Inv. no./exc. no.: 15596.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: Lamp with two wick holes.

Material: green stone,

schist/“gabbro”.

Measurements: H: 8.8; Ø: 14.

Context: Rectangle 12/16, depth: 24.60–24.40, Levée XVIII.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM I.

Comments: Dunand indicates this might be a lamp but did not recognize it as Minoan.

References: Dunand 1958, 783, no. 15596; Dunand 1950, pl. CCV; Hankey 1973, 104; Warren pers. comm. May 2008; Sparks 2007, 279 no. 3.

Bb 19

Inv. no./exc. no.: 6498.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: Bowl, hemispherical, deco: floral relief, Warren's blossom bowl.

Material: Steatite.

Measurements: H: 4.5.

Context: 1.2 m. depth in the middle of trench 63.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: End MM III-LM I.

Comments: –.

References: Dunand 1939a, 418 no. 6498 and 1937 pl. CL; Kantor 1947, 20, n. 29; Warren 1969, 17; Sparks 2007, 11, 280, no. 8.

Bb 20

Inv. no./exc. no.: Exc. no. 1332; Beirut Museum No. 12179.

Group: Seal.

Description: Lentoid, very worn, deco: goat or stag.

Material: Amphibolite, green.

Measurements: Ø: 1.6.

Context: Levée I, temple area, square 3.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM I.

Comments: Not recognised as Minoan by Dunand. According to Müller: probably LM I lentoid of a soft stone. Attributions with reservation made from Dunand's old publication. *References:* Dunand 1939a, 91, no. 1332; 1937, pl. CXXVII; Müller pers. comm. January 2009.

Bb 21

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Misc.

Description: Scraper, concave sides and convex cutting edge, 2 holes preserved.

Material: Bronze.

Measurements: L: c. 5.5, W: 3.9, T: 0.2.

Context: –.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA.

Stylistic date: EM III-MM IA.

Comments: Branigan: The scraper, a pyxis lid (*cf.* Main text 1, p. 12–3) and a votive agrimi horn (Bb 22) are the earliest Cretan exports to the Levant; Lambrou-Phillipson: context: MB I.

References: Branigan 1967, 120, ill. 2.5; 1970, 186–7, fig. 43,7; Betancourt 1998, 6, pl. IIc; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 69; Dunand 1939a, 254, no. 3707 fig. 222.

Bb 22

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Misc.

Description: Votive agrimi horn.

Material: Bronze or copper.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: EM III - MM IA.

Comments: Branigan: This piece, the scraper (Bb 21) and a pyxis lid (*cf.* main text 1, p. 12–3) are the earliest Cretan exports; the piece has not been verified.

References: Betancourt 1998, 5, n.7; Branigan 1970, 186–7.

Beirut

Br 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum no. F.620. Exc. No. 45.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares cup, stemmed double base, intact, “egg shell” ware, deco: polychrome.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: Uncertain, mended (H: 15, Ø: 23).

Context: Karji cemetery, Grotte 4, chambre 1/Tomb 1.

Context date: Warren & Hankey: XII dyn.(pre-1800 BC) MB I/Merrillees: uncertain.

Stylistic date: MM IIA-MM IIIA.

Comments: MacGillivray: MM IIB/early MM IIIA.

References: Warren & Hankey 1989, 134–5, pl. 12A; Saidah 1993–94, pl.

17.1a-c and 18a-b; Hankey 1993, 106 no. 26; Cadogan 1983, 514; Buchholz 1974, 400, 437; Merrillees 2003, 135; MacGillivray 1998, 105; Bagh 2002, 100.

Gezer

Gz 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Cup, body, deco: ext. figure eight shield and rosette, “Alternating style”.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Near the palace in II 28.

Context date: Macalister: 2nd Semitic period (2nd intermediate period up to and including 18.Dyn.).

Stylistic date: LM IB/LH II.

Comments: Hankey & Leonard 1998, wrongly mentioned as from Acco, “Persian Garden Cemetery”. The Acco piece is, however, dated LM IIIA:2 by Leonard 1994 LM#1, Stubbings: LH II.

References: Macalister 1912, II, 155 fig. 318; Leonard 1994, LM#2, 193–4; Hankey & Leonard 1992, map 4/5; Hankey & Leonard 1998, 32; Stubbings 1951, 55 no. 4, fig. 12; Hankey 1973, 107.

Gz 02

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Cup, rim and body, base missing, deco: ext. running spiral.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM IA or B(?).

Comments: –.

References: Leonard 1994, LM#4, 194; Macalister 1912, III, pl. CLI:9; Hankey & Leonard 1992, map 4/5; Stubbings 1951, 55, no. 1, fig. 11a; Hankey 1973, 107; Furumark 1972, 647; Hankey 1974, 136, n. 24.

Gz 03

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Rim sherd, deco: wavy line, floral.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM IB/LH II.

Comments: Stubbings: LH II Kylix; Hankey: LM IB/LH II; Furumark: Minoan.

References: Stubbings 1951, 55, no. 3, fig. 11c; Hankey 1973, 107; Furumark 1972, 647; Macalister 1912, pl. CLI 18.

Gz 04

Inv. no./exc. no.: Istanbul Museum no. 2496.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: Alabastron with light patches; Warren: Type A.

Material: Green serpentine.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: EM III-MM I.

Comments: Lambrou-Phillipson: LM IB; Ward, Kemp & Merrillees, Warren: produced in EM III-MM I. *References:* Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 70; Warren 1969, 5; Betancourt 1998, 5; Ward 1971, 125 n. 470a; Kemp & Merrillees 1980, 279.

Hama

Hm 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery

Description: –.

Material: Clay

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM.

Comments: The piece has not been verified.

References: Hankey & Leonard 1992, map 4/5.

Haror

Hr 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: Inv. no. 20984.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Body sherd, large vessel

(pithos?), graffito made pre-firing, 3 logogrammes. From the right: fig, textile + TE and bulls head. Because of the date either Hieroglyphs or Linear A. Sherd deliberately removed from pithos.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: T: 1.4, ext. dimension c. 10 x 10.

Context: Area K, locus 8038 upper floor – phase K4a, sanctuary.

Context date: MB III/MB IIB

Stylistic date: Minoan.

Comments: Oren *et al.*: NAA and petrographic analysis showed non-Cretan or Israelic clay; Day *et al.*: More refined micropalaeontologic analysis points to Crete and maybe even the area around Pyrgos on the S coast.

References: Oren *et al.* 1996, 91–118;

Day *et al.* 1999, 191–5.

Hazor

Hz 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem reg.no. C 718/20 (Acc. to Yadin *et al.* 1960, no. C 718/10) and C 370/18.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares, open shape, 2 joining sherds, deco: greyish-black slip, white spirals int. and ext.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: T: 0.8.

Context: Area C, lower town, Locus 6206, Stratum 3.

Context date: End MB III/MB IIC.

Stylistic date: MM IIB or MM IIIA.

Comments: Dothan *et al.*: Petrographic analysis points to Crete. Another sherd C370/17 is dismissed as Cretan from the petrographic analysis. Merrillees: Its Cretan origin is questioned by Cadogan and Betancourt; Walberg: Classical Kamares.

References: Dothan, Zuckerman & Goren 2000, 1–15, fig. 1; Åström 1961–62, 146; Hankey 1993, 106, nr. 33; Ward 1971, 78; Yadin *et al.* 1960, 91, pl. CXV, 13; Cadogan 1983, 14; Walberg 1987a, 70; Merrillees 2003, 135–36; MacGillivray 1998, 105.

Hz 02

Inv. no./exc. no.: A 6470/1.

Group: Pottery.

Description: 2 sherds, perhaps three-handled jar, deco: dark on light, lily.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Area A, Locus L 20.

(225.00), unstratified.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM IB/LH IIA.

Comments: Yadin: Mycenaean.

References: Yadin *et al.* 1961, pl. CXCVI, 21, CCCXII, 25; Hankey 1967, 123; 1973, 107; 1974, 136, n. 24.

Hz 03

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: –.

Material: –.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM I, possibly.

Comments: Might Hankey refer to one or more of the objects used as comparison in 1974, 176. The piece has not been verified.

References: Hankey 1973, 104.

Kabri

Kb 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Sherd, Polychrome ware, deco: spiral?, black and red.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Palace, Locus 2024, related to floor 703, southern room below room 703.

Context date: MB II/MB IIB.

Stylistic date: MM III, possibly.

Comments: –.

References: Yasur-Landau & Cline 2008, 6, fig. 10a.

Kb 02a

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Mural.

Description: Fragments of a miniature frieze with houses, ships, swallow and other details. “Buon fresco” with

details “al secco”.

Material: Lime plaster painted with inorganic colours.

Measurements: –.

Context: Palace: Area D, Fill in doorway between rooms 611 & 607, room 740 and fill in corridor 698, outside palace on wall/road 2129.

Context date: MB II/MB IIB.

Stylistic date: LM I/Aegean.

Comments: Niemeier: Very much like the ship fresco from Akrotiri; Niemeier 1995: Reconstructed circling the upper part of Room 611; Niemeier: MB IIB or late MB IIB, ante 1600 BC; Yasur-Landau & Cline: MB II renovation, 17th cent. BC.

References: Niemeier 1991, 197; 1993, 332–3; 1995a, 6–10, fig. 1.9–14; 1995b, 677–8, pl. 4.1–3; 1998, 77–8, 85–9, pl. Vc-d, Via-c; 2000, 763–6, 776–80, fig. 9–13; 2002, 266–70, pl. XXXV; Evely 1999, 48; Cline 1995, 268; Bietak 2007b, 282, 285, 287, figs. 19–22; Yasur-Landau & Cline 2008, 8; 2009, 3, fig. 35.

Kb 02b

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Mural.

Description: 45 wall plaster fragments, coloured, 1 with string impression.

Material: Plaster, possibly painted.

Measurements: –.

Context: Palace, Area N of Room 740, behind wall 673, loci 2027 & 2033, destruction debris.

Context date: MB II/MB IIB.

Stylistic date: Minoan/Aegean.

Comments: Renovation, 17th cent. BC.

References: Yasur-Landau & Cline 2008, 4, fig. 6a & b.

Kb 02c

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Mural.

Description: Floor, deco: Grid made of red string impressed lines. Marbling and floral motifs. Colours: red, yellow, brown, grey, black and blue. “Buon fresco”.

Material: Lime plaster painted with inorganic colours.

Measurements: 10,3 x 10.3. In all over

600 squares, each c. 40 x 40.
Context: Palace: Area D, Room 611 & doorway from room 607.
Context date: Niemeier: MB IIC or late MB IIB, ante 1600 BC.
Stylistic date: LM IA/Aegean.
Comments: Niemeier and Kempinski 1993: LM IA.
References: Niemeier 1991, 196–9, pls. XLVII–LI; 1993, 332; 1998, 71–3, 75–78, 85–9 pl. Va,c,d, Via-c; 1990, 123–4, fig. 5–6; 2000, 763–76, figs. 1–8; 1995a, 1–6, figs. 1.2, 1.3–8, 1.14; 1995b, 675–7, pls. 1.2–3.2; 2002, 255–66, pls. IV–XII, fig. 6.1; Bietak 2007b, 882, fig. 18; Kempinski & Niemeier: 1990, xvi–xxi, fig. 10; 1991, 188, 192, figs. 4–5; Kempinski 1993, 72; 1997, 329; Evely 1999, 48; Wolff 1991, 505–6, fig. 15; Cline 1995, 267.

Kb 02d

Inv no./exc no.: -.
Group: Mural.
Description: Fragments, floor, 1 fragment with incised line and blue/grey band, some red fragments.
Material: Plaster, painted.
Measurements: -.
Context: Palace: Area D South, Locus 3055, on floor (L. 3079 = L. 3053).
Context date: MB II/MB IIB.
Stylistic date: Minoan/Aegean.
Comments: Yasur-Landau & Cline: Aegean techniques; Renovation, 17th cent. BC.
References: Yasur-Landau & Cline 2009, 1, 2, 6.

Kb 02e

Inv no./exc no.: -.
Group: Mural.
Description: Fragments, wall painting, deco: red, yellow, blue background, min. 10 pieces with blue background, black borders.
Material: Plaster, painted.
Measurements: -.
Context: Palace: Area D South, Locus 3055, on floor (L. 3079 = L. 3053).
Context date: MB II/MB IIB.
Stylistic date: Minoan/Aegean.

Comments: Yasur-Landau & Cline: Aegean techniques; Blue background – Minoan/Knossos; Renovation, 17th cent. BC
References: Yasur-Landau & Cline 2009, 1, 2, 6, fig. 7b.

Kāmid el-Lōz

KL 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: no. 670 (KL78:1204).
Group: Pottery.
Description: Bridge-spouted jar, fragmented.
Material: Clay.
Measurements: -.
Context: Royal tomb: “Schatzhaus”, Palace P4, str. P4d.
Context date: c.1480–1340 BC/LB.
Stylistic date: LM IB.
Comments: Lilyquist: Eight sherds excavated in 1978 (handle and body sherds) have been identified as the missing original sherds from a partly restored bridge-spouted jar bought on the art market.
References: Miron 1990, Abb. 82–3; Lilyquist 1994, 107–208, figs. 33–34, pl. 16.

Lachish

Lc 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: 31194 (List no. 131).
Group: Pottery.
Description: Alabastron, tall, sherd, deco: Marine style, octopus.
Material: Clay.
Measurements: -.
Context: Area GE 1, Locus 4585, domestic remains just N of inner City Gate, room(?) 4168; Fills of IV floor.
Context date: IR.IIA.
Stylistic date: LM IB/LH IIA.
Comments: -.
References: Hankey & Leonard 1998, 32; Leonard 1994, 128, no. 1918; Mountjoy 1984, 217; Hankey *et al.* 2004, 1379, 1403, fig. 22.10: 5, 22.16: 14.

Minet el-Beida

MB 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: Louvre RS 2.[041]

AO 13159 = AO 18650.

Group: Stone vase.
Description: Stone lamp, fragment, deco: “snails” on rim.
Material: Chlorite.
Measurements: H: 7.5, Ø: 24.
Context: -.
Context date: -.
Stylistic date: MM III-LM IIIA.
Comments: -.
References: Caubet 1991, 215, 218, pl. 7.2, 12.10; Siebenmorgen 2000, 318, no. 304; Sparks 2007, 8–9, fig. 1.1, 279, no. 4.

Michal

Mc 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: 6533/1.
Group: Pottery.
Description: “Tea-cup”, fragments, hemispherical, deco: possibly spiral.
Material: Clay.
Measurements: -.
Context: Locus 956, S part of the hill.
Context date: -.
Stylistic date: LM I/LH I.
Comments: Herzog *et al.*: The earliest LM I piece in the SE Mediterranean; Leonard: LM I(?); Herzog *et al.*: LM IA or LH I.
References: Leonard 1994, LM#6, 194; Herzog *et al.* 1989, 61–2, pl. 58.7; Hankey & Leonard 1998, 31.

Nami

Nm 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: -.
Group: Misc.
Description: *Lathyrus Clymenum*, 259 seeds in and outside 4 storage jars on floor.
Material: Charred seeds.
Measurements: -.
Context: Storeroom C1 and courtyard C2.
Context date: MB I/MB IIA; No later than 1750 BC.
Stylistic date: Aegean/ Perhaps Cretan.
Comments: Kislev *et al.*: *Lathyrus Clymenum* is not indigenous to the Near East but in the Aegean (and further west). The present specimens show most resemblance with modern Cre-

tan specimens. Earliest Aegean finds: West House, Akrotiri, LM IA and LM II house at Knossos.
References: Kislev, Artzy & Marcus 1993, 145–54.

Pella

PI 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: –.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM I-II.

Comments: Uncertain number of objects – between 1 and 10; The pieces have not been verified.

References: Hankey & Leonard 1992, map 4/5.

Qatna

Qt 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares cup, rim, deco: white and red.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: N side of palace hill/cliff.

Context date: du Mesnil du Buisson: around 15th cent. BC; Ward: Stratum contemporary with MB I/MB IIA in Ugarit.

Stylistic date: MM IIA/B.

Comments: Merrillees and MacGillivray: no context is recorded in the report. Cadogan & Ward: MM IIA; Walberg: Classical Kamares; MacGillivray: MM IIB.

References: Cadogan 1983, 514; Åström 1961–62, 146; Smith 1965, 14, fig. 20c; du Mesnil du Buisson 1926, 325, fig. 41; Schaeffer 1948, 117, fig. 102; Walberg 1987a, 70; Ward 1971, 78; Merrillees 2003, 131; MacGillivray 1998, 106.

Sidon

Sd 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: S 3011.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Cup, Kamares, intact,

MacGillivray: Tall rimmed angular/carinated cup, deco: white and orange.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: H: 7.1, Ø: 10.8.

Context: Animal bone deposit next to warrior tomb 23.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA, early.

Stylistic date: MM IIA.

Comments: MacGillivray: Origin: Mesara.

References: Doumet-Serhal 2003, 12–3; 2008, 21, 31, figs. 29, 33, figs. 32, 34, fig. 33; MacGillivray 2003, 20–4; 2004, 124–31 incl. figs.; 2008, 45–9 incl. figs.; Merrillees 2003, 135.

Sukas

Sk 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Sherd.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM-LM I/LH I(?).

Comments: Ploug: MM-LM I?/LH I; Hankey: LH I?

References: Ploug 1973, 6, 9, 110, pl. I,6; Hankey 1967, 113, no. 1.

Ta'annek/Ta'anach

Ta 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Bridge-spouted jar, 4 sherds, among these a large handle fragment, deco: spiral.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Depot I destruction layer.

Context date: LB I/Tutmosis III's 23rd reg. year.

Stylistic date: LM IB/LH IIA.

Comments: Leonard: Chemical analysis showed central Crete or Peloponnese as point of origin; Manning LH IIA; von Beckerath 1997 and Kitchen 2000: 1456 BC; Warren & Hankey: Some scholars do not think the city was sacked by Thutmose III.
References: Warren & Hankey 1989, 116, 142 figs. 6–7; Hankey 1993, 106, no. 39; Strøm 1982, 370; Buch-

holz 1974, 416; Betancourt & Weinstein 1976, 338; Leonard 1994, 195 LM#12, n. 208; Hankey & Leonard 1998, 32; Manning 2007, 122; Hankey 1973, 107, 109; Lapp 1967, 32–3, fig. 23; Sørensen 2009, fig. 3.

Ugarit

Ug 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: Louvre, Storeroom no. AO 13149.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares cup, almost intact, deco: very corroded.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Necropolis between Ba'al and Dagan temples.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA/UM2.

Stylistic date: MM IIA.

Comments: –.

References: Saltz 1977, 55; Schaeffer 1948, 22, pl. XII,25; 1939b, 22, 54; 1949, pl. XVI,25; Kemp & Merrillees 1980, 274; Kantor 1947, 18; Karageorghis 1965, 203, n. 3; Merrillees 2003, 128, fig. 1, pl. 1a.

Ug 02

Inv. no./exc. no.: Louvre, Ras Shamra hall inv. no. AO 20365/Inv.no. 11.573 EC 2347.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares cup, intact, “egg shell” ware, deco: Ivy, circulating the cup.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: Ø: 12, H: 6.5.

Context: Dromos of tomb 86 in 6.77 m. depth.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA?/UM 2.

Stylistic date: MM IIA.

Comments: Saltz: Problematic context, no other published finds from same context; MacGillivray suggests the cup has been painted over in LM IA, generations after manufacture.
References: Schaeffer 1939b, 22; 1949, 256, fig. 109 and pl. XXXVIII; 1939a, 279–80; Schaeffer 1962, xxxi; Saltz 1977, 54; Kemp & Merrillees 1980, 274; Smith 1945, 4–5; Buchholz 1974, 400; Merrillees 2003, 130–1, pl. 1b; Siebenmorgen 2000, 319, no. 305; MacGillivray 1998, 106.

Ug 03

Inv. no./exc. no.: AM no. 1938.581.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Cup, hemispherical, rim sherd.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Ossuary below Tomb 36?

Context date: MB II/MB IIB?

Stylistic date: MM IIA.

Comments: Merrillees: this sherd might derive from the ossuary under tomb 36 (same deposit as Ug 05) and thus be inv. No. 1.536 in Vallois & Ferembach.

References: Cadogan 1983, n. 108; Merrillees 2003, 130, figs. 2–3; Vallois & Ferembach 1962, 567.

Ug 04

Inv. no./exc. no.: Unknown.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Bridge-spouted jar, spout fragment.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: H: 4, L. spout: 4, L: 7, Ø: c.10.

Context: Southern acropolis, topographical point 3739.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA/UM 2.

Stylistic date: MM II (A?)/Local imi.?

Comments: Merrillees: Maybe local imi.

References: Courtois 1978, 218–9, fig. 8,2; Merrillees 2003, 131.

Ug 05

Inv. no./exc. no.: Louvre inv. no. AO 25554/Inv. No. 8843.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares, rim, “egg-shell” ware, deco: floral.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: Ø: 10; Merrillees Ø 14.5.

Context: Tomb 36, ossuary below clay floor.

Context date: MB I/MB IIB/UM 2.

Stylistic date: MM IIA/B.

Comments: Vallois & Ferembach: 1962, 567: hints that two Kamares ware sherds were found here (nos. 8.843 and 1.536); Schaeffer only mentions one cup sherd from this context; MacGillivray: MM IIB.

References: Schaeffer 1939b, 22, 54–56, figs. 43–44; 1948, 16 pl. VJ24; 1949, 50–1, fig. 109A; Ward 1971, 77–8; Saltz 1977, 53–4; Kemp & Merrillees 1980, 274; Buchholz 1999, 390, fig. 69b; Walberg 1987; 70; Kantor 1947, 18; Smith 1945, 4–5; Buchholz 1974, 400; Merrillees 2003, 130; MacGillivray 1998, 106.

Ug 06

Inv. no./exc. no.: Louvre R.S. 62.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares, sherd, hand-made, large closed vessel, burnished, clay: coarse, gritty, deco: red-brown and white.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: T: 0.95.

Context: Southern Acropolis.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM IIB.

Comments: –.

References: Merrillees 2003, 131, pl. 1c.

Ug 07

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares, sherd, “egg-shell” ware.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Palace Garden stratum 2.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA/UM 2.

Stylistic date: (MM).

Comments: Kuschke does not mention if this or the next no. stems from the same vase.

References: Kuschke 1962, pl.III, 6; Merrillees 2003, 131.

Ug 08

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares, rim, “egg-shell” ware.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: Ø: 10.

Context: Palace Garden stratum 2.

Context date: MB I/MB IIA/UM 2.

Stylistic date: (MM).

Comments: Kuschke does not mention if this or the former no. stems from the same vase.

References: Kuschke 1962, pl. III, 5; Merrillees 2003, 131.

Ug 09

Inv. no./exc. no.: –.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Base, deco: Marine Style.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Near Tomb IV, 50 cm depth.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: LM IB/LH IIA.

Comments: Schaeffer: Mycenaean, found near cuneiform tablet; Leonard lists the piece as found in Minet el-Beida.

References: Leonard 1994, 129, 200, no. 1924; Schaeffer 1949, 226, fig. 95.13; Hankey 1973, 107.

Ug 10

Inv. no./exc. no.: RS 1933.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Sherd, deco: dark brown zig-zag pattern, dots.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: –.

Context: Grave 5.

Context date: LB II/UR 3.

Stylistic date: LM I?

Comments: Schaeffer did not recognize this piece as Minoan; Kemp & Merrillees 1980 counts the sherd as “possible” LM I vase; Schaeffer: UM 3 = 1365–1200 bc.

References: Schaeffer 1949, 136–7, fig. 50.1; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 70; Kemp & Merrillees 1980, 275.

Ug 11

Inv. no./exc. no.: Louvre 84 AO 410, RS 8.538.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: Cup (lamp?) with long handle, deco: 4 grooves below rim.

Material: Chlorite.

Measurements: H: 4; L: 7.5.

Context: Acropolis, trench slope, 2° – 3° niveau.

Context date: MB II/MB IIB.

Stylistic date: Minoan.

Comments: Sparks: Cup: EM II-MM I, lamp: MM-LM I; Caubet: Not recognised as foreign.

References: Sparks 2007, fig. 1.3, 11, 279, no. 6; Caubet 1991, 209, pl. 1.7, VIII.1.

Ug 12

Inv. no./exc. no.: 83.5156.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: Conical base(?) fragment, ridge at narrow end, deco: incised chevrons.

Material: Chlorite.

Measurements: L: 3.4; Max. Ø: 1.9; Ø ridge: 1.6.

Context: Rue 35 (next to “Temple aux Rhytons”).

Context date: LB.

Stylistic date: Minoan?

Comments: Sparks: miniature or model vessel, Origin: ?

References: Elliott 1991, 52, fig. 15.7–8; Sparks 2007, fig. 1.6, 11, 280, no. 10.

Ug 13

Inv. no./exc. no.: RS 1–31.[014] Louvre 85 AO 742.

Group: Stone vase.

Description: Jar, globular, fragment, shoulder, deco: spirals.

Material: Chlorite.

Measurements: H: 2.9, Ø: 3.5.

Context: «Sanctuaire à l'est» (?).

Context date: LB.

Stylistic date: Minoan?

Comments: –.

References: Caubet 1991, 241, pl. XII.12; Sparks 2007, fig. 1.5, 11, 280, no. 9.

Ug 14

Inv. no./exc. no.: RS 15.257 Damascus?

Group: Stone vase.

Description: Vase(?), fragments, deco: vertical spirals.

Material: Diorite.

Measurements: H: 21.

Context: Royal Palace, Area 45, topographical point 149, 0.7 m and 167 at 2.4 m.

Context date: LB/UR.

Stylistic date: Minoan?

Comments: Caubet compares the piece to 16.022 which is compared to the lamp 2.041, but she has not

seen the piece. Pers. comm. May 20 2008.

References: Caubet 1991, 215, 230.

Unknown

Uk 01

Inv. no./exc. no.: Beirut National Museum, B 16728/ 11/3 N3 XXVII.

Group: Pottery.

Description: Kamares, Vapheio cup, strap handle, fragmented, “egg shell” ware, flat base, deco: spiral.

Material: Clay.

Measurements: (H: 7, Ø: 10) uncertain – mended.

Context: Kharji tomb area/?

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM.

Comments: Buchholz 1974, 400; Strøm 1982, 370 mention one intact cup from Byblos in the Beirut National Museum with the incorrect nr. 11/3/13/XXVII; Merrillees: This cup has been counted as from either Beirut or Byblos by different scholars. B 16728 and 11/3 N3 XXVII is actually one and the same cup of uncertain origin.

References: Saidah 1993–94, pl. 17, 2a–c; Merrillees 2003, 132, figs. 6–7; Cadogan 1983, 514, n. 111.

Uk 02

Inv. no./exc. no.: BM 1956.6–30.2.

Group: Seal.

Description: Signet, Kenna: “Stalk shaped”, Yule: Petschafte “Croix Pommée”, crescent patterns.

Material: Pale green jasper or marble.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM IIA.

Comments: –.

References: Kenna 1965, no. 33; Buchholz 1974, 436.

Uk 03

Inv. no./exc. no.: Maritime Museum Haifa.

Group: Seal.

Description: Prism, deco: ship.

Material: –.

Measurements: –.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM II.

Comments: Müller: the seal might have been found at Byblos.

References: Basch 1987, 102, D4, 121; Müller pers. comm. January 2009.

Uk 04

Inv. no./exc. no.: AM no. 1890.106.

Group: Seal.

Description: Prism, 3-sided, deco: a. calf + plough(?), b. separated in four spaces each depicting a shell, c. hard to identify – like a.

Material: Dark green or black steatite.

Measurements: L: 1.4, W: 1.2; 1.0; 1, Ø. String hole: 0.25.

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM.

Comments: Mentioned by Lambrou-Phillipson as Syrian(?) imp. to the Aegean.

References: Kenna 1960, 96, no. 56, pl. 4; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 278; Buchholz 1974, 436.

Uk 05

Inv. no./exc. no.: AM no. 1889.660.

Group: Seal.

Description: Signet, deco: palm branch and 2 other signs. Acc. to Kenna: possibly gilded.

Material: Bronze.

Measurements: H: 1.5, Ø. Stamp surface: 1, Ø. String hole: 0.2

Context: –.

Context date: –.

Stylistic date: MM.

Comments: –.

References: Kenna 1960, 104, no. 116 pl. 6.

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