

# Two new Proto-White Painted ware vases of the pictorial style from Palaepaphos, Cyprus

## Abstract\*

The publication of two Proto-White Painted ware pictorial style vases found at the necropolis of Palaepaphos-Skales in Cyprus is preceded by a discussion of several issues relating to this style which appeared early in the 11th century BC. In recent years scholars have expressed conflicting views about the origin of the silhouetted pictorial motifs (birds, quadrupeds, human figures etc.), which appear next to the linear geometric decoration on such vases, usually amphorae and kraters. Some have expressed the view that the influence comes from Syria. Here it is proposed that the silhouetted figures of Proto-White Painted ware are derived from a Cypriote style with both local and Aegean characteristics, which developed in the 12th century BC. The pictorial motifs of this style, drawn both in outline and silhouette, are combined with linear geometric motifs, also in panels. In Proto-White Painted ware the pictorial motifs become rare and small. In order to be distinguished from the dominant linear geometric motifs they are rendered primarily in silhouette. The shapes of vases and the decoration of Proto-White Painted ware are mainly of Aegean character.

*Keywords:* Palaepaphos-Skales, Cypriote pottery, Proto-White Painted ware, pictorial

## Introduction

Continued excavations in the rich, well-known necropolis of Skales in the Kouklia (ancient Palaepaphos) area emphasize the importance of this region for the history and archaeology of Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> Recent investigations at Skales have produced se-

veral tombs ranging in date from Late Cypriote IIIB (c. 1125–1050 BC) to the Classical period. These tombs, together with discoveries previously made in the Plakes, Xylinos/Xerolimni and Hadjiabdullah localities in the Kouklia area, have produced a large quantity of important material, leading to a new understanding of the topography of the ancient city.<sup>2</sup>

Of particular interest, beyond the irrefutable importance of the Skales area in the overall study of the topography of Palaepaphos, is its contribution to the art of Early Iron Age Cyprus. In the Skales tombs a series of vessels of Proto-White Painted and White Painted wares bearing rich geometric decoration, and in some cases pictorial motifs, have been discovered. These new finds constitute an important addition to the known repertoire of Cypriote pictorial art of the Geometric period, with regard both to their iconography and their technique.

Considering the rarity of pictorial decoration in Cyprus in the Early Iron Age and its importance in understanding artistic developments on the island, we decided to isolate from their context and present in this article two pictorially decorated vessels, a stirrup jar and an amphora, which are among the earliest of those found in recent excavations. The stirrup jar is the first known vessel of this type with pictorial decoration, while the amphora illustrates a rare theme involving a man and an animal, probably a horse.

These vessels were found in two tombs excavated in the south-eastern part of the site, to the north of the earthen track leading to the Ha Potami River. This particular area of

---

\* The text of the Introduction is by Efstathios Raptou and the text of the remainder of the paper by Vassos Karageorghis. We are grateful to Jennifer Webb for her editorial assistance. Vassos Karageorghis would also like to thank Efstathios Raptou, who invited him to publish the two vases from his excavations at Palaepaphos. Photographs of the vessels were taken by Athanasios Athanasiou and the drawings were done by Monika Wiech and Jean Humbert. We are grateful to them all. Finally we would like to thank the three reviewers of our article for their constructive remarks and suggestions.

---

<sup>1</sup> For a brief reference to the most recent excavations by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus in this area see Karageorghis & Raptou 2014, where new tombs from three distinct cemeteries of the ancient city are presented. A second volume by the same authors, where more Late Cypriote IIIB and Cypro-Geometric tomb groups will be published, is in preparation.

<sup>2</sup> Karageorghis & Raptou 2014, 1–5.

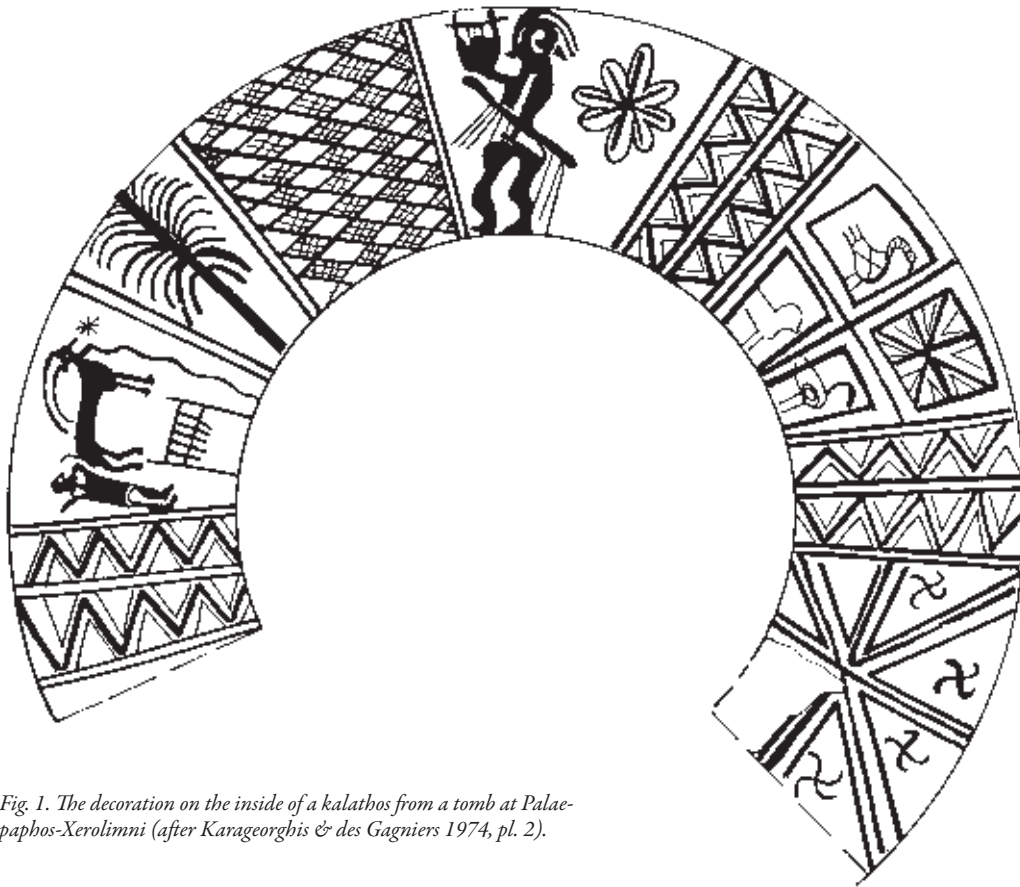


Fig. 1. The decoration on the inside of a kalathos from a tomb at Palaepaphos-Xerolimni (after Karageorghis & des Gagniers 1974, pl. 2).

the extensive Skales cemetery seems to have been in use from the beginning of the 11th century BC, since it has produced most of the tombs dated to the Late Cypriote IIIB and Cypro-Geometric I (c. 1050–950 BC) periods.<sup>3</sup>

The Skales tombs generally contained a small number of items, mostly vases and occasionally other artefacts, such as jewellery, and were probably used for single burials. Although the finds have not yet been fully restored, it is clear that a number of tombs in the south-eastern part of the cemetery contain material that can be dated exclusively to Late Cypriote IIIB (early 11th century BC). Tomb 221, which produced stirrup jar no. 7, contained other vessels dated to this period, while Tomb 226, in which amphora no. 23 was found, produced vessels attesting to the use of this tomb in both Late Cypriote IIIB and Cypro-Geometric I.

<sup>3</sup> Tombs in this area containing material of Early Geometric date were first located during the excavations of Iliffe and Mitford; see Karageorghis & Raptou 2014, 3.

## The Silhouette Style: Near Eastern origin?

The publication in 1967 of a kalathos of Proto-White Painted ware from a tomb at Palaepaphos-Xerolimni<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 1) gave new impetus to the study of this particular style of Cypriote pottery of the Late Cypriote IIIB period (1125–1050 BC), which marks the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. In spite of the fact that large numbers of vases decorated in Proto-White Painted ware style have since come to light from excavations of tombs and settlement sites throughout the island, very few vases decorated with pictorial motifs have been found. In a corpus compiled in 1997 Iacovou<sup>5</sup> assembled only twelve examples to which we tentatively suggested adding two more the same year.<sup>6</sup>

Further excavations in the cemeteries of Palaepaphos have brought to light a few more pictorially decorated vases of Proto-White Painted ware, which are important additions to the corpus. This style must have been popular in the Palaepaphos area, a phenomenon which may explain its continued

<sup>4</sup> Karageorghis 1967.

<sup>5</sup> Iacovou 1997, 62–63.

<sup>6</sup> Karageorghis 1997, pls. XVIIa, XXa.

popularity in the same region during the Cypro-Geometric I period.<sup>7</sup> Two new pictorially decorated vessels from Palaepaphos are presented in this paper. Their description is preceded by a discussion of several issues relating to the nature and origin of the pictorial decoration of Proto-White Painted ware.

Previous studies of the Proto-White Painted ware Pictorial Style raised the problem of its origin. In 1970 Marguerite Yon put forward the hypothesis that, together with Crete, which was undoubtedly a source of inspiration for the pottery styles of Cyprus during the 11th century BC, one might also consider the Levantine coast and particularly Hama in Syria, where a pictorial style with motifs in silhouette (birds, quadrupeds, humans) appeared between 1200 and 1075 BC.<sup>8</sup> This hypothesis found a strong supporter in Maria Iacovou, who argued at length in favour of a Levantine origin for the Silhouette Style of Cyprus, considering a Cretan origin “utterly unfounded”.<sup>9</sup> Interestingly, the excavator of Hama, R.J. Riis, sees some influence from Mycenaean pottery in the creation of the so-called Gazelle-and-Bird and Palm-and-Panelled zig-zag wares of Late Bronze Age Palestine, which came from the Mycenaeanized parts of the east, e.g. Cyprus<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 2). Both the Aegean and Cyprus had close relations with the Syro-Palestinian coast during the period in question.

A similar view was put forward by Lenz.<sup>11</sup> He supported the suggestion that the characteristic type of bird of 12th century BC vase-painting, which recalls a swan, with a heavy stylized body and a long S-shaped neck, disappeared at the end of the Late Helladic IIIC: Middle/Late Minoan IIIC period and that a new type, which differs from Late Helladic IIIC and Late Minoan IIIC, made its appearance in Cypriote vase-painting between Late Cypriote IIIB and Cypro-Geometric IA, i.e. in Proto-White Painted ware iconography. He came to the conclusion that the birds of this new type, with small stylized bodies, were related to birds from the Levantine region, namely Hama in Syria. He further proposed that during the second half of the 11th century BC the Cypriote style bird was exported to the Aegean, something which we find most unlikely, considering the general character of the vase-painting of the two regions.

Lenz's view is based only on the type of birds—not giving adequate attention to other motifs, such as human beings and quadrupeds—and does not take into consideration the general changes which took place in the pictorial style of the Greek Mainland and Crete during the 12th–11th centuries BC.



Fig. 2. Two pictorially decorated jars from Hama (after Riis 1948, figs. 25 and 28).



Fig. 3. Horse rhyton of uncertain origin of Proto-White Painted ware (after Catling 1974, pl. XVI.6).

Furthermore, the bird's body, like that of fish, is too simple to show clear stylistic changes from one period to another. In the discussion which follows we shall try to trace the changes in stylistic tendencies concerning the pictorial style from the Late Cypriote IIIA to Late Cypriote IIIB periods, and place them in the context of the serious political and cultural changes which occurred in Cyprus during this period of transition.

The main argument for a Syrian influence on the pictorial style of Late Cypriote IIIB (Proto-White Painted) is the use of silhouette in many of its motifs. These motifs, however, are not always in silhouette. The Palaepaphos-Xerolimni Tomb 9 kalathos<sup>12</sup> is an example, along with two others.<sup>13</sup> The horse rhyton with painted decoration, which includes three animal figures in outline, is an undisputable example (Fig. 3).

<sup>7</sup> For a comprehensive survey see Iacovou 1988.

<sup>8</sup> Yon 1970.

<sup>9</sup> Iacovou 1988, 82–84; 1992, 223–224; 1997, 68–69.

<sup>10</sup> Riis 1973, 203, 205; also Faivre 2013.

<sup>11</sup> Lenz 1995, 41–43.

<sup>12</sup> Iacovou 1997, corpus no. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Iacovou 1997, corpus nos. 7 and 12.



Fig. 4. The pictorial decoration of a pyxis from Kastelli Pediados (Crete) (after Retbemiotakis 1997, fig. 15).

To accept, as Iacovou proposes, that the potter who made this rhyton was familiar with the Proto-White Painted ware style, while its painter “came from a different background”,<sup>14</sup> is not a convincing argument.

Penelope Mountjoy, in an article published in 2010 about the Levantine characteristics of the Philistine pottery, also proposed Levantine influences on the Cypriote ceramics of the transitional period from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age.<sup>15</sup> She compared the birds on a very late krater of the Pastoral Style from Dhali with quadrupeds in the Silhouette Style on a krater from Ashkelon, though she admits that the

Dhali krater is not decorated in the usual Pastoral Style, which started as a local replacement of Aegean styles and rapidly degenerated. We would call the pictorial decoration on the Dhali krater “styleless”. The problem of the Silhouette Style has been adequately discussed in our paper.

While we do not deny that the Cypriote potters of the Late Cypriote IIIA/B Pictorial Style may have had some influence from the Levant and may have retained some traditional local Cypriote characteristics, the overall appearance of their pictorial figure drawing and compositions as well as their repertory of shapes are predominantly Aegeanizing.

<sup>14</sup> Iacovou 1997, 69.

<sup>15</sup> Mountjoy 2010, 10.



Fig. 5. The decoration of a Proto-White Painted ware pyxis in the Cyprus Museum (after Karageorghis 1997, pl. XIV.a).

## Abbreviated compositions

Another argument by Iacovou which we should consider here relates to attempts by the painters of Proto-White Painted ware to represent a composition of figures. She asks: “Do they create themes? Hardly so. They are certainly trying to express something, but they do not tell a story”, for example in the scene of Heracles killing the Snake of Lerna on the base of the well-known dish of Cypro-Geometric I date from a tomb at Palaepaphos-Skales.<sup>16</sup>

It is true that the painters of Proto-White Painted ware were “trying to represent something” not in the traditional style, but in a new one, which we encounter in Late Minoan IIIB–IIIC pictorial compositions, e.g. on a pyxis from Kastelli Pediados<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 4), where an attempt is made to combine the hunt of a goat with its sacrifice on a sacrificial table. The hunter, the goat, the sacrificial table and the stylized tree appear together in “sacred hunts” as a standard iconographic code.<sup>18</sup> Sacrifices in Minoan Crete take place in the open air or in the open courts of palaces. The tree seems to indicate an outdoor shrine. The birds may indicate the presence of the divinity, as on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus.<sup>19</sup> Iacovou<sup>20</sup> suggested a Syro-Palestinian influence for the tree on the Palaepaphos kalathos, but leafy trees are not uncommon in Minoan iconography.<sup>21</sup> On the Hagia Triada sarcophagus a flute player produces music during the sacrificial ritual.

On the Palaepaphos kalathos we have a lyre player, depicted either as part of the sacrificial ritual or heralding the feast which will follow the sacrifice. This abbreviated style in narrative may be seen also on a Proto-White Painted ware pyxis now in the Cyprus Museum<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 5), where the “sacred hunt” scene consists of a goat, a bird and a human figure holding in one hand a kylix to be used for a libation during the sacrificial ritual, and even more concisely on a Cypro-Geometric III amphora now in the Louvre, where the “sacred hunt” is combined with a libation scene, followed by a feast. The story is narrated in an abbreviated style, as a *pars pro toto*, with symbolic motifs placed in panels: a goat, a bird, a sacrificial table, an amphora, an oenochoe and a lyre.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, we should note that in the “sacred hunt” scene on the Palaepaphos kalathos the goat, the hunter and the sacrificial table are not standing on firm ground, but float in space”, as on the Kastelli pyxis and on two Minoan larnakes from Armenoi and Maroulas near Rethymno.<sup>24</sup> In this respect we should point out that the painters of vases and the painters of sarcophagi may have been the same; sarcophagi offered a broader and more convenient space for pictorial compositions.

A glance at the pictorial motifs from Hama will show that their painters did not achieve the ambitious compositions or portray the abbreviated groups of symbols of the Minoan and Cypriote examples mentioned above. Pictorial compositions telling a story appeared earlier in Near Eastern vase-painting, e.g. on a 13th–14th century BC mug from Ugarit, where a mythological scene of an offering to the God El is depicted.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Iacovou 1997, 66, cat. no. 33.

<sup>17</sup> Rethemiotakis 1997; Kanta 1998, 55–56.

<sup>18</sup> Rethemiotakis 1979, 258.

<sup>19</sup> For sacrificial ritual in Minoan Crete see Marinatos 1986, 42–49.

<sup>20</sup> Iacovou 1988, 82.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Kanta 1980, pl. 136.1.

<sup>22</sup> Iacovou 1997, corpus no. 9.

<sup>23</sup> For further discussion see Karageorghis 2006, 541–544.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Iacovou 1997, 69.

<sup>25</sup> Courtois 1969, 111–112.

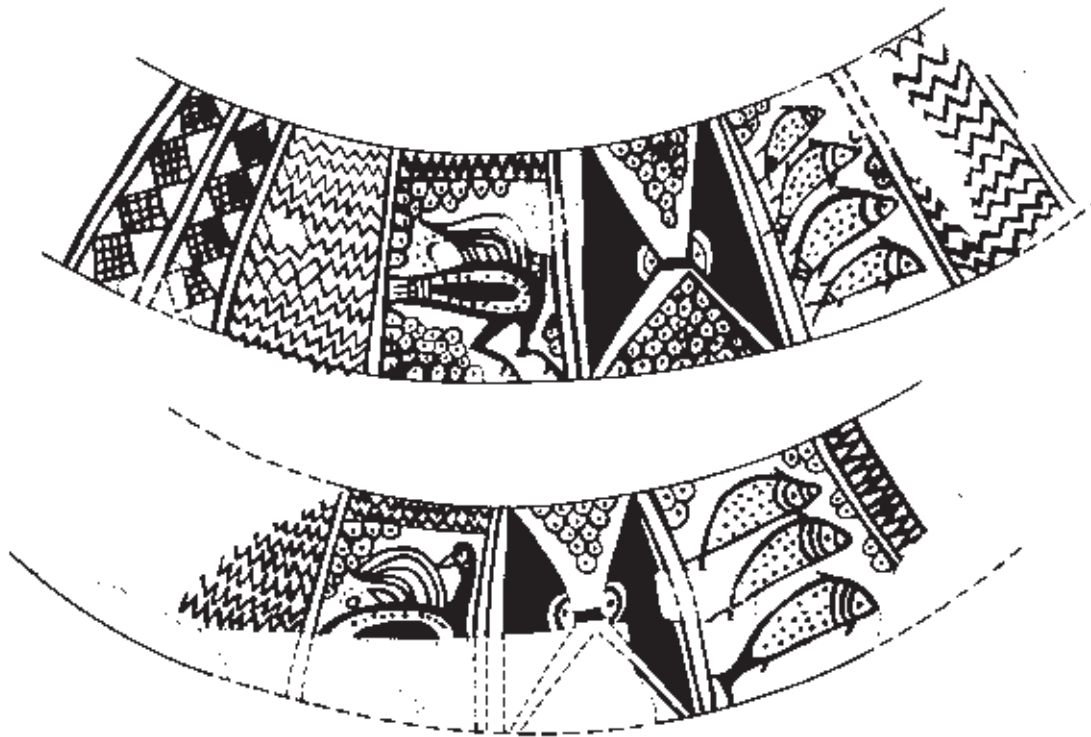


Fig. 6. The decoration of a Late Cypriote IIIA krater from Kition, no. 3806 (after Karageorghis 1981, pl. XIII).

If there was an influence from Near Eastern pottery, one would expect to find such pottery vessels imported to Cyprus and to witness their influence on other aspects of the repertory of motifs of the Cypriote pictorial style. Instead, Aegean and local elements are predominant. The only Levantine influence which one might consider is the use of two colours (black and red) in figure drawing.<sup>26</sup>

We have already put forward our arguments in favour of a Cretan influence on the pictorial style of Proto-White Painted ware. We should add, however, that some aspects of this style started already in Late Cypriote IIIA (early 12th century BC) and developed in Late Cypriote IIIB. Iacovou<sup>27</sup> repeatedly and very rightly pointed out the necessity to define the home link of the Cypriote animal style in order to elucidate the origin of the Silhouette Style of Late Cypriote IIIB. She mentioned a few examples, like the Sinda krater,<sup>28</sup>

a krater from Hala Sultan Tekke decorated with a palm tree and quadrupeds,<sup>29</sup> a krater from Kourion published by Benson as an import from Syria,<sup>30</sup> but very probably Cypriote as Benson finally admitted,<sup>31</sup> and a krater from Kition (no. 3806)<sup>32</sup> (Fig. 6). Superimposed fish, within panels, as they appear on the supposed “Syrian” amphora from Kourion (B1003), appear on Kition krater no. 3806. In the panelled decoration of Late Cypriote IIIA, where motifs were placed in order and symmetrically in panels, it is quite natural that they should follow the symmetry of the rest of the decoration. Superimposed fish appear already on the pyxis from Kastelli Pediados.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See, however, Karageorghis 2000, 52–53, no. 72.

<sup>27</sup> Iacovou 1997, 68.

<sup>28</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, VI.60.

<sup>29</sup> Åström 1983.

<sup>30</sup> Benson 1960.

<sup>31</sup> Karageorghis 1977 and postscript by Benson.

<sup>32</sup> Karageorghis 1977, no. 3806.

<sup>33</sup> Rethemiotakis 1997, 414–415, figs. 14–15.



Fig. 7. The decoration of a Late Cypriote IIIA bell krater from Kition, no. 1107 (after Karageorghis 1981, pl. X.27).

### Late Cypriote IIIA pictorial compositions: the missing link

We propose to group here the few more known pictorially decorated vases of Late Cypriote IIIA, which may help us to understand the genesis of the Late Cypriote IIIB pictorial style. They either follow the traditional Mycenaean/Minoan IIIB and IIIC styles or the new local panelled style:

1. A bell krater from Kition decorated with leaping boars confronted on either side of a central rectangular panel<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 7).
2. A bell krater from Hala Sultan Tekke with panelled decoration containing abstract geometric motifs as well as the Minoan religious symbols of “horns of consecration” and “double axe”, covering the whole of the main zones between the handles<sup>35</sup> (Fig. 8). The panelled decoration is also characteristic of the Kition krater no. 3806 mentioned above.
3. A fragment from a bell krater from Sinda, decorated with the outlined neck and head of a horse.<sup>36</sup>
4. A fragment from a large vase, probably a krater, depicting a “warrior in an aggressive pose, holding a weapon”.<sup>37</sup> The excavator, Peter Fischer, proposed that this may be “the work of a fresco painter or a Cypriote painter working in a new way



Fig. 8. Fragment of a Late Cypriote IIIA bell krater from Hala Sultan Tekke decorated with symbols of Minoan religion (photo: Cyprus Museum).

but drawing on traditional techniques”.<sup>38</sup> If it is an Aegean import, this may strengthen the argument that Aegean influence led to the local pictorial style of 12th/11th century Cyprus. The figure is painted in red, black and white and probably imitates the Mycenaean IIIC pictorial style of Tiryns.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Karageorghis 1981, 12, pl. X.27.

<sup>35</sup> Karageorghis 1984, 943, fig. 143.

<sup>36</sup> Karageorghis 2002, 89, fig. 177.

<sup>37</sup> Fischer 2011, 77–78, fig. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Fischer 2011, 77–78.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Slenczka 1974, pl. 1; Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, X.1–X.7; Güntner 2000, pls. 1–2.



Fig. 9. The decoration of a Late Cypriote IIIA bell krater from Sinda (after Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, VI.60).

5. A fragment of a krater from Sinda, depicting a horse in silhouette flanked by spiral motifs, all in individual panels<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 9).

In our 1977 article<sup>41</sup> we tried to demonstrate the strong affinities of the panelled decoration of krater no. 3806 from Kition and Aegean vase-painting of the 12th century BC, citing a number of examples (krater sherds) from Enkomi Levels IIIA and Level IIIB.<sup>42</sup> They are decorated with geometric motifs but also with birds and fish. The Enkomi material is important, because it takes us down to early Level IIIB, which is the immediate predecessor of strata containing Proto-White Painted ware pottery. Dikaios himself considered the panelled decoration as a local development based on Mycenaean tradition mingled with Cypriote or Near Eastern influences.<sup>43</sup> This style was not unknown in Palaepaphos.<sup>44</sup>

## Recently discovered Late Cypriote IIIA pictorial kraters from Hala Sultan Tekke

Recent discoveries in the settlement at Hala Sultan Tekke include three important bell kraters dating to Late Cypriote IIIA, decorated with pictorial motifs combined with geometric designs in the panelled style.<sup>45</sup>

Krater A, named by its excavator, Peter Fischer, “the Creature Krater”<sup>46</sup> (Fig. 10), is decorated on one side with two bulls confronted on either side of a stylized flower motif, following the tradition of Mycenaean IIIB pictorial style vase-painting.<sup>47</sup> On their back stands a bird; below one of the bulls there is a dog in silhouette. The bulls and birds are rendered

in outline; the bull’s body is divided into three parts with the forepart and the hind part filled with scale pattern and the middle with vertically arranged curved lines recalling some Pastoral Style bulls.<sup>48</sup> The general appearance of the bulls and birds, however, recalls that of the Mycenaean IIIB style.<sup>49</sup> The other side of the vase breaks completely from Mycenaean IIIB traditional vase-painting. The whole of the zone between the handles is decorated in the panelled style, with small panels filled with small abstract motifs; two, however, are decorated with one fish rendered in outline, one with two opposed fish and one with two opposed birds, all rendered in outline. The stylistic arrangement of the panels and their motifs recall those on Kition krater no. 3806, mentioned above,<sup>50</sup> which, however, is decorated on both sides in the same style.

Krater B (Fig. 10), called by the excavator the “Bird Krater”,<sup>51</sup> of which only one side is preserved, is decorated with two large birds in outline, confronted on either side of a large rectangular metope. The metope is divided into four horizontal zones, of which the upper three are filled with abstract motifs, recalling the second side of Krater A, and the lower panel with two antithetic birds, bearing a striking resemblance to birds on a Mycenaean IIIC bowl from Tarsus<sup>52</sup> and another from Palaepaphos.<sup>53</sup> Superimposed panels with antithetic birds appear on Late Minoan larnakes.<sup>54</sup>

Krater C (Fig. 10), known as the “Horned God Krater”, is the most recent discovery.<sup>55</sup> The preserved side is divided into three rectangular panels. The two on the right are filled with pictorial motifs and the one on the left with smaller panels, horizontal and vertical, filled with small abstract motifs. The panel on the extreme right is occupied by a bull figure to left in silhouette, except the head which is outlined. In front of the

<sup>40</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, VI.60.

<sup>41</sup> Karageorghis 1977.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. Dikaios 1971, pls. 306–309.

<sup>43</sup> Dikaios 1971, 852–853.

<sup>44</sup> Maier 1985, 119, pl. XVI.14.

<sup>45</sup> Fischer 2012, 77–79, with an interesting discussion about the problem of defining the “White Painted Wheelmade Pictorial Style (WPPS)” of the Late Cypriote IIIA period.

<sup>46</sup> Fischer 2011, 82, fig. 15 and text.

<sup>47</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, V41.

<sup>48</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, V11–V15.

<sup>49</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, V44–V46.

<sup>50</sup> Karageorghis 1981, pl. XIII.

<sup>51</sup> Fischer & Bürge 2013, 57, fig. 12 and text.

<sup>52</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, XIII.10.

<sup>53</sup> Maier 1984, pl. 4.4.

<sup>54</sup> E.g. Mavriyannaki 1972, 63–67, larnax no. 7, pls. XX–XXI.

<sup>55</sup> Fischer & Bürge 2014, 81, figs. 27, 28 and text. I am grateful to Peter Fischer and Teresa Bürge who allowed me to see their report on this krater and also a drawing of the decoration before publication.



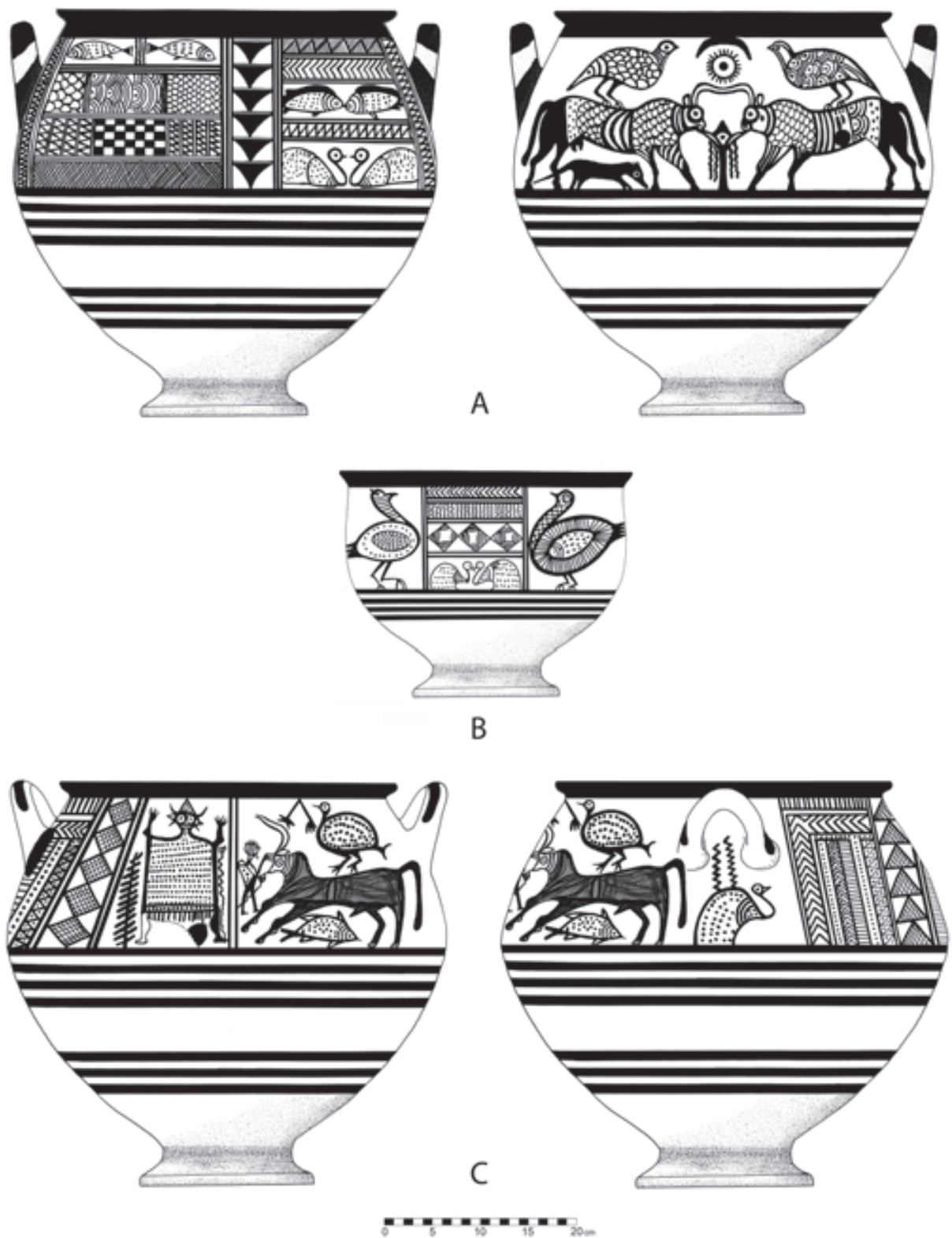


Fig. 10. Bell krater A from Hala Sultan Tekke (after Fischer 2011, 82, fig. 15); Bell krater B from Hala Sultan Tekke (after Fischer & Bürge 2013, 57, fig. 12); Bell krater C from Hala Sultan Tekke (after Fischer & Bürge 2014, 81, figs. 27, 28).

bull there is a small human figure in outline facing the animal; above the bull, on the animal's back, there is a bird in outline facing left, and below a fish in outline, facing right. Behind the bull, below the horizontal loop handle of the krater, there is a bird to right, in outline, which is almost identical with the confronted birds within a rectangular panel on Krater B; the same may be said about the fish motif on both kraters, which suggests that the two vessels were decorated by the same painter. It is not easy to say what the human figure is doing; he stretches one arm to touch the animal's forehead, and with the other hand he holds a rope, illustrating a degree of familiarity between the human and the animal, and recalling a scene from Mycenaean vase-painting.<sup>56</sup> The fish and birds simply fill the vacant spaces of this idyllic countryside composition.

The central panel is filled with an extraordinary male figure, who occupies the whole of the panel. He is rendered *en face*, which constitutes a bold step on the part of the Cypriote vase-painter; recalling some rare attempts by Mycenaean vase-painters.<sup>57</sup> He wears a rectangular robe filled with dots, with tassels at the lower border reaching his knee. His left leg is drawn in silhouette and his right leg in outline; this may be accidental rather than intentional. He raises both arms, not unlike the similarly rendered lyre player on the well-known Late Minoan IIIB pyxis from Kalami (Crete), who forms part of a religious scene taking place in a cult place.<sup>58</sup> This robed figure also recalls human figures on a Late Minoan IIIB larnax from Armenoi; they also have an outlined rectangular body, their garments reach the knee and they raise both arms.<sup>59</sup> Our robed figure wears what looks like a conical helmet with horns, recalling the two bronze statues depicting horned male deities from Enkomi and a figure on a Cypro-Geometric I footed bowl from Palaepaphos,<sup>60</sup> who also raises his arms, like the well-known female divinity who originated in the Aegean. The face of the Palaepaphos horned figure is in profile and he does not wear a robe. On the right side of the Hala Sultan Tekke figure there is a stylized tree, on his left a three-headed snake is depicted vertically with the head up and the tail reaching his left foot. Between his legs and near the left foot there is an unidentifiable object in silhouette. The three-headed snake

recalls the two-headed snake on the base of the White Painted I dish from Palaepaphos-Skales, mentioned above.<sup>61</sup> This is not an ordinary human being. His large size (compare the size of the human figure facing the bull), his dress and helmet, his attributes (a tree and a snake) and his attitude with raised arms give him a divine character,<sup>62</sup> perhaps associated with a myth which survived in Palaepaphos down to the Cypro-Geometric I period.

It is possible that all three kraters from Hala Sultan Tekke were made in the same workshop, which may have been associated with the workshop which produced Kition krater no. 3806.

## New stylistic tendencies

We are familiar with the stylistic tendencies of Late Mycenaean IIIB and IIIC pictorial vase-painting, where animals or birds or fish are confronted on either side of a metope filled with chequers.<sup>63</sup> During this late phase of Mycenaean vase-painting we also have birds in a whirling movement<sup>64</sup> or in a row;<sup>65</sup> fish in various attitudes,<sup>66</sup> and fish and birds together.<sup>67</sup> Animals are rendered both in outline and in silhouette.<sup>68</sup>

The habit of decorating bell kraters and amphoroid kraters with the same pictorial composition on both sides had already been broken in a few cases in Mycenaean IIIB,<sup>69</sup> where antithetic birds are rendered on one side in outline and on the other side one of them in silhouette, and more often in the local "Pastoral Style" which falls within the very early Late Cypriote IIIA period.<sup>70</sup> Whereas initially the local "Pastoral Style" vase-painters intended to replace the imported Mycenaean IIIB vases of the pictorial style, very soon they abandoned the "Pastoral Style", which degenerated,<sup>71</sup> and created a new style which has been variously labelled "White Painted Wheelmade III" and "White Painted Wheelmade Pictorial Style" (WPPS).<sup>72</sup> It is characterized by a mixture of Mycenaean iconography of the pictorial style and local elements, both pictorial and geometric, placed within small rectangular panels arranged vertically and horizontally within the main handle

<sup>56</sup> Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, IV.32.

<sup>57</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, V.43.

<sup>58</sup> Tzedakis 1970, 111–112.

<sup>59</sup> Lenz 1995, pl. 24.2.

<sup>60</sup> Iacovou 1988, fig. 55, cat. no. 24.

<sup>61</sup> Iacovou 1988, figs 77–78, cat. no. 33.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Marinatos 1986, 42–49.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, V.90, V.109, V.115, V.127, X.48, X.87; Karageorghis 2002, 89, fig. 174.

<sup>64</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, V.116–V.124.

<sup>65</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, V.125, IX.96.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, V.128–V.134, X.102–X.106.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, V.126, X.95, XII.19.

<sup>68</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, XI.13, XI.82.

<sup>69</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, V.27, V.115.

<sup>70</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, VI.17, VI.19.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, VI.45, VI.48.

<sup>72</sup> See Fischer & Bürge 2013, 56–57.

zone of bell kraters and amphoroid kraters, as we have seen above. A similar style began to be developed in the Aegean<sup>73</sup> and the Levant.<sup>74</sup> The Cypriote vase-painters of Late Cypriote IIIA must have been familiar with these stylistic changes in the Aegean and the Levant, but they also introduced their own elements in the creation of the new style.<sup>75</sup>

The Enkomi ceramic material indicates that this style prevailed in Levels IIIA and early IIIB, almost throughout the 12th century BC.

The purpose of this long excursus has been to demonstrate that the stylistic changes in the pictorial style of Proto-White Painted ware of Late Cypriote IIIB were initiated already in Late Cypriote IIIA by Cypriote vase-painters and we do not need to seek new influences from elsewhere, namely Syria. Iacovou has already suggested such a process with the bird motif on a Proto-White Painted ware askos,<sup>76</sup> taken from the Pastoral Style. This does not mean, however, that the process of development of the new pictorial style of Proto-White Painted ware continued exactly on the lines of the 12th century. The panelled decoration with geometric motifs was much in favour in the decoration of vases of all shapes. The pictorial motifs became rare (human, animal, birds) and were often small and placed on obscure parts of the vessel surface, where they could not disturb the overall geometric appearance of the decoration. The earliest and most convenient way to include a small pictorial motif was to use the silhouette, which gave a solid substance to the motif and allowed it to appear clearly within the geometric linear decoration. The bird and the quadruped on the amphora from Kourion,<sup>77</sup> for example, would have looked out of place if drawn in outline. This accentuation and differentiation from the rest of the decoration was also necessary in view of the small size and secondary position of the pictorial motifs. When in some rare cases the Cypriote vase-painters wished to tell a story, they applied the ingenious method of their Cretan counterparts, placing abbreviated symbolic motifs in metopes or two or three pictorial motifs next to each other. This method was used, as we saw above, also in the Cypro-Geometric III period.

The political changes which took place in Cyprus during the Late Cypriote IIIB period saw a gradual rise to political and cultural authority of people of Aegean origin who had settled in the island during the 12th century BC. This naturally influenced the repertory of the new style of vase-painting, Proto-White Painted ware. The panelled decoration,

which started in the 12th century BC on an almost experimental basis, side by side with the traditional pictorial style, now predominated. Neither pictorial motifs nor compositions were abolished, but they became rare and followed new rules, which came from the Greek Mainland and also from Crete, the home of a large portion of the new immigrants. The “sacred hunt” on the Palaepaphos kalathos and the shield-bearer holding a kylix on the pyxis in the Cyprus Museum<sup>78</sup> are but a few characteristic examples. For the latter Iacovou quotes Sherratt’s interpretation of the scene as “a deliberately retrospective symbolic reference to a specifically Aegean and Greek-speaking past”.<sup>79</sup> It will be interesting in this respect to learn more about the sherd from a “Warrior” vase from Hala Sultan Tekke, which shows the lower part of a warrior painted in black, red and white.<sup>80</sup> Was it an import or a local imitation of an Aegean motif?

## Two new pictorially decorated vases of Proto-White Painted ware from Palaepaphos

We will now describe and comment on the pictorial decoration of two new pictorial vases from the Palaepaphos-Skales cemetery.

**Tomb 221.7** (*Fig. 11a–c*): Large stirrup jar of Proto-White Painted ware. Ovoid body, cylindrical false neck, cylindrical side spout with out-curved rim, flat-topped disc with conical knob in the centre perforated once at its side, two opposed flat handles from top of disc to body, raised flat base. Height: 41.5 cm. Buff clay, slip of the same colour, dark brown to black matt paint, partly worn off.

Horizontal bands around body, also a narrow horizontal zone filled with parallel chevrons around lower part of shoulder bordered by painted bands above and below; solid paint on lower part of body. Solid paint on false neck, wavy bands (?) around side spout, solid triangles on flat part of top disc radiating around the knob which is also painted solid; parallel chevrons on outer part of handles flanked by two bands along the edges. The shoulder zone on both sides between the handles is similarly decorated with two adjacent large composite triangles filled with geometric motifs and enclosed by a narrow band filled with tangent triangles. The composite triangles on the side of the spout are separated by a narrow vertical band below the base of the spout, filled with tangent

<sup>73</sup> E.g. Vermeule & Karageorghis 1982, XII.39, XII.40.

<sup>74</sup> Riis 1948, 48, 50, 56, 93, 95, figs. 130A, 130B.

<sup>75</sup> On this style see Fischer & Bürge 2013, 56–57 and remarks by Diakaios, as noted above.

<sup>76</sup> Iacovou 1997, 64–66, her corpus no. 12.

<sup>77</sup> Iacovou 1988, figs. 20–23, cat. no. 9.

<sup>78</sup> Iacovou 1997, corpus no. 9, pl. XIVa.

<sup>79</sup> Iacovou 1997, 66–67.

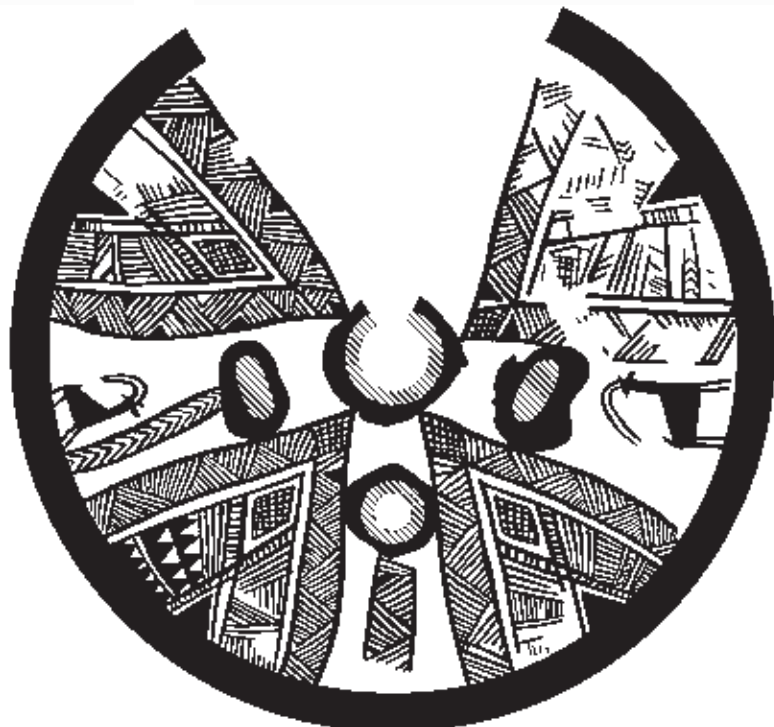
<sup>80</sup> Fischer 2011, 77–78, fig. 9.



Fig. 11. Palaepaphos-Skales Tomb 221.7 Large stirrup jar of Proto-White Painted ware; a–b) two views of the vessel; c) the decoration (drawing by Jean Humbert).

triangles. The space below the handles is occupied on one side by an ibex to right, rendered in silhouette, in front of a narrow vertical band filled with a vertical row of parallel chevrons. The ibex has long backward-curving horns, a triangular body and a short up-turned tail; the eye is not indicated. The other side below the base of the handle is similarly decorated with an ibex to right, but without a vertical band. The ibex is largely worn off.

**Tomb 226/23** (Fig. 12a & b, 13, 14): Belly-handled amphora of Proto-White Painted ware. Ovoid body, relatively narrow concave neck, flat out-turned rim, two opposed horizontal loop handles on shoulder, ring base, knob at upper part



T 221:7  
 ΚΟΥΚΙΑΣΚΑΛΕΣ  
 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100  
 cm  
 RRKM 525



Fig. 12. Palaepaphos-Skales Tomb 226/23. Belly-handled amphora of Proto-White Painted ware; a) side A; b) side B.

of shoulder in the middle of each side. Height: 46.5 cm; rim diam.: 17.5 cm. Buff clay, slip of a lighter colour, orange to dark brown matt paint. Three horizontal wavy bands on both sides of the body between handles; horizontal bands around body above and below the level of the handles; paint on handles and foot. Two thick horizontal bands around neck alternating with groups of thinner bands; transversal bands on flat part of rim, encircling bands inside neck below rim. The main zone around the shoulder between the handles is divided into rectangular panels filled with geometric and other motifs as follows, from left to right:

Side A: a “triglyph” flanked by vertical parallel lines and filled with a chain of framed solid diamonds; a small triangle on the “ground” filled with lattice pattern; a stylized flower motif with long stem and out-curved “branches” at the top, a degenerated version of the “Mycenaean flower” in the centre; below the conical knob a triglyph flanked by vertical lines bordered by festoons, a latticed diamond with a latticed triangle below it; a pictorial composition in silhouette, with a

human figure riding a quadruped sidesaddle; the animal is turned to left, the human figure has his body shown *en face*, his triangular face in profile, turned to the right. The triangular head looks like that of a dog rather than of a human. There is a reserved disc with a dot in the centre for the eye. Both arms are bent at right angles, with the right hand touching the animal’s neck, his left hand rests on the animal’s hind part; the legs of the human figure are slightly bent; his feet and the hoofs of the animal touch the ground; the animal’s neck is lowered towards the ground; there is no indication of sex, no indication of the eye; to the right of the human figure there is a large stylized “tree motif” with a thick trunk filled with lattice patterns; scrolls for branches; a small latticed triangle on the ground.

Side B (from left to right): a triglyph flanked by vertical parallel lines and bordered by festoons; it is filled with a vertical chain of latticed diamonds; a large stylized flower motif like the one in front of the animal rider on side A; on either side of the trunk, on the ground, there was probably a com-

Fig. 13. Palaepaphos-Skales Tomb 226/23. Belly-handled amphora of Proto-White Painted ware: detail of the decoration on side A.



posite(?) triangle, now missing. The central space below the knob is occupied by a triglyph filled with a vertical chain of latticed lozenges, of which the lower one is missing; the end of the zone is occupied by a latticed diamond flanked by a group of concentric semi-circles; next to it a flower motif like the one in front of the animal rider.

The large stirrup jar was not unknown in the repertory of shapes of Proto-White Painted ware. We encounter it at Alaas<sup>81</sup> and elsewhere.<sup>82</sup> A large stirrup jar of White Painted I ware from Palaepaphos-Hasan Agha, measuring 37.5 cm in height, bears a striking similarity in its decoration with our example from Skales,<sup>83</sup> but the firm black paint with which it is decorated does not place it within the class of Proto-White Painted ware. The style of decoration of Proto-White Painted ware continued into White Painted I ware, but the quality and colour of the paint changed. Our vessel finds its nearest parallel in the example from Alaas Tomb 19/3, both in shape and decoration.

The Skales example is the only known large stirrup jar with pictorial decoration. The motif, an ibex, is placed below the handles, whereas the remaining area of the two shoulder zones on both sides is decorated with two large composite triangles filled with a variety of geometric motifs. The ibex, with

its long backward-curving horns and long legs, finds no exact parallel among other known examples of this motif, which is quite common in the Proto-White Painted repertory.<sup>84</sup> One might mention the ibex on the Berlin bell-shaped amphora,<sup>85</sup> not so much for the ibex itself but for its discrete position next to the large composite triangles, which form the main part of the decoration.

The belly-handled amphora is the most favoured shape in Proto-White Painted ware.<sup>86</sup> The decoration follows more or less the standard type, namely three horizontal wavy bands between the handles on both sides and groups of horizontal bands around the body above and below the level of the handles. The main decorated zone is the one around the shoulder, which is divided into triglyphs containing geometric motifs, and broad panels containing stylized tree motifs and in one case a pictorial composition of a man riding a quadruped side-saddle. Of the stylized trees there is one on one side, which is a degenerate version of a Mycenaean III motif (Furumark motif 18), and two on the other side with a thick latticed trunk with a pointed top and scrolls on either side, as if the painter intended to represent not a flower but a palm tree (Furumark motif 14, Palm II). The pictorial composition, although in front of one of these, is not related to it. It is simply there to

<sup>81</sup> Karageorghis 1975, 49.

<sup>82</sup> E.g. Pieridou 1973, 28, pl. 17.1, 3 and 17.2; see also Iacovou 1988, fig. 24, lower left, from Lapithos.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Karageorghis 1975, 50, fig. 7.

<sup>84</sup> Iacovou 1988, 82–83 considers them of Near Eastern, not Cretan origin, following Yon 1970.

<sup>85</sup> For better illustrations see now Brehme *et al.* 2001, 54–55, no. 33.

<sup>86</sup> Karageorghis 1975, 47–48; Iacovou 1988, 31–33.



Fig. 14. Palaepaphos-Skales Tomb 226/23. Belly-handled amphora of Proto-White Painted ware: the decoration (drawing by Monica Wiech).

fill that particular space, which is not in the middle of the zone and therefore not in a prominent place.

There are no clear indications of the identity of the human figure, if male or female; we take it to be male; the animal may be a horse. Human figures riding sidesaddle are known in Cyprus from Late Bronze Age II in coroplastic art, no doubt under influence from the Aegean.<sup>87</sup> The nearest parallel is a Proto-White Painted ware rhyton from Palaepaphos, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which represents a male figure in association with a snake in relief. Catling rightly connected this scene with Minoan-Mycenaean ritual customs, suggesting that the human figure may be the dead man himself, “setting out on his journey to the next world, with the snakes that remind us of immortality, accompanied by a pack horse that brings his sustenance for the journey.”<sup>88</sup> There is no need to emphasize the Aegean parentage of the iconography of this

male figure seated sideways. The same type of horse-riding is encountered in Cypro-Geometric I<sup>89</sup> and at Palaepaphos as late as the Cypro-Geometric III period.<sup>90</sup> Riding sidesaddle was reserved for dignitaries or women, whose long garments did not allow them to sit astride.<sup>91</sup> It is possible that a funerary or religious custom, as reflected by the Ashmolean horse-rider, survived at Palaepaphos as late as the Cypro-Geometric III period.

The dog-faced human figure with muscled legs has a parallel on a loop-footed krater in the Cyprus Museum.<sup>92</sup> We originally dated this krater to Cypro-Geometric III, but would now date it earlier, probably to Cypro-Geometric I, together with a bowl, probably by the same painter.<sup>93</sup> He raises both his

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Karageorghis 1993, 16, 17, 24.

<sup>88</sup> Catling 1974, 111.

<sup>89</sup> Karageorghis 1993, 67.

<sup>90</sup> Karageorghis 1993, 89.

<sup>91</sup> Crouwel & Tatton-Brown 1988, 84–85.

<sup>92</sup> Karageorghis & des Gagniers 1974, vase ix.5.

<sup>93</sup> Iacovou 1988, cat. no. 25, from Palaepaphos.

arms, like the horned human figure on a White Painted I ware bowl from Palaepaphos.<sup>94</sup>

The two Proto-White Painted ware vases discussed above demonstrate that this style developed homogeneously throughout Cyprus (e.g. at Alaas and Palaepaphos). The shapes are predominantly Aegean and the main decoration is geometric, with motifs which were already used in the panelled decoration of the Late Cypriote IIIA period. There are few pictorial motifs, rather shyly placed under the handles of vases or in relatively obscure positions within panels. They are mostly in silhouette, in order to be distinguished from the geometric linear decoration. They are also small and any attempt to render them in outline would not have fitted in with the rest of the linear geometric decoration. Both the pictorial motifs used to decorate the two vases from Palaepaphos, the male figure riding sidesaddle and the ibex, are perfectly at home in the Aegean. We see no reason why they should be assigned a Levantine parentage. The Aegean character of Proto-White Painted ware in general needs no further explanation if we consider the deep cultural changes which occurred in Cyprus c. 1100 BC.<sup>95</sup>

VASSOS KARAGEORGHIS (corresponding author)  
Professor Emeritus, University of Cyprus  
16 Kastorias Street (Lykavitos), Nicosia, 1055, Cyprus  
vassoskarageorghis@cytanet.com.cy

EFSTATHIOS RAPTOU  
Archaeological Officer  
Department of Antiquities, Cyprus  
sraptou@hotmail.com

<sup>94</sup> Iacovou 1988, cat. no. 24; for the dating of these vases, cat. no. 25 and the loop-footed krater see Iacovou 1988, 25, no. 25.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Catling 1974.

## Bibliography

- Åström, P. 1983. 'An amphora decorated with a palm-tree motif from Hala Sultan Tekke', *RDAC* 21, 175–176.
- Benson, J. 1960. 'A Syrian krater from Bamboula at Kourion', *PEQ* 92, 64–69.
- Brehme, S., M. Brönnner, V. Karageorghis, G. Platz-Horster & B. Weisser 2001. *Ancient Cypriote art in Berlin. Antikensammlung. Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Münzkabinett*, Nicosia (also in German, Berlin 2002).
- Catling, H.W. 1974. 'The Bomford horse-and-rider', *RDAC* 12, 95–111.
- Courtois, J.-C. 1969. 'La maison du prêtre aux modèles de poumon et de foie d'Ugarit', in *Ugaritica VI* (Mission de Ras Shamra, XVII), ed. C.F.A. Schaeffer, Paris, 91–119.
- Crouwel, J.H. & V. Tatton-Brown 1988. 'Ridden horses in Iron Age Cyprus', *RDAC* 26 (Part II), 77–87.
- Dikaios, P. 1969–1971. *Enkomi, excavations 1948–1988*, Mainz am Rhein.
- Faivre, X. 2013. 'Tell al-Nasriyah (Syrie) at le contact Égéen: À propos d'urnes cinéraires', *Syria* 90, 313–352.
- Fischer, P.M. 2011. 'The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2010. Excavations at Dromolaxia-Vizatzia/Hala Sultan Tekke', *OpAthRom* 4, 69–98.
- Fischer, P.M. 2012. 'SIMA and the New Swedish Cyprus Expedition at Hala Sultan Tekke', in *Studies in Mediterranean archaeology: Fifty years on* (SIMA, 137), eds. J.M. Webb & D. Frankel, Göteborg, 73–80.
- Fischer, P.M. & T. Bürge 2013. 'The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke. Preliminary results', *OpAthRom* 6, 45–79.
- Fischer, P.M. & T. Bürge 2014. 'The New Swedish Cyprus Expedition 2013: Excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke', *OpAthRom* 7, 61–106.
- Güntner, W. 2000. *Figürlich bemalte mykenische Keramik aus Tiryns* (Tiryns Forschungen und Berichte, XII), Mainz am Rhein.
- Iacovou, M. 1988. *The pictorial pottery of the eleventh century B.C. Cyprus* (SIMA, 79), Göteborg.
- Iacovou, M. 1992. 'Additions to the corpus of eleventh century B.C. pictorial pottery', in *Studies in honour of Vassos Karageorghis* (Kypriakai Spoudai, 1990–1991), ed. G.C. Ioannides, Nicosia, 217–226.



- Iacovou, M. 1997. 'Images in silhouette: The missing link of the figurative representations on eleventh century B.C. Cypriote pottery', in *Four thousand years of images on Cypriote pottery. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Cypriote Studies, Nicosia, 3–4 May, 1996, organized by the University of Cyprus (Archaeological Research Unit), Brussels (Vrije Universiteit), Lyon (Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen) and the A.G. Leventis Foundation*, eds. V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur & F. Vandenameele, Brussels, Liège & Nicosia, 61–71.
- Kanta, A. 1980. *The Late Minoan III period in Crete. A survey of sites, pottery and their distribution* (SIMA, 58), Göteborg.
- Kanta, A. 1998. 'Introduction, 16th–11th cent. B.C. relations between Crete and the Near East in the Late Bronze Age. An overview', in *Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th–6th cent. B.C.*, eds. N.C. Stampolidis, A. Karetsou & A. Kanta, Heraklion, 30–66.
- Karageorghis, V. 1967. 'An early eleventh century B.C. tomb from Palaepaphos', *RDAC* 5, 1–24.
- Karageorghis, V. 1975. *Alaas. A Protogeometric cemetery in Cyprus*, Nicosia.
- Karageorghis, V. 1977. 'A Cypro-Mycenaean amphora from Kition', in *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in ancient history and prehistory: Studies presented to F. Schachermeyr*, ed. K. Kinzl, Berlin, 192–198.
- Karageorghis, V. 1981. 'Aegean and derivative wares', in *Excavations at Kition IV. The non-Cypriote pottery*, ed. V. Karageorghis, Nicosia, 1–15.
- Karageorghis, V. 1984. 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1983', *BCH* 108, 893–971.
- Karageorghis, V. 1993. *The coroplastic art of ancient Cyprus 2. Late Cypriote II–Cypro-Geometric III*, Nicosia.
- Karageorghis, V. 1997. 'The pictorial style in vase-painting of the early Cypro-Geometric period', in *Four thousand years of images on Cypriote pottery. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Cypriote Studies, Nicosia, 3–4 May, 1996, organized by the University of Cyprus (Archaeological Research Unit), Brussels (Vrije Universiteit), Lyon (Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen) and the A.G. Leventis Foundation*, eds. V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur & F. Vandenameele, Brussels, Liège & Nicosia, 73–78.
- Karageorghis, V. 2000. *Ancient art from Cyprus. The Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York.
- Karageorghis, V. 2002. *Early Cyprus. Crossroads of the Mediterranean*, Los Angeles.
- Karageorghis, V. 2006. 'Notes on religious symbolism in Cypriot vase-painting, ca. 1050–600 B.C.', in "I will speak the riddles of ancient times". *Archaeological historical studies in honor of Amihai Mazar on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday*, vol. 2, eds. A.M. Maier & P. de Miroschedji, Winona Lake, Indiana, 541–553.
- Karageorghis, V. & J. des Gagniers 1974. *La céramique chypriote de style figuré. Âge du Fer (1050–500 Av. J.C.)*, Roma.
- Karageorghis, V. & E. Raptou 2014. *Necropoleis at Palaepaphos. From the end of the Late Bronze Age to the Cypro-Archaic period*, Nicosia.
- Lenz, D. 1995. *Vogel Darstellungen in der ägäischen und zypriischen Vasenmalerei des 12.–9. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Untersuchungen zu Form und Inhalt*, Espelkamp.
- Maier, F.G. 1984. *Alt-Paphos auf Cypern. Ausgrabungen zur Geschichte von Stadt und Heiligtum 1966–1984*, Mainz am Rhein.
- Maier, F.G. 1985. 'Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos). Thirteenth preliminary report: Seasons 1983 and 1984', *RDAC* 23, 100–125.
- Marinatos, N. 1986. *The sacrificial ritual cult. Practice and symbolism*, Stockholm.
- Mavriyannaki, C. 1972. *Recherches sur les larnakes minoennes de la Crète Occidentale*, Roma.
- Mountjoy, P.A. 2010. 'A note on the mixed origins of some Philistine pottery', *BASOR* 359, 1–12.
- Pieridou, A. 1973. 'Ο Πρωτογεωμετρικός ρυθμός εν Κύπρω', Athens.
- Rethemiotakis, G. 1979. 'Λάρνακες και αγγεία από το Καβροχώρι Ηρακλείου', *ArchDelt* 34A, 228–259.
- Rethemiotakis, G. 1997. 'A chest-shaped vessel and other LM IIIC pottery from Kastelli Pediada', in *La Crète Mycénienne. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par l'École Française d'Athènes, 26–28 mars 1991* (BCH Suppl., 30), 407–421.
- Riis, P.J. 1948. *Hama fouilles et recherches 1931–1938 II*, 3. *Les cimetières à crémation*, Copenhagen.

- Riis, P.J. 1973. 'The Mycenaean expansion in the light of the Danish excavations at Hama and Sukas', in *Acts of the international archaeological symposium "The Mycenaean in the Eastern Mediterranean"*. Nicosia 27th March–2nd April 1972, ed. V. Karageorghis, Nicosia, 198–206.
- Slenczka, E. 1974. *Figürlich bemalte Mykenische Keramik aus Tiryns* (Tiryns Forschungen und Berichte, VII), Mainz am Rhein.
- Tzedakis, J. 1970. 'Μινωικός κιθαρωδός', *AAA* 1–3, 111–112.
- Vermeule, E. & V. Karageorghis 1982. *Mycenaean pictorial vase painting*, Cambridge, Massachusetts & London.
- Yon, M. 1970. 'Sur une représentation figurée chypriote', *BCH* 94, 311–317.