AN ANALYSIS OF FIVE LATE BRONZE AGE CITIES IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

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"All kinds of history are essential: history as politics, history as art, history as economics, history as religion."

Frederick Jackson Turner

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The city has become a major subject of study, not only by historians but by prehistorians, anthropologists, sociologists, architects, urban planners, and, indeed, in almost all the so-called social sciences. As for the city in the ancient world, the Greek and Roman city and city-state were in antiquity the theme of such historians as Thucydides and Livy and of political analysts like Plato, Aristotle, and Polybius. The nineteenth century witnessed the development of comparative studies of the ancient city and its institutions, such as that done by Numa Fustel de Coulanges. The cities of the ancient Near East, extending from the Indus Valley to Egypt, have been the subject of historical and archaeological treatment. Lewis Mumford devotes several chapters of The City in History to the emergence of the ancient city, but his approach is both general and fundamentally sociological. Thus, there does not appear to have been any consideration of the city and its role in ancient history for the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world.

A study of the Late Bronze Age is a difficult endeavor; the evidence is fragmentary, and seldom conclusive. Written

records are scarce; the historian is forced to rely upon archaeological evidence, something subject to a variety of interpretations. Any attempt at synthesis becomes a chancy undertaking. But, if the study of the past is to have any relevance to a better understanding of the present, then we must start to concentrate on those aspects of ancient civilization which will help us to see the social evolution of the twentieth century C.E. in its proper perspective, and at the same time revise our knowledge and appreciation of particular situations which have their origins in remote antiquity.

Studies which have appeared on the subject of the Late Bronze Age have been severely limited in scope. Geographically, previous studies generally reflect a particular site; i.e., Carl W. Blegen's Troy and the Trojans, George E. Mylonas' Mycenae, and Nicholas Platon's Zakros. Chronologically, former studies have encompassed the entirety of the Bronze Age; i.e., H. R. Hall's The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age and Emily Vermeule's Greece in the Bronze Age.

The historian finds herself in a peculiar and precarious position. Being neither archaeologist nor philologist, she must still attempt in some measure to master and utilize the data from both disciplines, while creating from this data a meaningful historical synthesis which does justice both to the texts and to the artifacts. The entire corpus of Late Bronze Age material needs

interdisciplinary, quantitatively oriented restudy, as well as systematic comparison with the contemporary archeological data, and indirect suggestions as to socioeconomic organization provided by the fragmentary documentary sources coupled with the historical and literary texts. The present analysis represents an attempt to combine archaeological and textual evidence in an effort to place the study of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world upon a firmer foundation.

The primary purpose of this dissertation is to address the question: Did the cities of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world comprise common characteristics? Or, was there a koine culture among the cities of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world? If such a koine culture did exist among the cities of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world, why?

Five cities of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world have been selected for this study: Enkomi, Pylos, Troy, Ugarit, and Zakros. These five cities represent divergent geographical locations in the kaleidoscopic landscape of the ancient Mediterranean. In short, these five cities could be called port cities. Hazor, an inland city of the Levant, has been chosen as an excursus; Hazor represents a caravan city. For the location of these six sites, see the sketch map in Figure 1 of the Appendix.

The idea of a Late Bronze Age is a valid concept only if viewed in a wider context, involving not merely the use but rather the extensive use of metals, together with the

resulting growth of international trade and the development of a city-state type of political organization, usually within fortified urban centers. In this study the Late Bronze Age is to be understood as that period in which the predominant composition of bronze was a combination of copper and tin (Cu to Sn ratio = 9:1) and during which extensive trade in metals and other valuable luxury goods became important; i.e., after 1600 B.C.E. and continuing to approximately 1200 B.C.E.

There is probably no single definition of what is meant by the term "city." Usually, the word "city" designates an urban center or any permanent settlement; in itself, this term gives no indication of the size of the settlement or the number of its inhabitants. The point at which a settlement becomes a "city" is disputed by modern students of urban culture. Nevertheless, there is a large measure of general agreement that in antiquity a "city" was a settled community with a socially stratified population following a variety of trades and professions, and capable of producing surpluses of food for those of its members who were not engaged in agriculture.

During the course of the second millennium B.C.E., there gradually emerged throughout the Mediterranean world a type of city known to scholars as the "city-state" or "city-kingdom," which continued in existence into the first millennium B.C.E. This type of city is not to be confused with the classical city-state, the Greek <u>polis</u>, which was

quite different in development and character. The city, furthermore, comprised not only the built-up area but also the cultivated fields and the pastureland in the vicinity.

Any Mediterranean problem is tantamount to the origins of Western civilization. Thus, perhaps prior to the paper proper, brief mention should be made regarding several permanent factors pertaining to the Mediterranean.

The Mediterranean with its coasts forms a geographic unit in which deep bays, good harbors, and frequent islands made communication by water easy for Late Bronze Age man. This coastal area has historically been both a meeting place and a battleground.

All around the Mediterranean, a precarious living is won by painful labor, for throughout the lands circumjacent to the Mediterranean there have always been earthquakes, famines, droughts, and floods; in fact, "dark ages" of a sort are recurrent. The cultural root is subsistence farming based upon the ancient trinity of wheat, olives, and wine, with a little fishing and herding thrown in; the fisherman who is also a farmer living on the coast can support life at a frugal level which is almost indestructible.

These are the constants, the norms against which to set the affluence of the court and palace: a Pylos, Ugarit, or Zakros. It is no exaggeration to say that in the past the Mediterranean was always on the verge of famine. It is

against this background that the artificial growth of the Late Bronze Age city-states can be differentiated.

What follows is not to be taken as a comprehensive history of cities in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world. The claim is that a careful study of several sites should facilitate the comprehension of specific cultural elements which embraced the entire Mediterranean world of the Late Bronze Age and that these identifiable components certainly affected various aspects of ancient history.

CHAPTER II

ENKOMI

Location of Site

Enkomi is situated on the east coast of Cyprus. The remains of Enkomi, thus far, constitute the most important archaeological site of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age.[1]

Enkomi lies in the plain below rocky cliffs which hide it from the sea; on its south side is the river Pedieos. The town had an inner harbor which was connected with the sea through a navigable channel. Enkomi started as a small community of farmers in the seventeenth century B.C.E.[2]

The Excavations

Though the Late Bronze Age had already been studied by Einar Gjerstad and others in the twenties, it is only in the last thirty-five years, or so, that abundant light has been thrown on this period as a result of extensive excavations carried out by several European expeditions and by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities.[3]

Enkomi was first discovered by looters who robbed a number of its tombs. A British expedition carried out excavations in 1896, and, thereupon, enriched the British Museum's collections of Mycenaean jewelry and Mycenaean

pottery.[4] More tombs were excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1930.[5] Thus, the site of Enkomi had become known as the richest Late Bronze Age necropolis on the island. Finally, in 1934, Claude F. A. Schaeffer, who had been excavating the important Late Bronze Age site of Ras Shamra (Ugarit), on the Syrian coast opposite Cyprus, was led to Enkomi and with ingenuity and good fortune discovered that what had been regarded by all his predecessors as a necropolis was in fact a large city site; the tombs of the city were in the courtyards of the houses, and not in a separate cemetery.[6] This proved to be a sensational discovery: for the first time an entire Late Bronze Age city was available for excavation and study. Schaeffer began excavations which, except for a break during the war, have continued every year, with important results. In 1948, Schaeffer invited the Cyprus Department of Antiquities to share the responsibility of excavation, and a joint French-Cypriote expedition was established with Dr. Porphyrios Dikaios as the Cypriote component; this joint effort lasted for about eight years.[7] The French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique is now in sole charge of excavations on the site.

Late Bronze Age Circumstances

Enkomi, like the remainder of the island of Cyprus, entered the Late Bronze Age (c.1600 B.C.E.) in an atmosphere of unrest; the first decades of the Late Bronze Age differ

little from the period of tension and anxiety that marked the closing years of the Middle Bronze Age.[8] Some of the old fortresses were destroyed and rebuilt and new fortresses were constructed, like the one at Enkomi.[9] It is doubtful, though not impossible, that raids by the Hyksos spurred the construction or reconstruction of many of these fortresses.[10]

It may be significant that these destructions were partially contemporaneous with mass burials. It seems difficult to decide whether these people died in war, plague, or other disasters, as paleopathological investigations of the skeletons have not been made, but it is tempting to regard them as results of the wars which are testified by the destructions of the fortresses.[11] Men, women, and children were buried in these tombs. The anthropological study of the skulls suggests that the population was Armenoid or Cicilian.[12]

The peaceful conditions which prevailed in the eastern Mediterranean following the expulsion of the Hyksos favored the development of Cyprus. The pax aegyptiaca encouraged trade which in turn aided the growth of the major urban centers.[13] The two traditional antagonists, the people living in the eastern and western parts of Cyprus, settled their differences; the island as a whole was on the road to prosperity and "homogeneous cultural development."[14] Given a chance to develop peacefully, the coastal towns gained in importance as harbors from which international trade was

conducted. The agricultural hinterland grew, as did the industrial centers in the mining areas, where at least part of the smelting of copper ore took place.[15] Enkomi emerged as the primary harbor city on the east coast.

During the latter part of the Late Bronze Age (c.1300 B.C.E.), a chain of new harbor towns sprang up along the south coast of Cyprus. Since copper was exported from the coast, there must have been some sort of agreement among the various harbor towns for free passage of this metal, as well as an arrangement for sharing in the supply of copper ore extracted from distant mining areas. Despite such cooperation, it is probable that the various harbor towns were politically and economically independent of one another.[16] Did they all recognize a king who resided in the most important of these towns, Alashiya, which also gave its name to the entire island?[17] No one knows, though perhaps some day the decipherment of the inscribed clay tablets from Enkomi will clarify this enigma.

The Fortress

Very few architectural remains date to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age at Enkomi. This is because building continued unabated in the same areas down to the end of the Late Bronze Age, altering and in some cases obliterating earlier efforts. Nonetheless, what is left is impressive. In the northern area of Enkomi, called Area III, the earliest architectural remains belonged to a powerful

fortress (Figure 2). This monumental fortress was rectangular in plan, being built as a separate unit; it had two entrances in the southwest and southeast side of the long south wall, which was proceeded by a long portico with a row of pillars (Figure 3).[18] The fort was destroyed soon after its erection; thereupon, it was rebuilt, its western section having been adapted to house extensive copper workshops (Figure 4).[19]

The construction of a fortress signifies that the inhabitants of Enkomi envisaged the eventuality of facing hostile actions against their town. The presence of a previous fortress, as we have seen, may have had some connection with the activities of the Hyksos. But we know that the Hyksos had been driven-out of Egypt at the beginning of the sixteenth century; this was exactly the time when the new fortress had been erected. Therefore, it remains doubtful whether we could relate the construction of the latter fortress with the final phase of the struggle against the Hyksos, especially since the first destruction of the new fortress and of a contemporary dwelling in the center of town (called Area I), took place about 1525 B.C.E.[20] However, this was the time of the shaft graves of Mycenae; it has been suggested that the Mycenaean warriors who were buried in these graves assisted the Egyptians as mercenaries in the struggle against the Hyksos and that it was in this way that they brought back to Greece the wealth of gold and other jewelry buried with them in the shaft

graves.[21] These graves contained, apart from gold and silver treasures, numerous bronze weapons and especially good numbers of large and small copper or bronze vessels. Cyprus was the source for copper, and, judging from the records found in the excavations at Alalakh and Mari, Alashiya exported copper to numerous areas of the ancient Near East. The evidence collected in Area III at Enkomi indicates that copper smelting was already being carried-out during the final years of the Middle Bronze Age, and that copper smelting continued into the Late Bronze Age at the same location.[22]

Surely the Mycenaean warriors of the shaft grave period who, as suggested with good reason, took part in the wars of the ancient Near East, must have known that Cyprus was a producer of copper and that Enkomi, which lay near the eastern coast of the island, was a possible source of copper industry. It would not be surprising if, on the way to the Near East or vice versa, the Mycenaeans stopped at the eastern shore of Cyprus, and particularly at Enkomi, in search for copper. Once the source was known to them, the Mycenaeans may have organized expeditions to Cyprus, even if their services as mercenaries were no longer needed in the Near East. The presence of Mycenaean or Minoan pottery of the period of the shaft graves and in the first level fortress at Enkomi provides corroborating evidence testifying to some connections with the Aegean world.[23] Thus, we could explain the construction of the new fortress

at Enkomi by assuming that the inhabitants aimed at defending themselves and their copper industry against possible raiders.

The fortress had been reconstructed following its first destruction and spanned almost a century (c.1525 - c.1425 B.C.E.) during which time it housed the copper workshops where smelting was conducted on a large scale.[24] It was exactly during this period of the great activity of the copper workshops that Alashiya is mentioned in the list of tributaries to Egypt in the days of Thutmose III (1504 - 1450 B.C.E.); the tribute being paid was copper (Figure 5).[25]

The reconstructed fortress ended in a severe catastrophe accompanied by a conflagration. The disaster can be dated to about 1425 B.C.E., a date corroborated by Mycenaean pottery.[26] It would be hazardous to speculate as to the causes of the destruction, but the above date which may fluctuate somewhat in either direction, coincides approximately with the destruction of Knossos and of all the major centers in Crete. Two main explanations for this widespread destruction have been suggested: namely, war or earthquake due to a volcanic eruption on Thera.[27]

Cypro-Minoan Scripts

The growth of large urban centers similar to Enkomi, the development of trade and industry and the new era in the cultural and social life which began during the Late Bronze

Age necessitated a script for administrative and other purposes. The earliest inscribed document was found on a fragment of a baked clay tablet with engraved signs in horizontal rows. It was found at Enkomi and is dated by the excavator to approximately 1500 B.C.E.[28] This script has been compared with Linear A of Crete, though some scholars deny that it shows any Aegean influence; Sir Arthur Evans labelled it Cypro-Minoan.[29]

The tablet was found in a room belonging to the western section of the fortress, the whole of which was devoted to copper smelting.[30] The presence of the tablet in this portion of the fortress may not be due to pure coincidence, although it would be a mere conjecture if we suggested a relationship between the contents of the text of the tablet and the copper industrial activity which is manifested in the fortress. The fortress was, as we have seen, a substantial building evidently erected for defense purposes; in it lived, presumably, a powerful inhabitant--perhaps one of the most powerful citizens if not the most powerful, or, in other words, the king of the community. If so, the housing in the fortress of the copper workshops may mean that the copper industry was in the hands of the king who, likewise, lived in the same building; the fortress contained a residential sector, a house sanctuary, and other paraphernalia.[31] Thus, the subject matter of the inscription on the tablet may have some connection with the administration of the copper industry or may be a letter,

perhaps, destined for some king outside Cyprus but never sent.

We now possess evidence for importation to Enkomi of Minoan pottery at exactly the time of the tablet when contemporary pottery was also imported to Crete. White Slip pottery, identical with that found in the fortress room in which the tablet was found, was also found at Knossos, a fact which shows reciprocal contacts between Cyprus, and in particular Enkomi and Knossos.[32] The argument concerning the scarcity of cultural relations between Cyprus and Crete at the time of the tablet, if not entirely removed, loses much of its strength.

The affinity of the script of the tablet with Linear A and its discovery in a building where copper industry was so active, when combined with the archaeological evidence referred to above (viz., the reciprocal relations between Enkomi and Knossos) all entitle us to assume that the kings of Crete were at this particular time interested in the copper of Cyprus. This was the era which preceded the destruction of Knossos and Enkomi and seems to have been at the very center of the copper activity.

Very few documents survive in the earliest form of Cypro-Minoan. Apart from the Enkomi tablet, there are only a clay loom weight and a cylinder seal from the same site. Some scholars emphasize the Aegean character not only of the script, but also of its development during the first millennium B.C.E. into what is known as the Cypriot

syllabary, though both its form and structure were modified to suit the Greek language.[33] Nevertheless, even if the Aegean parentage is correct, ancient Near Eastern influence and local adaptations are not impossible. The cushion-like form of the thirteenth century B.C.E. tablets, and the fact that they were intentionally baked after engraving, brings them closer to ancient Near Eastern documents than to those of the Aegean. Furthermore, later tablets were engraved in a style which recalls the cuneiform script. If the Cretan origin of Cypro-Minoan is accepted, how did the script reach Cyprus? A suggestion has been made that the Cypriots borrowed this script from Cretans living in Syria, possibly at Ugarit, where they met as merchants at the end of the Middle Bronze Age.[34]

Several attempts have been made to decipher Cypro-Minoan, but all have failed. The language (or languages) of the texts that have come to light remains unknown. There seems no possibility that any form of Greek is involved.[35] One theory is that it may be Hurrian, but the few objects discovered at Enkomi which might be labelled as "Hurrian" do not justify such an assertion.[36] Certainly some foreign elements were present among the population of Cyprus during this time period, as is shown via the Bichrome wheelmade pottery style which was made locally but in a foreign, possibly Syrian, tradition; in addition, Red Lustrous wheelmade pottery, whose characteristic fusiform jugs of arm-shaped vessels appear for the first time at the

beginning of the Late Bronze Age, may have Anatolian affinities (Figure 6).[37]

Although so few documents inscribed in Cypro-Minoan have thus far been found, they appear on a variety of inscribed objects, unlike the Aegean examples where the script is confined mainly to palace archives. The script is known in the main urban centers throughout Cyprus, though tablets with long texts have been found only at Enkomi.[38] The script appears engraved after firing or painted on vases, or engraved on bronze or clay votive objects, ivory objects, seals, and weights; thus, the script seems extensively diffused.[39] This may mean that Cypro-Minoan was widespread among the island's population (Figure 7).

The development of the firmly established script may be followed from the fourteenth century B.C.E. onwards; this is the so-called "Cypro-Minoan I" script, which appears on a variety of objects and continues down to the eleventh century with a predominance in the twelfth century.[40] There are about eighty signs in the Cypro-Minoan I script. Specialists working on the classification of the signs and their decipherment confirm that the script and the language it represents are the same throughout the island, indicating linguistic uniformity.[41]

Towards the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E., "Cypro-Minoan II" script appears, represented by the large tablets from Enkomi.[42] These tablets are rectangular, either cushion-shaped, or in the form of a cylinder (Figure

8); all are kiln-baked. The script is divided, usually, into vertical columns as in the ancient Near Eastern fashion. The average size of the tablets is 22 by 19 inches, to judge from the dimensions of the four fragmentary ones discovered at Enkomi.[43] They are thought to be literary or religious texts probably in verse; this new script consists of sixty signs and may represent a different language from Cypro-Minoan (Figure 9).[44]

There is even a "Cypro-Minoan III" script, on a tablet found at Ugarit on which, in Ugaritic fashion, a list of Semitic proper names appears (Figure 10). "Decipherment has made little progress; but it is clear that it was more widely employed within Cypriot trading circles than the paucity of clay tablets suggests."[45] Madame E. Masson has been able to decipher twenty out of the total of twenty-five names from the tablet found at Ugarit.[46]

One of the numerous problems concerning Cypro-Minoan is that it remained in use during the twelfth century B.C.E. when the ruling classes of Enkomi and elsewhere must have been Mycenaeans, whom one would expect to have introduced their own Linear B script. The only explanation is that the Mycenaeans were using local scribes.

Seals

Other objects, perhaps connected with administrative functions such as the authentication of documents and the endorsement of contracts, are the seals, which make their

appearance during the middle phase of the Late Bronze Age. The Cypriot seal-engraver, basing his iconography on that of the Near East as well as the Aegean, produced a style of his own of which some very fine examples have survived. The usual form is the cylinder seal of steatite, haematite, lapis lazuli or paste and, very rarely, gold, but there are also other shapes such as prisms and conoid stamp seals; the latter became common during the final years of the Late Bronze Age.[47] A number of Cypriot cylinder seals have been found throughout the Aegean and the ancient Near East; of particular note are the fine cylinder seals of lapis lazuli discovered in the Mycenaean palace at Thebes in Boeotia.

Alashiya

Although Cypro-Minoan documents are still silent concerning the history of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, the name of Cyprus, Alashiya or Asy, is frequently mentioned in ancient Near Eastern texts. Alashiya appears, in association with copper, on the tablets from Alalakh and Mari of the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries B.C.E., respectively.[48] References to Alashiya are particularly frequent from the fourteenth century B.C.E.[49] It should here be noted that although some scholars still deny or are skeptical about the identification of Alashiya with Cyprus, the vast majority accept it, especially since it has been shown that the name was used for the island of Alashiya, for which Cyprus is the only possibility.[50]

In the course of a correspondence, dating to the second quarter of the fourteenth century B.C.E., between Pharaoh Akhenaton of Egypt and the king of Alashiya, the king refers to the Pharaoh as his "brother."[51] Alashiya, therefore, is an ally of Egypt, and in this capacity the king of Alashiya advises the Pharaoh not to conclude a treaty with the Hittites who were enemies of Alashiya. In several letters the king of Alashiya promises to send copper ingots, probably as a tribute to the Pharaoh for keeping peace in the eastern Mediterranean.[52] Other gifts include oil, wood, horses, and ivory.[53] Cyprus did not produce ivory, of course, but ivory may have been a current commodity in a large industrial town like Enkomi, where ivory-working was not unknown. In return, the king of Alashiya requests gifts such as a bedstead of ebony inlaid with gold, a gold chariot, two horses, silver, and good oil.[54]

In another letter, the king of Alashiya informs the Pharaoh that the latter's envoy had to stay for three years in Alashiya because the god Nergal killed all the men in his land and there was nobody to produce copper.[55] It has been suggested that this reference to Nergal may really allude to a plague which devastated the ancient Mediterranean following an earthquake that occurred in the middle of the fourteenth century B.C.E.; this phenomenon may be associated with the destruction at Enkomi about 1350 B.C.E.[56] Others, however, associate the destruction at Enkomi with the Lukka who attacked Alashiya annually, as we know from the Amarna

Letters.[57] In one instance the Lukka are reported to have attacked Egypt, being accompanied by people from Alashiya; some of the latter were captured and the king of Alashiya asked the Pharaoh to return them.[58] The names of the captives seem to be Hurrian and Semitic, a fact which may support the theory that a small percentage of the population during this particular time period was foreign.[59]

In the Hittite tablets Alashiya is referred to as a part of the Hittite empire from 1400 B.C.E. to 1200 B.C.E; Hittite kings sent prisoners and adversaries to Alashiya during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.E.[60] Early references to Alashiya in the Hittite archives have to be treated with circumspection; but the claim of Tudhaliyas IV in the thirteenth century to have taken Alashiya and carried off its king is probably historical fact:

> His wives, his sons, his servants, all his wealth in gold and silver, copper and a great spoil of people I collected together and carried to Hattusas. I made the whole land of Alashiya subject to me and liable to pay tribute.[61]

Copper was a large part of the tribute. Rather than outright conquest this may have been a successful foray, since the Hittites returned home with booty but never gained a lasting overlordship of the island. It should be observed that the booty included women and children. It is interesting to note that recent excavations at Hattusas have brought to light a fragment of an "oxhide" copper ingot.[62]

According to the Hittites, King Shuppiluliuma II fought a naval battle about 1190 against Alashiya, in which he destroyed the enemy ships in the middle of the sea.[63] Shuppiluliuma II then landed and completely vanquished a great number of enemies; he ordered the Alashiyans to pay him tribute: silver, copper, women, and children.[64] It is difficult to determine the accuracy of the statements in the Hittite documents and to know how much is boastful assertion. The claim that Cyprus formed part of the Hittite empire cannot be substantiated by archaeological evidence.[65] Howbeit, the correspondence between the king of Alashiya and his allies, the Pharaoh of Egypt and the king of Ugarit, would suggest that Alashiya was independent. References to Alashiya and her Near Eastern neighbors, likewise, appear in various texts dating to the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the twelfth centuries B.C.E., and refer to the disturbances caused in the eastern Mediterranean at the very end of the Late Bronze Age by the Sea Peoples.[66]

Fortress Reconstructions

Many fortresses were reconstructed during the Late Bronze Age, and the fortress of Enkomi is a case in point. It will be recalled that this fortress was built in the northern part of the town, on the inside of the later city wall; it was an elongated quadrangular building with massive external walls enclosing several rooms, measuring 45 meters from east to west and 13.30 meters from north to south.[67]

The southwest gate was protected by a rectangular tower projecting from the main building; staircases from the interior of the rooms led to an upper story and the roof.[68] Another building, perhaps fortificatory but also used as a copper workshop was constructed on top of the first fort (c.1400 B.C.E.).[69] Some of the walls of the first fort were re-used, but the new layout was different and larger including both domestic quarters and workshops.[70] The new compound consisted of successive rectangular blocks of rooms standing side by side, each block having a separate entrance from the south; it had the appearance of a stronghold, where copper smelting was conducted (Figure 11).[71] On the east side was a rectangular forecourt which had strong external walls and was preceded by a courtyard enclosed on three sides.[72] Staircases found in several rooms give evidence of an upper story.[73] This building was destroyed about 1300 B.C.E.[74]

The buildings were repaired again and were probably utilized for defensive purposes, their roofs serving as platforms for the defenders; it became, again, the scene of intensive copper working.[75] The ore was crushed in one of the rooms, in the floor of which a big basin had been formed where a quern and founders remained <u>in situ</u>.[76] In another room was a furnace and accumulated slag, while outside these workshops successive layers of slag had been dumped in what was apparently an open yard.[77] Crucibles and some moulds

were found in a third room and in several others clay lined pits had been formed, probably for some refining process.[78]

Fortification Wall

It was in the midst of this great activity in the copper workshops, and of this prosperity, that the decision to erect the fortification wall around Enkomi had been taken. The analysis of the stratigraphical evidence in Area III, in conjunction with the pottery, has shown that this event took place about 1250 B.C.E.[79] The city wall of Enkomi has largely been exposed, so that the extent of the entire city is known; it measures about 400 meters from north to south, and about 350 meters from east to west.[80] There are several towers built at irregular intervals against the south, west, and north sides, constructed of large stone blocks with a rubble core. A north and west gate have been investigated. One of the east-west streets reached the west gate, which was built in a dog-leg plan; the north gate lay at the end of the north-south street and had an inner gate (Figure 12).[81] The lowest course of the wall was built of large limestone blocks which was, in turn, founded upon a bedrock surface; the intrices were filled with smaller stones.[82] This constituted the foundation upon which a superstructure of red mudbricks was built; the wall measured 2-2.30 meters in thickness.[83] The method of construction is in no way that of the Cyclopean walls of the Greek mainland; but it has this in common with them, namely, that it is solid and

not a "shell" wall. There is another feature which connects the Enkomi wall with the West and that is the method of reserving, at places, empty spaces used as casemates. An important feature of this wall concerns a secret tunnel constructed of mudbricks along the inner face of the wall (Figure 13).[84]

Funerary Architecture

At Enkomi, the development of funerary architecture is illustrated from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. Generally, funerary architecture follows older traditions: rock-cut chamber tombs with a short dromos. But there is, likewise, an innovation: tholoi built of stone, of which three specimens have been found at Enkomi (Figure 14).[85] In one case there is a superstructure of baked bricks.[86] These dwellings have a more or less circular, rather small chamber, and a short pit dromos. Despite the fact that these tombs recall specimens of Aegean funerary architecture, it is not possible that the inspiration came from that region. This is because the earliest of the Enkomi tholoi date to soon after 1600 B.C.E., a time when relations with the Aegean were not sufficiently strong to influence Cypriot funerary architecture.[87] The other tholoi date to the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.E.[88] It is more probable that they were influenced by prototypes from the ancient Near East; e.g., the tholoi at Arpachiyah

(near the ancient site of Ninevah) have been dated to approximately 4800 B.C.E.[89]

The other type of tomb, for Cyprus, is a quadrangular chamber with a flat roof and a stepped dromos constructed entirely of stone blocks and slabs; this type of tomb came into vogue midway through the Late Bronze Age (Figure 15). At Enkomi, seven built tombs are constructed of fine ashlar limestone blocks; one of them, found by the British Mission at the turn of the century, consists of a rectangular chamber.[90] The roof is partially corbelled, with a flat top, and is covered with large slabs.[91] The stomion is on the central axis of the chamber and its threshold is above floor level.[92] Four other tombs were found by the British Mission and two by the French Mission. All seven tombs have stepped dromoi, and resemble the funerary monuments of the same period at Ugarit; one dromos is 1.7 meters in length with three steps.[93]

Innovations in Cypriot Art

Interestingly enough, art as much as architecture tells one a great deal about a society. Artistic productivity in Enkomi at the end of the Middle Bronze Age was poor, partly because of the troubled conditions the island was experiencing. But as soon as peace and trade relations were established, innovations began to appear in Cypriot art, which mainly included two new important ceramic wares: White slip ware, which has a hard core and a smooth surface

of thick white slip with an orange, brown or bichrome decoration, and Base Ring ware, with dark thin walls and a shiny surface. These wares are both handmade, though in neighboring countries the potter's wheel was already in use. Nevertheless, these wares were popular in foreign lands, perhaps due to their primitive appearance. Base Ring ware has a metallic quality which is accentuated by the type of relief decoration used, and by the vase forms; undoubtedly, there existed metallic prototypes, mainly of bronze, which have not survived. Particularly well known are the Base Ring ware bilbils which were exported, chiefly, to Egypt. They resemble inverted poppy-heads with the stem uppermost, and it has been suggested that they contained opium and that their shape was a kind of trademark."[4] Both the White Slip and Base Ring wares are rooted in the Middle Bronze Age traditional shapes, and no foreign influence is recognizable in either of them; these wares continued through the middle phases of the Late Bronze Age, and by the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E., they degenerate."[5] During the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.E. the characteristic bowl with the wishbone handle manufactured in both wares was copied, with variations, even by Mycenaean potters."[6]

Of the new wares introduced into Cyprus after 1600 B.C.E., the most important are Bichrome Wheelmade ware, which is outside the ceramic tradition of Cyprus both with regard to its wheel-made forms and decoration, and Tell el-

Yahudiya ware. Though the prototype may have originated in Syria, recent research has shown that Bichrome Wheelmade ware is made of Cypriot clay.[97] Examples of Tell el-Yahudiya ware found in Cyprus were imported from Syria and Palestine.[98]

Pottery's Trail

It is time to briefly consider the archaeological evidence for the strength of commercial ties between Cyprus and the towns of Syria-Palestine, as well as with Egypt; all the standard Cypriot pottery fabrics from 1750 B.C.E. through 1200 B.C.E. are widely represented on these continental sites.[99] For example, in Tomb 216 at ancient Lachish there were found sixty-six Cypriot vases.[100] Claude F. A. Schaeffer has reported numerous vases in the rich tombs excavated by him at Minet el Beida, the port town for ancient Ugarit.[101] From the same site in Schaeffer's Depôt 213 came another large collection of Cypriot vases.[102] Sir Leonard Woolley found much Cypriot pottery at ancient Alalakh.[103] Paul Åström recently summarized the overseas distribution of vases of Base Ring I fabric: he lists approximately 350 examples from sites in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.[104] The results for Base Ring II are just as significant.[105] Misfired pots from Enkomi indicate that Base Ring II, Plain White Wheelmade I, and White Shaved wares were made at that site.[106]

Apart from the local Cypriot pottery, there was from the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.E., an influx of Mycenaean pottery; while some Mycenaean vases were placed in tombs prior to 1400 B.C.E., by 1400 B.C.E., their numbers increased considerably.[107] An intriguing question is whether all these vases were made in the Aegean and were exported to Cyprus, or whether some of them could have been made on the island by Mycenaean potters who may have accompanied traders working in major harbor towns like Enkomi.

It should here be recalled that following the "fall of Knossos," the Mycenaeans became masters of the Aegean and replaced the Minoans as the major traders with the countries of the eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus was an ideal place from which to pursue this trade, and was, moreover, attractive due to its wealth of copper; this may be the reason why small <u>emporia</u> were established in coastal towns like Enkomi.[108]

The tombs at sites such as Enkomi have produced considerable quantities of Mycenaean pottery, particularly as large vessels (amphorae and open kraters) decorated in the pictorial style.[109] This style is dominated by Aegean motifs such as chariot groups, compositions of human figures, octopodes and bulls, though occasionally one may detect certain ancient Near Eastern elements.[110] During the fourteenth century, the decorative motifs and compositions of the pictorial style recall the major art of fresco

painting of the Aegean; this is the so-called Mycenaean III A style.[111] Some of the compositions may even be interpreted in terms of Greek mythology, as for example the well-known amphoroid krater from Enkomi which is decorated with octopodes and with a chariot composition. A long-robed human figure, holding scales, stands in front of the chariots. The Swedish scholar Martin Nilsson has suggested that this may represent a well-known scene from the Iliad, where Zeus is mentioned holding the "scales of destiny" in front of warriors as they depart for battle (Figure 16).[112] If this interpretation is correct, then here is one of the earliest representations of a Greek mythological scene. Another Mycenaean III A open krater from Enkomi is decorated with a scene which may be connected with the Mesopotamian myth of the chase and final capture of the monstrous Zu bird.[113]

By the thirteenth century B.C.E., the pictorial motifs had become more stylized and were inspired by embroideries and tapestries; this is what is known as the Mycenaean III B style.[114] The hands of several different painters have been recognized by scholars; in most cases all of the vases which have been attributed to the same painter have been found in Cyprus and the Levant.[115] Several forms are peculiar; these forms include the lentoid flask, the jug with a carinated shoulder having a trefoil mouth, and the handleless chalice. These forms may serve to strengthen the suggestion that some of this pottery could have been made in Cyprus by Mycenaean

artists.[116] Though the problem of the Mycenaean pictorial style is still unsolved, in spite of attempts to solve it by clay analysis (spectographic or neutron-activation), no doubt it constitutes a major artistic contribution to a Late Bronze Age art in whose creation and development Enkomi was directly or indirectly involved.[117]

What attracted the volume of trade suggested by the great quantities of Mycenaean III A & III B pottery found at Enkomi? Hector Catling thinks that the exchange merchandise offered by Enkomi for these Mycenaean III wares was copper.[118]

Miscellaneous Art Forms

Tombs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.E. have yielded several outstanding works of art; the hemispherical silver bowl from Enkomi, dated to the fourteenth century B.C.E., is a case in point.[119] It is decorated in the inlaid technique with gold and <u>niello</u>, with a frieze of six bullheads alternating with lotus flowers just below the rim, and another of arcaded rosettes encircling the lower part of the bowl. It has a wishbone handle as does another silver bowl from Enkomi with less elaborate decoration. A very similar bowl was found at Dendra in the Peloponnesus. They may both have been manufactured by the same artist. The Enkomi tombs produced several other exceptional silver bowls, one imitating the form of the well-known cups of Vaphio in the Peloponnesus.

The Enkomi market must have attracted not only traders, but foreign craftsmen and artists as well. This is clear from the distinctive style of a number of artifacts. Seals, for example, were carved in a combination Aegean/ancient Near Eastern fashion. In jewelry, there is a whole class of gold diadems, which are decorated in repoussé with Cypriot motifs.[120] But occasionally divergent motifs appear, like the winged sphinxes.[121] Of Mycenaean inspiration is the lion on an oval bezel of a gold finger ring; the animal is naturalistically rendered (Figure 17).[122] Also Aegean are necklaces with gold beads in the form of figure-8 shields. Noteworthy are the gold pendants from Enkomi in the form of pomegranates decorated with granulated triangles.[123] Finally, there are the rhytons of faience which embody several different styles (Figure 20).[124]

Alterations

At the end of the Late Cypriot III period (c.1200 B.C.E.) the sporadic strife that had marked the previous period had intensified and the region underwent another, more profound, change. Around the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E., Mycenae and Pylos, the major Mycenaean centers in the Peloponesus, were abandoned, perhaps as a result of a general disruption of Mycenaean society. The inhabitants sought new lands to settle; they found their way to the island of Rhodes, and thence to Asia Minor, where they raided coastal towns along the eastern Mediterranean.

When they reached Cyprus, they were joined by other adventurers and became what is known (from Egyptian accounts) as the "Sea Peoples." Some of the "Sea Peoples" settled in Enkomi, having taken advantage of the weakened population. The destruction of the late thirteenth century fortification wall at Enkomi marked the end of an epoch.

When the new buildings went up the rich tombs of the earlier generations were sealed over, though a few were plundered.[125] Not only the plans of Enkomi were changed, but so, too, was the building material itself, which was of the finest ashlar.[126] Enkomi, at this time, was a curious mixture of ancient Near Eastern and Aegean. The crowded town plan seems somewhat Near Eastern. Faience and ivory-work is probably Levantine though to some extent common also in the Aegean. Bronze tripods and bracket-lamps are peculiarly Cypriot, but some of the weapons, especially swords and greaves, are the same as those found at this time in the Aegean, including the distinctive type IIa flange-hilted sword (Figure 18 and Figure 19).[127]

A new kind of town planning was introduced at Enkomi by the invaders. Straight streets cross the city from one side to the other, connecting opposite gates and intersecting at right angles, forming a regular grid which recalls Hellenistic town planning (Figure 20). At about the center of town there is an open square paved with stone slabs.[128]

The sanctuaries and other public buildings at Enkomi lie in the center of town. Along the northern-most part, near

the city wall, are workshops for copper-smelting, situated so that the prevailing south winds would blow the poisonous fumes away from the residential area (Figure 21).

Domestic Architecture

The first house that Schaeffer cleared was the so-called "Maison des Bronzes," named after a deposit of bronzes found within the house.[128] It is a well built construction with a foundation of ashlar blocks, some of them three meters long; the first ashlar course consists of blocks, with rustic exterior faces (quarry-faced or hammered) leaving a plain tooled margin at the edges. It was in use, according to Schaeffer, from the fourteenth to the twelfth centuries B.C.E. and was repaired twice following catastrophes. The plan is irregular and consists of two major trapezoidal parts; there are rubble benches and circular hearths in this house (Figure 22).

In 1947, Schaeffer traced a large building with ashlar walls on rubble foundations in the northern part of town, where metallurgists' workrooms were located; it was reused and repaired, having three floor levels dated by Schaeffer to the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C.E.[130] A bronze hoard had been hidden underneath the top floor.[131] House remains were, likewise, found by Schaeffer in 1947 inside the south part of the town wall. The rooms were generally rectangular and included wells, traces of a hearth per household, and benches.[132] Schaeffer maintains that most of

the tombs at Enkomi were placed under the habitations forming part of the house plans and serving as family vaults.[133] Several houses along the north-south street were excavated; houses of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.E. had well-built lavatories and bathrooms with sit-baths of limestone.[134] Some houses seem to have had second stories.[135]

Monumental buildings other than fortresses appeared in Cyprus during the Late Cypriot III period. At Enkomi, there was found one of the most outstanding structures of Late Bronze Age domestic architecture; it is known as "Bâtiment 18" and identified by its excavator as a "palace" (Figure 23).[136] Its four sides open onto streets and it occupies a whole block.[137] Its principal facade, on the south, is more than 40 meters long; it has four doors that are each more than 2 meters wide, and four large windows.[138] The manner of wall construction is new to the island. On a rubble foundation there is an embossed block serving as a socket, on which rests a large ashlar block forming the first course; the blocks occasionally measure more than 3 meters in length and 1.4 meters in height and 0.7 meters in width.[139] The top is cut to receive two smaller blocks set parallel to one another, like orthostats, and at a small distance from one another; the space between them was probably filled with soil or rubble.[140] At the top of the second course there was a horizontal slab; the ashlar blocks

of local hard limestone have perfect joints and are set dry without mortar.[141]

The introduction of ashlar-block construction at Enkomi, as well as in other main urban centers on the island, coincides with the arrival of the first Achaean settlers, but it is a building fashion alien to the Aegean that could not have been introduced by them. Since the technique was known in Anatolia and at Ugarit (in the Temple of Baal and the Palace), it is not impossible that it was introduced to Cyprus by builders from these regions, in particular from Ugarit.[142]

Sanctuaries

The same methods of construction were used for the building of sanctuaries. At Enkomi there are three major sanctuaries dating to about 1200 B.C.E. The largest is the sanctuary of the "Horned God" (Figure 24).[143] The sanctuary of the "Horned God" at Enkomi consists of a hall, the roof of which was supported on two rectangular stone pillars.[144] From this hall there was access to two inner cult rooms, in one of which the bronze cult statue of the "Horned God" was found.[145] In the hall, around the sacrificial altar and offerings table, were found a large number of skulls of oxen and of other animals such as deer and goats.[146] There were, likewise, quantities of bowls which must have been utilized in the pouring of libations. The "Horned God," some 55 centimeters tall, the largest statue yet found from this

period.[147] The god who was worshipped in this sanctuary was a fertility god; he was a god who protected cattle and shepherds. He appears as a youth wearing a kilt and a horned helmet and has been identified with "Apollo Keraeatos" who was worshipped in the mountains of Arcadia and who may have been introduced into Cyprus by the Achaean settlers.[148] The ritual of the "Horned God" continued until Enkomi was abandoned.

The second major sanctuary at Enkomi, also built of ashlar blocks, consists of a propylaeum and a cella.[149] There was a rectangular free-standing pillar in the central part of the main court; a well was adjacent to the pillar.[150] Pillars had religious significance in Aegean sacred architecture which suggests that this sanctuary may have been influenced by the architectural ideas of the Achaean colonists.

The third sanctuary at Enkomi was constructed about mid-twelfth century B.C.E.; it was not built with ashlar blocks, but with rubble.[151] It comprises a rectangular courtyard with benches along the walls for the deposit of offerings, a table of offerings and an altar for sacrifices.[152] On the floor excavators found the skulls of numerous oxen and other horned animals. In a small cella adjacent to the hall the bronze cult statue of a bearded god was found.[153] He stands on a base in the form of a copper ingot and is fully armed.[154] He is known as the "Ingot God" and has been identified with the god who protects the copper mines of

Cyprus (Figure 25). A statuette of a female divinity of Cypriot manufacture and of the same date is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.[155] She, also, stands on a base in the shape of a copper ingot and is identified with a goddess symbolizing the fertility of the copper mines (Figure 26).[156] Dual divinities are common in the ancient world and these two, connected with metallurgy which was of primary importance to Enkomi's economy, call to mind the Homeric association of Hephaestos, the smith-god of Greek mythology, with Aphrodite.

Religion

The Cypriots have always been conservative in their religious beliefs, and they preserved the essential elements of their religion over a long period. Thus, the divinities of fertility reappear, though in different forms, during the Late Bronze Age. In the Late Bronze Age representations of divinities appear in association with a cult. Terra cotta figurines of a nude female divinity holding an infant or pressing her breasts, are usually found in tombs or private houses but not in sanctuaries.[157] They may represent the "Great Goddess," or a female companion for the dead. There are two types of terra cottas: the earliest with a bird-face, has ancient Near Eastern precedents; the later, of the thirteenth century B.C.E., has naturalistic facial characteristics which may indicate Aegean influences.[158] Bull figures, either in the form of a rhyton or in terra

cotta, appear quite often in tombs as well as in the sanctuaries at Enkomi (Figure 27).[159] There are also terra cotta and bronze representations of a bull accompanied by human figures (occasionally riding on a cult vehicle) and who lead the animal for sacrifice.[160] The bucrania found in the sanctuaries at Enkomi may have been worn as masks, as already mentioned, whereby the wearer acquired some of the qualities of a bull.[161]

The main period for the construction of temples and sanctuaries occurs during the final years of the Late Bronze Age, when public buildings appear at Enkomi. Though these sanctuaries coincide with the arrival of the first Achanen "colonists," it seems surprising how little of their religion these settlers brought with them from the Aegean. They apparently borrowed considerably from the local population, both in religious architecture and practice. The introduction of the "horns of consecration" as a religious symbol is, however, an exception; this symbol is well known at the Mycenaean mainland site of Pylos.

Religious life was conservative at Enkomi, where conservatism seems strong in all aspects of the culture. Several elements in Cypriot religion were not alien to the new settlers, including the religious significance of the bull and votive anchors, and thus a radical change did not take place; on the contrary, there was every reason for a gradual fusion. At the time of the arrival of the Achaean settlers, religious architecture in the Aegean was not so

developed nor was it significantly different. In the twelfth century B.C.E., when more Achaeans and other Aegeans had settled in Enkomi, Aegean elements in Cypriot religion became more conspicuous.

Evidence for the cult performed in the sanctuaries at Enkomi is as follows. Horned animals were sacrificed in large numbers in the sanctuaries of the "Horned God" and "Ingot God;" some of these skulls may have been worn as masks by the worshippers or hung on the walls.[162] Libations are suggested by the numerous bowls found in the sanctuary of the "Ingot God." Incense burners have been found in the sanctuaries as well as tables for bloodless gifts like fruit.[163] It is noteworthy that cult statues were found in both sanctuaries, unlike other sanctuaries in Cyprus for this same time period. The "Horned God" is represented as a beardless, youthful, muscular figure, wearing a horned cap of animal skin and a short kilt.[164] The facial characteristics of the god seem "Greek," though there are ancient Near Eastern parallels for the attitude of the arms. The bronze statue of the "Ingot God" is perhaps even more important for the religious cults of Enkomi. The god wears a kilt and a close fitted vest; he, likewise, wears a conical helmet with horns. The "Ingot God" is 35 centimeters high; the figure is on a base in the form of an oxide ingot and is, therefore, known as the "Ingot God."[165] He has greaves on his legs and holds a circular-shaped shield in his left hand, while in his right hand, he

brandishes a spear. The armed "Ingot God" is doubly significant. Not only is he associated with the copper mines, but he is ready to protect them effectively at a time when copper trade was endangered by troubled conditions in the eastern Mediterranean. The connection of metallurgy with religion is also attested in Cyprus by the discovery at Enkomi of small votive ingots engraved in Cypro-Minoan.[166]

The existence at Enkomi during the twelfth century B.C.E. of two divinities connected with metallurgy is of manifold significance. Such was the importance of the production and export of copper for the economy of Enkomi that the copper industry was put under the protection, and hence the control, of religion and the religious authorities. A similar phenomenon is known at the Late Bronze Age site of Timna in Palestine.[167] The association of a male "smith god" with a female divinity is also significant; thus, the association of Hephaestos with Aphrodite may be neither irrelevant nor accidental.

It is obvious that religious practices at Enkomi during the closing years of the Late Bronze Age were rich and intense. The basic feature was still the old cult of the divinities of fertility, though some new concepts were added by the Achaean settlers. But it is a case of fusion with local religious traditions rather than innovation. The real innovation, which was based upon local Cypriot conditions and necessities, was the association of religion with metallurgy (Figure 28).

Achaean Contributions

The Achaeans, with their advanced metallurgical techniques, made a major contribution to the artistic production of Cyprus during the twelfth century B.C.E. The two bronze statues of divinities of Enkomi illustrate this, as do a series of remarkable bronze four-sided stands, resting on four wheels, which are decorated with pictorial compositions in the ajouré technique and which are fine examples of Cypriot craftsmanship.[168] They were, doubtless, influenced by ivory carvings which, likewise, flourished on the island. There is a profusion of bronze vases and weapons in tombs.[169] Swords of Aegean type are introduced to the island as well as a new light-framed chariot which replaced the old-fashioned Mycenaean chariot with a solid body.[170] The draught box from Enkomi, now in the British Museum, is carved with hunting scenes and animal compositions on all four sides; it is truly a masterpiece betraying Aegean and ancient Near Eastern stylistic tendencies (Figure 29).[171]

Other arts flourished at this period, particularly jewelry where the introduction of the new cloisonné technique is evidenced. There are some superb specimens of this technique which previously was thought to have been invented much later.[172] In coroplastic art, the anthropomorphic centaur, in a form known from Crete, was introduced; large bicephalic centaurs were found in the sanctuary of the "Ingot God" at Enkomi.[173] A major change

occurs in ceramics. The new style, known as Proto-White Painted or Proto-Bichrome ware, betrays influences mainly from the Aegean and particularly from Sub-Minoan Crete, but there are also elements in both shape and decoration from the Syro-Palestinian Coast.[174] Indeed, several ancient Near Eastern imports, mainly lentoid flasks, have been discovered in the tombs. In metalwork various objects such as the bronze fibula (safety-pin) are of Aegean origin.[175] This indicates that women's dress fashions were influenced from the Aegean; hitherto, Cypriot women had used ordinary (straight) pins to fasten their dresses.[176]

Important changes are, also, attested in funerary architecture, a phenomenon which occurs from the first time since the arrival of the Achaean "colonists." Tombs now have small rectangular chambers with long narrow dromoi.[177] Such tombs existed in Rhodes and Crete and may indicate the route taken by the "colonists" before they reached Cyprus; this last wave of Achaean "colonists" must be those who are referred to in mythical tradition, concerning the foundation of cities in Cyprus after the end of the Trojan war.[178]

Transitions

The events of the first half of the eleventh century B.C.E. laid the foundations for the future historical and cultural development of Cyprus; the Hellenization of the island which had started as a slow process about 1200 B.C.E. was now complete. Meanwhile the Mycenaean aristocracy

dominated the local population at Enkomi both politically and culturally while at the same time accepting influences both from the local indigenous culture and from the Syro-Palestinian coast, with which they maintained trading relations as their forefathers had done in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.E.[179] It was during this time that the Greek language was introduced to the island.[180]

Concluding Remarks

The Late Bronze Age may, thus, be described as one of the most formative periods in the life of ancient Cyprus. It prescribed the island's evolution through the first millennium B.C.E.; indeed, in some ways, down to the present day. Certainly the city of Enkomi contributed her "two ingots" to this process.

ENDNOTES

[1] Vassos Karageorghis, Ancient Cyprus (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1981), p. 44. Major controversies exist among scholars on the dating of archaeological periods, particularly those of Cypriot prehistory. The following chronology reflects the most current thinking on the subject: Late Bronze Age I, 1625-1450 B.C.E.; Late Bronze Age II, 1450-1225 B.C.E.; Late Bronze Age III, 1225-1050 B.C.E. So, Karageorghis in his introduction to Ancient Cyprus.

[2] Ibid.

[3] V. Karageorghis, Cyprus (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), p. 136. Also, see Einar Gjerstad, Studies in Prehistoric Cyprus (Uppsala: A.B. Lundeqvistska Bokhandeln, 1926).

[4] A. S. Murray, A. H. Smith, and H. B. Walters, Excavations at Enkomi (London: British Museum, 1900).

[5] Einar Gjerstad et alli, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: 1927-1931 (Stockholm: The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 1934).

[6] Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Missions En Chypre: 1932-1935 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1936).

[7] _____, Enkomi-Alasia: 1946-1950 (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1952). Claude F. A. Schaeffer, ed., Alasia I (Paris: Mission Archéologique D'Alasia, 1971).

[8] Nancy K. Sandars, The Sea Peoples (London: Thames and Hudson), p. 144.

[9] Porphyrios Dikaios, "Excavations and Historical Background: Enkomi in Cyprus," Journal of Historical Studies, 1967, p. 42.

[10] "The Hyksos," For the Hyksos, see John Van Seters, Journal of Near Eastern Studies, XXVIII, 1969, pp. 127-133. For a general sketch concerning political conditions in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age see Robert S. Merrillees, "Political Conditions in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age," Biblical Archaeologist, vol. 49, no. 1 (March, 1986), pp. 42-51.

[11] So, Paul Åström, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. vol. IV. (Lund: The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 1972), p. 764.

[12] Ibid. Likewise, see C. F. A. Schaeffer's, Enkomi-Alasia: 1946-1950, pp. 127, 226 ff., 329 ff.

[13] V. Karageorghis, View from the Bronze Age. (New York: F. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1976), p. 38.

[14] Ibid.

[15] V. Karageorghis, Ancient Cyprus, p. 56. Preliminary smelting was carried out in mining areas where there were ample wood supplies. The animals, domesticated in the Late Bronze Age, included sheep, goat, cow, horse, donkey and camel; the vegetable diet consisted of lentils, pistachio, barley, wheat, and horsebeans. Grapes were, likewise, grown. So, P. Åström, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV., p. 768.

[16] Ibid., p. 57.

[17] M. R. Dussaud examines the principal arguments in favor of the identification of the town discovered at Enkomi with the capital of Cyprus, the Alashiya mentioned in the Amarna letters and other cuneiform inscriptions of the second millenium B.C.E. (Boghazköy, Ugarit, and Mari), as well as in the Old Testament); see the "Preliminary Note" in C.F.A. Schaeffer's Enkomi-Alasia: 1946-1950. Also, Y. Lynn Holmes, "The Location of Alashiya," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 91 (1970), pp. 426-429. Various arguments for the location of Alashiya are presented by John Strange. Caphtor/Keftiu (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980); especially note pages 183 and 184. Strange argues that Alashiya could have been a city-state; I think that Alashiya was the city-state of Enkomi, supra.

[18] P. Åström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. Iv., p. 38.

[19] Ibid.

[20] P. Dikaios, Enkomi: Excavations: 1948-1958, vol. II, (Mainz Am Rhein: Verlag Philipp Von Zabern, 1969), p. 504.

[21] Ibid. See Dikaios' footnote, 435.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., p. 505.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Erik Sjöqvist, Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age (Stockholm: The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 1940), p. 200.

[26] P. Dikaios, Enkomi Excavations, vol. II, p. 445.

[27] Emily Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 151.

[28] P. Dikaios states: "We may assume that the tablet was in use approximately 1475 B.C.;" Enkomi Ezcavations, vol. II, p. 882. See P. Dikaios, "The Context of the Enkomi Tablets," Kadmos, 2 (1963), p. 40.

[29] Evans, Sir Arthur J., The Palace of Minos, vol. IV (London: Macmillan, 1935), p. 758 ff.

[30] P. Dikaios, Enkomi Excavations, vol. II., p. 883.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., p. 882.

[33] Maurice Pope, The Story of Archaeological Dicipherment (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), pp. 123-135.

[34] V. Karageorghis, Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1982), p. 44.

[35] Hector W. Catling, Cyprus and the West 1600-1050 B.C. (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1980), p. 23.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Claire Epstein, Palestinian Bichrome Ware (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), p. 130-133. Ruth Amiran, "The Arm-shaped Vessel and Its Family," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 21 (1962), p. 161-174.

[38] V. Karageorghis, Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans, p. 46.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid. See also P. E. Cleator, Lost Languages (London: Robert Hale Limited, 1959), p. 167.

[41] Ibid.

[42] The first tablet fragment was found in 1952; this material has been illustrated numerous times since its initial discovery. Finds as they took place were reported by P. Dikaios in Antiquity 27 (1953), pp. 103-105,

Antiquity, 29 (1955), pp. 233-237, Antiquity 30 (1956), pp. 40-42. C. F. A. Schaeffer added Antiquity 28 (1954), pp. 457-477.

[43] V. Karageorghis, Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans, p. 47.

[44] P. E. Cleator, Lost Languages, p. 167. Close paleographic analysis of this material suggests there may be as many as four different but interrelated syllabaries descended from a common parent, presumably the derivative Linear A script. So. H. W. Catling, Cyprus and the West, p. 23.

[45] William Culican, The Ancient Levant, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), p. 53.

[46] V. Karageorghis, Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans, p. 47.

[47] On seals: Edith Porada, "The Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age," American Journal of Archaeology, 52 (1948), pp. 180 ff. On art motifs: Helen J. Kantor, "The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.," American Journal of Archaeology 51 (1947), pp. 1-103. Also, see: Saul S. Weinberg, ed. Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman (Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Austin Publisher, 1956), pp. 59 ff.

[48] Tell 'Atshanah in the plain of Antioch in Turkey, excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley in 1936-49, has yielded a body of written material second in importance only to Ugarit among the sites of Syria and Palestine. The main part of the treaties, legal, and administrative tablets has been made available by Donald J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets (London: British Institute, 1953), followed by the same author's contributions in Journal of Cuneiform Studies 8 (1954), pp. 1-30, and Journal of Cuneiform Studies 12 (1958), pp. 124-129.

The tablets coming from Tell Hariri, the site of Mari, on the Euphrates before it enters today's Iraq, exhibit all the characteristics of cuneiform texts. The majority of the texts (allegedly 20,000) deal with the time period of approximately 1825-1775 B.C.E. These tablets, mostly letters and administrative documents, as well as a group of legal texts, have been made available in the series Archives royales de Mari (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1946-1958). A parallel series offers transliterations and translations since 1950; fourteen volumes have thus far been published with more than 2,500 texts by G. Dossin, Ch. F. Jean, J. R. Kupper, J. Bottéro, G. Boyer, M. Birot, M. Burke, and A. Finet. Especially see: G. Dossin, "Les Archives economiques du palais de Mari," Syria, 20 (1939), p. 111. The importance of the texts from Mari lies not so much in

the superficial parallels they offer to the Old Testament background as in the light they shed on the clash between two cultures, that of Mesopotamia and that of the "barbaric West." For example, see Martin Noth, Mari and Israel, (Tübingen: University of Tübingen, 1953).

[49]See J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln I & II (Aalen: Otto Zeller Verlangsbuchhandlung, 1915).

[50]V, Karageorghis, Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans, p. 48. Likewise, see O. Masson's article in Kadmos 12 (1973), p. 98 ff.

[51]The relevant tablets in reference to this discussion are: no. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, and 40; see J. A. Knutzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln I & II.

[52]For example, in Tablet no. 33 the king of Alashiya promises to send 200 talents of copper to the Pharaoh. In tablet no. 35, the king of Alashiya promises to send the Pharaoh 500 talents of copper.

[53]Ibid. It is interesting to note that while horses, oils, and ivory were being sent from Cyprus to other countries, the Cypriots requested that these things be sent to them. Perhaps these items were thought to be royal gifts which should be exchanged between all courts.

[54]Ibid. On the fancy furniture, chariot, horses, and oil, see tablet no. 34; on silver, no. 35 and no. 37.

[55]Ibid. For the letter of apology see tablet no. 35.

[56]V. Karageorghis, Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans, p. 49.

[57]The Lukka were pirates from southwestern Anatolia, notorious since early in the second millennium. Their raids on Alashiya were a recurrent irritation. A fourteenth-century king of Alashiya wrote to Pharaoh: "Does my brother not know that every year the Lukka people take a small town away from my land?" When ancient Greek historians, writing of the troubles of the distant past, refer to "Carian pirates," it is probably the Lukka who lurk behind this name. So. N. K. Sandars, The Sea Peoples, p. 107. Likewise, see T. R. Bryce, "The Lukka Problem and a Possible Solution," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 33 (1974), pp. 395-404.

[58]V. Karageorghis, Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans, p. 49.

[59]Ibid.

[60] N. K. Sandars, The Sea Peoples, p. 44.

[61] Hans G. Guterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 26 (1967), pp. 73-81. This is an excellent article; translation of the text appears on page 77.

[62] V. Karageorghis, Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans, p. 49.

[63] H. G. Guterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus," p. 78 ff.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Thus far, in all of the excavations throughout the entire island, only three Hittite seals have come to light. Likewise, little Anatolian pottery has been found. So, V. Karageorghis, Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans, p. 49.

[66] For example, see the correspondence between the "High Steward" of Alashiya and King Hamurabi of Ugarit in J. Nougayrol, E., Laroche, C. Virolliaud, and C. F. A. Schaeffer. Ugaritica, vol. V. (Paris: Bibliothéque Archéologique et Historique, 1968), pp. 83-86; 105; 701-703, etc.

[67] P. Dikaios, "Excavations and Historical Background," p. 42.

[68] P. Åström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV, p. 38.

[69] P. Dikaios, Enkomi Excavations 1948-1958, p. 506.

[70] P. Åström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV, p. 39.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] P. Dikaios, Enkomi Excavations 1948-1958, p. 506.

[75] P. Åström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV, p. 39.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid. In the international scene, this occupation level at Enkomi corresponds with the period which followed the battle of Kadesh on the upper Orontes in 1286 B.C.E., and the subsequent treaty of peace between the two powerful opponents, the Hittites and the Egyptians. The alliance which followed, secured peace for the eastern Mediterranean, a fact which could not but bring considerable profit to Cyprus. Cyprus may have remained "tied" to Egypt, if we judge from the list of tributaries which include Alashiya under Seti I and Ramses II; this was exactly at the time of the great activity in the copper workshops and consequently in the copper mines.

Was Cyprus capable of producing such large amounts of copper? From Late Bronze Age Enkomi archaeologists have discovered slag heaps of copper, molds for copper, and copper workshops with tools and fragments of furnaces and crucibles. Thus, the copper mines of Cyprus were being worked and the material from these mines was being processed in a few Cypriote cities like Enkomi. Slag heaps of copper have been found at ten sites other than Enkomi; Kyriakos Nicolaou, "Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1968." American Journal of Archaeology 74 (1970), p. 73. At Klavdhia and Enkomi molds were discovered. H. W. Catling, Cypriot Bronzework, p. 21. Enkomi was one of four locations containing copper workshops; C.F.A. Schaeffer Enkomi-Alasia, p. 412.

[79] P. Dikaios, Enkomi Excavation 1948-1958, p. 512.

[80] P. Åström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV, p. 40.

[81] Ibid. The structure identified by the excavator as a large rectangular tower outside and adjacent to the north city gate may, in fact, be a sanctuary. See H. W. Catling in Report to the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus, 1975, pp. 50-53.

[82] P. Dikaios, Enkomi Excavations 1948-1958, p. 512.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., p. 513.

[85] Oliver Pelon, Tholoi, Tumuli, et Cercles Funéraires (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1976), pp. 427-432. C.F.A. Schaeffer, ed. Alasia, pp. 51-122.

[86] _____, Pelon, Tholoi, Tumuli et Cercles Funéraires, plate CXXXVII.

[87] V. Karageorghis, Ancient Cyprus, p. 58.

[88] Ibid.

[89]Seton Lloyd, The Archeology of Mesopotamia (London: Thames, and Hudson, 1985), p. 75. Likewise, note drawing no. 36. In various levels of the Halaf period at Arpachiya tholoi have been found both on the mound and in outlying parts of the site. As many as ten of these tholoi have been discovered; no more than two seem to have existed simultaneously. These tholoi are approached through a rectangular dromos, like the "bee-hive" tombs at Mycenae. As a rule, only their stone foundations have survived; but one provided evidence of a dome-like pisé superstructure. Owing to the number of graves and cult-figurines found in the immediate vicinity, Mallowan was inclined to attribute a religious purpose to these buildings. See: M. E. L. Mallowan and J. C. Rose, "The Excavations of Tell Arpachiya," Iraq,, 2 (1935).

[90]A. S. Murray, et alii, Excavations at Enkomi, p. 5.

[91]Ibid.

[92]Ibid.

[93]O. Pelon, Tholoi, Tumuli et Circles Funeraires, plate CXXXVIII.

[94]One should be reminded that the Base Ring I and II vessels, the types that appear most often on foreign soil, are not extremely well-made and that their decorations are far from beautiful, so it seems strange that these vessels should be valued for their own sakes. It is more likely that their value came from their contents. R. S. Merrillees, "Opium Trade in the Bronze Age Levant," Antiquity, 361 (1962), p. 288.

[95]For an excellent synopsis concerning Cypriot pottery see P. Dikaios, Enkomi Excavations 1948-1958, pp. 825-834. This brief summary deals with the main Cypriot wares found in both the stratigraphical deposits and the tombs at Enkomi.

[96]V. Karageorghis, Ancient Cyprus, p. 60.

[97]Michal Artzy, F. Asaro and I. Perlman, "The Origin of Palestinian Bi-chrome Ware," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 93 (1973), pp. 446-461. Idem, in Israel Exploration Journal, 25 (1975), pp. 129-135.

[98]Michal Artzy and F. Asaro, in Report to the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, 1979), pp. 135-150.

[99]H. W. Catling, Cyprus and the West 1600-1050 B. C., p. 16. Barry Gittlin, "The Cultural and Chronological Implications of Cypriote Pottery Trade During the Late

Bronze Age," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 241 (1981), pp. 49-61. For an excellent photograph of Cypriot wares which were exported see George F. Bass, "Splendor of the Bronze Age," National Geographic vol. 172, no. 6 (December, 1987), p. 711.

Although archaeological evidence is lacking to prove most of the textual assertions, material is available to show that Cyprus was exporting vast amounts of pottery during the Late Bronze Age. This pottery included Base Ring I and II wares, White Slip I and II wares, White Shaved wares, Early Monochrome wares, and Bucchero wares. For the characteristics of all these wares see Erik Sjöqvist, Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age Stockholm: The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 1940), pp. 34-43.

[100] Olga Tufnell, et alii, Lachish, IV (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 232-235.

[101] Note L. Courtois' publication of Tomb 4253 in Ugaritica, vol. VI (Paris: Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, 1969), pp. 121-137.

[102] Syria XIII (1932), p. 5 ff. See also Ugaritica IV, pp. 140-143.

[103] Sir Leonard Woolley, Alalakh (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 354-369.

[104] P. Aström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV, pp. 725-738.

[105] Ibid., pp. 738-741.

[106] P. Aström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV, p. 770. Especially see Tombs "5" and "11" from Enkomi in C. F. A. Schaeffer, Enkomi-Alasia, pp. 155 and 156. Were these "second-class" pots placed in the tombs in neglect of the dead to deceive them? (Tomb "11" contained 200 vases and tomb "5," 370.)

[107] V. Karageorghis, Ancient Cyprus, p. 60.

[108] Ibid.

[109] See, for example: P. Aström in Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium, The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean. (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities of Cyprus and Zavallis Press, Ltd., (1973), pp. 122-127. As of 1972 Aström had noted nearly 3,500 Mycenaean vases found at sites all over the island, though the chief concentrations were from the major coastal centers. H. W. Catling has recently suggested that some of the Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus reached the island indirectly from certain ancient Near Eastern clearing houses, such as at Ras

Shamra; Catling, Cyprus and the West 1600-1050, pp. 17-19). This suggestion, apart from being based on a hypothetical argument that Levantine merchants acted as middlemen in the trade of Cypriot copper, disregards the fact that wherever we find Mycenaean pottery in the Ancient Near East, it is usually found together with large quantities of Cypriot pottery. The natural explanation would be that Mycenaean pottery from the Aegean harbors reached Cyprus first and was then distributed to various Near Eastern centers, together with the Cypriot pottery.

[110]E. Vermeule and V. Karageorghis, Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

[111]V. Karageorghis, Ancient Cyprus, p. 60.

[112]Martin Nilsson, "The Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival," in Greek Religion (Lund: Berlingska, 1950), pp. 13-20, 262, 303-305.

[113]V. Karageorghis, Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans, p. 61.

[114]_____, Ancient Cyprus, p. 60.

[115]C. F. A. Schaeffer, Missions En Chypre, p. 119.

[116]V. Karageorghis, Ancient Cyprus, p. 60.

[117]For a synopsis of the Mycenaean pottery styles found at Enkomi, see P. Dikaios, Enkomi Excavations 1948-1958, vol. II, pp. 835-869. Dikaios points out that the Mycenaean III A:I to III B styles were found both in the dwellings and in the tombs. Although Mycenaean pottery was considered a luxury article, it seemed to be accessible to, virtually, all the inhabitants of Enkomi.

[118]H. W. Catling, Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 49 ff. Catling dates the intensive trade relations between the Mycenaean world proper and Cyprus to the period of 1400-1200 B.C.E.

[119]V. Karageorghis and H. G. Bucholz, Altägäis und Altkypros (Tübingen: University of Tübingen, 1971), pp. 148-173.

[120]A. S. Murray, et alii, Excavations at Enkomi. Plates VI, VII, and XI.

[121]Ibid.

[122]This ring came from Tomb 18; it was found at Enkomi during the Swedish Expedition to Cyprus. The ring can now be seen at the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

[123] A. S. Murray, et alii, Excavations at Enkomi, p. 18.

[124] Ibid. Plate III.

[125] N. K. Sanders, The Sea Peoples, p. 144.

[126] I am using "ashlar" in the current architectural sense as "clean-hewn" stone that is cut and squared on all surfaces with close-fitting joints; some writers have used this term for the much rougher shaping of large stone courses at Mycenae and other Mycenaean sites.

[127] N. K. Sanders, The Sea Peoples, p. 145. For a thorough discussion of sword types, as well as other bronzes, of the second millennium see Jan Bouzek, The Aegean, Anatolia, and Europe: Cultural Interrelations in the Second Millennium B. C. (Prague: Academia, 1985). Especially see pages 30-41 and 119-132.

[128] C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed. Alasia I, pp. 567-573 and dépliant IV.

[129] Idem. Missions on Cypre. p. 85 ff. (Figure 46 shows floorplan for this house.)

[130] C. F. A. Schaeffer, Enkomi-Alasia 1946-1950, p. 27 ff.

[131] Ibid. This bronze hoard as well as several other hoards from Enkomi are described in detail by Hector Catling in Chapter XIII of his book entitled Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World.

[132] C. F. A. Schaeffer, Enkomi-Alasia 1946-1950, p. 26.

[133] Ibid, p. 21.

[134] P. Åström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, p. 27.

[135] Ibid.

[136] C. F. A. Schaeffer, Enkomi-Alasia: 1946-1950, p. 239 ff.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Ibid.

[142]N. K. Sandars, The Sea Peoples, pp. 145-152.

[143]P. Dikaios, "Excavations and Historical Background: p. 46 ff. Dikaios excavated in the center of the town a large building, in which the Sanctuary of the Horned God was situated. Dating from the Late Cypriot I to Late Cypriot III the area underwent several changes. The earliest buildings of the Late Cypriot I in this area were very simple habitations on a plan comprising three aisles surrounding an open space. While most of the rubble foundations of the buildings were set in hollow parts of the bedrock, the level of the latter in the open space was higher. In this open space chamber tombs were accommodated. The buildings were rebuilt in the early fourteenth century when new ones were added but on the same architectural plan, with open spaces in which chamber tombs were cut into the bedrock. In the early part of the fourteenth century a destruction took place but most of the buildings were reconstructed while others were abandoned. A new destruction occurred about 1230 B.C.E., and on the remains of the destroyed buildings, a large building was erected with ashlar blocks for the lower parts of the walls. This coincides with the appearance of Mycenaean III C:I pottery. The ashlar building was large and seems to have been built on a tri-partite plan, the central aisle being the most important. The lower parts of the walls are built of limestone blocks, large and carefully dressed, but the upper parts were of pisé with white-colored lime facing.

[144]_____, Enkomi: Excavations: 1948-1958, vol. III, plate 275.

[145]P. Aström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV, p. 9. The god was found in room 10, where two stone slabs were found in situ on floor III. These slabs may have been the base for a wooden pedestal where the statue was placed, as suggested by the fixing pins under its heels.

[146]Ibid. p. 771.

[147]For complete discussion on the "Horned God" see C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed. Alasia I, pp. 33-42.

[148]Ibid. To the east, adjacent to the large sanctuary of the "Horned God," there was a smaller sanctuary of the same period consisting of an outer hall, with a hearth altar close to an offering table in the center, and an inner room in which a small bronze statuette of a double-headed female divinity was found; she may have been the consort of the male god.

[149]V. Karageorghis, Ancient Cyprus, p. 64.

[150]Ibid.

[151] C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed. Alasia I, pp. 151-362.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid.

[155] C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed. Alasia I, pp. 15-32.

[156] Ibid.

[157] A. S. Murray, et alii, Excavations at Enkomi, p. 26.

[158] For the bird-faced terra cotta figurines from the ancient Near East, see S. Lloyd, The Archaeology of Mesopotamia, p. 47. For a bird-faced terra cotta figurine from Tomb 91 at Enkomi, see A. S. Murray, et alii, Excavations at Enkomi, p. 42. For the thirteenth century B.C.E. naturalistic style figurines, see Ibid., pp. 34 ff.

[159] For a beautiful bull rhyton from Enkomi, see P. Dikaios, Enkomi Excavations 1948-1958, vol. III, Plate 135.

[160] On bronze carts, see A. S. Murray, et alii, Excavations at Enkomi, p. 15.

[161] So, V. Karageorghis in Harvard Theological Review 64 (1971), pp. 261-270. This custom survived into the Cypro-Archaic period as is attested by terra cotta figurines found in sanctuaries, which represent human figures in the art of putting bull-masks on their heads.

[162] Carbonized bones and sacrificial altars are evidence of animal sacrifices. Usually bulls were killed, but there were also deer, as the bones of these animals have been found at Enkomi. See P. Åström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol IV, p. 771.

[163] V. Karageorghis, Ancient Cyprus, p. 68.

[164] P. Dikaios, Enkomi Excavations: 1948-1958, vol. II, pp. 527-530.

[165] V. Karageorghis, View from the Bronze Age, p. 53.

[166] C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed. Alasia I, p. 30.

[167] Beno Rothenberg, Excavations in the Timna Valley, (New York: Stein and Day, Publishers, 1972), p. 128.

[168]For an explicit account of these four-sided stands, see H. W. Catling, Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World, pp. 190-223.

[169]For an abbreviated description concerning contents of the tombs excavated at Enkomi, see P. Dikaios, Enkomi: Excavations, vol. I, pp. 334-434.

[170]On Aegean sword types, see J. Bouzek, The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe, p. 30, ff. Light-framed chariots are discussed by Yigael Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands, vol. I (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963), p. 191. An excellent example of the light-framed chariot can be seen in the Florence Museum.

[171]A. S. Murray, et alii, Excavations at Enkomi, p. 12.

[172]P. Åström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV, p. 779.

[173]C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed. Alasia I, p. 298.

[174]V. Karageorghis, View from the Bronze Age, p. 54.

[175]A. S. Murray, et alii, Excavations at Enkomi, pp. 19 and 20.

[176]Ibid.

[177]P. Åström, Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV, pp. 50 and 51.

[178]For example, Teucer is the traditional founder of Salamis; thus, Salamis succeeds Enkomi on the east coast. Enkomi was gradually abandoned after the silting-up of its inner harbor.

[179]V. Karageorghis, View from the Bronze Age, p. 56.

[180]Ibid.

CHAPTER III

PYLOS

Introduction

The Mycenaean palace site identified as Pylos, the seat of the Homeric hero Nestor, lies in the hill country at Epano Englianos, about three miles from the coast and seven and a half miles north of the classical and modern Pylos on the Bay of Navarino, of which it commands a spectacular view.[1] The site was occupied from at least the Middle Bronze Age period; the palace itself, which has been completely explored, belongs to the Late Bronze Age.[2] Earlier in Mycenaean times the hilltop had been fortified though not in the massive manner of Mycenae or Tiryns. A gateway is still identifiable at the northeast end of the acropolis; the fortifications seem to have been dismantled by the thirteenth century B.C.E.[3]

History of Excavation

In 1912 and 1926 Dr. K. Kourouniotis excavated two beehive tombs in the region north of the Bay of Navarino; both had been plundered in ancient times but each yielded interesting overlooked objects, one containing three jars decorated in the "palace style," the other a collection of

early Mycenaean and Middle Bronze Age pots (Figure 30 and 31).[4] A joint Hellenic-American expedition was formed with Kourouniotis representing the Greek Archaeological Service and Carl W. Blegen of the University of Cincinnati. The purpose of this undertaking was to explore western Messenia with special reference to Mycenaean sites and cemeteries. In 1928 the two colleagues made a brief survey of the region; they believed that the tholos tombs were royal sepulchers and they drew the conclusion that in a region where there are many such tombs there must be a palace in which the kings lived before they died and were buried.[5]

Trial excavations were begun on a hill called Epano Englianos in April of 1939; on the very first day stone walls, fragments of frescoes, stucco floors, five inscribed tablets and Mycenaean pottery were brought to light; it became clear that the palace, which had been deduced, actually existed.[6] Explorations in the following weeks revealed that the building was of considerable extent, comparable to those already known at Tiryns, Mycenae and Thebes. More than 600 tablets and fragments of tablets bearing inscriptions in Linear B script were recovered.[7] Plans for beginning a systematic excavation the following year could not be realized because of the outbreak of World War II, and it was only in 1952 that it was possible for the work to be resumed.[8] Dr. Kourouniotis died in 1945 and Professor Spyridon Marinatos was designated by the Archaeological Council as his successor; rather than to

conduct operations jointly, he preferred to concentrate his attention on the exploration of other sites--tholos tombs and chamber tombs in a wider neighborhood--while the Cincinnati Expedition devoted its chief efforts to the clearing of the palace and to the investigation of its more immediate vicinity.[9]

Town Planning

The general features of a Mycenaean town, as is Pylos, are like those of its counterparts in Crete and Anatolia although on a smaller scale. One major exception is that the Mycenaean cities of the Late Bronze Age build no noteworthy temples or shrines. The palace lies on the highest ground above private houses. The principal gate faced the principal road, and its position was, therefore, dictated by local traffic. The palace at Pylos surmounts a hill astride an important road: the north-south route along the western shore of the Peloponnesus.

Two engineering specialties contributed to the town's well-being: road construction and water supply. The Mycenaean road system was extremely advanced for its period, forming a large connecting network among the chief towns of the Argolid and Messenia.[10] There were stone bridges, reinforced culverts with guardstones along the edges, and the surfaces were graveled.[11] Water systems were equally sophisticated. At Pylos water was brought into town by an open raised wooden aqueduct through forced rise from a

spring a kilometer away; the water passed through the industrial and palace quarters in terra cotta pipes, and was carried off in a system of underground channels, some lined with stone (Figure 32).[12]

Professional workshops, guardrooms, storerooms, and kitchen quarters were attached to the palace at the rear or sides. There is still little information about the lower town. The palace was always the economic and industrial center of the complex, however, as well as the civil and military center.

The palace at Pylos, which is the nucleus of the larger town of Pylos, illustrates Mycenaean town design. The excavations directed there by Carl Blegen have cleared the most complete palace plan of Late Bronze Age Greece; the Linear B tablets from this palace offer more specific information about the function of the plan than any other site has yielded. As the excavations continue they will, undoubtedly, reveal more dependent buildings and houses of the lower town to complete the picture.

At first the plateau at Englianos was only one of many Middle Bronze Age sites in Messenia. Englianos is a good morning's walk from the shore and farther from its own harbor, but it is placed to command a view of the road, and one can see the ships by the beach. Since the nearest sweet spring is across a valley, one supposes that the power of Pylos in the thirteenth century sprang not so much from the

natural advantages of the site, as from the character of the dynasts who decided to settle there.

Prior to 1300 B.C.E., Englianos probably had a brief period of fluorescence. There was one respectable fifteenth-century limestone building on the acropolis and traces of houses in the currant vineyard of the lower town.[13] A broad road led up to the main gate with a flight of shallow steps and flanking walls, perhaps towers.[14] A tholos tomb stood opposite the gate and another down the road to the southwest.[15] About 1400 B.C.E. signs of growing population are visible in the spread of a lower town around the Englianos plateau.[16]

The fourteenth-century town at Englianos was burned; new princes took-over the hilltop; this would be two or three generations following the fall of Knossos, coinciding with the beginning of the Mycenaean III B pottery style and the full international phase of the thirteenth century.[17] If history accords with legend, it was Neleus, the prince of Thessaly, who came into the Peloponnesus after conflict with his brother, Pelias, at Iolkos; they were both sons of Poseidon.[18] Earlier settlers at Englianos remain nameless.

The Neleid newcomers shaved off the top of the plateau and began building a palace very much like those at Tiryns or Mycenae.[19] There is so little hesitation or experiment in its plan, we must believe that the architectural tradition was already quite conservatively fixed. From this time on (about the beginning of the thirteenth century

B.C.E.) the hill seems to have been reserved for the royal residence and its appurtenances.[20] The older block was gradually supplemented by larger palace buildings over the next hundred years, and then at the end of the thirteenth century Pylos was burned out, like most sites in Greece, in a tremendous fire fed by the wooden struts in the walls and the oil in the storerooms.[21]

Acropolis

The hill of Epano Englianos is situated close beside and to the west of the modern highway, some four kilometers south of Chora. The elevation which has a maximum length of about 186 yards from southwest to northeast and a width not exceeding 98 yards, rises abruptly on all sides in a steep, almost precipitous bank, some 13 to 23 feet high (Figure 33).[22] It is only toward the easternmost angle that a relatively narrow terrace descends somewhat lower; but even there access to the plateau could be gained only by a rough scramble up the bank.[23] On the slopes and terraces below the palace to the northwest, southwest, and southeast a lower town spreads out, where ordinary people lived.[24] Only a short distance to the north and south of the acropolis are royal tholos tombs, and on a ridge, descending toward the west, chamber tombs for the common folk have been found.[25]

Palace

As it stood at the end of its hundred-year occupation, the palace of the Neleids stretches across the top of the hill in three main wings.[26] The palace occupies only a little more than the northwestern half of the acropolis and the remaining half seems to have been left open without large buildings, as at Tiryns (Figure 34).[27] The remains of walls around the palace area show that earlier buildings had been pulled down to make room for new construction; then the ridge had been leveled as a preliminary to building.[28]

The principal block of the last period holds stage center, conforming closely in design to the second palace at Tiryns; its focus is a large megaron of classic form: a deep enclosed room with central hearth surrounded by four columns which supported an open balcony on the second floor.[29] The single door leads out through two shallow vestibules or porches to a great walled courtyard, which in turn opens through a columned entrance or propylon toward the main street on the south. As you enter this main block from the street the propylon is guarded by a jutting tower complex on your right, unshielded side, and the official archives room with its anteroom (featuring a huge jar for the collection of olive oil) lies on the left under survey from a sentry platform.[30] Thus, the entrance expresses in physically symbolic terms the double function of a Mycenaean palace: military defense and civic administration.[31]

The megaron is the focus of the main block, but the subsidiary rooms are extensive and equally interesting. Along the outer walls of the megaron two long corridors faced with limestone run back to the pantries and storerooms at the rear of the building.[32] Doors in the outer walls of these corridors open onto another series of magazines; each corridor connects directly with the inner vestibule outside the megaron and with the walled courtyard in front of it. Such a design allows privacy from noise and movement in the megaron itself, while permitting free circulation to the business parts of the building and supervision at restricted exits. The main block also contains a whole complex of living and private rooms on the ground floor, off to the right (north) of the court.[33] A small megaron, called the queen's megaron, is connected by little passages to a painted boudoir and a genuine bathroom; another suite of apartments has a bathroom with a painted tub still <u>in situ</u>, and bedrooms with dressing rooms. Outside these royal suites garden courts were added as the century passed. Flights of wooden stairs led to other apartments on the second floor.

Originally, there seems to have been a long corridor on each side of the throne room giving access to many storerooms and magazines. The passage on the left (southwestern) side was later divided by crosswalls into additional rooms.[34] The five small chambers in the western corner of the building, found filled with crushed pottery,

had clearly been pantries in which the main stock of dishes for palace use was kept.[35] The long narrow room, which may be seen close beside the inner half of the throne room, contained, in addition to many large pots of various shapes, numerous diminutive votive vessels, as well as part of a table of offerings.[36] The room beyond at left, which once had wooden shelving on all sides, contained (by actual count) 2853 tall-stemmed drinking cups or kylikes.[37] The other three pantries were, likewise, filled with "china" of many sizes and at least 23 different shapes, and the total number of vases found in this quarter exceeded 6000.[38]

Directly behind the throne room are two fairly large magazines, where olive oil was kept in large jars which were set deep into stucco-coated stands. There were seventeen jars in "Room 23" and sixteen in "Room 24."[39] Many fragments of tablets found in "Room 23," scattered about on the stand and on the floor, deal with various "flavors" of the olive oil stored here.[40] It may be of interest to note that the word for olive oil, elawon, which appears on the tablets, is essentially the same as that used in modern Greek, today, more than 3000 years later.[41]

A long corridor still survives on the northeastern side of the throne room; through a branch passage it gave access to yet another oil magazine in the northern corner of the building, where remains of sixteen large jars were found still in situ.[42] Opposite the throne room is a suite of five chambers of various sizes; the northernmost chamber

contained olive oil in a dozen jars. Many of these pots for olive oil have painted decoration; it is likely that the most elegant grade of oil was kept in this magazine.[43]

Outdoors, on both sides of the main building, streets run back to magazines at the rear, isolating the megaron from the wing-blocks; in an earlier plan these streets permitted traffic flow around the main building and the southwest (oldest) building. This southwest building is the original part of the palace, the "Neleus" plan as opposed to the "Nestor" plan of the center.[44] A ramp from the main southeast street leads into a courtyard paved in stucco. Beyond this broad space one enters the old palace through two columns, a deep vestibule painted with a scene of mass-murder and pink griffins, then a sharp left past a third column into a principal hall with two rows of columns.[45] This hall is not a megaron in shape, but a long, deep, hearthless space; its approach and design are less organic, less axial than in the new block, having something of Crete's impromptu planning, while still conforming to mainland canons. The hall was surely the throne room of the original palace. When the new block rose the old palace must have been converted to some other important use. The southwestern block is a self-contained unit, with at least eighteen pantries and storerooms behind the main hall, each having to be entered from the one before; the arrangement is awkward but private and protective. Stairs rise between the

hall and storerooms to living apartments on the second floor.

The old block (southwestern building) was built upon heavy foundations which hug the westernmost edge of the palace plateau behind a thick wall.[46] This wall was designed with setbacks, running nearly 40 meters along the course of a pre-Neleid wall; it functioned both as a retaining wall for the newly graded terrace, and as a defense barrier on the west.[47] Pylos was otherwise defenseless in the thirteenth century, for the fifteenth-century tower and gate system had been abandoned; nonetheless, the sheer edge of the hill itself provided on all sides a natural line of defense of considerable strength.

Industrial Quarters

The third wing of the palace, east of the main building, is a rather poorly constructed "industrial quarter" with special annexes.[48] The palace workshops open off two sides of a small courtyard; they are long businesslike rooms parallel to the axis of the main building and, so, apparently planned in relation to it.[49]

Workshops

The focus of the courtyard is a painted altar, with a room behind it which the excavators see as a stepped shrine of Cretan style (Figure 35).[50] One of the tablets found

here names a goddess, Potnia Hippeia, indicating that this was probably the area in which the religious life of the palace was conducted.[51] Shrines of any sort are extremely rare in Late Bronze Age Greece. The workrooms beyond the "shrine" held storage jars, fragments of bronze, clay sealings from packaged goods, bits of bronze arrowheads and of decorated ivory. One section was probably the chariot-repair shop, another the armory, both vouched for in the tablets.

To the north of the workshop, the end of the aqueduct reveals the source of the palace's water: a pipe brought it from the northeast. Off at a short distance, to the north of the aqueduct, a free-standing building stored the palace's wine in large jars sunk into the ground (Figure 36).[52] The wine magazine consisted of a vestibule and a spacious storeroom, large enough to hold 60 or more wine jars.[53] On the eroded slopes beyond the modern edge lie remains of a potter's kiln with crumpled discards around it.[54]

Nestor may well have been a dealer in kitchenware; this "shopkeeper" symptom harmonizes well with the Linear B records kept in the archives room. The entire palace is like a miniature Hellenistic trading center: the oil and wine stores, the smiths' and masons' working quarters, the tablets and the endless pots all contribute impressions of how crammed with vitality this palace was prior to its capture.

Palace Function

The comparison to medieval citadels is traditional, and good if one does not press the implications too far; a town like Pylos was much more than a shelter for a dynast, his family, special troops, and servants. Pylos acted as a safe-deposit and central goods-exchange for most products, both from the palace shops and from the country towns and villages in its economic dominion. Indeed, the king's authority must have been based to a very real extent on how well he controlled these multiple interchanges, on the fairness and efficiency of his business routines, and on personal surveillance. The citadel by now had become more than a craggy aerie for raiding eagles; Pylos represented, for the first time, a true town milieu in mainland life. Even prior to the decipherment of the Pylos tablets, it was clear that the power of this palace extended into the surrounding countryside. In its final days Pylos mastered a lot of territory: if the place names in the tablets can be taken at face value, the boundaries probably extended southeast to the Taygetos Mountains and northwest at least as far as the Nedha River.[55]

The Megaron

The megaron complex was the most public part of the palace with a constant stream of minor officials, tourists, servants, and craftsmen moving about it. We have seen how cleverly arrangements at Pylos were made to deflect some of

this traffic: the sentry and guard posts at the main gate to screen visitors, the archives room set handily forward, to keep routine transactions out of the main building, the courtyard drawing some people off into a secluded waiting room with a bench, and the wine stand, offering shade to others under the balcony opposite the corridors leading past the megaron entrance to the actual working parts of the building. Yet, in spite of this protection, the megaron was by situation and by desire a focal point for business requiring the king's voice, for reception of guests, and for large evening gatherings.

The megaron at Pylos exhibits the classic form with nearly half its floor space taken up by a huge hearth (4.0 meters in diameter) and four columns rising to the clerestory roof (Figure 37).[56] The king faced the hearth from his throne on the long right wall and his position was accented by the painted octopus on the floor in front of him.[57] The walls behind were frescoed with reclining griffins and lions; other scenes in the same room included a poet, a bird, a deer, a procession, and ladies talking at tables.[58] The room is so large (42 x 37 feet) that the difficulty of roofing and lighting such a megaron in any palace has been recognized in hot arguments for several decades.[59] At Pylos, the ceiling seems to have been flat. The central part of the megaron, over the hearth, was two stories high, culminating thirty feet above the floor in a lantern which projected higher than the flat roof over the

remainder of the palace.[60] Within this lantern the architects set a painted chimney box with tapering clay pipes inside it to draw-off the smoke.[61] The four columns around the hearth supported a balcony at the height of the second floor, to which people in the upstairs apartments could come to look down upon the megaron (Figure 38). During the daytime, light entered the megaron as it filtered through this balcony-opening from windows upstairs and through the main door; at night, extra light came from the fire on the hearth, but the smoke probably drifted around prior to rising through the chimney. Homer always calls it "the shadowy megaron" in a phrase as old as this type of architecture.

The Support Staff

The economic support for this social and ceremonial life came chiefly from the craftsmen quartered in the palace, who worked with materials grown on palace lands or imported to palace depots from abroad. It took a tremendous amount of staff work to run such an establishment; practically nothing could be bought ready-made except trinkets and luxuries. All the architecture, decoration, furniture, clothes, and utensils from lamps to nails, from storage jars to boots, had to be made on the spot in accordance to some pattern.

Although the palace at Pylos was small compared to those of Crete, the ancient Near East, and Egypt, it still required the same kinds of specialists to keep it functioning. The staff was comprised of what one would

expect: carpenters, metalsmiths, potters, tailors, armorers, masons, woodcutters, and shepherds; they either had quarters inside the palace complex, or their work can be identified from remains on the site. In addition, there were the women who wove and cooked, prepared the grain, meat, oil, and cleaned up after others; peasants who lived out in the villages to farm allotted land, or watched flocks; religious personnel and soldiers.[62]

Tombs

About a hundred yards from the palace complex to the northeast and through an olive grove one reaches a tholos tomb, the dome of which was restored in 1957 by the Greek Archaeological Service.[63] Though built mainly of small flat stones, it is a large tomb with a diameter of 30.5 feet.[64] The tomb had collapsed and had become filled to the top of the lintel. It had evidently been plundered in antiquity and was found thoroughly disturbed from top to bottom; but the looters had been careless and valuable material was left to be recovered. The objects found include numerous items of gold (e.g.), a royal seal bearing the representation of a winged griffin, (Figure 39), several other seal stones, two rings, 250 beads of amethyst and still more of amber, and fragments of bronze weapons.[65]

Remains of another tholos tomb lie almost equidistant toward the south from the palace hill. Almost the entire vault had been cut away down to within twelve inches to the

floor; a considerable part of the floor was found undisturbed. In six untouched pits or shafts beneath the floor were unearthed a great many valuable objects including four large jars, twenty-two daggers of bronze, several bronze vessels, a large collection of pottery, and a magnificent seal stone representing a boar at bay.[66]

About one kilometer down the main road toward the plain is another tholos tomb which, likewise, must have had some connection with the palace site. It was excavated in 1939. This tomb, too, was found to have been looted, but numerous objects had been overlooked by the robbers, including many pieces of carved ivory and beads of gold, semi-precious stones, and glass paste.[67]

A cemetery of chamber tombs for ordinary people, who lived in the lower town that surrounded the acropolis, has been found on the slopes of a ridge some 550 yards to the west of the palace.[68] Three tombs have been excavated, yielding some good pottery and miscellaneous objects.[69]

Fresco Painting

Except weaponry, fresco painting is perhaps the best of all Mycenaean arts. The Pylos megaron sheds some light upon how varying fresco themes were juxtaposed in the same apartment. Into its competing ornaments were introduced four or five scenes, apparently unrelated (Figure 40). To the right of the door the famous lyre-player sat on his freeform rock striped orange, yellow, and blue.[70] His pale

garment flounced in buff sets off his dark skin and the scarlet sky; his five-stringed lyre with swanshead finials probably represents ivory.[71] Beyond him on the same wall behind the throne come the monumental pairs of griffins and lions so reminiscent of Knossos, yet unlike (Figure 41). The ground changes to white behind them, the lions are tawny with dark accenting hairs, the griffins have rising bright plumes; they extend onto the wall at the king's right.[72] Other Pylos griffins are pink (in the old palace) or white with brown beaks and blue eyes (in the queen's megaron).[73] The third scene was perhaps to the left of the door and so architecturally separated from the others; it presents people in long spotted robes seated talking at three-legged tables.[74] This is one of the rare times when a Mycenaean artist paints furniture from his daily milieu. A possible fourth thematic element for the megaron is represented by the haunch of a life-sized deer, from somewhere near the poet but not necessarily connected with him, unless, like Orpheus, he draws all wild nature near to hear the music.[75] A fifth scene is a procession of miniature red men opposite the throne.[76] There seems to be no unity of subject in the megaron decoration; one surmises from other apartments with similar variety that the aim was to cover the walls with pleasant, often traditional motifs, but not to create a narrative or intellectual harmony (Figure 42). Only the heraldic animals behind the throne seem symbolically fitted to their placement.

Pottery

The thirteenth century was particularly an age of export pottery, some of it made in mainland centers such as Pylos and shipped abroad, some of it made in local workshops where Mycenaeans had founded permanent colonies (Rhodes, Miletos) or had established trading communities within the framework of a foreign civilization (Enkomi, Ugarit). (Note Figure 43.) Most Mycenaean vases are technically excellent but dull.[77] They command admiration for their fine fabric, their clean authority of shape, and their spare geometry of ornament. They were better in texture and paint than most ceramics of the second millennium, and contained quality produce; therefore, they were exported to every major town in the islands and the Levant.[78] This is especially true of the long period of "empire pottery," from the middle fourteenth to the late thirteenth century; that is, from the years following the fall of Knossos to the eventual disruption of Aegean economy caused by the Sea Peoples. The shapes are standard: stirrup jars for oil, alabastra, three-handled jars, kylikes, and pilgrim flasks. The designs are standard except for the range they offer: flowers and marine life reduced to pot hooks, scales, spirals, rosettes, and chevrons. This pottery fills rows and rows of museum cases with red or chestnut glaze on a pale ground, historical and economic documents of great value overly organized to ruffle the imagination as art. Only in certain rare classes does the painter attempt a

figured scene and show that the field of representational painting was not limited to frescoes.

Ivory

Ivory carving was one of the most sophisticated and beautiful arts the Mycenaeans practiced. Like fresco work, it deserves much more exploration than most scholars have given it. Most raw ivory came to Greece through Syrian harbors; thus, there is a more ancient Near Eastern style than in other media.[79] Mycenaean ivories of the best class are relief plaques. Ninety-five per cent of Mycenaean ivories are furniture inlays, plaques from boxes, tables, or footstools, toilet pyxides, and mirror handles.[80] Special, non-Minoan styles were developed for these ivories to create flat, powerful forms in a small framework. Ivory carving waits for its full development until the expanded palace period when demand for such inlaid expensive objects was strongest; before 1350 B.C.E. there is very little.

Bronzes

The common bronzes forged by the Mycenaeans of the Late Bronze Age were technically excellent. They include toilet articles like mirrors and tweezers, tools like saws, chisels, and awls, bronze scale pans, lamps and basins, and, of course, weapons.[81] Against these limited offerings we can set valuable information from palace workshops, the tablets, the Cape Gelidonya wreck, and, now, the wreck near

Ulu Burun to illustrate the activities of blacksmiths for all the metal objects demanded by palace economy. The bronzeworkers' quarters at Pylos have already been mentioned. A most important series of Pylos tablets describes how copper is allotted from central holdings (presumably inside the palace) to smiths in scattered villages so that it could be forged into swords, spearpoints, arrowheads, and even ship fittings (Figure 44).[82] A sophisticated system of weights and fractions has been developed. It has been calculated that the amounts involved are enough to make 534,000 arrowheads, or 2,300 swords, or 1,000 bronze helmets out of just over a ton of crude copper.[83]

From both the Gelidonya and Ulu Burun ship wrecks it becomes vividly clear that copper export was big business, and foundries in places like Enkomi discharged their product in ingot form to independent traders (probably through harbor clearinghouses at a standard price), and that the raw material could either go straight to its destination at industrial centers abroad or be worked to order in small quantities at intermediate harbors.[84] Likewise, both the Gelidonya ship and the Ulu Burun ship carried tin along with the copper ingots.[85] A tinkers' anvil was aboard the Gelidonya ship; molds for tools could have been made in beach sand, or, perhaps, standard gypsum molds which did not survive sea water were carried. Some of the tools were broken before the Gelidonya ship sank, indicating a trade in

scrap metal and junk as well as finished products. In larger-scale enterprises the ingots would go directly to Pylos, for example.

The ox-hide ingot ideogram in both copper and silver appears on the Pylos tablets. Distributed from the palace to the local smiths, returned for military and household use, calculated by weight before forging, this copper was essential to all aspects of Mycenaean economy.

The Tablets

The discovery of the first archive of written documents in a mainland site of Mycenaean Greece must rank as one of the greatest strokes of fortune in history. The room in which the tablets were discovered in 1939 came to be known as the "archives room." It was a narrow chamber some three by six meters in area in the south-eastern corner of the palace at Pylos. A clay bench ran round three sides; most of these tablets were found on this bench and scattered about on the floor. When the necessary cleansing had been completed, the tablets became easily legible and the script was at once recognized by Blegen as Linear B.

Since the achievement of Michael Ventris in 1952 in deciphering the Linear B script, we have another means by which to investigate Mycenaean Greece. These documents exist; therefore, the circumstances existed which caused them to be written.

The texts themselves are only records and, in general, records only of the most mundane and everyday activities. But from these "laundry lists," as the tablets might be called derisively, painstaking work has culled a great deal of information. The Pylos group, a hoard of palace accounts written just before the destruction, has made possible the most exciting insights.[46] The unbaked clay tablets, carefully stored on shelves of the archives room, were baked hard by the conflagration that extinguished Mycenaean civilization in the western Peloponesus. Like the legendary phoenix which arises from its own ashes, the tablets came forth from the flames to bring the Mycenaean society back to life. The tablets contain inventories of goods, and a careful balancing of accounts shows almost a full amount of the record of certain categories (Figure 45). It is, likewise, clear that the tablets baked in the fire were, so to speak, current accounts, but it is difficult to be sure about the length of the accounting period. It will probably never be known, for certain, just how long the accounting period actually was, but it seems likely that the accounts cover transactions over a rather short time.

Enough information has, however, been assembled to provide many valuable clues to the organization of the Pylian kingdom. Geographic and administrative information can be distilled from an analysis of the numerous place names on the tablets. Altogether, over two hundred locations are named on the tablets.[47] These place names

indicate a fairly complex geography; all these names, even the hundred or so which appear only once in the tablets, must have had administrative meaning. Naturally, some of the places were larger and more important than others. The area subject to Pylos was divided into two administrative districts: De-we-re A-ko-ra-i-jo (the "Hither District"), consisting of a series of nine towns, and Pe-ra A-ko-ra-i-jo (the "Farther District"), comprised of seven towns.[88] Each of these sixteen towns was assigned assessments, contribution quotas being met via various commodities. Thus, from the tablets, some concept of the administrative arrangement of the western Peloponnesus begins to emerge. A large palace contained the records of the commodities from distant areas. Throughout the land subject to the wanax, or king, minor officials scurried to meet their quotas, sending their assessments to Pylos, and quaking as the royal inspectors made their rounds from town to town.[89]

The tablets are also useful in providing a picture of the political arrangement of the Pylian kingdom, but they are even more significant for the study of the objects of finery and furniture destroyed in the last fire.[90] Besides the cloaks and cloths, mixing bowls, baskets, vases, and cups listed in the accounts, the minutely detailed records provide an extensive picture of the furniture.[91] One tablet (Ta 642) tells about tables inlaid with gold, silver, and ivory; others (Ta 707-Ta 722) describe ebony chairs and footstools, inlaid with ivory figures of men and lions.[92]

There are even lists of more mundane objects: ladles, boiling pans, and bathtubs.[93] This kind of detail throws some light upon the precision of the Mycenaean bureaucracy and conjures a picture of men carrying precious and heavy objects to be checked by the sharp-eyed registrars.

Another category of tablets, dealing with land, contains numerous texts, but in applying them to an understanding of the Mycenaean economy, the problems are almost as many as the tablets themselves. The land records give names of people and, often, their occupations, followed by the amounts of land and seed.[94] At the head was the king (wanax); beside him there was a sort of grand vizier (lawagetas). The wanax and the lawagetas each had their own temenos. The remainder of the land was divided according to a somewhat complex system of tenures. Some of the land is identified by the term ke-ke-me-na; the rest is called ki-ti-me-na.[95] The two categories seem to be distinct, and the ke-ke-me-na land seems to have something to do with the damos.[96] The appearance of the word damos occasioned great excitement among the decipherers, as it probably is the classical Greek word demos (people). It has been suggested that this category of land belonged to the people, and that the demos, the non-royal part of the society, had gained some independence from the king.[97] This is an attempt to see in Mycenaean times the early stirrings of later Greek democracy.[98] Thus, the other category of land is taken to

have been the property of the king or his retainers, to be parceled out and kept distinct from the people's land.'"

That there are two distinct categories for the land is clear, but to attach to these technical terms broad sociological significance is to ignore some of the essential characteristics of bureaucratic records. These accounts tend to be full of terms which may have had clear and specific meanings only to those who kept the records. With etymologies based on the usage of the distant past, even the literal meanings of words may be no clue to their real significance. It is, likewise, necessary to understand the reasons for which the terms were used; one must, as it were, get inside the scribe's head, and try to understand why he bothers to divide land into categories. Perhaps these tablets (which seem to record issues of seed) for the planting of crops) provided useful information about eventual tax revenue or any kind of income to the palace. It is more likely that ke-ke-me-na land of a "public" nature belonged to a separate tax category and that the use of the term bears on taxation, rather than that these terms indicate a division in Mycenaean society. The word dāmos may have no more significance than "alienable to any one," and this land may have had the characteristics of unrestricted right of sale, to be taxed accordingly, while the other land may have had restrictions on title or sale that affected its tax liability.[100] Without more evidence than we now have, we cannot give a more precise

interpretation to these terms. It remains dangerous to spin elaborate interpretations of Pylian society from these texts when it is rather more likely that their significance is narrow, technical, and administrative.

The mere existence of the land lists indicates that the central authority at Pylos took cognizance of the negotiations dealing with land. Records were kept not only of those who held some of the dēmos land, but also of each person's holding of another's land. The implication being that the final holder was responsible for the taxes; in any event it is certain that the palace wanted to know everything about the holding of the land.

No one around Pylos could escape the scrutiny of the scribes, and even distant villages underwent examination by touring officials.[101] The area subject to Pylos, extending over a good part of the southwestern Peloponnesus, was elaborately organized for administrative purposes, and all economic activity was controlled from Pylos. At the palace, the flow of information into the central archives was supervised by a bureaucracy which must have been enormous, possibly even by modern standards. The very nature of the records suggests a multitude of harried workers, and more than forty different handwritings have been identified.[102] The tablets themselves, made of that notably impermanent material, unbaked clay, were not intended to record for posterity the glory and wealth of the king of Pylos; they were working records, the receipts and memoranda of current

operations, stored as temporary notes to be discarded when the more formal reports were drafted. Some tablets seem to bring others up to date; some appear to be incomplete, with space left for later entries. The thousand or so tablets from Pylos, covering a brief period of time, are only a fraction of the records which must have actually been kept.

No authority maintains records for the sake of records alone; records are kept to insure that people do what they are ordered, pay what is assessed, and stay where they are assigned. Records are kept to anticipate what can be expected; land lists make tax assessments possible, and tax lists provide a basis for planning income. Records of incoming goods tell the receiver who has or has not paid, and receipts are issued to the payers to protect them from further claims. All this points to a bureaucracy that extends far beyond the records office. It is of little value to know who has not paid his taxes unless there are people available to collect them from those who haven't so a staff of enforcers becomes necessary. Furthermore, the existence of a rather large record office implies the maintenance of a flow of accurate information; there must be people who will insure that what is reported on the land lists is truthful; in other words, there must be inspectors.

All in all, the Pylian administration of the southwestern Peloponnesus was quite complex. One central authority used an extensive bureaucracy to control a large area, maintaining a large staff at Pylos and smaller

subordinate staffs at each of the major villages. This was no rigidly stratified structure, with each level firmly cut-off from the next level, being tied to the center by a type of feudal fealty only; rather, a comprehensive supervision controlled all levels, with the central authority reaching directly down to even the lowest levels. This central administration seems to have exerted a pervasive influence upon the lives of the people subject to it.

Occupations

As the bureaucracy was complex, so too was the society itself highly articulated. One of the most striking items of knowledge provided by the Pylos tablets is the indication of the specialization of labor in Mycenaean times. An extraordinary large number of crafts is attributed to the people named in the tablets. There are flax-workers, weavers, nurses, reapers, goatherds, shepherds, masons, fire-kindlers, bakers, smiths, spinners, carders, bath attendants, grain measurers, and many others.[103] Some of the tablets even speak of people who are in training for an occupation. The fact that the tablets list the occupations of the people named shows, again, the care with which this bureaucracy kept its records and, even more important, the profusion of occupations reflects an economic scheme of great sophistication. Only in a wealthy society can so specialized a division of labor subsist. In the Pylian economy there was enough economic activity to provide the

necessities of life to those whose own occupations were limited to small spheres of work. In other words the economy was so constructed that agricultural produce could pass from farmers and herdsmen to smiths, nurses, weavers, and so forth (Figure 46). It is not known how this was done, although there is some evidence of transfers within the administrative structure to people in the service of the palace.[104] It is easy to understand allotment of food to workers, but the naming of occupations in the land lists suggests that the craftsmen were not all in the employ of the palace.[105] In any case, the great extent of the specialization indicates that the transfer of goods was a general phenomenon in the society. This probability suggests the existence of a merchant class of some sort; undoubtedly, these merchants were merely some division of the royal bureaucracy.[106]

Miscellaneous

A bewildering rich array of goods created the need for the complex economic structure at Pylos. Besides the ordinary grain (wheat and barley), which should be expected in any economy, there are consignments of olives and figs, wine, and olive oil.[107] The multitude of livestock is implicated by tablet Cn131, which mentions flocks at a place which may be named Pi-sia: "from Pimeta (a man's name), 200 rams; from Kupurijo, 50 rams; from Koruno, 100 rams; from Poroutewe, 90 rams," and so forth.[108] The totals listed on

the tablet come to 2137 rams, 135 ewes, and 99 she-goats.[109] Other tablets list oxen, cattle, pigs, and horses. Then, there are spices to grace the culinary art: coriander and cyperus seed predominate.[110] Honey is, likewise, listed; at times, the wine of Pylos was honeyed. There are tablets which list items of household use, describing different styles of utensils in great detail.[111] The description of a single footstool shows how elaborate furniture was; e.g., "inlaid with a man and a horse and an octopus and a griffin in ivory."[112] Military equipment, helmets, and wheels are listed.[113] Other tablets give accounts of gold and bronze.[114] There are numerous tablets dealing with unguent oil and lists of spices, fancy furniture, precious metal, and a variety of other goods. All these goods give but a sampling of the economic activity; these goods were transferred during a very short time period, and represent just a fraction of the material possessions at Pylos. The economy was clearly able to produce great luxury, and was capable of providing many different commodities in quantity.

All this information comes from Pylos, for no other site has produced a comparable number of texts; the few tablets from Mycenae serve to confirm the Pylos materials. Mycenaean society at Pylos, and almost at every other site, centered on a great palace which administrated many villages sprinkled over a fairly large territory. The administration was of fluid structure, with provisional divisions when necessary, and a number of officials to carry out the

business of the realm. The society was most complex: trades and labor had become highly specialized, and the abundant economic activity produced an astoundingly high standard of living, at least for the people of the palace.[115]

Trade

There is no purpose in repeating here statements about Mycenaean trade in general; the basic local fact that we must face is that Messenia could not have been economically self-sufficient. Very considerable quantities of metal, especially copper and tin, had to be procured from outside and paid for directly or indirectly in goods or services. In addition, we can identify imports such as pottery, amber, obsidian, ivory, and other luxury goods in raw or manufactured form.[116] There is no evidence that the region needed to import any basic foodstuffs.[117]

We can already form some theories about the major agricultural and manufactured surpluses. Grain could have been the leading export.[118] Olive oil, most of it perhaps scented, is a definite possibility.[119] Another possibility is timber, although its transportation from the interior would have posed problems.[120] Other possible agricultural surpluses that deserve attention are wine, dried figs, honey, linseed oil, horses, and cattle.[121]

As for manufactured items, one might infer from the Pylos tablets that there may have been an exportable surplus

of woolen and linen cloth as well as bronze implements and weapons; also, pottery for its own sake, not simply as a container, cannot be excluded. The situation concerning slave trade remains ambiguous. The major services that may have been supplied by the city-state of Pylos would certainly include shipping by the large merchant marine and, perhaps, the transference of metallurgical techniques.[122]

Militarism

Soldiers had been the core of Mycenaean power from approximately 1600 B.C.E. onward, at first represented by individual aristocrats, then apparently by an elite corps at the time of the fall of Knossos, and in the thirteenth century organized into units of common men trained to fight on foot with horse-taming officers to lead them.[123] Actually, from the end of the Middle Bronze Age, militarism was so congenial to mainland temperament that both it and its technology focused on the trained soldier with his equipment, and this is also the aspect of the Mycenaean world most striking to outsiders in their rare comments about Achaians.[124] Mycenaeans absorbed very readily any improvements in armaments that they noticed abroad; odd daggers from Sicily or swords from Canaan caught their fancy and they continued to fight and to be buried with pieces they captured. This variety is to a certain extent ironed-out in the traditions of the frescoes and vase

painting, but it remains clear enough in the tombs, particularly following the fall of Knossos.[125]

There were several categories of soldiering during the "empire period;" at home, ordinary infantrymen were organized in squads assigned to a high-born officer, equipped with rations for special marches and assigned to certain strong points along the roads. This information comes from the so-called Home-Guard (An) tablets at Pylos which cannot really be read since they are mostly names of men and places, but they harmonize with the evidence from roads and fortified outposts.[126] Such men wore padded linen cuirasses and leggings, probably leather helmets strengthened with metal strips, and fought with the sword, the battle knife, and the spear.[127] Certain groups were trained in archery. Officers wore more elaborate versions of the same armor, including the boar's tusk or bronze helmet with plumes, cuirasses of bronze plates, occasionally bronze greaves and ankle guards (Figure 47).[128] Their defensive armor continued to be the shield and their attack was particularly with the long sword and the paraxiphis or medium dagger; the long spear was utilized, also, against stag and boar.[129] Concessions to modernism sometimes escape the artists; warriors are usually depicted in traditional costume; however, in a few of the frescoes the new high boot in the Hittite style appears (Figure 48).[130] Furthermore, in the Pylos tablets the armor actually issued is more advanced than in the pictures. Officers were given

corselets with several bronze plates and helmets with cheek pieces; swords, spear and arrowheads, and possibly axes are all listed, some made locally in the palace armory.[131] Battle rations were grain (wheat and barley) linseed, figs, and wine.[132]

We cannot be sure how "professional" the army actually was; that depended upon local circumstances.[133] At home, most soldiers were probably farmers in everyday life, called up in emergencies and made confident by the early training in familiar weapons which any boy would have received. Men who had no niche in palace society free-lanced for any convenient paymaster; this category would include escaped captives, natural rebels, murderers--those with a lust for cash rather than security. Many of these mercenaries took service with Hittites, Libyans, or Egyptians in the encouraging thirteenth-century conditions of the Sea Peoples' raids, both as individuals and as organized corps.

At home supreme authority over fighting forces was naturally vested in the wanax, "the king," and his military deputy, the lawagetas, or "leader of the people." The regiment commanders and the basileis of provincial estates, who were given land according to the Pylos tablets, operated below them.[134] Only the upper ranks of these men were trained to fight in chariots. Since the use of the horse and the expensive chariot squadron is particularly associated with aristocratic militarism in the Late Bronze Age, horsemanship deserves a brief investigation.

Obviously, the horse comes before the chariot; the horse comes slowly from the north and east after 2000 B.C.E.[135] According to Carl Blegen, horse bones appear in Troy about 1800 B.C.E.[136] The Hyksos of the seventeenth century bury their dead with horses, as at Avaris; the Hittites and Mitanni become expert horsemen about the same time. A few horses were probably taken to Crete by ship in the fifteenth century and there, with good grazing land, multiplied so well that the records from Knossos vastly exceed those at Pylos.[137] Cyprus had a few horses, and even a camel, by 1400 B.C.E.[138] Once the horse was widely bred, the chariot, likewise, became quite standardized and was, basically, the same in all Aegean regions.[139] It was a light two-horse affair with a shallow leather or wicker body stretched over a bentwood frame, two large wheels, a flexible pole, and a simple inefficient yoke system attached to the horses withers.[140] This lightweight racing or fighting chariot was not sturdy enough to survive except in certain protected royal burials of Egypt, but the many pictures and models are valuable documents; Linear B and Homer add details.[141] Chariots were made in workshops like the one in the northeast wing of the palace at Pylos; they were made of hides with the hair still on them or of wicker plaits.[142] Pylos did not need to import wood for frames as did Egypt. The frame itself was of ash, elm, or birch; the wheels were of elm, willow, or cypress bound in some harder material, like thick leather, bronze, or silver.[143] All the wooden

parts might be inlaid with ivory or painted crimson.[144] At Pylos, the horses and chariots themselves are very rare; probably this lack is accidental, since the wheels for transport are recorded in number.[145]

Once the chariot became "mass" produced the great ancient Near Eastern nations developed techniques for using it in formation, difficult but formidable when it worked, and demanding an entire backdrop of horse trainers, stables, paddocks, constant practice, good roads or level open country, accompanied by the kind of light armor and throwing on shooting weapons which would give the driver maximum maneuverability and protection.[146] Greece never got quite so good as plains countries like Anatolia, Syria, or Egypt; the ground simply is not clear enough for formation driving. The idea of fighting five or ten chariots abreast as a regular practice on the mainland seems like military daydreaming. Around Pylos, riding was scarcely practiced as a military art at all, except, perhaps, to relay messages.

Religion

To pursue knowledge about Mycenaean religion with any safety, all evidence but from the mainland must be excluded. Furthermore, it is best to start, not from the evidence of art objects, but from the only clear and certain evidence about religion on the mainland. Once again the tablets provide the key to knowledge. Something of the nature of the Pylians glimmers through a few of the inscriptions, and

with startling clarity appear the names of a few of the great divinities of later Greece. Poseidon, the powerful god of the sea, is named again and again; Zeus, the king of the gods according to later tradition, is mentioned; so are Hera and Hermes, along with other divinities not included with the later pantheon.

One large tablet records a series of religious activities. The tablet entitled "Tn 316" reports the bringing of gifts to a number of divinities at various shrines: gold cups and bowls are brought for Poseidon, a "Dove-Goddess" called Iphemedeia, Diwja (the female gender of the name Zeus), Zeus himself, Hera, Hermes, and even the priest of Zeus.[147] The tablet also lists the people assigned to the shrines or to the carrying of the gifts.[148] As a record of the transfer of goods and people to the shrines of the gods, it indicates the interest of the palace even in the details of religious observance. Something of the nature of Pylian religions can be perceived in this account. It is clear that the shrines were focal points of worship and, as in all ancient and some modern religions, men showed their devotion by making offerings. Here in the Peloponnesus, as all over the ancient world before and after the second millennium B.C.E., the faithful sent precious objects to the gods to petition for the fulfillment of their prayers or to protect themselves from divine displeasure. The Indo-European deity Zeus must have been worshipped from time immemorial; he was known all over the Mediterranean

world in later centuries and worshipped even prior to Mycenaean times as far east as India, under the Sanscrit name Dyaus.[149]

The reverse side of the tablet provides more information about the Pylian religion. Gifts are listed here for Potnia, "The Mistress," who appears again and again in the tablets. Other divinities not known in later times also received offerings. A goddess whose name seems to have been Mnasa got a gold bowl, as did Posidaeia (who may be a consort of Poseidon); gods whose name may mean "Thrice-Hero" and "Lord of the House" each got a gold cup (Figure 49). This list is headed by the name of the month, Plowistos, which would mean "the month of sailing."[150] The Greeks were fearful of navigation in the stormy winter months and resumed sailing towards the end of March; Greek months were lunar, of course. The divinities are unfamiliar to historians of later times, and even the name of the month passed from use by the time of later Greek calendars. Even so, these names have linguistic roots meaning something in Greek, and the meanings have religious context.

There is evidence pertaining to religion in other tablets as well. Poseidon appears as a recipient of a number of gifts of wheat, and one tablet mentions that his larder was enriched by contributions of cheeses, wine, honey, and cattle.[151] Gifts of olive oil to Poseidon are listed among a series of tablets which include contributions of oil to other divinities; there are numerous contributions

to Potnia and Trisheroes ("Thrice-Hero").[152] If the number of entries is a guide, Poseidon and Potnia were clearly the most important deities in this part of the Peloponnesus.

The nature of religious observance is indicated in the tablets to some extent. Offerings to the gods and goddesses (which were certainly to be expected) were connected with festivals, and rituals performed at certain times. There seems to have been a "Divine Mother," or, perhaps, more likely a "Mother of the Gods;" her gift of oil was offered at the Festival of New Wine. Scented oil was offered to Poseidon at the Festival of the Spreading of the Couch (hieros gamos).[153] A ceremonial called the "Drawing of the Throne," mentioned in yet another tablet, suggests a public ceremony that involves bringing a throne into consecrated ground; one can well imagine that an elaborate inlaid throne like those of the furniture tablets was exhibited to the people of Pylos once a year.[154] Finally, the date of the ceremonies in the big tablet (Tn 316), is the month of Plowistos, showing again the calendaric nature of worship.

Thus, a picture emerges of the Pylians gathering at festivals at certain times of the year, either in Pylos itself or in the surrounding countryside, to celebrate the new wine and to thank the gods for their gifts. Another festival probably involved a procession behind a god's throne, perhaps a part of a fertility rite. It may even be that the association of divine propitiation in the sailing

month of Plowistos suggests a festival, or at least offerings, for the protection of the busy Pylian sailors.

The deities and ceremonies were served by a variety of persons at Pylos; both men and women have the role of priest, not necessarily matching the sex of the deity. Some functionaries are the servants of the gods, both male and female, who sometimes inherit the position and own land as substantial citizens: the "key bearer" (karawiporo); the "sacrificer" ijerowoko); the "barley sprinklers" (kiritewija); and, perhaps, the "fire tender," (pukowo).[155] The tereta or Telestai are men of noble rank with mixed religious and military functions.[156] Indeed, the tablets illustrate a much greater diversity of religious officials than the physical remains of archaeology would lead one to suspect.

All the evidence seems to show that the religion of the Pylians was a public one; it was associated with specific times and places, festivals to which the people could come for sacrifice, gift, and, possibly, prayer. The fact that the records of religious observance kept in the palace indicates that religion was intricately tied to official state functions; all the evidence of the tablets must be taken as dealing with officially endorsed religion.

The devotions centered around certain specific cult places, a characteristic of later Greek religion as well. One such area, Pa-ki-ja-ne, contained shrines dedicated to at least five divinities: Potnia, Mnasa, Posidaeia,

Trisheroes, and the Lord of the House; other groups of divinities may have had their shrines at other cultic sites.[157] This sharing of shrines is found, later, in Athens in the mutual investment of Athena, Poseidon, and Erechtheus in the Erechtheum on the acropolis, or in the use of the joint temple of Athena and Hephaestus in the lower town.

One characteristic of Pylian society is suggested by the very lack of evidence: clearly, the society was not theologically oriented. There are no great temples or religious edifices characteristic of a theocratic society (Figure 50). Nothing in the remains indicates much diversion of Pylian wealth to the service of the gods, and there are no great temples such as are found in Egypt and the ancient Near East.

The only structures which can be considered religious are tombs. That there was some kind of cult of the dead seems clear.[158] The complex architecture of the tholos tombs suggests a real concern that the dead be well housed. However, the positions of the bodies in the tombs suggest that the religious concepts controlling the treatment of the dead did not demand constant veneration of the deceased. Offerings were made at the time of interment, but the skeletal remains of earlier burials were unceremoniously swept aside to make room for the new arrival.[159] It may be that this disregard of bones points to a concern for the

dead only so long as the flesh remained. There is at present no way of knowing.

A cult of the dead is almost surely only one part of the religion of any people, and the presence of so many gods and activities in the Linear B tablets shows the other side of Mycenaean religion. It is interesting to note that even with the relatively limited expenditure on religion in classical Greece there were magnificent temples and complex religious precincts, while there is nothing thus far, at any of the Pylian sites which can be interpreted as a temple. Here and there a simple altar stood as a focus of worship, but the deities seem to have received their due in gifts and festivals, not in buildings. It might be noteworthy here to recall that the "shrine" at Pylos was small, being located in the workshop area of the palace.[160]

Religion fell under the cognizance of the king. What the gods received, the palace knew. One may imagine that on great festivals the king and the royal family, regally attired and followed by the hundreds of retainers, came out of the palace into the lower town for the procession, possibly drawing the gods throne among the throngs of worshippers. On the great festival days the king, as representative of the state, may well have performed some of the religious functions himself; in later times the elected public official called "king" served a religious purpose, and the religious character of this vestigial king may very well hark back to Mycenaean times. The king's scribes kept

records of gifts to the gods, but there is nothing to indicate that the religious role of the king was a major part of his activity. The gods and goddesses had their priests; the king's concern was, primarily, secular. The entire society, in fact, seems secular.

The very nature of religion will prevent an adequate understanding of Pylian religion until and unless more documents and monuments are found to provide evidence. Our limited information makes it possible to see that some of the classical deities were worshipped as early as Mycenaean times, while some of the Mycenaean deities seem to have been unknown to later Greeks. We can see that festivals played an important part in Pylian religion and that the palace was concerned with religious observance and offerings. Perhaps most important, the evidence suggests that religion played no dominant role in Pylian life.

Conclusion

The palace complex at Pylos, as it has now been revealed, is a work of the thirteenth century and its history falls between 1300 and 1200 B.C.E.[1&1] This complex is spread out over a fairly extensive area as large as, if not larger than, that occupied by other palaces of the same period on the Greek mainland. In its size and arrangement the central building takes its place alongside the contemporary establishments at Mycenae and Tiryns. It exhibits the same general plan in its entrance gateway,

court, portico, vestibule and throne room with its interior columns and central hearth. It is obvious that Pylos was built by a ruler of great wealth and political power. No king is definitely identified in the inscribed tablets that have been found in this palace, but Greek tradition sheds some light on this problem. The only royal dynasty strong enough and rich enough in the thirteenth century B.C.E. in western Messenia to build and maintain such a palace is that of the Neleids.[162] It was Neleus, a royal prince of Thessaly, who came and acquired the site, and it was his son Nestor who succeeded him and ruled through three generations of men.[163] Yes, Nestor, who took part in the expedition against Troy, provided and equipped ninety ships, second only to Agamemnon himself, who outfitted a hundred vessels.[164] Nestor returned in safety from Troy and survived a good many years; he was succeeded by a son and grandson, perhaps even by a great-grandson.[165] The palace was captured and put to the torch by the Dorians and was totally destroyed.[166] The inhabitants fled; some of the Neleids took refuge in Athens, where they founded some of the leading Athenian families; others went to Asia Minor.[167]

The site of Pylos was never again occupied. The ruins were overgrown by vegetation and lost to sight, and in the classical period no one knew exactly where "sandy" Pylos had stood. But, by then, the real knowledge of the Late Bronze Age was dead, and the documents upon which this chapter is

based were lying buried at Pylos awaiting their resurrection in the twentieth century.

ENDNOTES

[1] Jacquetta Hawkes, ed, Atlas of Ancient Archaeology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974), p. 123.

2Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Carl W. Blegen, A Guide to the Palace of Nestor (Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 1962), p. 2.

[5] Ibid.

[6] C. Blegen and K. Kourouniotis, "Excavations at Pylos," American Journal of Archaeology 42 (1939), p. 557.

[7] Ibid.

[8] C. Blegen, "The Palace of Nestor Excavations," American Journal of Archaeology 57 (1953), p. 59.

[9] Ibid.

[10] E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, p. 161.

[11] Ibid.

[12] C. Blegen, et alii, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. III. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati, 1973); see figure 302.

[13] E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, p. 162.

[14] J. Hawkes, ed., Atlas of Ancient Archaeology, p. 123.

[15] C. Blegen, et alii, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. III, pp. 71-215.

[16] E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, p. 163.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Oskar Seyffert, Dictionary of Classical Antiquities (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1978), p. 413.

[19] C. Blegen, A Guide to the Palace of Nestor, p. 3.

[20] Ibid.

[21] C. Blegen, A Guide to the Palace of Nestor, p. 31.

[22] Ibid., p. 3.

[23] Ibid.

[24] C. Blegen, et alii, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. III, pp. 3-68.

[25] Ibid., pp. 71-215.

[26] Carl Blegen and Marion Rawson, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. I, (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati, 1966), p. 34.

[27] C. Blegen, A Guide to the Palace of Nestor, p. 3.

[28] Ibid.

[29] C. Blegen and M. Rawson, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. I, pp. 43-235. My synopsis of the main building of the palace of Pylos is based upon the report in this volume. General remarks, by Carl Blegen, regarding the palace can be found in the following: "The Palace of Nestor Excavations," American Journal of Archaeology 58 (1954), p. 27; 59 (1955), p. 31; 60 (1956), p. 95. "Nestor's Palace," Proceedings of the Philosophical Society, 101 (1957), p. 379. "King Nestor's Palace," Archaeology 6 (1953), p. 203.

[30] _____, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. I. See figure 411 of the illustrations.

[31] So, E. Vermeule in Greece in the Bronze Age, p. 164.

[32] C. Blegen and M. Rawson, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. I, pp. 43-235.

[33] Ibid. Figure 416.

[34] C. Blegen, A Guide to the Palace of Nestor, p. 12.

[35] Ibid. Also, see C. Blegen and M. Rawson, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. I, pp. 350-418.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 13.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid. At Pylos oils are classified in six or more different ways, including scent, age, provenience, and intended use; it even comes "flavored" with rose or sage! It seems that some of the small buildings of the palace complex were devoted to the preparation of aromatic oils and perfumes.

[44] The southwest building of the palace at Pylos is, likewise, explained by C. Blegen and M. Rawson in The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. I, pp. 236-288.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] C. Blegen, et alii, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. III, pp. 11, ff.

[48] The "industrial quarter" is known as the northeastern building in the archaeological literature. See, C. Blegen and M. Rawson, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. I, pp. 289-325.

[49] Ibid. See figure 411 of the illustrations.

[50] Ibid.

[51] So, Alan E. Samuel, The Mycenaeans in History (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 60.

[52] C. Blegen and M. Rawson, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. I, pp. 342-349.

[53] Ibid.

[54] The many pantries in three separate quarters of the palace give evidence for at least three different pot factories or kilns, which apparently obtained their raw materials from different types of clay and met demands for different purposes. But other establishments must surely have existed in which fine Mycenaean pottery adorned with artistic decoration was produced; this is demonstrated by the series of magnificent jars which were found in a tholos tomb only some 200 meters to the south of the Palace of Nestor. So, Carl Blegen in The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. I, p. 352.

[55] William A. McDonald and George R. Rapp, Jr., editors, The Minnesota Messenia Expedition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), p. 142. Before the territory of Pylos had been "unified" by force and diplomacy, the region presumably included a fair number of independent political units. A careful review of all known tholos tombs, combined with the evidence yielded by the sizeable number already excavated in western Messenia, might provide at least an estimate of the number and shifting fortunes of these "petty kingdoms."

[56] C. Blegen and M. Rawson, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. I. For the floorplan of the megaron see figure 404. For the hearth area see figure 418.

[57] C. Blegen, A Guide to the Palace of Nestor, p. 9. The octopus may have symbolized a goddess.

[58] For the frescoes see: Mabel L. Lang. The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. II. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati, 1969).

[59] C. Blegen and M. Rawson, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. I, pp. 43, ff.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] To the northwest of the workshop, between it and the wine magazine and behind the central wing, there were also some smaller buildings, perhaps for the accommodation of servants and slaves. So, Carl Blegen in A Guide to the Palace of Nestor, p. 4.

[63] C. Blegen, A Guide to the Palace of Nestor, p. 29.

[64] C. Blegen, et alii, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. III, pp. 71-215.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] These painted plaster frescoes are discussed by Mabel L. Lang in The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. II, pp. 3-29.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] For Mycenaean pottery see: Arne Furumark, Mycenaean Pottery I and II (Stockholm: Royal Academy, 1972 reprint). Especially see in part I, pp. 541-583; in part II, pp. 87-96, and 116. Also, A. D. Lacy. Greek Pottery in the Bronze Age, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1967), pp. 151-227.

[78] Sarah Immerwahr, "Mycenaean Trade and Colonization," Archaeology 13 (1960), p. 4. Likewise, see Frank H. Stubbings, Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), pp. 59-88 and 102-111.

[79] "Everybody obviously knew long ago about ivory, at least for arts and crafts, but until the Macedonians crossed over to Asia no one had seen the elephants themselves... Homer proves this by singing about couches and rooms belonging to the wealthier princes all decorated with elephant ivory, but never making a single mention of the elephant animal. If he had ever seen one, or even heard of one, I am sure he would have put it in his poetry much more eagerly than the pygmies and the cranes." So, Pausanias 1.12.4.

[80] Helen Kantor, "Ivory Carving in the Mycenaean Period," Archaeology 13 (1960), p. 14.

[81] H. Maryon, "Metalworking in the Ancient World," American Journal of Archaeology 53 (1949), p. 93. M. Lejeune, "Les forgerons de Pylos," Historia 10 (1961), p. 409.

[82] Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 351-359. The total number of smiths in the kingdom of Pylos was nearly 400; the smiths are concentrated in groups of up to 26. The places where they worked were, sometimes, in the main towns though there seem to be more at Pylos. An explanation of this may be the need to site metal foundries in areas with a good supply of fuel, and possibly on high sites where there is plenty of wind. A force of 400 workmen should have been able to produce many tons of goods annually; it is therefore probable that Pylos had a surplus of metal goods for export. If so, and it is an attractive theory to account for some of the wealth of this city-kingdom, then the economy was dependent upon sea-borne

trade; both the raw materials and the finished goods must have been carried by sea. Thus, any interruption in trade routes would have drastic consequences for the kingdom of Pylos. So, John Chadwick, The Mycenaean World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 141.

[83] Ibid., p. 356.

[84] George Bass, "The Cape Gelidonya Wreck," American Journal of Archaeology 65 (1961), pp. 267, ff. Idem. "Splendors of the Bronze Age," pp. 693, ff.

[85] Ibid.

[86] It is hard to be precise about numbers of tablets, because the great majority are made up of at least two fragments, and often many more. It is safer to talk in round figures of, perhaps, a total of 1,200 from Pylos. So, J. Chadwick, The Mycenaean World, p. 15.

[87] M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 147-150.

[88] _____, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 142, ff.

[89] Incidentally, the number of place names on the Pylos tablets amounts to around two hundred; an archaeological survey of Messenia indicates that there were approximately 250 Late Bronze Age settlements. If we estimate an average size of about 250 persons per settlement this would suggest a minimum of 50,000 for the whole kingdom of Pylos. So, W. A. McDonald and G. R. Rapp, Jr., The Minnesota Messenia Expedition, p. 141.

[90] M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 332, ff.

[91] Ibid. The design motifs of eleven tables, five chairs, and fifteen footstools are described in detail in this Ta-series of tablets.

[92] Ibid., pp. 342-246.

[93] Ibid., pp. 337-338.

[94] Ibid., pp. 232-269.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

[97] A. E. Samuel, The Mycenaeans in History, p. 79.

[98] Ibid., p. 80.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] For example, one tablet reports that a palace official named Axotas went out into the countryside and examined acreage at the major town of A-ke-re-wa and a number of other places, possibly to estimate the loss of crops resulting from some natural disaster, and records his tour of inspection. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, p. 268.

[102] J. Chadwick, The Mycenaean World, p. 24.

[103] M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 155-183.

[104] Ibid. For grain rations see pp. 215-219. For mixed rations see pp. 219, ff.

[105] Ibid. For land lists see pp. 232-264.

[106] "In all the Linear B documents so far known, there is not the slightest mention of merchants or their activity. Had they been an important class, it is incredible that we should not have had some indication of their existence." So, John Chadwick in The Mycenaean World, p. 157.

[107] M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 218-221.

[108] Ibid. For livestock, see pp. 195, ff. For tablet Cn131, pp. 199 and 200.

[109] Ibid. The problem of excessive rams is really quite simple, once you realize how sheep-farming was practiced prior to modern times. Rams were kept, generally, for breeding purposes; however, for wool production the males were castrated and these wethers, as they are then called, formed the bulk of the flock.

[110] Ibid, pp. 223, ff.

[111] Ibid., pp. 323, ff.

[112] Ibid., p. 345 (Ta722).

[113] Ibid., pp. 351-381. See A. M. Snodgrass, Arms and Armour of the Greeks (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 14-27. And, Mary Aiken Littauer, "The Military Use of the Chariot in the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age," American Journal of Archaeology, 76 (1972), pp. 145-157.

[114] M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 351, ff.

[115] Beginning in early Mycenaean times, there was a tremendous increase in the means to acquire movable wealth of the kind the Mycenaeans treasured in life and death. This evidence combined with indications of rapidly increasing population and more intensive land use surely permits us to postulate that this was, over-all, a very prosperous period--at least as measured by the standard of living (and dying) of the upper classes. So, W. A. McDonald and G. R. Rapp, Jr., editors, The Minnesota Messenia Expedition, p. 142.

[116] Ibid., p. 253.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid. Most Late Bronze Age ships are equipped with sails and mast, and have a capacious storage deck. They are primarily cargo ships, not war ships. Oars and rudder are regularly pictured but the sailing crew usually ignored, although there are hints in the Pylos texts that rowing was an established profession. On rowers, see M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 183, ff.

[123] E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, p. 254.

[124] Ibid., p. 258.

[125] Ibid., p. 260.

[126] M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, p. 183. Also, see Leonard R. Palmer, Mycenaeans and Minoans (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1962), pp. 132, ff.

[127] L. R. Palmer, Mycenaean Greek Texts, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 329. Likewise, see the following frescoes: Plate 121, 122, 123, and 124; Mabel L. Lang, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. II.

[128] M. L. Lang, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos, vol. II. Plate 123 shows two officers in boar's tusk helmets. Also, see Stylianos Alexiou, "The Boar's Tusk Helmet," Antiquity 28 (1954), pp. 211, ff. Thirty to forty pairs of tusks were used in making a single helmet; see H. L. Lorimer, Homer and

the Monuments, (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1950), pp. 211, ff.

[129] Ibid. Plate 122 indicates a circular shield, rather than the customary figure-of-eight shield.

[130] Ibid.

[131] M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 375, ff. For illustrations of military gear utilized in the Late Bronze Age, see Y. Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands, vol. I, pp. 184-243.

[132] On rations, see L. Palmer. Mycenaeans and Minoans, pp. 109, ff.

[133] Aggressive kings overseas, like the king of Ahhiyawa who gave the Hittites such irritation in the late thirteenth century, undoubtedly commanded a quite professional division of paid soldiers whose métier was campaigning in the exposed territories of the dissolving ancient Near Eastern Empires. See Hans G. GÜterbock, "The Hittites and the Aegean World: The Ahhiyawa Problem Reconsidered," American Journal of Archaeology 87 (1983), pp. 133-138.

[134] On social organization, see M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 119-125. The hequetai (literally, "followers") probably formed a military aristocracy. The ruling classes lived chiefly on the population of farmers and craftsmen, and a large number of slaves.

[135] E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, p. 261.

[136] C. Blegen, et alii, Troy, vol. III. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for University of Cincinnati, 1953), p. 10.

[137] E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, p. 261.

[138] Ibid.

[139] So, M. A. Littauer, "The Military Use of the Chariot in the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age," pp. 145, ff. Cited in note 113; from American Journal of Archaeology, 76 (1972), pp. 145-157.

[140] Ibid.

[141] For excellent pictures of Late Bronze Age chariots see: Y. Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands, pp. 186-243.

[142]M. A. Littauer, "The Military Use of the Chariot in the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age," pp. 145, ff. See note 113.

[143]M. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 272, ff.

[144]Ibid. Tablet Sd0401.

[145]Ibid., p. 373.

[146]M. A. Littauer, "The Military Use of the Chariot in the Late Bronze Age," pp. 145, ff. Basically, this article advocates that the charioteer be a professional acrobat. See note 113.

[147]M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek. For tablet Tn316, see pp. 286 and 287.

[148]Ibid. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the word po-re-na in the introductory formula refers to human beings, and, despite initial reluctance to accept this unpalatable fact, that these unfortunate people were to become sacrificial victims. Though the Greeks of the classical age disapproved of the practice, they were familiar with it from Homer, and it forms an essential element in the plot of many tragedies. It should be emphasized that human sacrifice was unlikely to have been a regular feature of the religious calendar at Pylos.

[149]J. Chadwick, The Mycenaean World, p. 86.

[150]Ibid., p. 90.

[151]M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Monuments in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 282 and 283; tablet Un 718.

[152]Ibid., pp. 476-483.

[153]For the Festival of New Wine and the Festival of the Spreading of the Couch see Leonard Palmer, Mycenaeans and Minoans, pp. 125-130. Also, W. K. C. Guthrie, "Early Greek Religion in the Light of the Decipherment of Linear B," Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, 6 (1959), pp. 49, ff. Interestingly, Guthrie has shown that the Greek connotations of "the thirsty ones: (di-pi-si-jo-i), suggest "the dead."

[154]E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, p. 296.

[155]Ibid., p. 297.

[156]Ibid.

[157] J. Chadwick, The Mycenaean World, pp. 90, ff.

[158] J. T. Hooker, Mycenaean Greece. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. 90, ff.

[159] A. E. Samuel, The Mycenaeans In History (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 96.

[160] One of the interesting facets about the Mycenaean goddess Potnia is that an adjective derived from her name is used to describe flocks of sheep at Knossos, and bronze-smiths at Pylos. The sheep were doubtless assigned to the goddess to provide an income for her shrines and attendants. But the association with smiths requires comment: in this aspect Potnia is probably the predecessor of Athena, though Hephaistos, too, can claim a share as the smith of the gods. A revealing confirmation of this came from a house inside the citadel at Mycenae excavated by Lord William Taylor (1968), where in a room adjoining a metal workshop was found a fresco of a female figure; she can be none other than Potnia. It would seem that communities of smiths dedicated to this goddess were dispersed throughout Greece following the Minoan collapse of the fifteenth century. So, J. Chadwick, The Mycenaean World, pp. 93 and 94.

[161] C. Blegen, A Guide to the Palace of Nestor, p. 30.

[162] Ibid., p. 31.

[163] Ibid.

[164] The "Catalogue of Ships" (Book II) is a part of the Iliad that may almost be treated as an historical document. Composed independently of the rest of the poem, "The Catalogue" preserves, in the essentials, a memory of Mycenaean Greece. So, R. Hope-Simpson and H. F. Lazenby, The Catalogue of Ships in Homer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970). Also, see Denys L. Page, History and the Homeric Iliad. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

[165] C. Blegen, A Guide to the Palace of Nestor, p. 31.

[166] Ibid. Argument concerning the "Dorian Question" has been based upon the history and distribution of dialects, since Dorians have eluded the archaeologist's net. The pattern of dialects has been taken to support a Dorian homeland somewhere within Greece, but outside the centers of Mycenaean population, and probably in the north-western highlands. From here the speakers of Dorian dialects would have shifted gradually south into the Peloponnesus, and eventually overseas. This population movement probably began in the twelfth century.

Another look at the "Dorian Problem" sets out to explain it rather differently. This supposes that alongside

the standard Mycenaean language of the palaces and administration there was a secondary dialect spoken by the lower classes, and that upon the collapse of the Mycenaean aristocracy "standard Mycenaean" was replaced in the Pelopponesus by "sub-standard Mycenaean," but not of course in Arcadia. Elsewhere, there would have been a good deal of mixing. One could, therefore, argue that the standard dialect that survived in the Cyclades was the high talk of the displaced nobles, or rather brigands; the sub-standard dialect of Thessaly was the language that had become common to that part of Greece. So, John Chadwick, "The Mycenaean Dorians," in Institute of Classical Studies: Mycenaean Seminar (London: University of London, 1975). This solution allows us to scrap the complicated pattern of minor migrations that criss-cross the Greek mainland in a confusing and unconvincing fashion, but it still seems somewhat speculative.

The "Dorian Question" becomes even more complicated by its probably artificial connection with the Heraclids, and their returns. Of this whole story it would be best to salvage no more than the fact of a civil war among Mycenaean "states" at the time of the Mycenaean III B/C watershed; of course, the Athenians emerged intact. So, N. K. Sandars, The Sea Peoples, p. 185.

[167] C. Blegen, A Guide to the Palace of Nestor, p. 31.

CHAPTER IV

TROY

Prologue

The archaeological Troy, in its ruined state today, differs greatly from the glamorous citadel pictured in the epic poems. But, if one is blessed with a little imagination, when one stands on the ancient summit in the extreme northwestern corner of Asia Minor and looks out over the Trojan plain and thinks of some of the exciting scenes it has witnessed, one cannot escape the feeling that this Troy, too, has a potent touch of enchantment.

The ruins, called Hissarlik, occupy the western tip of a low ridge coming from the east and ending somewhat abruptly in steep slopes on the north and west and a more gradual descent toward the south. Some four miles distant to the west, across the flat plain of the tree-bordered Scamander, and beyond a line of low hills, is the Aegean Sea. On it, to the southwest, floats the island of Tenedos (which was sacked by Achilles); much farther northward is Imbros, where the sorrowing Hecuba says some of her sons who had been captured by Achilles were sold into slavery. Behind Imbros, on a clear day, one sees the twin-peaked height of Samothrace; when the weather is clearest, one can even cite

the peak of Mount Athos. To the north of Hissarlik and less than an hour's walk away is the Hellespont, the Straits now called the Dardanelles, with the Gallipoli peninsula rising in the background, a region rich in historical associations from ancient to modern times.

Because of the ruined walls that covered it, the end of the Trojan ridge was long known to the Turks as Hissarlik, or "the fortress."[1] Based upon the evidence of inscriptions discovered at Hissarlik, it was identified more than 150 years ago as the site of Hellenistic and Roman Ilion.[2] Until late in the nineteenth century many serious orthodox classical scholars, especially in Germany and on the Continent, believed and asserted that the Homeric poems were altogether products of free poetic imagination with no basis in reality, and that it would, therefore, be useless and foolish to look for an actual physical Troy. The romantic school, on the other hand, consisting chiefly of English, but with a few German scholars, was convinced that Troy had really existed.

The mound of Hissarlik had a maximum length of some 200 meters, and was less than 150 meters wide; it rose approximately 31 meters above the level of the plain at the northern foot, the summit composed of debris of human habitation, reaching an elevation of about 39 meters above sea level.[3] For an administrative center the situation was admirably suited, both for security and for economic reasons; furthermore, from the top of the mound, the view is

impressive. Hissarlik lay near enough to the sea to have landing places and perhaps a small port or two within easy access, and yet far enough removed to be reasonably safe from sudden hostile attacks or piratical raids. Troy, likewise, controlled a land route that apparently came up along the western coastal region of Asia Minor to the shortest crossing of the straits from Asia to Europe.[4] Thus, from these vantage grounds, Troy could, no doubt, dominate traffic up and down the straits, and perhaps tolls of some sort were extracted.[5]

History of the Excavations

Few comparable ancient sites have been so extensively and so searchingly excavated as Hissarlik. Following Frank Calvert's initial scratching of the surface in 1865, Heinrich Schliemann carried out seven major campaigns of digging, besides several minor operations, between 1870 and 1890, usually employing upwards of 100, sometimes more than 150, workmen, and often continuing through a season of four months and longer.[6] The hours of work ran from sunrise to sunset, and an immense volume of earth and stones was dug up and removed. After Schliemann's death in December of 1890, his colleague and successor Wilhelm Dörpfeld, operating on a large scale, resumed the undertaking in two additional campaigns in 1893 and 1894.[7] More than a generation was then allowed to pass without further work at Hissarlik; a fresh investigation of the stratification was begun in 1932

by the Archaeological Expedition of the University of Cincinnati. These investigations continued annually through seven seasons of three or four months each until 1938.[8] After all these long-extended operations it is no wonder that the greater part of the mound has now been dug away altogether (mostly by Schliemann) and only one or two small pinnacles remain which still preserve the sequence of the superimposed strata that made up the great mound before digging began.

Schliemann's name is inseparably linked to this archaeological Troy which he has endowed with enduring romance. With his unshakable faith in Homer, his boundless energy and enthusiasm, his organizing ability, his resolute determination, and his unfailing persistence (all backed by abundant financial resources which he had acquired by his own efforts), Schliemann overcame innumerable obstacles and difficulties and achieved a brilliant success: he compelled the professional archaeologists and classical scholars to give serious attention to his work, and he won world-wide fame for himself.[9]

Occupation of the Site

Underneath the city of Ilion (Ilium), of the classical Greek and Hellenistic periods, lay seven successive Bronze Age settlements. Schliemann identified the second of these, Troy II, as Homer's Troy, but it has long been recognized that this strata is in fact much earlier. Most authorities

today believe that the Homeric city was either Troy VI or VIIa (Figure 51).[10]

The most obvious signs of prosperity and aggrandizement were found in the Late Bronze Age city, Troy VI, the finely built stone substructure of whose walls are in part still standing (Figure 52). The sixth city was the immediate predecessor of Homer's Troy, which was largely rebuilt from its ruins following its destruction by an earthquake not long before 1300 B.C.E.[11] This Homeric city (VIIa) was burnt about half a century later. Only the outer ring of these two cities remains, for Roman engineers, seeking space for architectural splendor, cut the top off the acropolis; by a strange chance Augustus, in honoring the cradle of his race, blotted out for ever the ruins of Priam's palace.[12] Thus it was that Schliemann missed the true Homeric city, which was wrongly identified with the second settlement.

The Sixth City

It is obvious that in Troy VI we come to a new era in the history of the occupation of the site. Although some elements of continuity are perhaps discernible, there is clearly in numerous respects a definite break with the old native tradition.[13]

Far reaching changes manifest themselves in the field of architecture. A powerful fortification wall was built around a much enlarged citadel, characterized in general by its more orderly style of masonry, as compared with earlier

structures, and in particular by its use of distinctive shallow offsets at fairly regular intervals along its outer sloping face.[14] Exactly what the immediate predecessors of this wall in Troy V and Troy IV were like cannot now be determined, since all vestiges seem to have been destroyed; in any event it can be said that those fortifications must have been far less monumental than the great works erected even in the initial phases of the sixth settlement. The buildings within the stronghold, too, show a notable difference from what had gone before; instead of the closely crowded, multiple dwellings of Troy V, we now find appreciably more spacious, free-standing houses that were laid out at intervals on a series of broad, concentric terraces, which rose in successive steps toward the midpoint of the citadel.[15] The king's palace, which undoubtedly occupied the summit of the hill, was razed and removed in the Hellenistic and Roman era to give place to the Temple of Athena and its enclosing court, and no part of it is now preserved.[16] The houses that still stand on the lowest terraces are presumably those in which subordinate members of the king's household or his councillors and principal retainers lived.[17] The character of the settlement seems, thus, to have undergone a transformation: it is evidently no longer the abode of a relatively numerous population in modest, not to say humble, economic circumstances, but is again, as it was in the time of Troy II, the seat of a ruler and his entourage.[18] Where the king's more humble subjects

were housed can only be conjectured, perhaps in small dwellings in a lower town outside the walls and in the villages and hamlets scattered throughout the countryside.

The impressive fortification wall is the most striking monumental testimonial to the spirit of enterprise and increased technical skill that mark a new era. But with their simple straight forward ground plans, their considerable size, their solidly built massive stone foundations, and their employment of interior columns set on stone bases and piers, the great houses of Troy VI also stand out from their undistinguished precursors of the third, fourth, and fifth settlements, and point to some fresh and vigorous impetus.

Burial Customs

As in architecture, so in burial customs, a change from earlier practices is clearly indicated in Troy VI.[19] It must be admitted that the cemetery of buried cinerary urns, found at the southern edge of the plateau some 500 meters from the citadel, represents only the final stage of the sixth settlement, and that for the earlier phases of Troy no similar evidence has come to light.[20] Is it impossible that cremation was known from the beginning of the occupation of the site and that the ashes of the burned dead were scattered to the winds? Such an hypothesis would explain the absence of remains. On the other hand, one cannot completely dismiss the possibility that there was a burial

ground at some place so well concealed as to escape notice or so unaccountably remote from the citadel as to be beyond the range of widespread investigations. Amid this general uncertainty regarding the antecedent past, the cemetery of Troy VI certainly marks a change, and gives us some basis for conjecture and speculation. It is in any event a fact that toward the end of the fourteenth century B.C.E. cremation was practiced, the ashes and remnants of burned bones were collected and placed in urns which were buried.[21] Several jars were found to contain unburned bones of infants along with burned bones of adults; the process, therefore, involves a combination of cremation and inhumation.[22] Just when this custom was introduced it remains impossible to determine.

Trojan Horses

Carl Blegen points to such novel cultural features in Troy VI as technical changes and improvements in fortifications, solid freestanding houses that are widely spaced on gradually rising concentric terraces and the general use of bronze in contrast to copper.[23] A particularly interesting innovation is the advent of the domesticated horse, shown by scientific study of animal bones.[24] This trait has important implications for the origin of the newcomers and suggests the appropriateness of Homer's epithet, "horse-taming," for the later Trojans.

Gray Minyan Ware

A most important novelty was the sudden appearance in Troy VI of a very distinctive smooth gray wheel-made pottery. Gray Minyan Ware, a fabric with no local antecedents, appears abruptly in preponderating quantity at the beginning of the sixth settlement and throughout the entire period never loses its preeminent position (Figure 53).[25] It is at the outset the same kind of angular pottery that on the mainland of Greece in the same sudden manner ushers in the Middle Helladic Period.[26] Alongside this Gray Minyan are found other similar fabrics, notably a Red-washed Ware and later a Tan Ware, which occur in essentially the same shapes as the Gray, and were evidently produced in like manner, but in a controllable kiln that permitted the introduction of oxygen to achieve the color desired.[28] Thus, when Troy VI was reached, it became clear that an entirely new repertory of shapes was evolved to displace the old; for the sixth settlement some 98 varieties of shape were differentiated and classified.[29] Among them 90 are new and only seven or eight seem to have any connection with the Trojan past.[30]

Whorls

The occurrence at Troy of terra cotta whorls in vast numbers (Schliemann collected some 8,000 specimens) is a phenomenon that seems not to be matched at other contemporary sites, east or west, and that must presumably

point to some special and peculiar feature in Trojan culture.[31] Does it perhaps imply that clothing of a distinctive fabric was worn by the people of northwestern Asia Minor? Or, was spinning carried on in a more systematic and organized manner than might be expected? The abundant bones of sheep and goats found in all the layers at Troy indicate that there was no shortage of wool.[32] Though there is no ground to assume the establishment of a real industry, spun yarn or even textiles may well have been exported to the Aegean in exchange for desired articles from that region. Whatever the explanation, it is clear that there was no reduction in the demand for terra cotta whorls when the last settlement of the Early Bronze Age was overrun and new folk elements became dominant in Troy VI.[33] Changes in the shapes commonly used and the abandonment of decoration may mark a shift in taste, but spinning obviously continued on an active basis; note the whorls in Figure 54.

Imports and Exports

Imported vases from the Greek mainland first appear in Troy about the time of the Shaft Graves, and in the early tholos period there was quite a demand for Greek manufactures; this commerce steadily increased following the fall of Knossos, and the crest of imports seems to have come in the early fourteenth century.[34] As usual, it is difficult to tell what the Mycenaeans took in return, for there are no recognizable Trojan objects in Mycenaean cities

in Greece, but the trade may have focused on silver, purple dye, dyed textiles, possibly the famous Trojan horses, and even grain from the broad fields of the north.[35] Clearly the Greeks had shifted their attention seriously from Crete towards Asia Minor after 1400 B.C.E. Greek involvement with Troy is like their renewed colonization and new settlements at town sites farther south: Ephesos, Miletos, Kos, Enkomi, and Ialysos on Rhodes.[36]

Fortifications

The fortification wall of Troy VI is, of course, the outstanding and the best known monument at Hissarlik. The fortress presents the unmistakable characteristics of a royal stronghold and in its simple grandeur it takes its place as a worthy equal beside the more or less contemporary citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns, different in some respects, but obviously designed to play a similar commanding role in its district. The building of the fortress was surely a project of royal enterprise, and even in their incomplete and ruined state today these walls and towers still bear the distinctive cachet of princely power.

Fate has been unkind to the great fortification of the sixth settlement. One third of the circuit, the northern section, has been almost entirely destroyed, and much serious damage has been suffered elsewhere, especially along the southern and western sides of the acropolis.[37]

Nevertheless, a survey of the actual remains, whether it be made by a visit to the site itself, or via a study of the plans, will impress the observer with admiration for the unity and strength of the original design and for the technical proficiency of the engineers who directed the construction. This effect of unity becomes all the more remarkable after further study when one sees that the wall consists of several sections, which differ considerably in style of masonry and were obviously not all erected at one and the same time.[38] The wall of Troy VI was built to replace a previously existing fortification; the latter was not demolished all at once, but piece by piece, and the replacement was completed in successive stages marked by the steadily increasing skill of the masons in stone-cutting and joining (Figure 55).[39]

The new architectural style in the building of fortifications, marked by the characteristic offsets which occur at intervals along the face of the wall, is an innovation of Troy VI. This evidence of new ideas in the realm of architecture taken in conjunction with the parallel indications of fresh invention of pottery and with the arrival of the horse, must reflect the establishment on the site of a new strain, cultural if not racial, at the beginning of the sixth settlement. It evidently produced the spark of enterprise and gave impetus to a course of steady material development and expansion that ultimately raised the settlement to its greatest power. The history of

the evolution through the early, middle, and late stages of the period is illustrated step by step in the remains of the three successive fortifications.[40] The first in its new style marks a change from what had gone before in the Early Bronze Age.[41] The second, with its finer and more regular masonry, and its increased size, far surpasses the first, only in its turn to be eclipsed by the succeeding third enclosing wall of the citadel.[42] Here in the simple strength of the design and in the magnificence of the execution we have testimonials to the developed skill of the military engineers and the building craft, and to the prosperity and the wealth of the settlement and its rulers at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[43] Before that century ends, however, an ominous sign may perhaps be recognized: the failure to complete the southwest section of the wall as it must have been designed.[44] Was this curtailment of the project imposed because of economic decline? Was it brought about through the death of the king who was sponsoring the construction? Or, should one see here the effect of some external or internal political factor otherwise unknown? These are questions that must, perhaps forever, be left unanswered.

The Northeastern Tower

The huge tower that forms the mighty northeastern bastion of the fortress still stands to a height of twenty-six courses; it is perhaps the finest piece of masonry in

the whole circuit wall of Troy VI.[45] Measuring about 18 meters in length from north to south, with an inside width of 8 meters or more, it is built of squared blocks of hard limestone, carefully laid and fitted together, though in courses of somewhat irregular height, with particular attention to the alteration of joints from course to course.[46] With its sharp acute angle projecting toward the north and its characteristic profile, this tower is one of the most familiar published landmarks of Troy. The lofty northeast tower was no doubt an observation post, not only dominating the acropolis but also the entire Trojan plain. Inside the tower is a well, or cistern, approximately square, its open shaft measuring about four meters per side; it was lined all around with a massive stone wall, two meters thick, that extended some two meters down below the floor to native rock.[47] From this point, the shaft, hewn in the rock itself, continued down to a further depth of seven or eight meters.[48] Too large to be an ordinary well, too deep for an ordinary cistern, it may have been intended to serve both purposes. The main purpose of the northeast tower was, presumably, to enclose the well-cistern within the fortification and to ensure a safe supply of water in emergencies.[49]

The Southern Gateway

The principal entrance to the citadel in all periods of occupation lay on the southern side of the perimeter, where

the hill sloped fairly easily down toward the level of the adjacent plateau.[50] In Troy I and Troy II the chief approach was almost directly from the south.[51] A new gateway was constructed during the sixth settlement; this gateway continued to serve as the main entry into the fortress through Troy VII (Figure 56).[52] Altogether, then, we have here a striking illustration of a phenomenon observed at several other ancient sites, the remarkable persistence, through period after period, of established routes of communication. In excavating a roadway which was used continuously through many successive settlements, one might expect to find a series of well-marked strata, epitomizing in their evidence the history of the site itself. To a certain extent this expectation was realized at Troy; but, the main street of Troy has suffered considerably during the changing fortunes of the various settlements, and the archaeological record provided by the remains proves incomplete. From the inner facade of the south gate the roadway was followed and cleared in a northerly direction to a total length of nearly 36 meters; a stone pavement seems to have been laid during the initial stages of the sixth settlement.[53]

Domestic Architecture

The fortifications of Troy VI shed abundant light on the architectural achievements of the sixth settlement. But a kindly fortune has also preserved for us the remains of

several notable houses that once stood within the citadel. The earliest house of Troy VI excavated by the Cincinnati Expedition was "House 630" (Figure 57).[54] House 630 is a rectangular building with a length of about eleven meters and a width of about six meters; it is orientated roughly, from north to south.[55] Its walls were made with a relatively high stone socle supporting a superstructure of crude brick; it is a freestanding, single house.[56] Originally, it may have had its entrance at the south end, possibly with a portico that led into a principal room from which doorways opened into two chambers behind; later, the southern part was divided by narrow partitions of crude brick into four small cubicles, and a new doorway may have been made in the middle of the long western side.[57] In the straightforwardness of its plan and in the neatness of its walls, built of small slabs of limestone laid at fairly regular courses, this house surely represents an early stage in the building technique that reached its full development in the fourteenth century.[58]

Of the surviving buildings, one of the most striking is House VI C, a building of the megaron plan with a very shallow porch.[59] A stone column-base was found in position in the main room, apparently one of three along the central axis; it measures, externally, about thirty-four by sixty-six feet.[60] House VI C was not far from the eastern end of the acropolis; it stood on the lowest of the concentric ascending terraces.[61] One of the most remarkable

peculiarities of the building is that the two lateral walls are not parallel to each other, but converge slightly in their course toward the northwest, the whole plan being, thus, slightly trapezoidal.[62] This same oddity appears in the neighboring houses, as well as in other houses of Troy VI; all were laid out deliberately in this manner along converging lines, radiating from the center of the citadel (Figure 58).[63] It is obvious that some powerful authority controlled the planning of the houses on the acropolis. It has been suggested that the purpose was to enable all the passages that climbed toward the upper quarters of the fortress to maintain their normal width all the way up instead of being compressed and narrowed by right-angled construction on either side.[64]

During the excavations conducted from 1932 to 1938 by the Cincinnati Expedition a building known as the Pillar House was brought to light. It is one of the largest structures yet found at Troy, being more than 26 meters long and exceeding 12 meters in width.[65] Its foundation walls, running approximately from east to west, are massive; this is certainly a re-used surviving part of an earlier structure. Like Houses VI C, VI E, and VI F, the Pillar House has a trapezoidal plan, its southern side being considerably longer than the northern, with the two ends laid along converging lines.[66]

The Pillar House was designed with a relatively small room, about 3.80 meters wide, extending across its eastern

end, a great hall, about 15.50 meters long and 8.00 meters wide, occupying the middle section, and three little compartments, or cubicles, side by side across the western end (Figure 59).[67] The roof of the building, probably flat, was supported by the outside walls and cross-walls aided by two sturdy pillars set along the axis of the great hall. One of these pillars, built of carefully worked, squared blocks of limestone, laid in the fashion of headers and stretchers, still stands to a height of 1.70 meters above the floor.[68] The other pillar, which was destroyed by later intrusions, is represented only by it substantial foundations; it was probably of the same structure and shape as its mate. The surviving pillar (approximately square in section) tapers appreciably but somewhat unevenly, as it rises.[69] Small, neatly cut, square holes, about 0.04 meters per side and 0.075 meters deep, were observed in the upper surface of some exposed blocks.[70] They are cuttings for dowels that fastened stones of a superimposed course to those of the course below, a remarkable anticipation of one of the technical refinements in classical Greek architecture. There was no trace of metal, and it may be conjectured that suitably shaped pieces of wood (or some other perishable substance) were used as dowels.

The Pillar House looks at first glance as if it might be called a megaron; but closer examination reveals no evidence that there was ever a doorway in the eastern end.[71] Instead, at the midpoint of the long hall a flight of three

stone steps led up against the north wall, and there can be no doubt that there was a doorway here. Scratches on the top step show that double doors set on pivots swung inward into the room.[72]

The Pillar House was apparently occupied in the last phase of Troy VI. One of its earliest elements is a large rectangular area, paved with stones, in the southwestern corner of the main hall; it supported a structure perhaps framed and partitioned by thin walls made of crude brick.[73] In the northwestern corner of the room was a hearth on a stone platform; a large circular domed oven was also found along the northwestern part of the hall.[74] The abundant miscellaneous objects and pottery recovered from the Pillar House provide valuable evidence, but they do not firmly establish the original purpose for which this monumental building was designed. The numerous terra cotta pellets found there, together with the fact that the structure was near to the principal gateway, might suggest that it was a military establishment connected with the defense of the citadel. On the other hand, innumerable spindle whorls and loom weights, likewise of terra cotta, might lead one to think of a spinnery or a workshop where textiles were woven.

House VI F was discovered and partially excavated by Dörpfeld in 1893-94, and was further investigated some forty years later by the Cincinnati Expedition.[75] The walls, all massively built, almost in Cyclopean fashion, are of different thicknesses on all four sides. Each has an inner

and outer face made of large roughly shaped blocks, laid in somewhat irregular courses, with small stones and chips filling interstices and cracks, while the central core is composed of smaller stones less regularly fitted together; in the south, west, and north walls may be seen a broad horizontal cavity, or slot, in which a great wooden beam was once fitted, to serve as a reinforcement or framework.[76] Beams of this kind were inserted into both inner and outer faces of the three walls mentioned; this method of building walls is comparable to that exemplified in Mycenaean architecture, as seen, for example, in the palace at Pylos. This style of construction has sometimes been cited as an anti-seismic device to keep the stones in the wall from shifting; but it may have, alternatively, been an inherited tradition from early construction in crude brick. The eastern foundations of House VI F is the most monumental, being 2.66 meters thick; it spreads outward in two or three irregular steps toward the bottom, where it rests on earth 3.80 meters below the floor of the house.[77] Two rows of shaped stone column bases, fine in each row, divide the interior of the main floor into a nave and two later aisles in the fashion of a basilica; two further bases of irregular shape stand in the longitudinal axis of the nave, sunk deep below the floor.[78] There is some evidence to suggest that this house had two stories. It seems that the basement served no more than a place for storage; twenty pots

decorated in a late stage of the "palace style" were found in this house, indicating Mycenaean imports.[79]

The great houses of Troy VI which have been briefly described are worthy of consideration, for they are certainly distinctive, and even in their dilapidated state they convey some idea of the nature and character of their builders. These were obviously men of quality and substance, vigorous, creative, ready to act with strength and determination; they erected the mightiest of all the strongholds that successively occupied the site; they laid-out a small city in a systematic and orderly manner. They did not neglect to pay close attention to detail, while at the same time they possessed the capacity to carry out a project of enduring grandeur.

Cultic Evidence

Little is known regarding the religious life of the sixth settlement. Close alongside and parallel to the south tower, stands a row of rectangular monolithic pillars of menhirs.[80] Two of these menhirs were discovered in 1894 by Dörpfeld who interpreted them as evidence that a cult of some kind was associated with this area; two more stones of the same character were exposed in the excavations of 1932-38.[81] All four were truncated, since they chanced to stand in the way of construction in Roman times. How high these menhirs originally rose can not be determined, but the fact that they were set firmly in substantial foundations of

large blocks indicates that they were tall.[82] The four pillars do not take up all the space outside the tower; there is ample room for two more stones, and it is probably safe to assume that there were six all told.

These menhirs at Troy may be compared with the menhirs that have been found in Cyprus and Anatolia, and at a greater remove, perhaps with the more elegant pillars and columns known in Cretan places of worship. It is possible that there was an actual shrine inside the tower, for at its center stands a raised base surrounded by a circular area paved with flat stones.[83] On the top of the base are marks of weathering which indicate that it supported two columns standing close together; since they apparently serve no structural purpose in this position, they may, perhaps, with greater plausibility be regarded as cult furniture.[84] A long narrow building across the street, to the east of the tower, was found to contain little normal household pottery but many animal bones and numerous patches of burning were noted on several successive floors where fires had been lighted.[85] Perhaps this, too, was a sanctuary where burnt sacrifices were frequently offered, possibly in connection with ceremonial arrivals and departures. Except for a few small stone "idols," these architectural remains offer the only tangible evidence yet recognized bearing on religion in the sixth settlement (Figure 60).

Mention has already been made concerning the burial ground of cinerary urns in conjunction with Troy VI. The

importance of this discovery is twofold: it is the first and only cemetery of pre-classical Troy that has yet become known, and it shows that cremation was practiced here in the final stage of the sixth settlement. The custom of burning the dead was already familiar to the Hittites at Boghazköy near the end of the fourteenth century B.C.E. or a little earlier.[46]

Termination of Troy VI

Troy VI came to its end in a tremendous catastrophe which has left abundant evidence; the Cincinnati Expedition was convinced that the disaster was caused by a violent earthquake which left the entire citadel in ruins. Several pieces of carbonized wood came to light from various places and a few small deposits of ash were noted; there was no sign of a general conflagration.[47] Burning and killing, which were of course the normal accompaniment of the capture and the sacking of a city in ancient times, seem to be lacking. Furthermore, in the succeeding period, Troy VII, we see that the fortification walls were immediately repaired and supplemented, some of the old houses were reconstructed and reoccupied and many new ones built, filling almost all the available space inside the stronghold. The culture of Troy VI continues to prevail, with no perceptible change, no sign of interruption or break, and settlement VII embarks on its career with no trace of innovations from other regions, nothing to suggest

a decline in, or an impoverishment of, the population. Relations with the Mycenaean world are still maintained for a generation or more.

The Greek Tradition Regarding Troy

To the Greeks of the classical age Troy was a real place and the story of the long siege and capture by the Achaeans had a substantial basis of historical truth. Among the historians Thucydides had no doubts, though he expressed himself with caution regarding the scope and the actual causes of the Trojan War. Thucydides and other writers of his day, living almost two millennia nearer the events than we do, may well have based their beliefs on a greater body of surviving oral and written evidence than that which has come down to us.

Imbued with the spirit of skepticism that prevailed during the nineteenth century, many scholars held that the tale of Troy was no more than a creation of poetic fancy. In our own time there are still non-believers, but the pendulum has gradually been swinging back to a defense of the fundamental historicity of the Greek tradition, and the majority of contemporary scholars now take their stand, essentially, with Thucydides. Their conclusion has been based upon the cumulative results of archaeological exploration during the past generation and more. It is now established that the Hellenic language was already in general practical use on the Greek mainland at least as

early as the fourteenth century. Hence, it can be clearly understood why the roots of Greek mythology and tradition are so firmly fixed in the Late Bronze Age.

The question of the identification of the site of Troy merits merely a brief discussion. Reduced to its essentials, Troy's location is a simple problem, so simple that the lengthy arguments and counter-arguments in a flood of controversy have generally missed the crucial point and entangled themselves in a mass of irrelevant detail. In the Iliad and the Odyssey and in the whole concourse of Greek tradition, Troy is the seat of a king, a fortified stronghold, and the capital of the Troad. Hissarlik offers us a citadel of precisely that kind in exactly the right place. With its imposing fortification walls, which were erected in the late phases of Troy VI but when repaired following the earthquake continued to serve in Troy VII, it is worthy in every respect to take its place alongside the contemporary strongholds of Mycenae and Tiryns. Situated in a strategic position to control not only shipping that might pass up and down the straits but also traffic by land on an important land route that led from the coastal regions of Western Anatolia, it was the key site dominating the Troad. Persistent intensive exploration throughout the entire region has led to the discovery of numerous subordinate settlements, the small villages and hamlets in which the farming population lived near their fields; but nowhere has any trace of a comparable citadel been found.[88] There is no

place for another; there is no alternative site.[89] If Troy ever existed, it must have occupied the hill at Hissarlik.[90]

Rehabilitation Program

The sixth settlement came to its end in the phase called "VIh," when a severe earthquake overthrew the great houses inside the citadel and shook down considerable parts of the superstructure of the fortification walls. In the ruins heaped up by the earthquake no traces of human victims were found.[91] It looks as if the inhabitants escaped with their lives, if not with all their possessions. Perhaps it was one of those severe earthquakes that sometimes gives warning of its coming by preliminary rumblings; it seems safe to conclude that the population survived and it is clear that they immediately set about making the town once again habitable. One of the first tasks was to restore the fortification wall around the citadel; a great deal of the lower part of it, with sloping face, had certainly withstood the shock, but the superstructure obviously had to be rebuilt. Only a section, some sixteen meters long, of the new wall survived to modern times, and a great part of that was demolished in 1893-94 to facilitate the laying of track for a light railway to carry away the earth and debris excavated along the eastern flank of the hill.[92] What is left of this wall of Troy VII is solidly built, but in a style far less regular than that of the sixth settlement; it made use of a mixture of materials: many fallen blocks from

the earlier wall combined with smaller unworked stones."[3] Perhaps there was need for haste in rehabilitating the defenses.

Evidence for the reconstruction of the great wall may also be observed along the southeast and south sides of the circuit as far as the south gate. The gate itself was repaired, and it continued to be the principal entrance into the citadel."[4] The passage through the opening was paved with large flat stones which extended more than three meters northward into the enclosure."[5] Running down through the middle of the paved area was an underground drain, "roofed-over" with heavy slabs of limestone which had not been worked into uniform shapes. The drain had a floor made of large flat blocks; it was lined with lateral walls built of irregular material, much of which had obviously been salvaged from the fallen wreckage of the earthquake."[6] The drain was no doubt meant to carry off rain-water from a little plaza, just inside the gateway, on which converging streets descended from the north and the west.

Crowded Housing Conditions

Though we have no idea about the size and the plan of the palace or of the abodes of the leaders of the community, the simple habitations of the less wealthy citizens are fairly well represented. They differ conspicuously from the imposing free-standing manorial houses of Troy VI. The walls, though thick and sturdy, were roughly built of

heterogeneous material, including a great many squared blocks that were recovered from the debris heaped up by the earthquake."[7] No real effort seems to have been made to render the structures handsome: the work was probably done in haste born of emergency. These small houses were crowded closely together, often being separated only by party walls, a device which seems not to have been used in Troy VI (Figure 61). Some twenty to thirty such houses were compressed into the area between the walls and the lowest terrace of the citadel, a space which in the days of Troy VI had been kept open and perhaps served as a street."[8] On the terrace above, a few of the great houses of the sixth settlement were reconstructed and reoccupied. Most of the other buildings had been too severely damaged by the earthquake to be rehabilitated; they were replaced by smaller superimposed structures. The latter, too, had been squeezed together with party walls dividing them into small apartments. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the acropolis in Troy VII was obliged to shelter a larger population than its predecessor of Troy VI.

The Plaza

In the eastern quarter of the acropolis, between House VI F and the fortification wall, are remains of a handsome stone pavement made of large flat stones. The part preserved is twelve meters long from north to south and ten meters wide, but it once probably extended toward the east

as far as the citadel wall.'' The pavement is probably the work of Troy VIIa, and it evidently belonged to an open public plaza which gave the populace spacious and relatively dry access to a deep well.

Adversities

Settlement VIIa was totally destroyed by fire, and whatever survived that calamity was further damaged by the subsequent reconstruction of Troy VIIb and more particularly by the expanded building program in Roman times. As a result of these adversities nearly all of the small habitations of Troy VIIa were found in a sadly ruined state. No distinctive house plans appear. The dwellings consist of one, two, or three--rarely, if ever, more--small rooms, with no unity of design, no principal facade. Party walls divide buildings into separate habitations of unequal size, resembling refugee quarters for temporary use until better accommodation could be provided.

Troy's McDonalds

One house, different from almost all the others, perhaps deserves a brief description. This is House 700, the first building on the right when one passed through the south gate into the acropolis. Only the western part of the house has survived; there were certainly three rooms, possibly a fourth. Towards the northern end of the house a wide doorway gave access from the street to a narrow lobby.

Thence a narrow door opposite the first opened eastward into a room which is now missing, while another, wider, doorway led southward to an apartment of considerable size; this contained a central hearth, oval in shape and raised some 0.25 meters above the earth floor.[100] Beside the hearth to the south a stone saddle quern had been set in crude brick and clay; it was fixed in a tilted position, so that flour ground upon it would fall into a fairly deep basin-like container, hollowed out in the floor and smoothly lined with clay.[101] Carbonized remains of wheat was found in this basin-like container. Along the western wall was a kitchen "sink," built of stone and paved with flat slabs, and connected with a drain that was pierced through the wall to empty into the street. The southern end of the room was occupied by remains of storage bins, built of crude brick, which contained remains of carbonized wheat. The equipment in the room suggests that House 700, besides serving as a dwelling, was also a bakery or a cookshop, where travellers passing in or out of the citadel might stop for refreshments.

Pithoi, Pithoi, Pithoi

The house walls of Troy VIIa, which had been built largely of blocks quarried from the debris of the sixth settlement, were found still standing in several places to a height of one to two meters, and in a good many instances the floors, made of hard-packed earth or clay, had escaped

serious damage. When exposed, these floors revealed a remarkable peculiarity, which may unquestionably be taken as a distinctive feature of Troy VIIa; this is the presence in almost every house of large pithoi which had been set so deep into the ground that only the rims appeared at the level of the floor, where they were covered with heavy stone slabs. Varying considerably in size, these capacious jars range from 1.75 to 2.00 meters in height and from 1.00 to 1.25 meters in diameter.[103] Some houses contained only one of two pithoi, but there were usually more, numbering from four or five to a dozen and, in one instance, House 731, reaching a full score.[104] In several houses, whole rooms were honeycombed with these deep-set jars, but the stone lids made it possible to walk freely about the chambers and utilize all the floor space. In all the layers of the settlements belonging to the Early Bronze Age and also to the deposits of Troy VI, pithoi were regularly utilized in considerable numbers for the storage of both solid and liquid supplies; most often the vessels stood on the floor, though they were sometimes set in relatively shallow hollows cut into the ground to serve as sockets.[105] But it was not until the period of settlement VIIa that the jars were sunk to their full height beneath the floor.[106] This innovation was probably introduced to provide the maximum possible capacity for the storage of food and drink while at the same time leaving free the entire floor area inside these rather small habitations; this evidence seems to confirm the view

that the acropolis was now crowded with people and the space within the city's walls was at a premium (Figure 62). Furthermore, there seems to have been some kind of an emergency.

From Troy VI Through Troy VIIa

The miscellaneous objects from Troy VIIa are less numerous than those from earlier periods. The wholly uncontaminated deposits left were not very abundant, often small, and not rich in their yield of material.[107] Such as it was, however, this material demonstrates that there was no cultural break between Troy VI and Troy VIIa. In Troy VIIa, Grey Minyan Ware occurs in profusion in the identical characteristic fabric, finish, and shapes that prevailed in Troy VIh. Tan Ware, too, appears in the same types of vessels, with the same slip or finishing coat, and the same incised and plastic decoration that had distinguished it in the closing years of the sixth settlement.

Conflagration

The layer, comprising the remains of Troy VIIa was everywhere marked by the ravages of fire. Among the heaps of dislodged material from the razed buildings many stones were partly calcinated from the heat of conflagration; they were invariably accompanied by abundant debris of half baked crude brick, charred wood and other burnt matter, and the general effect was one of utter desolation.

In the doorway of House 700 were recovered some bones of a human skeleton, and fragments of an adult male skull came to light in the street outside the house.[108] Remnants of another skull were found farther to the west in Street 711; the burned rubbish covering House 741 outside the eastern wall of the citadel yielded a broken mandible, probably of an adult male.[109] Another human skeleton (most probably attributable to Troy VIIa), was unearthed far down the western slope of the hill; it lay in an awkward position, as if the body had not been properly buried, but had been struck down and left to lie as it fell.[110] These scattered remnants of human bones discovered in the fire-scarred ruins of Troy VIIa surely indicate that its destruction was accompanied by violence. Little imagination is required to see reflected here the fate of an ancient city captured and sacked by implacable foes.

In agreement with this interpretation of the destruction of Troy VIIa as resulting from enemy action is the evidence observed of conditions prevailing in the citadel just before the attack. The crowding together of a greatly increased population, which evidently sought refuge behind the fortress walls in numerous small closely packed habitations that filled all the space available, can in this manner be adequately explained. And, in the special arrangements made through the installation of capacious <u>pithoi</u> beneath the floor of almost every house we may, with some degree of confidence, recognize the endeavor of the threatened

community to lay up sufficient supplies of food and drink to withstand a siege.

Dating Proposals

The investigations of the Cincinnati Expedition have made it clear that Troy VIIa was founded when the ceramic style of Mycenaean III A was being superseded by that of III B, and that the settlement was destroyed at a time when the style of Mycenaean III B had not yet given way to that of Mycenaean III C.[111] If Furumark's chronological conclusions for these pottery styles is correct, the floruint of Troy VIIa would fall between 1325 and 1230 B.C.E.[112] The dating proposed for Troy VIIa by the Cincinnati Expedition is about 1275-1240 B.C.E.[113] However, the exact equation of the successive styles of Mycenaean pottery with specific terms of years has not been definitely established, but is still subject to shifts of a decade or two. Any such change would impose a corresponding adjustment in the dates for Troy VI (Phase VIh) and perhaps for the beginning of Troy VIIa.

The early parts of Mycenaean III B is the period when the Mycenaean palaces and settlements on the Greek mainland seem to have been highly prosperous and wealthy and most likely to have been able to join together in an ambitious overseas military expedition. In any event Troy VIIa has yielded actual evidence showing that the city was subjected to siege, capture, and destruction by hostile forces at some time in the general period assigned by Greek tradition to

the Trojan War, and that it may safely be identified as the Troy of Priam and Homer.

Miscellaneous Notes

The absence of tombs makes reconstructing Trojan history a particularly difficult and hazardous task. Furthermore, the Trojans seem to have written upon perishable materials such as wood or leather, since no Late Bronze Age inscriptions survive.[114] We are particularly ill-informed regarding many matters pertaining to the Trojans; the only place where they come to life for us is in the Iliad. It is difficult to make the proper allowance here for poetic distortion in the absence of any corrective document.[115] But, the Homeric epics do pre-suppose a great similarity between Trojans and Achaens.

T.G.L. Webster makes several interesting suggestions about the relation of Troy to the Mycenaeans. He thinks that the amount of Mycenaean pottery indicates that there may have been a Greek trading station at Troy, as there was apparently, at Ugarit.[116] Webster even considers it possible that Troy VIIa was a Greek-speaking kingdom and a member of the circle of Mycenaean kingdoms.[117] It is indeed an intriguing fact that, among the names thus far identified in the Linear B tablets, about one quarter are names that Homer assigns to Trojans. Also, in Webster's opinion, it is quite possible that the well-documented story of the siege of a town by the sea was elaborated for centuries in the

Mycenaean circles, and then given a new setting when Troy VIIa was attacked.'[18]

Denys L. Page has produced an ambitious synthesis of the evidence on the Trojan War from contemporary ancient Near Eastern documents, the Homeric poems, and archaeological data. He speaks for an increasing number of scholars who believe the Catalogue of Ships in Book II of the Iliad is an authentic muster roll of Mycenaean forces mobilized against some overseas target; Page accepts Blegen's conclusions about Troy VI and Troy VIIa. He has also studied documents belonging to the final phases of the Hittite empire in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries in which a power called Ahhijawa is mentioned. In the latest Hittite records Page finds evidence in Anatolian politics for a strong rivalry between Ahhijawa and a power coalition called Arzawa, which seized control of western Asia Minor as Hittite power crumbled. Page explains the dearth of Mycenaean pottery in the coastal area between Troy and Miletos (although since he wrote Mycenaean pottery has been found at several sites) as the result of a long-standing Arzawan embargo on Mycenaean trade. He suggests that, willingly or unwillingly, Troy finally joined the hostile coalition and thus became one of the targets of Achaean attack. This is at least a credible historical reconstruction and has come a long way from a war to avenge Paris' ravishing of the fair Helen. Page concluded that "our two sources--the Hittite, records

written at the time, and the Iliad--four hundred years later--fit easily together..."[119]

There are other possible connections, too, between Troy and the Hittite documents. Oliver Gurney discusses several proposed equations. Ta-ru-(u)-i-sa (perhaps Troisa), which seems to have been the most northerly of a number of towns in the district of Assuwa on the west Anatolian coast, reminds us of Greek "Troia."[120] A kingdom called U-i-lu-sa (Wilusa) is not an impossible equivalent to Greek "Ilion" ("Wilion").[121] Wilusa was ruled about 1300 by a king called Alaksandus, which is suspiciously close to Alexandros, the more common Homeric name for Paris. Moreover, Homer often calls the Trojans "Dardanians;" an Egyptian text shows that Drdny were Hittite allies at the battle of Kadesh.[122] So we have some reason to hope that, even if the mound of Hissarlik yields no more evidence, Troy's presently obscure relationships with the Hittites and other powers in Asia Minor may be gradually illuminated by continuing discoveries in that area.

Epilogue

This study of Late Bronze Age Troy cannot depend entirely upon the material remains. The later Greeks had some ideas about what modern scholars would call their Late Bronze Age past, which the Greeks called their Heroic Age. The poems contain episodes, descriptions of artifacts, and names that can only be explained on the theory that they

were handed down from the Late Bronze Age to Homer's time in a continuous oral tradition. The occurrence in the poems of numerous cultural traits obsolete long before Homer's time allow no doubt on this point; for example: chariot fighting, the bronze helmet, the single thrusting spear, the long cut-and-thrust sword, the body shield, the boar's tusk helmet, the silver-studded sword, highly developed archery, metal sculpture in the niello technique, intricately inlaid furniture, the complex palace plans, and luxurious bathing customs.

Likewise, the myths and legends tell us that the classical Greeks were quite aware of many nonmaterial facets of their heritage. And in more ways than they realized they were the heirs of the Mycenaean past, just as modern Western man is, in turn, the inheritor of classical Greek culture. The mind and instinct of classical Greece cannot be understood apart from Homer. However much time has altered the original courtly forms and content, the Homeric poems provide a far truer insight into the more important aspects of the Heroic Age of Greece than can be expected from archaeology. Archaeologists whose interests lie in the Late Bronze Age should be grateful that this magnificent touchstone and guide has survived to bring alive and make relevant so many of their discoveries. Conversely, every classicist should realize that his discipline is founded upon Homer and that archaeological discoveries are important and relevant to him. The least he and every true lover of

Homeric epic must concede to archaeology is that the material objects (be they inlaid swords, broken walls, or common pots) support, control, and supplement Homer's marvelous stories in a useful and occasionally, in a spectacular manner.

Troy was a city like Pylos, like Ugarit, that was attacked, ruined, and forgotten though only Ugarit was lost more or less without trace, and had no continuance. G. A. Wainwright, who wrote much that was eminently sensible, said of the Trojan War:

> The Greeks were only interested in that part of the commotions in Asia Minor in which their ancestors had taken part, and that was the Trojan War. That proves to have been only an episode in what we know to have been a long drawn-out period of wars, disasters, migrations...we have therefore to understand "Troy" as western Asia Minor at the time of the Trojan War.[183]

In the memory of Iron Age Greeks the Trojan War is a paradigm of many sieges, many quarrels, many flights, and many returns. In reality the location would have been far more dispersed. One instance can be cited: Tlepolemos, leader of the Rhodians, was killed on the plain of Troy by the Lycian commander, Sarpedon. Now these two may have been old enemies, for at home they faced each other across the small strip of water that divides Rhodes from the Anatolian mainland.[184] Their enmity is logical but their tragedy could have been accomplished much nearer home. In the reducing atmosphere of history the splendors of Ilion, and the great Trojan adventure, shrivel like the "truth" of Tombstone and the O.K. Corral beside a hundred "Westerns."

Thus, to later Greeks, the Trojan War was the beginning of history, not the end.

ENDNOTES

[1] C. W. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans (London: Thames & Hudson, 1966), p. 23.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 24. For recent information about the existence of a bay in front of Troy, see George Rapp and J. A. Gifford, Troy: The Archaeological Geology (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

[4] Ibid.

[5] Sterling Dow opposes this position; according to Dow there was no such commerce. "The old notion that Troy obnoxiously controlled the Dardanelles, and thus the Black Sea commerce, by levying toll on shipping or on goods transshipped, is happily defunct." Idem, "The Greeks in the Bronze Age," Rapports II (Stockholm: International Committee for Historical Sciences, 1960), pp. 2, ff.

[6] J. Hawkes, Atlas of Ancient Archaeology. p. 134.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid. (Blegen's yearly reports are in the American Journal of Archaeology: 1928-1938).

[9] Henrich Schliemann, Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans (London: Benjamin Blom, 1880); see Schliemann's autobiographical sketch published in the introduction.

Much has been said in condemnation concerning Schliemann's excavation methods and of the many mistakes with which he is frequently charged. Although there are some regrettable blunders, those criticisms are colored by a comparison with modern techniques of digging; it is only fair to remember that prior to 1876 very few persons, if any, yet really knew how excavations should properly be conducted. There was no science of archaeological investigation, and there was probably no other digger who was better than Schliemann in actual field work. In its early days excavation was little more than a high-class looting expedition to discover and to acquire interesting objects to be carried away for exhibition in a museum. Little attention was paid to the context in which anything was found. The observation and study of stratigraphy were

scarcely known. Schliemann was a pioneer, and all those who have come after him have profited from his experience; by the end of his career Schliemann had made himself an experienced, trained, observant excavator, and he had the sense to surround himself with a competent staff of assistants and colleagues.

Schliemann was gratifyingly prompt in publishing an account of what he had done. At the outset these reports (little more than excerpts from his day book) were couched in simple language, perhaps somewhat naïve, but from the beginning they showed his power of observation and his faithfulness in writing down in his day books of what he saw. The glory of discovering Troy and making it known to the world is his, and his claim to fame was fairly won.

[10]The Late Bronze Age chronology adopted in this paper is summarized as follows. The dates cited, which make no claim to represent more than a general approximation, with a wide margin of error in each direction, follow in all essentials the conclusions reached by the Cincinnati Expedition. These results have been accepted by some scholars but rejected to a greater or less extent by others, especially by the advocates of the so-called short chronology. Little, if any, cogent new archaeological evidence has been adduced to impose a change of view. A general chronology cannot be worked out from the evidence of any one site alone; it must be based on the results obtained at many sites, with due allowance for local accidents and vicissitudes. Chronological Table: Troy VI, 1800-1300 B.C.E.; Troy VIIa, 1300-1260; Troy VIIb, 1260-1190. So, C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, pp. 173 and 174.

[11]D. S. Robertson, Greek and Roman Architecture (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), p. 23.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Carl W. Blegen, et alii, Troy: The Sixth Settlement, vol. III. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati, 1953), p. 5.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid., p. 6. Also, D. S. Robertson, Greek and Roman Architecture. p. 23.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Blegen fully agrees with the verdict of his predecessors that Level VI marks the advent of a new people who had little in common with the culture of earlier phases. It was, he says, "A town which in its buildings seems to

have followed a wholly independent plan that took no account of walls of houses and streets that had gone before...A survey of the ruins...and of the miscellaneous objects and pottery recovered from them reveals at once striking differences and innovations...The changes seem to me to be so unheralded, so widespread, and so far-reaching that they can be explained as indicating a break with the past, and the arrival and establishment of a new people endowed with a heritage of their own." So, Idem, Troy and the Trojans, pp. 110 and 111.

[19] C. W. Blegen, et alii, Troy: The Sixth Settlement, vol. III., p. 6.

[20] Ibid. It is remarkable how little evidence has ever been recovered for the burial customs of the prehistoric Trojans. The few adult burials found within the walls are clearly exceptional, and there can be no doubt that the cemeteries were outside the fortifications. All three excavators of Troy have successively searched carefully but without much success.

[21] C. W. Blegen, et alii, Troy: The Sixth Settlement, vol. III., p. 7.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid. Although very little in the way of actual metals was recovered, real bronze was probably much more generally used than previously; this conclusion is supported by the discovery of three or four well-made, slender bronze knives. So, C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, p. 112.

[24] Ibid., p. 10. In the stratum representing the first phase of the sixth settlement horse-bones came to light, and henceforth they continued to occur more or less frequently in all subsequent strata. So, C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, p. 113. For the frequency of horses in the Iliad, see Kenneth John Atchity. Homer's Iliad (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), pp. 299-311.

[25] Ibid., p. 9. The Trojans exported their own pottery, for their local Gray Minyan Ware has been found at Ugarit, in Cyprus, and in Palestine. Fish has, likewise, been suggested as a source of Troy's wealth, and this is even more likely now that we know of the existence of the great bay. In later times the seasonal migrations of mackerel and tuna through the Dardanelles brought fishing fleets from all over the Aegean, and this has been advanced as a possible motive for the Trojan War: the molesting of a Mycenaean fishing fleet having led to a sort of Late Bronze Age cod war! The archaeology of Hissarlik could support the idea; Schliemann found deep strata of fish bones, which could

include mackerel and tuna. So, M. Wood, In Search of the Trojan War, p. 166.

[26] William A. McDonald, Progress into the Past (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967), p. 223. It appears that the people who had invaded Greece and those responsible for the new culture of Troy VI are either identical or closely related. We realize at once that such a situation has intriguing implications for the identity and language of friend and foe at the time of the Trojan War.

[27] C. W. Blegen, et alii, Troy: The Sixth Settlement, vol. III, p. 9.

[28] Ibid.

[29] C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, p. 112.

[30] Ibid., p. 113.

[31] C. W. Blegen, et alii, Troy: The Sixth Settlement, vol. III, p. 32. Jules Toutain has postulated that carpets were manufactured; Idem, The Economic Life in the Ancient World (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930), p. 18.

[32] Ibid., p. 33.

[33] There can be no question that most of these artifacts are to be interpreted as spindle whorls, for one example was still attached to a fragment of the actual spindle. So, C. W. Blegen in Troy: The Sixth Settlement, p. 33.

[34] E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, p. 275. All the imports of Troy VI are Mycenaean, the bulk of them (fragments of over 700 vases have been found) are luxury articles, such as kylixes.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid. And, C. Mee, "Aegean Trade and Settlement in Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.," Anatolian Studies, vol. 28 (1978), pp. 121-155.

[37] C. W. Blegen, et alii, Troy: The Sixth Settlement, pp. 81-113.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., p. 113.

[44] Ibid.

[45] C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, p. 117.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., p. 119.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] C. W. Blegen, et alii, Troy: The Sixth Settlement. vol. III, p. 116.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid., p. 117.

[54] Ibid., p. 119. It should here be noted that "House 630 is representative of the small houses of Troy VI.

[55] Ibid.

[56] C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, p. 126.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] The megaron plan has a continuous vogue from Troy I right down to Troy VII; it now appears likely that this distinctive ground plan reached the Aegean from or via Anatolia. See, W. A. McDonald, Progress into the Past, p. 222. Houses of the megaron type have been noted in southern Palestine from the Hyksos period: i.e., W. F. Albright, American Journal of Archaeology, 36 (1932), pp. 559, ff.

[60] D. S. Robertson, Greek and Roman Architecture, p. 23.

[61] C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, p. 127.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid., p. 131. Remains of at least seventeen large houses have been exposed at Troy VI.

[66] Ibid. The south wall of the Pillar House was 2.92 meters thick.

[67] For a thorough description of the Pillar House, see C. W. Blegen, et alii, Troy: The Sixth Settlement, pp. 215, ff.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, p. 134.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid., p. 136.

[79] Ibid., p. 137. At about the time that Blegen was completing his excavation at Troy, Blegen coauthored with Alan J. B. Wace an important article in Klio, entitled "Pottery as Evidence for Trade and Colonisation in the Aegean Bronze Age;" the essay is a plea for greater care and precision by archaeologists and historians in drawing sweeping conclusions about trade relationships from ceramic evidence. They show that there is already a basis to distinguish the likely origin of certain vase shapes and decorative motifs. They also point to the pressing need for more study to distinguish provenience (point of origin) in terms of fabric; that is, types of clay, presence of impurities, and techniques of manufacture. They deplore the ambiguity in the writing of some historians and archaeologists who use the terms "Mycenaean" and especially "Late Minoan" to refer to the whole Aegean area in the Late Bronze Age. "Late Helladic" and "Late Minoan" should be used, they insist, for the mainland and Crete respectively, if the origin can be ascertained; otherwise, the more neutral "Late Bronze" would be less misleading. Idem, Klio, 32 (1939), pp. 131-147.

[80] Ibid., p. 138.

[81] Ibid., p. 139. A monolith, likewise, stood at the western gate.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid.

[86] This is known from an inscribed tablet and from actual remains that have been found.

[87] C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, p. 144.

[88] Carl W. Blegen, et alii, Troy: Settlements VIIa, VIIb, and VIII (Princeton: Princeton University Press for University of Cincinnati, 1958), p. 11. And, J. M. Cook. The Troad: An Archaeological and Topographical Study (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

[91] C. Blegen, Troy and the Trojans, p. 147.

[92] Ibid., p. 149.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid. Also, C. W. Blegen, et alii, Troy: Settlements VIIa, VIIb, and VIII, p. 49.

[97] Ibid., p. 150.

[98] Ibid., p. 152. It seems that the archaeological evidence from Troy VIIa for "crowding" parallels a passage from the Iliad in which the fortress, supposedly, accommodated the 50,000 soldiers of Priam and his allied armies.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid., p. 153.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid., p. 154.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid., p. 155.

[106] Ibid., p. 156.

[107] Ibid.

[108] C. W. Blegen, et alii, Troy: Settlements VIIa, VIIb, and VIII, p. 11.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid., p. 12.

[112] Ibid. In a thorough, searching study of Mycenaean pottery Furumark has worked out so far as is yet possible the absolute chronology of the many characteristic styles that followed, one after the other, from the sixteenth to the end of the twelfth century B.C.E. For the latter part of this period he has differentiated three categories: Mycenaean IIIA, IIIB, and IIIC, the first and third having several minor subdivisions. Taking into consideration all the available evidence (chiefly the synchronisms that can be established by comparison and correlation of Mycenaean objects found in datable Egyptian contexts and of Egyptian objects recovered in observed Mycenaean stratigraphic associations) he reached the conclusion that the style of Mycenaean IIIA prevailed from about 1425 to 1300 B.C.E., that of IIIB from 1300-1230 B.C.E., and IIIC from 1230-1100 B.C.E. These datings were, of course, meant only as approximations. Though there remain some minor disagreements in detail (inevitable, since the evidence itself is at best somewhat tenuous and conflicting) most field archaeologists accept these dates in general, sometimes rounding them out for convenience and simplicity into whole centuries, the fourteenth century for Mycenaean IIIA, the thirteenth for IIIB, and the twelfth for IIIC. See, A. Furumark, Mycenaean Pottery.

[113] Ibid. This possibility fits well with the computation of Herodotus.

[114] Jean Zafiropulo, Mead and Wine. (New York: Schocken Books, 1966), p. 44.

The later Greeks, and the Romans, did believe that written records might come down from the Heroic Age and the siege of Troy. Hence the story of how the account of the

Trojan War was written by Diktys of Crete, who went to Troy with Idomeneus. This account, it was said, written on lime wood or on paper made from lime bark, was found when the tomb of Diktys was burst open by an earthquake. The account was written, supposedly, in Phoenician characters. The earthquake took place in the reign of Nero, and he commissioned experts to interpret the record, who discovered it to be the work of Diktys, on the Trojan War. So, Robert John Hopper, The Early Greeks (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1976), p. 49.

[115]Concerning oral tradition, see Minna Skafte Jensen, The Homeric Question and the Oral-Formulaic Theory (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1980).

[116]T.B.L. Webster, From Mycenae to Homer (London: Methuen and Co., 1958).

[117]Ibid., p. 116.

[118]Ibid.

[119]D. L. Page, History and the Homeric Iliad, p. 111. Also, see Michael Wood, In Search of the Trojan War (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985). For the relevant Hittite texts, see Ferdinand Sommer, Die Ahhijava-Urkunden (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1932). And, Itamar Singer, "Western Anatolia in the Thirteenth Century B.C. According to the Hittite Sources," Anatolian Studies, vol. 33, (1933), pp. 205-217.

The Hittite records of the fourteenth and thirteenth century mention a kingdom called Ahhijawa. The kings of Hatti and Ahhijawa exchange gifts; the king of Ahhijawa is listed (but later erased) in the same context as the kings of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria, the god of Ahhijawa is summoned to cure a Hittite king; a Hittite exile is sent to Ahhijawa; the two royal families were intimate enough that "Ahhijawans" were sent to Hatti to learn chariot driving. In particular, the two kingdoms carry on negotiations, which gradually become less friendly, concerning a town called Millawanda. Millawanda seems to be more or less under the political control of Ahhijawa and to have been located on the Anatolian coast. Most authorities now believe that the name represents Miletos, which in this period was a fortified settlement in which the pottery indicates that a good many Mycenaeans were living and that it might have been a Mycenaean "colony." Ahhijawa, unlike Hatti, was clearly a sea power.

[120]Oliver R. Gurney, The Hittites (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1952), pp. 46, ff. For an amplification of the Hittite documents in conjunction with Troy and the Trojan War see Michael Woods argument: Idem, In Search of the Trojan War, pp. 169-209.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Elmar Edel, Die Ortsnamenlisten Aus Dem Totentempel Amenophis III. (Bonn: Bonner Biblische Beitraege, 1966), pp. 33, ff. Likewise, E. Edel and M. Mayrhofer, "Notizien zu Fremdnamen in ägyptischen Quellen." Orientalia, 40 (1971), pp. 1-10. Regarding the Battle of Kadesh, see William J. Murnane, The Road to Kadesh (Chicago: Oriental Institute Press, 1985).

[123] G. A. Wainwright, "The Teresh, the Etruscans and Asia Minor," Anatolian Studies, 9 (1959), p. 106.

The poems represent selective recollection, remembering the glamorous and forgetting the dull. It is granted that the imagination in every age is likely to be more stirred by the anger of Achilles or the guile of Odysseus than by tax records and Mycenaean IIIB pottery.

[124] J. V. Luce, Homer and the Heroic Age (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), pp. 90 and 91.

CHAPTER V

UGARIT

Prologue

Ancient Ugarit was located about half a mile from the coast of the Mediterranean in a valley through which the little river Nahr el-Fidd flows. It was situated about seven miles north of Laodicea ad Mare on the Syrian coast, straight east of the easternmost point of Cyprus (Figure 63). In the bay where Nahr el-Fidd runs into the sea, Ugarit had a port which could be used by seagoing tradeships; there was a harbor quarter here which was of considerable dimensions during Ugarit's zenith. In Greek times it was known as Leukos Limen, the White Harbor. It is now called Minet el-Beida and is used only by small fishing boats. Ugarit itself had a favorable position between the low hills; it is now a tell, lying between the two arms of the Nahr el-Fidd. It is called Ras Shamra, "Hill of Fennel," because fennel grows profusely there. The tell which comprises the ruins of the ancient city has the form of a trapezium, where the longest side is approximately 670 yards (north to south) and the longer diagonal about 1,100 yards.[1] The tell is approximately 22 yards high.[2]

Located close to the coast, Ugarit was an important center of trade. The road along the coast from Egypt to Asia Minor went through Ugarit.[3] Another trade route went from Ugarit to Aleppo, Mari on the Euphrates, and Babylon; export articles from the Eastern countries came this way.[4] From Ugarit the sea route over to Alashiya was a short one, and Ugarit very early traded with the Aegean islands. It became an important transit harbor. One of the main export articles was copper, which was used for the production of bronze; thus, copper was imported from Cyprus and bronze was produced at Ugarit. The source of Ugarit's tin seems somewhat ambiguous. Ugarit, likewise, delivered timber to Egypt; not only cedars, but other types of wood as well. Ugarit had factories for purple dye, as great heaps of murex shells indicate.[5]

Initial Excavations

The modern discovery of Ras Shamra dates from 1928 when a Syrian peasant accidentally plowed up a flagstone which covered a subterranean passageway (Figure 64). Charles Virolleaud, Director of Archaeological Works in Syria and Lebanon, sent Léon Albanèse to excavate the site which proved to be a burial chamber.[6] Pieces of Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery were found in the tomb, but the initial dig was not otherwise productive.

If the future of the investigations had depended entirely upon the original report, it is likely that the

story might finish at this point, but there were a number of factors which prompted further investigation. There was, first, the nature of the place where the initial discovery had been made. Minet el-Beida is a natural port; Minet el-Beida was a bay, its mouth guarded by the white limestone rocks which gave it its name. In 1927, René Dussaud (curator of Oriental Antiquities in the Louvre) had suggested in a book that this bay could be the ancient harbor referred to in Greek texts as Leukos Limen.[7] In other words, its desolate situation in 1928 might hide the possibility that in ancient times Minet el-Beida may have been a thriving seaport.

But there were other reasons for further investigation, including the legends and stories which survived among the residents of that area. One tradition had it that in ancient times there had been a glorious city, rich in silver and gold, which was so large that several days were required to make a circuit of its walls. The stories had developed, no doubt, to account for discoveries of gold and other precious objects which had been made from time to time. And in 1928 there were still some local residents who could recall, painfully, the treasure-hunting excavations undertaken at the command of the Turkish authorities in the late nineteenth century.[8] All this evidence pointed to something worthy of further exploration.

In the spring of 1929 a French archaeological expedition directed by Claude F. A. Schaeffer of the Strasbourg Museum

and his associate, George Chenet, began the systematic excavation of Ras Shamra.[9] Work was carried on for several months each year until the outbreak of World War II. It was resumed in 1950.[10] Only a small part of the mound has been excavated, to date, yet it has already proved to be one of the major archaeological discoveries of the twentieth century.

Following three days of excavating at Minet el-Beida on the southeast corner of the bay, it was clear to Schaeffer that he had discovered the necropolis of an ancient city. Objects were discovered almost immediately, being recovered at depths between two to six feet. Within a few days, Schaeffer and his team had discovered a complete ceramic table service. But objects more extraordinary when ancient ceramics were discovered; a statuette of the Canaanite god Resheph was found, partially adorned with gold and silver plating (which can now be seen at the Louvre), together with a beautiful nude figurine of the goddess Astarte holding flowers in her hand.[11]

The initial explorations of the necropolis were undertaken fairly close to the coast; later, Schaeffer moved to the southern quarter of the necropolis and began to dig there. Again he met with success; three more tombs were found, apparently the royal tombs of the long-dead kings.[12] The tombs had already been penetrated by plunderers, probably centuries in the past, so they contained no enormous treasure; the plunderers, however, had worked in

haste and had left a number of objects behind, including gold rings and an exquisite ivory box.[13]

The first five weeks of excavation in the necropolis area had been met with such remarkable success that it would have been easy for the excavators to continue digging in the same area for the remainder of the season. In fact, they changed the location of their excavations after a little more than five weeks, to follow up a suggestion. Only a week after Schaeffer's team had started their work, they were visited by René Dussaud; Dussaud was a scholar of considerable distinction. He suggested to Schaeffer that it would be worthwhile exploring the large tell, Ras Shamra, to the east of the necropolis. The recovered city of the dead must have been close to the city of the living; perhaps the large mound held the remains of the once-living city.

The Tell

Thus, Schaeffer transferred his efforts to the tell.[14] Ras Shamra was a large mound (Figure 65). The size of the tell presented Schaeffer with a problem; given the strong possibility that the ruins of the ancient city lay beneath the surface, in which section of the large city should he begin to dig? If he chose the wrong place, he might find nothing, or at least nothing of importance. More by good judgement than good luck, he determined to start at the highest point of the tell, in the northeast quarter; in that section he noticed what might be the remains of walls, which

he thought might mark the location of an ancient palace. But there was another reason that helped to determine the starting point of his excavations on the tell. Local rumor had it that tiny cylinders and golden objects had been found in the orchard of olive trees that lay at the foot of the northeastern slope of the tell. If the rumor had any validity, Schaeffer speculated that rain water might have washed the objects from the surface of the tell to the orchard below. So he began to dig.

Once again, Schaeffer's team met with immediate success. As the ground was cleared, there were revealed the foundations of a large and ancient structure which had been destroyed long ago by fire. A number of objects were retrieved from the ruins: a bronze dagger, an Egyptian torso carved from granite and bearing Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, and a sandstone stele dedicated to the Canaanite god, Baal.[15] Then Schaeffer moved again, this time about twenty-five yards to the east. There he excavated the room of a building, which was later identified as a school or library; the room was divided by three pillars.[16] It was at this spot, in the spring of 1929, that the first clay tablet, bearing cuneiform writing on its surface, was found (Figure 66).[17] The discovery of a clay tablet containing writing was not in itself surprising. Numerous libraries, especially from ancient Mesopotamia, had been discovered during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

An Ancient Alphabet

The discovery of a clay tablet containing cuneiform writing was gratifying, but not initially startling. In the days that followed, more clay tablets were found in the ruins, some still in the piles in which they were stacked when the building had been destroyed. The extraordinary nature of the discovery came only when the cuneiform writing was examined in more detail; it was not the cuneiform known from ancient Mesopotamian tablets. Most of these tablets unearthed on the mound of Ras Shamra were in a previously unknown type of cuneiform. There were only a few symbols, approximately twenty-six or twenty-seven as it then appeared. In other words, it looked as if these tablets from Ras Shamra, apparently dating to the Late Bronze Age, were written in some kind of a cuneiform alphabet (Figure 67).

Schaeffer and his archaeologists had struck a complete library, with hundreds of tablets. Some of them had been used for teaching and practice, and there was sufficient reason to assume that there had been a scribe's school in the house where the library was found. The house was a great building, with numerous rooms; it was an official building, where also the chief priest (rb khn) had lived.

A trench was dug, adjacent to the place where the tablets were found, and in that trench archaeologists discovered a cache of seventy-four bronze weapons and tools.[18] Among the tools were five axe heads bearing

inscriptions in the alphabetic cuneiform identified earlier. These axe heads were important in deciphering the writing system; they are now displayed in the Louvre.

Decipherment of Ugaritic

The decipherment of an unknown writing system is not an easy task and requires a particular kind of skill, backed up by long training and extensive knowledge. The extraordinary feature of the discoveries at Ras Shamra is that the script was deciphered, virtually independently, by three different scholars. Pride of place must go to the linguist Charles Virolleaud, for a number of reasons. Schaeffer had entrusted the first clay tablets to Virolleaud for a report and examination; the linguist published his first report on the tablets in volume ten of the periodical Syria, in late 1929.[19] Apart from learned observations, Virolleaud performed a remarkable and unusual service in this report; he included excellent hand copies of the forty-eight tablets and fragments in alphabetic cuneiform, thus making the texts accessible to other scholars for examination.

Not only did Virolleaud publish copies of the texts, but he also made a number of suggestions in his report which were to prove invaluable in the process of deciphering the script. He noted that the writing system was alphabetic and that words were separated by a small vertical wedge shape. The identification of this word divider was important, for it enabled him to recognize that most words were short,

consisting of only three or four letters; the shortness of the words made it highly unlikely that the language concealed by the script was Greek or an ancient relative of Greek.

Virolleaud and the two other decipherers reached their solutions by different methods, and although Virolleaud was not the first to solve the problem of decipherment completely, a brief look at his method indicates the technique he employed. He began with the single letter word which he noticed on the axe head, and combined that observation with the strong probability that the language underlying the script was a Semitic language, akin to Hebrew or Phoenician. The occurrence of this single-letter word, both on an axe head and at the beginning of one of the inscribed tablets, suggested to him that the word was a preposition. The preposition "to" was most likely, as archaeological and linguistic analogies suggested to him; in Hebrew, Arabic, or Phoenician, the preposition "to" would be the single consonant l. Therefore, Virolleaud's starting point was that a vertical three wedge symbol was equal to l. It was Virolleaud who made the first steps, and in some ways Virolleaud also added the finishing touches, following the brilliant advances of Bauer and Dhorme.

Second Season

In the spring of 1930, while scholars were deciphering the unknown script, Schaeffer had returned to Syria to begin

his second season of excavation. On this second expedition Schaeffer had sufficient funds to employ some 250 local diggers.[20]

The first few days were spent in a re-examination of the tombs at Minet el-Beida which had been discovered in 1929. Then, at the end of March, new excavations began in the general area of the necropolis. The most interesting discovery in this area was a large building; when it was uncovered, it seemed to have thirty-six rooms, numerous corridors, and several wells, but it was apparently not a building that had been used for normal residence.[21] It was connected by underground tunnel to a royal tomb, and was a facility probably provided for the "utilization" of deceased kings. Numerous valuable objects were found in the rooms of this mortuary palace that provided further indication of the culture and wealth of the royal families.

After six weeks of excavation at Minet el-Beida, Schaeffer transferred his work crew once again in the vicinity of the library of school, where the clay tablets had been found the previous year. He began by sinking a deep probe and discovered that the floor of the library was dated to the Late Bronze Age. Beneath the library floor was evidence of another level of settlement; he found objects indicating that the area had been a cemetery, dating approximately to the twenty-first through sixteenth centuries B.C.E.[22] Below the cemetery there was evidence of

a still more ancient level of settlement, dating from the early or middle third millennium.[23]

After establishing the antiquity of the mound as a place of human residence, Schaeffer redirected the attention of his team to the library/school building. Here, further clay tablets were discovered, many of them in the cuneiform alphabet; several were impressive by virtue of their size and the fact that they contained three separate columns of writing. There were other texts of importance, including syllabaries and a bilingual lexicon. It was becoming clear to Schaeffer the civilization he was rediscovering had been multilingual. In 1930 Schaeffer estimated that four languages had been used in this ancient city; three years later, he revised his estimate to eight languages.

In addition to texts, real treasure was found in the library area. Underneath the library steps were lodged silver vessels and vases that were of considerable weight. The weight came from their contents, for the vessels were filled with many gold and silver objects, rings, and trinkets.

By the end of 1930 a good deal was known about the ancient city located on the Syrian coast. Two seasons of excavation had resulted in a rich harvest of ancient artifacts, and buildings had been uncovered in both the city area and the nearby necropolis. In addition to the physical remains there were exciting written texts, and the decipherment of the script by the late 1930 meant that these

texts could be read. The content of the texts would fill out more abundantly the picture of the life as it had been in the ancient city. But still, in 1930, the name of the city remained unknown.

Confirmation of Site

It was a tablet in 1931 which provided the confirmation of the ancient identity of the city. Towards the end of the preliminary report of the 1931 excavations (published in 1932 in Syria), Schaeffer reported that the tablet contained the phrase nqmd mlk égrt (sic), and that Virolleaud had confirmed that the last word had appeared on several tablets found in 1929.[24] The phrase ("NQMD, King of Ugarit") supported the conclusion that Ras Shamra was the site of the ancient city of Ugarit, known notably from references to such a city in the Amarna Letters.[25] A footnote in Syria for 1932 mentioned that the American scholar William Foxwell Albright had suggested the identification of Ugarit in the journal Archiv für Orientforschung VII; Albright referred to numerous second millennium texts from other areas of the ancient Near East that indicated the existence of such a city as Ugarit in Syria or Palestine, but by 1930 no city with that name had been identified. It is noteworthy, also, that J. A. Knudtzon, in his commentary on the Amarna Letters, had suggested that Ugarit must have been a harbor on the caravan routes in the north of Syria.[26] Once this certain identification had been made, the name Ugarit

gradually began to replace Ras Shamra (the modern Arabic place name) in writings about the ancient city. The newly discovered alphabetic script, and the newly discovered language which it conveyed, were designated Ugaritic.

Synopsis of Excavations

Prior to the outbreak of World War II, a total of eleven campaigns were conducted under Schaeffer's leadership in the vicinity of Minet el-Beida and Ras Shamra. For all the massive amount of work over a period of more than ten years, much still remained to be done. Only about one-eighth of the surface of Ras Shamra had been uncovered (and that mostly at one level) and only about one-sixth of the area at Minet el-Beida. The tenth campaign was conducted in the autumn of 1938, the eleventh in the winter of 1939, and then world conflict enforced the suspension of activity for several years.

Although eleven campaigns had not exhausted the possibilities of Ugarit, nevertheless an enormous amount of knowledge had been gained. There were, in 1939, considerably more than 150 texts in alphabetic cuneiform, some of them very long. There were also numerous texts in other languages. Important parts of the ancient city had been pinpointed: a temple of Baal, a temple of Dagon, portions of a palace, a library, numerous private houses, and streets. Part of the neighboring seaport and necropolis were, likewise, known.

Following World War II, a new series of archaeological campaigns began at Ras Shamra; the first postwar campaigns (the twelfth campaign in 1948 and the thirteenth in 1949) were essentially limited operations, developing further a few new areas of the site, but focusing primarily on the consolidation of what had been left untouched during the war years and almost a decade of archaeological inactivity. But full-scale excavations began again in 1950; they continued to be directed by Claude Schaeffer, up to and including the thirty-first campaign in 1969. Since then the continuing excavations have been directed by several archaeologists; Marguerite Yon of the University of Lyons, France, was appointed the new director of the French mission in 1978 and remains currently responsible for the excavation of the site.

The postwar excavations have developed still further various areas of the tell, uncovering an enormous palace (known only in a preliminary fashion prior to the war), a residential area of the city, a special artisan's quarter, and various larger homes that once belonged to the leading citizens of the ancient city.[87] Archives were found not only in the palace and temple areas, but also in the homes of certain individual persons who had once participated actively in the life of the city. A few short documents were discovered in the port area adjoining the city of Ugarit.

It is on the basis of numerous years of excavation, as well as the extensive finds of the archaeologists, that it is possible to reconstruct, in a tentative fashion, what civilization must have been like in Late Bronze Age Ugarit. Thus, the remains of buildings, the artifacts, and above all the written texts provide the raw material from which to construct an account of the nature of life in this ancient city.

History of Site

The focus of this reconstruction of life in Ugarit will be upon the last two centuries of its history (fourteenth-thirteenth centuries B.C.E.). The location of the city was a natural one for human settlement; the surrounding countryside was inhabited by man from his first appearance in Syria. A few miles north of this site, on the right bank of the little Nahr Arab, traces of a Lower Palaeolithic working floor have been found.[88] These traces of primitive man are separated by several thousands of years from the earliest occupation attested at Ras Shamra itself. The evidence from the lowest level of settlement (Level V), indicates that the first settlers belonged to the Neolithic culture.[89] Above that level was found evidence of a settlement of the Chalcolithic type (Level IV); above that again were found the remains of a settlement in the Early Bronze Age (Level III), at which time there were apparently strong links with the culture and civilization of

Mesopotamia.[30] But it is the last two levels which are most pertinent. It was probably during the Middle Bronze Age (Level II) that the city began to assume its place as a significant port and a small "kingdom." Level II in Ras Shamra comprises the centuries 2100-1500, one of the most turbulent periods in the history of the ancient Near East. The excavations indicate that Ugarit already at this time had grown to a city of importance. The temples (on the acropolis) which have been unearthed seem to go back to this period, and there is no doubt that Ugarit was a city with a lively commerce.[32] The royal seal, used by the Ugaritic kings, seems to be from this time; several stylistic features point to the nineteenth or eighteenth century.[33] The inscription "YQRM, son of NQMD, king of Ugarit" may indicate that this king and his father had been brought into their dominating position by the Amorite migration wave, which flowed into northern Mesopotamia and Syria at the beginning of the second millennium. It was at this time that the Hittites were building up their state, too, and Hurrians and Mitannians caused disturbances. Indo-European tribes came plundering along the coast of the Mediterranean. Also, the Egyptians were active, and there are proofs that they played a role in Ugarit. Pharaoh Sen-Usert I (1971-1928) sent presents with his ambassadors, and a statuette of Princess Khnumit, who later married Sen-Usert II; it is not unlikely that the princess was of Syrian origin.[34] From about the same time is the stele of Sen-Usert-Ankh, an

Egyptian representative at the court of the king of Ugarit.[35] But this situation did not last long. The Hyksos overran Egypt, and Ugarit was shaken, probably by Hurrians, however, it soon recovered.[36] Ugarit's ancient relations with Crete were developed. Trade was increased, new cultural influences absorbed, and Ugarit prospered. New houses were built, often in Cretan style, and a new rampart and wall were erected.[37] Following the fall of the Hyksos, Thutmose I and III tried to re-establish Egyptian domination over Syria. Archaeologically this has left its traces in Level I at Ugarit (1500-1100), Late Bronze Age and Iron I; Thutmose III (1490-1435) briefly stationed an Egyptian garrison at Ugarit in an endeavor to keep the area under control.[38] The Egyptians first had trouble with the Mitannians, but from the time of Thutmose IV there came a change; from 1440-1380 an Egyptian-Mitannian alliance existed.[39] After that time the Hittites soon took the place of the Mitannians; King Suppiluliumas (1375-1335) conquered the Mitannians and dominated northern Syria.[40] King Niqmad II of Ugarit, whose city-state had risen to great wealth at this time, could only nominally accept the rule of Pharaoh Amenhotep IV; actually he sided with the Hittites. So did his successors Niqmepa and Ammistamru II; letters written to the Pharaoh, found at Amarna witness to this double-dealing. This was a most prosperous period for Ugarit. Trade developed enormously, owing to the safety of the sea and land routes.

Town Planning

The plan of the city gives some idea of the density of the Late Bronze Age population. The closely packed houses were grouped into quarters divided by lanes which ran parallel or at right angles to each other.[41] Most of these comfortable dwellings consisted of a courtyard surrounded by a large number of rooms, including bathrooms, and sanitary arrangements of a very high order. The waste water was carried away into cess-pits, but the rainwater passed directly into the street. Each dwelling had a walled well, the mouth of which had a stone curb sheltered by a small roof supported by four uprights.[42] The water drawn from the well was emptied into one or more large troughs which stood nearby; in one corner of the court a staircase led to the first floor which was the dwelling proper.

Funerary Architecture

There was a funeral vault for deceased members of the family in each house, under the courtyard or under one of the ground-floor rooms; these were carefully built and very similar to certain Cretan tombs.[43] A passage, or <u>dromos</u>, with stairway led to a fine vaulted entrance. Inside, sometimes under a graceful "Gothic" corbelled vault, the corpses lay on a paved surface, probably wrapped in mats, and surrounded by a rich array of grave-goods (Figure 68). When the city was sacked most of these burial places were plundered; fortunately the robbers took only objects of

precious metal, leaving the faiences, the ivories, and the alabaster vessels. Pottery was contemptuously left behind; without exception the finer ceramics represent the late Mycenaean types, possibly derived from the workshops of Cyprus.[44] The hydraulic system for supplying the dead with drinking-water prescribed by the rites in the retrieved ritual texts reveals a highly complicated cult of the dead (Figure 69).[45]

The Harbor Area

The growing city spread beyond the confines of the tell; an entirely new quarter sprang up at the Bay of Minet el-Beida, the Mina of the ancient Ugarit. Schaeffer's excavations there have brought to light the houses and tombs, the shops and warehouses arranged in rows as in our modern ports.[46] Though small, they were capable of handling a great deal of merchandise; in one of these stores there were more than 80 jars of oil or wine stacked in close order.[47] In another store, in the same part of the port, more than 1,000 vessels were found, mostly of Cypriot origin, like those flagons called "bilbils."[48]

Trade in cosmetics appears to have been one of the most thriving industries at Ugarit. Mention may be made of a group of flagons and other vessels of Egyptian form, but probably made in Syria, as is proved by the quality of the alabaster.[49] With these were found several ivory ointment-

boxes in the form of ducks at rest on water, which have all the grace of their Egyptian prototypes.[50]

Syncretism in the Arts

Besides the objects witnessing to the influence of Egyptian art and industry at Ugarit (from the end of the sixteenth to the fourteenth centuries), objects from the Aegean or Mycenaean Greece are still more numerous. One may mention the handsome rhytons with painted polyps, a Mycenaean copy, very close to the Cretan model in the "Late Palace" style (Figure 70).[51] The same applies to the women's heads on cups of vitreous paste which still preserve something of the fine grace of Cretan ladies. A goddess of fertility, carved in relief on the lid of an ivory pyxis was found in one of the big family vaults at Minet el-Beida; she is dressed in the Cretan style, but her attributes seem Eastern.[52] This ivory is without doubt one of the most beautiful "blends" of Syrian-Mycenaean art (Figure 71). In the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries Ugarit's wealth encouraged luxury and patronized the arts. The presence in the city of many Aegeans and Mycenaeans, amongst them artisans of every kind, sculptors, jewelers, and bronze-smiths, explains the patent closeness of their work to the art of their native lands. Other fine examples are the golden cup and patera found in the ruins of a huge building to the southwest of the temple of Baal.[53] The decoration of the cup composed of Mycenaean, Egyptian, and Syrian

elements, is typical of the eclectic style of art at Ugarit. If one considers a detail on the cup, for instance, the lion attacking the gazelle and compares it with the same subject on the gold-plated hilt of a sword from Crete, even if only as regards the supple curve of the lion or the dots bordering the antelope's body, there the kinship at once leaps to the eye.[54] Moreover, the elegance of the swiftly galloping horses on the golden patera and the grace of the gazelle fleeing before the royal hunter seem Mycenaean in tradition.[55]

Calamities, Plus Political Conditions

In the fourteenth century Ugarit was shocked by a catastrophe: the city and the port were devastated by an earthquake and a tidal wave. Some of the ruined houses have been uncovered with the walls still leaning and cracked. Fire broke out in various quarters of Ugarit, but the port seems to have suffered most. Here the houses, stores, and workshops for the manufacture of purple dyes or for smelting the copper ore brought from Cyprus had to be rebuilt. Abimilki, King of Tyre, in his report on the situation in Syria sent to Amenhotep IV, describes the calamity thus: "And Ugarit, the King's town, has been destroyed by fire: half the town has been burnt, the other half is no more."[56] Probably by the half which "is no more," Abimilki meant the port quarter, which was overwhelmed by a tidal wave; a poem found in the high priest's library at Ras Shamra gives a

graphic description of one of these tidal waves.[57] Ugarit did but share the fate of Troy and many other cities of the eastern Mediterranean seaboard, which suffered severely from earthquakes.

In his letter to the Pharaoh, Abimilki of Tyre finished his report on Ugarit with these words, "And the soldiers of the Hittite army are not here."[58] In spite of its brevity this remark illuminates the political situation at Ugarit; the tension between the Hittite Empire and Egypt had become acute. Amenhotep IV's passive, and at times ambiguous, attitude alarmed his allies and his vassals. One after another the coastal cities, seeing the Egyptian cause waver, sided with the Pharaoh's enemies. Ugarit, so far removed from Egyptian aid, was one of the first to feel the Hittite menace. In another letter from Amarna, the King of Ugarit was only able to avoid reprisals by paying tribute to the Hittite King.[59] Indeed, soon after, Ugarit had to side with the Hittites: "I can no longer send my ships to get wood from Ugarit," the governor of Goubla writes to Pharaoh, "the land is no longer safe."[60] Finally, we read in another letter that all the land on the coast from Goubla as far as Ugarit has defaulted.[61]

At the battle of Kadesh, fought by Rameses II against Muwatallis (the Hittite King) in the thirteenth century, the secret service of the Egyptian army noticed a contingent of Ugaritic soldiers amongst the allies of the Hittites.[62] However, in spite of what some authorities have attempted,

not one of the numerous Egyptian texts which mention Ugarit say that the city was actually occupied by the Hittites. On the contrary, in the letter of Abimilki already quoted, it is expressly stated that the Hittite army is not at Ugarit, and this is confirmed by the archaeological evidence at Ras Shamra.[63] During Schaeffer's several seasons of work at Ugarit, the only Anatolian objects which were recovered were two vessels, three or four seals, and a silver pendant. Considering the hundreds of Syrian and Babylonian cylinder seals and the numerous other pieces of evidence at Ras Shamra, the presence of these few objects is sufficiently explained by trade with Asia Minor. It seems that the kings of Ugarit, shrewd diplomats, had managed to retain the supremacy over their city in the face of Hittite pressure by paying tribute and providing mercenaries for the Hittite army. By such means a definite rupture with Egypt, disastrous for the trade of Ugarit, was avoided. Immediately following the battle of Kadesh, Ugarit again sided with the Pharaoh.[64] In 1276 a treaty of alliance between Rameses II and the Hittite king put an end to all the tension in northern Syria.[65] Its trade no longer hampered, Ugarit recovered for the last time its commercial prestige. The Mycenaean influence was great at this time. But in the twelfth century Ugarit came to its end. Along the coast from the north came new invaders, the so-called Sea Peoples; on their way toward the south they burned and destroyed Ugarit, which was never rebuilt.[66] The harbor was

used by Greek sailors in the sixth century B.C.E.; hence, Leukos Limen.

A Golden Age

Level I, the highest of the levels of permanent settlement, reflects the culture of the Late Bronze Age, and it is this level which is of primary interest for this paper. After Level I, no evidence has been found of any permanent settlement on a large scale; there were apparently only sporadic and semipermanent settlements on the tell and in the bay area after the Late Bronze Age.

Not only is Level I the most significant for the present inquiry, it is also the level providing the most complete sources of information. It is therefore possible to learn more about life in ancient Ugarit during the Late Bronze Age than it is about life in earlier periods. However, any type of reconstruction on the basis of archaeological findings must be taken with care. The evidence is rarely complete; physical objects are frequently broken, and written texts are often scarcely legible, or are broken or incomplete at critical points. Despite all these difficulties, it is possible to take the bits of the evidence and piece them together like the parts of a jigsaw puzzle. Some pieces are missing and may never be found, but enough have survived to provide a picture of what life must have been like for the citizens of Ugarit at its apogee.

A geographical description of the city of Ugarit and its territories provides an appropriate starting point. During its Golden Age (fourteenth-thirteenth centuries), Ugarit controlled a territory of approximately thirteen hundred square miles.[67] The northern border was located near Jebel el-'Aqra (the mountain northeast of the city, called Mt. Sapan in Ugaritic and Mt. Casius in later Classical times). Inland, to the east, Ugarit's territories may have extended some twenty or thirty miles from the Mediterranean coast.[68] The southern border was probably in the vicinity of Tell Sukas; alternatively, it may have been marked at the spot where the short river, Nahr as Senn, flows into the sea.

The territory controlled by the city state of Ugarit was relatively compact and self-sufficient. The ocean formed a natural border on the west, while the eastern border was marked by a chain of mountains running north and south, separating the coastal plain from the interior of modern Syria. This coastal chain of mountains reaches an average height of about 3600 feet, the highest point being 5141 feet.[69] The territory around the city itself is in the form of a plain, but north of the plain the land begins to rise gradually into the rocky country that forms the foothills, culminating in Jebel el-'Aqra, at a height of 5840 feet.[70]

There was only one river of any size in the territory, now called Nahr al-Kabir; it flows from north to south, entering the Mediterranean just south of the modern city of Latakia. There were a few small rivers, though they were

insufficient for the development of great irrigation systems, as was done in Egypt and Mesopotamia. But most of the territory was usable farm-land without the benefits of irrigation. And, in contrast to the modern situation, the land was more heavily forested during the time when the kingdom of Ugarit flourished, especially on the slopes of the mountains.[71] The pleasantness of this ancient Mediterranean state benefited still further from a mild and moderate climate. There was normally sufficient rainfall (about thirty inches per annum) to meet the needs of farmers, though farmers have always worried about the adequacy of the rainfall![72] One of the central themes in native religion within the state was the desire for the god Baal to provide adequate rain so that the crops might flourish and the harvest be adequate. The kingdom of Ugarit would have been a very pleasant place in which to live, being self-sufficient on the basis of an agricultural economy; wine and olives numbered among the chief agricultural products.

The Acropolis

The main section of the city itself covered an area of approximately fifty acres; that is not large by the standards of modern sprawling cities, but within the fortifications of the ancient city many of the houses were built closely together.[73] In the northern part of the city, standing on slightly higher ground than the other buildings,

were located two large temples, one for Baal and one for Dagan (Figure 72). Between the temples there was a priest's house containing a library which probably served a dual role as a scribal school. Immediately south of the temples, and still on higher ground, was the upper town, its streets lined with houses of considerable proportions.

The Royal Palace

In the western section of the city was the royal palace. The palace complex was very large, indicative of the wealth of the city during its Golden Age. It served as more than a residence for the royal family; the several large archives found within the complex indicate that it functioned also as the kingdom's administrative center. The palace seems to have been a relatively small building initially; as the prosperity of the successive kings increased, additions were constructed around the original building until the whole complex reached massive proportions (Figure 73). The total area occupied by the palace has been estimated at almost 2.5 acres.[74] It had some ninety rooms, six large courtyards, a dozen staircases leading to the upper floor, and an interior garden. There were some wells within the palace, and additional wells outside it from which water was fed into the palace through an aqueduct system. One of the courtyards is noteworthy for the fact that it contained an ornamental pool, measuring eight meters by six.[75]

The most important discoveries in the palace were the royal archives. The so-called central archive, the south archive, and the east and west archives were found here, and were named after the part of the building in which they were found. The archives of the palace yielded the historical material. These voluminous administrative texts were systematically grouped in the various government departments: the fiscal business of the provincial regions in compartments by the main, western entrance, the business of the city concerning dues to and from the various classes and individuals in the city and palace in the eastern archive by the entrance to the palace from the city, and legal matters of conveyance of property, royal gifts, and investiture with feudal status, in which the king was personally involved, in the central archive. The south archive was exclusively devoted to foreign correspondence in affairs of state. In addition there were letters in the archives. Almost all documents were written in the international language of these countries, Akkadian, and only a few in Hurrian and Ugaritic; the script is Middle-Babylonian, with a few peculiarities.[76] Twelve names of Ugaritic kings were found in the documents, which date from the eighteenth to the thirteenth century.[77] The seals on the royal acts are remarkable, as they bear the same design at the top, without regard to the identity of the reigning king. The motif is well known from Babylonian glyptic art; it is that of homage to a deified king.[78]

Many fine objects have been recovered from the palace; the ivory pieces from the king's bedroom are among them. The foot panel of the bedstead of the king is supposed to be the largest single piece of ivory carving hitherto unearthed in the ancient Near East. This footboard is more than a yard wide and about twenty inches high; it is divided into sixteen panels, beautifully carved with pictures from the king's private and official life.[79]

The main entrance to the palace was approached by shallow steps and flanked by two wooden columns (whose circular stone bases still remain) which must have supported the roof.[80] The palace was built of limestone and notable for the fine quality of the masonry and the craftsmanship of the builders. Some of the exterior walls were buttressed with rectangular pilasters, while traces of plaster can be seen on some interior walls. A feature of some of the walls is a gap in the stone work where a course of timber beams originally formed part of the construction. Staircases led to an upper floor, which may have been where the private apartments of the royal family were located, while the ground floor housed guard rooms, reception rooms, store rooms, offices and archives.

Function of the Palace

The growth of the palace reflects not merely the increasing size of the court, but the growing complexity of the bureaucracy of this city-kingdom. The palace,

therefore, functioned as an administrative center where official documents could be drawn up, sealed, and stored away in archive rooms. Here, too, were stored official letters received by the king, and translations into Ugaritic of important documents were made. Newly written tablets were baked hard in a kiln, discovered in the courtyard where the ornamental pool was located.[81] Some scribes may have learned their skills here, as is suggested by the discovery of writing exercises and glossaries.[82]

Circumjacent Structures

The palace was guarded by a fortress, to which access from outside the city was gained by a small postern gate.[83] Also in the vicinity of the royal palace were other major buildings, some of which almost amount to small palaces themselves. Indeed two of these buildings have come to be known as the northern palace and the southern palace (petite palace).[84] The petite palace contained a number of texts dealing with commercial relations. Further to the north of the royal palace, at the very edge of the tell was a rectangular building which has come to be known as the residence of the Queen Mother. Also in this north-west quarter of the city lay the royal stables, a building which may have been the residence of the military governor, and a shrine.[85]

Miscellaneous Houses

Many of the homes and buildings in the city provide evidence that not all the wealth was confined to the royal family. For example, one large house which belonged to a leading citizen called Rap'anu had thirty-four rooms, including a library containing an impressive variety of written texts.[86] Rap'anu appears to have been a leading official in the court of Ammistamru III. In Rap'anu's house, as in many others, a family vault or sepulchre was located under the house or courtyard and may indicate that the veneration of the dead was a significant aspect of family religion. Several buildings contained private archives, quite separate from those of the palace or priestly establishment. Such private archives may have belonged to scribes, several of whom held high office in society; they were equivalent in general terms to senior civil servants in modern forms of government. In the same vicinity was the "house of alabasters," so called because of a discovery there of about forty alabaster vases.[87]

Not all houses were as spacious as those near the palace. To the south of the temples of Baal and Dagon was an area of smaller houses, crammed together along narrow streets. Below this, on the southern slope of the acropolis, were workshops and houses with funerary vaults and sometimes cellars containing large amphorae. Nearby, in the area known as the southern city, lived craftsmen and artisans, whose dwellings were built round a square,

overlooked on the southern side by a large building which housed a library of texts.

Fortifications

The city must have been protected by an encircling fortification, but although some evidence of a wall from an earlier period has been found, the only hint so far discovered of the presence of a wall for the period under discussion is a glacis which defended the fortress. It should, however, be noted that excavations have been concentrated on areas other than the perimeter of the tell.

Multiple Ports

Less than a mile west of the city, built on the southern shore of the bay now called Minet el-Beida, was Ugarit's primary port (probably called Ma'hadu).[88] The port quarter was much smaller than the main city; it had a waterfront area facing northwards across the bay, and other houses were clustered to the south of the water front. Further round the bay, to the east, was the large cemetery or necropolis area, which served both the port and the city of Ugarit. The port at Minet el-Beida was not the kingdom's only access to the Mediterranean's trade routes. Three other ports were known: Attalig, Gib'ala, and Himuli; although these ports functioned primarily as trading centers, they may also have served as a base for the fishing industry.[89]

Ugarit's "Daughters"

A large portion of the population of the state lived outside the city and the port area. They lived in the many rural villages which constituted a significant part of the kingdom's population and economy. There were approximately two hundred such villages in the kingdom, most of which are known by name though their location can rarely be specified with any certainty.[10] All the villages were small by modern standards, with an average population of a little more than one hundred. Nevertheless, they were vital to the kingdom's economy, for their inhabitants were engaged in agriculture, forestry, and cattle raising; they provided the necessary staples for the population as a whole. The total population of the rural communities has been estimated at around twenty-five thousand, which may have been more than one-third of the population of the "state."[11]

Monarchial Authority

The government of Ugarit was in the hands of the royal family, which normally functioned as a hereditary monarchy. Numerous documents from the city archives, especially from the archives in the royal palace, illuminate partially the history of the monarchy during the Golden Age of Ugarit. The roots of the monarchy seem to have stretched far back into the city's history to the beginning of the second millennium. Two kings are known from this early period: Niqmad I and his son, Yaqarum (Figure 74). Little is known

of them beyond their names, but it is possible that they were the progenitors of the royal dynasty which reappeared during the Golden Age.

The Golden Age proper may be said to begin with the reign of Ammistamru III (1390-1360 B.C.).[92] While internal affairs in Ugarit seem to have posed little difficulty, Ammistamru faced a major problem in external affairs, which all his successors had to face. He lived in a world of imperial powers: the super powers of the time were the Hittite Empire in Anatolia to the north, and Egypt to the south. These super powers were not friendly to each other, though the kingdom of Ugarit prospered most when the balance of power between them was approximately equal. And the super powers benefited from the presence of Ugarit,, partly because it formed a buffer zone between them, and partly because it offered relatively neutral ground on which to undertake international trade. The location and role of Ugarit on the Mediterranean coast had certain parallels to the location and role of Beirut in the twentieth century, prior to the outbreak of the civil war in the 1970's.

The kings of Ugarit were able to acquire for themselves considerable wealth, together with the power that wealth could buy. The great palace complex signifies the possession of personal wealth, achieved through trade and various systems of taxation.[93] But the king's power rested in his government and personal retainers, who could be paid in silver and rewarded in property for their services to the

king.[94] Although wealth and power can corrupt, there was a noble idea of kingship in Ugarit which helped to guard against corruption. The king was a man of responsibility. It was a royal virtue to give attention to the needs of the weak and oppressed; he was expected to protect the rights of widows, orphans, and other socially disadvantaged persons. And he shared also in responsibility for the judicial system of the state.[95]

Clearly the king was the most important member of society in ancient Ugarit, and in every sense the master of the city. It is probable that one of the areas of the city's life wherein the king had a particularly important function was religion. We are on firmer ground, however, when we consider the king's role in society. There can be no doubt that the king controlled the political destiny of the city and negotiated on its behalf with the monarchs of other states. The king played a prominent part in the legal transactions of the city, and was commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The palace itself and the discoveries within it speak of the king's status. Its size and luxurious furnishings (chairs of ebony were decorated with gold and lapis lazuli, while beds and other items of furniture were ornamented with ivory) indicate the rich lifestyle enjoyed by the royal family. This is further shown by the objects of precious metal, ivory, lapis lazuli, and items decorated with jewels and semi-precious stones found within its walls.

That the queen shared the luxurious life of the king is shown by accounts of clothes and jewels which have been recorded in the tablets. That the queen was not merely a consort but played a significant role at court is shown by the discovery of letters from important people requesting her intervention or mediation with the king in diplomatic matters.

The court seems to have been quite sizeable. Various officials are mentioned in the texts, and although the precise meaning of the titles are not always clear, they seem to include a royal treasurer, a chief priest, a military governor, a master of chariotry, the mayor of the city, and an overseer of estates. There is evidence that others were associated with the court; the king would sometimes direct the distribution of gifts to various dignitaries, and at other times he would deal severely with functionaries who abused his confidence.

The presence within the palace of a section reserved for the city's administration, shows that the court had an administrative function. Scribes wrote or made copies of the royal correspondence, and stored the many administrative texts in well organized archives. These texts show that there was a highly organized system of fiscal control. The population was divided into districts, each of which was required to provide silver or services for various royal projects; the texts seem to indicate that some families were grouped together into guilds.

Armed Forces

High in the social structure of Ugarit were the military guilds and castes; the king was at the head of the army and some of his important officials included a military governor and a chariot-master. Thus, the king maintained control of the internal and external affairs of state by means of armed forces: a standing army and a permanent navy.[96] Both were of considerable size, and military personnel were an important segment in the mosaic of Ugarit's society. The two basic divisions of the army were the infantry and chariotry, of which the former were numerically the larger.[97] Infantrymen were well equipped with weapons such as lances, slings, and shields; some infantry divisions may have been constituted entirely of archers. The chariot troops, though numerically the smaller, were more powerful in military operations. The chariots were manned by maryannu, a special class of chariot warriors who received and perpetuated their military profession in a hereditary tradition.[98] They were supported by grooms and others who cared for the chariots and horses. The strength of the standing army was supplemented by a system of conscription; each village in the kingdom had to supply a number of able-bodied men on a regular basis for military service.[99] In times of war, the army could be strengthened still further by a general conscription.

As a maritime and mercantile power, Ugarit also required a navy; the navy provided the necessary protection for

merchant vessels, but more importantly was used in defense of the state in times of war. The size of the navy is not known with certainty, but during the thirteenth century it appears to have been very large relative to the size of the kingdom of Ugarit.[100] One letter, dated during the last days of the kingdom of Ugarit, refers to the preparation of 150 ships of reinforcements for the navy's principle fleet.[101] If reinforcements numbered 150, the fleet itself may have been at least twice that size. The navy, like the army, could be strengthened by means of conscription; it is possible that naval conscriptions were drawn from the coastal towns, where men would already have seagoing experience on merchant and fishing vessels.[102]

Regarding Religious Personnel

Religious personnel constituted a significant grouping in the city of Ugarit. The temples of Dagon and Baal dominated the city in their physical location, and in size they were second only to the great palace. Such temples required a large number of support staff. The services of the temple were maintained by the priests, of whom there were many.[103] The chief priest was responsible for the temple establishment, its administration, and certain religious duties. Under him there were numerous priests grouped according to families; one administrative text refers to twelve distinct families of priests.[104] The priests received a portion of their income and support

through their service in the temples, but in addition owned land; in some cases it had been given as a royal grant. The priests as a whole, and the chief priest in particular, were also responsible for the preservation and transmission of the religious and literary classics of the state. One version of the great myth of Baal cites the chief priest, called 'Atnprln, as its authority.[105] And it is significant that some of the most important religious literary texts come from the temple and priestly archives, indicating further the role of the priests as scribes and librarians. Priests also had a military function, as is clear from references to them in administrative texts describing auxiliary military personnel; they are also listed in an army payroll text.[106] Their role was that of support personnel, providing advice of a religious or oracular nature to military commanders.

In addition to priests, there was a further group of religious persons called "holy ones" or "devotees."[107] The function of these people may have been related in some way to sexual activity in the temple. They are sometimes referred to in other sources as "sacred prostitutes," though such a designation does not reflect an objective attitude towards their religious activity. Their role in worship was related intimately to the activities of a fertility religion, in which it was believed that the fertility of the land depended upon the fertility of the gods; the sexual act

in this context of worship was intended to secure the fertility of the gods, and hence of the land.

A major religious establishment such as that of Ugarit required not only primary religious functionaries but also support personnel. The support tasks varied from the mundane duty of cleaning and maintaining the premises to the more religious duties of helping the priests in their sacrifices and offerings.[108] Such duties were assumed by a large group of persons referred to as "temple servants." Further support was provided by professional musicians, who provided the musical accompaniment for the temple's worship; they included both instrumentalists and singers.[109]

Not all religious activities were confined to the city of Ugarit, although it seems probable that the worship in the two city temples functioned as a type of state religion. Outside the city, there were religious shrines and sanctuaries in many of the villages, and these were supported and maintained by their own local priests.[110] Although the villagers had certain responsibilities toward the state religion, their primary religious life was at the local shrine or sanctuary, maintained by local priests.

Population Profile

The city of Ugarit, like any cosmopolitan city, had a richly diverse population. A colony of foreign merchants and diplomats resided there, functioning both in the context of trade and diplomatic relationships. Egypt and the

Hittite Empire were represented by merchant companies, ambassadors, and diplomats at various periods during Ugarit's Golden Age. People from Cyprus and Crete were also present; the Cretans frequently built their homes in the native Cretan style. Other foreign residents came from the various Mesopotamian states situated to the east of Ugarit.

Apart from those who were formally aliens or foreign representatives, the standard population of the city was extraordinarily diverse (the village populations, by contrast, were more uniformly Semitic). The regular city population, in addition to native peoples and Syrians in general, included Hurrians, Cypriots, Cretans, Hittites, Egyptians, Achaeans, and others. This ethnic diversity and cosmopolitan character is reflected in part in the multiplicity of languages contained in the texts which have been recovered from the city's archives, which include principally Ugaritic (the native language of the state), Akkadian (a significant language for trade and international relations), Hurrian (a non-Semitic language, used in northern Mesopotamia and southeastern Anatolia), Hittite, Egyptian, and Cypriot. While many of the languages would have been used for official purposes, others, such as Hurrian, may have been used alongside Ugaritic in everyday life. Thus, ethnically and linguistically, Ugarit was a real "city of Babel;" however, Ugarit appears to have led a relatively harmonious inner life. The absence of ethnic and inter-religious strife is in part a reflection of the

cosmopolitan character of the city, and in part a reflection of the flexibility of the syncretistic nature of the various religions that seem to have existed at Ugarit.

The Economy

The internal economy of the state was based upon agriculture and a local manufacturing industry. Agriculture was diversified. Crops included cereals, grapes, and olives; from the latter two, wine and oil were produced. The natural supply of timber was harvested and provided the necessary raw material for both construction and shipbuilding; there was sufficient timber for export to places such as Egypt, which lacked natural resources and timber.[111] Sheep and cattle were kept, contributing wool and meat to the economy. The manufacturing industry included the production of textiles and weapons.[112] With respect to textiles, both garments and materials of linen and wool were produced for internal use and for export purposes; the use of distinctive dyes contributed to the production of highly valuable materials such as expensive purple wools and fabrics.[113] Swordsmiths produced weapons, such as bronze longswords, some of which were exported to Egypt (Figure 75). Metalworkers manufactured vessels of considerable beauty from metals such as bronze and gold.

This healthy internal economy contributed to the king's wealth through a system of taxation.[114] Taxes and tithes were attached to the production of grain, wine, olive oil,

beef, and other commodities; they were sometimes paid in silver, sometimes in kind.[115] Severe penalties were attached to the nonpayment of taxes. In this way the health of the economy contributed directly to the wealth of the royal establishment. The king could also employ a system of indirect taxation, namely the corvée, to draw from men their services in the direct working of a royal land or land belonging to his close retainers.[116]

Overland and Maritime Trade

It was trade, however, which contributed to the real wealth and influence of Ugarit to a far greater extent than did the state's natural resources and internal economy.[117] The possibility of major international trade was partly the accident--or blessing--of geography. Ugarit's location on the Mediterranean coast provided an avenue to the Mediterranean sea routes, but also access from those routes to the interior. The geographical fact, combined with the location of Ugarit between the two great empires of the time, Egypt and the Hittite Empire, provided the state with an ideal opportunity to dominate trade in this area of the eastern Mediterranean. During the Golden Age, that opportunity was seized and fully exploited.

Overland routes carried goods in and out of Ugarit; these routes linked the city with Anatolia (the Hittite Empire), and with various internal states in Syria and Mesopotamia, with other areas in Syria and Palestine, and

with Egypt in the south. Trade by land was conducted by means of large donkey caravans; donkeys were an expensive and vital commodity in a trading nation like Ugarit. One economic text refers to the purchase of some four hundred donkeys, an indication of the size and significance of the caravans.[118] But of even greater significance than the overland routes were the maritime routes, linking Ugarit's harbor with the whole of the eastern Mediterranean world. Some of the sea routes linked Ugarit with places already accessible by the overland routes, but the use of the seagoing transportation was preferred when it was available. The sending of goods by sea was generally cheaper than by donkey caravans; in addition, larger and heavier quantities of goods could more easily be transported on the maritime routes. By means of its sea routes, Ugarit engaged in trade with ports on the eastern Mediterranean coast such as Byblos, Tyre, and Acco, as well as with Egypt, with Cyprus, with Crete, and with the Hittite Empire (through the port of Ura).

Ugarit's access to the great maritime trading routes was vital to its success and prosperity, but these routes could only be exploited through the possession of a large merchant navy. The merchant fleet was composed of ships belonging to a variety of independent shipowners, though it is clear that the king himself was also engaged in merchant naval affairs. Some of the merchant ships were large by ancient standards. Although no ships are known to have survived in the vicinity

of Ugarit, a number of anchors have been excavated, and from these it is possible to estimate the size of the ships. The anchors were made from stone, a custom which is still followed in certain small ports along the eastern Mediterranean seaboard; the stone was quarried locally, and the types employed included sandstone, limestone, basalt, and granite.[119] Of the thirty or so anchors excavated in Ugarit and the nearby seaport, the four largest specimens weigh approximately half a ton each. Others range between 220 and 400 pounds. It has been estimated that a half-ton anchor would have been used on a ship weighing two hundred tons or more, with a length of about seventy feet.[120] Freight on such ships, consisting of metal, grain, or other goods, could have weighed up to five hundred tons.[121] From this data it is clear that shipping would have been both cheaper and more efficient than donkey transportation. Sixteen of the twenty-six anchors found at Ugarit were excavated in the Baal temple area, indicating that seagoing life had thoroughly penetrated the religious thought of the citizens of Ugarit.[122]

Ugarit and its port may have played a role in the buying and renting of ships for merchant purposes. One of the documents from the palace archives is a letter from an Egyptian official to Pharaoh Amenophis III; it concerns the desire of the king of Alashiya to buy some ships from an Egyptian shipowner.[123] The transaction required the pharaoh's approval before it could be completed, and the

official in Ugarit sought to persuade him to give such approval. At that time, a large amount of shipbuilding was being undertaken in Egypt, but it is also possible that the city of Ugarit functioned as an outlet for Egyptian ships being sold to foreign nations. Another text describes the king of Ugarit borrowing, or leasing, a number of ships from the king of Byblos; the ships were used in major mercantile ventures.[184] The king of Ugarit was required to pay the king of Byblos 540 silver shekels as surety for the loan or lease, and a further fifty shekels to cover the cost of outfitting the ships.[185] If the ships were returned to Byblos in good condition, the surety would be returned to the king of Ugarit, less free for the use; in the event of the loss of the ships, however, the Ugaritic king would forfeit his deposit.

The movement of ships and donkeys in and out of Ugarit provided the foundation of wealth. Gold and ivory were imported from Egypt. Silver and, possibly, tin were imported from the Hittite state in Anatolia. Copper was imported from Cyprus. Wood, copper, and various manufactured goods were exported to the Hittite Empire. Locally manufactured textiles, oil, and wine were exported to a variety of destinations. This movement of goods through the kingdom, together with the various duties and taxes which the movement produced, became the basis of Ugarit's wealth.

The metal trade demonstrates more clearly than other aspects of commerce the potential which Ugarit's trading position provided. The money base in the ancient world of that time was silver, specifically the silver shekel (which was both a unit and a weight).[186] Silver was mined principally in northeastern Anatolia, and the trade in silver was controlled initially by the Hittites. The value of other metals may be assessed on the basis of a shekel of silver: e.g., 1 shekel silver = 227 shekels tin; 1 shekel silver = 200 to 235 shekels copper; 3 or 4 shekels silver = 1 shekel gold.[187] Though silver was the base of the money system, gold was the more valuable commodity, approximately three to four times the value of silver.[188] In Egypt, gold could be purchased relatively cheaply, for it was mined in southern Egypt and probably also in central Arabia. Thus Ugarit was able to make a considerable profit by importing relatively cheap gold from Egypt, which was then sold to the Hittites for a higher price, or exchanged for silver or other raw and manufactured goods. (Gold was not the most valuable commodity at the time. Iron, mined in northeastern Anatolia was gradually coming into use during this period, but it was so costly; e.g., iron: silver = 1:40.[189] Only the very rich and royalty had access to iron. There is no evidence regarding trade in iron at Ugarit.) Thus, Ugarit, functioning as a commercial "middleman" between Egypt and the Hittite Empire, was able to benefit from speculation on the gold and silver markets. In these and other metals, the

kingdom of Ugarit during its Golden Age became the center of the ancient world's metal trade.

The wealth accumulated through trade was reflected in a high standard of living in the city of Ugarit. Not only were many houses of large size, but the objects found in them and in the royal palace indicate the possession of wealth by many of the citizens of Ugarit. Jewelry, golden objects, beautiful ceramic vessels, finely carved ivories, and miscellaneous objects d'art are all indicative of a thriving and prosperous society.

Ugaritic Myths and Legends

It may prove helpful at this juncture to make an attempt to outline some of the major myths and legends found in the Ugaritic corpus. This is, by nature, an exercise fraught with problems in view of the damaged state of many of the tablets, and of the frequently fragmentary nature of the text which can be read. There is, in addition, the problem of deciding what relationship, if any, exists between two or more of these tablets which appear to recount the activities of the same gods or individuals.

The Canaanite myths and legends contained in the tablets fall into three groups. The largest group is concerned with the adventures and exploits of the god Baal and his relationships with the other members of the Canaanite pantheon. It may be remarked that the names of many of these gods and goddesses are familiar to us from the Old

Testament, and fragments of Ugaritic mythology have been traced in Hebrew poetry.[130] The Baal myths tell how the fertility god Baal received a house for himself and recognition as supreme lord of the earth.[131] In the early part of one of these myths, Yam had a house and Baal did not. The two were rivals and they engaged in furious combat. It looked as though the battle might end in a draw until Kathir-and-Khasis (god of arts and crafts) gave Baal two magic maces with which to attack Yam. The result was unchallenged victory for Baal; his friends celebrated Baal's victory while Baal's half-sister and chief consort, Anath, fell upon his foes to exterminate them.

After some hesitation, El (the "Father" figure in the Canaanite pantheon) ordered that materials be gathered to provide a house for Baal. Cedars were brought from Lebanon and other materials gathered from remote places. It took Kathir-and-Khasis just seven days to build the house for Baal; after the house was completed, Baal journeyed from city to city claiming each as part of his realm. Baal even sent messengers to the Netherworld to inform Mot ("Death") of his right to the throne. Mot, however, challenged Baal to meet him in the Netherworld and Baal reluctantly did so; during Baal's absence the earth languished and the gods mourned. The ever faithful Anath was busy seeking means of bringing Baal up from the domain of Mot, and finally she was successful; the sun goddess (who goes to the Netherworld each night) brought Baal back on one of her appointed

rounds. Accompanied by bountiful showers Baal returned to his domains of the earth.

The second cycle consists of the Epic of Keret, king of Hubur. The poem may have an historical basis, as is the case with the Epic of Gilgamesh. However, the mythological element in the Epic of Keret is difficult to distinguish from the legendary. In the Epic of Keret, we read of a prosperous and godly king who was distressed because he had no heir; he had lost a succession of wives and wept at the thought that his life would soon be extinct. The kindly god El appeared to Keret in a dream suggesting that he mobilize his forces and march to the land of Udm and demand the hand of Huriya, the beautiful daughter of King Pabil. Keret, after making appropriate vows to the goddess Asherah, marched against Udm and besieged the city state of King Pabil. Although tribute was offered, Keret insisted that he would lift the seige only on condition that he would be given the fair Huriya. Reluctantly, Pabil gave his daughter to Keret, and in due time Keret was blessed with sons and daughters of his own.

Keret, however, forgot the vow he had made to Asherah, and the goddess caused Keret to fall sick. The youngest son and daughter, Elhu and Thitmanet, were genuinely grieved at their father's condition, but the first born, Yassib, only thought of his own prospects. El intervened to restore Keret's health. Here the epic breaks off but its conclusion is fairly obvious. Faithless Yassib would certainly have

been deprived of his rights as firstborn. On the other hand faithful Elhu and Thitmanet would be rewarded. Doubtless, Elhu succeeded his father to the throne.

The third cycle consists of the tale or legend of Aqhat, the son of Danel, another legendary Canaanite king. This story, like the preceding one, contains much mythical material. The hero of the Aqhat epic was the son of the pious King Danel (a varient of the Biblical Daniel). Aqhat acquired a bow, by accident, which had been made for the goddess Anath. The goddess was so anxious to get the bow from the lad that she offered him riches and immortality in exchange for it. Aqhat refused to part with his bow under any circumstances. Undaunted, Anath determined to use force to get back her bow, and secured the services of a ruffian to insure success. The ruffian secured the bow from Aqhat, but the bow was dropped into the sea and lost, and Aqhat was killed. The corpse of Aqhat was eaten by a vulture. Danel, Aqhat' father, and Pughat, his sister, mourned for a period of seven years. All this time Pughat determined to avenge the death of her brother. Here the story breaks off; if we had the ending it would probably tell of Pughat's success in bringing about the death of the ruffian who had killed her brother.

Religion At Ugarit

Our knowledge of the religion of Ugarit comes not only from the mythological texts but from various lists of

deities and sacrifices, and certain texts which may reflect rituals.[132] In addition to the written material, the temples, stelae, statuettes, and other items of cultic apparatus may help us to reconstruct a picture of the religion at Ugarit.

Lists of deities enable us to gain a clearer insight into the Semitic pantheon of Ugarit.[133] More than 250 divine names are attested, but the nucleus of the pantheon was formed by only 28 gods of varying importance.[134] The Ugaritic pantheon may be subdivided into an originally Amorite group of older deities around El, and a younger group supporting Baal.[135] The latter's adoption in the Ugaritic pantheon was rationalized by the assumption of a marriage with El's daughter, Anath.[136] Baal had doubtlessly become the "national" god of Ugarit toward the end of the Late Bronze Age.[137]

El was the senior god of the Canaanite pantheon, supposedly the final authority in all affairs human and divine. One of his stock titles is: "the Father of Men" (<u>'ab'adm</u>); he is also termed "the Bull" (<u>tr</u>). El is represented on a stele from Ras Shamra with widespread bull's horns, depicted seated instead of standing as an active warrior-like Baal (Figure 76). Another of El's titles is: "Creator of Created Things" (<u>bny bnwt</u>); however, no creation myth, as such, has been found at Ugarit.

El's consort was Asherah (the Ahserah of the Old Testament; for example, I Kings 15:13; 18:19; II Kings 13:6;

23, 4 and 6), whose epithets reflect the fact that she was, at Ugarit, associated with the sea. Asherah was mother of the gods (Figure 77). Prominent among the seventy offspring of El and Asherah were Yam, Mot, and Athtar.

Baal, on the other hand, was the most active god in the Canaanite pantheon. Baal expresses the power of God ever actively engaged in conflict with the powers of disorder and emerging triumphant. Baal is young and vigorous, his stock epithet being "the Mighty" or "the Prince;" his proper name Hadad refers etymologically to the crash of thunder with the winter rain, the manifestation par excellence of Baal in his power.[138] In Canaanite art, Baal is depicted as a young warrior striding out in a short kilt armed with a "thunder-bolt club" and a "lightning-spear;" his helmet is garnished with the horns of a bull, possibly symbolizing his fertilizing powers. Baal signified "the lord" of the fertility-cult of Canaan; in the mythological texts Baal is termed the "son of Dagon."

Closely associated with Baal was the war-like goddess Anath, who may have, also, been Baal's sister; her epithets describe her as "virgin" (btlt), "damsel," (rhm), "wet-nurse of the gods" (msngt ilm), etc. It is noteworthy that in the Old Testament, Baal is associated with Asherah rather than Anath.

Religious life centered on the temples. Among Canaanite people these usually comprised an outer enclosure containing an altar for sacrifice and a standing stone, and the temple

building itself which contained an innermost room in which the image of the deity stood and one or more outer rooms where various cultic activities must have transpired. The acropolis of Ugarit contained two such temples; the more dominant one was dedicated to Baal, and its very situation may reflect his relative importance in the religion of Ugarit. Baal's temple was identified as such by the discovery of stelae depicting Baal or naming him.

The temple itself was surrounded by a walled enclosure (Figure 78). Within this, in front of the sanctuary building proper, was discovered what was probably the base of an altar which would have been approached by two steps.[139] The temple comprised a naos, pronaos, and court. At the east end of the naos stood a great block, a kind of pillar, made entirely of freestone, and separated from the inner wall of the sanctuary by a narrow passage.[140] In this passage was the staircase, of which the first step (of stone) is still in place, and up which priests climbed to the terrace on the temple roof.[141] The immense thickness of the walls, over five feet, indicates that this temple was very tall.[142]

The upper portion of the temple was built of bricks and crossed by thick beams of cedarwood, and had collapsed during the burning of the temple, as shown by the mass of debris which had to be cleared away at the time of excavation. The legend of Keret informs us that the temple was high like a tower and covered by a flat roof surrounded

by battlements, so that the sanctuary of Baal reminds one of temples with fortified towers in the Bible. Its appearance cannot have differed much from the migdols built by Seti I along the road to Syria, and evidently inspired by local architecture.[143] If the illustrations by the Egyptian artist has been correctly interpreted, these migdols were composed of two quadrangular buildings, as tall as towers, and standing back to back (Figure 79). A door in the main axis of the building opened into the first of the towers, lower than the one behind; the entire construction, apparently, stood upon a slightly raised platform.[144]

Close to the temple of Baal lay the house of the high priest. This was a large building with an open central courtyard surrounded by paved rooms; its walls were finely built of dressed stone.[145] It was under the threshold of a door that the discovery of seventy-four bronze tools and weapons and a bronze tripod was made; it was, of course, the inscription "chief of the priests" on five of the tools which identified the building (Figure 80).[146] In three locations of the house were found collections of texts, notably the mythological texts. This, then, was no mere dwelling house, but probably the place where the scribes could write out mythological texts, presumably for use in conjunction with the temple cult, while the young apprentices would learn and practice their art.

Immediately to the east of the high-priest's house was a temple, thought to have been dedicated to Dagon on the basis

of two stelae found outside its southern facade; these bore inscriptions which were recognized as dedications to this deity.[147] Although only the foundations of the Dagon temple remain, they suggest that the basic plan of the sanctuary was similar to that of the temple of Baal; they, likewise, suggest that the walls were remarkably thick (Figure 81). Outside the southeast angle of the temple were found fifteen troughs which may, possibly, have been for libations.[148]

Perhaps the most graphic description of a sacrifice which has come down to us is that found in the Keret story, when he is instructed to perform a sacrifice prior to setting out on his conquest for a wife. Keret washes and makes himself red, presumably a rite of purification, and perhaps we are to imagine that the reddening is achieved with the blood of a sacrificial animal. Taking animals, a bird, wine, and honey Keret mounts a tower and makes his offerings to the gods. This recalls the remains of a stairway noted above in the temple of Baal which presumably led to a platform or tower where sacrifices were performed.

The interpretation of the great myth of Baal continues to be a matter of dispute. According to one theory, the tablets, if read in the "proper" sequence would describe in chronological order the mythological prototypes of the climatologic, agricultural, and cultic events of a normal year at Ugarit.[149] Thus, the narrative would be a combination of a nature myth and a cult myth, which would indeed be related to the seasons. This myth would have

played an important role during the Ugaritic New Year festival which was celebrated in the autumn.[150]

We should do well to remember that the Ras Shamra texts, extensive as they are, still represent but a fragment of the literature of Canaan. The fertility-cult with its myths and ritual of homeopathic magic was the very stuff of a colorful and dramatic literature; it has, also, left the images of stone and metal of Baal (the warrior with the lightning-spear), and of the goddesses Asherah, Anath, and Astarte in the nude with sexual features emphasized (Figure 82). When all is said, it is probably true that in spite of other and more sober aspects of religion, what predominated at Ugarit was in fact the fertility-cult relating to the recurrent seasonal crises in the agricultural year, man's efforts to enlist Providence in supplying his primary needs: his daily food and the propagation of his kind.[151]

The only sure conclusion that can be reached regarding religion is that there was no independent cultic organization in Ugarit, and that the personnel belonged to the royal dependents, as did the other professionals. The fact that among the gt of the economy we see one gt 'sttrt ("gt of the goddess 'strt"), does not prove any claims that there was a temple economy.[152] There may have been certain storage facilities, connected with the temples, but the role of the king in the cult and sacrifice may prove that the needs of the sacrifice were, likewise, supplied through the royal economy.[153]

Was the temple-organization of Ugarit a unique phenomenon, characteristic only for this city-state, or a common feature of the whole region? The question, in principle, is the following: Was there, in the Late Bronze Age, an independent temple-economy, or was it dependent fully on the royal economy and administration?

In the Hittite New Kingdom, the temple played a large role, had an expanding and developed economy and numerous personnel; but it was closely connected with the palace and royal officials and even members of the royal family belonged to it.[134] Compared with Ugarit, the temple-economy was more independent economically, but it seems that politically it was not. In Kassite Babylonia, the temple was dependent upon the central power, as well as on the local governor.[135] But this was in the administrative sphere, where economically the temple played a larger role than in Ugarit. Generally, during the Late Bronze Age, the temple and its personnel were in the hands of the royal power and possibly Ugarit was one of the most distinguished examples.

"Paradise Lost"

Ugarit was not the largest or wealthiest of the ancient Near Eastern states; it could not compare with the enormous size and wealth of Egypt or the Hittite Empire. But in relative perspective, this city-state was wealthy and cosmopolitan. Its wealth was accompanied by a rich culture, a flourishing of the arts, fine literature, and a mosaic of

coexisting religions. It was a civilized and urbane city, which had few parallels in the ancient world. Yet its civilization was not to survive. The decline of Ugarit was entirely the result of external forces beyond its control; there is no evidence at all of an inner moral or social decline contributing to its demise. It was the movement of the Sea Peoples throughout the eastern Mediterranean world towards the end of the thirteenth century B. C. which was, undoubtedly, to bring about the destruction of Ugarit. The term "Sea Peoples" is in some ways a misnomer, for it covers at least five groups of people who sometimes operated in concert; some of them functioned on the basis of naval power, while others possessed troops that operated on the land. These peoples probably came, originally, from the vicinity of the Aegean and southeastern Europe; about midway through the thirteenth century, they began a massive and powerful military expansion eastward into the Mediterranean world. They were responsible for the decline and fall of the Hittite Empire. They threatened Egypt and engaged the Egyptians in both land and sea battles. Some of them, referred to in the Bible as the Philistines, settled in Palestine (which is named after them) and for a while threatened the survival of the Hebrew immigrants there. And it was the Sea Peoples who devastated Ugarit.

The end may have come during the reign of Ammurapi (though there is some uncertainty with respect to the history of the last kings of Ugarit). Letters excavated at

Ras Shamra, dated from the last days of Ugarit's existence, provide some insight into events.[156] Both the Hittites and the king of Alashiya were desperately worried by the power of the invaders and sought Ugarit's aid. The Ugaritic navy was dispatched westward to guard the entrance to the Mediterranean from the Aegean Sea. The army was sent north to help the Hittite army in its efforts to stall the overland assault. But both the navy and the army were defeated, and as a consequence the kingdom of Ugarit was left defenseless in the face of advancing invaders. The city was conquered; most of the citizens fled to safety, but some were massacred by the conquerors. Many of the city's great buildings fell into decay. The Sea Peoples did not rebuild the city or attempt to maintain it; the inhabitants never returned. Ugarit had died.

Epilogue

We have seen that a widely developed system of the royal economy existed at Ugarit, alongside the economy of the village community. The royal economy was dispersed all over the kingdom and its local units were named gt; in the gt were concentrated the agricultural work, manpower, beasts of burden, cattle, stores of seeds, and products for the delivery and maintenance of the palace, the army, and other branches of the government. Craftsmanship was government-managed and the artisans worked for the treasury, supplying it with almost all products needed by the court, army, and

other branches of the royal economy. The manpower, except for certain corvée-service of the rural communities, belonged to a special category of the "royal dependents" (bns mlk, literally "royal men") to which belonged numerous professional groups with their own internal organization.[137] These "royal dependents" worked not only in the economy, but there were professional groups in the military field, administration, auxiliary personnel of the palace and even the temple-personnel had their specific bns mlk groups.

The system was the dominant one in the "state" and economic organization of Ugarit. We see in Ugarit a very specific and complete socio-economic organization. The royal dependents were not slaves; they received land-allotments for their service, had families and descendants, but they were dependent on the royal authorities. Between these dependents there was not equality and there were groups of lower and higher position in the society of Ugarit; both the texts and artifacts substantiate this inequality.

A very large group of people who composed a considerable part of the male population of Ugarit involved themselves, continuously, in the various tasks and deeds of royal service. This could have caused a general social and economic crisis in Ugarit, as well as in neighboring kingdoms, and it may have been one of the reasons for the easy destruction of Ugarit by the Sea Peoples.

At least the major part of foreign trade was operated by the royal authorities of Ugarit through the tamkar (royal trade-agent) system. Such organization of society has its closest parallels in Mycenaean Greece, and the comparison based upon the available documents of these two societies awaits its scholar.

ENDNOTES

[1] Gabriel, Saadé, Ras-Shamra: Ruiens d'Ugarit, (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1954), p. 22.

[2] Ibid.

[3] On the Via Maris, see Yohanan Aharoni, The Land of the Bible (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979), pp. 45-54.

[4] Norman Yoffee, Explaining Trade in Ancient Western Asia (Los Angeles: Undena Publications, 1981), p. 14.

[5] Murex shells have been found in abundance throughout the eastern Mediterranean. The ancient name for most of Syria and Palestine was Canaan, a term derived from the Akkadian word for the purple dye which, throughout antiquity, was extracted along the coast from a species of shellfish called in Greek porphyra and in Latin murex. At least by the second millennium, during which Canaanite civilization reached its peak, the population was basically Semitic but with the admixture of other peoples. At an early date there were Semitic Amorites from the desert and Hurrians, originally from Armenia but expanding westward from northern Mesopotamia; later came such Indo-European peoples as Mitanni from Assyria, Hittites from Asia Minor, Cypriotes, Cretans, and even Mycenaeans from across the sea; there were also Egyptians from the south. Some came simply to trade, some as conquering armies, and some to settle, but all were absorbed by the Semitic substratum. Hence Canaan denotes a cultural and linguistic rather than an ethnic unity. The Greeks later applied to the central coastal area the name Phoenicia, from another word for the purple dye. Thus, the term Canaan is used to designate part of the eastern Mediterranean seaboard and hinterland for the period preceeding 1200 B.C.E.

[6] Claude F. A. Schaeffer's reports of the respective campaigns were published initially in the periodical Syria, beginning with his first report: "Les fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras Shamra," Syria 10 (1929), pp. 289-297. More popular accounts by Schaeffer were published in National Geographic Magazine, 58 (1930) and 64 (1933).

[7] René Dussaud, Topographie historique de la Syrie antique (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927), p. 417.

[8]C. F. A. Schaeffer, "A New Alphabet of the Ancients is Unearthed," National Geographic, 58, (1930), pp. 476, ff.

[9]See C. F. A. Schaeffer's first report in Syria, 10 (1929), pp. 289, ff.

[10]The most comprehensive study of Ras Shamra/Ugarit, covering the first ten years of excavation, is provided in Robert de Langhe's two-volume work, Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1945). Perhaps the most useful general survey of all the excavations, the nature of the discoveries, and the civilization of Ugarit is to be found in Gabriel Saadé, Ougarit (Beirut: Imperie Catholique, 1979).

[11]See C. F. A. Schaeffer's article in National Geographic, 58 (1930), p. 54. Incidentally, the god originally identified as Resheph has been re-identified as the god Baal. So, Adrian Curtis, Ugarit-Ras Shamra, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1985), p. 21.

[12]C. F. A. Schaeffer, "A New Alphabet of the Ancients is Unearthed," pp. 500, ff.

[13]Idem. "Les fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras Shamra," pp. 285, ff. The nature of the tombs themselves is of considerable interest. An unfinished tomb found in the southern section of the necropolis was of the same type, though larger, than that which had first been discovered. Next to the tomb were shafts with hive-shaped vaulted entrances, the opening covered with a huge pierced stone slab upon which the neck of a large jar had been placed. Nearby were a number of images, apparently unfinished, painted red and in the shape of bulls' heads and standing females; similar figures have been found at Tiryns and Mycenae. Another feature of this necropolis was a type of "waterfall," permitting water to flow down into the earth. Particular attention should be made of another tomb. This was a specially constructed vaulted chamber, approached by a staircase of six steps, near the door of which was found the skull of a person aged between twenty and thirty. A hole in the vault, and the presence within the tomb of soil which had fallen through it, revealed the activity of tomb-plunderers in antiquity. No sarcophagus was found, but the jumbled bones of at least three skeletons lay on the floor, along with a number of bowls and vases. In their haste the tomb-robbers had failed to search the corners of the chamber, where one of the most beautiful and notable discoveries was made: an oval box, whose lid bore the carving of a seated female figure. The style seems clearly Cretan. The female figure was "topless" but wore a full skirt; the hands were raised and held what appeared to be

small sheaves of grain; on either side of the figure were goats standing on their hind legs. This ivory carving is usually thought to represent a fertility goddess, and the presence of the animals suggests the Potnia Theron.

[14] James M. Robinson, "An Appreciation," Biblical Archaeology Review, vol. IX/no. 5 (1983), p. 58.

[15] Pierre Bordreauil, ed., Ras Shamra 1929-1979. (Paris: P. Guichard, 1979), p. 49.

[16] J. M. Robinson, "An Appreciation," p. 58.

[17] C. F. A. Schaeffer, "A New Alphabet of the Ancients is Unearthed," pp. 508 and 511. For a picture of this event, see Idem., p. 515. The excavation, sponsored by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de Paris, began on April 2, 1929; on May 20, 1929, archaeologists found the first tablets, twenty of them, writtin in an unknown cuneiform writing style. These tablets were dug from the corner of a room which had been burned black by a devastating fire. That was the beginning of a series of important finds which have yielded texts of enormous value for the study of the Canaanites.

[18] Ibid., p. 512.

[19] A detailed study of the decipherment of the Ugaritic script can be found in: Charles Virolleaud, "Le déchiffrementdes tablettes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra," Syria, 12 (1931), pp. 15-23. More popular accounts may be found in Leo Deuel, The Treasures of Time (Cleveland: World, 1961); Maurice Pope, The Story of Decipherment (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975); David Kahn, The Code Breakers (New York: Macmillan, 1967).

For Hans Bauer's attempt see Vossische Zeitung, CLXXXII, June 4, 1930. And, Edouard Dhorme in Review Biblique, XXXIX (1930), pp. 571-577. All three scholars reached roughly the same conclusions independently.

[20] C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Les Fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras Shamra, Deauxième Campagne," Syria, XII (1931), pp. 11, ff.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] For the report of the third season of excavations at Ras Shamra, see C. F. A. Schaeffer, Syria, XII (1932). Thus far only preliminary reports about all the excavations at Ugarit have been published. Therefore, it is difficult to

acquire a comprehensive view of the excavated areas and to establish the exact localizations of the finds. In 1973 Robert North made a praiseworthy attempt at reconstructing a horizontal and vertical grid; see, Idem., "Ugarit Grid, Strata, and Find-Localizations," Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, LXXXIX (1973), pp. 113-160. Soon afterward North's article was supplemented and, in some respects, corrected by Jacques-Claude Courtois, one of the excavators; see, Idem., "Ugarit Grid, Strata, and Find-Localizations--A Re-assesment," Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, XC (1974), pp. 97-114.

[25] See these letters referring to Ugarit in J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, No. 45, 89, 126, and 151.

[26] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 1016. This suggestion was made in 1915.

[27] In the early campaigns following the resumption of the excavations in 1950, particular attention was paid to the royal palace, and six collections of texts were found; some texts were actually discovered within a firing kiln. Among the "landmarks" of subsequent campaigns, particularly noteworthy are the following: in 1954 and 1955 excavations were extented to include the small southern palace; in 1956, during the course of excavations in a residential quarter, the archives of Rap'anu came to light; in 1968 work began on the northern palace; the so-called "House of Alabasters" was discovered in 1973.

[28] C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed., Ugaritica I (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1939), pp. 17, ff.

[29] Ibid., see the first chapter. C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Les Fouilles de Ras Shamra, cinquième campagne," Syria, XV (1934), p. 109. Idem., "La Sixième Campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra," Syria, XVI (1935), p. 160. Idem., "La Septième Campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra," Syria, XVII (1936), p. 128.

[30] On the Chalcolithic Age, Level IV at Ras Shamra, see C. F. A. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit (London: British Academy, 1939), pp. 2-5. On Level III at Ras Shamra, see Ibid., pp. 5-8. Did Sargon of Akkad pass through Ras Shamra when he invaded the western countries up to the shores of the Mediterranean? Schaeffer thinks that Sargon crossed the land of Ugarit, and possibly briefly occupied modern Latakia, some eight miles south of Ras Shamra. Ibid., p. 7., Level IV is dated from 4000-3500; Level III, 3500-2100.

[31] For Level II of Ras Shamra, see Ibid., pp. 8-17.

[32] Several sanctuaries had been built to the glory of the gods; of these three have been unearthed. The oldest was dedicated to Dagon. The second temple was sacred to the cult of Baal, held to be the son of Dagon, which explains why his sanctuary has the same plan, dimensions, and orientation as that of his divine father. The identity of those deities in whose honor was erected the third temple discovered at Ugarit is still unknown. For the initial report of these temples, see C. F. A. Schaeffer's article in Syria, XVI (1935), pp. 155, ff.

[33] E. Forrer, "Note sur un cylindre bablonian et un cachet hittite de Ras Shamra," Syria, XVIII (1937), p. 155.

[34] It is quite likely that the Pharaohs of the XIIth Dynasty received Syrian princesses into their harems, drawn from the royal houses with which they had diplomatic connections. This matrimonial policy was carried on very openly by their successors of the XVIII Dynasty, as is shown by the Amarna Letters. So, C. F. A. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, p. 11.

[35] Ibid.

[36] For a full discussion of the Hyksos, see T. Säve Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt," Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, XXXVII (1951), pp. 53-77. The Hyksos movement was a by-product of the general migrations into the ancient Near East and a reasonable explanation is that they represent a group thrust further south by the Hurrians between 1750-1500 B.C.E. Also, I. J. Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944).

[37] C. F. A. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, p. 13.

[38] Ibid., p. 15.

[39] Ibid., p. 17. Also, Alan Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaoh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 172, ff. On the Mitannians, see Roger T. O'Callaghan, Aram Naharaim (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1948).

[40] For an historical synopsis concerning the Hittites, see H. A. Hoffner, "The Hittites," in D. J. Wiseman, ed., Peoples of Old Testament Times (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 197-221. Also, K. A. Kitchen, Suppiluliumas and the Amarna Pharaohs (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1962), pp. 4, ff.

[41] C. F. A. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, p. 18.

[42] Ibid.

[43] See Schaeffer's second chapter in Ugaritica I. Also, Idem., "Die Stellung Ras Shamra-Ugarits zur Kretischen und Mykenischen Kultur," in Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 52 (1937), pp. 139, ff.

[44] C. F. A. Schaeffer, Missions En Chypre, p. 75.

[45] Idem. The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, pp. 49, ff. Elaborate arrangements were made in some of the tombs to insure that a drinking supply could be provided for the deceased; a pipe of baked clay, through which liquid could be poured, led down into the ground; a container would collect the liquid and a window might be cut opposite the container or a cup would even be provided to facilitate the obtaining of the refreshments. Similar vaults were found in the residential part of the port area, where we may presume the wealthy merchants lived as well as having their warehouses.

[46] Idem. La Sixième Campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra," Syria, XVI (1935), pp. 168, ff.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Idem. The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, plate XIII.

[50] Ibid., plate XIV.

[51] See Schaeffer's report of the third season of excavations at Ras Shamra, in Syria, XIII (1932), plate IV.

[52] Idem. The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra Ugarit, p. 20.

[53] Ibid.

[54] For the gold cup, see Ibid., plate XVII. For the gold-plated hilt of the sword from Crete, see Sir Arthur Evans. The Palace of Minos, vol. IV, p. 866, figure 851.

[55] An excellent photograph of this 7.5 inch patera may be seen in Biblical Archaeology Review, IX (1983), p. 55.

[56] J. A. Knudtzon. Die El-Amarna Tafeln, no. 151.

[57] Charles Virolleaud, "La Révolte de Koser contre Baal," Syria, XVI (1935), p. 29. And, René Dussaud, "Les Eléments déchaînés," Syria, XVI (1935), p. 196.

[58] J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, no. 151.

[59] Ibid., no. 45.

[60] Ibid., no. 41.

[61] Ibid., no. 98.

[62] So, C. F. A. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, p. 24.

[63] Idem. "La Septième Campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra," Syria, XVII (1936), p. 112.

[64] Idem. The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, p. 24.

[65] See, J. B. Pritchard, ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts, pp. 256-258. This treaty came to light in separate copies found in the Egyptian capital of Thebes and the Hittite capital of Boghazköy, cities one thousand miles apart on opposite sides of the Mediterranean.

[66] The Late Bronze Age ended with the invasion of the so-called Sea Peoples about 1180. By that time recurrent epidemics, followed by a period of excessive drought, had disrupted the affluent urban civilizations of the Levant.

[67] G. Buccellati, Cities and Nations of Ancient Ugarit (Roma: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, 1967), p. 38.

[68] Michael Heltzer, The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1976), p. 2.

[69] G. Buccellati, Cities and Nations of Ancient Ugarit, p. 38.

[70] Ibid.

[71] M. Rowton, "The Woodlands of Ancient Western Asia," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 26 (1967), pp. 261, ff.

[72] M. Heltzer, The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit, p. 2.

[73] J. Hawkes, Atlas of Ancient Archaeology, p. 200.

[74] C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed., Le Palais royal d'Ugarit, vol. I. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1955). Especially note plate I. This magnificent edifice was constructed in a number of states from the fifteenth to the thirteenth century until, at its maximum extent, it measured approximately 120 meters long, in the north to south direction, and about 85 meters east to west.

[75] Ibid.

[76]The Ugaritic scribes had borrowed their method of writing from their Mesopotamian neighbors; cuneiform signs were produced by means of a stylus on soft clay which was subsequently baked hard. However, the major difference between this writing system and those of Mesopotamia was that it employed only thirty signs. Therefore, it appeared to be an alphabetic rather than a syllabic or ideographic script--a description which should, perhaps, be modified slightly by noting that Ugaritic employs three different signs to represent the consonant equivalent to Hebrew aleph, depending on whether it is associated with the vowel a, i, or u. Nevertheless, the discovery of "alphabet" tablets listing the consonants in the same order as the Hebrew alphabet (with the extra signs inserted at appropriate points) means that there may still be some justification in seeing in Ugaritic the earliest known alphabet. It is difficult to be certain how the script originated; it is possible that it was adapted from the more complicated Akkadian script, or that it was a modification of a linear script already known in the region to facilitate its writing on soft clay tablets.

[77]See K. A. Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit," Ugarit-Forshugen, Band 9 (1977), pp. 131-142. Kitchen proposes the following chronological succession:

Monarch	Approximate Date
Ammistamru III	1380
Niqmad III	1360
Arhalbu II	
Niqmepa VI	1300
Ammistamru IV	
Ibiranu VI	
Niqmad IV	
Hammurapi III	1200

[78]For a drawing of this dynastic seal, see C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed., Le Palais royal d'Ugarit, vol. III. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1955), plate XI.

[79]C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit," Syria 31 (1954), p. 57 and plate 10.

[80]For a description of the palace, see C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Reprise des recherches archéologiques à Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Sondeges de 1948 et 1949 et campagne de 1950." Syria, 28 (1951), pp. 1-21.

[81]Ibid. The palace at Ugarit was a great administrative center. Here the king held his court, dispensing real estate grants to his loyal subjects, taking them away from others. Those subjects on service for the crown whose tasks required them to live in Ugarit received regular allotments from their own estates. These entered the palace stores and the clerks were responsible for

keeping records of these payments and their proper disbursement. Every citizen had to pay a certain quota of his agricultural produce to the crown as well.

A group of elite personages apparently enjoyed the priviledge of membership in the intimate court society. In addition, there were of course a number of high ranking officials whose attendance at court was essential to the proper management of state affairs. There were high commissioners, business agents, and other clerical personnel including the ever present scribes. Ambassadors from neighbouring states and from the major powers were also received at the palace.

[82]Regarding the role of the scribe at Ugarit, see Anson F. Rainey. The Scribe at Ugarit (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1968).

[83]C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit, X et XI campagne (automne et hiver 1938-1939). Rapport sommaire." Syria, 20 (1939), pp. 277-292.

The city was especially well fortified on the western side, nearest to the sea, where a fortress protected the palace; it was perhaps this fortress which was under the charge of the military governor. The texts mention deliveries of large quantities of weapons; breast plates were worn by archers and slingers and some of the chariot troops; scales from such breast plates have been found in this area. The horses, too, were armoured with such breast plates, and the chariots were richly decorated. A text preserving a royal commandment for the furnishing of 2,000 horses underlies the importance of the chariotry in the army at Ugarit. So, A. Curtis in Ugarit-Ras Shamra, pp. 64 and 65.

[84]For the northern palace, see H. de Contenson, et alii, "La XXXIII campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra en 1972. Report préliminaire," Syria, 50 (1973), pp. 283-309. For the southern palace, see C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Résumé des résultats de la XIX campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra-Ugarit," Les Annuals archaéologiques de Syria, 7 (1957), pp. 35-66.

[85]C. F. A. Schaeffer. "Rapport Summary," Syria, 20 (1939), pp. 277-292.

[86]Idem., ed. Ugaritica V (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1968); see "Les archives .de Rap'anu.," pp. 41-259; 379-433.

[87]H. de Contension, et alii, "La XXXIII campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra en 1972. Rapport préliminaire," Syria, 50 (1973), pp. 283-309.

[88]For the initial report, see Syria, 10, (1929), pp. 289-297. Also, Syria, 12 (1931), pp. 1-14; and, Syria

13 (1932), pp. 1-24. Likewise, Michael Astour, "Ma'hadu, The Harbor at Ugarit," Journal of Social & Economic History of the Orient, 13 (1970), pp. 113-127.

[89]See Michael Astour's excellent map of Syria during the second millennium in Gordon Douglas Young, ed., Ugarit in Retrospect (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981), p. 8.

[90]M. Heltzer, The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit. See Table no. 1 which lists these villages; pp. 8-15. Heltzer's book is solidly based upon the documents from the royal archives; these clay tablets are mainly administrative, economic, and legal texts. In each section of Heltzer's study the text to be discussed is first transliterated and, then, translated; thereupon, Heltzer analyzes and explains each text, citing parallels from other Late Bronze Age cultures.

[91]Ibid., p. 111.

[92]A political history of Ugarit is recounted in Mario Liverani, Storia di Ugarit: nell'età degli archivi politici (Roma: Centro di Studi Semitici, 1962). The Hittite correspondence discovered at Ugarit specifically documents the Hittite advance in north Syria with vassal treaties with various north Syrian principalities, including those in the region mentioned in the Amarna correspondence. These tablets (in Akkadian cuneiform) are carefully sealed with the seals of the Hittite kings and their viceroys, and name the kings of Ugarit from Niqmad II to Hammurapi between 1365 B.C.E. and the beginning of the twelfth century B.C.E.; for the texts, see J. Nougayrol in C.F.A. Schaeffer, ed., Le Palais royal d'Ugarit, vol. IV. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1956), pp. 29-210. These texts, thus, permit a fairly accurate relative chronology of the last six kings who reigned at Ugarit, and they are a valuable supplement to the Amarna tablets and to the Hittite archives of Bogazköy. Suppiluliumas I was a contemporary of Niqmad II; see J. Nougayrol, supra, pp. 48-52. Of Mursilis II with Niqmepa, we have a fine example of the conventional form of vassal treaties in the Late Bronze Age; see, J. Nougayrol, supra, pp. 85, ff. Hittite "domination" lasted till the fall of both Ugarit and the Hittite Empire in the early part of the twelfth century with a brief interlude under the rebel Arhalbu, when apparently the Pharaoh Horemheb was able to take the offensive against the Hittites in north Syria and reassert Egyptian influence at Ugarit, where fragments of alabaster vases were found in the palace.

Niqmad II seems to have married an Egyptian princess named Sarelli, believed to be the daughter of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. An alabaster vase found in 1952 bore a hieroglyphic inscription containing the name of Niqmad, described as "the Great One of the land of Ugarit. So, C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed., Ugaritica III (Paris: Paul Geuthner,

1956), p. 164. The vase also bore a scene depicting the king seated beneath a canopy, receiving water and a towel from a young woman; this picture is reminiscent of the Egyptian ritual for court marriages, and probably represents his wedding to an Egyptian princess. See, supra, figure 118. The long reign of Niqmad II seems to have been a prosperous one; Ugarit retained the position of commercial intermediary between the Hittites and the Egyptians.

Joining these synchronisms with Hittite chronology and royal deeds from the central archive at the palace of Ugarit, which cite the king and name his father, the evidence for succession at Ugarit from Niqmad II, the contemporary of Suppiluliumas I (about 1380-1346), to Hammurapi, the contemporary of Suppiluliumas II (about 1225), is complete.

[93] Taxes were usually paid in silver or natural products; natural products included: grain, wine, olive oil, cattle, and sheep. On silver taxes, see Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook (Roma: Pontificium Institum Biblicum, 1967). Texts no. 111 and 159. On grain taxes, see Jean Nougayrol in C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed., Le Palaise royal d'Ugarit, vol. VI. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1970), Texts no. 100, 102, 105, 106, 110, and 111. On wine, see Cyrus H. Gordon, supra, Text no. 110. On olive oil see, Ibid., Text no. 1082. For cattle see, Ibid., no. 2039; this text also gives information about the sheep tax. Sometimes taxes were paid in artifacts; for example, see Jean Nougayrol, supra, Text no. 134. This text records the delivery of lances from various villages of the "kingdom" to the royal stores.

[94] Regarding retainers see the excellent treatment in the following monograph: Michael Heltzer, The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982), pp. 3-48. This study stands solidly upon the primary sources.

The king was lord and master of his own city-state. The general social system of "feudal" grants (perhaps "pseudo-feudal" would be a better term) to various members of the citizenry provide numerous illuminating insights into the royal control over the lives and livelihood of all Ugaritian subjects.

[95] Anson F. Rainey, The Social Structure of Ugarit (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1967). See second chapter for judicial affairs and the kings' role as judge. äIn Hebrew.å

[96] On the army, see M. Heltzer, The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit, pp. 103-130. Also, Anson F. Rainey, "The Military Personnel of Ugarit," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 24 (1965), pp. 17-27. For the navy, see Jack Sasson, "Canaanite Maritime Involvement in

the Second Millennium B.C.," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 86 (1966), pp. 121-136.

[97]Footsoldiers and chariots were the main composition of the military force; see Le Palais royal d'Ugarit, vol. IV, Text no. 17.59. One text speaks of Su-mi-ia-nu, who was commander of the field army; thus, we see that charge of command was not always in the hands of the king. Furthermore, in regards to Su-mi-ia-nu's formation, the army was at the center and two wings were composed of chariotry. See Ugaritica V, Text no. 20.

[98]We find the maryannu mentioned in many Ugaritic texts; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartin, Die keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen Verlag, 1976), No. 4.69, 4.103, 4.126, 4.137, 4.140, 4.152, 4.163, 4.170, 4.173, 4.174, 4.216, 4.230, 4.244, 4.322, 4.377, 4.416, 4.485, 4.528, 4.561, and 4.623.
The maryannu are listed as a whole group, by personal name, or according to their fathers' name; there were about 230 persons among the maryannu in Ugarit. The maryannu received pay or various distributions in silver, wine, oil, and other products; the maryannu, also, received land allotments. So, M. Heltzer, The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit, pp. 111-113.

[99]On military conscription see, C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, Text no. 113; this text lists sixty villages from which servicemen are to be drafted. Also, M. Heltzer, The Rural Community in Ugarit, pp. 18-23.

[100]See J. Sasson's article, "Canaanite Maritime Involvement," supra, p. 131. And, C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, No. 319, 2078, and 2085.

[101]Ibid., Text 2062.

[102]So, M. Heltzer, The Rural Community in Ugarit, p. 21.

[103]M. Dietrich, et alii, Die keilalphabetische texte aus Ugarit, No. 4.29, 4.3, 4.38, 4.69, 4.99, 4.126, 4.282, 4.357, 4.412, 4.416, 4.633, 4.745, and 4.761.

[104]Ibid., Text 4.69.

[105]Ibid., Text 1.6. VI.

[106]See A. F. Rainey, A Social Structure of Ugarit, Chapter V. Chapter V of Rainey's book is entitled "The Clergy, the Military, and the Bureaucracy;" these three aspects of the social order discussed by Rainey have a closer relationship to one another than might appear to the modern mind. There seems to have been no division in the

ancient world between the sacred and the secular; religion impinged upon every aspect of daily life. War, like most human activities of the time, had to be conducted under guidance from the gods. Therefore, trained clergymen were a part of any military expedition.

[107] M. Dietrich, et alii, Die keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit, Text 4.412. Originally, this text listed 26 persons as qdsm.

[108] Ibid., Text 4.609. For example, there were "water-drawers of the sanctuary (sib mqdst)."

[109] Ibid. On cymbalists (mslm), see 4.125. On singers (srm), see 4.141.

[110] M. Heltzer, The Rural Community in Ugarit, pp. 71-74.

[111] On shipbuilding at Ugarit, see M. Heltzer, The Internal Organization of rhw Kingdom of Ugarit, pp. 188-191.

[112] For the production of textiles and weapons at Ugarit, see Elisha Linder, "Ugarit: A Canaanite Thalassocracy," in Ugarit in Retrospect, edited by G. D. Young, pp. 36, ff.

[113] Ibid. Elisha Linder notes that C. F. A. Schaeffer excavated a plant for purple dye manufacture. The list of textiles is the largest among the groups of goods recorded; at least 35 types of garments and cloth are mentioned in the texts, with over a thousand items, and point to the great specialization in this industry. E. Linder, supra, p. 38.

[114] For an explanation of the system of taxation during the Late Bronze Age at Ugarit, see M. Heltzer, The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit, pp. 7-47.

[115] Ibid. On taxes paid in silver see note no. 93, supra.

[116] Corvée is discussed by M. Heltzer in The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit, pp. 16, ff.

[117] See E. Linder, "Ugarit: A Canaanite Thalassocracy," in Ugarit in Retrospect, pp. 31, ff.

[118] For the text concerning the purchasing of 400 asses, see J. Nougayrol in C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed., Le Palais royal d'Ugarit, Vol. IV, pp. 176-177.

[119] Honor Frost, "The Stone Anchors of Ugarit," Ugaritica VI (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1969), pp. 235-245.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid. Drawings of these anchors appear on p. 245.

[123] E. Lipinsky, "An Ugaritic Letter to Amenophis III Concerning Trade with Alasiya," Iraq, 39 (1977), pp. 213-217.

[124] Denis Pardee, "The Ugaritic Text 2106: 10-18: A Bottomry Loan?" Journal of the American Oriental Society, 95 (1975), pp. 612-619.

[125] Ibid.

[126] M. Heltzer, "The Metal Trade of Ugarit and the Problem of Transportation of Commercial Goods," Iraq, 39 (1977), pp. 203-211.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid.

[130] The Ugaritic parallels to the Bible constitute a subject in its own right with an extensive literature. For several of these parallels see, Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1949), pp. 5, ff.

[131] The Ugaritic myths, epics, and legends have been translated by H. L. Ginsberg in J. B. Prichards's Ancient Near Eastern Texts, pp. 129-155. Michael D. Coogan has produced a very readable translation of the principal mythological and literary texts: Stories from Ancient Canaan (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978).

[132] For an example of a text which lists deities, see C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, Text 17. For convenient enumerations of offerings to various deities, see C.F.A. Schaeffer, ed. Ugaritica VII (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1978), pp. 135-138. On ritual texts, see Ugaritica V, pp. 580, ff.; Ugaritic Textbook, Texts 2 and 5.

[133] J. D. de Moor, "Ugarit," in Keith Crim, Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, supplementary volume, p. 930.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid.

[138] John Gray, The Canaanites (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 122.

[139] C. F. A. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, p. 67. This altar has the appearance of a square basin with the steps at the south end.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid.

[143] So, Schaeffer, supra.

[144] Ibid., p. 68.

[145] C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed., Ugaritica III, p. 252.

[146] Ibid., pp. 264, ff.

[147] See Schaeffer's article on the sixth campaign in Syria, XVI (1935), pp. 155, ff.

[148] Ibid. However, it is possible that these troughs had no direct connection with the temple, but merely represent the remains of a watering place.

[149] So, J. C. de Moor, "Ugarit," in Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, supra.

[150] See Theodor H. Gaster, Thespis (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1977).

[151] So, John Gray, The Canaanites, p. 138.

[152] M. Heltzer, The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit, p. 138.

[153] Ibid.

[154] H. G. Güterbock, The Hittite Temple According to Written Sources (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 128-132.

[155] J. Renger, Ortliche und zeitliche Differenzen in der Struktur der Priesterschaft Babylonischer Tempel (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 109-115.

[156] Michael C. Astour, "New Evidence of the Last Days of Ugarit," American Journal of Archaeology, 69 (1965), pp. 253-258.

[157] M. Heltzer, The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit, p. 186.

CHAPTER VI

ZAKROS

Introduction

The successive discoveries of the great Minoan palaces of Knossos, Phaistos, and Mallia verified the viewpoint of archaeologists that at a very early stage in Crete's history there had been several royal residences, each a seat of government for a specific region of the island and each having direct access to the sea.[1] The precise number of these urban centers, from which the brilliant Cretan culture sprang, was not known; but several scholars were agreed that one day still further Minoan sites might well be discovered. There were compelling reasons to believe why increasing attention was paid to the eastern part of the island, for archaeological research had already revealed a series of large villas, a Minoan peak-sanctuary with numerous offerings to the "Mother Goddess" and several cemeteries.[2] Did it not seem logical to assume that such a concentrated manifestation of Minoan art must have had a focal point in a particular palace?

Various indications pointed to Zakros, a bay roughly half-way down the east coast of Crete. After a trial dig in 1961, which lasted only a few days, the real archaeological

excavations began the following year with a team of scholars, technicians, and skilled workers under the direction of Nicholas Platon.[3] These excavations were financed by the Greek Archaeological Society and by an American couple, Leon and Harriet Pomerance.[4] Systematic excavations proceeded; exciting discoveries have certainly been made.

The Minoan town of Zakros covers two ridges which parallel the side of a small depression. Vines and olives grow in abundance almost down to the beach of the small, well-protected bay. One of several streams from the mountains of Ano Zakro flows in leisurely fashion down to the sea; it forms a great loop round the southern of the two hills, on the summit of which the picturesque chapel of Hagios Antonias stands out, dazzling white.[5] Approaching from the north, one passes through a barren, mountainous country at the eastern end of the island. At Ano Zakro the road descends along a deep gorge, the walls of which are pitted with the dark shadows of caves; since these caves once served as burial places, the gorge is called the "Valley of the Dead."[6] The remoteness of this particular region would hardly have recommended it as a site for a palace. But, it has been established that Zakros was the most important naval base in Minoan Crete, as well as playing a primary role in trade with Asia Minor and Egypt.[7] Shipping conditions during the Late Bronze Age were such that a base like Zakros was essential. The raw materials of

copper, tin, ivory, and gold, together with hard and rare types of stone, were shipped into Zakros; the products of the highly-developed Minoan industry were exported to the great markets of the ancient Mediterranean world.[8] From Zakros, it seems that Minoan ships laden with cypress-trunks set sail for the Aegean and brought back cedarwood from Lebanon.[9] The sheltered bay of Zakros supplied a refuge for ships in distress. And Zakros probably provided a base from which the ships protecting the "Minoan thalassocracy" maintained their control of the eastern Aegean.[10]

The Palace

Zakros was the last of the four Cretan palace sites to be excavated in the 1960's; Zakros was, likewise, the last palace to have been established.[11] Although there was much early settlement in the region, the palace seems to date from the period after 1700 B.C.E.[12] Its final destruction, in about 1450 B.C.E., appears to have been by burning.[13]

The palace at Zakros extends towards all four points of the compass; it was built partly on flat land, partly on a hill. The main part of the palace extended over the flat, narrow zone between the two hills of the valley of Zakros, while what were probably supplementary sections were on terraces on the slope of the northwestern hill; this hill and the opposite one, at the southwest, were occupied by buildings of the Minoan town.[14]

Location of the Palace

At first the location seems curious, for the palace gives the impression of being, in part, dominated by the hill houses, while its main section is open to attack from the sea as well as from the surrounding hills. Gradually, however, the reasons for this unusual position become clear; the structures on the northeastern hill were either extensions or annexes of the palace, directly under its control.[15] The main palace complex nestled within the narrow valley and was, thus, protected from the powerful prevailing winds of the northwest. The problem of water supply was solved without difficulty; underground water was easily tapped by means of special installations.[16] The advantage of direct access from the sea, by means of slab-paved roads, was important for a governmental center preoccupied with trading activity, which took place chiefly at the harbor.[17] The development of Zakros as a maritime base made it possible to fend off sudden invasion by means of ships moored in the harbor or patrolling the shore. Some scholars believe that a strong navy was utilized instead of fortifications at Cretan sites; a comparable means of guaranteeing safety was used by the British Isles in modern times.[18] Thus, the central location of the palace between the two sections of the town of Zakros had practical advantages.

The Four Wings of the Palace

Architecturally, the palace at Zakros is closely related to other Cretan palaces (Figure 83). Like the rest, it was organized around a central court, unifying the structure into four wings: two main ones, the west and east, and two secondary ones, the north and south.[19] A court, originally paved, extended in front of the west façade; also, similar to the other Minoan palaces, was the arrangement of the interior.[20] The west wing chiefly contained rooms connected with the shrine, cult rooms, and storerooms; the storerooms may have belonged to the sanctuary.[21] The east wing contained the main living quarters of the royal family, as well as a ceremonial hall which might have been the throne room.[22] Some areas served as workshops; others, such as kitchens and service rooms, were for daily use. The layout was as labyrinthine at Zakros as at the other palaces; the entire structure was made even more complex by the addition of one or more stories above the ground floor. The presence of these upper stories can be inferred from staircases, from collapsed building materials, and from the sturdy construction of walls on the ground floor. There was considerable use of timberwork to strengthen and give elasticity to the walls, and various openings were found to indicate the positions of windows and doors.[23] The masonry of outer walls and of inner divisions was analogous to that of the other palaces; wooden columns standing on stone bases were of the typical tapering shape; and the various series

of light wells, pier-and-door partitions, porches, colonnaded verandas, and benches were characteristic of Cretan palace architecture. The walls were adorned as usual with paintings, but at Zakros only decorative motifs seem to have been used; no representational scenes have been found.[84] There is a slight dissimilarity in orientation, for at Zakros the main axis of the palace deviates slightly from the precise north-to-south orientation found in the others; however, for the purposes of this paper, the orientation of the palace at Zakros will be treated as though it, too, were exactly north to south.

Despite the customary characteristics, the palace at Zakros had certain unique features, dictated by such factors as adaptation to the landscape and climate, the use of local building materials, the nature of its relation to other political centers, and conditions existing at the time of its construction and renovation. Since the part of the main section and the annexes already revealed occupies at least 6,000 square meters, and the palace areas of Phaistos and Mallia are not much over 9,000 square meters, the difference in scale between Zakros and those palaces is probably not significant.[85] It cannot, of course, be compared to the peerless palace of Knossos which is over three times as large. The central court at Zakros, considerably smaller than that of any of the other palaces, is about one-third the size of the one at Knossos.[86] Nevertheless, though

inferior in size, in charm this palace is certainly comparable if not superior to Knossos.

Construction Materials

Local materials were used for most of the construction, while rarer or harder kinds of stone were restricted to more important areas; limestone was abundant and was used for basement walls.[27] Unbaked mud bricks made of local clay were used in upper floors and interior wall partitions.[28] Extensive cypress forests provided a relatively convenient source of timber; cypress beams were incorporated within walls in order to make them more elastic in the event of earthquakes. Cypress was used for columns, piers, door and window framing, ceilings, and roofs.[29] On some of the floors at Zakros, tiles or burned bricks were combined to simulate carpets; synthetic substances may have been used on the floors of official halls.[30]

Undisturbed Remains

As excavation at Zakros progressed, an important fact became evident: the palace had escaped plundering and was only slightly disturbed. Storerooms, various compartments, repositories, and treasuries with practically all their contents remained as they had been on the day of the destruction. A great deal of household equipment which had fallen from the upper floors was lying where it had fallen; most of the valuable objects were still in their original

positions. Tools lay where they were being used on that day, and raw materials and unfinished artifacts were found in the workshops; the finished products were still in the storerooms.

All evidence pointed to a sudden and terrible catastrophe which caused the buildings to collapse and burn. Many traces of this violent conflagration could be seen throughout the palace. The people living in it barely had enough time to collect their more valuable portable possessions and escape. They never came back to retrieve what was left of their riches or to reconstruct the palace and re-inhabit it. The fact that there is no indication of a reoccupation of the palace seems curious, since there is evidence of resettlement in the town on the southwestern hill, where a few houses were rebuilt after 1380 B.C.E.[31] One must assume that following the destruction the area of the palace was considered sacred and inviolable, perhaps under a type of taboo.

As an unpillaged palace of the Late Bronze Age, Zakros is unique. All the other great Minoan and Mycenaean palaces had been robbed and stripped of their treasures long before their discovery by archaeologists. Only the palace of Zakros can provide an adequate picture of the equipment of a royal Aegean household of the second millennium B.C.E.[32]

Main Street

The main approach-road to the palace was from the sea; as yet, neither this road nor the main entrance to the palace have been completely excavated. A second approach-road from the south linked the palace with the southern quarters of the town, which extended over the slopes of the Hagios Antonias hill.

Configuration of the City

Because exploration was concentrated upon the total disclosure of the Zakros palace, large-scale excavation of the town has not, as yet, been possible. However, from the quarters brought to light during the first two years of the excavation (1962-1963) and the further disclosure of the buildings occupying the north slope from 1967 on, one may draw important conclusions concerning the configuration of this modest city.[33] The general layout was the same as at Palaikastro, with the houses forming extensive blocks, each consisting of three or four dwellings connected in a complicated system, with façades along the main arteries or the lanes branching from these.[34] But the need to adapt the arrangement on the hill slopes and then in the flat area extending toward the beaches gave this town as a whole a different pattern, surely extremely picturesque in its variety of houses descending the slopes and dominating the zone of the main harbor.[35] The famous "town mosaic" found at Knossos, with its variety of multicolored façades, very

characteristically represented in the numerous small faïence tiles, provides an indication of such a town.

From the other palace centers one can infer that the largest, most important, and best-constructed houses formed the immediate environment of the main palace building. Some of these were designated as dwellings of high officials of the palace or of members of the priesthood. The upper classes evidently preferred to live in the vicinity of the palace. This assumption explains why, at Zakros, as at the other centers, the houses nearest the palace are larger and more magnificent than those at some distance from the palace (Figure 84). The number of rooms, distributed on two or more stories, was considerable; judging by what was preserved of its ground floor, one of the houses of the south hill must have had thirty to forty rooms.[36]

Of the system of roads of the town of Zakros, only a small part has been revealed. The artery that led from the north beach of the harbor at a slightly oblique angle to the general orientation of the palace was certainly one of the most important. Only the final section of this road, near the main entrance on the northwest, has been disclosed; its pavement was renewed every time partial repairs were needed, and the repaving has obscured the original arrangement.[37] The buildings on both sides of this harbor street were entirely adapted to it. We can assume that there was a main artery leading west from the entrance of the east wing of

the palace to the main part of the harbor zone; further excavation is necessary to confirm this hypothesis.

Central Court of the Palace

Upon entering the great central court of the palace, one was confronted by the four high plain façades of the palace blocks. The façade of the west wing was faced with carefully-hewn blocks of tufa and three wide doors, which were doubtless ornamented, and a row of double windows.[37] The special feature of the wall on the east side of the court was a series of stepped passages flanked by pillars and columns, which formed a small pillared hall on the ground floor.[38] The north front of the court gave access to private apartments, which one entered through a sort of reception-room, an anteroom with two columns.[39] This wing of the palace rose in terraces up the side of the north hill. On the south side of the central court a wide opening led to a separate block of buildings. Thus, the central court acted as the organizing nucleus of layout and an arena, possibly, for ritual sports.[40]

The West Wing

The most instructive way of embarking upon a "tour" of the palace is to enter the public rooms of the west block, by crossing the monolithic threshold of one of its great doorways. The one on the left led into the first of the reception rooms, beyond which lay a small paved court

surrounded by columns.[41] The timbered ceiling was supported by an inner row of columns; a series of adjacent folding-doors (polythyra) enabled the room to be subdivided when required.[42] The floors of this court and of the adjoining room were covered with a special material--a Minoan "plastic"--hitherto unknown and possibly a byproduct of resin, and they were decorated with individual red stucco designs in meander and rectangular patterns.[43] A tripartite door led into the next room, the walls of which were decorated with a frieze of running spirals in low relief; this room presumably served as a dining-room, as ten amphorae for wine and eight smaller jugs were found there.[44]

Immediately behind the public rooms in the west block are the smaller rooms of the so-called "sacred precinct," they can be identified by the sacral niches and the low stone bench.[45] A very large number of libation vessels (rhyta) in terra cotta were found here. In the same area was the lustral bath, to which one descended by a short flight of steps.[46] On the floor of this bath lay a magnificent vase of veined marble; the bold, imaginative design of the two large handles, which begin at the middle of the vessel curve around to meet the upper of the two rims, and make it one of the most beautiful vessels in the palace.[47] Objects consecrated to the worship of a goddess were found on the floor of the treasury of the shrine in chest-like containers, which were divided into compartments by partitions of unpolished tiles coated with plaster.[48]

Wonderful things came to light from these chests: a complete collection of the most attractive vases of alabaster, veined marble, basalt, red marble and other types of stone, tall libation chalices of such remarkably contrasted workmanship that it is difficult to believe they are made of even harder material, for example, of molted obsidian, a crystalline volcanic rock.[49] A particularly fine and rare piece is the small rhyton of rock crystal; its elegant handle is made of crystal beads which were held together by a bronze wire.[50] Among the other objects found were water-jugs and ritual alabaster jugs, delicately fluted vessels, ritual hammers in colored marble which were employed as sacred symbols, faïence vases moulded into the shape of bull's or lion's heads, and finally, large bronze double axes.[51] One of the largest bronze double axes is covered with finely incised floral motifs.[52]

In the same area of the palace is the archive room; here clay tablets inscribed in Linear A were found.[53] Another interesting discovery was a storeroom containing piles of raw materials.[54] The magazines in the west block were situated partly in cellars, where the great earthenware storage vessels stood along the walls.[55] Amphorae were used to store wine; they were fitted with a number of handles and magnificently ornamented with floral motifs or with all kinds of fish, or simply with spiral designs.[56] Other magazines were used for storing smaller vessels such as jugs, cups, beakers and bowls, almost all of which are

delicately and elegantly ornamented. Six copper ingots, each weighing 65 pounds, had fallen from a magazine on the first floor to the ground floor.[57] This copper had been imported from Cyprus (possibly Enkomi), while four enormous elephant-tusks, for the production of ivory objects, had come from Syria. Various ivory objects were found in the palace.[58]

The North Block

A large room in the north block seems to have served as a kitchen and dining room. The ceiling was supported by six wooden columns, the bases of which were excavated.[59] That this must have been used as a kitchen would seem to follow the fact that the bones of large and small animals, whose flesh had been cooked, were discovered here. An enormous cooking-pot was still standing on the ashes in the fireplace.[60] Two of the small adjoining rooms were full of cooking-pots and kitchen utensils.[61] This Cretan palace kitchen at Zakros is the first to have been found complete with equipment (Figure 85).

A Dye-House

The west block had been extended to accommodate workshops. One of these was a dye-house, where the liquid colors were produced in a row of tubs.[62] Zakros appears to have specialized in murex-fishing and dyeing.[63] So, perhaps the Phoenicians learned their famous handicraft from the

Minoans of Zakros.[64] A staircase leads from these workshops to the first floor, which was connected by three other staircases with the upper floors of the west block.[65]

The East Block

The royal apartments were discovered when the east block was excavated. In the usual Minoan style these were designed as megara with light wells and a polythyron (a continuous series of doors).[66] Nevertheless, these royal apartments differ in certain particulars from the palaces known hitherto. For instance, adjoining a series of private apartments there is a square room in the middle of which is a circular cistern, a sort of swimming pool, with spring water still bubbling out of it.[67] Eight steps lead down to the basin which was originally colonnaded; two of the bases of the columns are in the basin itself.[68] Two other carefully designed springs were found on the south side of the great square room.[69] Eleven steps led down to one of them, while the other was reached by way of an underground passage.[70] A well with a flight of eight steps was situated in another room in the southern corner of the palace; it was fitted with a wooden windlass.[71] At the bottom of the well a number of small dishes were found, which had contained various foodstuffs.[72] It must be assumed that the occupants of the palace, horror-stricken at the disaster which had befallen them, had thrown these down as votive offerings to some chthonic goddess. One dish contained olives, the pulp

of which had been remarkably well preserved by the water.[73] A room of the north-east sector of the palace had been designed as a bathroom but had later been turned into a lustral bath, as there were frescoes on the walls showing ritual horns and altars.[74] Its special features were the gypsum benches and the short, slender columns on high pedestals.[75]

The South Block

In the south block a second complex of magazines and workshops was discovered. In one of the magazines large quantities of domestic utensils were found, particularly kitchenware and vessels for storing solid and liquid supplies: jugs, casks, amphorae, buckets, sieves, cooking-pots, cooking-ovens, hot-plates, and the like.[76] Part of the workshop area may have been used for the production of perfume from local plants.[77] Other objects found in the workshop area were of bronze: several bronze vessels, sheets of bronze, parts of vessels, such as legs and handles of caldrons.[78] Several bronze jugs, ladles, and complete caldrons were, likewise, found (Figure 86).[79] In one section, rock crystal had been used; pieces of it lay scattered around, some in the crude state and some already partially worked.[80] Some of the small crystal cores had been shaped into spherical heads for long pins.[81] Stone vases were produced here; some magnificent pieces were found, among them a particularly fine red marble (porphyry)

lamp decorated with a wreath of leaves in low relief.[82] Bird-nest vases were made of dark stone.[83] Artifacts of various faïence vessels were found in the workshop area, indicating that another form of handicraft was practiced; certain fragments in faïence, of a flattened conical shape resembling the skirts of the Snake Goddess of Knosses, suggest that manufacture was carried on here.[83]

Linear A

The discovery of the Linear A tablets at Zakros has great historical importance, since relatively few specimens have been found. The largest collection, that from Phaistos, consists of about 150 tablets, of which nearly a third are fragmentary.[84] The tablets from Phaistos are basically identical in shape, script, syllabary, and ideograms with those at Zakros and were used for writing the same language, in spite of minor differences in individual signs and a less frequent use of composite signs at Zakros.[85] Phaistos, Knossos, Tylissos, Mallia, and Palaikastro have yielded very few such tablets, but some examples from the earlier palace at Phaistos show an early form of Linear A, called proto-linear, indicating that this type of writing had already been invented during the Middle Bronze Age.[86] Sporadic discoveries of Linear A tablets at various sites indicates that the same script and same language were used in both central and eastern Crete as early as the initial years of the Late Bronze Age.[87]

Although detailed study of the tablets discovered at Zakros has not yet been completed, it is clear that the records were connected with the administration of the shrine.[88] The symbol of the double axes actually occurs on one of the tablets (Figure 87).[89] Preliminary observations, moreover, suggest that the syllabary used at Zakros is closer typologically than that of the Hagia Triada tablets to the Linear B script used during the following period at Knossos, specifically for writing the Greek language.[90] This may mean that a writing system similar to that of Zakros was used at Knossos just before that date, which, if true, would lend further support to the hypothesis of a very close contact between the two palaces.[91] The royal character of the archives explains why Linear A ceased to be used when Minoan domination ended with the general destruction of the palace centers in 1450 B.C.E. Linear B, which replaced the earlier scripts at Knossos, is wholly unrelated to older Minoan tradition and in the Mycenaean palaces was used exclusively by a specialized class of scribes.[92]

Linear A was, likewise, utilized for inscriptions, chiefly on ritual vessels and more rarely in a brief form on grave monuments.[93] Occasionally a pithos is inscribed, perhaps in order to label its contents, origin, and destination. One such pithos, found in the Minoan mansion near Ano Zakros, bears the longest known inscription, consisting of twenty-six signs.[94] Later vase inscriptions

of a dedicatory or commercial character, mostly giving names, were written in Linear B and are most often found on stirrup jars, which were frequently used for the transportation of imported and exported liquids in mainland Greece. Most of these jars have a Cretan provenance, and may even be from Zakros.[95]

The archives of the shrine at Zakros, like those of other sites, deal with accounts. Almost all the tablets preserved bear numbers enumerating or evaluating objects which were usually indicated by ideograms. The transliteration of these texts can be done with some certainty, for many of the signs anticipate those of Linear B.[96] The meaning, however, still remains a mystery, as does that of other tablets in Linear A.

Four scripts seem to have existed at different times and places in Bronze Age Crete. They were an early hieroglyphic form associated with seal stones; two linear scripts largely preserved on clay tablets which have been hardened during the burning down of buildings (Linear A and Linear B); and the picture-like signs, printed with wooden stamps, on the spiral inscription of the clay Phaistos Disc.

The art of writing, as well as that of seal engraving, may have been introduced from Syria to Crete about the third millennium B.C.E.[97] Disturbances in Syria caused by the arrival of invaders from Asia Minor could have encouraged overseas migration, though it is by no means uncertain that the idea of engraving was simply imported to meet local

needs. A quickening of Cretan civilization was then taking place; the earliest evidence for writing in Crete is on stone seals and their clay impressions. These signs Evans named "hieroglyphic" or "pictographic," and noted resemblances between some of them and the oldest Egyptian script; in Scripta Minoa, Evans argued that pictographs were once widely diffused. Most likely is the theory that the first spread of writing (or of signs derived from it) may have taken place in religious contexts; writing was probably copied for magical purposes, often perhaps without it being understood.[98]

Hieroglyphic script was succeeded at places like Phaistos and Knossos before 1700 B.C.E. by a linear script, which may have developed from it.[99] The first volume of The Palace of Minos at Knossos (published in 1921), contains a section entitled "Linear Script A and is Sacral Usage;" here Evans commented on the restricted use of Linear B (detected only on the clay tablets from Knossos), whereas Linear A was employed for inscriptions on other objects, and especially those with a religious function.

Linear A appears to have been written in the language of the Eteocretans (the "true Cretans"). By 1600 B.C.E., however, Linear A must have been employed by the priestly scribes over a large part of Crete.[100] Evans' observation about the frequency of Linear A in dedications remains valid; archaeology has not dislodged the Linear A script from its position as the tongue of the "priest-kings."

Linear B was probably an intruder into Crete from mainland Greece. Fifty-four of the Linear A signs were used in Linear B.

The existing Linear A tablets seem to consist almost entirely of business documents or accounts. Many tablets begin with a single sign group, probably denoting the principle person concerned, followed by one termed "the transaction sign," indicating the nature of the business, and by a series of signs followed by numbers, indicating either individual commodities in a single consignment or individual contributions (whether of persons or places) to a single transaction, referred to as the subsidiaries.[101] The whole list may be followed by a total sign group followed by a number.[102]

Linear A script was probably invented for writing in ink or paint, not on clay, for which Mesopotamian cuneiform is far more suitable.[103] It cannot be suggested that the Cretans had not thought of cuneiform since they were in regular communication during the Late Bronze Age with Ras Shamra, where cuneiform writing was normal. Many of the clay sealings from Crete (including Zakros) have traces of thin threads which appear to have been the letters of the papyrus documents to which the seal had been applied; correspondence between different parts of Crete was, undoubtedly, widespread.[104]

Inscriptions in Linear A are few and a good many are damaged. Although there is no agreement as to the language

inscribed, several scholars have advanced interesting interpretations. There has been much discussion about the linguistic origins and affinities of this transliterated Minoan language. Some scholars, such as Cyrus Gordon, believe it to be of Semitic origin.[105] Others, like Leonard Robert Palmer, think it to be Luwian, an Anatolian language with Indo-European affinities; some philologists relate it to such unfortunately little-known Mediterranean languages as Etruscan, Carian, and Lycian.[106] Perhaps this riddle will be solved and the meaning of the archives at Zakros revealed if more written records are later brought to light through continued excavation. In contrast to the thousands of texts in Linear B, those known in Linear A number only a few score. For this reason, the fact that even fifteen more have already been found at Zakros has caused great excitement among those concerned with the decipherment of texts in the Minoan language.[107]

The tablets, in sum, have provided significant supplementary information, some of it novel, but our basic source is still the material remains in the "reconstruction" of Zakros. Perhaps the most important contribution of these tablets is to reinforce the implications regarding the distribution of power inherent in the archaeology. Indeed, it can be argued that the needs of a centralized administration were a far greater impetus to the development of wiring, among the Sumerians (cuneiform) as in Crete, than intellectual or spiritual needs. During the final phases of

the Middle Bronze Age in Crete there was a rapid increase in human and natural resources and a concentration, both socially and geographically, of the power to employ them.[108] Otherwise the great palace complexes (beginning in the Middle Bronze Age and spanning the Late Bronze Age) could neither have been built nor functioned. There is not one Linear A tablet which indicates buying or selling of commodities; there may not even be the words for either activity.[109] On the other hand, there seem to be numerous inventories, ration lists, and lists of personnel. The implication is that the entire society was operated from the palace-center, which organized the internal economy in every detail administratively, distributing people and goods, from the raw materials to the finished products, without the use of money or of a market-mechanism.[110]

Commercial Relations

The establishment of a palace at Zakros and the transformation of the rather unimportant settlement into a palace center must have been motivated not so much by the need to utilize vital local resources as by a desire to create a well-organized harbor from which to control maritime trade and strengthen commercial relations with the ancient Near East and Egypt. There is ample evidence for trade with Egypt. For archaeology, the contacts between Egypt and the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age are vital to chronology. The splendid oenochoe with a decoration of

painted nautiluses found in Egypt, and now in the Museum of Marseilles, was almost certainly made in the palace of Zakros, probably by the same artist who produced an identical oenochoe discovered in the storerooms of the west wing.[111] Zakros must have been the point of departure of the Kefti embassies, shown in wall paintings in the tombs of the high Egyptian magistrates during the reigns of Queen Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, carrying gifts to the pharaohs (Figure 88). Numerous of these objects borne by the Cretan envoys are identical with examples found in the palace treasuries: namely, rhytons, molded vases, marvelous jugs, kraters, necklaces, and so forth. The most representative scenes are those in the tombs of Senmut, User-Amon, Rekhmire, and Menkheperreseneb.[112] On the walls of the tomb of Rekhmire, visier under Thutmose III (1504-1450 B.C.E.), these visitors are labelled "men of Keftiu and the Islands;" they were intended to be Minoans from Crete, and their allies from other Aegean islands.[113] All of the envoys are wearing decorated kilts reminiscent of those in the fresco along the Corridor of Procession at Knossos; when the paintings of Rekhmire's tomb were being cleaned several years ago it was discovered that the figures of the "men of Keftiu and the Islands" had been altered.[114] Originally, it seems that the envoys had been painted with cod-pieces.[115] The change in fashion must have been important enough in the eyes of the Egyptian artist to merit record; none of the other foreigners shown bringing gifts of tribute were

repainted.[116] What does this alteration of dress mean? This change of superimposed painting from the Cretan codpiece to a costume of Mycenaean fashion has been interpreted by some scholars as reflecting the replacement of a Minoan by a Mycenaean dynasty at Knossos.[117] Further evidence for this theory is found in the fact that in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, dating from the later half of the fifteenth century B.C.E., the Kefti were painted wearing the new fashion.[118] These changes in style of dress, together with the typology of the objects brought as gifts, provide corroborative evidence for dating the final destruction of the Minoan centers at 1450 B.C.E. and the final phase of Mycenaean rule at Knossos to the years between 1450 and 1380 B.C.E.[119] The final date was recently verified by a comparison of the latest pottery in the destruction levels of the palace at Knossos with the definitely dated Minoan pottery at Amarna, the capital city of Akhenaton.[120]

The dispatch of artifacts to Egypt as "gifts" must have been a form of commercial exchange, as the deputies would bring back to Crete such valuable materials as gold, alabaster, basalt, and diorite, presented as "gifts" in return.[121] That commerce could assume the form of gift-exchange is attested in the correspondence found at Amarna, dating from the second third of the fourteenth century B.C.E.[122]

The Kefti are reported as transhipping cedar wood from Lebanon to Egypt, where this indispensable material was used

in architecture, as well as in making various housewares, sarcophagi, and river boats.[183] The Minoans may have acted as intermediaries in the transfer trade in copper and elephant tusks, the former from Cyprus, the latter from Syria.[184] This would account for the materials that the Kefti of the Egyptian tomb paintings carry in their hands or over their shoulders.

Exports and Imports

Since lumber was in such demand in Egypt, exports from the bay of Zakros would be expected to include trunks of huge cypresses, of which great forests have been proved to have existed in Crete. That such forests were abundant in mountainous Sitia is evidenced by the extensive use of wood, mainly cypress, in construction of almost all the buildings of the Late Bronze Age period, and of the palaces in particular.[185] Among the ten saws for cutting wood found in the palace of Zakros itself the longer ones had handles on both ends so that the sawing could be expedited by two people working together.[186] Enormous rectangular structures on the south coast of the bay of Zakros could have been used for temporary storage and partial preparation of logs before they were loaded onto the ships.[187] Part of a quay probably used for loading wood was revealed on this section of the coast many years ago; logs could have been brought down from the mountains by rolling them into the torrent that rushed down through the ravine.

Oil and fine wines were produced in great quantities in the region of Sitia, as is indicated by the numerous storage pithoi found at the palace and in other buildings of the harbor; these liquids must have been exported.[128] Special jars with a narrow mouth that could be sealed would have been needed for the transportation of these liquids, and the popularity of the so-called stirrup jar which was first produced in the Late Bronze Age must be attributed to the fact that this container met the requirements.

Aromatic oils from herbs native to Crete were in great demand throughout Egypt and the ancient Near East.[129] These were prepared in special workshops like those of the south wing of the palace of Zakros. Extracts of herbs were used in Egypt mainly for the embalming of the dead.[130] Another substance indispensible in embalming was resin, which was derived from either cedars or pines and which, according to Egyptian sources, was brought by Kefti ships.[131] The existence of cedars in Crete during early times is attested by the name Kedros (cedar) applied to a branch of the mountain ranges of the Ida.[132] Pines must have been more common, as they are today in the region of the Aegean, and would have been the source of great quantities of resin. The possible use of resin in the preparation of a synthetic substance for coating floors in the palace of Zakros has already been mentioned.

The Minoans did not have to bring food or building materials from abroad; they possessed wood, stone, and land

enough at home. The wealth and splendor of the palace at Zakros could only be supported through the production of great surpluses and the employment of an enormous work force. V. Gordon Childe has commented on the relatively large areas occupied by magazines and workshops in Minoan palaces implying surplus products used for trade, and draws the conclusion: "in other words the priest-king's economic power must to a quite high degree have depended on secondary industry and commerce as contrasted with agricultural production."[133]

How did the Cretans pay for the copper, gold, ivory, and other items they had to import? Woolen cloth is now offered as at least part of the answer.[134] And, it is true that the Keftiu represented on Egyptian frescoes sometimes carry folded cloths.

The bay at Zakros, due to its location and its safety, was ideal for the establishment of a maritime base. The term "maritime base" naturally did not have the connotations it has today. The first maritime bases in Venice and Genoa were adapted to the needs of armed ships which also carried merchandise. At the peak of Minoan power there was no real threat from the sea. Egyptian ships had no reason to come out of the Nile, and their sailors probably lacked the temerity to do so; the various Asiatic peoples had no ambition to spread over the eastern Mediterranean. The Phoenicians did not become sea-oriented until after the Minoans were settled on their coasts, especially at Ugarit,

and relations between these two peoples seem always to have been peaceful. Minoan penetration into the Cyclades was achieved, likewise, in a peaceful manner. The Minoans' only serious rival was the constantly growing power of Mycenae.

Social Organization

Speculation and imagination still play an uncomfortably large role in any attempt to reconstruct Minoan society. It is difficult, at present, to make precise statements concerning the social organization at Zakros due to the nature of the evidence. Cretan society throughout its course rested upon an agrarian economy combined with the manufacture of tools, weapons, and commodities by specialist artisans and craftsmen. There were distinct inequalities in wealth and status, with more privileged person's living in palaces and villas as compared with the humbler dwellings of artisans and peasants. Minoan society in the Late Bronze Age, even before there was any marked degree of Mycenaean influence, was beginning to assume certain characteristics which can be observed elsewhere at a comparable stage of Late Bronze Age social evolution among peoples as diverse as the Chinese, Hittites, Egyptians, and Achaeans.[135] We may say that these general characteristics included a marked turn in the direction of militarism, a more rigidly hierarchical social system with the cultivators obliged to render services and tribute to the central authority and,

perhaps, the coercion and exploitation of overseas communities.[136]

The expansive economy of the period not only led to the construction of the great palaces (like Zakros) but also of harbors, bridges, roads, and aqueducts.[137] How was the labor force necessary for these immense tasks supplied? We may suppose that at least domestic slavery had been instituted in the palace households. But it is much more difficult to imagine a labor force of slaves in sufficient number for the construction and maintenance of palaces and public works. A more likely solution is that the peasantry of the surrounding villages were obliged to contribute labor services for such purposes at specified periods.[138] After the initial technical advances were made in Crete, stagnation seems to have set in and remain until the end of the Late Bronze Age; improvements in technology were not made, because there was an ample supply of cheap human labor, as communal relations among the peasantry became transformed into tributary relations.[139] If we suppose that the great public works of the Late Bronze Age were executed by the labor services of the peasants, this does not deny that slavery existed, but the role of slavery in Late Bronze Age economies, though difficult to assess, was probably by no means decisive.[140]

Thus, the Cretan Late Bronze Age cities, contemporary with the Syrian, shared many of their characteristics, not only in the purely technical field, but in other ways, such

as in all probability, the exacting of labor services from the peasantry, the levying of tributes of various kinds, and the organization of craftsmen into guilds.[141] Such tendencies are certainly confirmed in later Greek tradition.

The king at Zakros must have exercised great control not only as leader of the armed forces but also as the viceroy of the gods.[142] The king, therefore, was the chief executive officer in every department of the "city state:" civil, military, and religious. Many centuries after the abolition of kings as civil magistrates or generals in the field, cities such as Athens and Rome continued to appoint kings as priests to perform those rites which kings could only perform.

The development of cities such as Zakros created a demand for luxury industries which no longer exists in modern Crete and scarcely existed there even during the classical period. Besides the ordinary craftsmen, such as coppersmiths, masons, carpenters, potters, and the unskilled labor employed by them, and the food producers, such as the farmers, herdsmen, shepherds, hunters, and fishermen, or distributing agents, we also find a number of purely luxury craftsmen, such as the gemcutter, the fresco painter, the ivory carver, the goldsmith, the faïence manufacturer, and the maker of stone vases, who handled not only soft stones but also much harder materials such as crystal and basalt.[143] The close association of these luxury trades with the palace is exemplified in the workshops at Zakros.

Furthermore, a theocratic city-state, such as the city-kingdom of Zakros appears to have been, must have employed a large number of men and women as priests and priestesses, scribes, and acolytes or attendants of some sort or another in the service of the city cults of the "Mother-Goddess," the Cretan Zeus, and other deities. It is impossible even to guess at the number, but the proportion of religious to secular officials must have been analogous to that in Egypt, and their power and influence no less than that of the Egyptian priests.[144]

The great palaces (as at Zakros), like the temples of the ancient Near East, served a whole variety of purposes. They were not merely the dwelling-places of the ruling-families and their retinues or large administrative centers, but also factories and warehouses. There is a radical difference, however, in the sense that the theocratic domination gives place to a sense of commercial enterprise; so that the magazines of workshops are proportionately more conspicuous and take up a relatively larger area than those in the temples of Erech and Lagash, for example.[145] Therefore, it seems legitimate to conclude that fewer of their contents and products were absorbed as needs of the household, a larger proportion being used for trade derived from industry as compared with agricultural production.[146] As in the Anatolian centers, royal administrative dwellings were combined with sacerdotal dwellings. Temple did not dominate palace, as in Egypt.

Enigmatic Metal Sources

One of the more intriguing problems of Minoan industry is the identification of the sources from which the island derived its metals, since the native supplies were not rich. The scanty silver possessed at Zakros may have come from the Cyclades.[147] The Minoan upper classes seem to have possessed a fair quantity of gold, but they had no good local supply and must have imported Nubian gold through their trade with Egypt. It has frequently been suggested that the copper ores of Crete were worked in Minoan times, but the positive evidence for such working is slight; the copper ingots in the palace at Zakros came from Cyprus.[149] Tin may have come from Crisa, which would explain the early Cretan connections with the Delphi district.[150]

Cretan Armor

On the whole the Minoans seems to have been a peaceful folk. In contrast to the Mycenaeans, scenes of combat are rare. The defensive armor of Crete during the Late Bronze Age included a full body shield with a figure-of-eight outline (Figure 89). The Cretans had several forms of helmet during the Late Bronze Age. The simplest form seems to have consisted of a cap made from a single sheet of metal and is illustrated by a sealing from Zakros depicting a conical helmet with earguards, a long, narrow appendage presumably representing a chinstrap, and a short upright spike on a peak, probably for the attachment of a plume.[151]

The weapon of defense was the spear; the sword was a rapier adapted for thrusting only and incapable of guarding except by skill (Figure 90).[152]

Function of the Palace

The architecture of the city of Zakros divulges something of its social structure. The plan of the palace itself bears witness to the existence of state functionaries as well as members of the court: it tells us that the palace was the focal point of a highly stratified society. The complexity of the organization required to control the elaborate redistribution system based on the magazines and the workshops is reflected in the inscribed tablets and sealings. A bureaucracy was needed to keep check on the commodities belonging to the king. Scribes noted receipts and disbursements in Linear A, thus insuring the maintenance of the social order and the continuation of the religious ceremonies. Other than the specialist craftsmen in the palace, there were probably resident priests and priestesses whose task it was to assist the king in his priestly functions.

Cretan Women

The position of women in the Cretan community seems to have been particularly fortunate. Women went unveiled in <u>décolleté</u> dresses and mixed freely with the men, especially at the public festivals. Women danced in public (virtually

"topless") before men, and took part in sporting events. The dominance of the "Mother-Goddess" in Minoan belief meant that women were involved in rites and ceremonies. Priestesses would have enjoyed high social standing and, undoubtedly, exercised influence in courtly matters. Perhaps the queen as high priestess was superior in status to everyone but her own husband.

Was Zakros a Theocracy?

Zakros would appear, therefore, to have been governed by a "paternal theocracy."[153] The proletariat probably had few or no political rights and was heavily taxed; there was probably a top-heavy upper class of princes, nobles, and priests, and a very small middle class.[154] There must have been a fair number of slaves, but surely not a majority of the population.[155]

Sir Arthur Evans' theory of the theocratic organization of the Cretan "city-states" and his interpretation of the palaces as sacred precincts have often been considered to owe more to his lively imagination than to actual evidence, although most scholars have recognized that religion played a special role in the entirety of Cretan life. Howbeit, evidence from Zakros seems to confirm Evans' view that a function of the palaces was a religious one and that the palaces played an important role in the religious life of the people.

Religion at Zakros

Worship was carried out chiefly in the palaces, with the west wing essentially consigned to the shrine and other chambers devoted to cultic observances. Ceremonies were held in specially designed halls, but, at Zakros, as well as the other palaces, the public witnessed them from the courts and the spaces of the enclosures. On such occasions the small altar in front of the main entrance to the west wing was probably used. Religious structures were crowned with symbolic horns of consecration, and sacred double axes were mounted on stepped bases; many of these have been preserved at Zakros. The shrine, where images and sacred symbols were placed for ceremonies on the high podium within a wall niche, was accessible only to the priesthood and to the king who headed the religious hierarchy.[156] Purification of those taking part in a religious ceremony, probably with the sprinkling of "holy water," would have taken place in the lustral basin.[157]

Religious rituals required considerable equipment. Some was used in preliminary preparations, including braziers and incense burners to perfume the spaces, little basins and sprinkling vessels for purification, "flowerpots," and so forth. Vessels used for offerings included ritual jugs and rhytons of various forms by libations, fruit stands and kernoi for first fruits and produce, and special incense burners. For blood offerings, cone-shaped pails known as

"samnia" were utilized, as well as transportable altars.[157] Examples of all these have been found at Zakros.

One of the many rituals must have been the transmission of the sacred communion in special chalices. Four of these communion vessels, beautifully shaped and carved from valuable stone, were found in the shrine's treasury.[158] A general idea of the communion ceremony can be derived from the various representations found in wall paintings and on seal stones. The ritual, moreover, was preserved in later mystery cults, chiefly the Eleusinian Mysteries; the ritual survives in Christian liturgy today.[159] The exact nature of the communion liquid remains unknown; perhaps it was a mixture of many liquids, like the Eleusinian kykeon.[160]

Perhaps the Cretan ritual, likewise, included the consumption of a part of the sacrificial bull which represented the male deity (possibly Zeus), thus securing temporary participation in his divine essence. Such a ritual is familiar in Dionysiac worship in the so-called "tearing asunder rite" (diaspasmoi), when the victim, who was identified with the god, was torn to pieces and a part consumed by the frenzied maenads.[161]

Naturally it is difficult to specify the exact rituals conducted in the large formal halls of the west wing at the palace; however, the fact that two of the most valuable ritual vessels (the bull's head rhyton and the sanctuary rhyton) were found in the largest hall (the colonnaded hall of ceremonies), cannot be considered as lacking in

significance.[162] The identification of one of the halls as the banquet hall does not preclude its use for ritual purposes. Throughout the ancient Mediterranean world sacred banquets and dinners are known to have been related to ceremonies during which parts of sacrificed animals were consumed and sanctified wine was drunk. The drinking of wine is closely related to Dionysiac worship, the roots of which are now being sought in Crete.[163]

Zakros does not contain crypts with a central rectangular pillar; these crypts have been found in all the other palaces. Worship in the crypts took the form of bloody and bloodless sacrifices; the absence of such crypts at Zakros does not necessarily imply any fundamental difference in ritual. At Zakros the underground areas where water seeped up, such as the spring chamber and the well of the fountain, may have served the same purpose as the crypts.[164] Worship in crypts, in any case, seems to have been connected with chthonic deities.

The tripartite peak sanctuary shown on the sanctuary rhyton is undoubtedly a representation of a royal structure, judging both from its impressive effect and from the artistic quality of the vessel on which it appears.[165] Peak sanctuaries built on heights near the other large palaces, also, seem to be royal.[166] Thus, the peak sanctuary must have had a definite relation to the religious life of the palace. Apparently pilgrimages from the palace to the peak sanctuary took place on prescribed days; these may have been

combined with processions of worshippers carrying offerings.[167]

The Cretan pantheon evidently consisted of only a few divinities which were portrayed in various forms. Only a few images recognizable as probably representing divinities were found at Zakros; a few general conclusions about the deities can be drawn from other representations. Religious scenes appear on a series of sealings.[168] These scenes make it clear that the religious pantheon of Zakros is identical to that of other Cretan sites for the Late Bronze Age period the only difference being that the representations are of a more daemonic world at Zakros. The "Mother-Goddess" who controls the animal kingdom appears in the form of the Mistress of Animals taming wild goats, the swift and undomesticated animals of the Cretan mountains. Attendant animals of the "Mother-Goddess" include lionesses and wild cats, the heads of which are copied in several rhytons in both faïence and terra cotta (Figure 91).[169] No representations of snake goddesses have been found at Zakros; their absence is probably due to the pure accident of preservation.[170] The sacredness of the bull, which is probably a manifestation of the male fertility god, is shown by the rhytons of chlorite, faïence, and terra cotta in the form of bulls' heads.[171]

In Cretan ceremonies stress seems to have been placed upon an epiphany, on the temporary appearance of a divinity in response to prayer, to sacrifice, or--most

characteristically, and originally Cretan--to ritual dancing.[172] In several scenes it is the ecstasy of the worshippers which is central rather than the god in person; indeed, the act of anticipation alone is frequently portrayed without the actual epiphany. The sites of the epiphany were a sacred tree, a pillar, or occasionally an architectural façade. Given this stress on the worshippers (on the human side of the relationship), it was appropriate that these scenes should be engraved on rings and seal stones.

The majority of the evidence for Cretan religion consists of such symbolic objects as the double axe and the so-called "horns of consecration."[173] The double axe, known as the labrys from the name current in Asia Minor, was the supreme symbol of Cretan religion.[174] The double axe may have symbolized the Mother Goddess; it is never seen in Crete in the hands of a god, but only appears as a tool in her cult. Labrys is obviously connected with labryinthos, yet scholars have argued that the double axe must be the symbol of the Cretan Zeus.[175] According to this view, the double axe is the representative of the sky-god. Though it is almost positive that Zeus Labraundos was a Hellenized version of the Hittite weather-god (Teshub), who is sometimes shown with a double axe, there is no evidence to support this claim, notwithstanding the possibility of Luwian influence on Crete.[176]

The labryns was originally the sacrificial axe.[177] In time, the double axe assumed a sacred importance of its own: the divine spirit inhabited it, making the bronze implement the image of the divinity.[178] However, its exact sacrificial role in Late Bronze Age Crete cannot easily be established. Nevertheless, the widespread distribution of the labrys as a sacred symbol, implement, and weapon, serves to remind us of the very foundation of Cretan civilization: the use of bronze. Without bronze saws and chisels the stonemasons would have been unable to build the great alabaster-veneered palaces. Possibly the double axe was reverenced by the Cretans as a divine gift.[179] The "horns of consecration" are frequently combined with the double axe. Horns decorated the roofs of shrines as well as altars.[180] Various explanations, mostly unconvincing, have been offered for the "horns of consecration;" most plausibly, they are assumed to be derived from the horns of the sacred bull.

The Minoan view of death, and the cult of the dead, remains difficult to determine. The presence in the tombs of such objects as were used in daily life implies a belief in some existence after death. Offerings were made to the dead at their tombs from the Middle Bronze Age onwards, and it appears from the Hagia Triada sarcophagus that the dead man was summoned by some ritual to rise from his grave and partake of them.[181]

"What Mean These Stones?"

A curious gap in the Minoan mentality is the lack of historical sense. No picture exists of any scene which can be described as a record of an historical event. No inscriptions were put up on the palace walls or on the cliffs recording wars or expeditions or the reception of tribute.[182] Indeed, the inhabitants at Zakros never realized the possibilities of writing as decoration, which seems strange since they were in close contact with Egypt.[183] Therefore, we have been forced to decipher the history of Zakros from the material remains.

Zakros and Atlantis

Large parts of the city of Zakros still lie hidden under the ground. As the finds can be exactly dated, it has been established that the palace of Zakros was built in the seventeenth and early part of the sixteenth century B.C.E., that is in the Second Palace period of Knossos, Phaistos, and Mallia.[184] Zakros was, also, destroyed at the same time as the other three.[185] The disaster that struck the island was totally unexpected. The earth tremors were so violent that entire walls of squared stone blocks and burned tiles were dislodged before they crashed in ruins.[186] The earthquakes were followed by fire, which reduced the palace and the surrounding town to rubble and ashes.[187] In the opinion of Spyridon Marinatos, the destruction of the Cretan palaces was a direct consequence of the great volcanic

eruption of Thera, about 1450 B.C.E.[188] As the island burst open and the greater part of the volcano's crater was flooded, a gigantic tidal wave resulted, which swept over the Cretan coast opposite Santorini.[189] Large tracts of country along the coast were buried under a shower of ash.[190] The theory of Marinatos has been born out at Zakros, where the excavations revealed huge lumps of volcanic debris which had been flung across the eruption, a distance of some eighty miles.[191] That the eruption was preceded by earth tremors seems clear from the fact that in many workrooms at the palace of Zakros stonemasons and carpenters had left behind their tools. The account of the explosion of Thera, which had been recorded in the archives of an Egyptian high priest, later found its way through the agency of Solon, into Plato's Dialogues between Timaeus and Critias, as an account of the legendary island of Atlantis.

ENDNOTES

[1]Leonard von Matt, Ancient Crete (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), p. 163. In this chapter I wish to make it plain that if I use the terms Minoan people and language, I simply mean the people who lived in Crete during the Late Bronze Age and the language or languages they spoke; the Cretan population of the Late Bronze Age seems to have been of diverse origin and diverse speech. The term "Minoan" was coined by Sir Arthur Evans. Technically speaking, Late Bronze Age chronology concerning Zakros is called the Late Minoan I period and encompasses the specific dates of 1580-1450 B.C.E.

[2]The British School of Archaeology at Athens started to excavate in Crete in the nineteenth century; in the spring and summer of 1901 David George Hogarth excavated a Minoan settlement at Zakros. So, Richard W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 27.

[3]L. von Matt, Ancient Crete, p. 163.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid. Continuity of population is one of the strongest impressions which emerges from the study of Minoan tombs. Later burials of the Late Bronze Age were individual affairs but they represent no break in cultural tradition, for they did not abandon the prehistoric Mediterranean idea of the cave-like sepulchre. So, Arthur Cotterell, The Minoan World (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1979), p. 159.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Gustave Glotz, La civilisation égéene, 2nd ed., (Paris: Albin Michel, 1952). See Chapter V, "International Relations," pp. 197-226.

[10]The theory of Minoan supremacy was formulated by Sir Arthur Evans, but its most compact and sophisticated presentation was made by J. D. S. Pendlebury. Pendlebury argues for the Minoan thalassocracy in: J. D. S.

Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1963), pp. 285, ff. It should, however, be noted that Carl. W. Blegen and Alan J. B. Wace raise serious doubts about the widely accepted thesis of a "Minoan thalassocracy" in control of the entire eastern Mediterranean, especially as late as the destruction of the Cretan palaces; see, Idem., "Pottery as Evidence for Trade and Colonisation in the Aegean Bronze Age," Klio, 32 (1939), p. 136.

[11] J. Hawkes, Atlas of Ancient Archaeology, p. 129.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Nicholas Platon, Zakros (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), p. 79.

[16] Ibid., p. 82.

[17] Ibid.

[18] According to Thucydides (Book I), the Minoan kings of Crete were the first to build a fighting navy, and evidence points to the use of their fighting ships to clear the seas of pirates, allowing trade to flourish.

[19] L. von Matt, Ancient Crete, p. 164.

[20] N. Platon, Zakros, p. 82.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] L. von Matt, Ancient Crete, p. 166.

[24] N. Platon, Zakros, p. 83.

[25] Ibid.

[26] The central court at Zakros is 98 feet long in comparison to the 171 feet of Knossos. So, J. Hawkes, Atlas of Ancient Archaeology, p. 129.

[27] N. Platon. Zakros, p. 83.

[28] Ibid.

[29] L. von Matt, Ancient Crete, p. 166.

[30] N. Platon, Zakros, p. 85.

[31] Ibid., p. 88. It is possible to link the destruction of Zakros with the volcanic eruption of Thera; however, exaggerated claims of the effects of the Santorini disaster must be rejected. There are no signs of any long-term effects inland in Crete. Furthermore, scientists indicate that, heavy as the loss of life may have been, there were no natural consequences which need have prevented men from returning and settling immediately. Volcanic deposits often enhance the fertility of the soil. "The permanent abandonment of Kato Zakro must have had a social or political cause." So, M. I. Finley, Early Greece: The Bronze and Archaic Ages (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1970), p. 45.

[32] Extraordinary large amounts of pottery have been found at Zakros. To date, 3,500 vases have been found. See L. von Matt, Ancient Crete, p. 164.

[33] N. Platon, Zakros, p. 247.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., p. 248.

[36] Ibid.

[37] L. von Matt, Ancient Crete, p. 165.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] A. Cotterell, The Minoan World, p. 148.

[41] L. von Matt, Ancient Crete, p. 166.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] N. Platon, Zakros, pp. 170-173.

[45] Ibid., p. 124.

[46] Ibid., pp. 127, ff.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., pp. 133-148.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] For a photograph and a drawing of this exquisite double axe, see N. Platon, Zakros, p. 146.

[53] Ibid., pp. 148-154.

[54] L. von Matt, Ancient Crete, p. 166.

[55] Altogether fifty of these giant pithoi were found.

[56] L. von Matt, Ancient Crete, p. 166.

[57] N. Platon, Zakros, p. 117.

[58] For example, see the small ivory double axes from the workshop; N. Platon, Zakros, p. 131.

[59] Ibid., pp. 203-209.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] L. von Matt, Ancient Crete, p. 167.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] N. Platon, Zakros, pp. 174-184.

[67] Ibid., pp. 185-101.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid., pp. 192-199. Sacred springs presided over by a goddess were characteristic of the Minoan religion and continued into classical times when the deities of the springs were worshipped as the Nereids, as Herodotus tells us.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid. Especially see p. 196.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid., pp. 180-183.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., pp. 210-221.

[77] Ibid., p. 213.

[78] Ibid., p. 216.

[79] Ibid., p. 217.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid. These pins look like antique hat pins and were used for fastening garments, particularly about the shoulder.

[82] Ibid., p. 220.

[83] Ibid.

[84] M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, p. 31.

[85] Ibid., p. 32.

[86] Excavations at Phaistos suggest that Linear A was in use as early as 1850 B.C.E. So, Elizabeth Clutton and André Kenny, Crete (London: David and Charles, 1976), p. 80.

[87] David Packard, Minoan Linear A. (Berkeley: University of California, 1974). Most of these Linear A tablets are inventories and bear witness to the meticulous business methods of the Minoans. Lists of men and women are found, flocks and herds are numbered, vases and their contents, olive trees, and saffron.

[88] During Hogarth's excavations at Zakros a unique tablet was found, together with numerous sealings, in Building A-B on the northwest hill; the religious content of the seal impressions suggests that here, also, may have been an archive related to a shrine.

[89] For a photograph of this tablet see N. Platon, Zakros, p. 153.

[90] Ibid., p. 152. Also, see Alice Kober, "The Minoan Scripts: Fact and Theory," American Journal of Archaeology, 52 (1948), pp. 82-103.

[91] Ibid.

[92]Evidence for administrative use of Linear A has been found at twelve sites in Crete. At least eighteen sites in Crete provide evidence of the use of Linear A for religious purposes. The Linear A script apparently disappears from Crete after 1450 B.C.E. This disappearance of a multifaceted and widely used script, Linear A, bears witness to the profound changes in Cretan society during the transition from LMI to LMIII. So, Erik Hallager, "The Inscribed Stirrup Jars," American Journal of Archaeology, 91 (1987), p. 181.

[93]N. Platon, Zakros, p. 153.

[94]Ibid., p. 154.

[95]E. Hallager, "The Inscribed Stirrup Jars," pp. 186, ff.

[96]M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, pp. 31, ff.

[97]A. Cotterell, The Minoan World, p. 67.

[98]Ibid., p. 68.

[99]Ibid.

[100]R. W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete, p. 70.

[101]Six "transaction signs" have been distinguished in the Linear A administration. See, William Brice, Inscriptions in the Minoan Linear Script of Class A (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 4.

[102]R. W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete, p. 72.

[103]Ibid.

[104]Ibid.

[105]Cyrus H. Gordon, "Notes on Minoan Linear A," Antiquity, 31 (September, 1957), pp. 124, ff. Jan G. P. Best believes that Linear A script originated in the North-West Semitic area; see his Some Preliminary Remarks on the Decipherment of Linear A (Amsterdam: Adolf Hakkert, 1972), pp. 36-41. Also, of some relevance: C. H. Gordon, Ugarit and Minoan Crete (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1966).

[106]On Luwian and Linear A, see L. R. Palmer, Mycenaeans and Minoans, pp. 232-250.

[107]In regards to the find spot of the Linear A tablets from Zakros, Nicholas Platon states: "The deep russet color of the fill resulting from the disintegration of burned

tablets indicated that there must originally have been a great many of these." N. Platon, Zakros, p. 151.

[108] M. I. Finley, Early Greece: The Bronze and Archaic Ages, p. 38.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

[111] N. Platon, Zakros, p. 242. For a synopsis of import/export items indicating trade between Egypt and Crete see: J. D. S. Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, pp. 222-224. For another summary of Minoan exports, see R. W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete, pp. 105-115.

[112] For an older but useful work which illustrates these tombs see H. T. Bossert, Alt-Kreta, Kunst und Kunstgewerbe im Aegaeischen Kulturkreise (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1921).

[113] A. Cotterell, The Minoan World, p. 105.

[114] Ibid.

[115] On cod-pieces, see H. R. Hall, The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1970), p. 27.

[116] A. Cotterell, The Minoan World, p. 105.

[117] Ibid.

[118] N. Platon, Zakros, p. 242.

[119] Ibid. For a time after 1450 B.C.E., Cretan exports to Syria and Egypt (to judge from the pottery found) persisted alongside Mycenaean ones, but in the early fourteenth century Cretan goods stopped completely and mainland wares flooded the market.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid., p. 243.

[122] For examples of "gift-exchange" during the Late Bronze Age, see J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln I & II.

[123] A. Cotterell, The Minoan World, p. 112.

[124] Keith Branigan, "Further Light on Prehistoric Relations Between Crete and Syria," American Journal of Archaeology, 71 (1967).

[125] A. Cotterell, The Minoan World, p. 146.

[126] N. Platon, Zakros, p. 243.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid., p. 244. In "House J," on the slope of the northwest hill at Zakros, a terra cotta wine press was found. Idem., p. 30. At Zakros the accommodation for treading grapes in certain dwellings was confined to three or four basins; but one house contains a special room which has every appearance of being a large reservoir with communicating basins at different levels. Fine wines, at least, were exported. So, G. Glotz, La civilisation égéene, p. 177.

[129] R. W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete, p. 44.

[130] On mummification practices in Egypt see the fifth chapter of Alan Jeffrey Spencer, Death in Ancient Egypt (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1982).

[131] On evergreen species in Crete, see R. W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete, p. 43. Incidentally, the second most abundant substance in the Late Bronze Age ship's cargo investigated recently by George Bass was resin. Resin is ki-ta-no in Mycenaean Greek; one tablet from Knosses recorded more than 10,000 liters of ki-ta-no. So, George Bass in "Splendors of the Bronze Age," National Geographic, 172 (December, 1987), p. 727.

[132] J. D. S. Pendlebury's first chapter, "The Island," in Archaeology of Crete should be taken as a basis for surface topography. The geology and geography of Crete are discussed by R. W. Hutchinson in Prehistoric Crete, pp. 31, ff.

[133] V. Gordon Childe, What Happened in History (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1942), p. 173.

[134] M. I. Finley, Early Greece: The Bronze and Archaic Ages, p. 39. Some confirmation comes from a demonstration that the numerous Knossos tablets listing sheep and wool (all of them it must be remembered, dating to the year of the destruction of the site) record an annual census of flocks and shearings and of the shepherds responsible. The total number of animals was about 100,000 and, insofar as place-names can be identified, they seem to have been pastured all over central and eastern Crete. So, J. T. Killen, "The Wool Industry of Crete in the Late Bronze Age," Annual of the British School at Athens, No. 59 (1964), pp. 1-15.

[135] R. F. Willetts, Everyday Life in Ancient Crete (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd., 1969), p. 138.

[136] Ibid.

[137] R. F. Willetts, Ancient Crete: A Social History (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 44.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid., p. 47.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Ibid.

[142] For the king as viceroy of the gods in the ancient Near East see Henri Frankfort. Kingship and the Gods (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

[143] R. W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete, p. 246.

[144] Ibid. Incidentally, the estimated population for Late Bronze Age Crete has been put at 256,000. So. A. Cotterell. The Minoan World, p. 123. The population at Knossos, including its surrounding territory, has been estimated at 55,000. Idem. Of course the population at Zakros would have been smaller than that at Knossos; however, Zakros was one of the four main population centers on the island during the Late Bronze Age.

[145] R. F. Willetts, Everyday Life in Ancient Crete, p. 77.

[146] Ibid.

[147] The island of Siphnos in the Cyclades was famous in classical times as a source of silver. The Siphnian ores are now known to have been a mixture of lead, antimony, and silver; they were mined at a number of coastal and inland sites. Both the carbon-14 dating and thermoluminescence dating show that the ores at Agios Sostis, on the northeast coast, were being mined early in the Bronze Age. They were mined for their silver, but lead was also utilized. See, Noël H. Gale and Zofia Stos-Gale, "Lead and Silver in the Ancient Aegean," Scientific American, vol. 244/no. 6 (June, 1981), p. 184.

[148] The very name Nubia means El Dorado, the Land of Gold!

[149] N. Platon, Zakros, p. 120. The ingots found in the west wing of the palace at Zakros weighed 29 to 30 kilograms each. Recent studies have shown that ingots did not represent a currency with a fixed weight acceptable without further checking, but rather a standardized shape of the copper as raw material, obtained from molds in a smelting

establishment. The "ox-hide" shape simplified transportation of the ingots on a man's shoulders and was convenient for storage.

[150] R. W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete, p. 247.

[151] Ibid., p. 254.

[152] J. D. S. Pendlebury, Archaeology of Crete, p. 272. Only two swords were found in the excavations conducted, thus far, at Zakros. See, N. Platon, Zakros, p. 120.

[153] R. W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete, p. 258.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Ibid. At Zakros we have no examples of the large workmen's suburbs which we find in Egypt.

[156] The shrine in the west wing of the palace of Zakros is thoroughly discussed by Nicholas Platon in his book Zakros, pp. 115-148. The shrine at Zakros corresponded to the standard type of small sanctuary chamber with a ledge. These shrines were intended for the worship of the images of the deity, with the mediation of the priesthood. Their small size indicates that they were made only for a small number of worshippers; they surely were not accessible to everybody in the palace. At Zakros the ledge or podium at the back of the shrine was rather high and built within a niche in the south wall. Nothing was found on the podium; across from it was a low bench with a mud-brick back support. Around this bench and along the east wall appeared a group of about a dozen terra cotta rhytons, of an ovoid shape having pointed bases, apparently used for libations. Low funnel-shaped vessels, found with these rhytons, may have served as flower pots. Pedestaled cups must, also, have been ritual vessels, since one of these was decorated with double axes. Idem. pp. 124 and 125.

[157] Ibid., p. 258. For the representative pottery of the period, see A. D. Lacy, Greek Pottery in the Bronze Age, pp. 82-109.

[158] Ibid. The chalices found in the shrine's treasury are described on pages 142 and 143.

[159] The Eleusinian Mysteries were first practiced sometime in the second millennium B.C.E. So, Mark David Merlin, On the Trail of the Ancient Opium Poppy (London: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1984), p. 223.

[160] On kykeon, see Ibid., pp. 225, ff. Merlin states that the active ingredients of kykeon were ergot alkaloids. Idem., p. 226.

[161]The sacrificial victims, torn in pieces and eaten raw by the maenads, included oxen, goats, roes, and fawns. So, O. Seyffert, Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, p. 192. Likewise, see Peter Furst, Flesh of the Gods (New York: Praeger, 1972).

[162]For a thorough description of the bull's head rhyton and the sanctuary rhyton, see N. Platon, Zakros, pp. 161-169. For the hall of ceremonies, see: Idem., pp. 155-160.

[163]Dan Stanislawski, "Dionysos Westward: Early Religion and the Economic Geography of Wine," Geographical Review, vol. 65/no. 4 (October, 1975), pp. 427-444. Carl Kerényi has gathered together the pre-Greek indications that foreshadow the cult of Dionysos; he argues persuasively that the Cretans worshipped, under an unknown name, this god of bulls, snakes, wine, and women. His sacred vessel would have been the bull-headed libation cup, brimming with heady wine. It is, perhaps, worth recalling the chthonic aspect of Dionysos perceptible in a Greek story of his birth. Serpentine Zeus coiling with Rhea, who had transformed herself into a snake to avoid her son's advances, begot Persephone, the wife of the underworld god, Hades. Then, again, the writhing sky-god mated, but with his daughter Persephone, who bore Dionysos on Crete. To the later Greeks, Dionysos was a foreign deity of incredible power. See Carl Kerényi. Dionysos: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

[164]For the discussion of the spring chamber and well of the fountain, see N. Platon, Zakros, pp. 192, ff.

[165]The most complete representation of a peak sanctuary is on the so-called sanctuary rhyton from Zakros. The tripartite arrangement of the building is clear. The central wing, the large gate of which surmounts the whole, is in the center of the vase. The flanking wings, with columned openings, are crowned with a row of horns of consecration. The panel of the gate is covered with a network of spirals and framed by borders of running spirals. Doorposts on either side of the door support the lintel which is, likewise, decorated with a spiral band. Masts, terminating in lance-shaped finials are combined with pillar-like bases to which are attached square panels, known from representations of Late Bronze Age Egyptian shrines.

On the cornice of the central wing appear two opposite pairs of wild goats guarding a central object which is indefinable. Another goat climbs the west side of the hill. Perched on the horns of consecration are two birds; these birds probably symbolize the presence of divinities.

The parallel horizontal lines across the entrance way may represent steps; a small altar with concave sides rests on the top step, exactly in front of the door. The

enclosure wall of the forecourt is crowned with horns of consecration. At the base and on the left side of the stairway, within the courtyard, appears a stepped altar with a small tree shading it. A third and larger altar occupies the center of the courtyard; here public offerings would have been made during celebrations. A sixth goat strides over the rocks to the east of the sanctuary. So, N. Platon, Zakros, pp. 164-166.

One of the peak sanctuaries near Zakros was investigated by Platon. It was at the top of a mountain called Traostalos, a name which means "enclosure for goats." As in other such sites examined, there were few architectural remains; what there were date to the first phases of the Late Bronze Age. See N. Platon, "To Ieron Maza," Kretika Chronika, 5 (1951), pp. 96, ff.

[166] R. W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete, p. 219.

[167] Outside the walls of some Mesopotamian cities, but belonging to each city, was often situated, for unknown reasons, a sanctuary of a special type, called the New Year's Chapel (bit akitu). Once a year, the image of the principle deity of the settlement was carried in a procession to the sanctuary, accompanied by throngs of worshippers. In certain instances, a sacred road through a special gate linked the outlying sanctuary to the palace. See A. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 115. For a plan of the Late Bronze Age city of Ashur and its bit akitu, see S. Lloyd, The Archaeology of Mesopotamia, p. 180.

[168] The sealings from Zakros show the most fantastic daemons by the hundred. See G. Glotz, La civilisation égéene, pp. 345 and 346.

[169] For a photograph of a terra cotta rhyton in the shape of a wild cat's head, see N. Platon, Zakros, p. 262.

[170] Ibid., p. 261.

[171] Ibid. On the second page of Platon's book Zakros appears an excellent photograph of a chlorite bull's head rhyton.

[172] M. I. Finley, Early Greece: The Bronze and Archaic Ages, p. 42.

[173] The prominent position of the pillar in Cretan architecture bears witness to the symbolic proport of the column. It is worth noting that there are neither solar nor astral symbols in Cretan religion.

[174] Undoubtedly, the most beautiful double axe thus far found was excavated at Zakros; see photograph and drawing of

this double axe in N. Platon, Zakros, p. 146. Likewise, the symbol of the double axe was repeatedly carved into the ashlar masonry of the antechamber in the west wing of the palace at Zakros. Idem., p. 96.

[175] A. Cotterell, The Minoan World, p. 165.

[176] Ibid. For art work depicting the Hittite god Teshub, see Ekrem Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1964). The main outline for the story of the birth of Zeus appears in Hittite texts of the second millennium B.C.E., where we find the parts of the Greek gods, Ouranos, Kronos, and Zeus being enacted by Anu, Kumarbi, and the weather-god Teshub. So, O. R. Gurney, The Hittites, p. 190.

[177] A. Cotterell, The Minoan World, p. 165.

[178] Ibid.

[179] The Sumerians saw the pickaxe as the chief gift from the god Enlil. Enlil gave the Sumerians this implement to assist in the construction of cities, including his own residence at Nippur.

[180] On "horns of consecration" at Zakros, see N. Platon, Zakros, pp. 98, 1644, 182, 194, 195, 208, 257, 282, and 291.

[181] J. D. S. Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, p. 275.

[182] This leads one to believe that when the Linear A script is completely deciphered it will make extremely dull reading!

[183] Admittedly, the Linear A script is not well adapted for decoration.

[184] L. von Matt, Ancient Crete, p. 167.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Ibid.

[187] Ibid.

[188] The theory that Cretan civilization was destroyed in about 1450 B.C.E. by a severe eruption of Thera (Santorini), was first postulated by Spyridon Marinatos in 1939; it is only in recent years, however, that it has received popular notice and support outside Greece. See Spyridon Marinatos, "The Volcanic Destruction of Minoan Crete," Antiquity, 13 (1939), pp. 425-439. Also, see Jerome J. Pollitt, "Atlantis

and Minoan Crete: An Archaeological Nexus," Yale Alumni Magazine, (February, 1970), pp. 20-29.

[189] Ibid.

[190] Ibid.

[191] N. Platon, Zakros, pp. 269, ff.

CHAPTER VII

EXCURSUS: HAZOR

Location of Site

The ruins of Hazor lie in the Huleh plain at the foot of the eastern ridge of the mountains of Upper Galilee, about fourteen kilometers due north of the Sea of Galilee, and about eight kilometers southwest of Lake Huleh.[1] The mound was one of the most impressive in Palestine covering twenty-five acres and reaching a height of one hundred thirty feet. Hazor is located in one of the most strategic areas of ancient Palestine, dominating the several branches of the Via Maris leading from Egypt to Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia.[2] The present highway leading to Damascus runs about two kilometers south of it while the road leading north literally transverses it.

Historical Documentation

Hazor is one of the few ancient cities in Palestine about which many historical facts were known, even prior to excavations, owing to numerous data related to it and found in the many literary documents from Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia and, of course, the Bible itself. The city is mentioned for the first time in the famous nineteenth

century Egyptian Execration Texts, listing potential enemies in the external provinces of the Egyptian empire.[3] Hazor figures prominently in the archives of Mari; not only is it the only Palestinian city mentioned in these documents but it ranks in importance with such large centers of commerce as Yamhad and Qatna.[4] Caravans travelled between Babylon and Hazor, and it is mentioned in connection with the important trade in tin.[5] Hazor is mentioned in a Babylonian Dream-book, together with important centers of commerce and administration, such as Mari, Halab, and Qatna.[6] Hazor is then mentioned several times in the Annals of the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom: Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, and Seti I.[7]

Perhaps the most important references to Hazor are to be found in the Amarna Letters. In no less than four letters the subject of correspondence is Hazor. In two of them the kings of Tyre and Ashtaroth, respectively, complain that the king of Hazor had joined hands with the Habiru and captured several of the plaintiff's cities; the other two letters are from the king of Hazor denying the charges.[8]

An interesting allusion to Hazor is found in the famous Papyrus Anastasi I (thirteenth century) in which Hori, a royal official, challenges Amenem-Opet, the Scribe, "Where does the <u>mahir</u> (a swift military courier) make the journey to Hazor, and what is its stream like?"[9] Obviously, the "stream" of this passage refers to the nearby Jordan river.

Several references to Hazor are to be found in the Old Testament.

It is the battle against the Canaanite League, headed by Jabin, King of Hazor, which is the subject of chapter eleven in the book of Joshua. Here, indeed, is our most important information about Hazor's rôle in the Canaanite period: "Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms." This passage is inserted in the narrative to explain the fact that "as for the cities that stood on their mounds, Israel burned none of them, save Hazor" (Joshua 13:11).

The second reference to Hazor is to be found in chapter four of the book of Judges: "And the Lord sold them into the hand of Jabin, King of Canaan, that reigned in Hazor; the captain of whose host was Sisera, which dwelt in Harosheth of the Gentiles." The Song of Deborah (Judges, chapter five), which describes the decisive battle between the Israelites and Sisera which took place in "Taanach by the waters of Megiddo," is silent about Hazor.

Two further Old Testament passages tell us about Hazor during later time periods; both of these passages are important from an archaeological point of view, since they deal with the rebuilding and destruction of Hazor. The first (I Kings 9:15) contains information that Solomon rebuilt Hazor together with Megiddo and Gezer and turned them into royal garrison cities. The last we hear of Hazor in the Old Testament is that "In the days of Pekah, King of Israel, came Tiglath Pileser, King of Assyria, and took Ijon

and Abel-beth-maacha, and Jonah and Kedesh and Gilead and Galilee, and the land of Naphtali and carried them captive to Assyria" (II Kings 15:29).[10] With this ends the imposing list of references to Hazor in written documents, apart from two late references which helped to locate Hazor in the plain of Huleh: the first appears in I Maccabees 11:6; the second, is to be found in Josephus (Antiquities, V, V, 1), in which we are told that Hazor lay "over the Lake Semechonitis" that is to say, Lake Huleh.

The Excavations

The site was identified with the Old Testament Hazor by John Garstang, who was apparently unaware of the fact that this identification had already been suggested by J. L. Porter.[11] Nevertheless, the credit for the identification of the site as Hazor should go to Garstang, who not only presented a study of its strategical importance but even conducted some digging on the spot in 1928.

During the years 1955-1958 the James A. Rothschild Expedition, under the direction of Yigael Yadin, excavated at the site, on behalf of the Hebrew University.[12] During the total twelve months (four separate seasons) of excavations several areas were excavated, both on the tell and in the "enclosure;" the "enclosure" proved to be nothing less than a lower city throughout its entire history. After an interval of ten years, a fifth season was conducted (in 1968), again under the direction of Yadin.

Synopsis of Site

The main part of the site is an isolated spur on the north bank of a stream in the sides of which a number of springs provided the water supply. Buildings of Early Bronze Age II and III have been discovered here, pottery of the late third millennium and slight occupation from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age.[13] But the important history of the site begins about 1750 B.C.E., when a brick wall nearly 26 feet thick was built around the spur, and a shoulder of land to the north and east, an area of a further 200 acres, was enclosed by massive earth ramparts over 98 feet wide at the base.[14] At least four different series of temples existed in the city, as well as palatial buildings on the spur, with houses and Middle Bronze Age graves over the entire area. It has been estimated that the population of the city at its zenith was 40,000.[15] The city was totally destroyed in the late thirteenth century, and when settlers reoccupied it in the following century, they built an impoverished town restricted to the original spur. The great rampart, or lower city area, was never again included within the walls. The finds from the site are displayed in the Israel Museum at Jerusalem, and many of the building remains are preserved at Hazor.

Areas of Excavation

During the first four seasons various areas were excavated both on the tell (the upper city) and the

rectangular plateau (the lower city at the foot of the tell). The strata of the upper and lower cities were allocated independent numbers. Areas A, B, and G were on the mound proper, while areas C. D. E, F, H, and K were all in the "enclosure" (Figure 92).

Because of the abundance of the finds directly relevant to this Late Bronze Age study of the city, I will first endeavor to describe briefly the outstanding finds of each area, whether architectural remains or actual artifacts; only later will I try to present the over-all picture of the site, emphasizing the chronological conclusions. We shall begin this description with the results of the excavations in the lower city (the "enclosure").

The "Enclosure"

Area C is located on the southwestern corner of the lower city, adjoining the earthen rampart; it is here that it was discovered that the "enclosure" was indeed a proper city, throughout its history, that is, from its foundations in about 1750 B.C.E. to its downfall after 1250 B.C.E.[16] Stratum 4 is the lowest level in this area; during this period the city's first fortifications and the rampart were constructed. Stratum 3 was destroyed by conflagration; thus, stratum 2 lies atop a thick layer of ash, and represents the city inhabited during the first phases of the Late Bronze Age.[17]

Stelae Sanctuary

Stratum 1B represents the period of Hazor's zenith during the Late Bronze Age.[18] A small "stele temple" was discovered at the foot of the rampart's inner slope, it consisted simply of a rectangular cella, at the end of which a semicircular apse contained a group of several small stelae and statues.[19] The crescent to which hands are raised on one of the pillars and the inverted crescent on the chest of one of the seated statues suggest a lunar cult (Figure 93).[20] The horizontal slab found in front of the pillars is thought to be a table for offerings.[21] Benches for offerings line the walls of this temple. Nearby are several large houses having cobblestone floors and built around courtyards. Likewise, in the vicinity of the stele temple was found a potter's workshop with all its installations; perhaps this workshop served the shrine. Of special note are a pottery cult mask (from the potter's workshop), and a silver-plated bronze standard, bearing the relief of a goddess who is holding snakes.[22] Incidentally, this cult mask found at Hazor is quite similar to a terra cotta cult mask found at Enkomi dated to the Late Bronze Age. The local and imported Mycenaean IIIA pottery places stratum 1B in the Late Bronze Age IIA period, and this must be the city of the Amarna correspondence.[23]

Stratum 1A is, basically, a reconstruction of the previous city; the structures of 1A are similar to those of 1B in the main, particularly the public buildings. As

stratum 1A is close to the surface, the preservation of its buildings is rather poor; modern ploughing and erosion have destroyed considerable parts of its remains. The stele shrine of 1B was reconstructed here and most of its accessories were found placed in situ as reinstalled.[24] A lion basalt orthostat, probably from the entrance of the previous shrine, was found below the stelae in secondary use, as a support for one of these stelae.[25] Near the shrine a store-room was found in which a score of similar stelae, some unfinished, were found scattered. This shrine seems unique, and is perhaps the only one from Palestine representing the true Old Testament mazzeboth. Mycenaean IIIB sherds, together with local pottery, indicate clearly that this city was destroyed before the close of the thirteenth century B.C.E., when occupation in the lower city came to an end.[26]

Significant Finds from the Lower City

Areas D, E, and F are located at various spots within the lower city and, besides the many finds made there, are important in confirming that the entire area of the "enclosure" was a real city from 1750 B.C.E. to after 1250 B.C.E.[27] The following are some of the significant finds made in these areas. In Area D rich Middle Bronze Age graves came to light, as well as Late Bronze Age building remains containing Mycenaean vessels. Among the finds should be mentioned a part of a thirteenth-century B.C.E.

jar bearing a proto-Canaanite inscription written in paint.[28] Area E enriches our knowledge of the pottery of the Late Bronze Age; from Area E we have a number of pieces unparalleled in Palestine but resembling Late Bronze Age types from Anatolia.[29] Area F brought to light buildings and installations from all phases of occupation in the lower city. Unique finds, attributed to Stratum 4 (after 1750 B.C.E.) are the rock-cut tombs, connected by a wide network of tunnels.[30] In Stratum 3 (seventeenth to sixteenth centuries B.C.E.) was found an extensive "double-temple" of rectangular plan and very thick walls.[31] A wide network of channels connected the temple to the earlier tombs, and formed a drainage complex.[32] In Stratum 2 (fifteenth century B.C.E.) the main building discovered in Area F was a square temple, similar to that discovered at Amman in Jordan (Figure 94).[33] A number of burials nearby this square temple contained a rich collection of Bichrome Ware.[34] In Stratum 1B an altar made of a large basalt ashlar block was discovered.[35] Around the altar, structures were found containing alabaster incense vessels and other ritual objects. A considerable quantity of animal bones was, also, found. Thus, this area served, most probably, as a cultic high place or <u>bamah</u>. A large tomb belonging to this stratum contained some 500 vessels; among these, the following are worthy of special mention: a large group of beautiful Mycenaean IIIA pots (from the fourteenth century), more than ten "bilbils" from Cyprus, two ribbed pots (of the Cypriote

Bucchero-ware type), of which only very few specimens have hitherto been found outside Cyprus, and a number of local pots (mainly bowls, lamps, and jars).[36] In the Stratum IA period, the majority of structures surrounding the altar were reconstructed.

More Temples

Area H lies on the northern edge of the lower city. Here a series of four large superimposed temples came to light. These were situated against the inner face of the earthen rampart. No building came to light in Stratum 4 (about 1750), the phase in which the rampart was erected, because, during the building of the oldest temple discovered (Stratum 3), the entire area was levelled and filled up to the edge of the rampart.[37] The temple in Stratum 3 (seventeenth to sixteenth centuries) has a wide room with a niche in the north side; two columns in the center of the room supported the roof.[38] The entire area in front of the temple entrance was paved with a fine pebble floor.[39] The temple of Stratum 2 (fifteenth century) is identical to that of the previous stratum, even though the building is a new structure. A number of small platforms were found, including a rectangular <u>bamah</u> or altar in the courtyard.[40] To the east of this altar a large heap of broken cult objects and vessels were unearthed, including a most unusual find: inscribed fragments of clay liver models used by priests for divination.[41] Another find from Area H worthy

of mention is a hammered bronze plaque delicately depicting a Canaanite dignitary wrapped in a long robe (Figure 95).[42] A further feature of Stratum 2, Area H, was a pottery kiln; this kiln still contained a large number of votive bowls.

The temple of Stratum 1B (the Amarna age) is perhaps the most important one from the point of view of this Late Bronze Age study of the city (Figure 96). Its plan differs essentially from that of the two earlier structures, though it was partially built upon their foundations. It now comprised three major elements following each other from north to south, with the doorways leading to each chamber in succession.[43] It is the oldest "prototype" of the Solomonic temple ever found in Palestine. The porch was the main addition to the previous structure and was south of the temple. Two pillars were placed within the porch, near the inner entrance. The hall was essentially identical with the porch of the previous temples. The holy of holies, a broad room (similar to that of the previous temples) has a rectangular niche in its northernmost part.[44] The most important feature in temple 1B from an architectural viewpoint and with regard to influences upon it, is the row of well-dressed basalt orthostats forming a dado around the interior of the porch and holy of holies.[45] This is the first time that such technique has been found in Palestine, and it is without doubt evidence of northern influence, as it clearly resembles such elements found at Alalakh and

other sites.[46] On one side of this porch stood a basalt lion in relief; however, only one lion has been found.

The temple of Stratum 1A (thirteenth century) is identical with the previous one, restored, with minor repairs. The floor of the holy of holies was raised and two new column bases were found resting on it. The hall was enlarged at the expense of a side room to the east, and the porch was reconstructed in such a manner that it is difficult to discern whether it was roofed over or open and walled.[47] Before the entrance, leading into the hall, two circular bases were found <u>in situ</u>.[48] Their location would lead to the belief that they had no functional purpose and that they were evidently of a ritual nature, such as Jachin and Boaz in Solomon's temple.

The important discoveries in this thirteenth century temple are the numerous ritual vessels and cultic furnishings, which may have originated in the temple of Stratum 1B. Amongst these should be mentioned a basalt incense altar in the form of a square pillar, on one side of which appears in relief the divine symbol of the storm god: a circle with a cross at its center.[49] A large, circular basin, like the "sea" of Solomon's temple, also of basalt, was found next to the altar.[50] Several libation tables and a deep basalt bowl, with a beautifully carved running spiral on its exterior were discovered.[51] A statuette of a seated figure (probably a king) and a great number of cylinder seals of the "Late Mitannian" type came to light.[52] A

scarab bearing the name of Amenophis III was found on the floor, a phenomenon known from other thirteenth century temples, as at Beth-shan and Lachish. A most important find was made outside the area of the temple proper, namely, fragments of a statue of a deity which had stood on a base, in the form of a bull, and on its chest a divine symbol identical with that appearing on the incense altar just mentioned.[53] The temple of Stratum 1A was destroyed in a violent conflagration.

City Gates

Area K is located on the northeastern edge of the lower city, not far from the northernmost corner. In this area a series of five city gates was found, ranging from the founding of the lower city down to its final destruction by fire. Little remains of the Stratum 4 gate, which was flanked by a tower on either side; the gate and wall were built of bricks on a stone foundation.[54] In the Stratum 3 gate passage there were three pairs of pilasters, while two large towers flanked the sides of the gate.[55] Close to the gate the remains of the earliest type of casemate wall known in Israel were unearthed.[56] In front of the gate was a large platform enabling chariots to enter; this, in turn, was supported by a revetment wall built of huge basalt stones.[57] In Stratum 2 (fifteenth century) the gate is identical in plan to Stratum 3, but is built of large, well-dressed stones (Figure 97). In Stratum 1B (fourteenth

century) the gate is like that of Stratum 2, but includes some alterations; the floor of the passage is now built of cobblestones, and in the south some workshops and cult objects including stelae were discovered.[58] The casemate wall gave place to a brick wall about ten feet thick.[59] The cobbled floor of the latest gate (Stratum 1A) was covered by a thick layer of ashes. In Area P of the lower city a similar series of gates was found.

The Upper City

Three main areas were excavated in the upper city, that is, the southern tell. Area A is in the center of the tell, Area B is on the western edge, and Area G on the eastern edge.

Area A was the site of Garstang's trial excavation in 1928. Strata XVII and XVI of the upper city correspond to Strata 4 and 3 in the lower city, respectively (eighteenth through sixteenth centuries). Remains of a large structure, possibly a palace, and remains of a great wall were uncovered here.[60] The wall is twenty-five feet thick and is built of plastered bricks on a foundation of stone.[61] The wall was built in three sections, the outer and inner ones very well and neatly laid out while the center one was rather crude.[62] This city wall with its fine drainage system of clay pipes, found nearby, was constructed sometime after 1750 and must have served as the innermost wall guarding the heart of the acropolis.[63] Its construction was

so sturdy that it must have been used throughout the Late Bronze Age, and it is even possible that in Solomon's own time it served as a revetment to hold the terrace to which walls were build.[64]

Stratum XV proved to be of the fifteenth century, and corresponded to Level 2 in the lower city. Here were unearthed sections of a large palace built mostly of brick. Adjacent to it, a rectangular temple was found. Its entrance was of orthostats.[65]

The palatial building of Stratum XIV (fourteenth century), the remains of which covered all of Area A, was only partially recovered since the rest of it extended outside the excavated area. Nevertheless, enough was found to give us the following pattern: a large entrance in the east, consisting of a fine stone-built staircase and gate, led to a fenced court on the south.[66] In the northern section was another court which gave access to the rooms of the main building which were west of it.[67] Below the Solomonic gate was found an entrance built of well-dressed basalt orthostats and sill-slabs put together by a master-mason.[68] The orthostats, with the drilled (lewis) holes at their tops designed to take the joints of the brick and wood construction of the walls, are identical with those of the orthostat temple, a further indication of the link in this Canaanite period between the upper and lower cities. A lion orthostat was also found in Area A, Stratum XIV; this

orthostat is very similar to the one discovered in temple 1B of Area H.[69]

The southern part of the building complex consisted of a large finely-paved cobbled court. Its purpose became apparent when members of the excavation team found a huge underground water reservoir between this southern part of the building complex and the fenced court. It was fed by waters during the rainy season which accumulated in the paved court and flowed into the reservoir. The fine basalt inlet was still well preserved within the inner walls of the reservoir.[70] The reservoir itself is about thirty meters long and its walls are finely plastered.[71] It is of two parts: a large tunnel hewn out of the rock, ending in three chambers forming a trefoil, and a vaulted corridor leading into a tunnel with steps.[72] The basalt water inlet is an integral part of one of the corridor walls. The reservoir has a capacity of about 150 cubic meters.[73] To fill it with an average annual rainfall of 500 millimeters (20 inches), the cobbled floor area would have covered at least 300 square meters.[74] This was about the size of the area discovered. The reservoir must have served the occupants of the palatial building in time of siege. Similar techniques of collecting rain water were used in the lower city, even in the private houses.

Stratum XIII, the last Late Bronze Age level on the tell, corresponds to Stratum 1A in the lower city. The destruction evidenced by this level brought an end to

Canaanite Hazor in the thirteenth century. Very few buildings were constructed during this phase, but buildings from the previous stage were added to and reconstructed.

Garstang had excavated in Area B and discovered the remains of a large building which he did not publish in detail. Most of this area was occupied in the Israelite period by a large citadel which was left as found following the excavations at Hazor under Yadin. The Late Bronze Age remains discovered in this area were in rather poor condition. Generally the stratification agrees with that achieved in Area A and will not be discussed here.

Area G is located on the northern edge of the eastern terrace of the tell. It provided important information on the extent of the upper city in the various periods and the fortifications in this sector. Special mention should be made of a fine stone wall with battered slopes and a moat of the Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age periods.[75]

"Head of All Those Kingdoms"

In the preceding pages, I have tried to present the main discoveries and historical results obtained from five years of excavation at the extraordinary site of Hazor, the largest site of its kind in the Holy Land and among the largest in the entire Fertile Crescent. Clearly, as early as the third millennium, people had been attracted to this spot by the springs of the vicinity, the fertile fields, and the strategic position of the nearby mound. At that time,

the city was built on the mound only and did not differ from many other contemporary cities in the country; in fact, it was not among the largest. However, following the establishment of the extensive city, in both the upper and lower areas (after 1750), Hazor became the seat of Canaanite kings who dominated the area of Upper Galilee and perhaps even further north, south, and east of it. It was with the rulers of this Hazor that the kings of Babylon and Assyria exchanged emissaries and maintained active commercial and political relations. Despite repeated destructions and reconstructions, Hazor continued to be the so-called "capital" of the area during the fourteenth century, as evidenced from the Amarna letters and supported by the excavations. Thus, the lower city flourished throughout the Late Bronze Age period, being alternately destroyed and rebuilt. Excavations at various locations scattered over the entire lower city prove that it should no longer be termed "enclosure" or "camp area." The city reached its zenith in the fourteenth century when it was the largest city in area and population in all the land of Canaan.[76] Within the city walls, the aristocracy continued to occupy superior mansions, well furnished with foreign luxuries. Despite declining standards in most crafts, more objects of value survive from the Late Bronze Age, being found both in buildings and in tombs. The best attested trade is that involving pottery; Cypriot and Mycenaean vessels preponderate.[77]

Last, but not least in importance, is the evidence that the Late Bronze Age city of Hazor came to an abrupt end by fire in the thirteenth century, never to be rebuilt.[78] The discovery of the Mycenaean IIIB fragments in the topmost stratum shows that the city existed while such pottery was still extant, namely until 1230.[79] Most probably the city was destroyed sometime in the second third of the thirteenth century (i.e., during the reign of Ramses II). We can, also, assume that the 1B city, that of the Amarna period, was destroyed by Pharaoh Seti I, or at any rate while Mycenaean IIIA-B was still in use, around 1303-1290.[80] The striking similarity between the size of Hazor as revealed in the excavations and its description in the Bible as "the head of all those kingdoms," plus the insistence of the biblical narrator that Hazor (and only Hazor) had been destroyed by Joshua and burned, leave little doubt, it seems, that Yadin actually found the Canaanite city of Jabin which was destroyed by Joshua. In this case, the excavations at Hazor provided, for the first time, decisive archaeological data for fixing both Joshua's dates and, indirectly, the date of the Exodus from Egypt.

ENDNOTES

[1] Yigael Yadin, Hazor I. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1958), p. 1.

[2] John Garstang's words regarding Hazor are worth quoting: "standing in the south-west of the Huleh Basin, at the meeting-point of the main road from Sidon to Beisan with that from Damascus to Megiddo, it occupied the most strategic position in the land, the real key to Palestine. Its situation and character accorded fully with its importance." Idem., Foundations of Bible History: Joshua/Judges (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1931), p. 183.

[3] The Egyptian Execraction Texts from the Twelfth Dynasty show that both Eastern and Western Palestine were largely occupied by nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes in the late twentieth century B.C.E. A century later, Western Palestine had become much more intensively settled. These curious documents are vases and statuettes, inscribed in extremely cursive hieratic with the names of actual or potential rebels in Egypt and neighboring lands, who were supposed to be at the mercy of the Pharaoh. If threatened by rebellion the latter had only to break the objects on which were written the names and accompanying formulae, to the accompaniment of a magical ceremony, and--presto--the rebels would somehow come to grief! Two important groups of these objects have hitherto been published, a group of vases from Berlin by Kurt Sethe (1926) and a collection of statuettes at Brussels by G. Posener (1940). The former probably date from the end of the twentieth century; the latter from the late nineteenth; they show a considerable decrease in the relative number of tribal units and a corresponding increase in the number of city-states. Hazor is listed in the Posener group; G. Posener, Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie (Bruxelles: Fondation Eggyptologue Reine Elizabeth, 1940), no. E 15. For examples of Egyptian Execraction Texts in English, together with references to literature on the subject, see: James B. Pirtchard, ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 326-329.

[4] J. A. Sanders, ed., Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century (New York: Doubleday, 1970), pp. 164, ff.

[5] J. R. Kupper, Letters (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1953), no. 23; 78. J. Bottéro, Textes administratifs de la salle 110 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1956), no. 236. A. Malamat, "Syro-Palestinian Destinations in a Mari Tin Inventory." Israel Exploration Journal, 21 (1971), pp. 31-38. The king of Hazor, Jabin, received three successive tin shipments from Mari, totalling 70 minas, that is, about 35 kilograms.

[6] For this document, as well as the documents from Mari and their bearing on the position of Hazor, see A. Malamat, Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIX (1960), pp. 12, ff.

[7] For this and other lists mentioned, see, most conveniently, J. B. Pritchard's A.N.E.T., pp. 242, ff.

[8] J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, Nos. 148, 227, 228. Knudtzon gives the transcription and translation of the tablets. A translation in English is found in Samuel B. Mercer ed., The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets I and II (Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada, Ltd., 1939). On Habiru, see Moshe Greenberg, The Hab/piru (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1955).

[9] For this selection from Papyrus Anastas: I see J. B. Prichard's A.N.E.T., p. 477.

[10] This would have been Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 B.C.E.

[11] J. Garstang, Foundations of Biblical History: Joshua/Judges, pp. 184-185; 381-383. J. L. Porter, Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine (London: John Murray, 1875), pp. 414, ff.

[12] Funds for the excavations were, likewise, provided by the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association, the Anglo-Israel Exploration Society, and the government of Israel.

[13] Y. Yadin, Hazor (New York: Random House, 1975), p. 275. Hazor achieved its greatest dimensions in the Middle Bronze Age IIB period, but it is clear from the results of the excavations that Canaanite Hazor had maintained its large area down to its downfall in the thirteenth century.

[14] Ibid., pp. 29, ff. Also, see Y. Yadin, "Hazor" in David Winton Thomas, ed., Archaeology and Old Testament Study (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 248.

[15] Ibid., p. 29.

[16] For an excellent chart concerning the chronological sequences of Hazor, see Y. Yadin's "Hazor" in D. Thomas, ed., Archaeology and Old Testament Study, p. 260.

[17]For a concise listing of the strata in the lower city, see Y. Yadin, "Hazor," in Keith Crim, ed., The Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible, supplementary volume (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), p. 388.

[18]Y. Yadin, Hazor I, pp. 76, ff.

[19]Ibid., pp. 83, ff.

[20]Ibid., p. 89. The moon-god worshipped at Hazor may have been Sin.

[21]Ibid., p. 87.

[22]On the cult mask, see Y. Yadin, Hazor II (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1960), p. 115. For beautiful pictures of this cult mask, see Idem., Hazor, pp. 50 and 51. On the cult standard, see Idem., Hazor II., pp. 117 and 118. For the best photograph of the cult standard that I have seen, observe Idem., Hazor, p. 54. The standard is rectangular, 12.5 x 7 centimeters, with a tang on one end. On the upper edge of the standard, above the woman's head, is a crescent. This depiction is in fact similar to other ancient Near Eastern representations of a snake goddess, the finest of them all being the topless goddess from Crete. One can definitely state that this standard served a cultic function and, even more specifically, was probably carried on a pole in cultic processions. But the standard's true importance lies in its connection with the stelae temple, for the symbol of the crescent, found on the breast of the headless statue of the deity and on the central stele of the temple, is also represented on the standard. So, the woman on this standard must be the goddess of the temple, the consort of the moon god.

[23]The Amarna Letters were found in the so-called House of Rolls which contained the records of the Egyptian foreign office from the time of Akhenaton and his father Amenhotep III (about) 1400-1353 B.C.E.). See the following: Edward F. Campbell, Jr. The Chronology of the Amarna Letters (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1964). Charles F. Pfeiffer, Tell Amarna and the Bible (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1963). E. F. Campbell, Jr., "The Amarna Letters and the Amarna Period," Biblical Archaeologist, 23 (1960), pp. 2-22.

[24]Y. Yadin, Hazor I, pp. 81, ff.

[25]Ibid., pp. 89 and 90. Ten stelae were found in the shrine proper. All of them are made of basalt. The fronts, which faced east, were flat, while their backs were convex. The tops were rounded. Measurements for all ten stelae are given in Idem., p. 88.

[26] Y. Yadin, Hazor, p. 275.

[27] Idem. "Hazor" in Archaeology and Old Testament Study, p. 249.

[28] Idem. Hazor, p. 126.

[29] On quatrefoil bowls, see Ibid., p. 127.

[30] Idem. Hazor II, pp. 127-164.

[31] Idem. Hazor, pp. 70, ff. The "double temple" at Hazor resembles the double temple found in the excavations at Asshur; both double temples are of about the same period. The double temple at Asshur is dedicated to the sun god Shamash and the moon god Sin. It is difficult to determine to which deities the Hazor double temple was dedicated, but its very existence in that period is another indication of the contacts between Hazor and Mesopotamia. The external measurements of the "double temple" at Hazor were 50 x 25 meters.

[32] Y. Yadin, "Excavations at Hazor," in E. F. Campbell, Jr., and D. N. Freedman, eds., Biblical Archaeologist Reader, (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1964), p. 214.

[33] In 1955 the Jordanians were preparing a large landing-strip near Amman for their airport when bulldozers uncovered an old building with many interesting finds of the Late Bronze Age; in 1956 proper excavations (carried out by the Australian archaeologist Basil Hennessey) shed light on the nature of the building discovered. The Amman building turned out to be a unique temple planned as a perfect square (about 15 x 15 meters), with a central court (about 6 x 6 meters), surrounded by six equal-sized rooms. The entrance to the building was through the northwest corner room, and the central court had only one corner. It was this building that provided the key to the reconstruction of the discovery at Hazor, for the two of them turned out to be very similar in design and can be attributed to more or less the same period; the establishment of the Amman building can be dated to the end of the fifteenth century. For the square temple at Hazor, see Idem., Hazor, pp. 68 and 69. For the square temple at Ammon, see, J. B. Hennessy's article in Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly, XCVIII (1966), pp. 155, ff. And, V. Hankey, "A Late Bronze Age Temple at Amman," Levant, VI, (1974), pp. 131-178.

[34] Y. Yadin, Hazor, p. 68. Bichrome Ware is the name given by archaeologists to a very distinctive type of pottery decorated in red and black with a design composed mainly of animals, birds, fish, and some geometric patterns (e.g., Maltese Cross, Union Jack, spirals, etc.). It was first found in Philistia, on the Mediterranean coast, by Sir

Flinders Petrie, and later a theory evolved that the whole lot was made by one artist, known as the Ajjul painter after the place where the pottery was first discovered. But the distribution of this pottery over an area ranging from the north coast of Syria to Egypt (and even Cyprus to Upper Galilee), plus the great quantities and varieties found, indicate clearly that it could not have been made by one man only and was more likely the product of a school of artists. Bichrome Ware seems to have made its appearance at the end of the Middle Bronze II period, becoming prevalent in the sixteenth-fifteenth centuries. It has recently been suggested that Bichrome Ware was actually made in Cyprus and exported to Canaan, but this has yet to be proved. See Claire Epstein's, Palestinian Bichrome Ware.

[35] Y. Yadin, "Excavations At Hazor" in Biblical Archaeologist Reader, pp. 2122, ff.

[36] Ibid., p. 214.

[37] Ibid., p. 215, ff.

[38] Idem. "Hazar" in Archaeology and Old Testament Study, p. 250.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid., p. 251.

[41] Ibid. One of these clay liver models bore an Akkadian inscription mentioning various evil omens. The liver model is from the sixteenth or fifteenth century, and provides further evidence of close ties with Babylonia. On this liver model, see now B. Landsberger and H. Tadmor, "Fragments of Clay Liver Models at Hazor," Israel Exploration Journal, XIV (1964), pp. 201-217.

[42] For the best picture I have seen of this magnificent bronze miniature portrait, see Y. Yadin, Hazor, p. 116.

[43] The phases of this temple are fully described in Ibid., pp. 101, ff.

[44] Ibid., p. 103.

[45] Ibid., pp. 101, ff.

[46] C. L. Woolley, Alalkh, pp. 82, ff. The similarity between Hazor's temples and those of Alalakh is evident, as well, in their general plan and inventory.

[47] Y. Yadin, Hazor, pp. 79, ff.

[48] Ibid., p. 98.

[49] See excellent photographs of this incense altar in Ibid., pp. 82 and 83.

[50] Ibid., p. 86.

[51] Ibid., pp. 87-89.

[52] Ibid., pp. 92-95.

[53] Ibid., p. 84. The god worshipped in this temple seems to have been Ba'al.

[54] The series of five gates in Area K is discussed in: Ibid., pp. 136, ff. Also, see Yadin's article on Hazor in Biblical Archaeologist Reader, pp. 221, ff.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Idem. "Hazor" in Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, p. 389.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Idem. "Excavations at Hazor" in Biblical Archaeologist Reader, pp. 199, ff.

[61] Ibid., p. 202.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] For a discussion of this temple, see Idem, "The Fifth Season of Excavations at Hazor, 1968-1969," Biblical Archaeologist, XXXII (1969), pp. 52, ff.

[66] Idem. "Excavations at Hazor," Biblical Archaeologist Reader, p. 200.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Idem. "Hazor," in Archaeology and Old Testament Study, p. 254.

[70] Idem. "Excavations at Hazor," Biblical Archaeologist Reader, p. 200.

[71] Ibid., p. 201.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Idem. "Hazor," in Archaeology and Old Testament Study, p. 257.

[76] Ibid., p. 258.

[77] D. J. Wiseman, ed., Peoples of Old Testament Times (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 43.

[78] Information concerning the Canaanite cities of the thirteenth century is sparse, and has not, as yet, been adequately synthesized. Many had evidently passed their heyday, as Hazor, and resistence to invasions from the east (Israelites) and the west (Philistines) could not be consolidated.

[79] Y. Yadin, Hazor, p. 145.

[80] Ibid.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In what must always be a process of selection and emphasis among many details, valid and accurate for some purposes and not for others, the primary purpose of this paper has been to suggest that territorially divergent Late Bronze Age city-states of the Mediterranean world were fundamentally similar, which is not meant to imply that there is a one-for-one correspondence in all their parts--even in broadly conceived functions, let alone in formal details. But the similarities are sufficiently close and numerous to suggest that in this and similar cases it is genuinely useful, that is, productive in insights at the level of understanding the individual historical sequence, to proceed sometimes from a generalizing, comparative stance rather than from a contrastive and compartmentalizing one.

In this paper we have seen that during the Late Bronze Age the political configuration surrounding the eastern Mediterranean was largely shaped by a struggle between the Egyptians and the Hittites for control of the Levant. The constant state of armed confrontation and truce--which nonetheless permitted trade to flow unimpeded--ultimately altered the entire pattern of civilization in the region and

helped set the stage for the events of the Iron Age. At the other end of the Late Bronze Age political spectrum were the city-states of the Mediterranean world.

In the preceding chapters we have reviewed, selectively but as fairly as we could, the main contributions of the Late Bronze Age cities chosen for this analysis. There can be no doubt that the city-states discussed in this paper were real centers of authority, culture, and economy. Everywhere one can see the beginnings of a truly urban life style. Prosperity, luxury, and fastidious taste are evident from the material remains. We are faced here, almost, with a picture of a surfeit of cultural maturity.

For example, art is of a liveliness and vividness not excelled in any of the contemporary cultures of Mesopotamia and equalled only occasionally in Egypt. The architecture utilizes both local stone, particularly gypsum or limestone for foundations, alabaster for wall veneer, and half-timbered construction of wood and rubble plastered over and painted. The Late Bronze Age Mediterranean artisans of these city-states were adept in such crafts as metalwork, stone carving, cutting of seal-stones, carving of ivory, manufacturing and coloring pottery, frescoes, and faïence inlay. The frescoes from Pylos show elaborate costumes for women and intricate robes on male dignitaries; thus, weaving and dyeing must have been fully known. In short, the cultural aspects of Mediterranean civilization had reached

an extraordinarily mature and talented level by the middle of the second millennium.

As has been indicated in this paper, the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.E. witnessed an exchange of people, goods, and ideas between the city-states bordering the eastern Mediterranean basin on a scale unprecedented in Levantine history. This efflorescence of diplomatic, commercial, and social contacts was no revolution, as the foundations had been well laid in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.E., but the intensification of relations was a phenomenon of the age and led to the highest degree of material affluence and cultural cross-fertilization achieved during the entire Bronze Age.

According to this analysis, the city-states of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world were of two major types: coastal cities and inland cities. The narrowness of the coastal strip circumjacent to the Mediterranean practically made the coexistence of these two types of Late Bronze Age cities paradoxical. It seems that the coastal cities of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world functioned as ports-of-call; whereas, the inland cities acted as "buffer states," separating the port cities proper from the continental superpowers. Both of these types of Late Bronze Age cities acted as "bridges," or cultural intermediaries, between East and West. In other words, these city-states provided the "padding" between the ancient East and the emerging West, or were the cultural frontiers of the Late Bronze Age.

The multiple autonomous urban entities of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world basically enjoyed an independent existence despite the presence of the great empires in their backyards. Why was this so? It appears that the superpowers of the Late Bronze Age shunned the coasts, orienting themselves inland. Mesopotamian trade via water was riverain; Egypt's trade was largely passive trade carried on foreign bottoms. The Hittites had limited access to the Mediterranean, but they preferred their overland trade routes. Therefore, the city-states of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world seem to have functioned as politically neutral ports of trade. Here lies the key to the lasting independence of the city-states of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world. Ugarit provides the example par excellence. Ugarit has been found to be one of the richest sites of the ancient world; the royal palace had three times the area of the one at the Hittite capital of Boghazköy. Yet, Ugarit controlled little territory; we must infer that its wealth came to it from the trade in which it specialized. Furthermore, Ugarit was neither besieged nor suffered total occupation during imperial rivalries. These facts would confirm the view that the politically more sophisticated powers of the Late Bronze Age followed a "hands-off" policy in regards to the city-states of the Mediterranean basin, for these city-states functioned as ports of trade. The geographic proximity and the exposed strategic locations of these eminently important trading

centers must force us to the conclusion that during the Late Bronze Age the Hittites and the Egyptians were, in reality, tacitly agreed to respect the neutrality of the city-states on the Mediterranean.

I have shown in this dissertation that archaeology attests a common pattern of material culture among the city-states of Enkomi, Pylos, Troy, Ugarit, and Zakros. Why was this koine culture possible? The Mediterranean world enjoyed cultural unity throughout most of the second millennium. Rather than being a barrier separating peoples into isolated pockets, the Mediterranean proved to be a great "liquid" highway helping to form a culturally unified community. Sea-borne diffusion and acculturation by trade have knit together the component parts of the Mediterranean Littoral since the Bronze Age. So, cultural area clearly affected cultural history. Perhaps we should look to these Late Bronze Age city-states for the original roots and initial flowering of our own Western culture.

Both the deciphered Linear B tablets (from Pylos) and the Ugaritic texts present a picture of Mediterranean civilization in the Late Bronze Age. These documents assert that this civilization was centered upon the palaces. What are the contents of these tablets? They are usually very short and, in general, list wine, oil, cattle, humans, chariots, and so forth, which were apparently brought to the respective palaces from the areas which they controlled. The archaeological evidence considerably enlarges the

insight given by the tablets. Palaces were substantial buildings being built about main courtyards; storerooms confirm the evidence of the tablets that surpluses were, indeed, kept at the palaces.

Were these centers of Late Bronze Age Mediterranean civilization actually cities? The Late Bronze Age Mediterranean civilization centers certainly evince characteristics which can be regarded as those of cities: economic exploitation of agricultural resources, a highly developed level of arts and crafts which clearly required specialization, widespread commercial relations, and writing by a class of professional clerks. There survives, however, little written literature. Religion played a considerable role, but religion does not appear to have been the basis of either economic or political power.

It is, perhaps, reasonable to conclude that the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean civilization was the creation of palaces; the kings exploited agriculture and commerce, providing the market for the products of craftsmen and artists. Nevertheless, around all the palaces analyzed in this study, there grew up communities which may properly be regarded as cities in terms of concentration of population, of craft specialization, of commerce, and of the support of not directly productive artists, craftsmen, administrators, clerks, priests, and so on. Religion was an important aspect of rule, but rule seems to have had stronger economic

and political expressions accompanied by the ever-increasing militaristic features.

The city-states of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean were unlike the religious and imperial capitals of Mesopotamia. These Late Bronze Age Mediterranean urban communities seem to have come into being naturally and self-sufficiently; they were not the creations of territorial rulers. It appears that the concept of the palace rather than the temple (as in Sumer) was the focal point for the development of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean civilization. Thus, these Late Bronze Age Mediterranean city-states, while in regular communication with surrounding cultures, had their own independent history, style, and achievement.

What is our evidence for the development of social stratification in these Late Bronze Age city-states? Can we identify a common structure of stratification beneath the welter of differing local features? The growth of social inequality in these Mediterranean city-states was stimulated by concentration of wealth in the hands of ruling groups who controlled the technical resources of Late Bronze Age economy. Bronze was actually expensive to make (or acquire) but it was essential in the manufacture of commodities which primarily benefitted the wealthy minority who maintained a monopoly control of its supply. A surplus from the peasantry was necessary to maintain the increasing numbers of specialist craftsmen. The wares produced by the latter

were handled and exchanged by yet other classes of specialists. This centralized economy could benefit only the wealthy minority; the cultivators could not benefit from an expanding circulation of luxury commodities.

The development of bronze-working was a central feature of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world. In contrast to this, the older Bronze Age societies of the ancient Near East had depended upon techniques of pottery, spinning and weaving, the smelting and casting of copper, manufacture of bronze from copper and tin, the plough, the wheeled cart, the harness and the sailing-ship followed by the bellows, the tongs and the cire-perdue process of bronze-casting. In Egypt and Mesopotamia, irrigation, too, had played a vital role in the large-scale agriculture which produced a vast surplus appropriated by the ruling classes. This surplus was utilized partially for producing commodities. But commodity production in Mesopotamia was chiefly restricted to a few luxury articles; there remained a basic internal natural economy, even though a part of the agricultural surplus was being exchanged for raw materials. The need for such raw materials as metals and timber, extracted as tribute or exchanged for foodstuffs and luxury articles, caused the Mesopotamian cities to expand. Trading relations were maintained not only with Egypt and Anatolia but extended to the coasts of the Levant, where the type of city-states discussed in this paper arose; these city-states had good harbors, adjacent to fertile valleys and mountains

with ample supplies of timber and stone. Less dependent upon centralized irrigation, the city-states of the Late Bronze Age Levant could produce less of an agricultural surplus. Industrial production was, however, more intense, with the manufacture of luxury goods (like jewelry and cosmetics), with dye-works, copper-foundries, workshops for the making of bronze tools, and shipyards.

The conspicuous consumption of the great palaces and their estates in their heyday relied on overseas trade, and with their fragile economies they needed their world to remain relatively static in order to preserve their social and political continuity. All the kings of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean city-states needed a stable world for their trade routes to exist, and for their markets to be accessible.

When the rulers of these lop-sided economies began to extend their system to other territories by conquest and diplomacy, they prepared its downfall. Decay of the Late Bronze Age societies of the Mediterranean had become general by about 1200 B.C.E. Wealth had been concentrated in restricted sectors and could not be used to promote technical advances to benefit the whole. Instead the techniques were applied to warfare. In consequence, Mediterranean society became progressively impoverished during the late thirteenth and early twelfth-centuries B.C.E. Its eventual collapse, with the arrival of the Sea Peoples, had been prepared by its very nature. The shape of

society itself in these Late Bronze Age city-states was not constructed to last. Thus, the Sea Peoples became "symptoms," rather than "causes."

The dynamics of the interconnections between the city-states around the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age were unquestionably economic, as resource-deficient sites like Enkomi, Pylos, Troy, Ugarit, and Zakros sought to obtain commodities necessary for maintaining the living standards of their ruling elites. The "paragon" city-state of Ugarit was rich in primary produce, but had to import its metals, particularly copper and tin; Ugarit acted as an entrépôt with its own industrial base. It provided other city-states of the Levant, as well as the Hittites and the Egyptians, with raw, processed, and manufactured goods such as cereals, oils, and wine, and articles in metal, ivory, glass or faïence, and stone.

We are only at the beginning of a study of the economy of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world. But we can still draw the conclusion that geopolitical conditions had a deep influence upon production, trade, and marketing. These features, likewise, had an influence on the formation, in certain areas, of economic ties between single city-states; e.g., Enkomi with Ugarit.

Naturally, these city-states developed economically in their own ways. Today we can see only some of the elements involved; for example: rich booty taken in military campaigns, relatively developed artisanship, foreign trade

(both overland and maritime), and other features connected with geographic position (including the presence of metal ore, like copper near Enkomi). But only further investigation will allow the writing of an economic history of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world.

In the final analysis, I wish to offer a quotation by Fernand Braudel from his great work The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II: "History is not made by geographical features, but by the men who control and discover them." Braudel's comment is certainly applicable concerning the monarchs of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world's city-states.

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APPENDIX

FIGURES

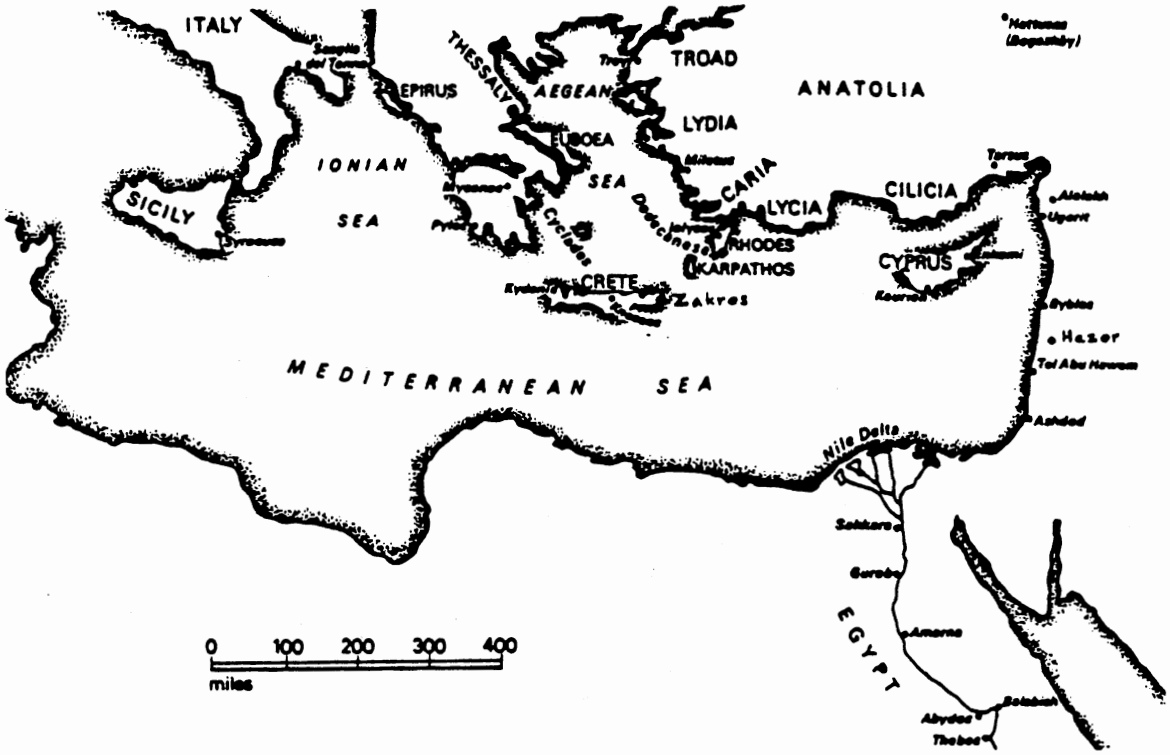


Figure 1. Sketch Map of Mediterranean World

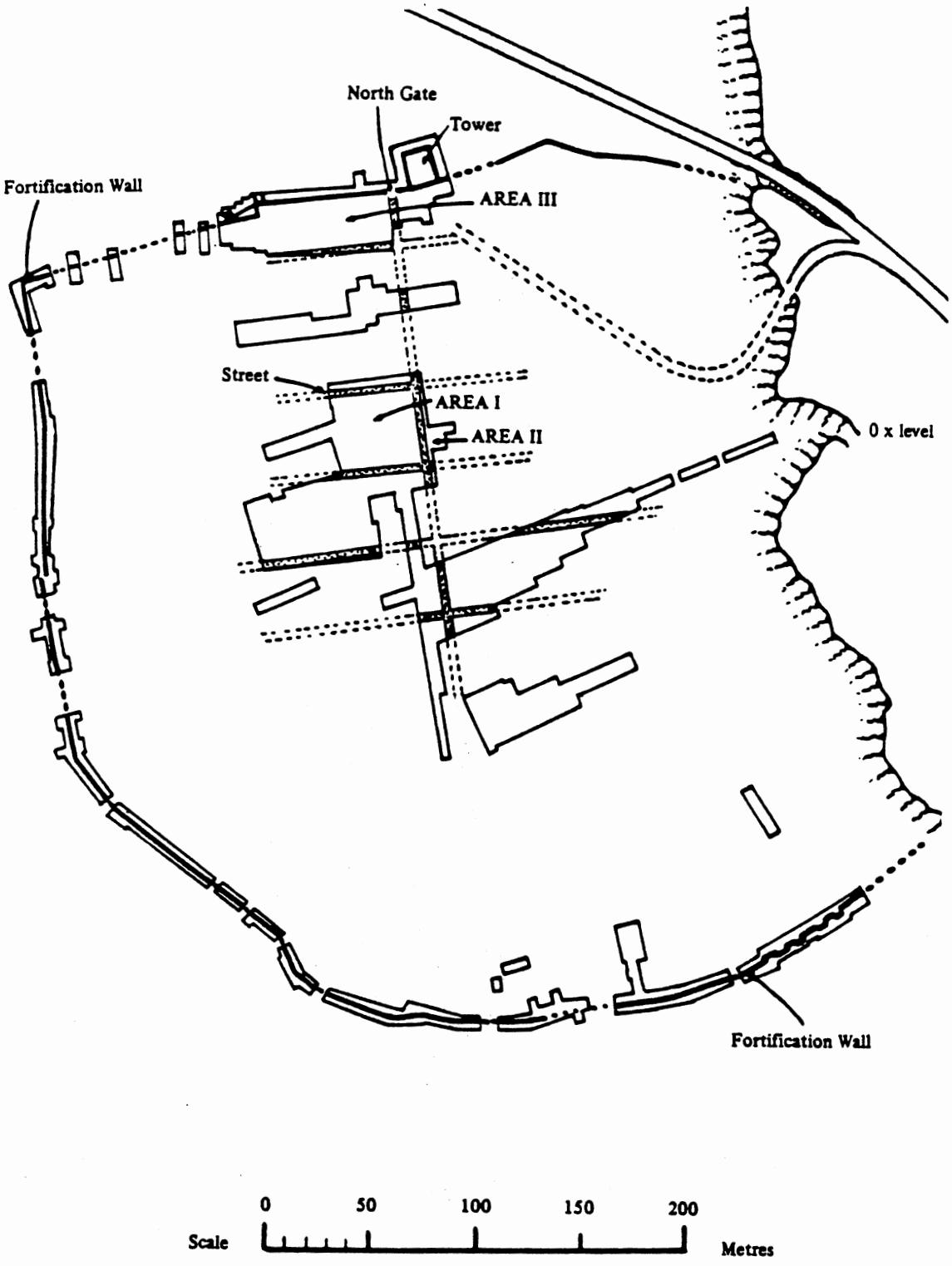


Figure 2. Sketch of the City of Enkomi

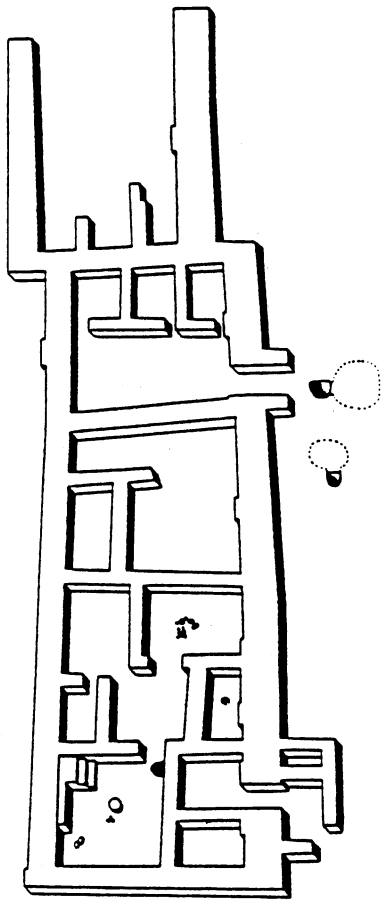


Figure 3. Isometric View of Fortress, Level IA, Area III, Enkomi (after Dikaios)

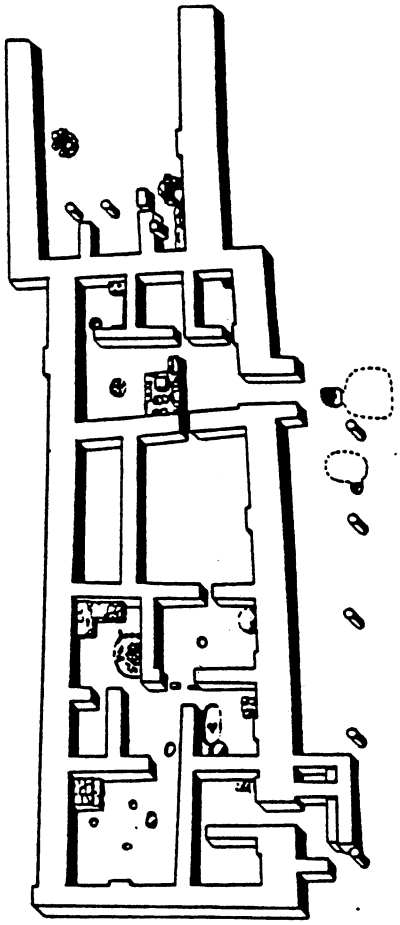


Figure 4. Isometric View of Fortress, Level IB, Area III, Enkomi (after Dikaios)

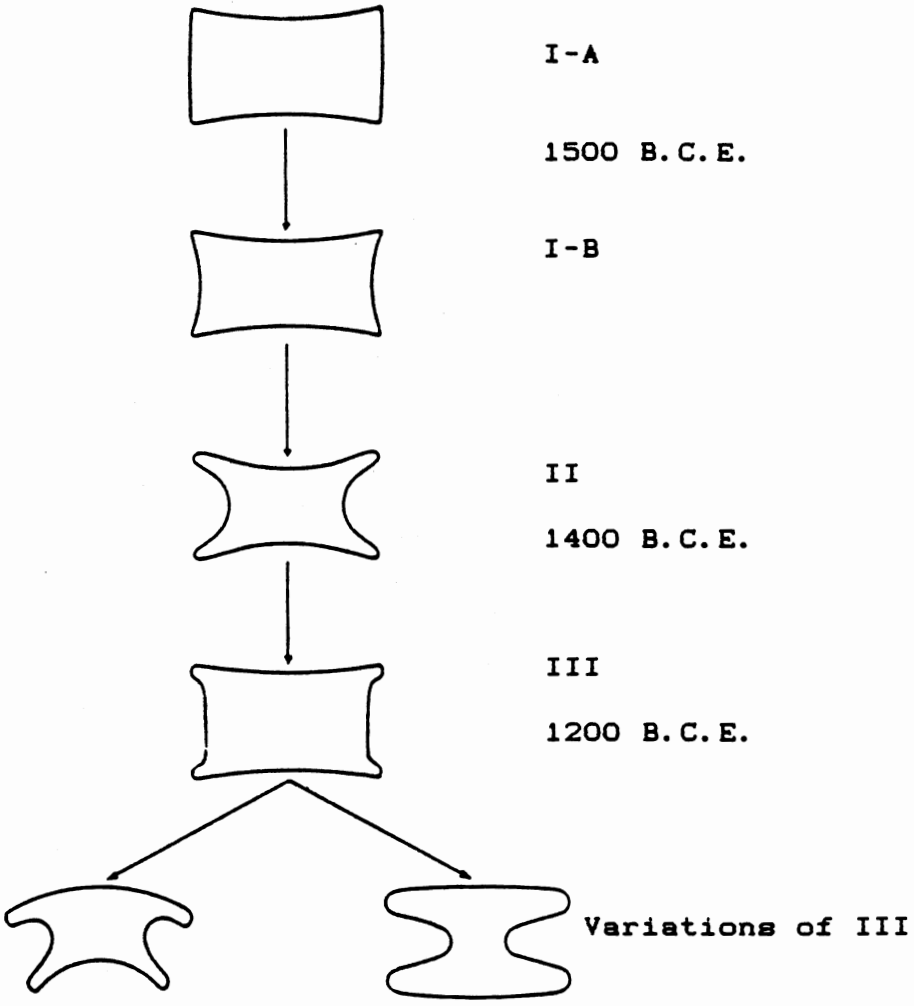


Figure 5. Evolutionary Scheme of Types of Copper Ingots from Enkomi

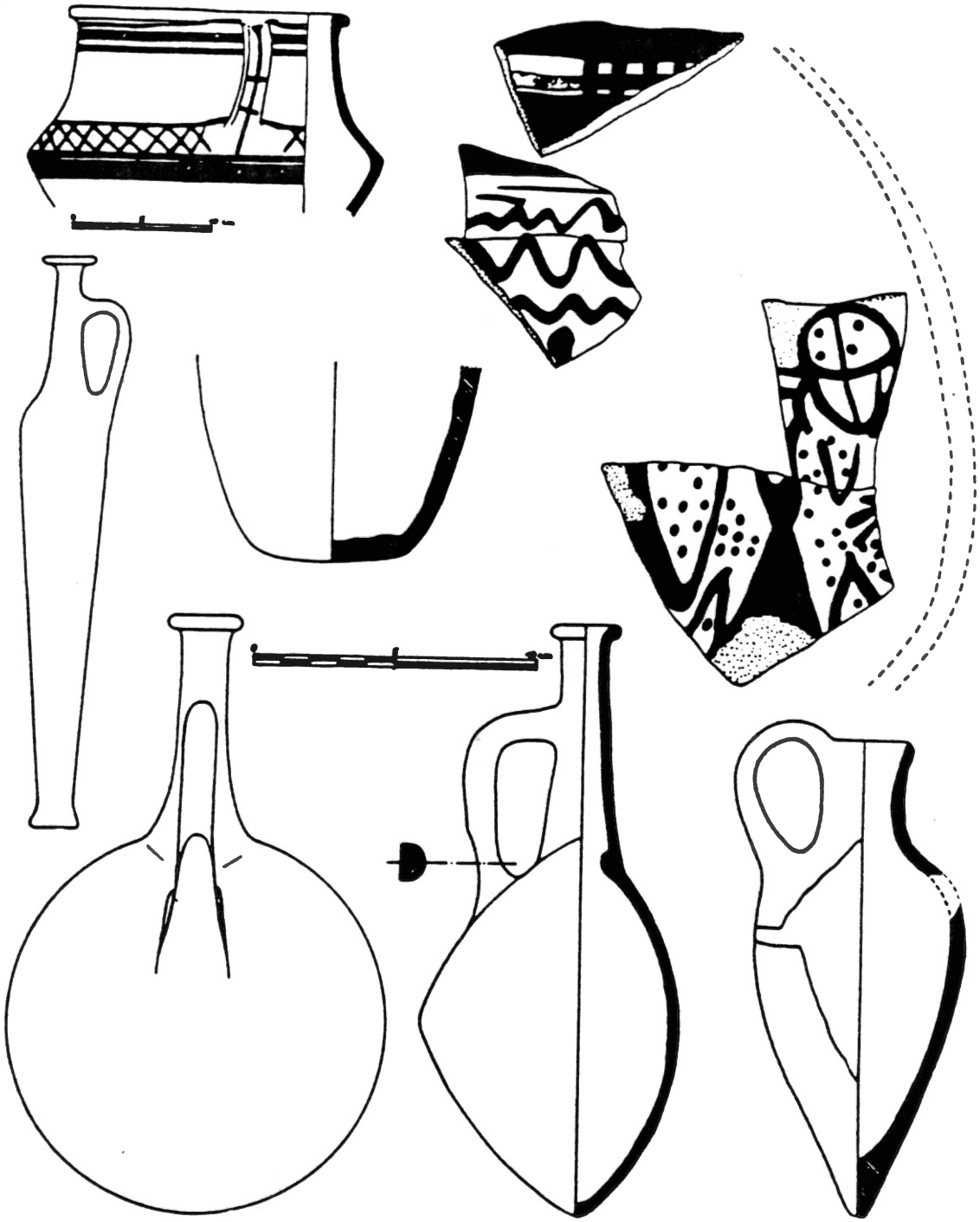


Figure 6. Representative Examples of Bichrome, Red Lustrous Wheel Made, and White Shaved Wares from Enkomi

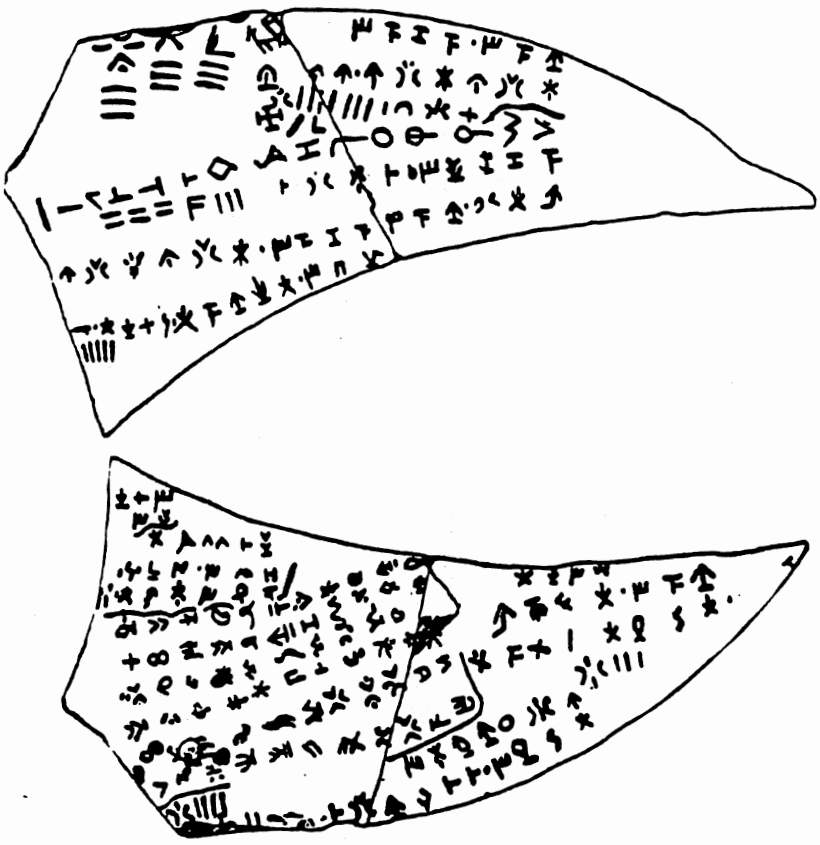


Figure 7. Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions Painted in Red

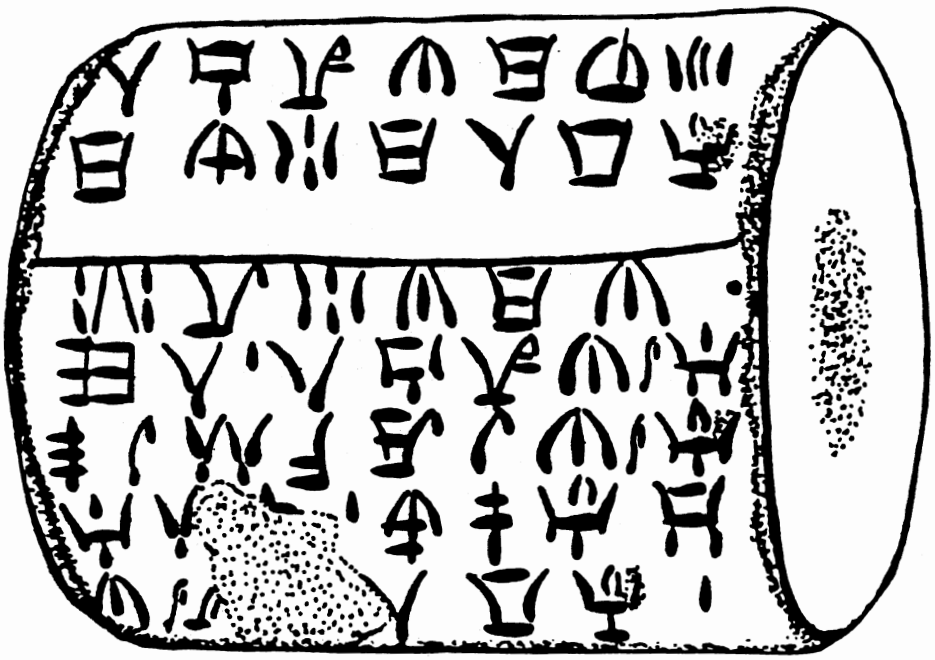


Figure 8. Cypro-Minoan Script on Cylinder

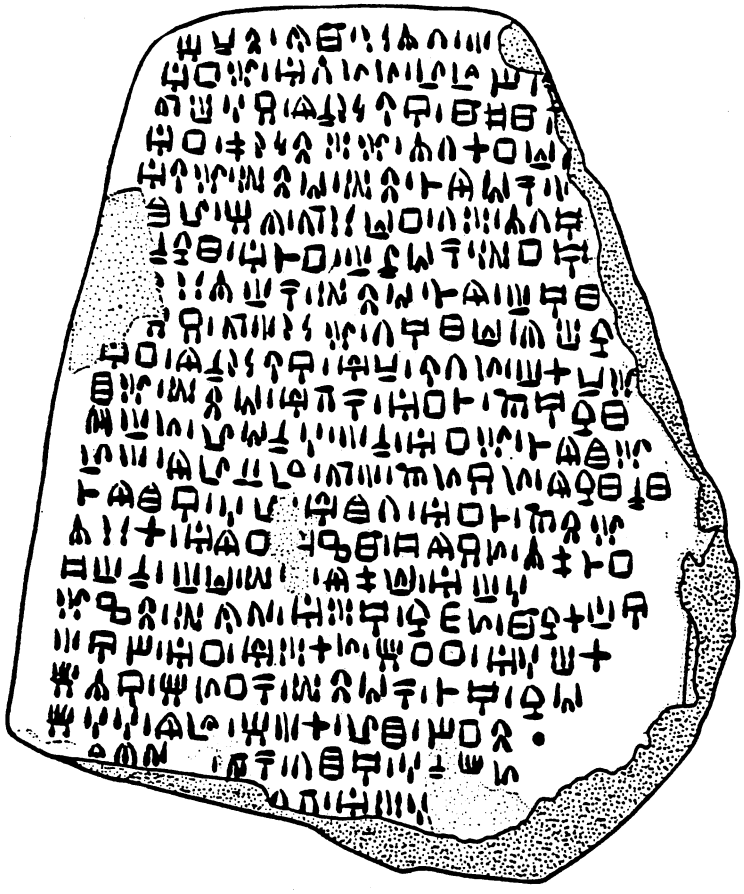


Figure 9. Cypro-Minoan Transcription of Tablet 90 (after Dikaios)

Figure 10. Clay Tablet with Cypro-Minoan Script from Ugarit

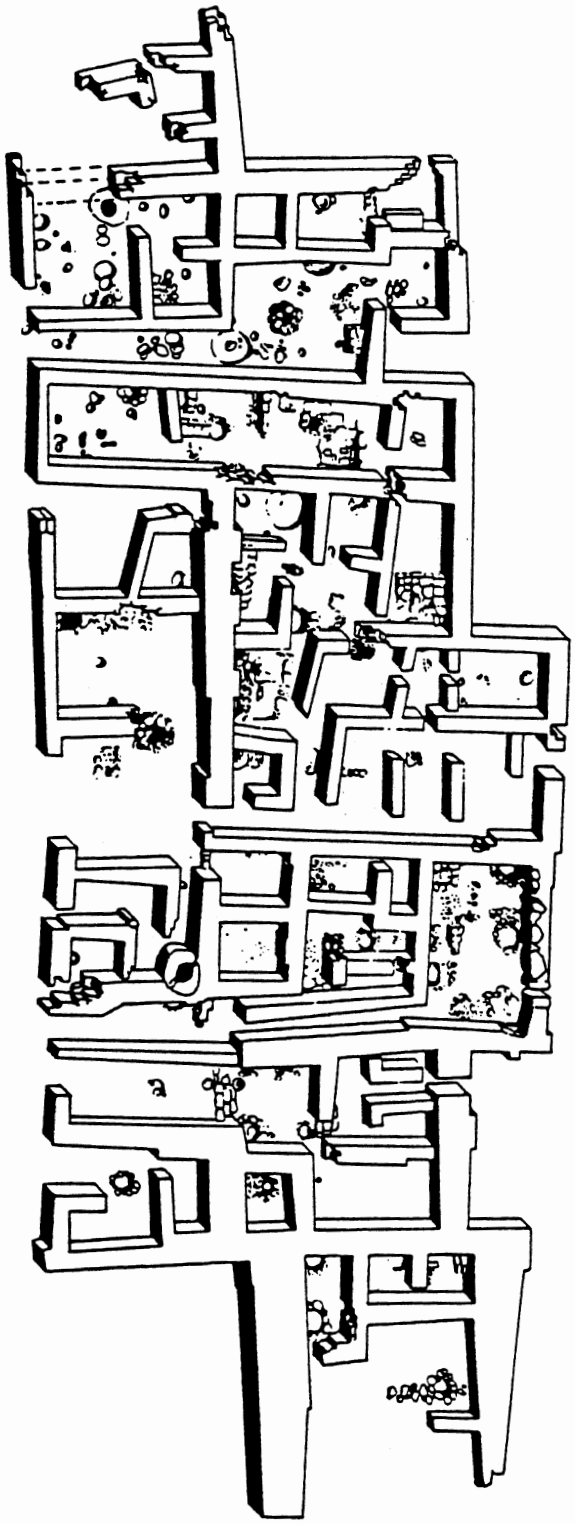


Figure 11. Isometric View of Level IIB Compound, Area III, Enkomi (after Dikaios)

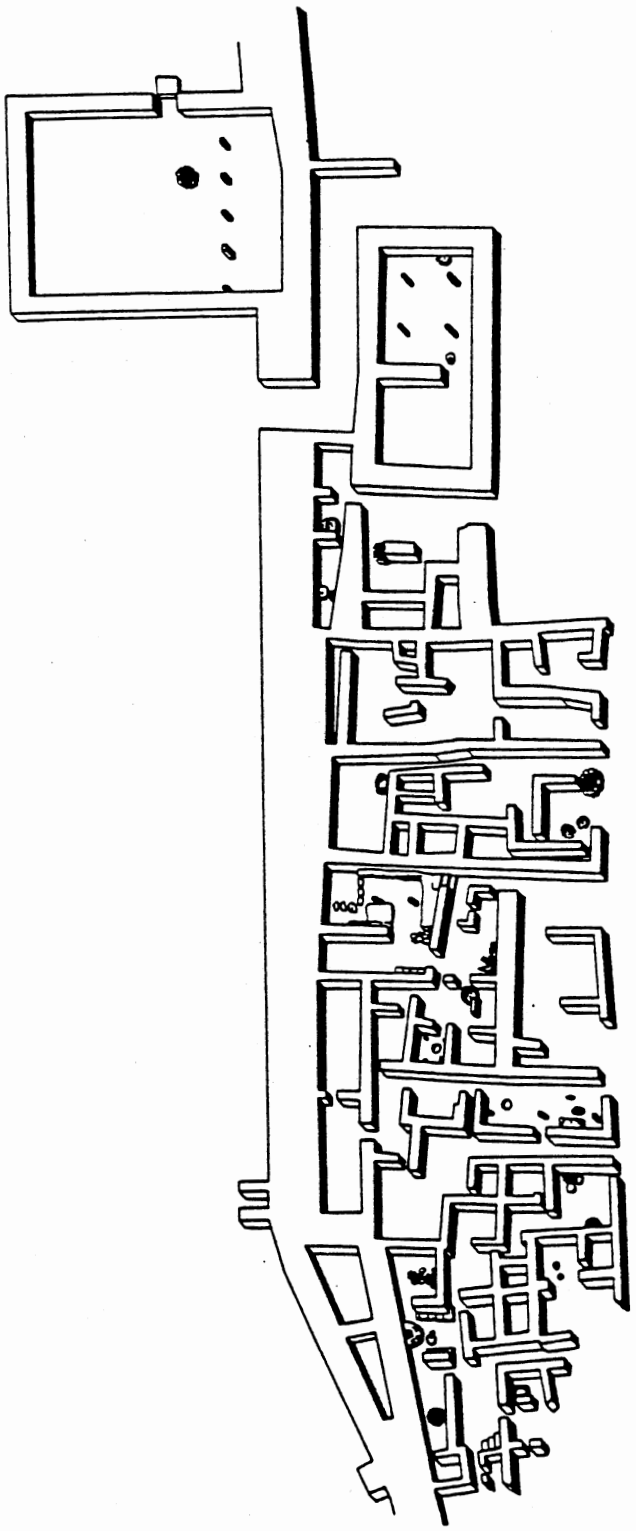


Figure 12. Isometric View of Level IIIA Buildings, Area III, Enkomi (after Dikaios)

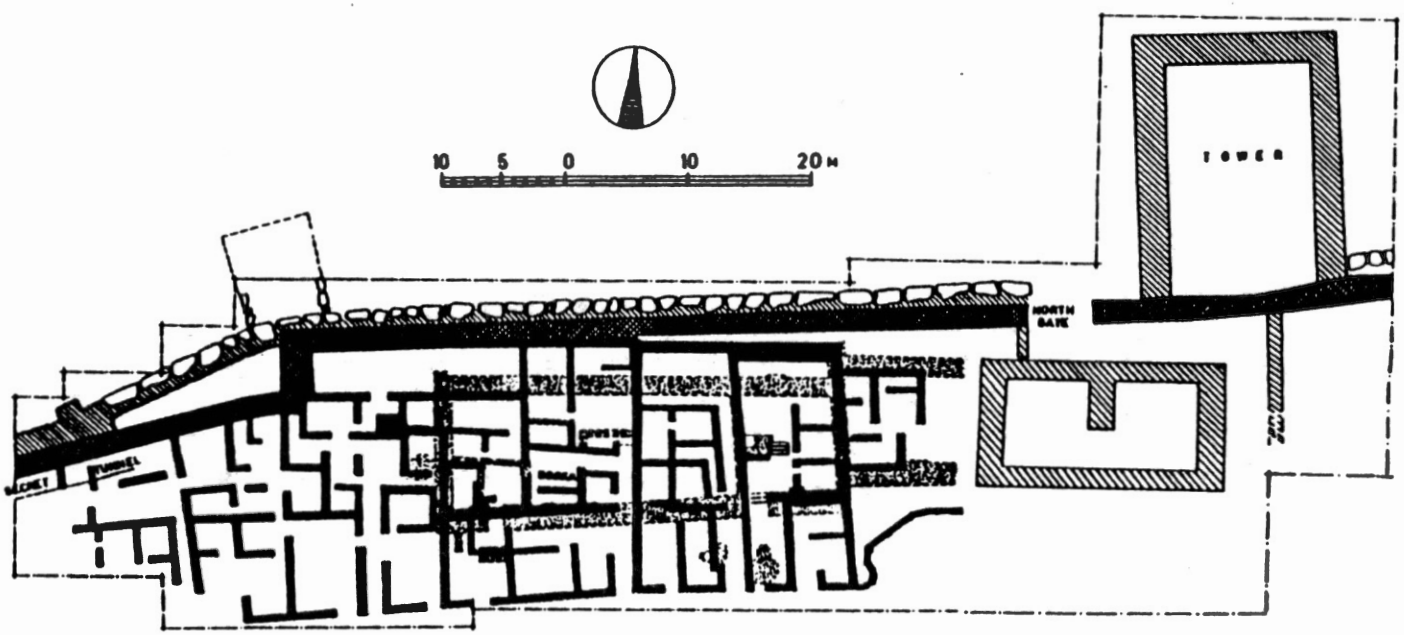


Figure 13. Sketch Plan of Superimposed Architectural Remains in Area III (after Dikaios)

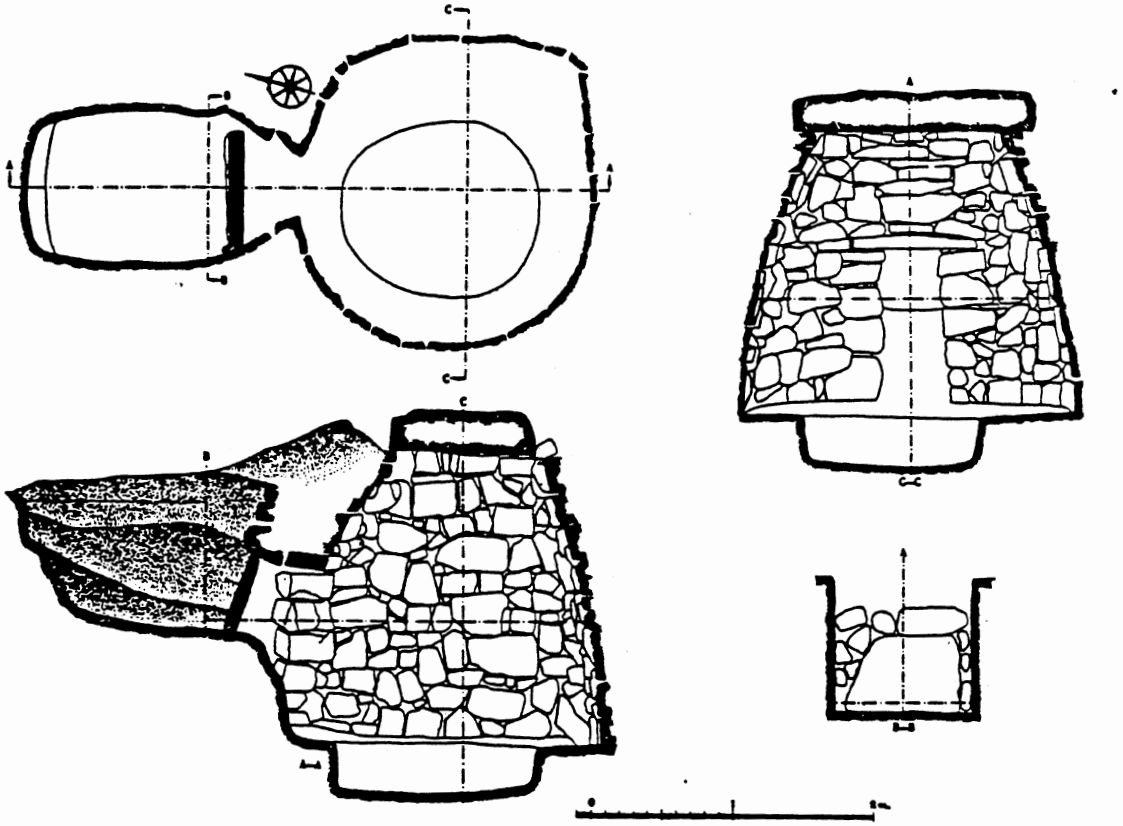


Figure 14. Tomb 21 at Enkomi (after Gjerstad)

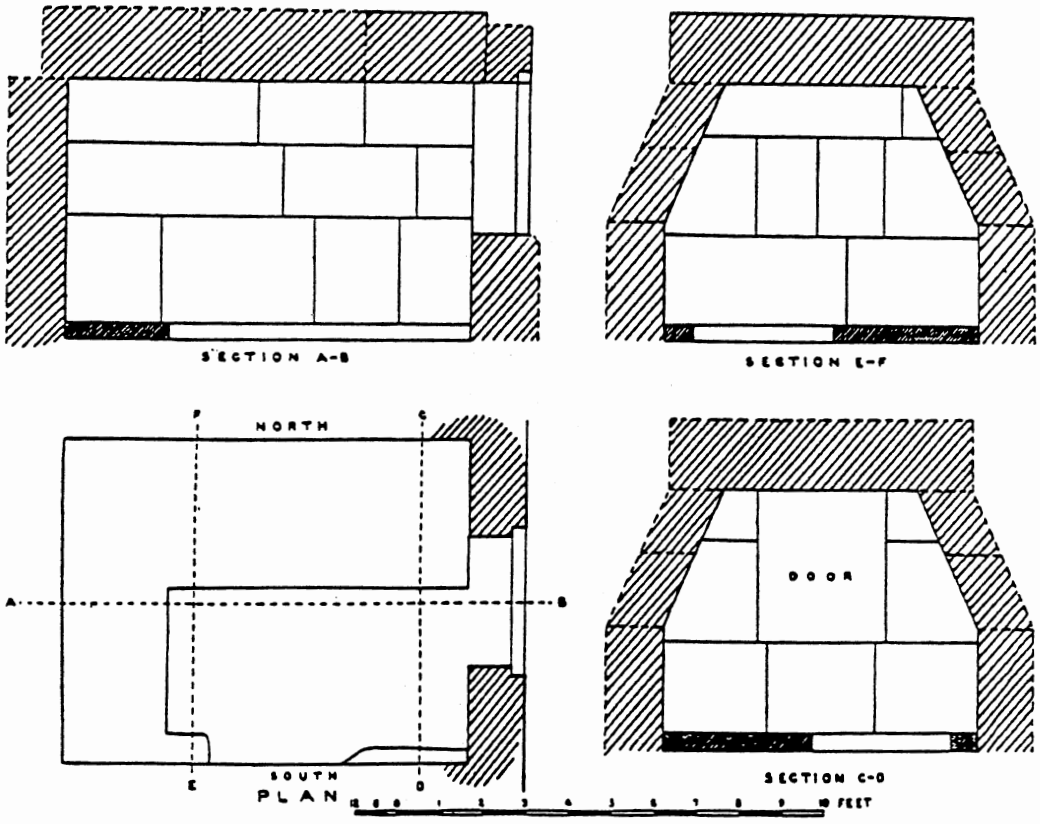


Figure 15. Tomb 66 at Enkomi (after Murray)

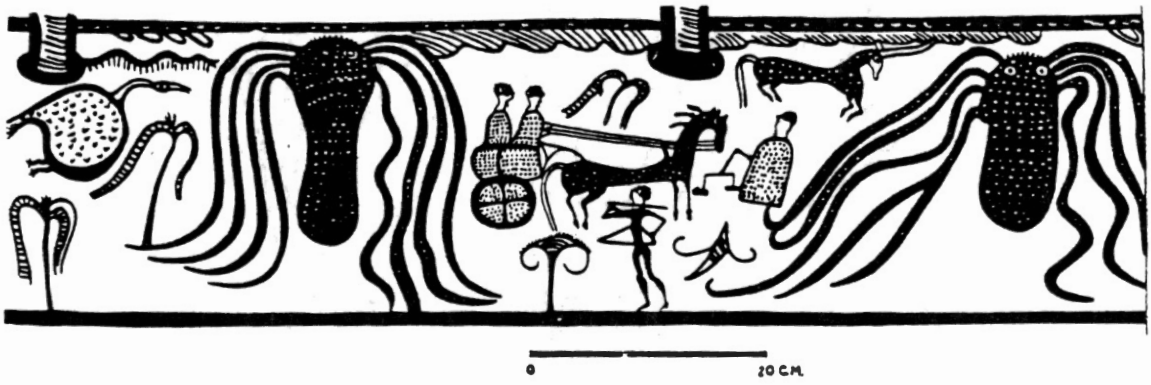


Figure 16. Scene on the "Zeus Crater" from Enkomi

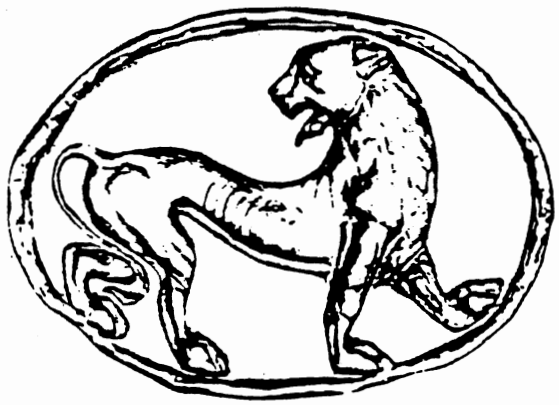


Figure 17. Bezel of Gold-plated Finger Ring from Enkomi

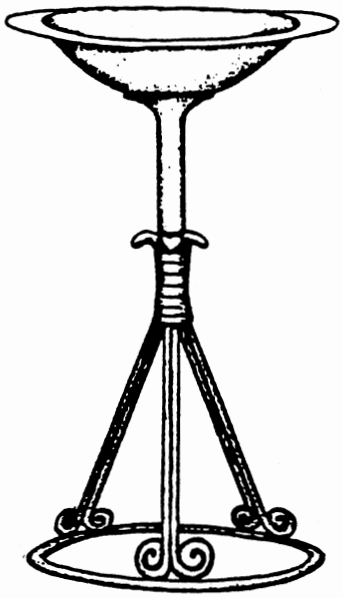


Figure 18. Bronze Tripod from Enkomi

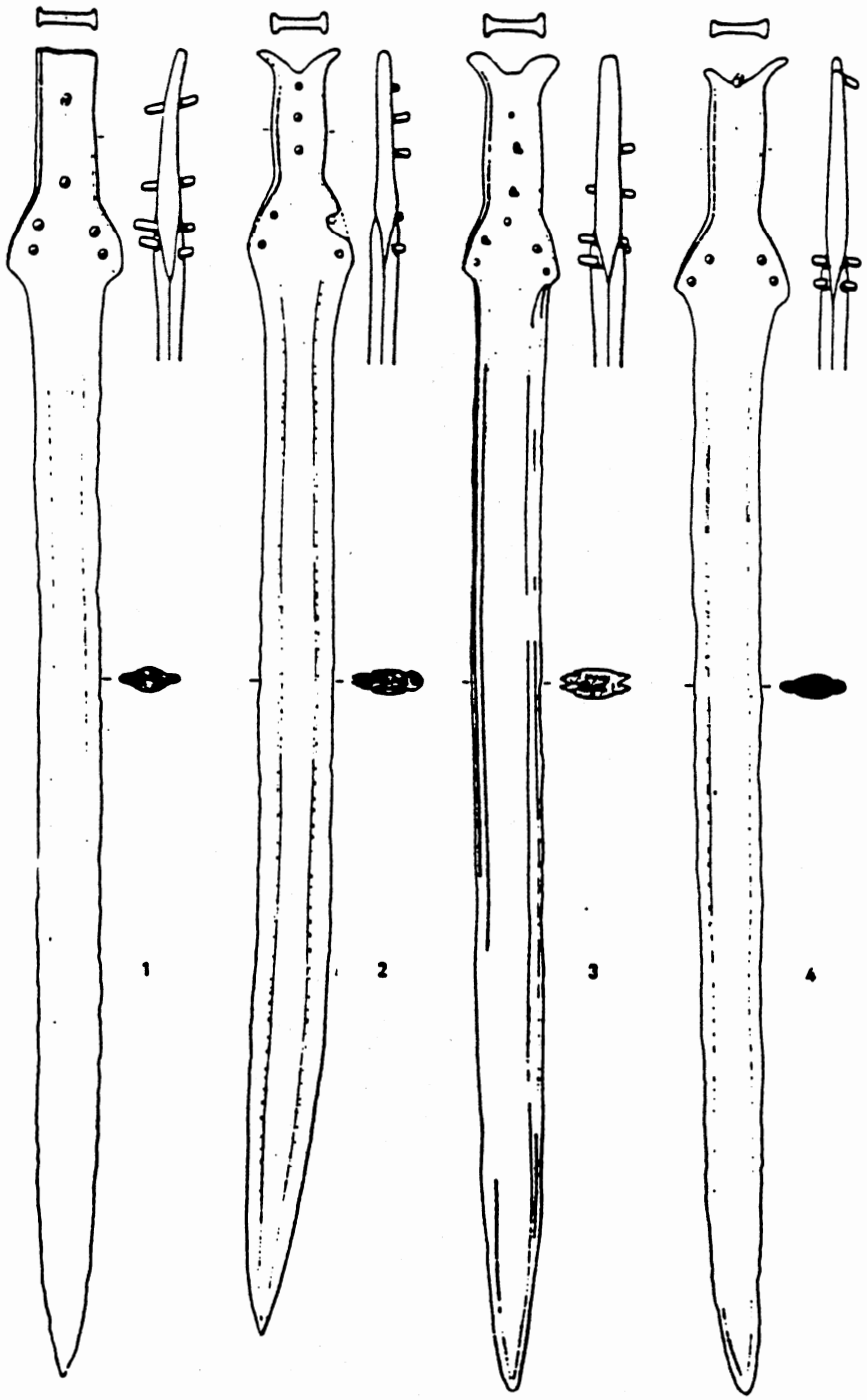


Figure 19. Swords from Enkomi

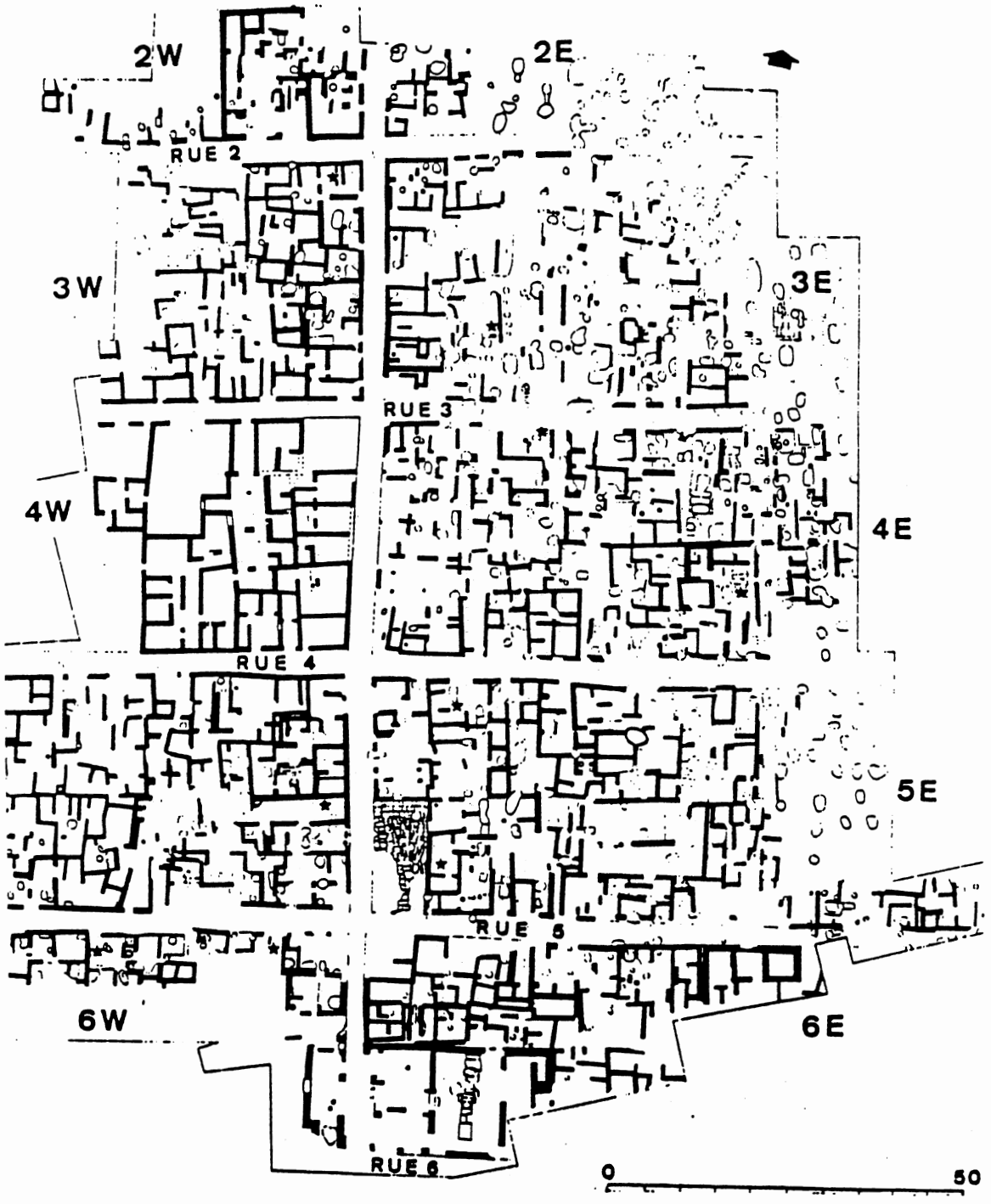


Figure 20. General Plan of "Down-Town" Enkomi (after Courtois)

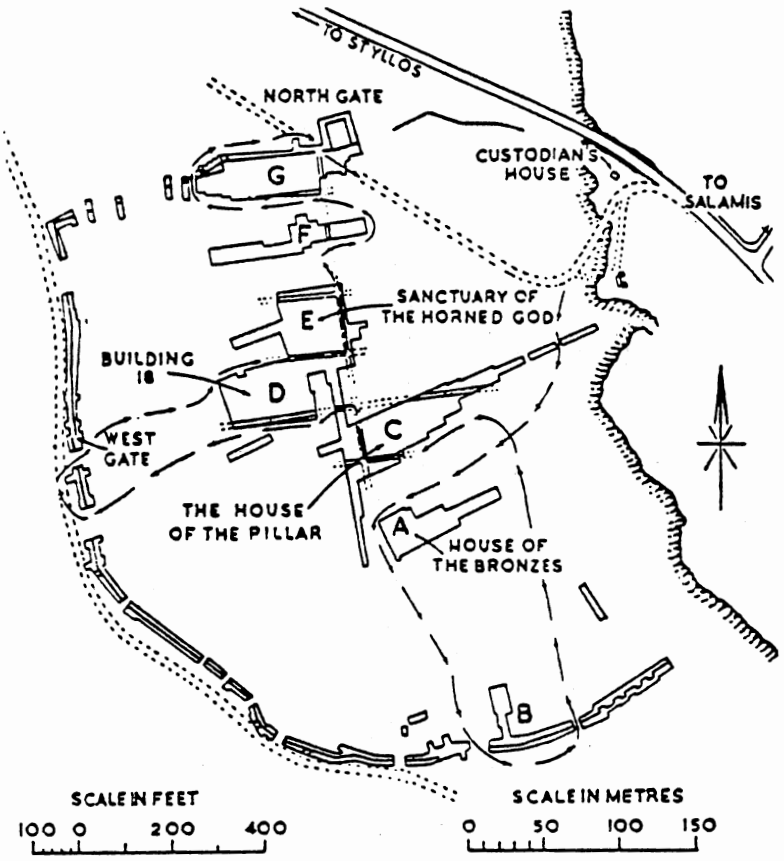


Figure 21. Sketch of Enkomi Indicating Various Miscellaneous Architectural Features

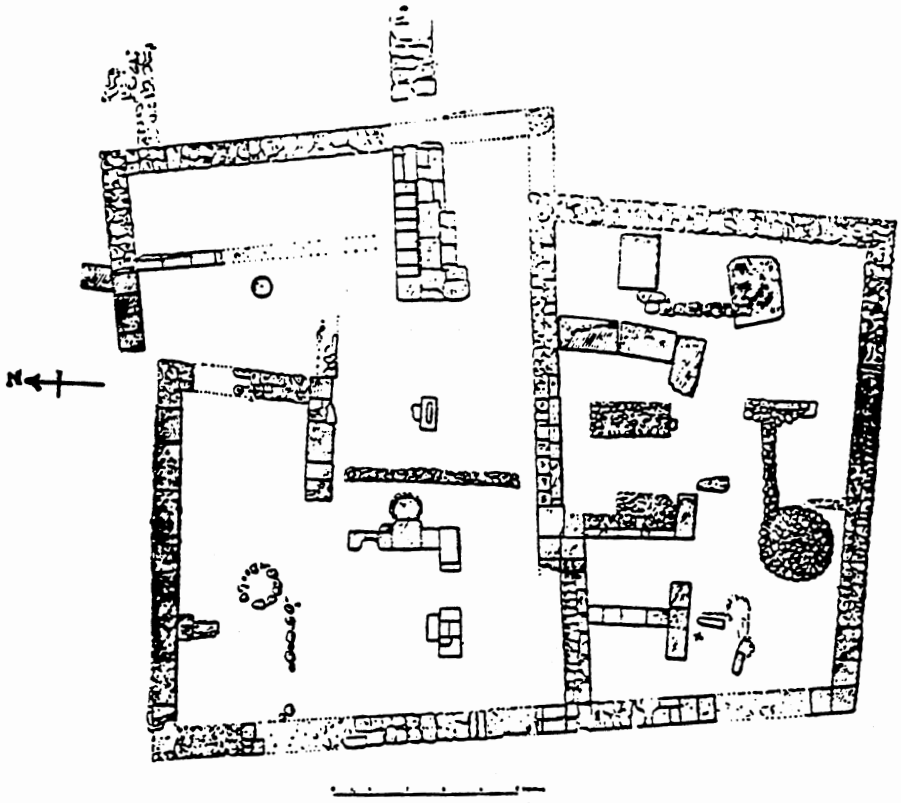


Figure 22. "Maison des Bronzes"

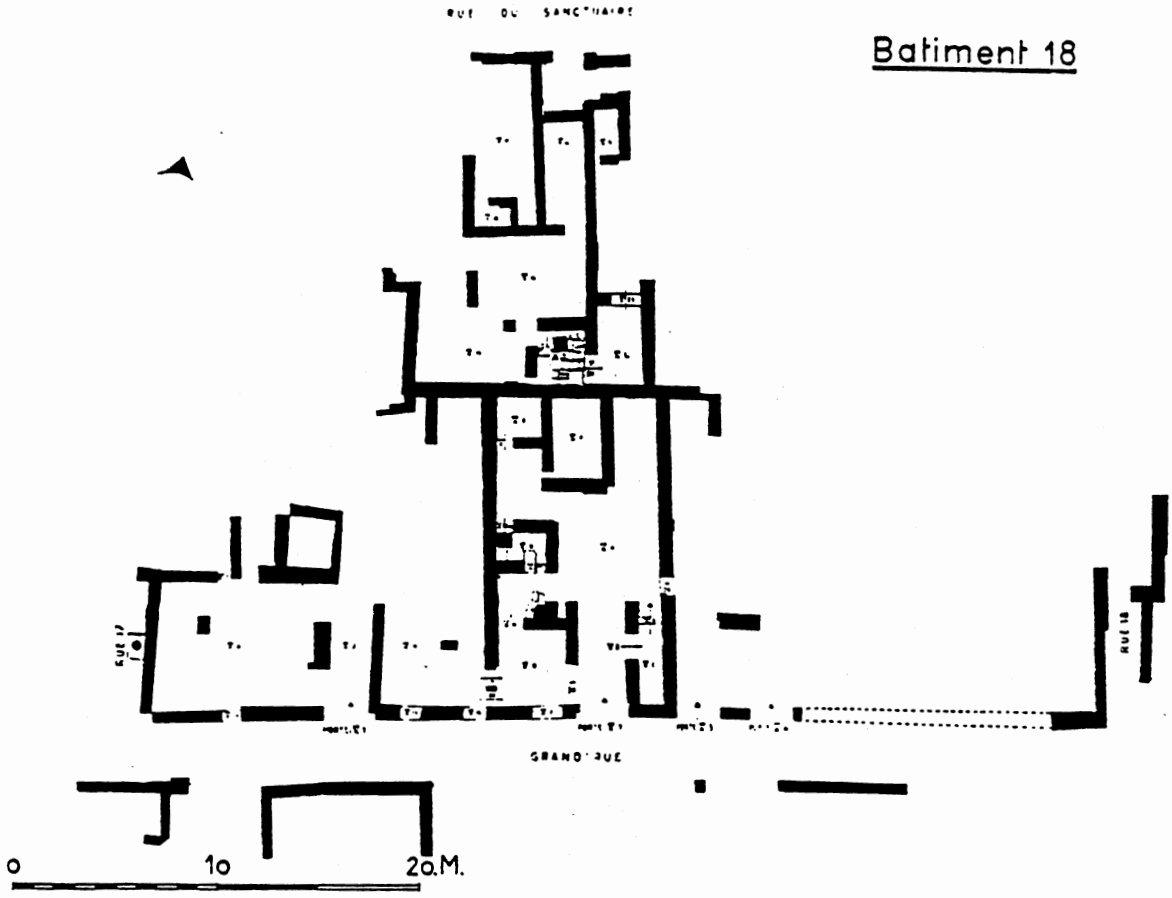


Figure 23. "Building 18" (after Schaeffer)

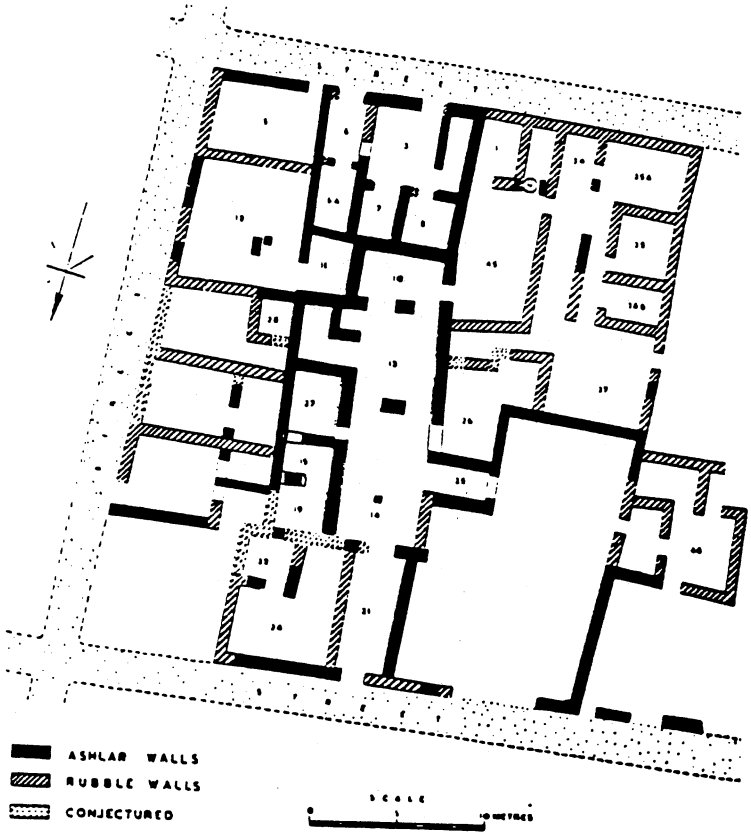


Figure 24. Plan of the Sanctuary of the "Horned God" from Enkomi (after Dikaios)

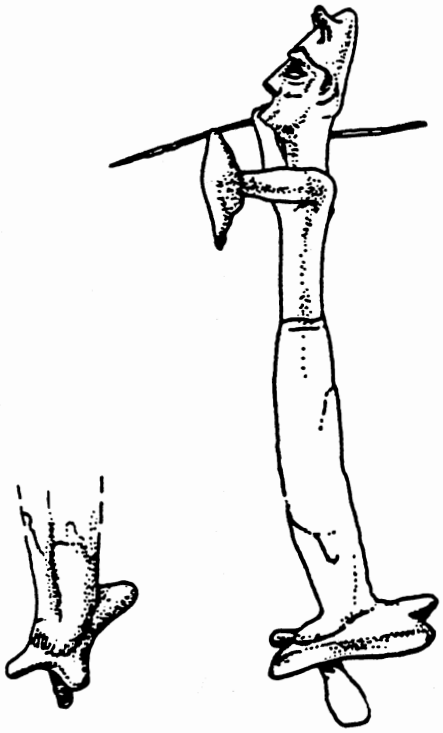


Figure 25. Sketch of the "Ingot God" from Enkomi

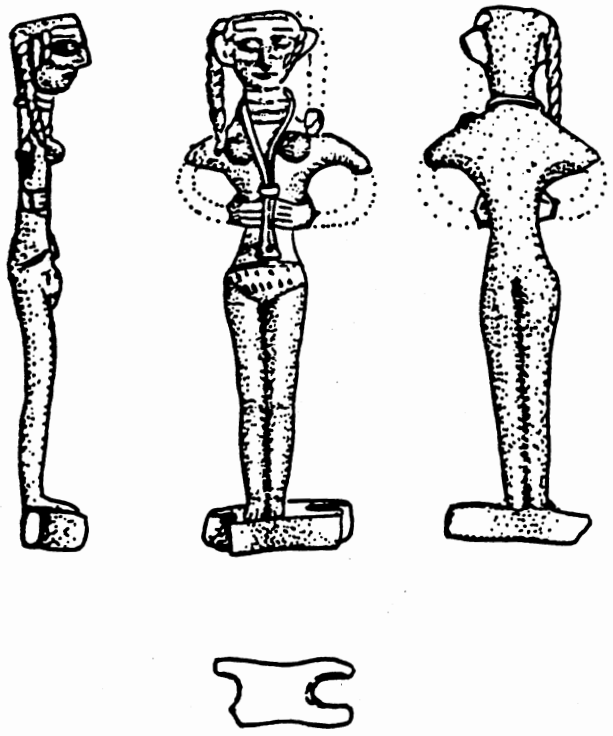


Figure 26. Female Divinity from Enkomi

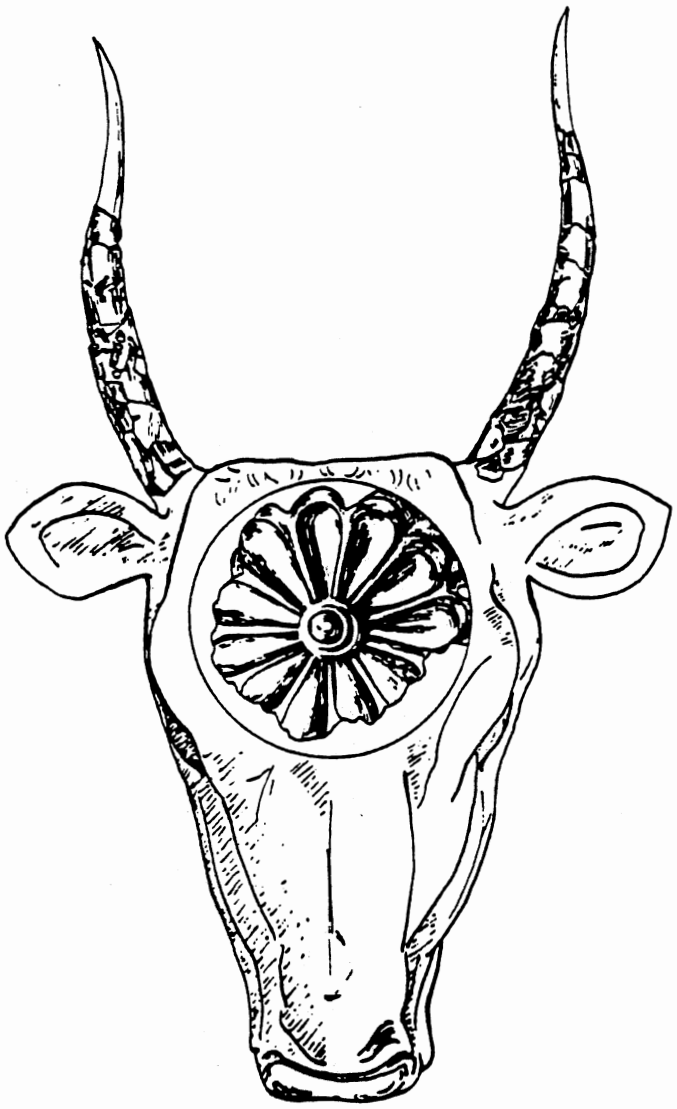


Figure 27. Bull Rhyton from Enkomi

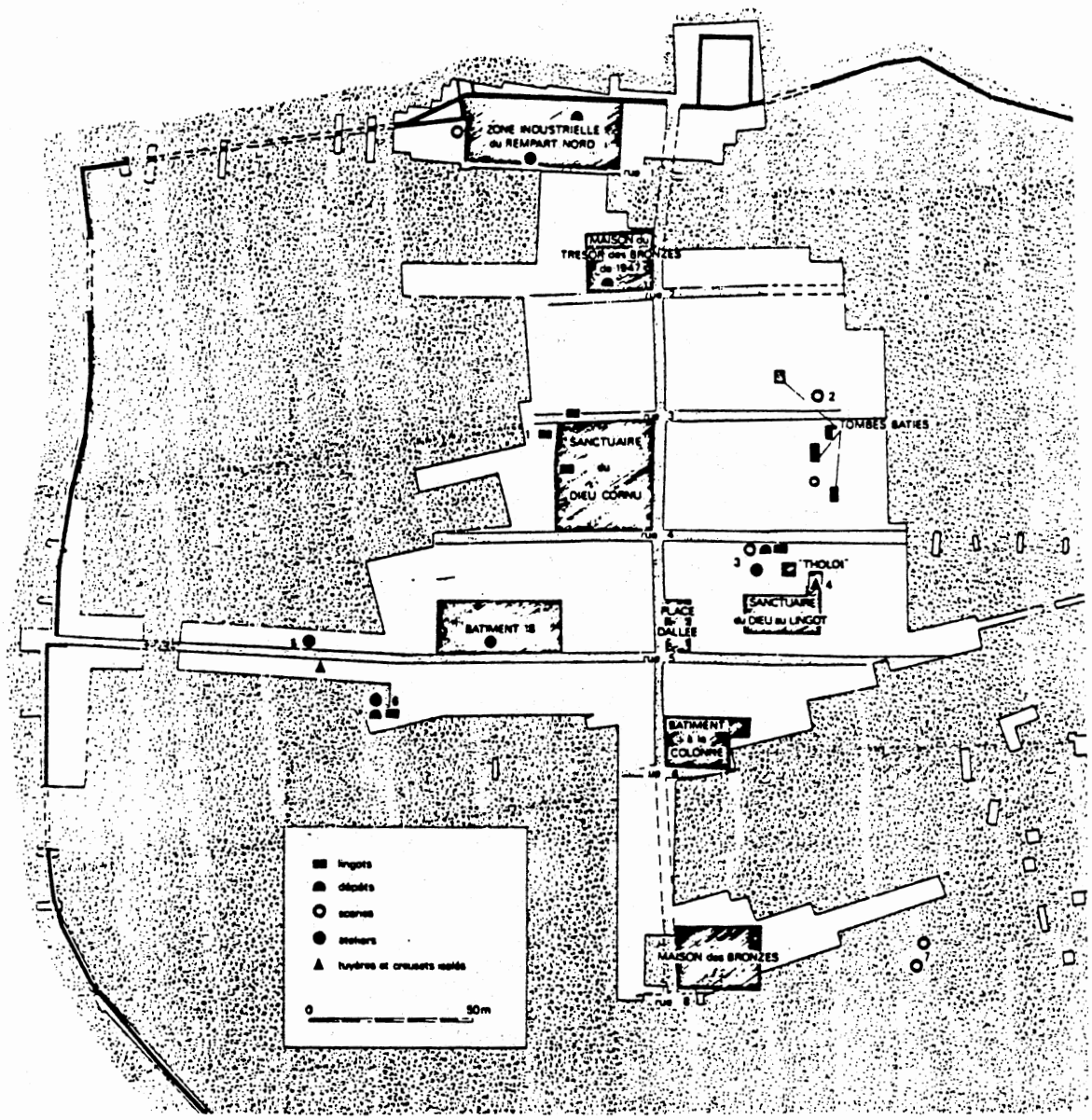


Figure 28. Schematic Plan of Enkomi Indicating Areas of Metallurgical Activity (after Schaeffer)

Figure 29. Carved Ivory Draught Box from Enkomi

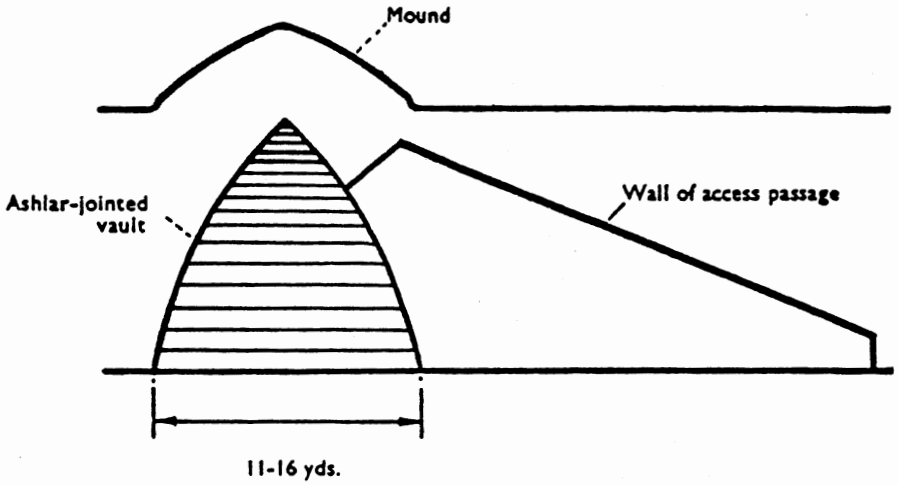


Figure 30. Diagram of Beehive Tomb

Figure 31. Palace Style Vase from Pylos

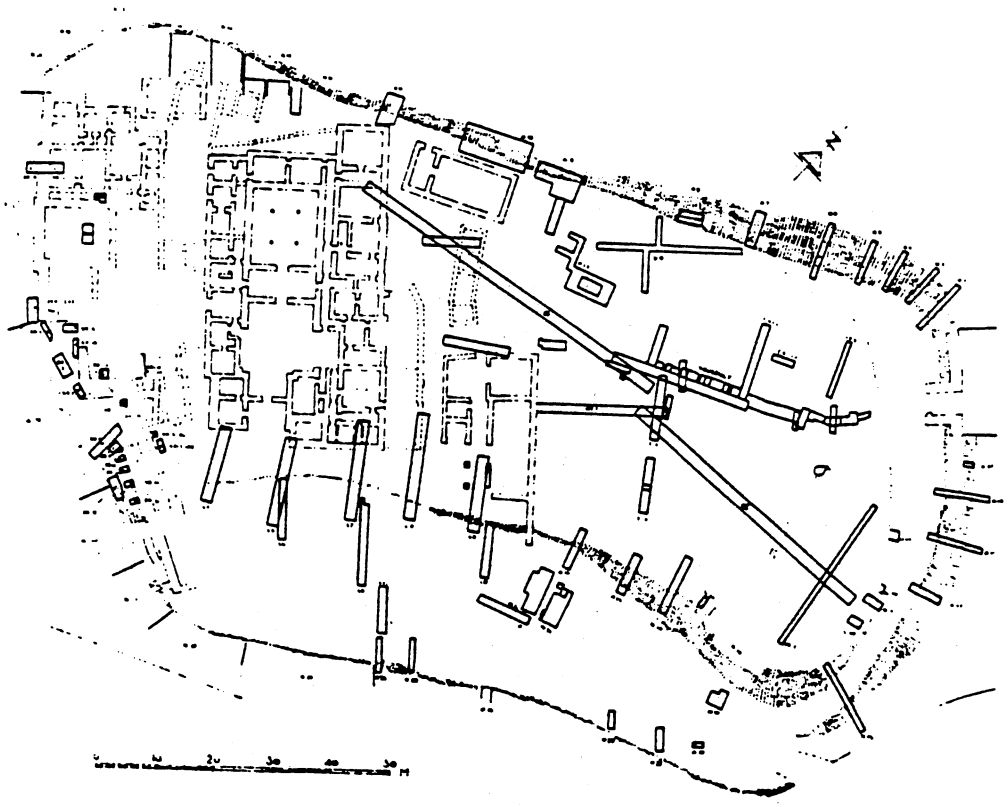


Figure 32. Plan of the Site of Pylos

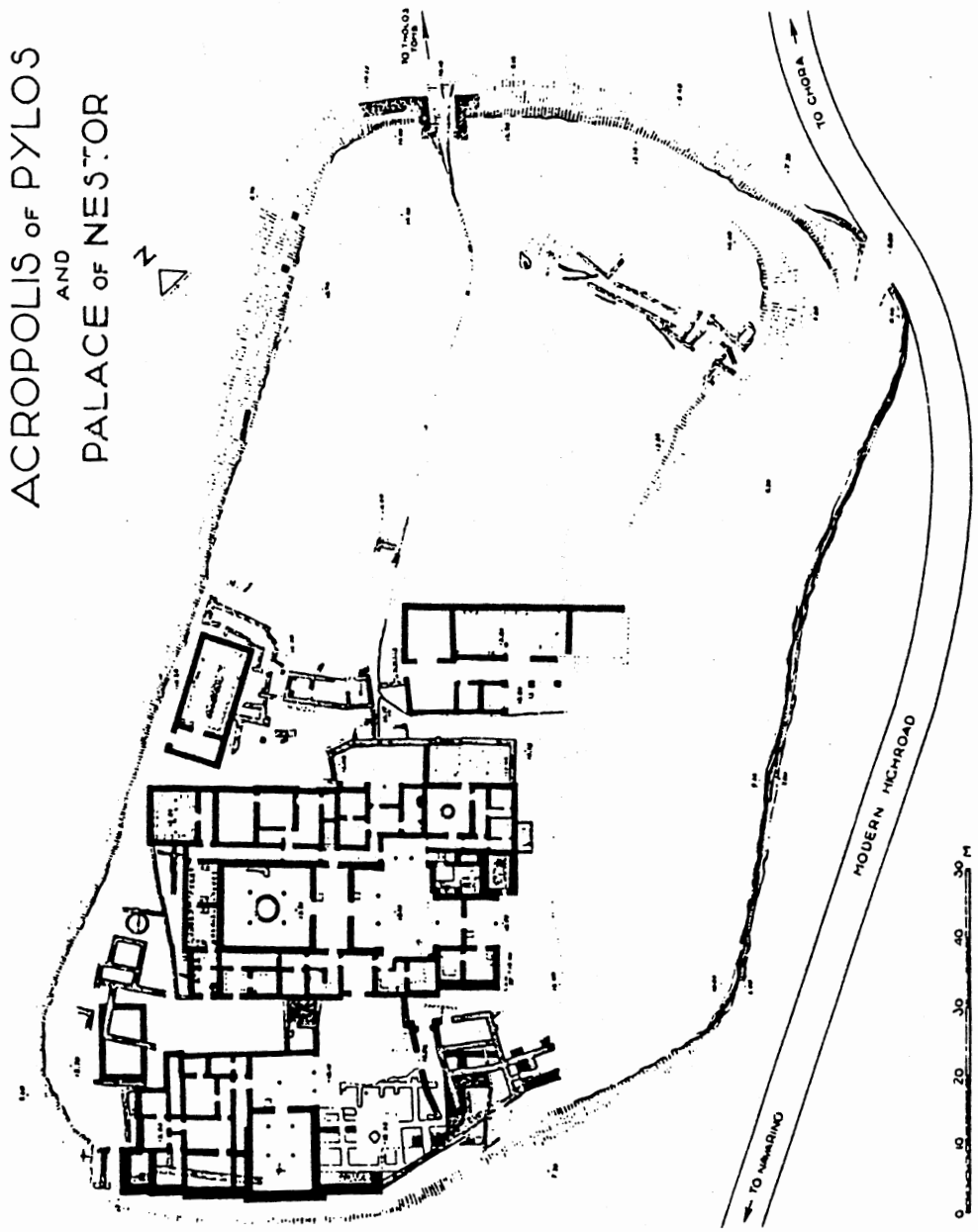


Figure 33. Acropolis at Pylos (after Blegen)

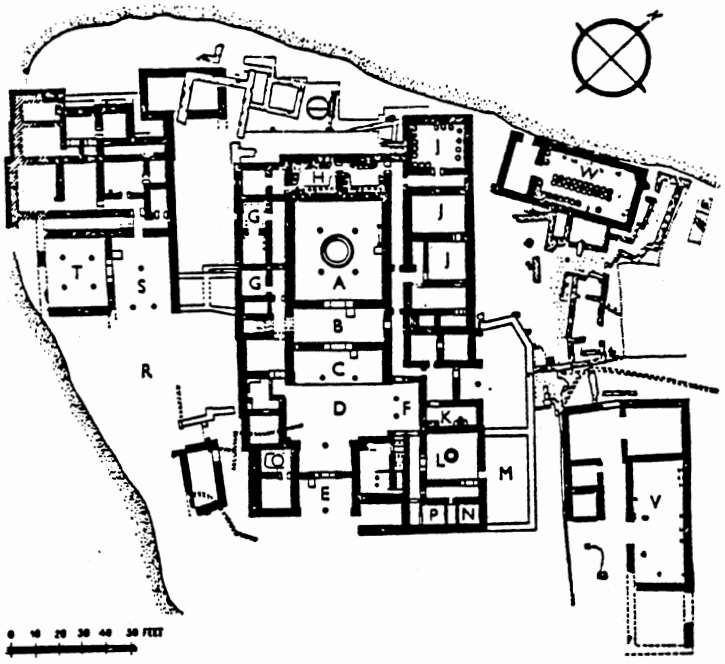


Figure 34. Plan of the Palace at Pylos

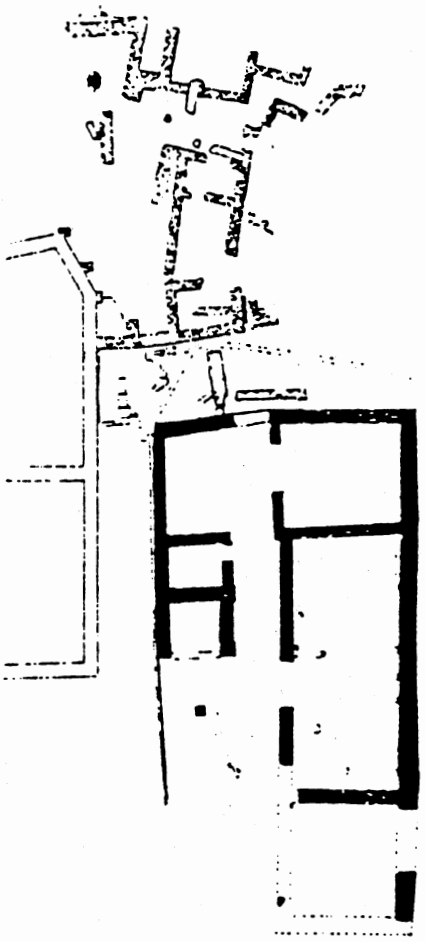


Figure 35. The Industrial Quarter at Pylos

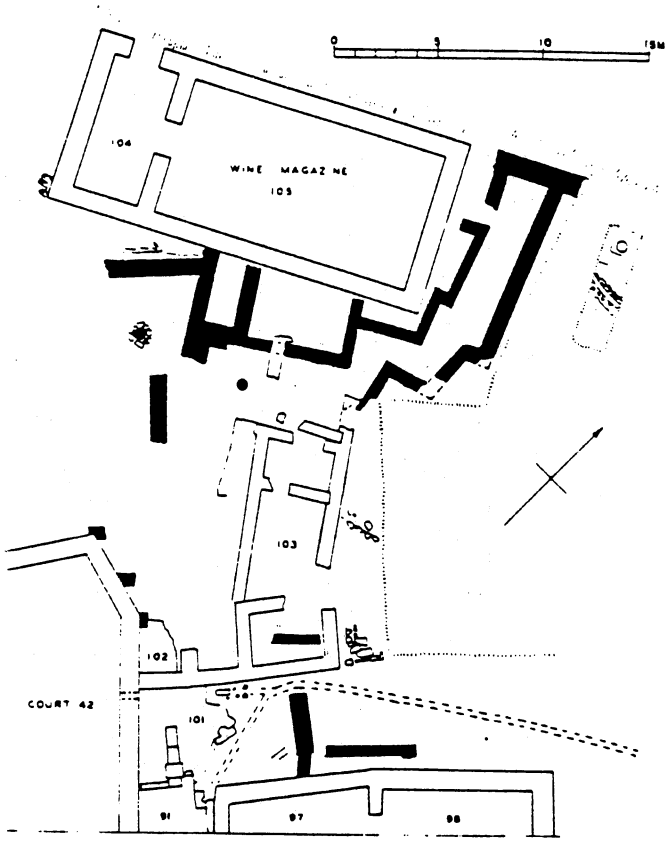


Figure 36. Wine Magazine of Palace at Pylos

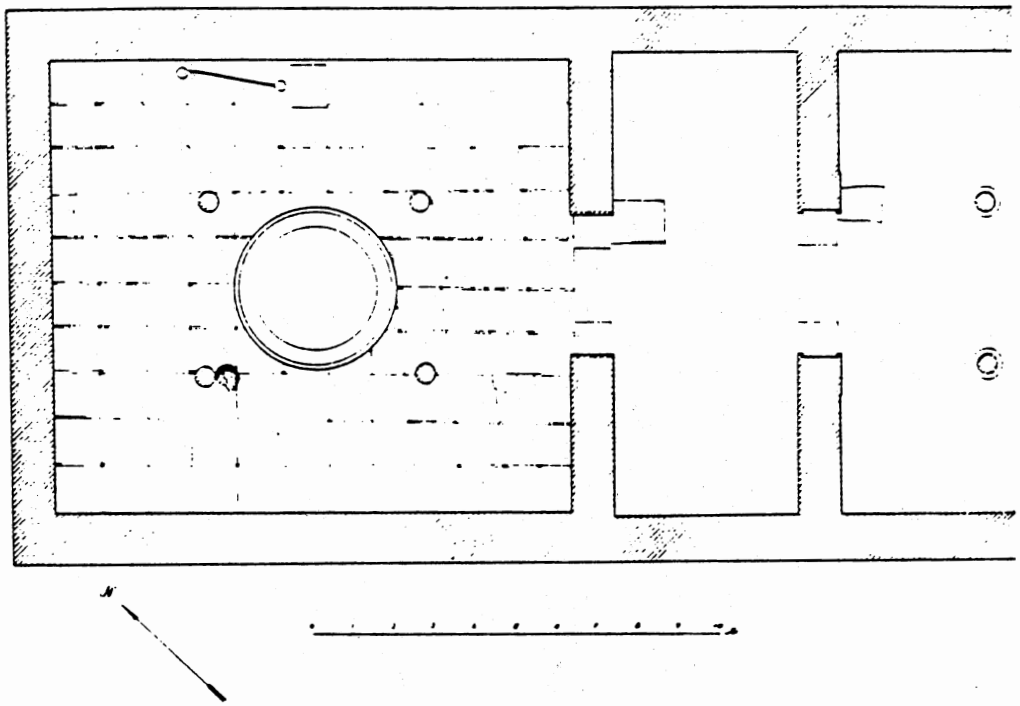


Figure 37. Plan of the Megaron at Pylos

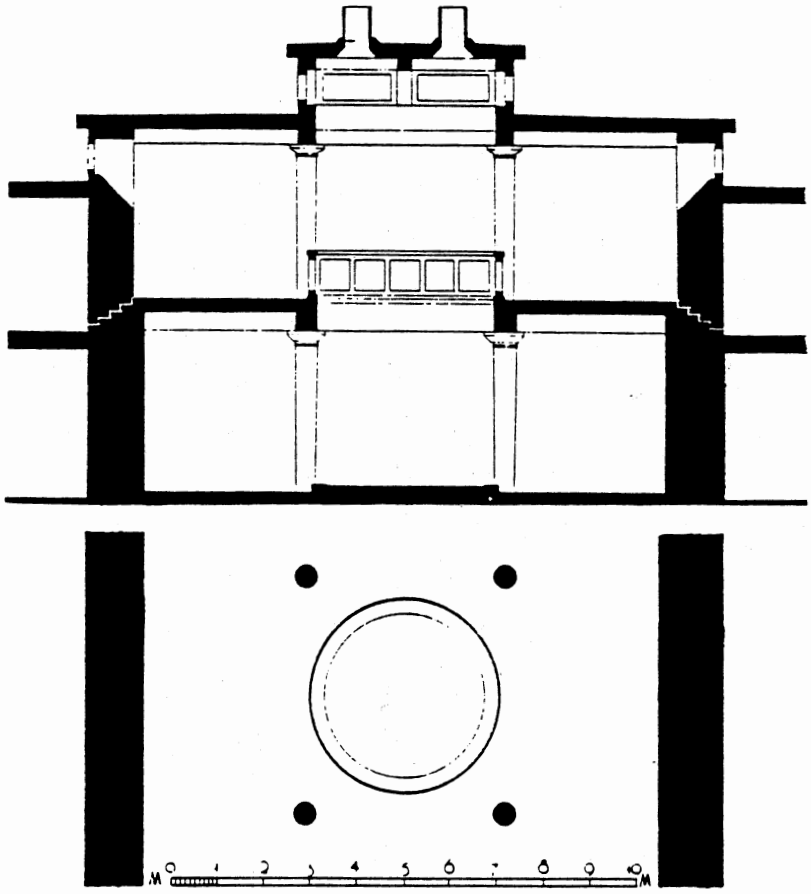


Figure 38. Plan of Hearth Area in Throne Room of Palace at Pylos

Figure 39. Winged Griffin on Gold Royal Seal

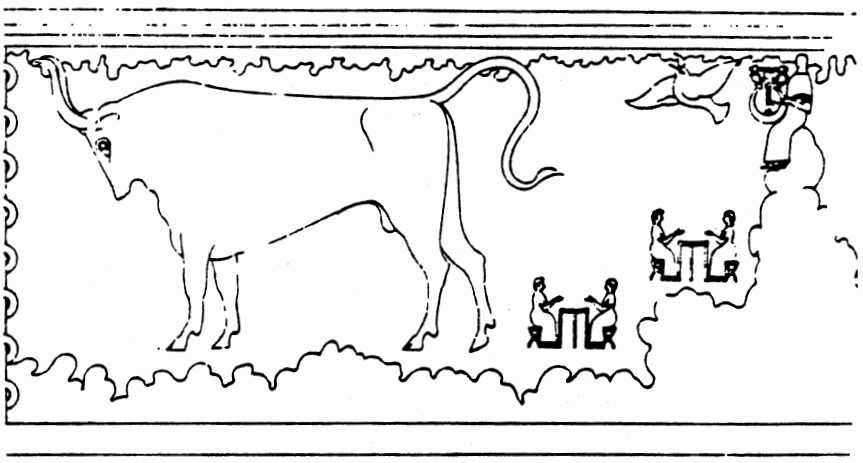


Figure 40. Sketch of Throne Room Fresco

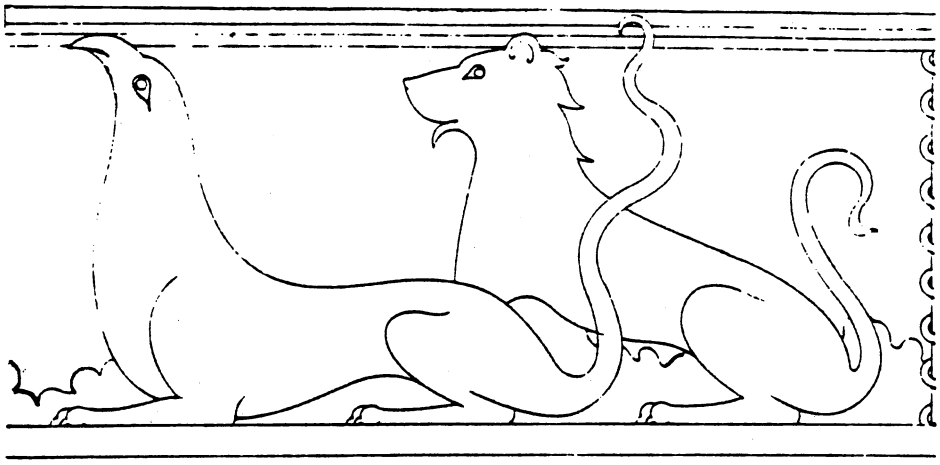


Figure 41. Griffin and Lion Fresco from Megaron at Pylos

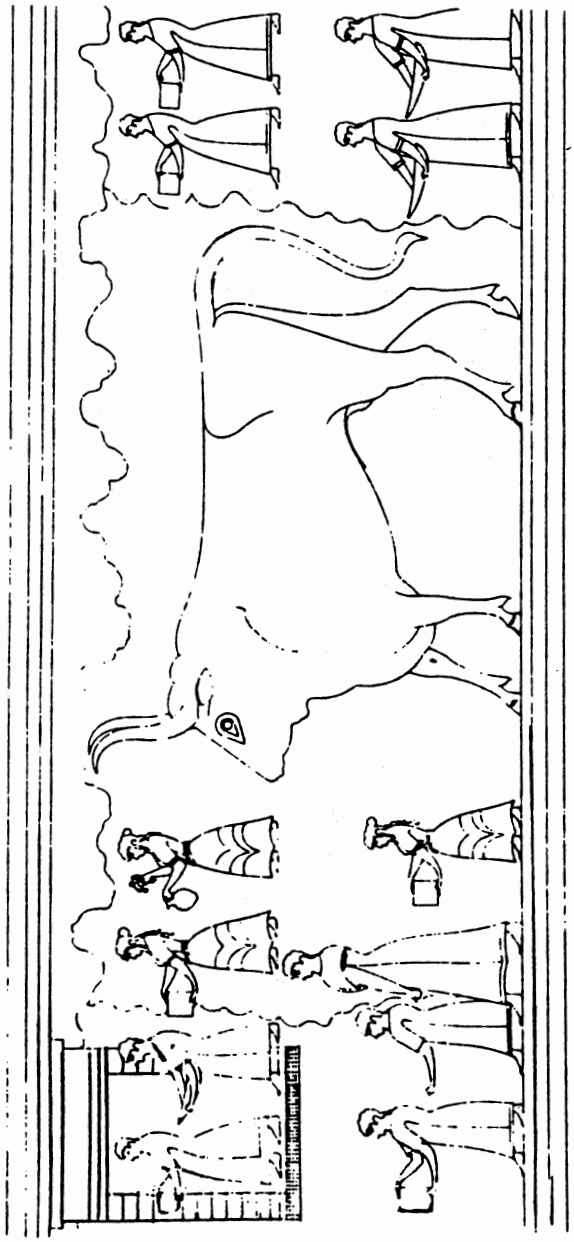


Figure 42. Vestibule Wall Fresco

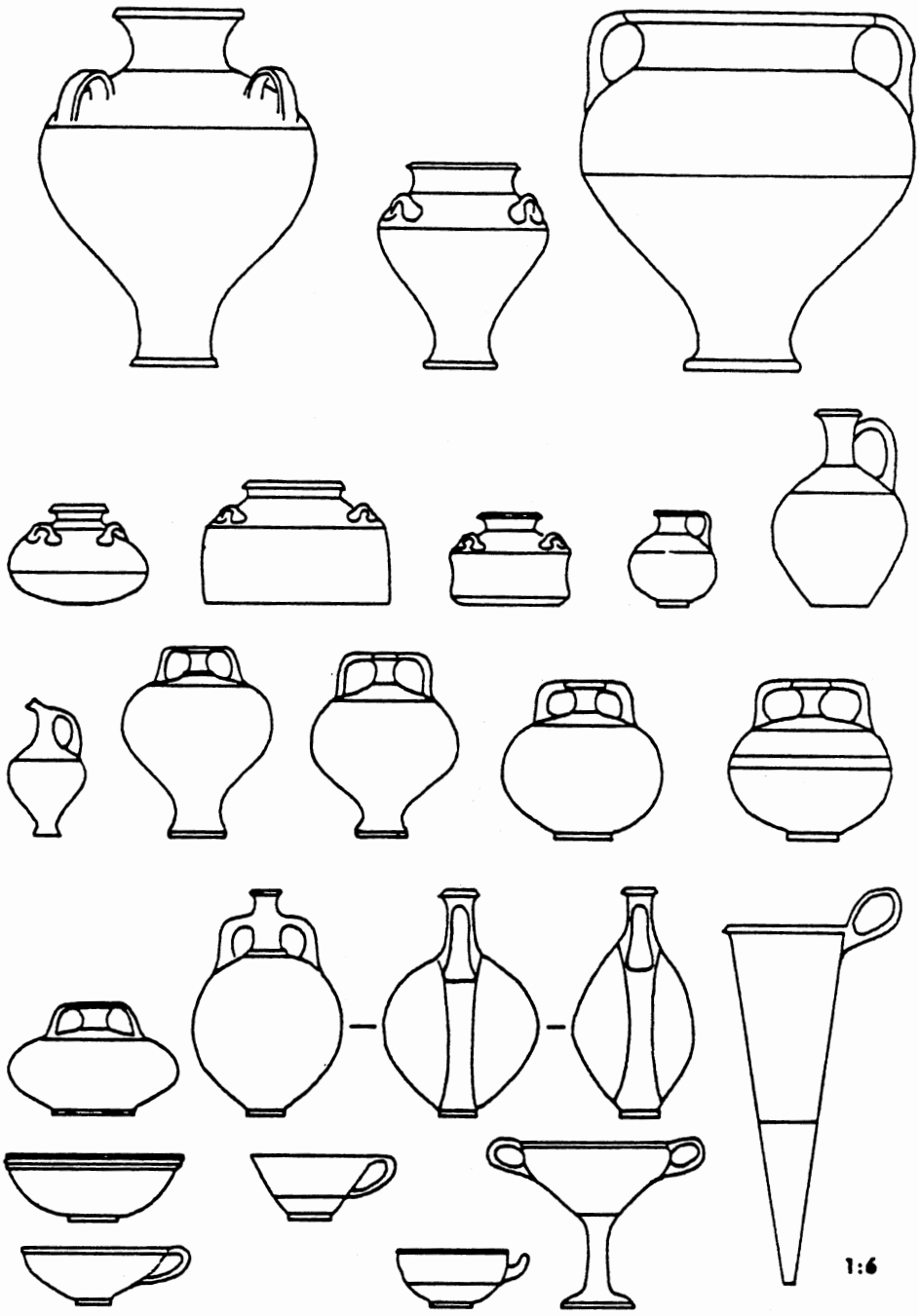


Figure 43. Representative Types of Mycenaean Export Pottery

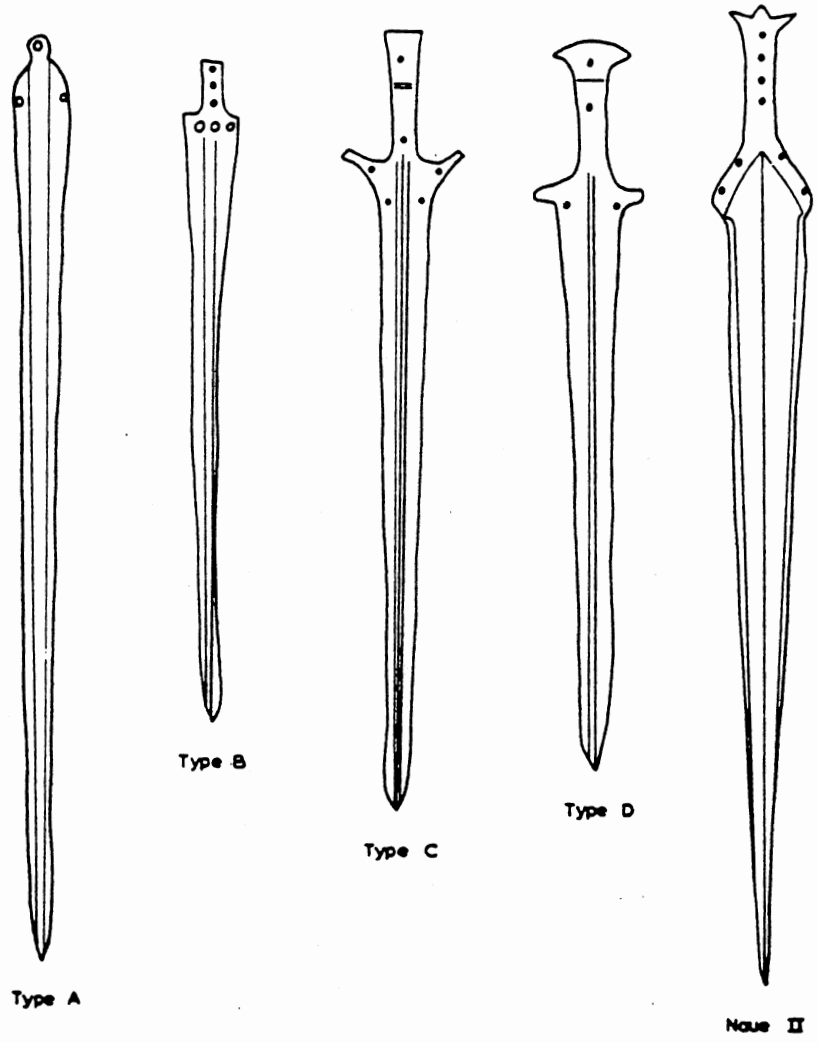


Figure 44. Mycenaean Sword Types

Figure 45. "Palm-leaf" Style Clay Tablet from Pylos

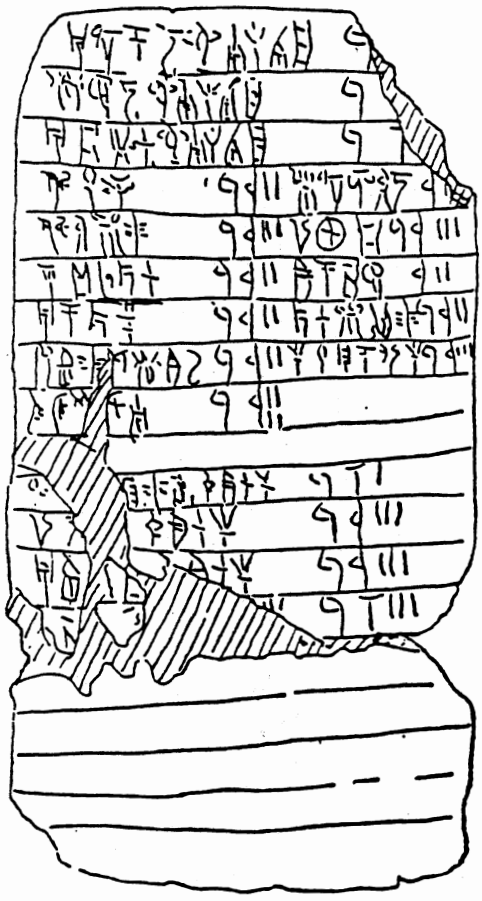


Figure 46. Tablet Recording Barley Rations (after Palmer)

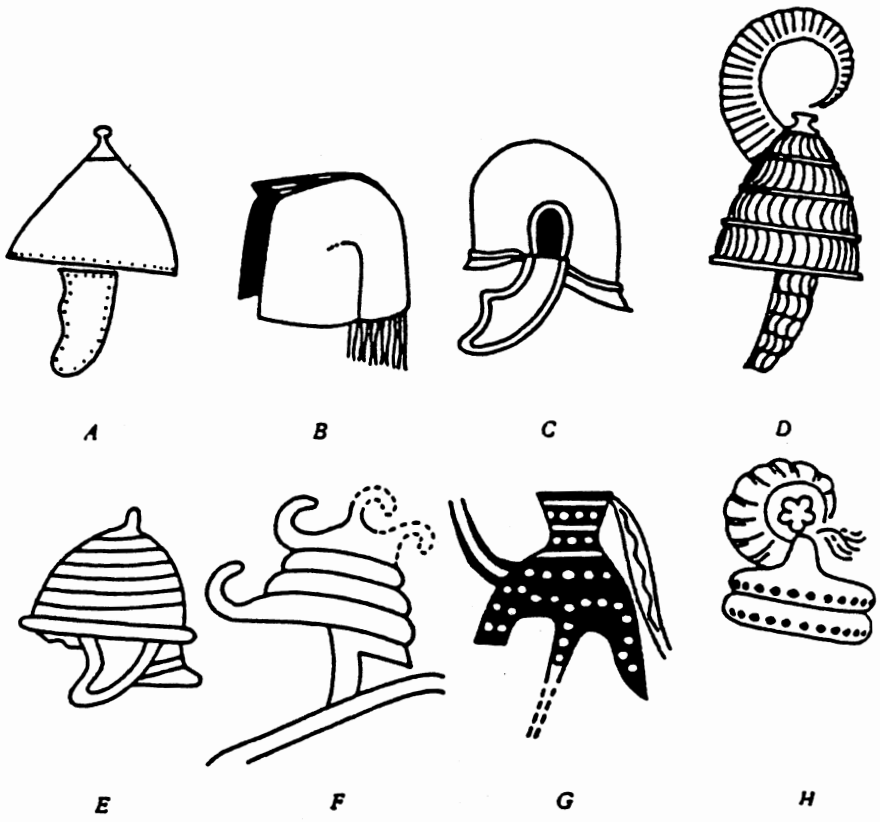


Figure 47. Mycenaean Helmet Styles

Figure 48. Warrior from Pylos

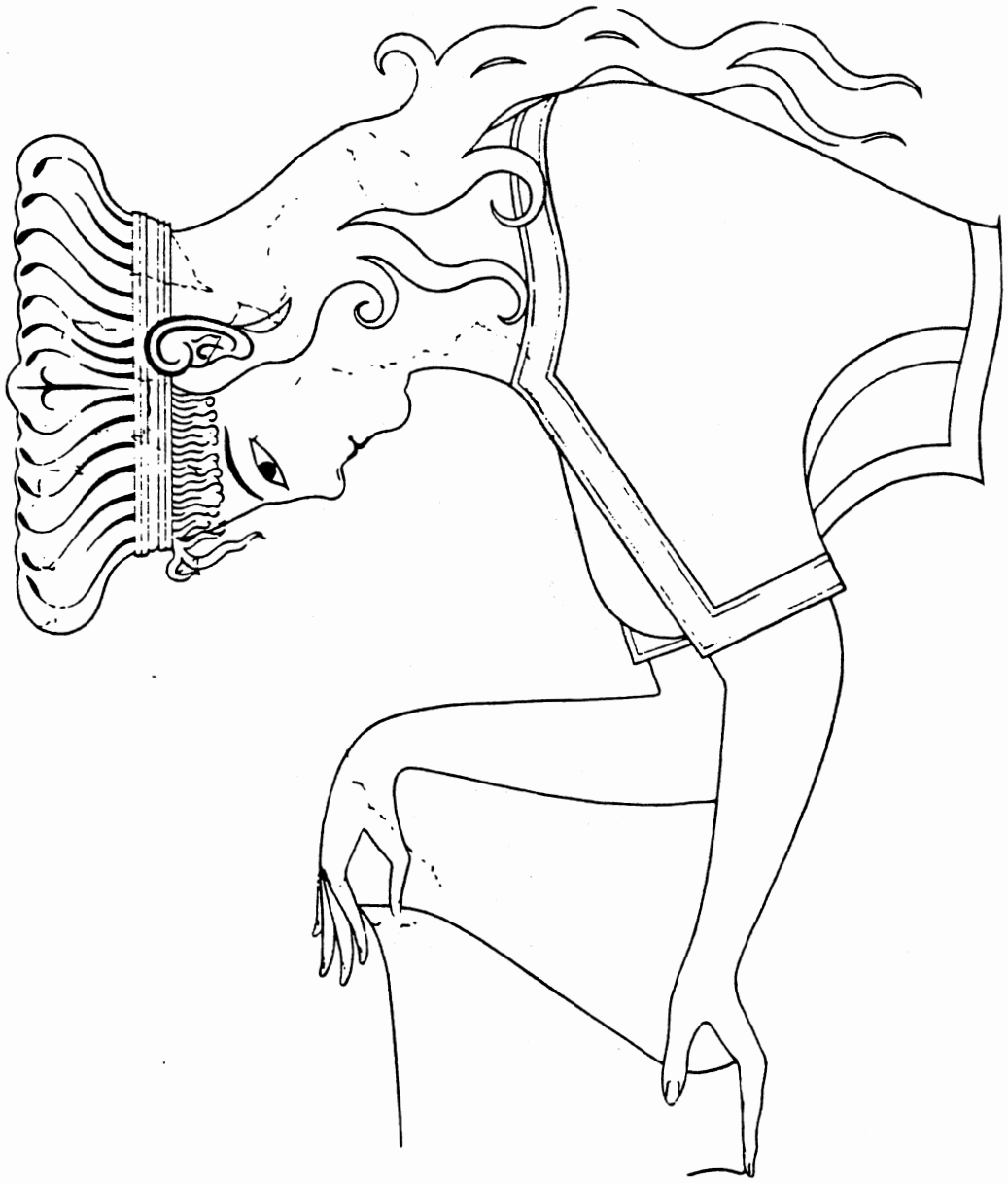


Figure 49. "Goddess" Inspecting her "Golden" Bowl

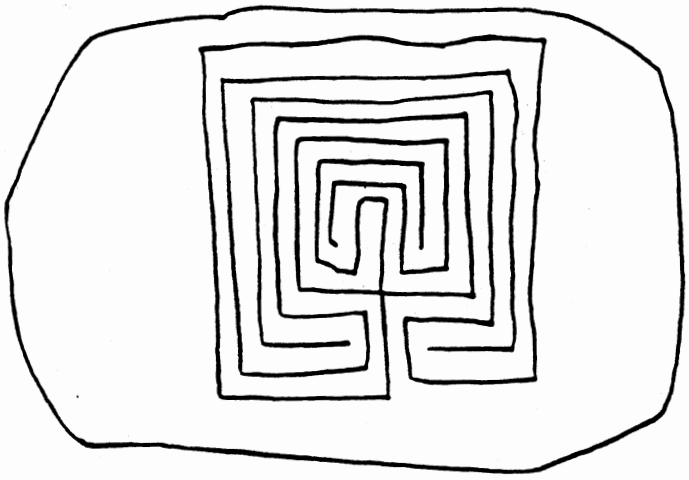


Figure 50. Labyrinth on a Clay Tablet from Pylos

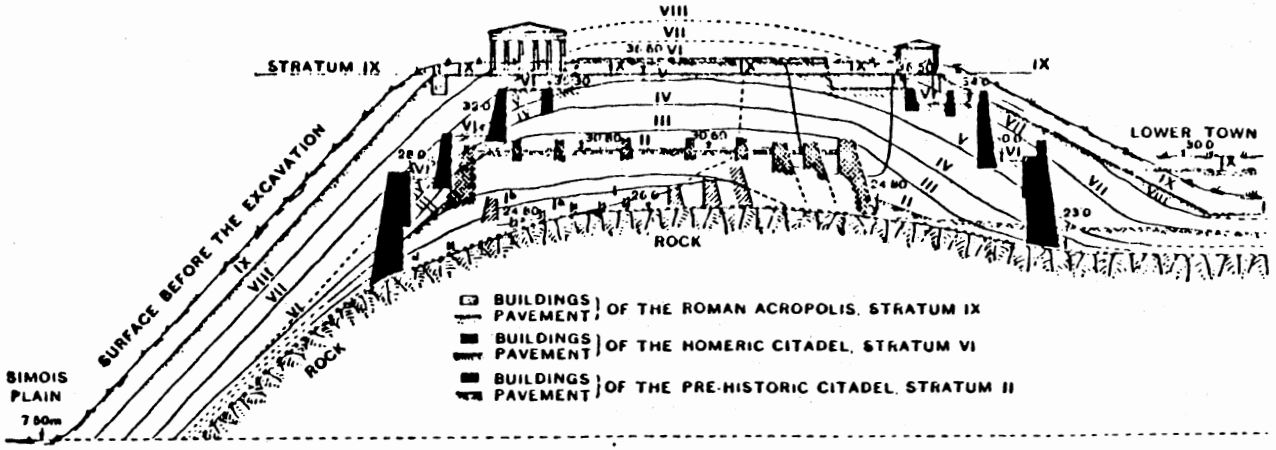


Figure 51. Section of Troy

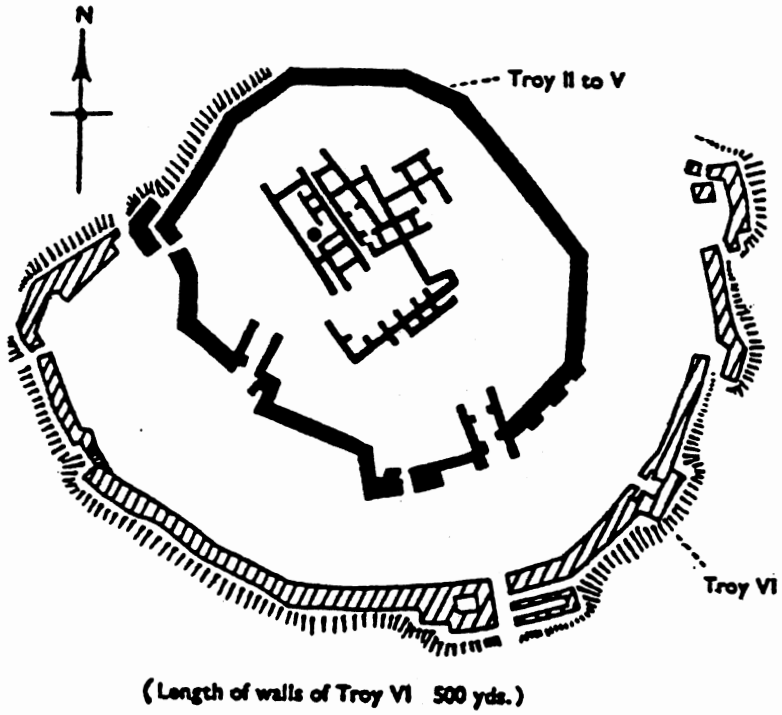


Figure 52. Ground Plan of Troy

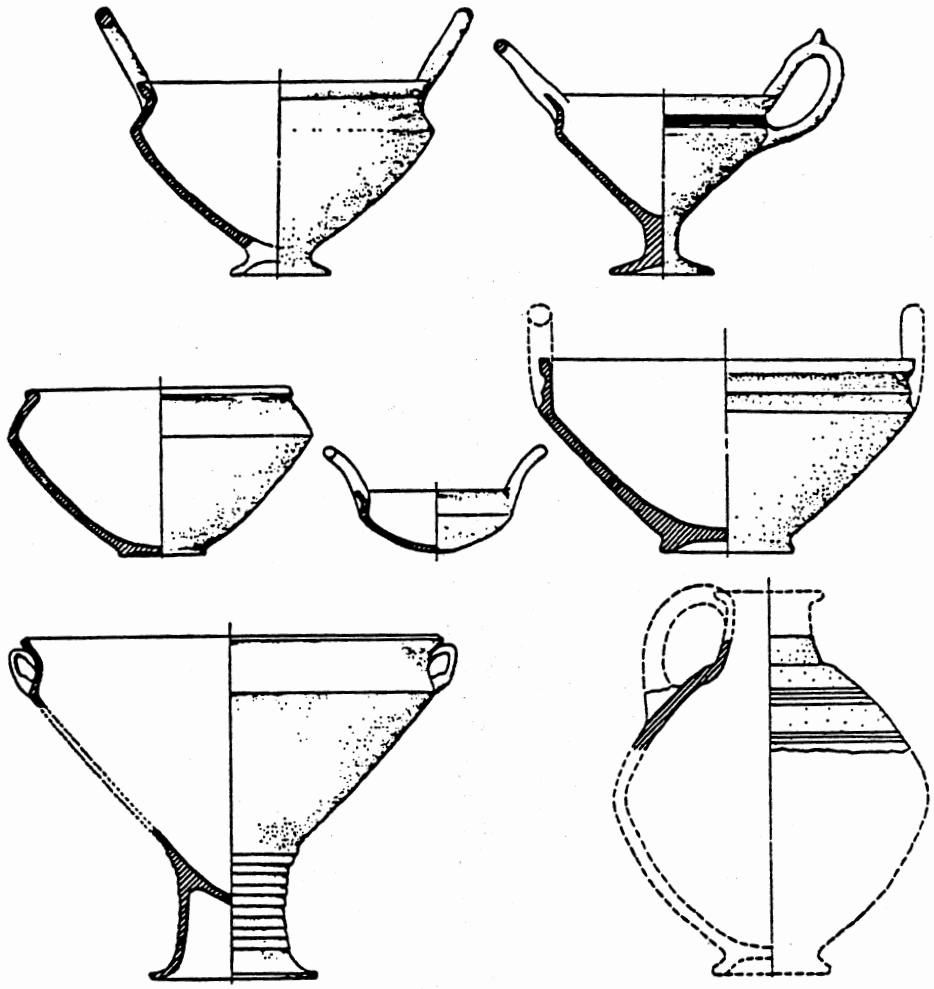


Figure 53. Characteristic Shapes of Gray Minyan Ware

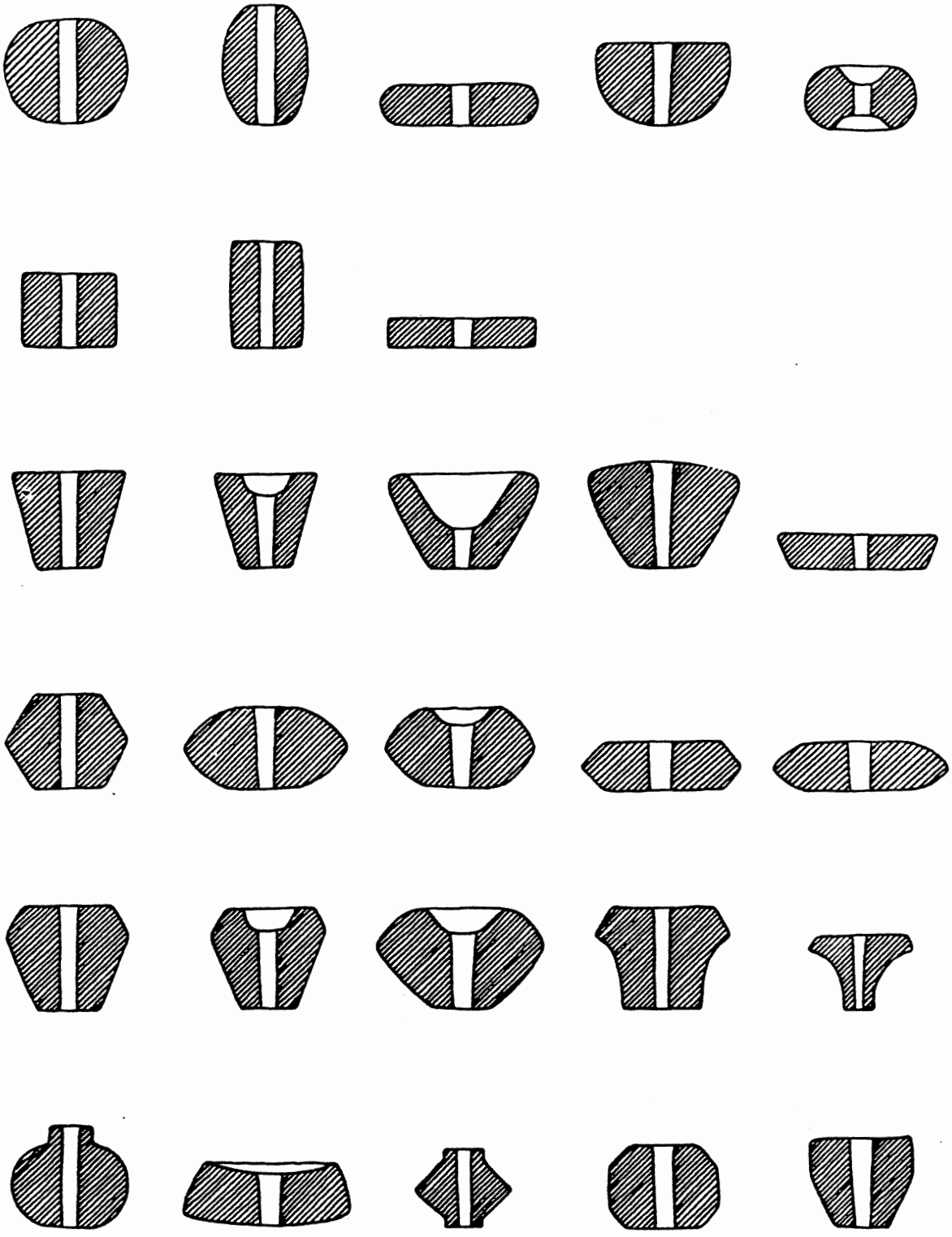


Figure 54. Types of Whorls

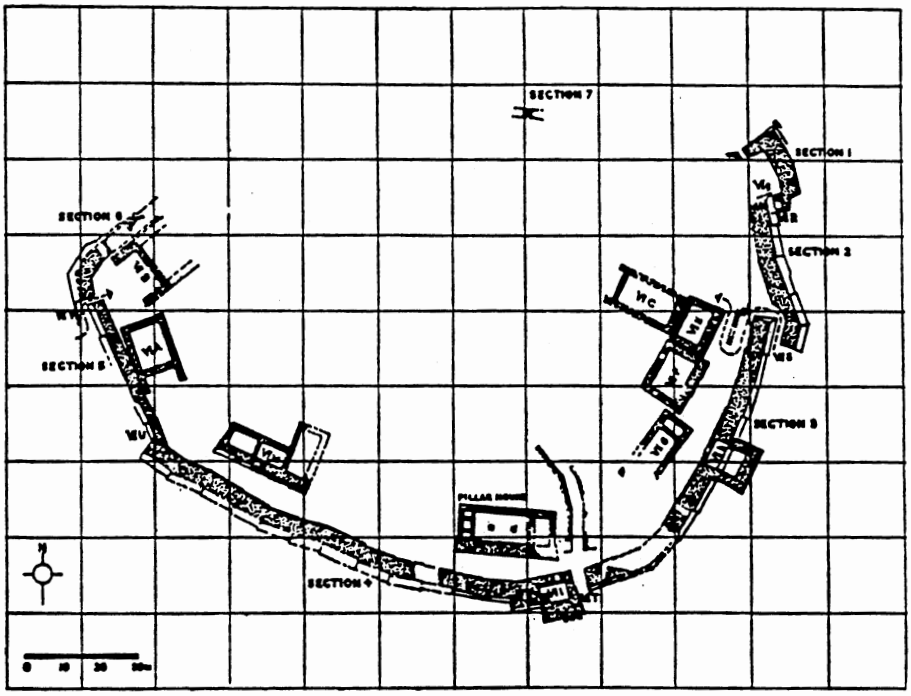


Figure 55. Plan of Fortifications and Adjacent Buildings (after Blegen)

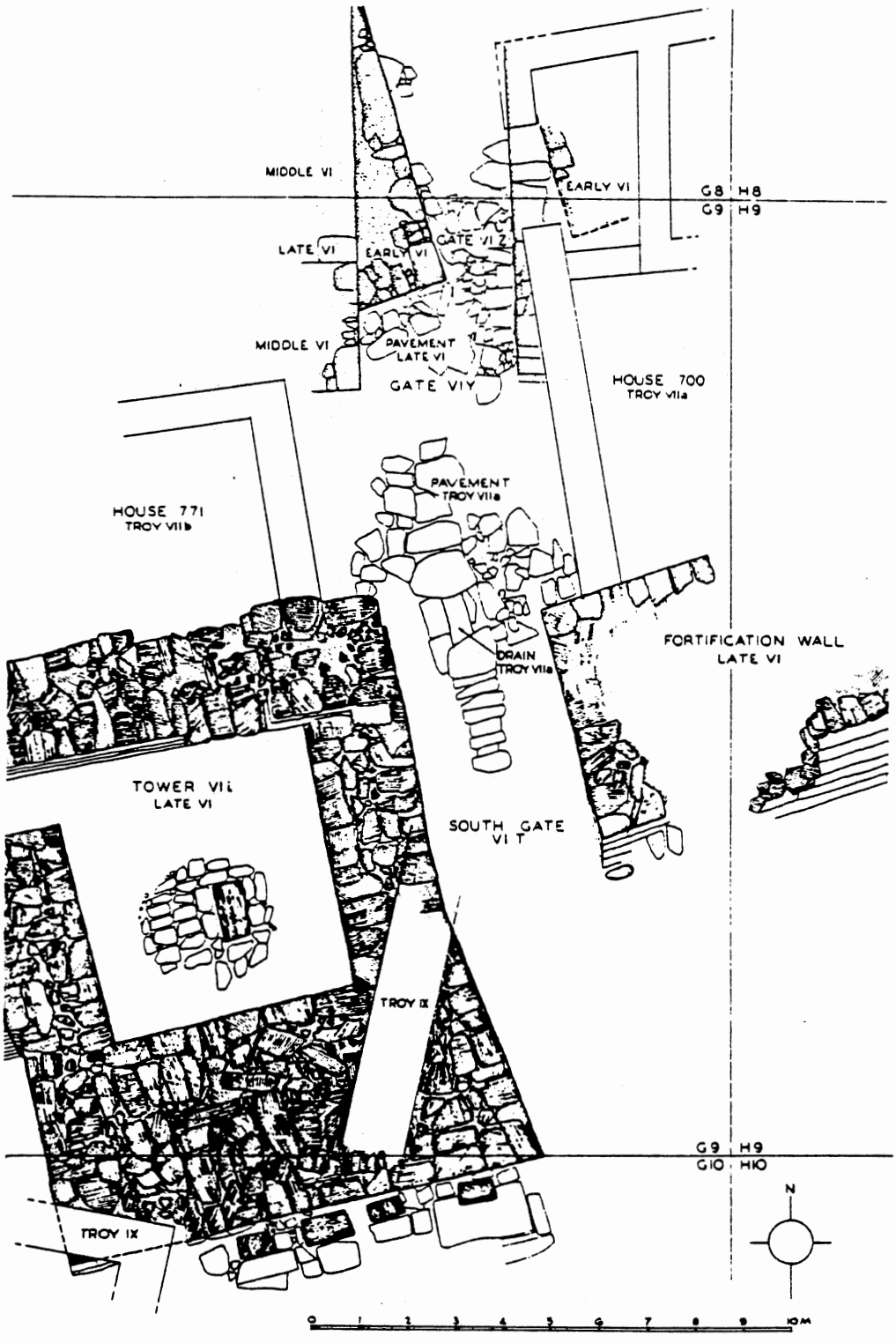


Figure 56. Plan of the Successive Gates of Troy VI (after Blegen)

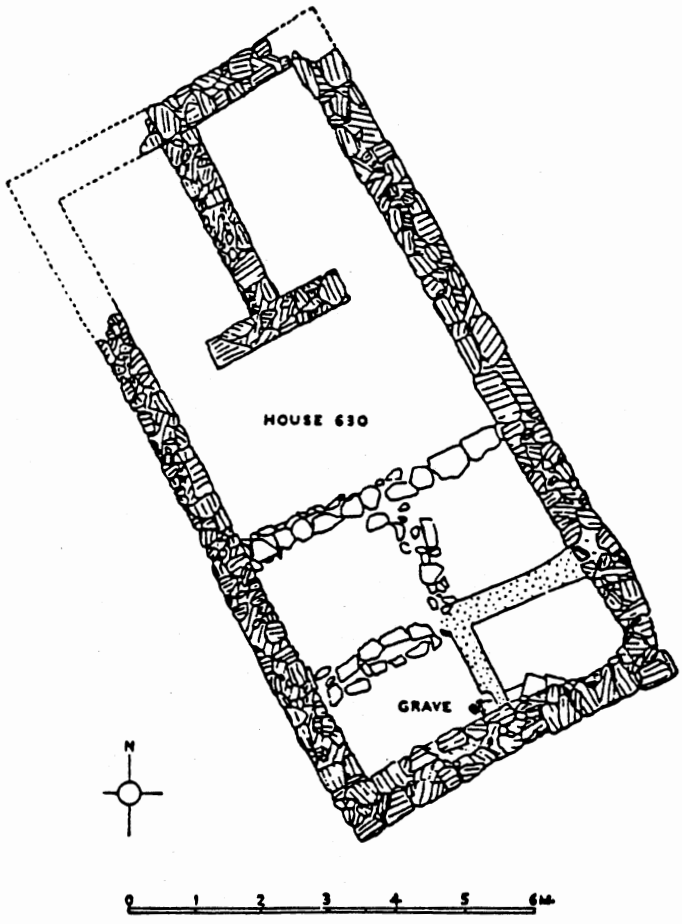


Figure 57. "House 630"

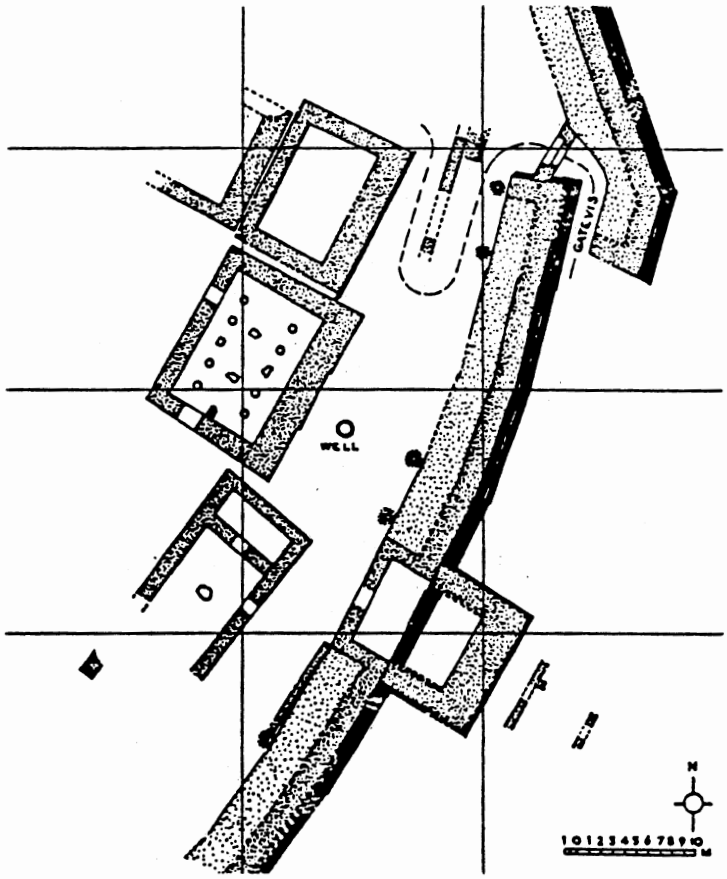


Figure 58. Plan of the Eastern Side of Citadel, Troy VI (after Blegen)

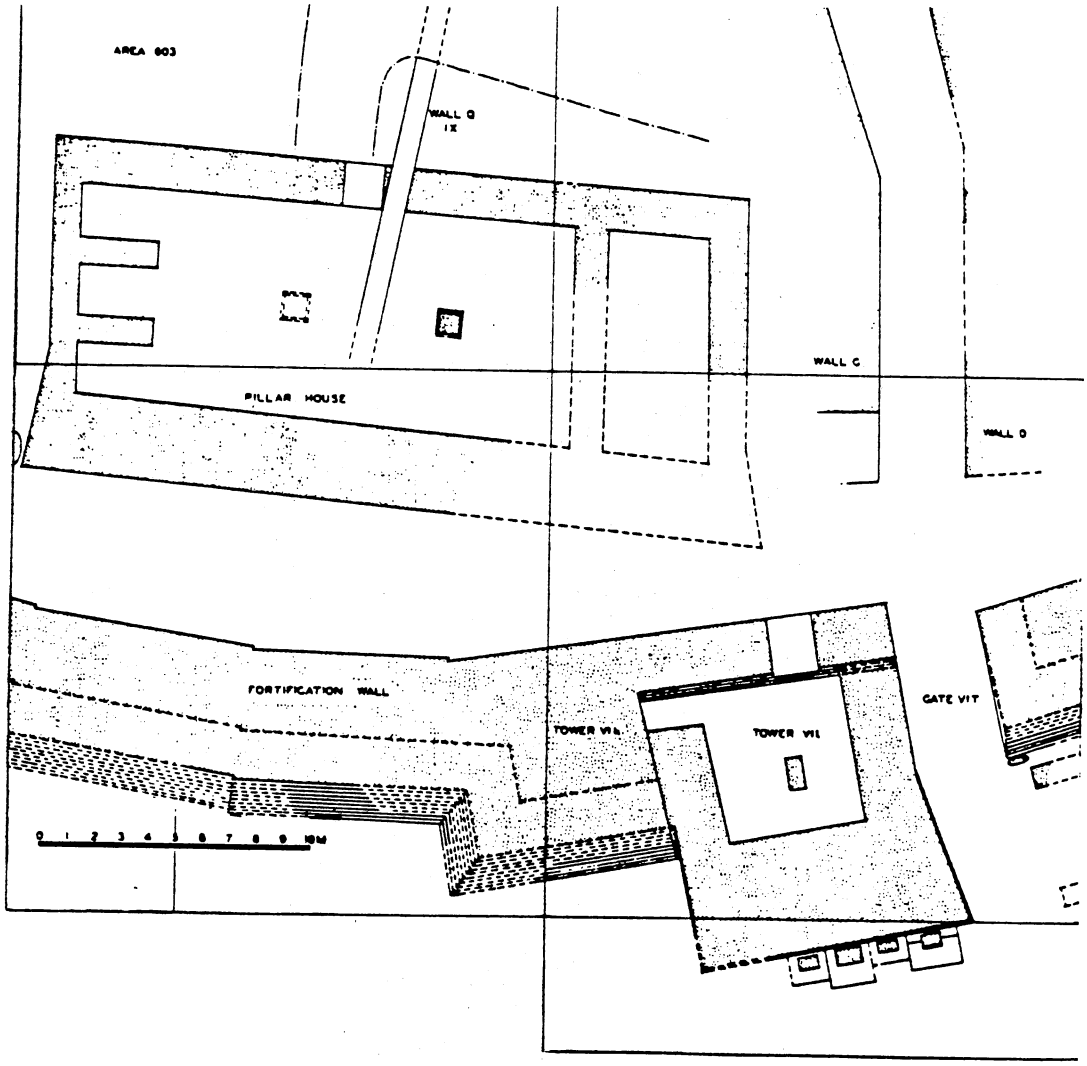


Figure 59. Pillar House of Troy VI (after Blegen)

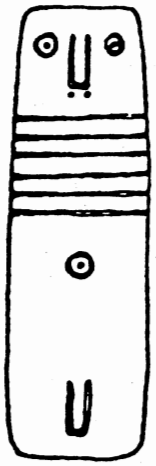


Figure 60.
Stone
Idol
from
Troy

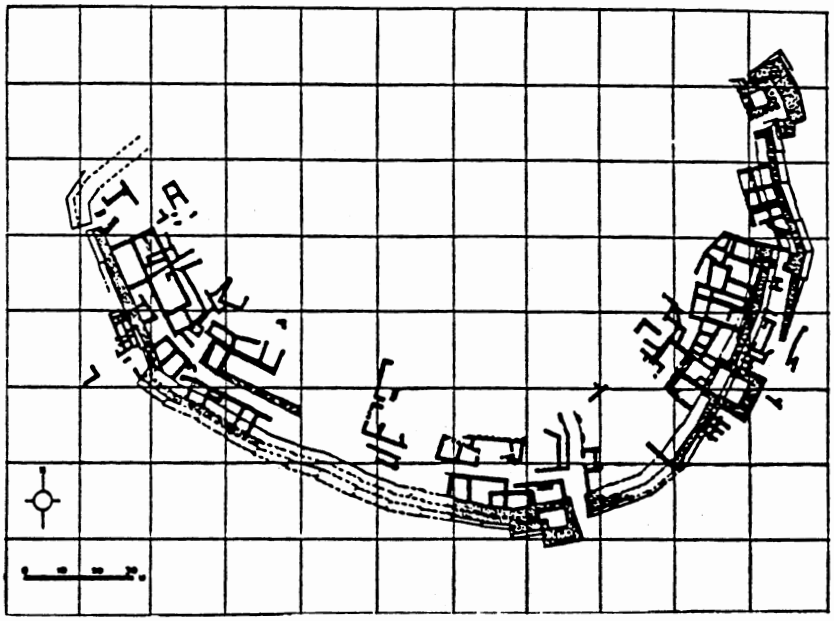


Figure 61. Plan of Buildings of Troy VII (after Blegen)

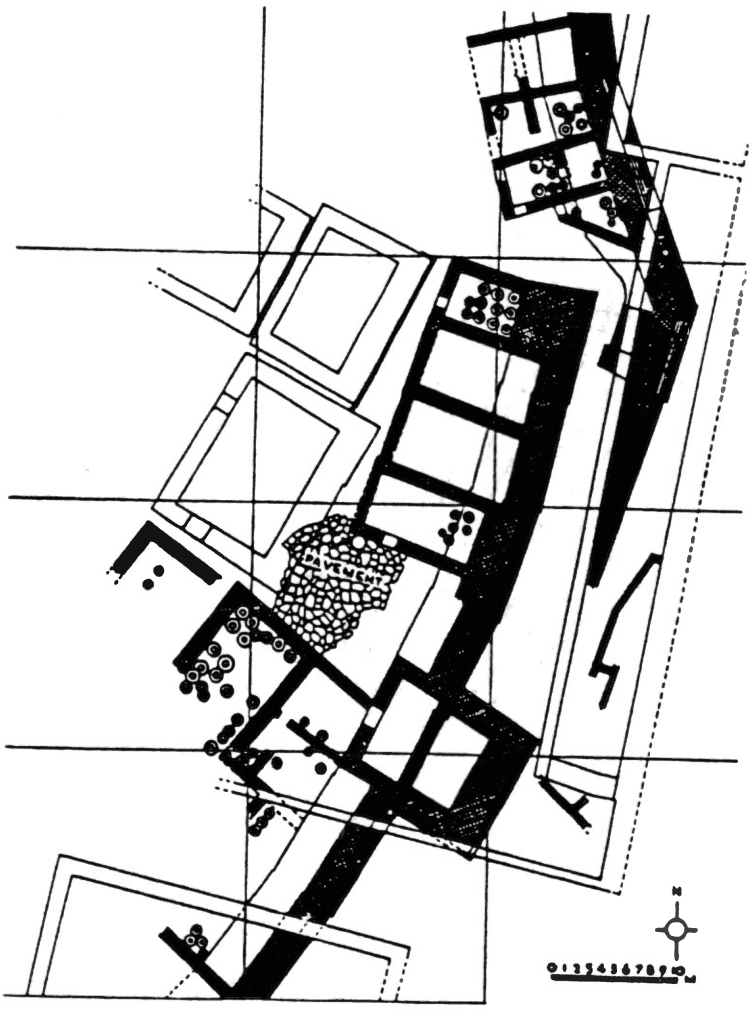


Figure 62. Houses of Troy VIIa (after Blegen)

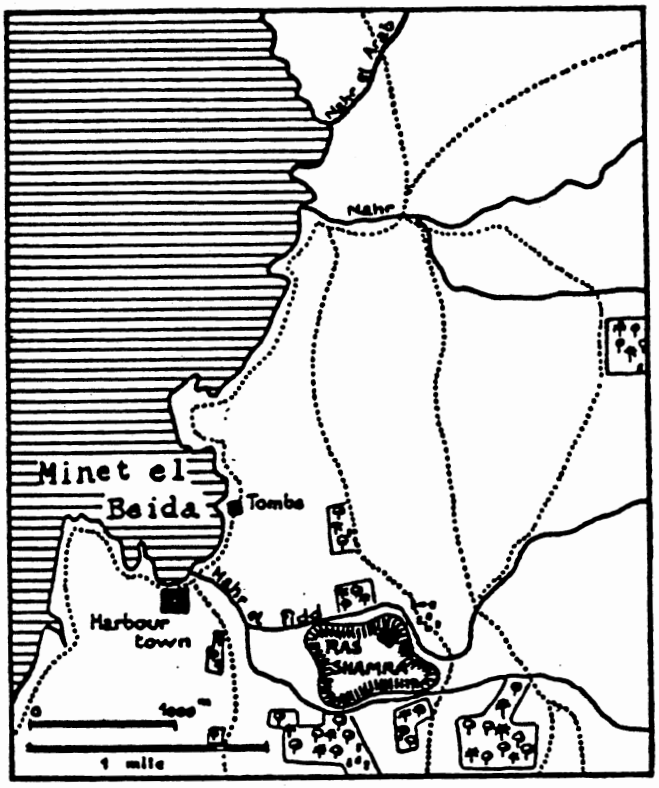


Figure 63. Sketch Map of the Region of Ras Shamra

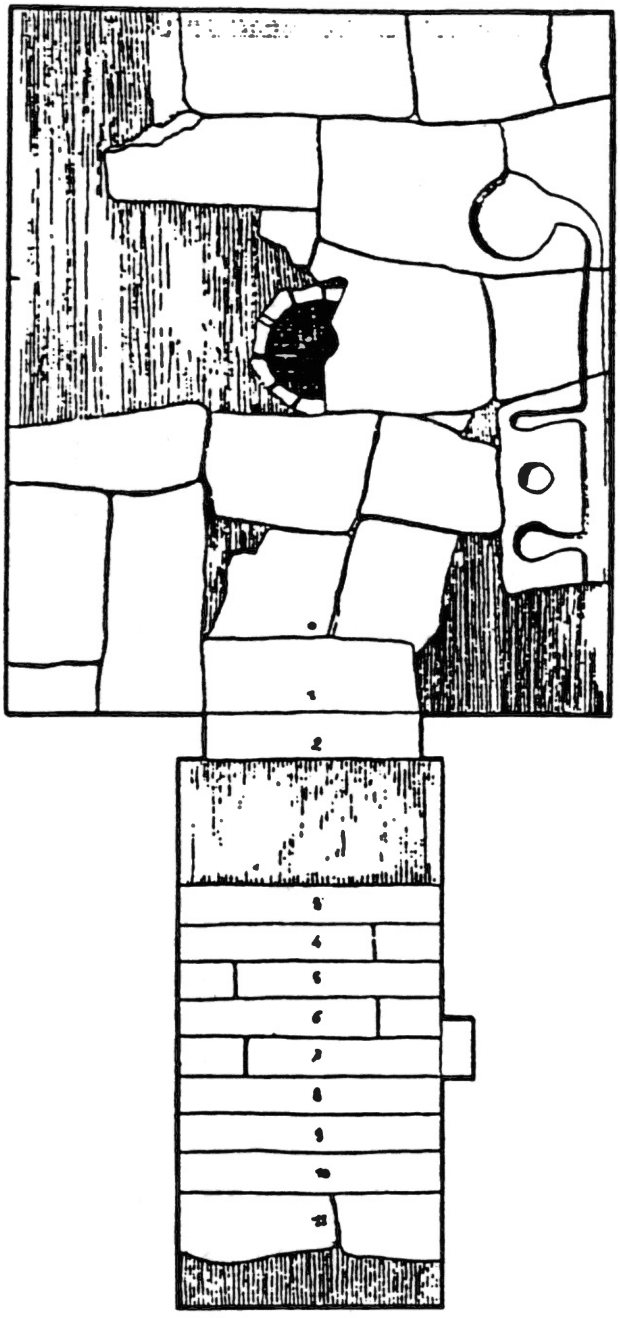
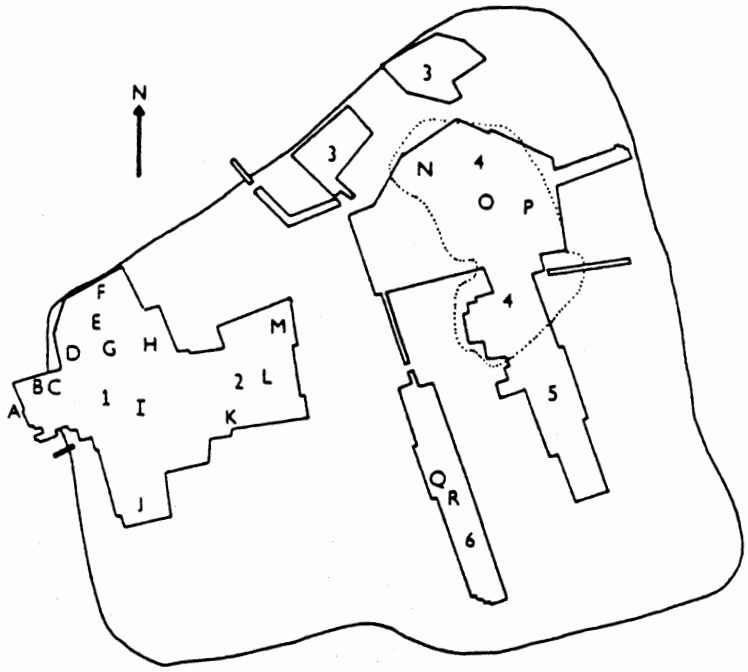


Figure 64. Floor Plan of Tomb I



Key

1 Palace area
2 Residential area
3 Lower city
4 Acropolis (area enclosed by dotted line)
5 Southern slope of acropolis
6 Southern city

A Postern
B Tower
C Fortress
D Shrine
E Royal stables
F 'Queen Mother's Residence'
G 'Governor's Residence'
H Northern Palace
I Royal Palace
J Southern Palace
K 'House of Alabasters'
L Houses of Rašap'abu and 'the Scholar'
M House of Rap'anu
N Temple of Baal
O High priest's house and Temple Library
P Temple of Dagan
Q Public square
R Building with library

Figure 65. Sketch of the Tell at Ugarit

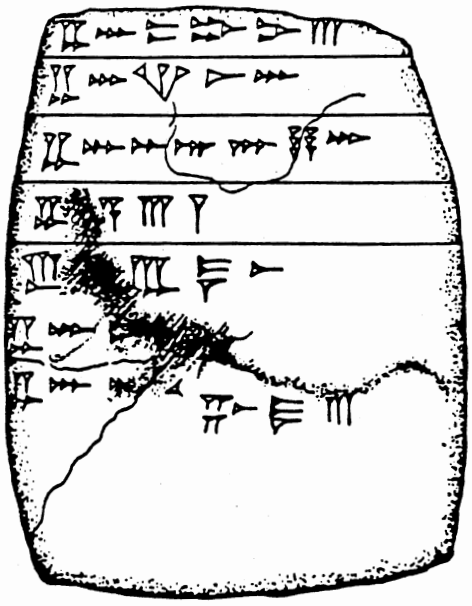


Figure 66. First Clay Tablet from Ugarit

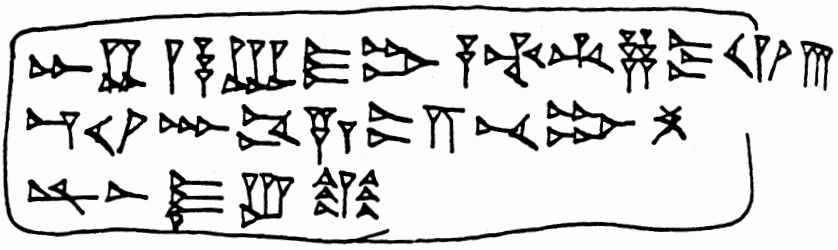


Figure 67. Cuneiform Alphabetic Tablet From Ugarit

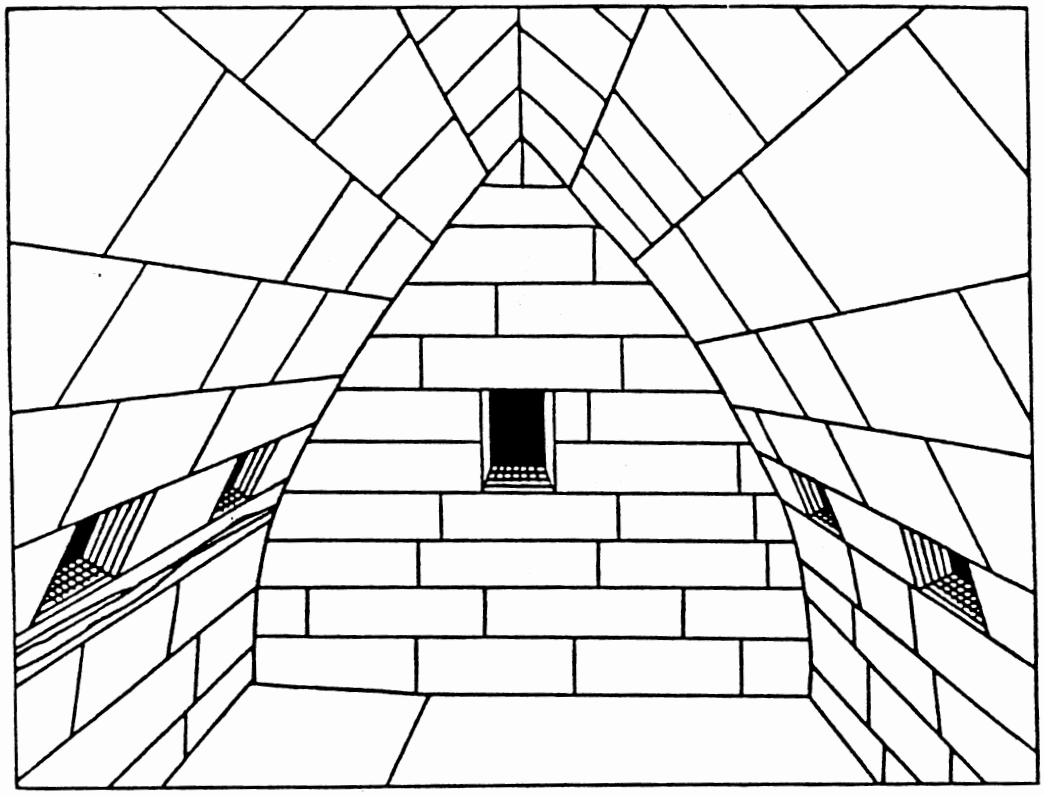


Figure 68. Sketch of Tomb Interior

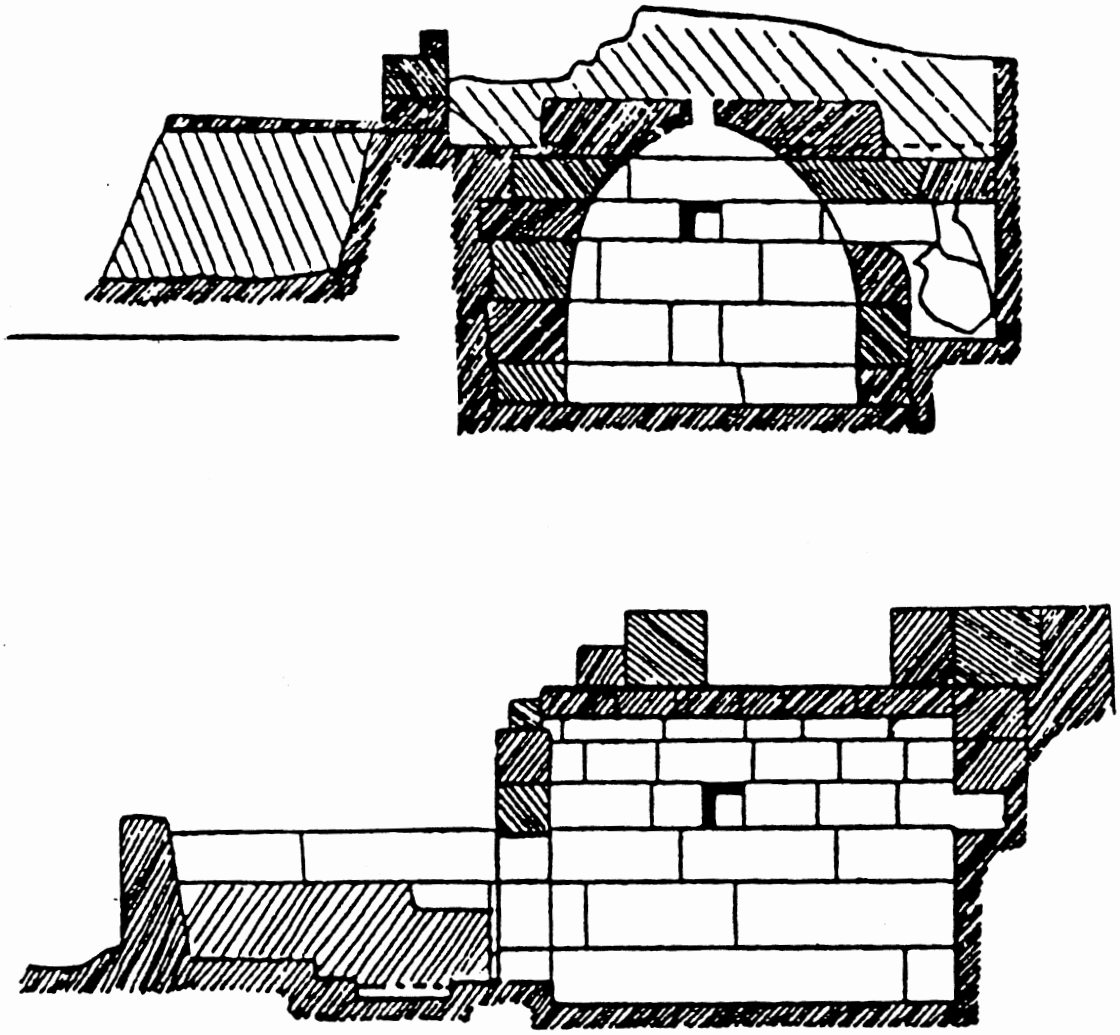


Figure 69. Two Views of Tomb II at Ugarit (after Schaeffer)

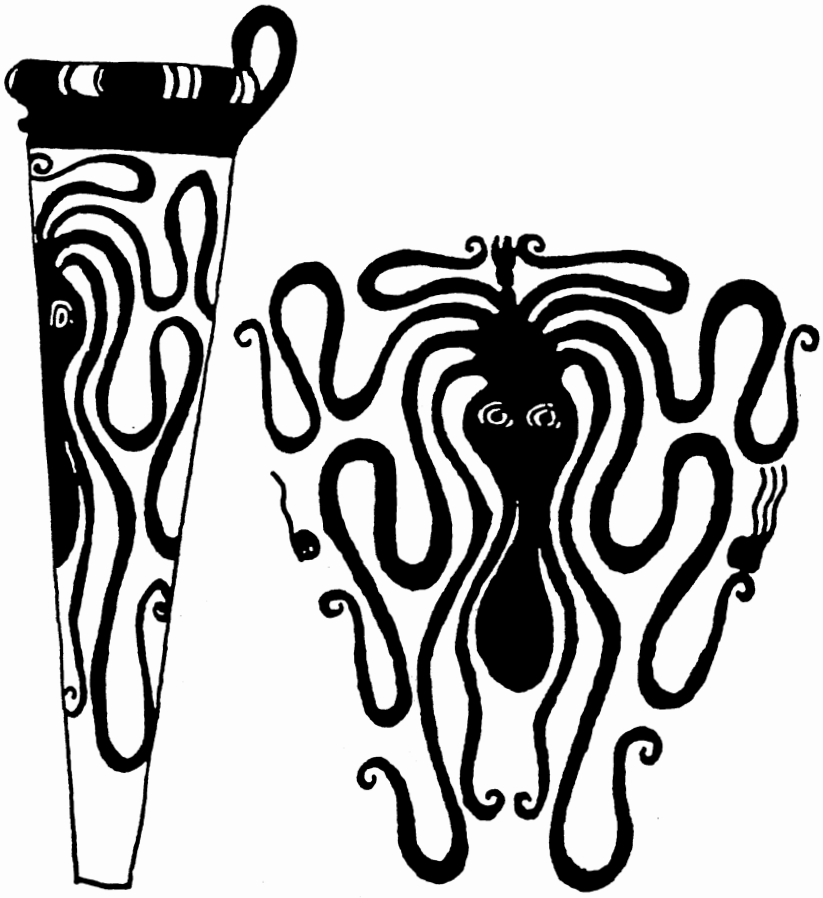


Figure 70. Painted Rhyton and Detail Illustrating Polyp

Figure 71. Fertility Goddess Carved on Lid of Ivory Pyxis

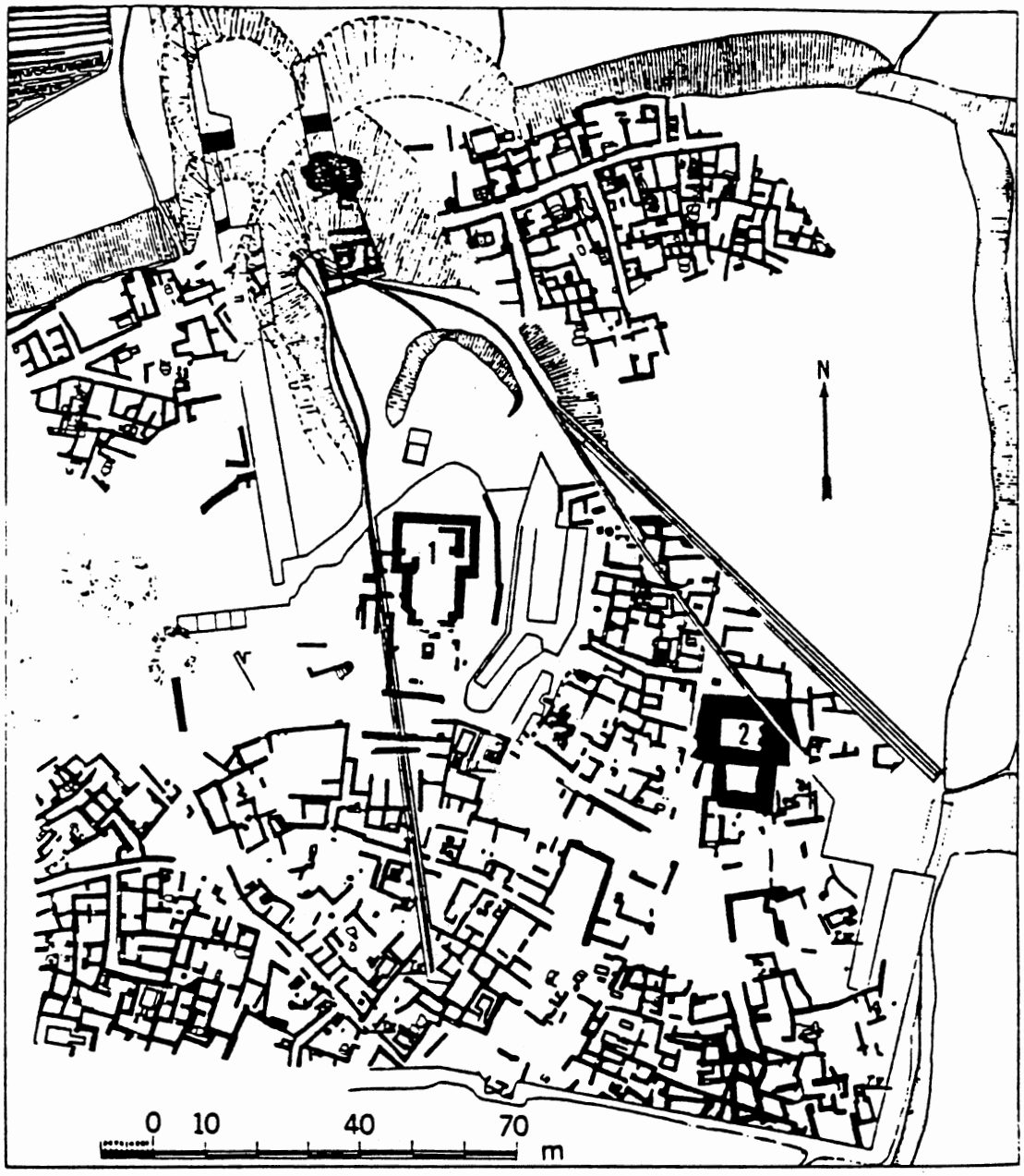


Figure 72. Northeast Section of Ugarit (after Schaeffer)

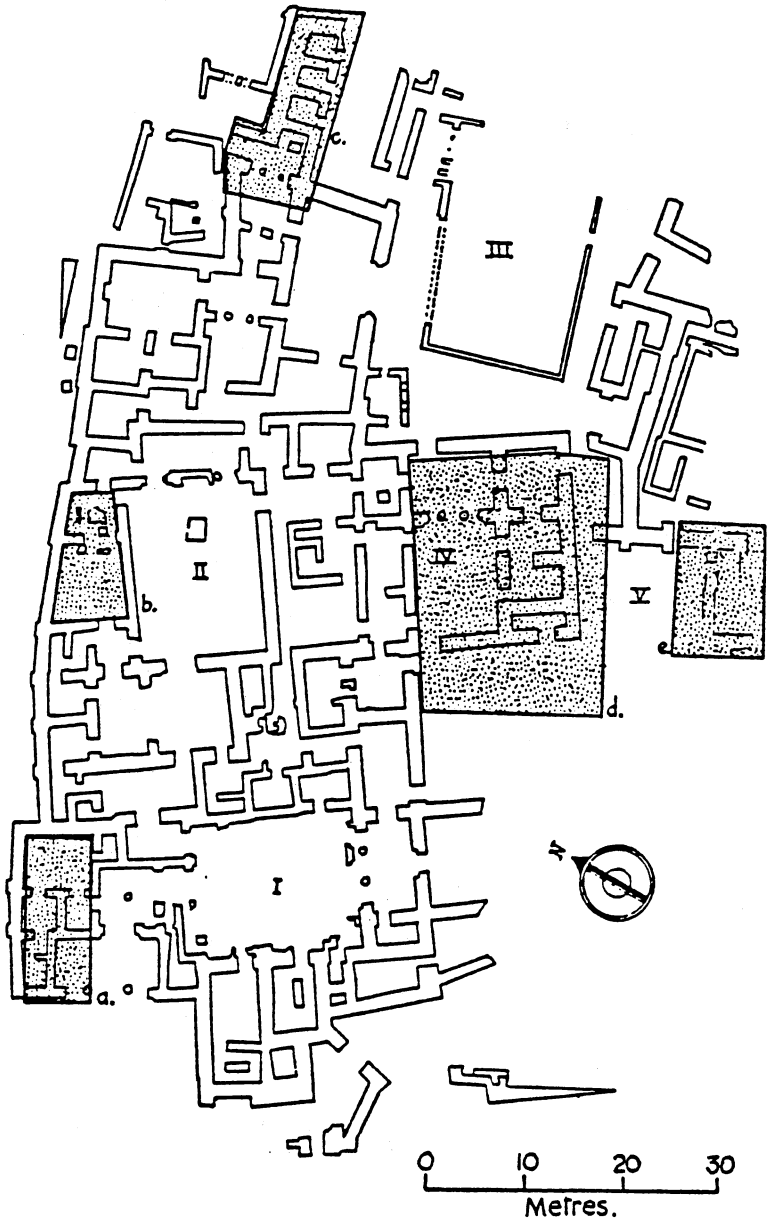


Figure 73. Plan of the Palace at Ugarit (after Schaeffer)

Figure 74. Seal of NIQMAD

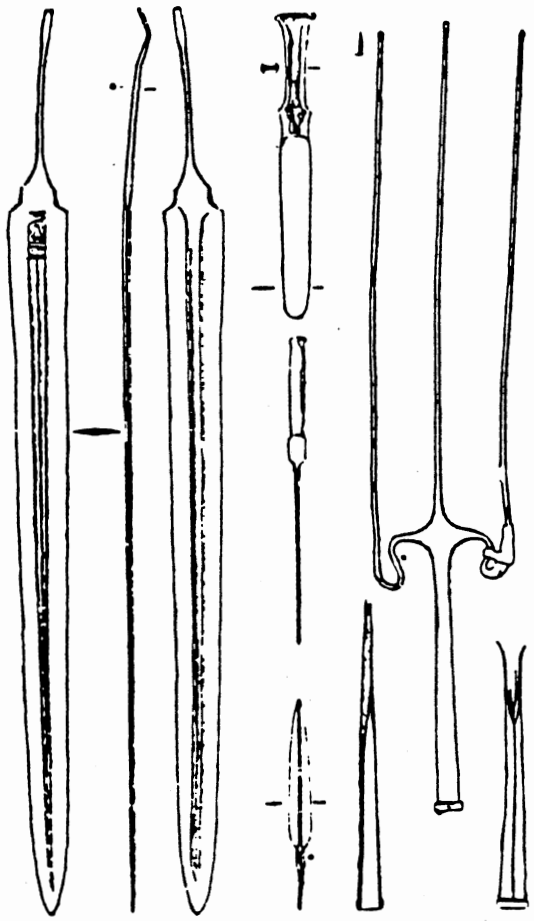


Figure 75. Bronze Weapons from Ugarit

Figure 76. Serpentine Stele Showing El

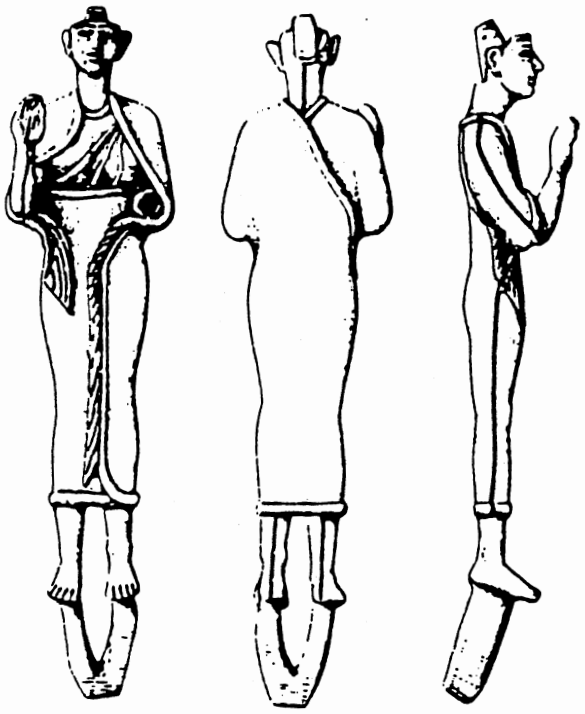


Figure 77. Bronze Statuette of Asherah (after Schaeffer)

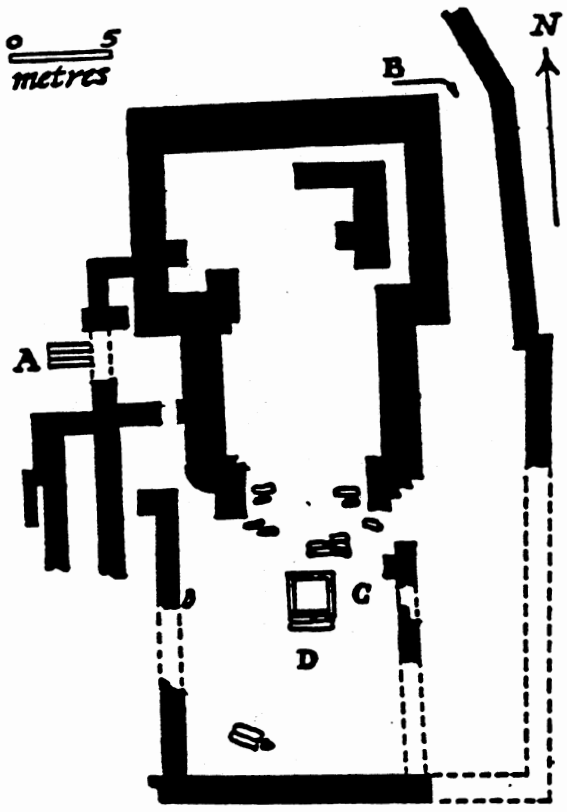


Figure 78. Temple of Baal
(after Schaeffer)

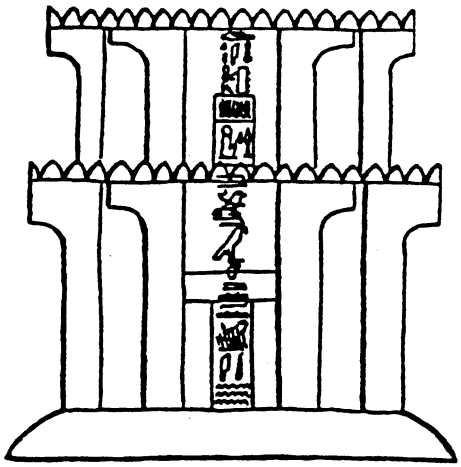


Figure 79. Migdol

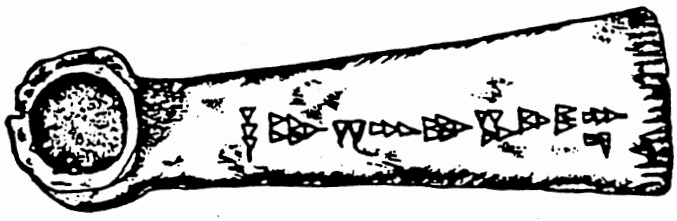


Figure 80. Dedicatory Axe

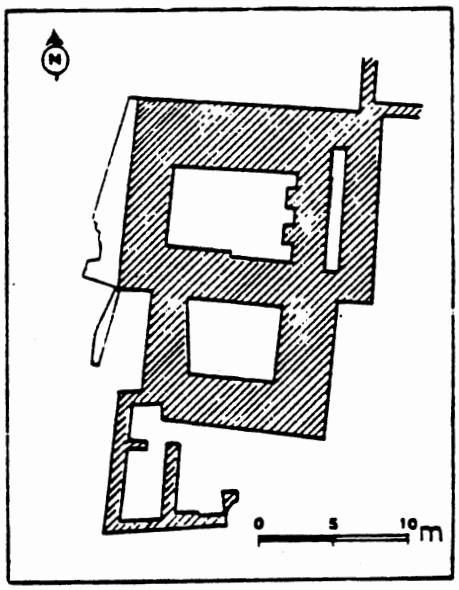


Figure 81. Dagon's Temple at Ugarit

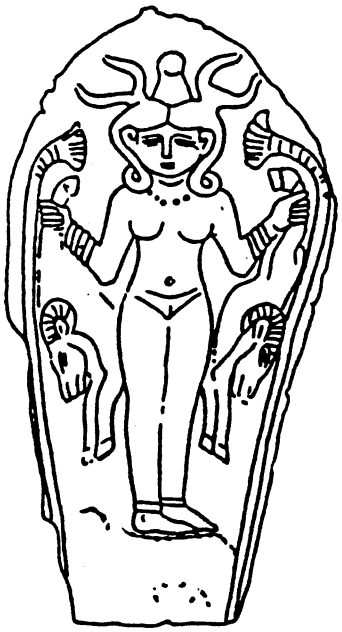


Figure 82.
Gold Pendant
from Ugarit
Depicting
Fertility
Goddess

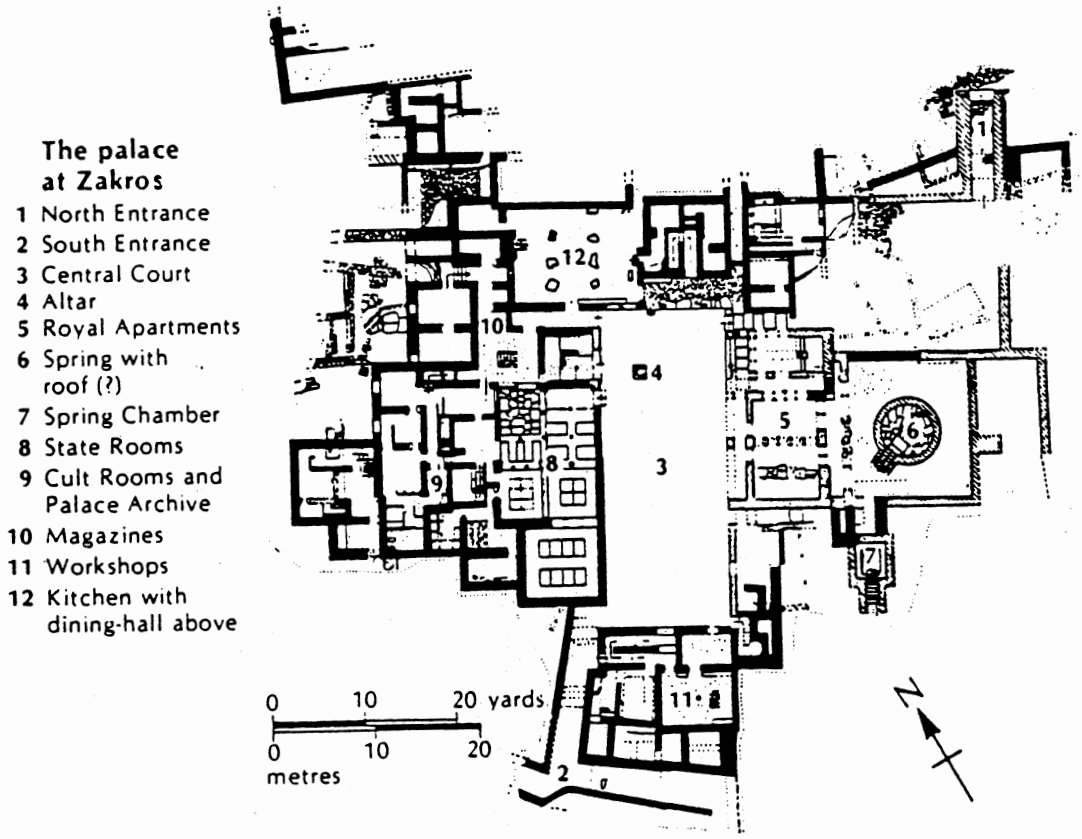


Figure 83. Palace at Zakros (after Platon)

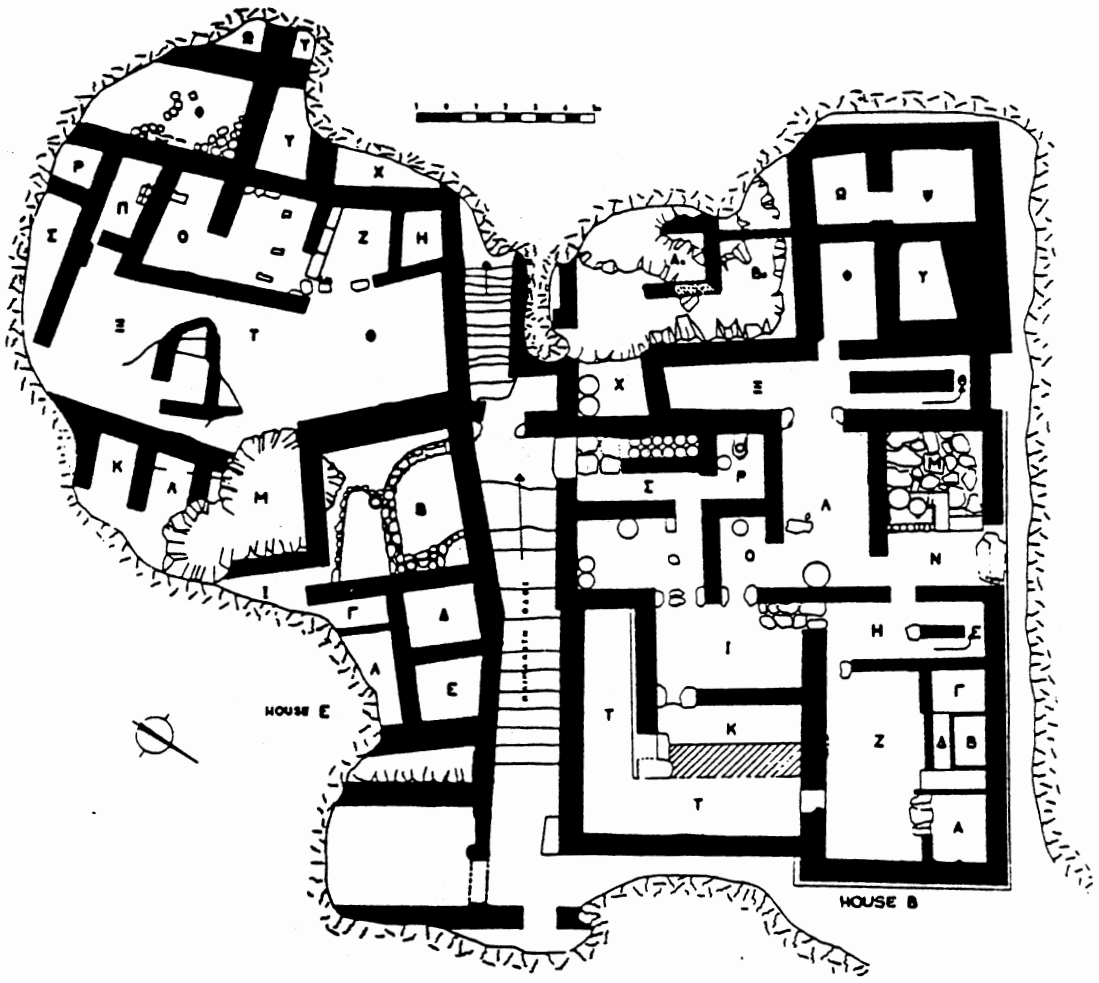


Figure 84. Houses "B" and "E" from Zakros (after Platon)

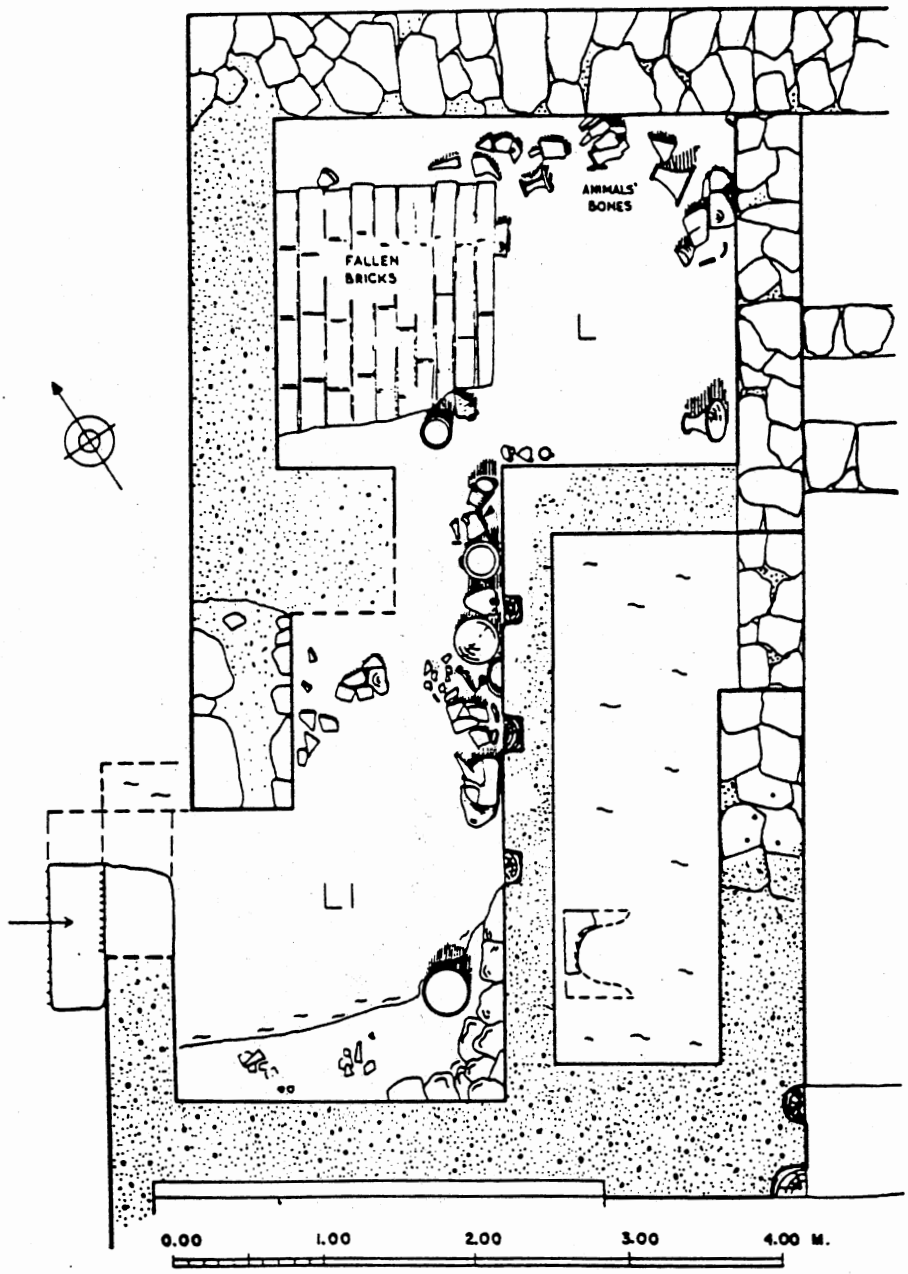


Figure 85. Service Rooms of Palace Kitchen

Figure 86. Cretan Bronzework

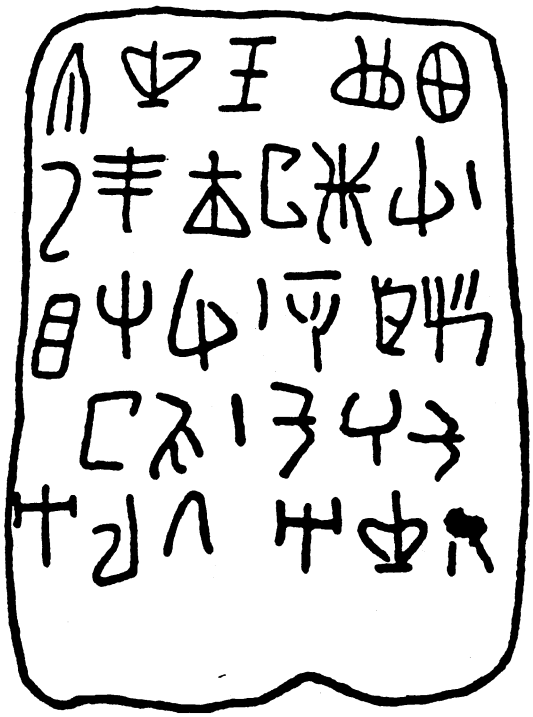


Figure 87. Linear A

Figure 88. Cretan Tribute-Bearers

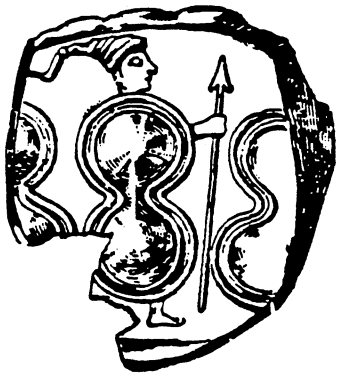


Figure 89.
Cretan
Warriors

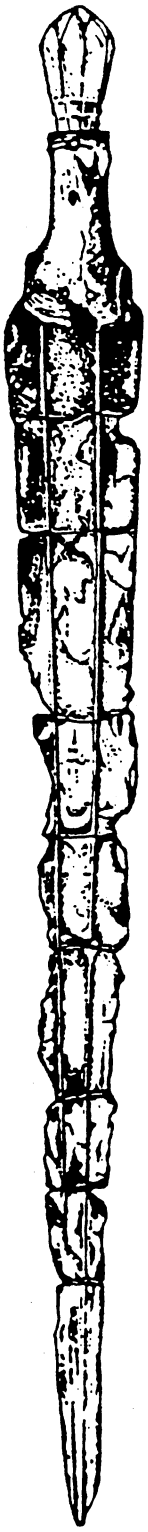


Figure 90. Sword with Rock Crystal Pommel

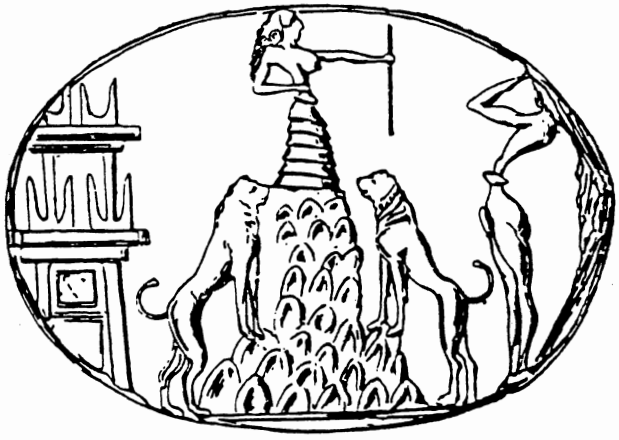


Figure 91. Seal Showing
"Mother Goddess"

Figure 92. Topigraphical Map of Hazor (after Yadin)

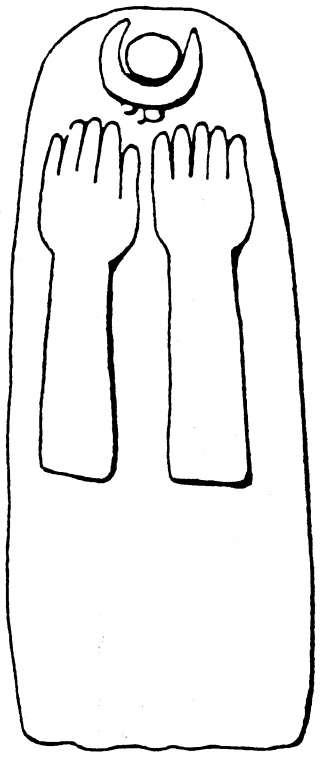


Figure 93. Stele from Hazor's Stelae Temple

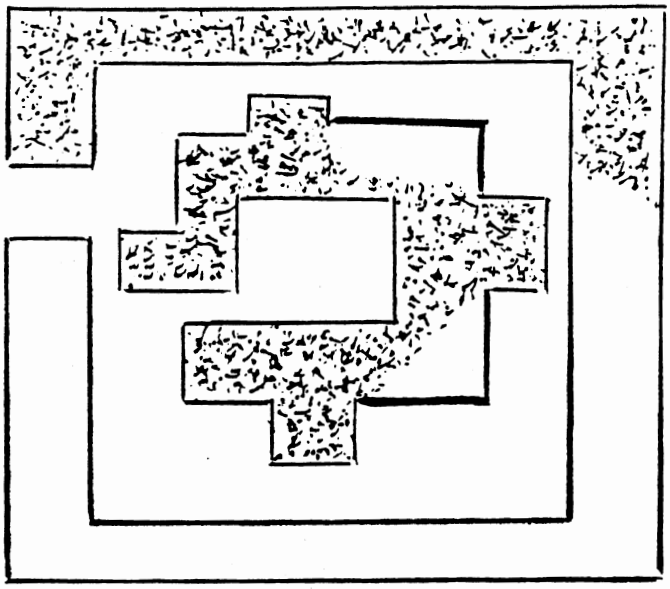


Figure 94. Hazor's Square Temple

Figure 95. Bronze Plaque Depicting a Canaanite Dignitary

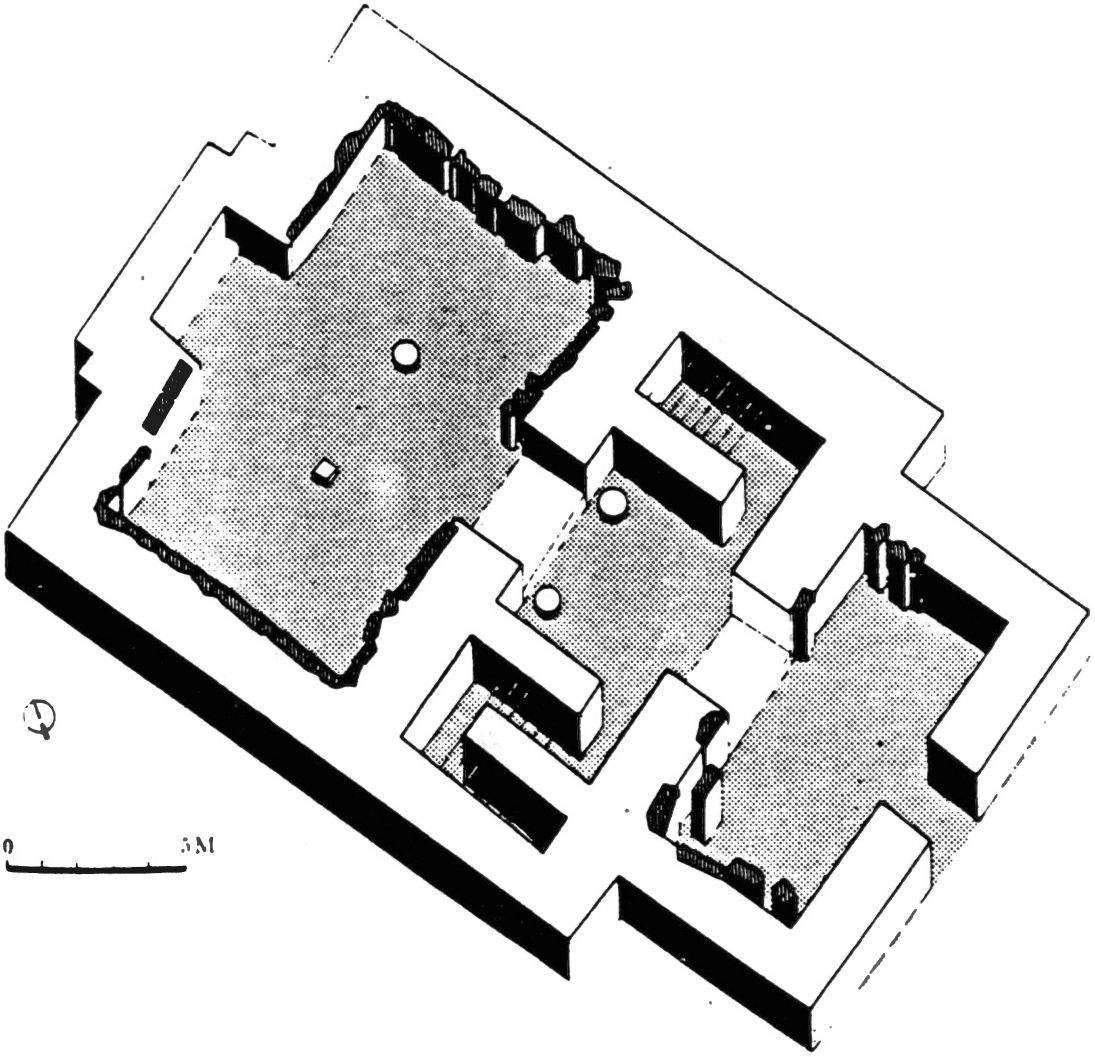


Figure 96. Isometric View of Orthostat Temple, IB, Area H. (after Yadin)

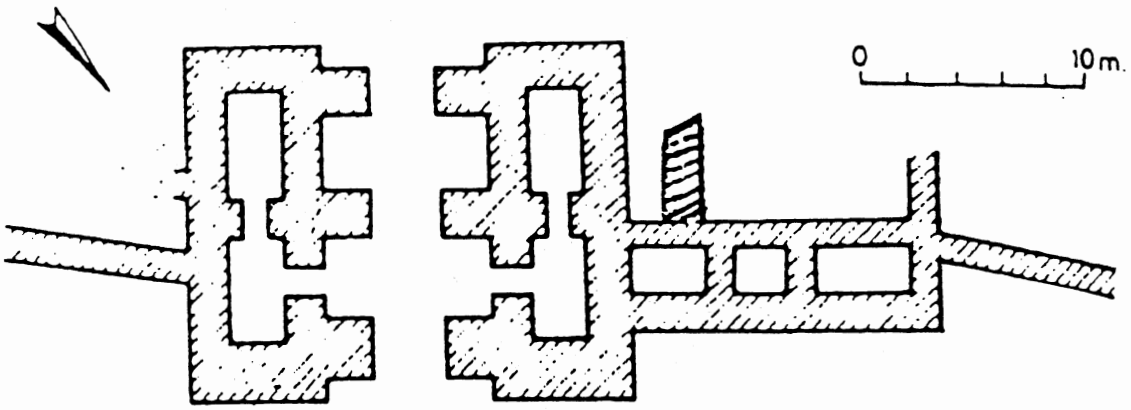


Figure 97. Plan of Stratum 2 Gate, Area K, Hazor (after Yadin)

VITA

Gwynn Grindstaff

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: AN ANALYSIS OF FIVE LATE BRONZE AGE CITIES IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Major Field: History

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Syracuse, Kansas, on August 23, 1946, the daughter of Chester and Charlotte Mueller. Married Richard Grindstaff, Jr., June 6, 1970.

Education: In May of 1964, graduated, first in her class, from Lakin High School, Lakin, Kansas. Received Bachelor of Arts Degree in Biology from Friends University at Wichita, Kansas, in May of 1968; graduated with honors and listed in Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities. Graduated with Master of Science in Biology from Emporia State University, Emporia, Kansas, in August of 1971; member of Beta, Beta, Beta. Graduated with Master of Arts in Religion, from Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in May of 1984. Completed requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree at Oklahoma State University in December of 1988; member of Phi Alpha Theta.

Professional Experience: Did laboratory research for National Institute of Petroleum and Energy Research, Bartlesville, Oklahoma, 1984. Vice-President of Golden Triad Furniture, High Point, North Carolina, 1977-1978. Teaching assistant in Zoology for University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa, 1976. Volunteered as secondary school science teacher to Swaziland, Africa, 1975. Secondary school science teacher, Harrison County Schools, Clarksburg, West Virginia, 1973-1974. Secondary school science

teacher, Geary County Schools, Junction City, Kansas, 1972. Biology Instructor, Bartlesville, Oklahoma, academic year 1969-1970.