

BEYOND CYPRUS:

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

Edited by Giorgos Bourogiannis

AURA SUPPLEMENT 9

ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ AURA 9

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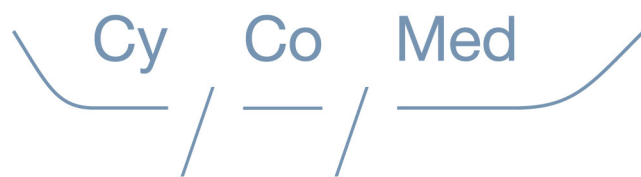
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Cypriot Connectivity in the Mediterranean

ATHENS 2022

AURA SUPPLEMENT 9 • ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ AURA 9

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Transport containers and maritime networks

The case of Cyprus

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University of Cyprus

ABSTRACT

The emergence of Maritime Transport Containers (MTCs) on Cyprus during the Archaic period marks the first time in the history of the island that agricultural products were indisputably shipped in bulk. Widely known in the literature as basket-handled jars, these vessels were exported all around the Eastern Mediterranean but their presence outside the region is scarce. This paper discusses their main characteristics and places them in the context of the politico-economic landscape of Archaic Cyprus, emphasising the association between MTC production, maritime investment and administrative control mechanisms.

MARITIME TRANSPORT CONTAINERS: A UNIQUE MARKER OF SEABORNE TRADE MECHANISMS IN ANTIQUITY

The seaborne transport of people and goods has a very long history in the Eastern Mediterranean. It was only during the 3rd millennium BC, however, that a very important step was taken towards the development of what we call seaborne trade: instead of random transports, evidence suggests repetitive shipments of goods in significant quantities.¹ For such operations, important parameters had to be taken into consideration, such as the safe packaging of merchandise, in a way that allowed it to be moved by humans (i.e. not animals) and securely stowed in a ship's hold. At least ten different closed pottery vessel types, from both the Aegean and the Levant, dating from the 3rd to the end of the 2nd millennium BC, can be characterised as early MTCs, i.e. vessels that could be used for the safe transportation of organic goods on ships. Apart from their morphological features and size, their primary use in maritime transport can be demonstrated by their presence in considerable numbers far from their production centres and, in some cases, on shipwrecks and/or in storage installations.² As Tartaron has explained,³ maritime commerce has many different levels, which depend on the scale of exchanges or transactions, the frequency of trips, the size of the boats and the distance between the exporting and importing harbours. Heavily capitalised large ships that transport cargoes over long-distance international routes are more visible in the archaeological record than boats of limited capacities, operating in local or regional waters. But it

1 Knapp and Demesticha 2017, 42–6, 70–5.

2 Knapp and Demesticha 2017, 36–42. Evidence from shipwrecks is provided by the Early Helladic deposits at Dokos, Argolid (Papathanasopoulos et al. 2000–2001) and at Yiagana, Cephalonia (Evangelistis 2000).

3 Tartaron 2013, 185–203, 186.

is exactly the large shipments that are mostly associated with the emergence of specialised containers for sea transport; the first MTCs in both the Aegean and the Levant coincided with the expansion of maritime networks in their respective region.⁴

The systematic production of pottery vessels used repeatedly or made exclusively to move bulk organic cargo over long distances by ship has a particular significance for maritime trade mechanisms, institutions and economies. Bevan has convincingly argued that, although the use of storage jars or household closed containers for the occasional shipping of goods was not an exclusively Mediterranean phenomenon, the tradition of packaging goods in specialised pottery containers was; i.e., such a mechanism had not developed anywhere else in the world during antiquity.⁵ This is of key importance if we want to approach the socio-economic contexts of MTCs. Unlike all other ceramic vessels that were made to serve household needs and that could be exchanged by land and/or sea, MTCs were low cost, mass produced and manufactured to serve a specific maritime industry. In this respect, they should be properly distinguished from other ceramic assemblages, especially when issues concerning connectivity and economy are discussed.

More than 20 years ago, Mango made an incisive remark, prompting scholars to go *beyond the amphorae*, i.e. not take them as the sole indicator of exchange, especially concerning a higher level of financial investment, such as the Byzantine trade of metalware and glass.⁶ Indeed, not only can transport amphorae not be associated with all scales of shipping, but also their trade seems to have been guided by “different rules” or undertaken with a different “economic logic” than that concerning the circulation of ceramic fine wares in the Roman period.⁷ For instance, political or administrative borders may have played a key role in MTC’s distribution.⁸ Although these remarks were based on Roman containers, they are indicative of some particular attributes of MTC production and trade that could be worth investigating in earlier periods as well; for example, the emergence of certain Late Bronze Age (LBA) MTC types can be plausibly linked to an enhanced maritime agency of their place of origin.⁹ Another instructive example of the MTC’s idiosyncratic appearance in pottery repertoires is Classical Athens, a renowned maritime Greek city which functioned as an emporium and transshipment centre in the Aegean; despite the widely exported fine wares, the absence of a recognised Attic transport amphora type after the second quarter of the 5th century BC is indicative of an “absentee investment in long distance shipping”.¹⁰ With the above in mind, I turn now to discuss the case of Iron Age Cyprus, aiming to use MTCs to shed light on the island’s maritime capacity and trade networks.

CYPRIOT MTCs

During the last four centuries of the LBA(1400 - 1100 BC), sea transport reached an unprecedented climax in the eastern Mediterranean. The production of Canaanite jars demonstrate how specialisation in seaborne trade developed in the Levant on a much larger scale than in any other part of the region. In Cyprus, locally produced Canaanite jars have been attested but only sporadically; so their presence might have been associated with local consumption rather than exports.¹¹ Later on, in the Early Iron Age (EIA), the only attested MTC production

4 Demesticha and Knapp 2016.

5 Bevan 2014.

6 Mango 2001.

7 Different trade patterns between transport amphorae and other commodities have been noticed by various scholars. See, for example, Lund 2014, 301–2, for the Roman Eastern Mediterranean; Rice 2011, 91, for the Roman central Mediterranean, and Berlin 1997 for Hellenistic Palestine.

8 For a similar suggestion about the Roman period in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Reynolds 2005.

9 Knapp and Demesticha 2017, 169–71.

10 Lawall 2005, 210.

11 For possible Cypriot Canaanite jars, see Jones and Vaughan 1988, 393 on material excavated at Maa *Palaeokastro*, and Georgiou

centres in the Eastern Mediterranean basin were in the Levant, although their spheres of interaction had significantly shrunk; most of their products have actually been found in Egypt and Cyprus.¹² In short, the maritime centres in the central and southern Levant played a predominant role in the systematic export of organic goods, within and beyond the region, for over a millennium. This does not mean that they monopolised seaborne trade. Cypriot oxhide ingots, for example, were another manifestation of specialisation in sea transport in bulk.¹³ Metal exports might well have been a Cypriot enterprise during the EIA, too, when iron tools and weapons were exported along with decorated pottery vessels of various types.¹⁴ Some of the latter, such as Black-on-Red (BoR) juglets,¹⁵ were possibly containers for different kinds of liquids. But none of these vessels were *designed* for transport on ships. So, it seems plausible to suggest that if agricultural products had been shipped from Cyprus during the 2nd and early 1st millennium BC, they must have been transported either in non-ceramic containers or on a small scale by means of occasional enterprises, hard to identify in the archaeological record.

It was not before the end of the 8th century BC that the first Cypriot transport containers were manufactured for export. This was a milestone in the maritime history of Cyprus that has not yet attracted proper scholarly attention as such. This is not at all the case with the containers themselves, however. The large biconical jars with two arched horizontal handles that rise high above the rim are very hard to miss in the literature. They appear in several late 19th century publications,¹⁶ and in the classification system of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition they were classified as “pithoid amphorae of Plain Ware Types IV–VI”.¹⁷ As they were largely exported to the Levant, they were included in most, if not all, typological classifications of Levantine pottery and, as a result, the word “jar” has been used more often than the word “amphora”, since the latter has been mostly associated with the Greek world.¹⁸ Despite the fact that the Cypriot provenance of the type has been widely acknowledged, they did not become known as Cypriot amphorae, mainly because of the several imitations of the series during the Classical and Hellenistic periods outside Cyprus.¹⁹ Rather, their established name is related to their distinctive morphology: “loop handle jars”, “jars with basket handles”, “basket jars”, “basket” storage jars or “amphores à anses de panier”.²⁰ In this paper, the term Cypriot Maritime Transport Container has been adopted, because the focus is placed on the phenomenon of their emergence during the Cypro-Archaic (CA) period. In the course of the following centuries until the Hellenistic period, the history of the series becomes more complex, as production continued and expanded beyond the island.²¹

Cypriot MTCs appeared in five different sub-types during the Archaic period, according to Humbert’s typology.²² They developed out of a household transport vessel with horizontal arched handles, as Gjerstad

2014 for Pyla *Kokkinokremos*. For Canaanite jars in Bronze Age Cyprus, see Knapp 2016. Crewe (2012) suggested that a type of early Plain White Handmade pithos may have been used for the transport of organic goods, but all examples thus far have been found only in Cypriot sites.

12 For the typology and distribution networks of Canaanite jars during the EIA see Gilboa et al. 2015, Pedrazzi 2016. For their presence in Cyprus, see Bikai 1983 and Martin 2017.

13 Sherratt and Sherratt 1991, 354.

14 Iacovou 2014b, 803–4; Georgiadou 2016.

15 For the exports to Crete, see Karageorghis and Kanta 2014, 36, 105.

16 See, for instance, Petrie 1888, 64.

17 Gjerstad 1948; 1960.

18 Marangou 2014.

19 See for example Wolff 2009, 137. Locally produced variants have been petrographically confirmed in Mendes, Egypt (De Rodriquo 1998) and Israel, at Tell-el Hesi (Bennett and Blakely 1980, 212–13) and Tel Michal (Singer-Avitz 1989, 116–18). Although we still lack a comprehensive overview of the series biography, the evidence thus far shows that production outside Cyprus was on a small scale and with no documented exports outside the production centres.

20 Salles 1980; Sagona 1982; Stern 1982; Buhl 1983; Humbert 1991; Lehmann 1996.

21 For short overviews of the series, beyond the ones in the previous note, see Calvet 1986; Winther Jacobsen 2002; Leidwanger 2005/2006.

22 Humbert 1991, Types A–E.

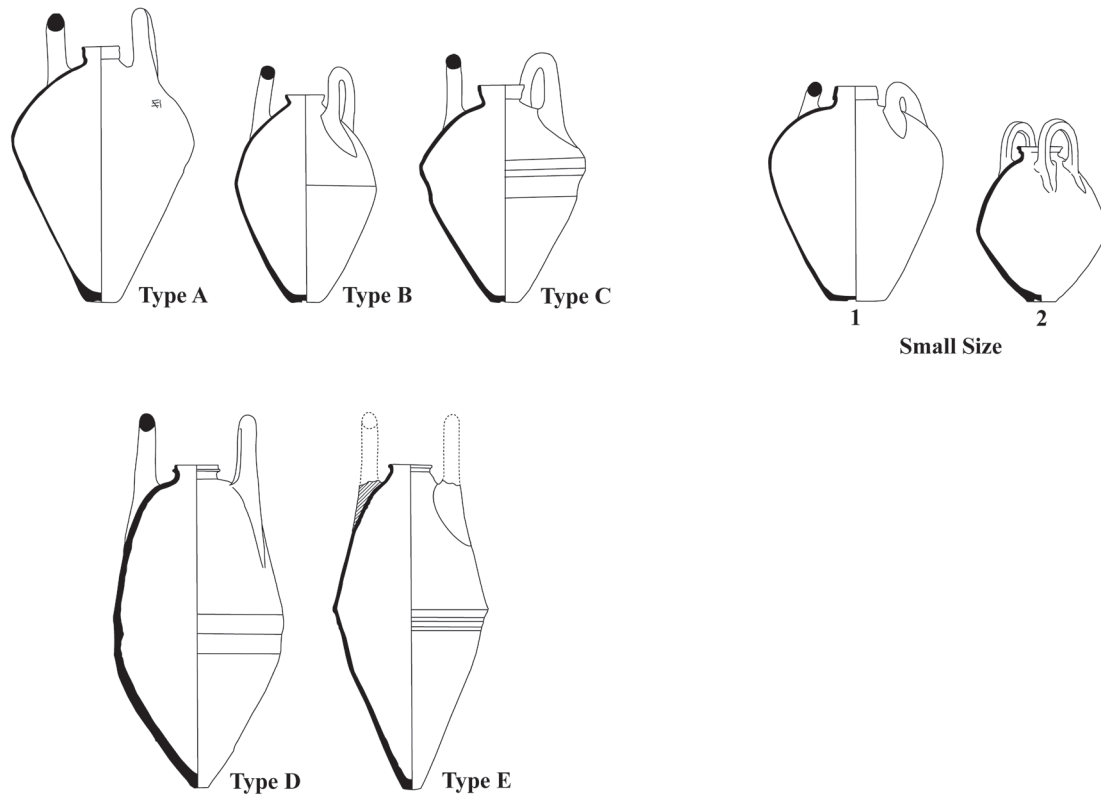


Fig. 1. Types of Archaic Cypriot MTCs (A-E), according to Humbert's typology. The small sized types (1-2) were classified as 'prototypes' by Humbert. All depicted examples from Cypriot contexts:

- Type A: Kourion, Royal Tomb, no. KBT1/90/127 (Christou 2013, 228–30).
- Type B: Salamis, Tomb 3, no. 97 (Karageorghis 1967, 38, pl. CXXVI).
- Type C: Salamis, Tomb 79, no. 720 (Karageorghis 1974, pl. CCXXI).
- Type D: Marion Tomb 96, no. 10 (Gjerstad et al. 1935, 448–49, pl. LXXXVI).
- Type E: Salamis, Tomb 72, no. 1 (Karageorghis 1970, 112, pls XLIX, CCXLI).
- Small Type 1: Salamis Tomb 2, no. 15 (Karageorghis 1967, 12, pl. CXI).
- Small Type 2: Marion Tomb 96, no. 9 (Gjerstad et al. 1935, 448–49, pl. LXXXVI).

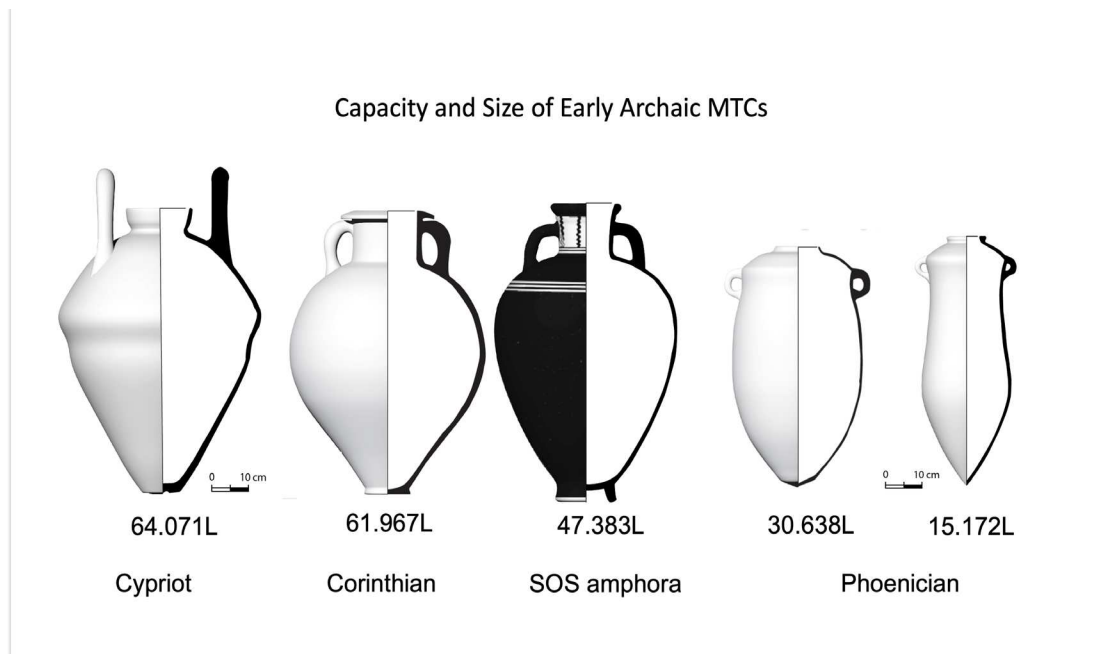


Fig. 2. Archaic MTCs from Cyprus, the Aegean and the Levant, with their respective capacities.

plausibly argued.²³ Not all of them are dated earlier than the transport container's first appearance, however, and two in particular could be classified as small sizes of the standard type (Fig. 1). The earliest variants (Humbert Types A to C and small sizes) are characterised by a biconical body that ends in a narrow flat base, with a shallow recession underneath. The largest diameter of Type A is at the upper body, whereas the bodies of Types B and C are almost symmetrical, with the largest diameter at the middle of the body. The capacity of Types A–C ranges between 65 and 85 litres (Table 1), which makes them the largest early Archaic MTC, followed by Aegean contemporary examples whose capacities average between 40 and 60 litres. The Levantine containers of the same period were of smaller and more elongated form, holding 15 to 30 litres (Fig. 2).²⁴

Amphora Type	Capacity (L)	Find Site	Reference
Type A	65	Tell Keisan, Niveau 4, no. 5. 353	Salles 1980: pl. 24.1
Type B	85.1	Ashkelon, Grid 50, Phase 7. 11	Barako 2008, 441, fig. 23.11
Type C	64.071	Salamis Tomb 79, no. 720	Karageorghis 1973/1974, pl CCXXI; Knapp and Demesticha 2017, 181–82
Type C	80	Tell Keisan, Niveau 4, no. 4.434	Salles 1980, pl. 23.1
Type C	67	Tell Keisan, Niveau 4, no. 5.354	Salles 1980, pl. 23.2
Type C	78	Tell Keisan, Niveau 4, no. 5.215	Salles 1980, pl. 23.3

Table 1. Recorded Capacities of seventh century BC Cypriot MTCs types (Types according to Humbert 1991).

The morphological variations of the early Cypriot containers are not significant, but they could still be indicative of different contemporary workshops, either in the same or in different parts of the island. Although much more analytical work has to be done, there is already enough evidence to suggest that eastern Cyprus was the main or among the main production centres, at least in this early phase.²⁵ Salles thought that there was a local production at Kition as well, although the type's absence from local tombs seems too conspicuous.²⁶ Humbert Types D and E, dated to the 6th and maybe up to the early 5th century, bear clear features of change towards smaller and more elongated bodies. Flat bases became conical and the maximum body diameter smaller, at the mid-body of Type E and the lower body of Type D. In the present state of research, it is not possible to establish if these changes are associated with the expansion of production sites on the island, or with typological adjustments to meet the needs of systematic shipping.²⁷

Cypriot MTCs were multi-purpose containers. Some inscriptions after firing have been interpreted as “olive oil”²⁸ but they are sporadic and could simply signify the contents of the inscribed jars only, to distinguish them

23 Gjerstad 1960, 120–21, fig. 15. Humbert (1991, 580, fig. 1c) classified them as “prototypes”.

24 Knapp and Demesticha 2017, table A (Appendix). For an overview of the first Iron Age MTCs in the Aegean, see Demesticha and Pratt 2017, 132–47.

25 Petrographic (Courtois 1980, 358–60) and Neutron Activation Analysis (Gunneweg and Perlman 1991, 596–97) conducted on containers of this type excavated at Tell Keisan, suggested an eastern Cypriot provenance for the two fabric groups distinguished among the Archaic material. Petrographic analysis on seven fragments from the cargo amphorae of the 7th century BC Kekova Adasi shipwreck, Lycia (Leidwanger et al. 2012) demonstrated homogeneity and also suggested an eastern Cypriot provenance.

26 Salles 1991, 226. For the rarity of basket-handled amphorae among the grave goods of Kition tombs, see Fourrier 2014.

27 During the Classical period, their production has also been attested in Amathus (Marangou 2019).

28 The word *e-la-i-wo* (“olive oil”) in Cypro-Syllabic was written in black paint on a Type A amphora found in Tomb 2 at Salamis (Karageorghis 1967, 38 no. 101, pl. 126; Masson 1967, 132), whereas Puech (1980, 303) interpreted the Phoenician signs inscribed

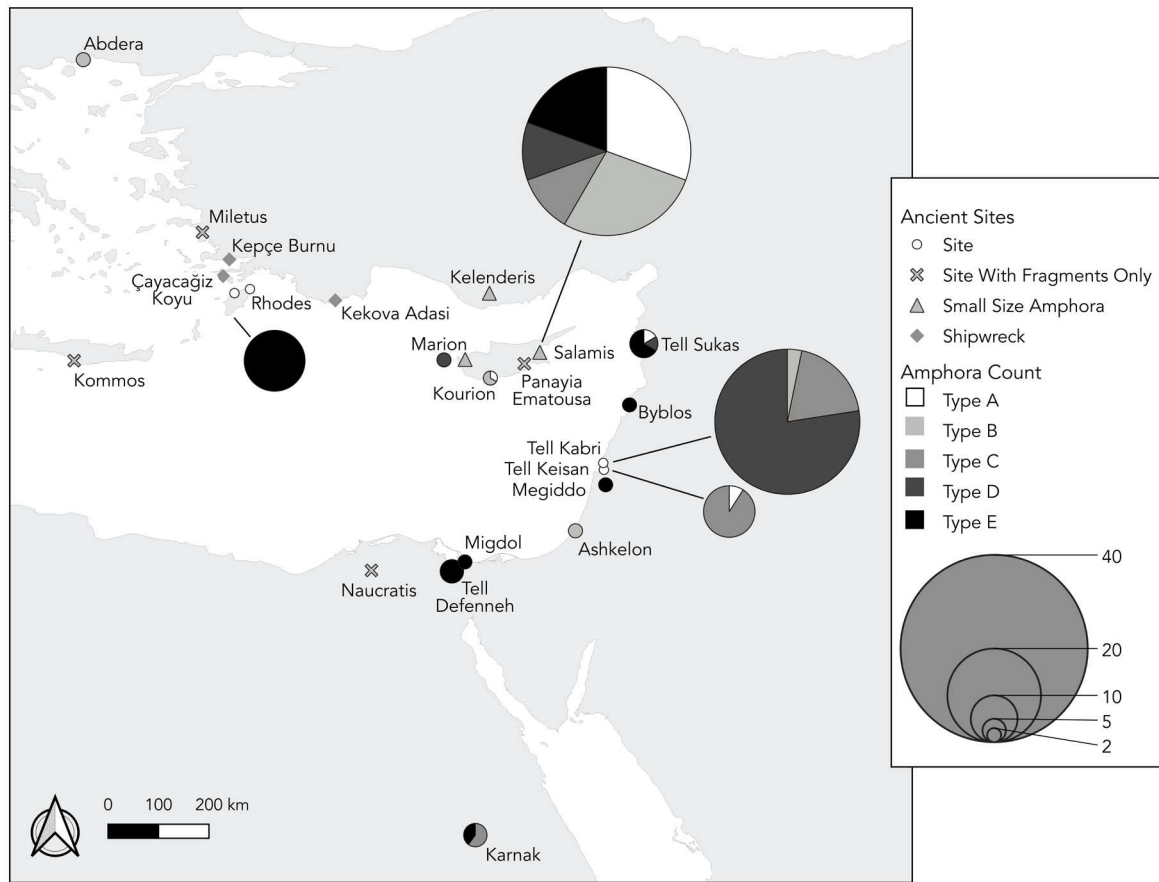


Fig. 3. Distribution map of the 127 Archaic Cypriot MTCs that could be classified under one of Humbert’s Types (map drawn by Nathan Meyer).

from the rest of the lot that might have had a different content. Moreover, Humbert argued that the amphorae found at Tell Keisan contained wine, interpreting a thick coating found on their interior as the residue from fermentation. A similar coating was present on the walls of the vessels found at Panayia Ematousa, Aradippou, Cyprus.²⁹

Variant-specific distribution maps can be very useful for the study of trade patterns and their fluctuations over specific periods or regions. Since the typological identification of partly preserved containers or fragments is not always possible, however, any such attempt can be only considered indicative. With this in mind, a distribution map of the Archaic Cypriot MTC variants –but not of later ones produced elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean– can be considered indicative of the island’s trade networks, because any Cypriot MTC located outside the island was an export. One attempt to map these exports, illustrated in Fig. 3, shows that the trade networks of the island expanded during the 6th century BC (Humbert Types D–E). Still, exports outside the Eastern Mediterranean basin seems to be only sporadic and cannot be considered representative of regular shipping practices, at least with MTC cargoes.

after firing on two Type C amphorae from Tell Keisan as abbreviations of Greek *elaion* (“olive oil”), written with the Phoenician letter *lamed*.

29 Humbert 1991, 576–77; Winther Jacobsen 2002, 173–74.

MTCs, POLITICO-ECONOMIC SYSTEMS AND MARITIME NETWORKS

With the transition from aristocratic personal exchange to structured commerce, exchanges of semi-luxury goods, like wine and olive oil, played a central role in Archaic economies. Unlike trade in essential commodities, like grain or metal, they were generated by preferential consumption trends and are certainly attested between producers of the same products.³⁰ These new social conditions favoured maritime investment and had a profound impact on local economies. A unique boost of maritime exchanges in the Aegean, for example, was associated with urbanisation, colonisation episodes and long-distance trade, as well as with the emergence of the first MTCs exported in large quantities outside the region.³¹ Cyprus' new maritime venture of shipping wine and/or olive oil was initiated with containers of large size that presuppose significant investment and low-risk transactions. The island, however, did not take part in colonisation episodes, either as instigator or as a recipient. Thus, the emergence of its first generic local MTCs cannot be associated with long-distance trade or with a previous tradition of trading such commodities, as was the case in the Aegean and the Levant. Therefore, we should probably turn our attention to a different politico-economic context if we want to understand the phenomenon.

The CA period starts with domination by, or at least strong influence from, the Neo-Assyrian state at the end of the 8th century BC. This was a turning point for the political landscape of the Eastern Mediterranean and the island in particular. Cyprus was likely part of the Neo-Assyrian state although it never functioned strictly within its provincial administration.³² It was also during this period that local polities on the island were created or consolidated and established control mechanisms over their territorial resources.³³ Maritime investment and institutionalised control of agricultural produce, which are prerequisites for structured packaging and shipping commodities in large quantities, were amongst these changes. The unique Archaic Cypriot "fleet" of more than 50 clay ship models underscores the growing role that sea transport must have played in the new polities.³⁴ The provenance of Humbert Types A–C from Salamis, the first fully urbanised city-harbour of the island, fits very well in this picture, since the city responded to the challenges of a "globalised" Mediterranean with new economic activities.³⁵ In this respect, I argue that the emergence of the first Cypriot MTCs, as a new maritime side-industry, should be included in "the new phenomena" that characterise the politico-economic system of early Archaic Cyprus.³⁶

Although no Archaic shipwreck is known from the Levantine, Egyptian or Cypriot coasts thus far,³⁷ two such deposits were found in the Aegean and one off Lycia, i.e. on the sea route from Cyprus to the Aegean (Table 2). Only one of the three sites, Çaycağız Koyu, could have been a homogeneous Cypriot cargo, whereas both Cypriot and Aegean amphorae were recovered at the other two, something that attests to redistribution rather than direct shipments.³⁸ One cannot be sure if these finds represent the norm during the 7th century, i.e. if

30 Salles 1991; Foxhall 1998.

31 For an overview of Greek colonisation see Osborne 2007. For wine consumption in the western Mediterranean in the period, see Riva 2010, and for the exports of Greek amphorae to Sicily, see Pratt 2015; 2016.

32 For a general overview of the archaeological evidence during the Archaic period, see Reyes 1994. On the political system within the Neo-Assyrian state, see Körner 2016.

33 For an extensive discussion of the Cypriot polities see, Iacovou 2013; 2014a; 2014b; 2018; Fourrier 2013, 104; Petit 2019.

34 Westerberg 1983; Basch 1987, 249–62.

35 For the term and a short overview of the Greek and Phoenician expansion to the west, see Sherratt 2016.

36 See Iacovou 2014a, 806, for a discussion on the material manifestations of the royal ideology, such as the architectural monumentality, built tombs and life-size terracotta sculptures and coinage.

37 Shipwreck sites with basket-handled amphorae from the Cyprus and the Levant are dated to the Classical period; e.g. the Mağagan Mikhael (Kahanov and Linder 2004) and Cape Andreas, Cyprus Site 19A (Green 1973).

38 Proper quantification of these scattered sites is not easy and no detailed catalogues have been published thus far; Kekova Adasi,

Cypriot products were shipped directly within the Eastern Mediterranean but mostly redistributed further west. The evidence does suggest, however, that, unlike their Aegean and Levantine counterparts, the first Cypriot MTCs were mainly shipped within the regional commercial spheres of the island (Fig. 3, Table 2).

Distribution along the Eastern Mediterranean brings to mind the link between MTCs and political or administrative borders, mentioned above, although it still remains difficult to establish whether the MTC distribution that we are able to document today was the result of free or state-regulated entrepreneurial ventures by a new Cypriot merchant elite. If Fantalkin's argued *Pax Assyriaca* is correct, however, and especially if it indeed marked the "great divide" between the region and the Greek trading world,³⁹ then the Cypriot polities may have taken advantage of some new opportunities arising within a favourable economic trading environment. Moreover, Cypriot MTCs have been found together with a specific type of coarse open vessels, possibly *mortaria*, known as "Persian bowls", at terrestrial sites and shipwrecks.⁴⁰ These bowls have been associated with the presence of mercenaries or with military provisions, a condition which has always provided good opportunities for trade and profit.⁴¹

It is not unlikely that all the above were components of the new economic landscape of the Archaic Eastern Mediterranean. And although it may be pointless to try and identify maritime agents in the constantly mobile world of seaborne trade, it seems plausible that Cypriots traded their own agricultural products, and therefore they created their own MTCs. If this is correct, then the Cypriot merchant fleet must have operated for the most part within the island's regional sphere of interaction. Because, if Cypriot ships sailed beyond the Eastern Mediterranean, in the Aegean or farther west, during the 7th and 6th centuries, i.e. a period with a documented fashion for exotic tastes, then we have to wonder why their seamen and merchants chose not to carry their wines or oils with them...

off Antalya, seems to be the largest of the three sites, with an estimated cargo of 90–100 Cypriot containers, 20 "south-eastern" Aegean and 7–10 Corinthian ones (Greene et al. 2010). Still, Greene et al. (2013) saw a "direct exchange between Cyprus and south-east Aegean", with Cypriots acting as "intermediary traders between the Aegean and the Levant". See also Greene 2018.

39 Fantalkin 2006, 201.

40 Villing 2006, 37. See also Greene et al. 2013 for the shipwreck assemblages.

41 Salles 1991, Fantalkin 2006.

Table 2. The 127 classified examples of Archaic Cypriot MTCs discussed in this paper. Estimated cargo numbers have not been quantified. *Unknown Context.

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Type E	Small Size	References
Cyprus							
					7		Karageorghis 1967, 12, 38, pls. XLI, CXXVI, CXI;
	11	10		4	Tomb 12:		Karageorghis 1970, 17–18, 26, 31, 35, 41, 88, 112, 128, 168, 215,
	Tomb 20:	Tomb 3:		Tomb 10:	1		pls. XLIX, LXVII–VIII, LXXII, LXXVII, LXXXIX, CLX
	5	97, 99, 101	4	13	Tomb 14: 8		
Salamis	Tomb 79:	Tomb 14:	Tomb 79:	Tomb 16:	Tomb 72: 1	3	
	721, 722,	7	nos. 123,	4	Tomb 73: 1	Tomb 2: 15–17	LXXII, LXXVII, LXXXIX, CLX
	729, 730, 735,	Tomb 79:	720, 732,	Tomb 55A:	Tomb 115:		
	763, 779, 780,	724, 760,	815	5	2		
	810, 985	764, 776,		Tomb 84:	Squares		Karageorghis 1973/1974, 52–55, 59, 115, pls. XLV–XLVI, CCXXI–CCXXIV
		809, 814		14	near the surface: 107, 109		
		2					
Kourion	1	Royal Tomb, KBT1/90/127					Christou 2013, 228–30
		121 and 128					
Marion				1	Tomb 96: no. 10	2	Gjerstad et al. 1935, 448–49, pl. LXXXVI; Nicolaou 1964, 170, fig. 13
						Tomb 96: 9	
						Tomb 129: 2	
Levant							
			10				
			Niveau 4, 4.434, 5.215, 5.352, 5.354, 5.370, 5.374, 5.375, 5.376, 5.377, 5.378				
Tell Keisan	1						Salles 1980: 136–41, pls. 23–24
	Niveau 4, no. 5. 353						

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Type E	Small Size	References
Tell Sukas	1 TS 4722 (no. 54)			1 Urn Burial 26: no. 4527	4 TS 1431, 3703, 3164, 3165 (nos. 56–59)		Buhl 1983, 19–21, figs. IV, VI; Riis 1979, 20–21, fig. 52
Tel Kabri		1 Stratum E2	6 Stratum E2	24 Stratum E2			Lehmann 2002, 198, fig. 5.84
Byblos					1 No. Jbl 400 9335		Homsy 2003, 246, pl. 2
Megiddo					1 No. 63		Lamon and Shipton 1939, 166. pl. 12.
Ashkelon		1 Grid 50, Phase 7. 11					Barako 2008, 441, fig. 23.11
Egypt							
Defenneh					5 East of the Casemate Building, findspots 2, 3, 9, 51 and British Museum no. 18676		Petrie 1888b, 64, pl. 33.6; Leclère and Spencer 2014, pls. 44, 48, 49, 55
Migdol					1 No. 2993 (T. 21/2)		Oren 1984, 17, fig. 21, 1, 2, 11
Karnak			3 Treasury of Thutmose I		2 Houses I and VII		Marangou, 2012, 153, 371, fig. 153; Masson 2007, 363; 2011, 306, fig. 96, 97
Southern Anatolia							
Kelenderis						2 Lower City (K.92AG001-2)	Zoroğlu 2013, 40–41
Underwater finds	Kekova Adasi Shipwreck (off Lycia)			1* Off Cilicia		1* Off Kelenderis 13-252	Sibella 2002, 5, fig. 2 Zoroğlu 2013, 38, 43 Greene et al. 2013

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Type E	Small Size	References
Aegean							
					13		
Rhodes					Kameiros Tombs 129, 78 and 121 Ialysos Tombs 112, 129, 131, 142, 149, 158, 159, 210		Jacopi 1931, 261, pl. VII, Jacopi 1929, pl. IV
Abdera, Thrace		1 No. K 48					Dupont and Skarlatidou 2012, 260, fig. 31
Underwater finds		Kepçe Burnu Shipwreck (Çökertme) Çaycağız Koyu, Ship- wreck (Off Marmaris)			1 * Off Caria (Bodrum Museum no. 4.1.95)	1 * Off Caria (Bod- rum Museum no. 6.1.95)	Alpözen et al. 1995, 70-71; Greene et al. 2013 Greene et al. 2010
TOTAL (127)	14	15	23	31	35	9	

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