Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery outside Greece

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Previous research
The Mycenaean pottery was very abundant in Cyprus was already realized by Pottwalder and Louchakas at the end of the nineteenth century. They mentioned 37 Mycenaean pots and three finds, while stating that there were many more from the island, scattered over several locations. Pottwalde and Louchakas noticed a difference in the corpus of Mycenaean pottery between Cyprus and mainland Greece. Pottwalder points out, "größere Kretische als mit Mykenische berührt waren und Flaschen, die durch Instillation der Messingteile des Öles in "originale" (Geometrischen) Dekorationen erinnern." Such a difference was also noted by Meyer and Olenezaf-Klepper, who used it as an argument to propose the production of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus. They were the first to make a distinction between mainland Mycenaean ware and local imitations on the basis of a description of fabrics. A distinction between Mycenaean Phylacteric and Holistic pottery in Cyprus was made in 1926 by Gezerah, who stated that during the 2nd period pottery from the Greek mainland originated there from Crete, or the Argolid islands. He also reported that the number of Mycenaean finds in Cyprus was well over a thousand, while Pottwalder was able to list 25 instances of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus.

In the 1916's the first three volumes of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition were published, among them the site reports, Lokom in 1926, 1907, where the discoveries had excelled past of the monumental, especially significant. The term "Geometrische" made up certain Mycenaean shapes coming to Cyprus was invented around this time by the Swedes. Ever since, the manufacture of "Mycenaean-type pottery" in Cyprus has been a major theme of debate. Frank Stuart's in 1951 emphasized that the differences between Mycenaean pottery from Cyprus and mainland Greece were not of "expansion only". In his view, techniques, shape and decoration all point to manufacturers on mainland Greece. Stuart's work is that important because he showed a difference in the distribution of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus between LHIIA and LHIIIB. In comparison with the relative homogeneity of LHIIA pottery, LHIIIB potteries have more local elements of the LHIIIB type and a growing number of local modifications of shape and decoration, combined with some differences in the fabric of the clay. In his view, there

Pottwalder & Louchakas, 1936, 76. It is of interest to note that they interpreted the differences between Cyprus and mainland Greece from a point of view of "cretaization... and Cretes... and Creta..." (p. 12)
Meyer & Olenezaf-Klepper 1926. 30. They proposed two schools at Knossos and Kition.
Gezerah 1932, 79-81. 310-314. 230
Gezerah 1937, 23; Marder 1914, 30-45
Olympos 1914, 23; Marder 1914, 30-45
Olympos 1914, 23; Marder 1914, 30-45
Olympos 1914, 23; Marder 1914, 30-45
CHAPTER 9

Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus: introduction

Previous research

That Mycenaean pottery was very abundant in Cyprus was already realised by Furtwängler and Löschke at the end of the nineteenth century.\(^1\) They mentioned 37 Mycenaean pots and three findspots, while stating that there were many more from the island, scattered over several collections. Furtwängler and Löschke noticed a difference in the corpus of Mycenaean pottery between Cyprus and mainland Greece: "... kauften die Cyprier mit Vorliebe (...) grosse Kratere die mit Wagenscenen bemalt waren und Flaschen, die durch Imitationen der Jahresringe des Holzes an "Geometrischen" Decorationen errinnert..."\(^2\) Such a difference was also noted by Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, who used it as an argument to propose the production of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus.\(^3\) They were the first to make a distinction between genuine Mycenaean ware and local imitations on the basis of a description of fabrics. A distinction between Minoan, Cycladic and Helladic pottery in Cyprus was made in 1926 by Gjerstadt, who stated that already during the LCI period pots produced on the Greek mainland exceeded those from Crete or the Aegean islands.\(^4\) He also reported that the number of Aegean finds in Cyprus was well over a thousand, while Fimmen was able to list 20 findspots of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus.\(^5\)

In the 1930's the first three volumes of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition were published.\(^6\) Among the sites discussed, Enkomi (site no. 50), where the Swedes had excavated part of the necropolis is especially important.\(^7\) The term *Levanto-Helladic* ware for certain Mycenaean shapes occurring on Cyprus was invented around this time by the Swedes.\(^8\) Ever since, the manufacture of Mycenaean-type pottery in Cyprus has been a major theme of debate. Frank Stubbings in 1951 emphasized that the differences between Mycenaean pottery from Cyprus and mainland Greece was one of repertoire only.\(^9\) In his view, technique, shape and decoration all pointed to manufacture on mainland Greece. Stubbings's work is also important because he showed a difference in the distribution of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus between LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB. In comparison with the relative homogeneity of LHIIIA2 pottery, Stubbings noted more local imitations of the LHIIIB style and a growing number of local peculiarities in shape and decoration, coupled with some differences in the texture of the clay. In his view, these

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2 Furtwängler & Löschke, 1886, IX. It is of interest to note that they interpreted this difference between Cyprus and Mainland Greece from a point of view of consumption: "...der Geschmack der Abnehmer..." (p. IX)
3 Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, 40. They proposed local schools at Kourion and Salamis.
5 Gjerstadt 1926, 327; Fimmen 1924, 96-97.
6 Gjerstadt et al. 1934; 1935; 1937. Sites with Mycenaean pottery in these volumes are: Ayios Iakovos (sites no. 45, 345), Enkomi (site no. 50) and Idalion (site no. 65).
7 Gjerstadt et al. 1934, 467-577.
8 See chapter 3 for a discussion of the problems involved with the use of the term.
9 Stubbings 1951, 36-37.
changes testified to the LHIIIB pottery being imported not only from the Peloponnese, but also from peripheral areas of the Mycenaean region, such as Rhodes.10

Scientific analysis of the composition of Late Helladic ware on Cyprus had already been carried out in the 1940’s.11 Later work by H.W. Catling and A. Millett indicated that most of the Mycenaean pottery imported in Cyprus during LCII was produced in the north-east Peloponnese.12 These results, although initially questioned by V. Karageorghis, gave support to Catling’s view that the Mycenaean pottery from before LHIIIC had arrived on Cyprus principally through trade, without the actual presence of Mycenaeans.13 Even though the majority of Mycenaean pots on the island now is thought to have been made in the Aegean, it has also become clear that the Cypriot ceramic industry at the end of LCIIIC began to incorporate parts of the Mycenaean repertoire, such as the ‘Rude’ or ‘Pastoral’ pictorial style, as well as a variety of bowls.14

The discovery in 1934 by Schaeffer of the town of Enkomi (site no. 50), enabled a comparison between the Mycenaean pottery in tomb deposits and in settlement strata.15 Schaeffer’s work at Enkomi was supplemented by that of Dikaios, who paid special attention to the stratigraphy of the imported Mycenaean pottery.16 His account of the contents of domestic strata not only showed clearly the variety of contexts in which that pottery was found, it also provided information about the length of time in which different types of Mycenaean pottery were used.17 The excavations at Kition (site no. 57) by Karageorghis testified of Mycenaean pottery being used in both funerary and religious practices.18 A site comparable to Enkomi and Kition, at least as far as the quantities of Mycenaean pottery are concerned, is Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59), which has been excavated by the Swedes.19 The excavation of the remains of Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116) has provided evidence for the import of Minoan pottery dating to the beginning of Aegean contact with Cyprus.20 Of particular importance is the fieldwork that has been carried out in the Kalavassos valley and adjacent regions in central southern Cyprus.21 The survey carried out in the valley and the excavations at Maroni (sites no. 98 and 330) and Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96) have all contributed to a better understanding of the distribution of Mycenaean pottery on a regional level. The contextual analysis of A. South and P. Russell of Mycenaean pottery at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios sheds light on the social function of that pottery during LCIIIC.22

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10 Stubbings 1951, 41-42.
11 Immerwahr 1945, 555 note 77.
12 Catling & Millett 1965, 212-224; Catling 1966, 57. For an overview, see Catling, Jones & Millet 1978; Jones, 1986a, 523-625; especially 553-571 (with an archaeological comment by Catling: 589-609). See Anson 1980 for analyses done on Rude Style pottery.
15 Schaeffer 1936a, 83-93.
17 Dikaios 1969, 249; 1971, 442-454. Dikaios also presented evidence for differences in appreciation by the Cypriots between LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB vessels (p. 841.).
19 For overviews, see Åström 1985, 176-181; 1986b; 1996 (all with further references). The Swedish excavations started in Hala Sultan Tekke in 1971. Tombs had been excavated there by the British Museum in 1894 and 1897-1898.
20 Vermeule & Wolzky 1978, 298-299, 300-317; 1990, 381-384. Mycenaean pottery was also found.
21 See, for example, Todd 1986a; South 1989; with references.
22 South & Russell 1993, 304-309. Finds in building X suggest that access to fine Mycenaean table wares was restricted to a select group among the inhabitants. See also Steel 1998.
A corpus of all the Mycenaean and Minoan pottery found in Cyprus has been published by Paul Aström. This corpus, in which finds are arranged according to shape and findspot and in which painted motifs are listed, allowed a statistical analysis of the distribution of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus. Such statistics were given by Aström himself at a symposium in 1972, showing, among other things, that an increase in the import of Mycenaean pottery started during LHIIIA1 and continued during LHIIIA2, while there was a regress during LHIIIB. Aström also described the chronological build-up of the spatial distribution pattern and the frequency of occurrence of the Mycenaean vase types. At the same symposium, K. Nicolaou, isolated the sites with early Mycenaean (LHI-LHIIIA1) material, showing that these are mainly, but not exclusively, located on the coasts and in mining regions.

Regional distribution of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus

Although the island of Cyprus is small in comparison with the other areas considered in this study, it is here that the largest amounts of Mycenaean pottery have been found. This is reflected in the relatively high proportion of class 2 sites (Table IV), which signify that the large quantities of such pottery that were imported did not just remain in the coastal centres, but were distributed in the interior as well. The extent of this distribution is visible in Map 21, which reveals that sites with Mycenaean pottery are only absent deep in the Troodos mountains. It is difficult to distinguish any regionalisation in the dense distribution pattern of Map 9. Some clusters on the south coast are visible: around Pyla-Kokkinokremos (site no. 52), around Kition (site no. 57) and Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59), near Kalavasos (site no. 96) and Maroni (site no. 98) and around Kourion (site no. 102).

This pattern of clusterings becomes more marked when we look at a differentiated map that indicates where more than ten ceramic units of LHI-LHIIIB pottery have been found (Map 22). To the string of important sites on the south coast Kouklia-Palaeopaphos (site no. 105) needs to be added, while the cluster near Pyla-Kokkinokremos (site no. 52) lacks a truly major site. In the eastern part of the Mesaoria, the prominence of Enkomi (site no. 50) is clear, and this site may have been the centre in the distribution of Mycenaean pottery in much of the northern half of the island. The class 2 sites in the central part of the Mesaoria possibly should also be interpreted as clustering around Enkomi, although Nicosia Aya Paraskevi (site no. 71) may have been an important agricultural centre. In the north-west, there is a notable clustering of sites in the Morphou area, but sites of class 3 and higher are absent there. This may indicate the lack of an important centre, but can also be caused by the fact that a significant part of Toubia tou Skourou (site no. 116) was destroyed before excavations began.

The geography of Cyprus is determined by two mountain ranges: the Kyrenia and the Karpass in the north and the Troodos in the south. Between these lies the Mesaoria plain. The island can be divided into six geographical units, which do not have clear boundaries.

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23 Aström 1972b, 289-408. Of course, since the early 1970’s many more Mycenaean pots have been found on the island.
24 Aström 1973, 122-123.
25 Aström 1973, 124-126. He also made an interesting comparison between the corpus of Mycenaean pottery from Cyprus and that from Achaia on the Peloponness, showing the statistical differences between these sites.
27 This is easily explained by the fact that there seems to have been no settlement in these mountains during the LC period; see Catling 1966, 50.
28 Catling 1966, 51.
29 Moreover, not all the excavated pottery from this site could be published because of the Turkish invasion of 1974; see Vermeule & Wolzky 1990, 3-5.
30 Unless otherwise mentioned, all geographical information comes from Stanley Price 1979, 1-15.
between them. The first of these is the north coast, which comprises the Kyrenia range and the narrow coastal strip. Lapithos-Ayia Anastasia (site no. 81) and Akanthou-Moulou (site no. 44) are the only sites in this area higher than class 1. Two sites near Morphou - Stephania (site no. 83) and Pigadhes (site no. 84) - lie on the border of this region and the western part of the Mesaoria. The Karpass peninsula, the second region, is geographically an extension of the northern range. No major sites are located on the peninsula itself, but Ayios Iakovos-Melidia (site no. 45) lies at the border of this region and the Mesaoria plain.

The Mesaoria consists of two alluvial regions, one in the east and one in the west, flanked by limestone-capped plateaus and the Troodos mountains. In the eastern part of the plain, Enkomi (site no. 50) is the most important site, while in the centre there appears to be a clustering of sites near Nicosia, with Angastina (site no. 68), Kaimakli-Evretadhes (site no. 70) and Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi (site no. 71) as the most prominent. South of these, there is another grouping of sites around Idalion (site no. 65). In the west, Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116) and Akaki (site no. 117) are notable. Apliki (site no. 113) and Katydhata (site no. 114) are situated in the foothills of the Troodos mountains, in the area of a well known copper mining region. The Troodos range has yielded very few other sites with Mycenaean pottery, Politiko (site no. 93) being an exception.

The southern region consists of a fairly wide coastal strip, sloping gently from the Troodos mountains to the sea. In this region the clusterings of sites with Mycenaean pottery can be observed: near Pyla (sites no. 52-55), Kition (site no. 57) and Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59), Maroni (sites no. 98, 330) and Kalavasos (site nos. 95-97), and Kourion (no. 102). The site of Alassa (site no. 99) lies on a route of communication into the Troodos mountains.

The last geographical region is the Paphos district, which is topographically barred from the rest of the island. In the east, outliers from the Troodos reach almost to the sea and separate this region from the western part of the Mesaoria. The site of Pamos (site no. 110), from which a single Mycenaean sherd is reported, lies on a route of communication between these two areas. A similar situation exists in the south, where Kouklia-Palaepaphos (site no. 105) lies in an area where the hilly topography hinders communications with the southern coast. Maa-Palaepokastro (site no. 107), located on a small peninsula, has yielded notable quantities of Mycenaean pottery from LHIIIB onwards. The fertile Khrysokou valley in the north of this region possesses no sites with Mycenaean pottery.

The regionalism that is recognisable in the material culture of Cyprus in the EC and MC periods broke down in the earliest phase of the late Bronze Age (LCIA). By LCII, Cypriot ceramics had become relatively homogeneous and common methods for the production of copper seem to have been applied in the various metallurgical centres on the island. All this has led to suggestions that there was political unity on Cyprus during part of LCII, perhaps dominated by Enkomi, which rose to prominence somewhat earlier than the urban centres on the south coast. This island-wide state should then be identified with the kingdom of Alashiya, which figures prominently in Hittite, Levantine and Egyptian texts. There is, however, little evidence for a hierarchy among the larger Late Cypriot towns. Although analyses of ritual and mortuary contexts suggest that the elites in the various centres expressed a common ideology, there is no sign of subordination to a central authority. The estimated size of the various centres and the absence of consistencies in public architecture also argue against

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33 Knapp 1986, 39; Muhly 1989, 303.
34 For overviews of the evidence for the equation Cyprus = Alashiya, see Baurin 1984, 19-26; Knapp 1985, 234-239.
35 Keswani 1993, 74-75.
such subordination. Moreover, the absence of extensive administrative records such as those found elsewhere in the Mediterranean, is at least curious if a centrally governed state is considered.

Instead, the Late Cypriot settlements seem to have belonged to a number of regional polities centred on the large coastal towns. These polities probably were organised around the production and exchange of copper, in which several sites were systemically involved. Priscilla Keswani describes a complex network of coastal centres, inland centres, mining and agricultural villages, which were related through exchanges of luxury and staple goods. She distinguishes at least eight of these regional exchange systems, centred on Toumba tou Skourou, Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni, Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Kourion or Alassa, and Kouklia-Palaepaphos respectively. The power of these centres appears to have been based to a large extent on access to international maritime exchange.

Even though the circulation of metals and foreign contacts appear to have been important in all of these polities, their internal social organisation was not the same. According to Keswani, the Cypriot centres can be divided into two distinct types of social organisation. On the one hand there are sites such as Enkomi (site no. 50), Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116), Kition (site no. 57) and Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59), which were probably newly founded by groups from various other places. In these towns there is evidence of a complex social organisation in which no single group managed to exert central control. The clearest evidence of this social complexity is the fact that buildings testifying of central administration and monopolisation of storage facilities and craft production are lacking in these towns. A second type of urban social organisation in Cyprus can be classified as hierarchical and is visible at sites such as Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96), Maroni-Vournes (site no. 98) and Alassa (site no. 99). In these towns, which appear to have evolved from previous habitation in the same area, a specific elite group had been able to acquire ruling power. Evidence for such a social hierarchy are the monumental buildings at these three sites. The extensive storage facilities and the presence of clay balls with Cypro-Minoan script in these buildings testify of administration and the control of the flow of goods.

Selection of sites for detailed contextual analysis
The small size of Cyprus in comparison with the other areas and the fact that the island possessed a uniform material culture during the Late Bronze Age argue against a subdivision in several regional units of analysis. However, the island’s importance in the overall distribution of Mycenaean pottery - emphasised by its relatively small size - makes the contextual analysis of more than one site logical. Keswani’s description of regional exchange systems creates the possibility of a subdivision based not on spatial criteria, but on the roles of sites within these exchange systems.

All the coastal towns described by Keswani as centres in regional systems possess notable quantities of Mycenaean pottery, with Enkomi (site no. 50), Kition (site no. 57) and Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59) taking the lead with more than 500 Mycenaean finds. Only for

37 See also Knapp 1985, 249-250; 1986b, 70-72; 1996a, 20-22.
38 Keswani 1996.
39 This social complexity is referred to by Keswani with the term heterarchy. Probably the urban centres at Kourion-Bamboula (site no. 102) and Kouklia-Palaepaphos (site no. 105) also had a heterarchical social organisation.
40 For an intriguing account of the archaeological evidence for the use of ancestor burials in strategies to assert power over other groups at Maroni, see Manning 1998.
Maroni (sites no. 98, 330) has the context not been rated higher than 3. The site with the highest context rating is Hala Sultan Tekke. However, relatively few settlement remains dating to LCII have been excavated there; the majority of buildings belong to LCIII. Mycenaean finds dating to the earlier stylistic phases have not been found at Kition. Enkomi, therefore, seems the urban centre best suited for contextual analysis. According to Keswani, Enkomi is one of the sites with a complex, so-called heterarchical social organisation. In chapter 13, I shall contrast this site with a more hierarchically organised coastal centre such as Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios.

In the model of socio-political organisations described by Keswani, the coastal cities are linked through exchange with inland centres, which maintain relations with the outlying mining and agricultural towns. Mycenaean pots probably were among the goods transferred in these exchanges and we may expect that at inland centres notable amounts of such pottery was present. Several of our sites located inland have yielded more than ten ceramic units (Map 22), but none more than 50. The site of Athienou-Bambouri tis Koukouninas (site no. 67) has been interpreted as a secondary inland centre, which was important in the regional exchange systems. Even though at this site no LHI-LHIIIA1 pots have been found, the contextual rating of 5 indicates that we may select it for detailed contextual analysis.

Very few sites have been excavated which can positively be identified as tertiary agricultural villages or mining towns. Apliki (site no. 113), however, is situated in a mining district and has frequently been referred to as a lower order settlement. We should acknowledge, however, that the site is actually quite large and may have been an inland centre instead. Apliki has been assigned a contextual rating of 5. In spite of the absence of LHI-LHIIIA1 pottery from this site, it is suitable to be selected for detailed contextual analysis.

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42 Åström 1985, 174; 1996.
43 Keswani 1996, 221-226.
44 Keswani 1993, 79.
Enkomi-Ayios Iakovos

Introduction

The passage from the Mesaoria plain to Famagusta bay is blocked by spurs and outliers of the southern uplands. These form an abrupt escarpment, leaving a gap of about two kilometers only for the whole Mesaoria drainage to pass through. Just north of this gap lies the site of Enkomi Ayios Iakovos, situated some three kilometers from the coast. Because of its location below the cliffs of the escarpment, Enkomi has been described as facing away from the sea. However, in ancient times the nearby river Pediaeos may have provided access from the sea and the marshy lands east of the escarpment may have been a basin which sheltered a harbor.

In any case, the location of the site is favourable with regard to interregional communications. Inland, the fertile Mesaoria plain gives access to sites such as Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi (site no. 71) and, ultimately, to Morphou bay and Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116). The nearby coast gave the inhabitants of Enkomi access to maritime routes and in particular to the northern Syro-Palestine coast, which is less than a day’s sailing away.

It was probably during the expeditions of Alexander Palma di Cesnola between 1876 and 1879 that the site of Enkomi attracted the first archaeological attention, as he presented Bronze Age cylinder seals from the region of Salamis. More systematic research was carried out in 1896 by a team from the British Museum, which excavated a hundred tombs at the site and gave descriptions of their geographical location, their architecture and the finds they contained.

In 1913 Sir John Myres and M. Markides investigated the site to locate more tombs, but were hindered by severe flooding. They also excavated part of the northern defensive wall. In 1927 another search for more tombs took place headed by Rupert Gunnis, then Inspector of Antiquities; the results of his expedition remain unpublished, except for the so-called Gunnis hoard. In 1930 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, headed by Einar Gjerstad and Erika Jönqvist, excavated twenty-two tombs. The Swedes also discussed the ruins above the tombs and noted their contemporaneity with the defensive wall. In 1934 the first French expedition took place at Enkomi, headed by Claude Schaeffer, who was interested in the site because of the possible connections with Ugarit. Schaeffer’s experience at Minet el-Beida and Ras Shamra enabled him to recognize the ruins above the tombs, which hitherto had been described as Byzantine, as those of the Bronze Age town.

After the Second World War the...
French returned to Enkomi, where Schaeffer headed expeditions from 1946-1970. From 1948 to 1958 the French expeditions were supplemented by a Cypriot team, which conducted twelve excavations in three areas led by Porphyrios Dikaios. In 1971 Schaeffer resigned as head of the French team and until 1973 three campaigns were conducted with Olivier Pelon in charge. The occupation of northern Cyprus by Turkish military forces has prevented any archaeological activity at the site since 1974.

The earliest remains at Enkomi date from the Middle Cypriot III period (ca. 1725-1650 BC), from which period scatters of sherds and a few walls were found, mainly in cavities in the bedrock. Three rock-cut tombs are considered to be contemporary with these scanty remains. A predecessor for Enkomi may possibly be seen in nearby Styllos, which was abandoned in this period. It is unclear whether the MCIII finds at Enkomi represent a full habitation phase at the end of the Middle Bronze Age or are testimony of the LCI settlement beginning somewhat before MCIII had ended. In any case, the earliest buildings which have been discovered can be assigned to LCIA (ca. 1650-1575 BC). This first level was destroyed at the end of the same period, after which new buildings were erected. Two more episodes of violent destruction would occur, before the urban layout of the town was substantially altered at the beginning of LCIIIC (ca. 1325-1225 BC) with the adoption of a rectangular street pattern. Yet another destruction put an end to the LCIC occupation, after which a new phase of construction began during LCIIIIC (ca. 1225-1190 BC). Again, destructions put an end to this building phase. During LCIIIB (ca. 1190-1150 BC) the town was again rebuild. Even though the street layout was retained, the character of the architecture shows considerable differences in comparison with the preceding phase, as shown by a number of new religious complexes such as the 'sanctuary of the Horned God', and that of the 'Ingot God'. Another destruction, possibly the result of an earthquake, marks the separation between LCIIIB and LCIIIIC levels. The town was destroyed and abandoned during LCIIIIC in the first half of the eleventh century BC. Presumably, the population moved to Salamis, which was

11 Schaeffer 1952, viii; Dikaios, 1969, 1-5.
13 Sw. T. 20, Fr. T. 11, 12; see Schaeffer 1936, 68-70; Åström 1972a, 195, who date the beginning of these tombs to MCIII. Merrillees (1971, 68-69), however, dates these tombs to the LCIA phase, as does J.R. Stewart in Åström 1972a, 164 note 7. Gjerstad (et al. 1934, 570) originally dated Sw. T. 20 to LCI as well.
14 Catling 1962, 141. The rise of Enkomi appears to coincide with the abandonment or diminishing of important Middle Bronze Age sites in eastern Cyprus, such as Korovia Nitovikla, Kalopsidha Tsaoudhi Chiflik and Kalopsidha Koufos; see Keswani 1996, 221-222. Possibly some of the inhabitants of these settlements moved to the newly established city on the coast.
15 Both the French and Cypriot excavators consider the MCIII remains as a full habitation phase; see Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 51; Dikaios 1971, 499-500. Merrillees (1971, 67-69) however favors the second possibility, as Catling (1962, 141, 166: no, 54a) seems to do by omitting Enkomi from his classification of MC sites.
18 For the first destruction, which separates the LCIB and LCIA phases (ca. 1575-1475, 1475-1400 BC respectively), see Dikaios 1969, 31-34, 162-163, Lagarce & Lagarce 1985, 51. For the second destruction, separating LCIB and LCIIIC (ca. 1400-1325 and 1325-1225 BC respectively), see Dikaios 1969, 45-46, 162-163; Keswani 1989a, 156.
20 Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 4, 8; Keswani 1989a, 159.
24 Dikaios 1971, 492. In LCIIIC layers, pottery has been found which has been labelled LHIIIIC1c, but pottery in styles which would have been called LHIIIIC2 is lacking.
founded in this period. Enkomi seems to have been abandoned for at least a generation, but was reoccupied briefly during Cypro-Geometric I (1050-950 BC), from which period sherds and terra-cotta figurines have been found. No architecture can be associated with these finds and it is possible that they testify of sporadic visits, possibly related to the remains of the sanctuaries of which the memory may have lingered on among the migrated population. A tumulus tomb near the locality of Ayia Katerina, somewhat east of the site, suggest some form of population presence in the area during the Cypro-Archaic period. Likewise, the so-called ‘Prison of Ayia Katerina’ is a tomb, probably from the Hellenistic or Roman period. Remains of substantial habitation probably during the Byzantine era have been identified on the higher grounds directly east of the site. A church devoted to Ayios Iakovos, of which the remains were still visible to the members of the British Museum expedition in 1896, possibly dates back to the same period. Traces of ploughing testify of agricultural activities at the site itself, another important activity through the ages appears to have been the plundering of tombs.

Within the general framework presented above, there are a number of problems involved in the stratigraphy of Enkomi, some of them resulting from the terminology used by the different excavators. The Swedish excavators classified the tombs they had excavated according to the chronological framework that had been worked out by Gjerstad. In this classification, the beginning of the LCIII phase coincided with the appearance at the site of pottery in LHIIIIC style. In Schaeffer’s opinion, who correlated Enkomi’s stratigraphy with Near Eastern sites, the end of the Bronze Age should be set around 1200 BC. The period associated with the appearance of LHIIIIC-style pottery is labeled Iron Age I by Schaeffer. His LCIII phase may be equated with the Swedish LCIIB-LCIIC phases. Dikaios used the Swedish terminology, but based his stratigraphy on a succession of levels (I-III), each of which included several floors, whose numbers vary from one room to another.

Controversy has arisen about the beginning of architecture with ashlar masonry at the site. Schaeffer dated the earliest construction of Bâtiment 18 as contemporary with the beginning of the grid-like town-planning in LCIIC, even though sherds in LHIIIIC style were found on the earliest floor. Similar buildings, such as the Maison du trésor des bronzes and the Bâtiment à colonne, have been assigned to the same period. Dikaios, on the other hand places the beginning of his ‘Ashlar building’ at level IIIA, because pottery dated by him to LHIIIIC could be associated with the earliest floors. Considering their architecture and their location with respect to the street layout, it is likely that the buildings with ashlar masonry at Enkomi are more or less contemporary and may be related to the beginnings of the grid-like street.

27 Ionas 1984a, 60. It must be acknowledged, however, that the upper layers at the site were badly destroyed by ploughing, which may have erased any trace of Cypro-Geometric occupation.
28 Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 1-2; Westholm 1941, 43-44.
29 Westholm 1941, 46-47.
30 Schaeffer 1936, 84.
31 Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 5;
32 Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 5; Myres 1945, 68-70.
33 Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 4-5; Gjerstad et al. 1934, 467.
34 Gjerstad, 1926, 277-289; Gjerstad et al. 1934, xvi; Sjöqvist 1940, 98-135. Gjerstad’s chronological framework consisted of the LCI-LCIII sequence that is shown in Table I in the tables section of this book.
35 Schaeffer 1948, 392; 1952, 538.
36 Ionas 1984a, 50-51, table 1 on p. 63.
37 Dikaios 1969.
38 Schaeffer 1952, 302.
39 Schaeffer 1952, 303-304.
40 Schaeffer 1952, 27; Åström 1972b, 20, 26 fig. 12.
As the first phase of this street layout is firmly dated to LCIIC, a similar date could be proposed for the introduction of ashlar masonry. The association of LIIIC-type pottery with the first phase of building, however, is an argument against such an early date. Apart from the significance of these ashlar buildings for the social-economic history of the town, their date is also of concern for the subject of Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi. Mycenaean vessels in ceramic styles earlier than LIIIC have been found on the first floors of these buildings and as yet it is difficult to assess whether these should be considered as contemporary imports, as heirlooms or antiques, or simply as out of context.

The difficulty in separating the LCIIC and LCIIIA phases partly derives from the definition of these chronological phases in ceramic terms. Traditionally, the LCIIC phase is associated with LIIIB pottery and White Slip II and Base Ring II wares, while LCIIIA coincides with the beginning of LIIIC and the disappearance of BR and WS wares. A few Mycenaean vessel types, in particular the shallow bowl (FS 295-296) and the deep bowl or skyphos (FS 284), appear in both contexts, however, making distinctions between LCIIC and LCIIIA on the basis of such vessels unreliable. Moreover, ceramic features of LIIIC seem to appear already in LCIIC contexts, while Base Ring and White Slip wares occur in virtually all LCIIIA settlement contexts. Rather than a clear break in ceramic traditions, the LCIIC-LCIIIA transition is characterised ceramically by a process of overlapping, continuity and hybridization. Imports from Greece, apparently, occur side by side with local products in styles related to LIIIC. It seems best to view the transition between LCIIC and LCIIIA not as a sharp cultural break, but as a more gradual process. The attested destruction at Enkomi, the rebuilding of the fortification wall and the erection of ashlar buildings at the site could then be regarded as events occurring within such a process, although not necessarily simultaneously, nor associated with the arrival of newcomers.

The absolute dates assigned to the stratigraphical phases at Enkomi have varied somewhat, partly in accordance with the discussions concerning the dates of the Mycenaean ceramic styles (see chapter 2, pp. 23-24), in part also depending on the understanding of the nature of the LCIIC-LCIIIA transition. The earliest LCI floors of Enkomi have been assigned to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, but a higher, seventeenth century date seems to be more

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44 Ionas 1984a, 54-56. Schaeffer (1952, 302-303) has proposed a reoccupation of the first level of Bâtiment 18 early in LCIII. On several grounds this seems unlikely, see Ionas 1984a, 55-56.
45 They may be seen as material expressions for an élite within the society of Enkomi which distinguished itself by the quality and size of their houses; see, for example, Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 7, 18-20; Keswani 1989b, 70.
46 Kling 1987, 103, 106; Sherratt 1991, 186.
48 Kling 1989, 80.
49 Kling (1991, 183) argues that a flexible inclusive term should be used for the decorated pottery of this period which takes into account the overlapping and does not automatically imply a chronological distinction.
51 Sherratt (1991, 191-195) argues that instead of large scale migrations of groups of people from the Aegean to Cyprus, we should envisage relatively small scale contacts during a prolonged period of time between Cyprus and different regions of the Aegean.
52 See Dikaios 1969, 438; Aström 1972c, 762; Karageorghis 1982, 9 for different absolute dates. The absolute dates given here are those by Karageorghis. Sherratt (1980, 198) and Courtois 1987, 184-187 both discuss the importance of the absolute dates for the history of the Eastern Mediterranean.
plausible. The second phase of Enkomi, LCIB, may then be equated with the greater part of the sixteenth century. The third phase of Enkomi, LCIIA-LCIIIB, covers the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries to 1325 BC. The LCIIIC phase is generally considered to have ended around ca. 1230 BC, before the close of the thirteenth century. The LCIIIA phase covers the period until ca. 1190 BC, which saw the destruction of Ugarit and the beginning of LHIIIC pottery.

Apart from scatters of MCIII and LCI sherds, a few buildings dating to the first settlement period in LCIA have been discovered. Apparently, during this early period a number of fairly large buildings were situated in the settlement area, relatively far away from each other and without a discernible street pattern. In the northwestern part of the city (Q1W), Dikaios has exposed a large structure consisting of eighteen rooms and at least one courtyard, which he labeled the 'fortress'. In courtyard 101, charcoal, slags and tuyères in a pit indicate that copper smelting was practiced in this building during LCIA. The fortress was destroyed at the end of LCIA and rebuilt during LCIB with new architectural elements, such as two stoae. The evidence for metalworking at the fortress is particularly extensive. Other LCIB buildings at Enkomi are a large structure excavated in Q4W, and floors and walls, probably belonging to more than one structure in area Q2W. The absence of signs of metalworking in these structures suggests that this activity was confined to the area of the fortress and probably under the control of the social group associated with that elaborate structure. Slag and installations to do with copper production dating to this early period have, however, also been attested in Q5E, which is situated relatively far away from the fortress.

The succeeding period LCIIA-LCIIB is relatively poorly documented in terms of settlement architecture. At the site of the fortress a new building was erected with a different orientation than its predecessor. The structure was large, with some twenty rooms and at least one courtyard. Again, traces of metalworking were found, but fewer than before. In Q4E a number of well-built residential complexes were found, also including signs of metalworking.

The city was substantially rebuilt during LCIIC. An important new feature was the defensive wall, which surrounded the city on the northern, western and southern sides (Map 57). The evidence for metalworking at the fortress is particularly extensive. Other LCIB buildings at Enkomi are a large structure excavated in Q4W, and floors and walls, probably belonging to more than one structure in area Q2W. The absence of signs of metalworking in these structures suggests that this activity was confined to the area of the fortress and probably under the control of the social group associated with that elaborate structure. Slag and installations to do with copper production dating to this early period have, however, also been attested in Q5E, which is situated relatively far away from the fortress.

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In its LCII phase, the city wall consisted of a single line of large blocks, ca. 1-1.50 m. wide and 2-3 m. long. They corresponded with the street layout of the city, the basis of which is a 400 m. long north-south street, 3-3.50 m. in width (Map 23). This main street intersected with eleven side streets (2.5-3 m. wide), which were spaced 32-35 meters apart, thus creating 24 insulae. Gates have been found in the north and in the west. They corresponded with the street layout of the city, the basis of which is a 400 m. long north-south street, 3-3.50 m. in width (Map 23). Several rooms and courtyards assigned to LCIIIC were discovered in Q1W. They belonged to a large building, which had residential and domestic functions, while activities of metallurgists are attested as well. In Q4W there existed a complex of spacious rooms grouped around three courtyards. As stated above, it is uncertain whether structures of ashlar masonry already belong to LCIIIC. Possibly Bâtiment 18 in Q5W was built late during the period. This building consisted of four wings, each with rooms grouped around a courtyard. The quality of the architecture, as well as the wealth of finds in this building indicate that it served as an élite residence.

During LCIIIA the defensive wall in the north was strengthened with a second row of blocks and with towers on the outside. A large rectangular building of unknown function was built directly south of the northern gate, because of which the gate no longer gave direct access to the main north-south street. An important addition to the street layout during this phase was the creation of a public square in the center of the town (Map 23). In Q1W residential structures of this period have been discovered. In Q4W a large ashlar built structure existed, consisting of a large number of rooms, among which was a ‘megaron’ of 15.50 by 4.50 m. The architecture of this structure is similar to that of Bâtiment 18, which existed during this period as well. In Q4E a number of installations, pits and finds such as moulds were found, indicating that the focus of metallurgical activity shifted to the center of the town in LCIIIA. In Q6W another ashlar building assigned to LCIIIA has been explored, the Maison au couteaux. Two rooms have been investigated, which opened up to a courtyard giving access to additional rooms. In Q6E a rectangular ashlar building, the Maison au colone, has been assigned to this period as well. It consisted of five large rooms, which were arranged parallel to one another. The westernmost of these rooms, situated on the opposite side of the main north-south street, yielded a column base which gave the name to the

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75 Dikaios 1969, 44; Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 3-5.
76 Dikaios 1969, 66-79; Schaeffer 1952, 26-27.
79 Dikaios 1969, 163-171.
80 Negbi 1986, 103-104; Keswani 1989a. Ionas (1984a, 54-56) attributes the building to level IIIA.
81 Schaeffer 1952, 246-249.
82 Schaeffer 1952, 35-337; Keswani 1989a, 156.
83 Dikaios 1969, 128-129. The large tower flanking the northern gate on the outside of the wall - with ashlar blocks for the lower courses - has also been interpreted as a sanctuary dating to LCIIIB, see Catling 1975. Fortin (1984, 173-176) is of the opinion that this structure was indeed built during LCIIIA and served defensive, as well as religious purposes.
84 Dikaios 1969, 127.
85 Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 8.
86 Dikaios 1969, 99-100.
87 Dikaios 1969, 171-190; for the ‘megaron’, see pp. 174-177. The name ‘megaron’ was given by Dikaios to this large room on the basis of its size and because it possessed a hearth surrounded by three postholes, albeit close to the entrance in the northern part of the room.
88 The destruction of the Ashlar building took place when pottery in LHIIIIC style was in use. Therefore, even if it was built during LCIIIC, it is clear that it was still in use during LCIIIA; see Ionas 1984a, 56.
90 Courtois 1984, 104; Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 22-23.
building. On the basis of the wealth of finds, among which were bovine horns, sculpted ivories, pieces of gold and a bull vase, it has been suggested that this building served religious purposes, even though an altar does not seem to have been present. In Q8E an ashlar building was also explored, the Maison des bronzes, which yielded a large number of bronze finds, among them a situla.

The existence of habitation south of Q8E has been attested during soundings only. The area enclosed by the fortification wall appears to have been completely built up, as is evident from a small quarter in Q11E which was explored in 1947.

For a long time, the site at Enkomi Ayios Iakovos was considered to be a necropolis. The Late Bronze Age tombs are indeed notable features at the site. About 180 tombs have been explored scientifically by the British, Swedish, French and Cypriot expeditions (Map 23).

The most widespread and numerous type of tomb at Enkomi is the rock-cut chamber tomb; this type has been in use throughout the existence of the town, even though it became less common after the beginning of LCIII. Most rock-cut tombs possess a single chamber, which was entered through a shaft-like dromos, but in some cases two chambers share a single entrance. Four tholos-type tombs have been discovered, with oval or circular corbelled superstructures of mud-brick and rough stones and capped by stone slabs. The main chamber of this type of tomb was reached through a shaft-like dromos similar to those of the rock-cut tombs. All tholoi at Enkomi have been dated to LCI and the earlier part of LCII.

It has been suggested that they imitated the monumental types known in the Aegean, but their intramural location, the use of mud-brick and the shaft-like entrance indicate that they are variants of the local chamber tomb type. Five rectangular built tombs were discovered at Enkomi, employing finely worked ashlar blocks which were partially corbelled. These so-called ashlar tombs appear to have been constructed in LCIIA or LCIIIB and remained in use during LCIII. Schaeffer has compared the Enkomi ashlar tombs to the earlier funerary cellars at Ras Shamra, but their architecture is substantially less elaborate than the majority of the Ugaritic tombs. During LCIII, shaft graves seem to have been used most often, with a maximum of three burials each. This type of grave consists of a small, shallow cutting in the rock, sometimes lined with loose stones. Finally, a number of pithos-burials have been discovered, in all cases containing the bodies of infants.

Shortly after discovering the city belonging to the tombs, the French excavators claimed that it could be identified as the capital of Alashiya, a name known from Near Eastern cuneiform
texts. Even though this identification is a possibility, structures to be identified as the residency for a royal court or as the focus of central administration are lacking at Enkomi. In any case, if Alashiya had a capital, other large sites such as Kition (site no. 57), Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59) or Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116) could lay equal claim to the title. Even though it has been proposed that Cyprus constituted a political unity during the Late Bronze Age, the absence of large public administrative buildings and the heterogeneity of the settlement pattern suggests that the island was divided up into a number of autonomous, copper producing polities. Enkomi appears to have been the center of one such polity, ensuring a supply of copper from the mining villages by controlling elites in outlying communities through systems of unequal and restricted exchange and through manipulation of exotic wealth and symbolic resources.

The founding of Enkomi most likely was the result of a growing interest on the part of Near Eastern states in Cypriot copper and a willingness on the part of Cypriot elites to participate in international exchange. The unequal distribution in the tombs of Enkomi of gold and of exotic and symbolic grave goods indicates that in the early stages of LCII there existed a stratified elite in the city. The existence of such an elite at an even earlier date may be inferred from the concentration of copper producing activities at the fortress, along with possible evidence of administrative activities such as a Cypro-Minoan tablet and a preponderant occurrence of Cypro-Minoan signs on potsherds in LCI contexts. During LCIIIC, social complexity increased considerably, and distinct elite groups can be recognised through the differentiation of wealth in tombs. Probably, the whole population of the city may be regarded as elite groups from the point of view of the residents of outlying communities. The fact that a few of the Enkomi tombs can be considered more wealthy than others suggests that there was an internal social differentiation within the population of Enkomi. The wide spatial distribution of the richest tomb groups at the site indicate that elite social groups did not live in specific areas of the city. The same may be concluded from the occurrence of large buildings with ashlar masonry, which likewise are widely distributed.

The material culture of Enkomi from LCII fits into the rather homogeneous archaeological record for Late Bronze Age Cyprus in general, where ceramic styles had become relatively uniform and common methods for the production of copper seem to have been applied in the various metallurgical centers on the island. It may be expected, however, that such a large city involved in international trade included a substantial foreign element among its residents.

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106 R. Dussaud in Schaeffer 1952, 1-10. The equation of Alashiya with Cyprus was already made at the end of the nineteenth century, see Hellbing 1979, 67. By now it has been widely accepted that the name refers to the island or a part of it. However, some scholars continue to oppose it, see for example Merrillees 1987. For the most recent overview of research concerning Alashiya, see Knapp 1996b.

107 Muhly 1989, 299; Knapp and Cherry (1994, 138) state that the identification of Enkomi with Alashiya requires a “leap of faith”. According to Hellbing (1979, 69), the foundation of Enkomi during MCIII is later than the first mentioning of Alashiya in cuneiform texts from Alalakh, Mari and Babylon.


109 Dikaios 1969, 536; Karageorghis 1968a, 10.


113 Knapp 1986b; 1996a, 19-20.


117 This would be similar to the situation at Ugarit, see above, chapter 5 and Van Wijngaarden 1999c.

118 Keswani 1989b, 69.

as Cypriot cities did throughout recorded history.\textsuperscript{120} Objects from a wide variety of Mediterranean and Near Eastern areas have been identified at Enkomi, including faience beads and vessels, probably originating in Egypt, gaming boards, statuettes, cylinder seals and pottery from Syria-Palestine, as well as ceramics from the Aegean; the provenance of substantial amounts of ivory objects and a number of ostrich eggs is not exactly known.\textsuperscript{121} The influx of objects from international trade can already be seen during the MCIII-LCIA period to which a bichrome tankard can be assigned, which was deposited in a tomb of that period.\textsuperscript{122} The adoption of ashlar masonry during LCIIC-LCIIIA, probably under Syrian influence,\textsuperscript{123} may be considered as evidence for the extent to which the involvement in international trade had its effects on the local material culture. The cosmopolitan material record of the city, of which objects from international exchange were a small but integral part, is exemplified by the evidence for literacy provided by the Cypro-Minoan text fragments on tablets, lumps of clay, potsherds and cylinder seals which have been found in the city.\textsuperscript{124}

**Quantity and quality of the data**

In total, 1472 Mycenaean ceramic finds, in styles ranging from LHI to LIIIB-LIIIC, have been published from Enkomi, which are presented in catalogue V.\textsuperscript{125} Six of these finds concern ceramic figurines, while there are 1466 pots or sherds thereof. The majority of the Mycenaean pots at Enkomi appears to originate in Greece. Nine out of eleven Mycenaean pictorial sherds analyzed by Catling and Millett using OES did appear to have an origin in the Peloponnese.\textsuperscript{126} For two sherds an origin could not be established. An additional six pictorial fragments submitted to the OES technique appeared to derive from the Peloponnese as well.\textsuperscript{127} Twenty-one non-pictorial sherds analyzed by the same methodology had similar clay compositions.\textsuperscript{128} However, ten other sherds analyzed by OES, which had been singled out as being possibly of local manufacture, could not be assigned to any identified composition group and may be of Cypriot manufacture.\textsuperscript{129} Another sherd (cat. no. 1442) appeared to have a Cretan origin. Neutron Activation analyses carried out by F. Asaro and I. Perlman on sherds from Enkomi indicated that of 16 LHIIIA finds from the site, about a quarter could safely be assigned an Argolid provenience.\textsuperscript{130} The remainder were slightly different, but it was thought that they were probably from the Aegean. The LIIIB finds analyzed by the same team showed a similar

\textsuperscript{120} Palaima 1989, 134. In a study of Alashiyan names, Knapp (1983, 40) identifies Semitic, Hurrian and Anatolian names, with a strong dominance of the first group. Even though the place where the tablets were written is of the utmost importance in such research, the different language groups may indicate that several ethnic groups were present in Alashiya.

\textsuperscript{121} Dikaios 1971, 511-513.

\textsuperscript{122} Dikaios 1971, 500-501: Cy. T. 3.

\textsuperscript{123} Hult 1983, 88-90.

\textsuperscript{124} Dikaios 1971, 881-887; Masson 1970; 1971a; 1971b; Palaima 1989.

\textsuperscript{125} This is considerably more than the 912 Mycenaean vessels from the same stylistic periods (vessels in ‘Rude’ or ‘Pastoral’ style excluded), which were presented by Aström (1972b, 289-382). The difference is largely due to a number of publications which have appeared after Aström’s report. Also, he assigned a number of vessels, in particular shallow cups (FS 220) and shallow bowls (FS 295-296) to his class of White Painted Wheel-made III Ware (Aström 1972, 276-289), which have been included by me.

\textsuperscript{126} Catling & Millet 1965, 215-219.

\textsuperscript{127} Anson 1980, 117.

\textsuperscript{128} Catling, Richards & Blin-Stoyle 1963, 103-109; Catling, Jones & Millet 1980, 72 (ten sherds); Millett & Catling 1966, 93-94 (eleven sherds).

\textsuperscript{129} Catling, Richards & Blin-Stoyle 1963, 111. Initially, these ten sherds seemed to represent a composition group (group M) local to Enkomi. After re-analysis of the data, however, it was concluded that all that could be said was that they could be distinguished from (the Peloponnese) group A; see Catling, Jones & Millet 1980, 77.

\textsuperscript{130} Asaro & Perlman 1972, 221.
pattern, with a somewhat higher proportion of finds to be assigned to the Argolid. Sixteen LHIIIB shallow bowls, however, revealed compositions similar to vessels in ‘Rude or Pastoral’ style and were assigned a Cypriot origin. Such shallow bowls\textsuperscript{131} may have been products of the Cypriot manufacture of Mycenaean style pottery, which developed during LCIIIC (see chapter 3).\textsuperscript{132} Whenever it was certain - on the basis of fabric and decorative style - that a vessel was of Cypriot manufacture, it has been excluded from the catalogue. In several cases, however, a Cypriot origin is possible, but not certain. Such vessels have been included. A few vessels - in particular large, coarse ware stirrup jars - may have a Cretan origin.\textsuperscript{133}

It is certain that the 1472 items in catalogue V do not represent all Mycenaean pottery that has been found at Enkomi. The Cypriot excavations carried out by Dikaios’ team have been fully and superbly published and we may consider our data-set to be complete for the areas investigated by it.\textsuperscript{134} The French campaigns however, have only been partially published. Schaeffer has described \textit{Batiment 18} in considerable detail,\textsuperscript{135} while a number of tombs investigated by the French are also fully published.\textsuperscript{136} Important contextual information is available through the publication of the non-ceramic settlement material in the Cyprus Museum and the Louvre.\textsuperscript{137} For the rest, information concerning the French excavations is available through a number of preliminary reports and a few summarizing overviews only.\textsuperscript{138} Since the French excavated the largest areas in the settlement, the incompleteness of the data from these excavations is a serious drawback. Even though the Swedish did not recognize the existence of the city in the same area as the tombs, the descriptions of the tomb inventories are remarkably complete. We may assume that our data-set for these tombs is more or less complete, even though many fragments probably were left out of the publications.\textsuperscript{139} The excavations conducted by Myres and Gunnis have not been published and any Mycenaean pottery found in these excavations is not included in catalogue V. From the British Museum expedition in 1896 not all tombs have been published, nor have all objects from the published tombs been included in their description.\textsuperscript{140} The area of Enkomi had been subject to tomb robbing for a long time. Surely some of the Mycenaean vessels listed by Åström as without provenance came from Enkomi.\textsuperscript{141}

\textsuperscript{131} On these vessels, see Sherratt 1980, 196-197; 1991, 187; Maier 1985, 124; Kling 1987, 101; 1989, 133-134.
\textsuperscript{132} Very little is known about the place in Cyprus where Mycenaean-style pottery was made. Asaro & Perlman (1972, 221), on the basis of NAA analyses of Rude Style vessels and shallow bowls from Enkomi, state that these vessels were “local or at least [from] Eastern Cyprus”. Modern pottery made from clay beds near Enkomi which were analyzed by OES showed a composition pattern which was different from that of the Late Bronze Age sherds, see Anson 1980, 115. Also, the composition of the locally made vessels varies wildly, which makes a single provenience doubtful, see Catling, Jones & Millett 1978, 77. It is, therefore, possible that these vessels were imported from elsewhere in Cyprus, or - indeed - from elsewhere in the Mediterranean.

\textsuperscript{133} On the origin of coarse ware stirrup jars, Haskell 1990; Day & Haskell 1993.
\textsuperscript{134} Dikaios 1969; 1971.
\textsuperscript{135} Schaeffer 1952, 238-317.
\textsuperscript{136} Johnstone 1971 (Fr. T. 1336); Courtois 1981 (Fr. Tombs 3, 32, 108, 110, 112, 134, 240, 325, 365, 390, 430, 547, 634, 979, 1394); Lagarce & Lagarce 1985 (Fr. Tombs 1851, 1907).
\textsuperscript{137} Courtois 1984; Cabot, Courtois & Karageorghis 1987. Unfortunately, Courtois never succeeded to finish \textit{Alasta V}, which would have treated the ceramic material from the French excavations.

\textsuperscript{139} Mossberg (1975) and Anderson (1980) have published fragments from Swedish tombs 3, 5, 7, 11 and 18 which are now in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm. This implies that similar unpublished fragments exist for other Swedish tombs.

\textsuperscript{140} Many thanks to Miss L. Mol, who has studied the finds from the British excavations in the British Museum, London and in the Cypriot Museum, Nicosia and who kindly provided me with this information.
\textsuperscript{141} Åström 1972b, 289-381.
Several other factors make it unlikely that our data set constitutes a sample which is fully representative of the Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi and the contexts in which it was used. First of all, the site has not been excavated completely. Of the total area of ca. 13.5 ha. enclosed by the fortification wall and the rocky cliff in the east, about 2.5 ha. (ca. 18.5%) have been excavated (Map 23). Habitation south of street 8 has been attested only by (unpublished) soundings, while large areas in the north-west, north-east, and south-west remain unexplored. The settlement, therefore, has mainly been investigated in its town center and along the main north-south axis towards the northern gate, in which vicinity the imposing fortress was located during LCI- LCIIIB.\textsuperscript{142} It is conceivable that town precincts located further away from the gates and the main north-south street were of a different character. If this is the case, the cultural context of the Mycenaean pottery in such town quarters would also be different. The distribution of the tombs, however, argues against an urban differentiation according to town quarter.\textsuperscript{143}

Depositional and post-depositional circumstances will also have influenced the reliability of the data set. During its existence, Enkomi suffered a number of destructions, after which it was rebuilt.\textsuperscript{144} The leveling operations usually involved in such rebuilding have disturbed the context of many settlement finds. Erosion, too, will have influenced the material record of Enkomi. The site is subject to heavy flooding during the winter months, which probably has resulted in the loss of soil, especially in the southern area, which was lower and near the shore of the Pediaeos river.\textsuperscript{145} Agricultural activities, likewise, have damaged the soil of the site, in particular the upper layers,\textsuperscript{146} as have the activities of grave robbers and early excavators, who upturned the soil in search of tombs.

The data presented in catalogue V, therefore, cannot be considered a sample fully representative of all the Mycenaean pottery once present at Enkomi. In particular, the evidence available from settlement areas is virtually limited to the areas excavated by the Cypriot team. The focus on tombs by the earlier expeditions has created a bias in favor of funerary evidence. Moreover, because of post-depositional activities, unknown quantities of material are not accessible. These circumstances should be taken into account when assessing quantitative differences in the spatial and contextual distribution of the Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi.

The on-site distribution of the Mycenaean pottery
The spatial distribution of Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi can be investigated with the help of the city-quarters created by the rectangular street-layout, even though many finds pre-date the actual town plan. Each of the excavated city quarters has produced the amounts indicated in Table 10.1.\textsuperscript{147}

\textsuperscript{142} See figure 1 in Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 3.
\textsuperscript{143} Keswani 1989b, 69.
\textsuperscript{144} Schachermeyer (1979, 60-61) emphasizes the need to take into account the time lapses between the destructions and subsequent rebuilding when discussing the history of Enkomi. The activities at the site during these time lapses may have influenced the material record as well.
\textsuperscript{145} Myres 1945, 70-71.
\textsuperscript{146} Jonas 1984a, 60
\textsuperscript{147} The British and Swedish tombs were excavated before the street layout was known. The locations of many of these tombs have been deduced through superposition of the British and Swedish field plans upon the later plans, see Map 23 with approximate locations of the tombs, and Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 40-50; Keswani 1989b, 73 note 35. In some cases, it was impossible to identify the exact town quarter in which a tomb must have been situated, but its location was narrowed down to a choice of two adjacent parts, for example Q1E/Q2E.
The areas, of course, vary highly in size. More importantly, they differ in the extent to which they have been excavated and published. The apparent concentration of Mycenaean finds in Q4W, for example, is easily explained by the fact that this area has been excavated and fully published by the Cypriot team. The same may be said for Q1W, which is the other area excavated by the Cypriots and rates second in the amount of published Mycenaean material. The substantial difference between these two areas in the number of Mycenaean finds is not due to a difference in size, which is approximately the same, but to the larger number of tombs in Q4W. The number of Mycenaean finds from settlement contexts does not show significant differences.

The importance of the tombs for the spatial distribution of Mycenaean pottery is also clear from the other areas which have produced relatively large quantities of Mycenaean pottery. Most of the Mycenaean finds in Q5E, Q5W and Q7W can be attributed to tombs. There appears to be a concentration of tombs in the north-west and in the west of the site (Map 23). Tomb concentrations may also be seen in Q8E/Q9E and along the eastern scarp. The cause for the lower frequency or even absence of tombs in other areas is unclear, but it is possible that

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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1E</td>
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<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1E/Q2E</td>
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<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Q3E</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Q4E/Q5E</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1468</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1472</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.1

[148] Dikaios 1969, Plate 241. The approximate size of the excavated area in Q4W is ca. 1010 sq. m. while the excavated part in Q1W measures ca. 1027 sq. m.
[150] Q4W and Q1W produced 209 and 192 Mycenaean finds respectively from settlement levels.
[152] Myres (1945, 70) was unable to locate tombs in 'Mukhtar's field', which was situated somewhere in the south.
not every part of the settlement area served as a burial ground.\textsuperscript{153} Considering the number of Mycenaean tomb finds (see below), any spatial variation in the frequency of Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi may be related to the spatial distribution of tombs.

The figures in Table 10.1, therefore, mainly reflect the extent of publication and the distribution of tombs. However, what may also be deduced from this table is that Mycenaean pottery was not restricted to one or a few parts of the settlement area. Within the urban zone excavated by the French and Cypriots (Map 23), only from Q1E, Q6E and Q7E has Mycenaean pottery not been reported. Q1E was part of Dikaios' area III, but was excavated down to LCIIIA levels only.\textsuperscript{154} Mycenaean pottery has not been reported from the structures of this level, among which were the building blocking the northern gate and the large 'tower' just outside it.\textsuperscript{155} Only very small parts from Q6E and Q7E were excavated, and these have not been published. From all other excavated city precincts and from a number of outlying areas has Mycenaean pottery been reported. This suggests that such vessels were widely available in the city. From Table 10.1 it is clear that Mycenaean figurines were not frequent at Enkomi. However, the six examples found came from five different parts of the settlement area, which suggests that the use of these objects was not restricted.

The predominance of Mycenaean tomb finds also becomes apparent from Table 10.2, which shows the contextual distribution of the Mycenaean finds at Enkomi.

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<td>Q2W/Q2E</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>105</td>
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</tr>
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<td>167</td>
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</table>

Table 10.2

The majority of the Mycenaean vessels (66.1 \%) has been found in funerary contexts and these are widely distributed. Only in the two city quarters which have been fully published do

\textsuperscript{153} Of course, many of the post-depositional processes mentioned in the previous section could be responsible for the absence of tombs.

\textsuperscript{154} Dikaios 1969, 125-129.

\textsuperscript{155} Some of the pottery in the catalogue without precise find context but designated as from Q1W may actually derive from Q1E, since Dikaios included both these quarters in his area III.
settlement finds\textsuperscript{156} outnumber those with a funerary context. This indicates that the impression that Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi was mainly used for funerary purposes is not correct. Rather, the methodology of excavation and publication has created a strong bias in favour of funerary contexts. The evidence from Q1W and Q4W, as well as the scatter of Mycenaean finds from settlement contexts in other areas, suggest that everywhere in the city this material was also used for other than funerary purposes.\textsuperscript{157}

Mycenaean pottery has not been reported from religious contexts, which is due to the absence of identifiable religious architecture prior to the LCIIC period. The Maison au colonne, probably built during the LCIIIA period, has tentatively been identified as a religious structure,\textsuperscript{158} but finds from this building have not been published.\textsuperscript{159} From the defensive tower in Q1E, which may also have served religious functions,\textsuperscript{160} no Mycenaean pottery has been reported. The absence at Enkomi of large, public buildings with religious purposes is a notable phenomenon, especially for the LCIIC-LCIIIA periods during which the settlement was fully urbanized.\textsuperscript{161} It suggests that cult was practiced at Enkomi not in official, public structures, but at group or family level in domestic buildings. Mycenaean finds from domestic contexts may have been included in such rituals. In any case, the figures in Table 10.2 show that Mycenaean pottery, as a general class of material, was included in different kind of activities at Enkomi.

The spatial distribution of chronological styles at Enkomi is presented in Table 10.3 below, while Table XIV in the tables section in at the end of this book presents the same in more detail.\textsuperscript{162} From the figures in Table 10.3 it is apparent that Aegean vessels from the early part of the Late Bronze Age are scarce at Enkomi in comparison with the large quantities of later material. However, the number of thirty-eight pots assigned to LHI-LHIIIA1 is quite substantial in comparison with other Cypriot sites.\textsuperscript{163} Moreover, from Table XIV it is clear that this group includes some very early material, among which are two semi-globular cups (cat. nos. 930, 931) dated to LHI, and a rounded alabastron (cat. no. 932) of similar date. A handleless cup (cat. no. 205) appears to date to LHIIA. The Mycenaean finds from the first part of the Late Bronze Age have been found in many different parts of the Enkomi settlement area, which suggests that this material was not spatially restricted but used

\textsuperscript{156} As in preceding chapters, a ‘domestic’ context has been assigned when Mycenaean objects were found in buildings. A ‘settlement’ context has been assigned in those cases where finds occurred in pits, or in other structures, which could not definitively be assigned to specific buildings.

\textsuperscript{157} The fact that the numbers of Mycenaean vessels which were found in domestic and settlement contexts are almost the same in Q1W and Q4W may be the result of a fairly homogeneous spatial distribution pattern. Unfortunately, two fully published areas are not enough to reveal such a pattern conclusively.

\textsuperscript{158} See footnote 92

\textsuperscript{159} According to J. Lagarce (1993, 103), the documentation available for this structure, which was excavated with H. de Contenson as supervisor, contains enough information for a full publication. As yet, however, there is only a description given by Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce (1986, 37-40). A Mycenaean IIIIC1 skyphos was found on an LCIIIB floor.

\textsuperscript{160} See footnote 83.

\textsuperscript{161} Monumental religious architecture from the same period is known at Kiton, see Karageorghis & Demas 1985, 165-239.

\textsuperscript{162} The term ‘early’ is used for vessels in LHI-LHIIIA1 styles; the group labelled ‘IIIA2’ also includes vessels assigned to LHIIIA1-LHIIIA2. The class of pottery which is labeled LHI/LM III cannot be assigned to a specific ceramic style and may be considered undatable. Figurines are not included in this table.

\textsuperscript{163} Mycenaean finds dating to LHI-LHIIIA1 and their Minoan counterparts have been found at nine other sites at Cyprus: Milia (site no. 2), Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59), Arpera (site no. 60), Ayia Irini Paliakoastro (site no. 88), Ktvdhata (site no. 114), Kalavassos Ayios Dhimitos (site no. 96), Marouni Vournes and Tsaroukas (sites no. 98, 330) and Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116). Most of these sites have produced less than ten examples of this material; only at Toumba tou Skourou have fairly large quantities of Aegean pottery from the first part of the Late Bronze Age been found, most with a Cretan origin, see Vermeule 1980; Vermeule & Wolsky 1990, 381-384.
by inhabitants in different parts of the city. Mycenaean vessels in LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB styles, as well as those labeled LHIIIA2-LHIIIB, occur in most major settlement areas. It appears that Mycenaean pottery in all periods was widely distributed in the urban space, which suggests that the use of this material was not confined to specific groups within the society of Enkomi.

Of course, Mycenaean chronological styles must be correlated to the stratigraphy at Enkomi. It is difficult to include the funerary finds in such a correlation, since many of the Enkomi tombs have been in use during several stratigraphical periods. Table 10.4, therefore relates the ceramic styles of the Mycenaean settlement finds at Enkomi to the stratigraphy of the site.\(^{164}\)

\(^{164}\) These include the finds in the catalogue, which have been assigned a domestic (D), settlement (S) or refuse (G) context. Figurines have not been taken into account.
A LHI rounded alabastron (cat. no. 932) and one dated to LIIIA1 (cat. no. 933), as well as two LII semi-globular cups (cat. nos. 930-931), were found in Level I (LCIA) of the fortress in Q1W. This shows that Mycenaean vessels stylistically belonging to the first part of the Late Bronze Age did actually arrive at Enkomi during the same period. Three stemmed cups assigned to LIIIB-LIIIIA1 (cat. nos. 970, 971) and LIIIIA1 (cat. no. 972) were discovered in a building dating to LCIIC in Q4W. Two of these (cat. nos. 971, 972) are fragments found in levels between floors and these may be the result of stratigraphical disturbance.\textsuperscript{165} However, a fairly large fragment of the stemmed cup with catalogue no. 970 was discovered in the LCIIC destruction level and it is possible that the cup was still in use during that period.\textsuperscript{166} A fragment of a LIIIIA1 shallow cup (cat. no. 1086) was found in a level dated to the end of LCIIB.\textsuperscript{167} A similar LIIIIA1 shallow cup (cat. no. 1341) was found in the fourth burial period of Cy. T. 10.\textsuperscript{168} These examples suggest that Mycenaean pottery could be employed for long periods of time.

The largest group of Mycenaean settlement finds in LIIIA2 style has been found in level IIA (LCIIIA-LCIIB), which is in accordance with the relative chronology established for this ceramic style.\textsuperscript{169} Quite a number of these finds, however, have come to light in LCIIC levels. For most of these finds their stratigraphical position may have resulted from leveling operations or other disturbances. However, a LIIIIA2 kylix (cat. no. 1024) on the LCIIC floor of room 31 in Q1W is another possible example of a Mycenaean vessel which appears to have been in use long after its manufacture. The number of LIIIB finds from levels dated after LCIIC suggest that the same may have been the case for vessels in this ceramic class.\textsuperscript{170}

The contexts in which the different Mycenaean ceramic styles have been discovered are indicated in Table 10.5.\textsuperscript{171} From this table it is apparent that the predominance of funerary contexts is valid for all Mycenaean ceramic styles. However, it is also clear that Mycenaean vessels in all ceramic phases were used in settlement contexts.

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<td>26</td>
</tr>
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<td>14</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>954</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.5

The spatial distribution of the Mycenaean functional vessel types is presented in Table 10.6. Dinner vessels clearly are more frequent at Enkomi than storage vessels.\textsuperscript{172} Both functional classes of pottery are widely distributed at Enkomi, which indicates that neither of these types

\textsuperscript{165} Dikaios 1969, 245, Plate 65: no. 18-19, 22-22A.
\textsuperscript{166} Dikaios 1969, 245, Plate 65: no. 17.
\textsuperscript{167} Dikaios 1969 265, Plate 72: no. 24.
\textsuperscript{168} Dikaios 1969, 343: no. 173, Plate 196: no. 17A. The LIIIIA1 vessel may have belonged to previous burials, the earliest of which has been dated to LCI, see Dikaios 1969, 393.
\textsuperscript{169} Dikaios (1969, 481-484) dates the end of level IIIB around 1300 BC, while Karkageorghis (1982, 9) proposes a date of c.1325 BC for the end of LCIIB. Both dates correlate well with the proposed end for the LIIIIA2 style around 1320/1300 BC, see Wiener forthcoming.
\textsuperscript{170} A large fragment with complete foot of a LIIIB bowl (cat. no. 1307), for example was found on floor IV (LCIIB) of the Ashlar building, which for this level is referred to as the 'Sanctuary of the Horned god', see Dikaios 1969, 320, Plate 99: no. 4.
\textsuperscript{171} The group of vessels classified as LHIIII has been included in the undatable category in this table.
\textsuperscript{172} The class of dinner vessels includes jugs of various kind, see Table II in the tables section of this book. When a distinction is made between open and closed vessels - with jugs assigned to the latter category - there is a majority of 705 open vessels at Enkomi, against 600 closed vessels and 142 fragments.
were spatially restricted. Three important areas, Q5E, Q7W and Q10W, reveal a dominance of storage vessels, which is in contrast with the general pattern of the site. None of these precincts have been fully published, and it is impossible to say at present whether this inconsistency indicates that in these areas Mycenaean storage vessels were particularly desired.

<table>
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<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2W/Q2E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3W</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3W/Q4W</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4E/Q5E</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5E</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5W</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q6W</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q7W</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q8W</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q8E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q9E</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q9E/Q10E</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q9W</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q11E</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eastern scarp</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1472</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.6

The predominance of dinner vessels is a phenomenon which can already be observed for LHIII A2 ceramics, as is visible in Table 10.7. The majority of Mycenaean vessels in LHIIIA1 style belong to the storage category. However, if pots in LHIII A1 style are considered separately, a balance is visible in the numbers of storage and dinner vessels. This suggests that in this period, during which an increase is visible in the number of Mycenaean imports at Enkomi, a larger proportion of dinner vessels began to arrive at the site. This trend is emphasized by the sharp increase in Mycenaean imports at the beginning of LHIII A2 and continued into the LHIII B period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>fragments</th>
<th>dinner</th>
<th>ritual</th>
<th>storage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>early</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHIIIA2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHIIIA2-LHIII B</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHIII B</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHIII A-LHIII C</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undatable</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.7

The category of Mycenaean ritual vessels consists of six conical rhyta (cat. nos. 1, 75, 162, 194, 204, 1064), three bull’s head rhyta (49, 1046, 1323), two ostrich-egg rhyta (911, 1378), one fragment of a bird which may have been attached to an ostrich-egg rhyton (cat. no. 1044).

173 In the case of Q5E it needs to be remarked that the number of fragments published from this part of the city, almost all found in Fr. T. 1336 which was published in detail by Johnstone (1971), is large enough to turn the relative proportions of these functional classes around.

174 Of the 25 LHIII A1 pots, twelve are dinner vessels, thirteen storage pots.
and a fragment of a rhyton of indeterminable shape (cat. no. 1150). Even though this class of pottery is relatively scarce in comparison with the total number of Mycenaean vessels at Enkomi, it is of interest that nowhere on Cyprus so many of these vases have been found together.\footnote{Apart from Enkomi, Äström (1972b, 354) mentions Kourion, Myrtou-Pigadhes and Sinda as sites with Mycenaean conical rhyta. Of these, only from Myrtou-Pigadhes (site no. 84) he reports more than one specimen, namely two. Ostrich-egg and animal-shaped rhyta have been reported from Enkomi only. At Kition (site no. 57) a conical rhyton has also been discovered, see Karageorghis 1985a, 89: no. 3442. At Hala Sultan Tekke, rhyta have also been found, see Öbrink 1983, 25: no. 51.; Niklasson-Sönnerby 1989, 78 fig. 143 (no. F6517), 79 fig. 147 (F6521).} The same may be said for figurines.\footnote{L. Äström (1972, 511-512) lists Alambra (site n. 64), Maroni (site no. 98), Sinda (site no. 48) and Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59) find places of Mycenaean terra-cotta figurines. Only Maroni and Alambra have produced more than one figurine, namely two. In Idalion (site no. 65), one Mycenaean female figurine has also been found, see Herscher 1998, 333. At Kition (site no. 57), a concentration of Mycenaean figurines has been found in the temple area, see Karageorghis 1985a, 98-99, 105, 170. Other figurines at this site came from the tombs, see Karageorghis 1974, 33, 44.} Moreover, it should be noted that both classes of pottery are widely distributed and do not seem to have been restricted in a spatial sense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTEXT</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>dinner</th>
<th>ritual</th>
<th>storage</th>
<th>figurines</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funerary</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.8

The contextual distribution of the four different Mycenaean ceramic categories is presented in Table 10.8. In all three types of context distinguished here, dinner vessels are more abundant than storage vessels. This phenomenon, however, is much less marked in funerary contexts than in houses or settlement levels in general. Apparently, Mycenaean storage vessels were particularly popular in funerary ceremonies. However, there does not seem to have been any restriction of specific Mycenaean functional categories to particular types of contexts.\footnote{The strong bias in favor of funerary contexts has been commented upon above, see p. 177.} The occurrence of individual vessel types in different contexts is presented in more detail in Table XV in the tables section. The quantities of pots found in funerary contexts is for almost every Mycenaean vessel type far greater than the number of settlement finds. Only bowls are found more often in settlement levels, while the numbers are almost equal for stemmed cups and bowls. In spite of the predominance of tomb finds for all Mycenaean vessel types, it is clear that none of the individual vessel types was restricted to funerary use. All types occur in considerable quantities in settlement levels as well.\footnote{Only the class of ‘other jars’ in table II is exclusively confined to funerary contexts. However, three of these ‘jars’ are fragments (cat. nos. 783, 787, 802) which possibly belong either to stirrup or piriform jars. The fourth is a LHIIIAl small handleless jar (cat. no. 219; FS 77), of which only one example has been found at Enkomi.} Even amphoroid kraters, which have often been assigned funerary functions, occurred outside tombs in substantial numbers.\footnote{See, for example, Dikaios 1969, 249; Keswani 1989b, 58-69, who state that amphoroid kraters have specific funerary functions. Out of a total of 125 amphoroid kraters at Enkomi, 36 (30.4 %) have been found in settlement levels; 78 (62.4 %) were discovered in tombs.} Similar conclusions may be drawn for the class of ritual vessels and for figurines. None of the individual vessel types which occur more than once are confined to one type of context.\footnote{Five conical rhyta (cat. nos. 1, 75, 162, 194, 204) have been found in a tomb, while one (cat. no. 1064) occurred in a domestic context. One bull’s head rhyton (cat. no. 49) was discovered in a tomb, while two others (cat. nos. 1046, 1323) occurred in settlement contexts. Ostrich egg rhyta occurred only in funerary deposits (cat. nos. 911, 1323). However, a clay fragment of a bird (cat. no. 1044) probably belonged to a similar vessel.}
The last subdivision of Mycenaean pottery of which the spatial and contextual distribution will be investigated is that according to type of ware and decoration (Table 10.9). A substantial number of coarse ware vessels have been found at Enkomi, in all cases large stirrup jars, possibly deriving from Crete. The fact that these vessels have been found in both areas which have been fully published, as well as in Q5W, suggests that the use of these vessels at Enkomi was not restricted in a spatial sense. A limited quantity of plain ware vessels has been found, in all cases cups (cat. nos. 389, 1296, 1318). The great majority of Mycenaean vessels at Enkomi, however, has a decoration of abstract and floral patterns. Such a predominance of vessels with patterned decoration can be established for all city precincts, with the exception of Q4W, where a larger amount of linear decorated vessels have been found. Q4W has been fully published and the fragmentary nature of much of the ceramic material found in habitation levels is without any doubts partially the cause of this high frequency of linear finds. However, Q1W has also been fully published, but there a high proportion of Mycenaean linear finds cannot be observed. It is possible that in Q4W Mycenaean vessels with linear decoration were used more often than elsewhere.

Only a few vessels with plastic decoration have been found at Enkomi. Three of these are bull’s head rhyta (cat. no. 49, 1046, 1323), while there are two ostrich-egg rhyta to which a bird has been attached (cat. nos. 911, 1378), and a fragment probably from a similar vessel (cat. no. 1044). Even though their number is fairly small, plastically decorated vessels do not seem to have been concentrated in particular parts of the city.

Vessels with pictorial decoration occur in most parts of the site. However, in Q5E, which figures prominently in terms of the presence Mycenaean pottery in general, pictorial vessels are and was found in a settlement context. Three figurines came from settlement contexts, while two were discovered in a tomb.

In table 9, the term ‘unknown’ includes finds of which the decoration is worn off, small, monochrome pieces of, for example, a foot or rim; and finds of which the decoration is not known to me, but which were clearly decorated. The abbreviation d.c.w refers to decorated coarse ware.

On the provenience of coarse ware stirrup jars, see Haskell 1990; Day & Haskell 1993. Catalogue no. 726 concerns a coarse ware fragment, which may derive from a similar stirrup jar.

Considering the number of small fragments found in the settlement excavations, it is likely that many of the Mycenaean linear finds belonged to pots with patterned, or pictorial decoration.
absent, while Q1W, has produced relatively small quantities of it. In contrast, in Q3W and Q5W relatively many Mycenaean pictorial vessels have been found. The spatial distribution of Mycenaean vessels with pictorial decoration, therefore, appears to differ from that of Mycenaean pottery in general. Even though pictorial pottery does not seem to have been spatially restricted, it may not have been used to the same extent everywhere in the city.

The unequal spatial distribution of Mycenaean pictorial pottery does not seem to be related to its use in tombs, which does not seem to be significantly higher than that of other pottery, as is clear from Table 10.10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DECORATION</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>funerary</th>
<th>domestic</th>
<th>settlement</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.c.w.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linear</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patterned</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pictorial</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plastic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>1485</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.10

Each class of pottery occurs both in funerary and in settlement contexts, which indicates that none of these classes of pottery was restricted to funerary use. Decorated coarse ware stirrup jars have also been found in tombs, which may be somewhat surprising in view of their function as transport jars. Their presence in funerary contexts suggests that the use of this type of pottery was not purely functional, but had a symbolical dimension as well. The proportion of Mycenaean pictorial pottery in tombs (70.1%) is a little bit higher than that of Mycenaean pottery in general (66.1%), but this difference can be explained by the fact that tombs produce more complete vessels. The contextual distribution of different Mycenaean pictorial motifs is presented in Table 10.11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DECORATION</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>funerary</th>
<th>domestic</th>
<th>settlement</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hanging bag</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chariot scene</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ship scene</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.11

Chariot scenes are the most frequent motif on the Mycenaean pictorial pottery at Enkomi, while bulls and various other animals also occur in substantial quantities. Apart from bulls, other creatures represented among the Mycenaean pictorial pottery at Enkomi are: birds, stags, deer, fish, goats, lions, octopi and sphinxes. Most vessels in each of these categories have been found in tombs, but all of them occur in settlement levels as well, which suggests that none of these motifs had a specifically funerary connotation. Obviously, neither Mycenaean pictorial pottery as a general class, nor specific figurative motifs can be assigned exclusively funerary functions, as has been assumed. An additional conclusion of this section is that it is impossible to identify any restrictions in use of Mycenaean pottery on the basis of decoration and ware.

The purpose of this section was to see if any spatial or contextual restrictions may be discerned in the occurrence of Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi. The answer to this question is rather

184 Apart from bulls, other creatures represented among the Mycenaean pictorial pottery at Enkomi are: birds, stags, deer, fish, goats, lions, octopi and sphinxes.
185 For example, Dikaios 1969, 249; Keswani 1989b, 58-69.
negative, as Mycenaean pottery occurred in all parts of the city and in both funerary and settlement contexts. This wide distribution seems to have been characteristic from LCI onwards, in which period Mycenaean pottery was introduced at Enkomi. During the early period, mostly Aegean storage vessels were imported. With the sharp quantitative increase in Mycenaean imports at the beginning of LHIIIA, dinner vessels began to occupy an increasing proportion of the total number of Mycenaean vessels. By the time of the LHIIIA2 style, dinner vessels were predominant among the Mycenaean imports. Both dinner and storage vessels were in use among many inhabitants of Enkomi. All Mycenaean vessel types were used both in settlement and in funerary contexts and there does not seem to have been any one type that was meant specifically for funerary use. Similar observations could be made with respect to pictorial pottery, which has been found both in tombs and in the settlement. Even though this class of pottery does not seem to have been spatially or contextually restricted, its distribution was not equal for all parts of the city. Possibly this indicates some special significance of pictorial pottery.

The picture emerging from this section is that Mycenaean pottery was rather common at Enkomi. During all periods it seems to have been available to the inhabitants living in different parts of the city, while LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB pots were present in large quantities. Even though widely available, I have noted above that Mycenaean vessels could be used for very long periods of time, which suggests that these objects were not without value. The same may be suggested by the unequal spatial distribution of Mycenaean pictorial pottery.

Closed contexts: settlement

Soundings indicate that the whole area enclosed by the fortification wall (Map 23) was an urban zone during LCIIC and LCIII.\(^\text{186}\) It is uncertain whether this was already the case in the period before the rectangular street lay-out, but architecture dating to LCI and LCIIA-LCIIIB has been attested in various parts of the site.\(^\text{187}\) In general, the walls of the buildings at Enkomi consist of a lower part of undressed sandstone, while the upper courses were of mud-brick.\(^\text{188}\) Little research has been done concerning the domestic architecture at Enkomi, but it is clear that the architectural scheme of most structures involves a courtyard surrounded by rooms on three sides.\(^\text{189}\) Many buildings, however, are quite large, which has led to elaborate variations on this basic scheme, involving several courtyards and many rooms.\(^\text{190}\) Staircases indicate the presence of upper floors or roof terraces. From LCIIC onwards the orientation of the buildings is determined by the overall street lay-out. The însulae created by the intersecting streets appear to have been subdivided into several individual houses.\(^\text{191}\) From the few detailed studies of larger buildings it is clear that various activities could be carried out in a single structure: the buildings served simultaneously as residencies, for food storage and for artisan manufacture.\(^\text{192}\)

All the non-funerary closed contexts in which Mycenaean pottery has been found are listed in Table XVII. Many of these concern finds in leveling strata of which very little can be said, while in other cases we only know that a Mycenaean pot has been found. The contexts which are suitable for contextual analysis are all large structures serving multiple purposes. It must be

\(^{186}\) Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 40.

\(^{187}\) See above, p 166.

\(^{188}\) Dikaios 1969, 35.

\(^{189}\) Dikaios 1969, 163.

\(^{190}\) See, for example, the plans in Dikaios 1969, Plates 243-257, 267-279; Courtois 1982, 162; Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 9, 25.

\(^{191}\) See, for example, Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 9.

\(^{192}\) Dikaios 1969, 21 (Q1W fortress), 44 (Q1W LCIIA building), 163-170 (LCIIIB predecessor of the Ashlar building in Q4W); Schaeffer 1952, 335-337 (bâtiment 18 in Q5W). See also Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 55-56 for the description of a number of storage pits in a residential area (Q2W).
emphasised that in many cases the Mycenaean (and other) ceramic finds in these buildings consisted of fragments only. This suggests that not all of the vessels which are cited below are in their primary context.

The so-called fortress was a large, free-standing building of massive construction. It contained at least two courtyards and seventeen rooms. The structure succeeded an earlier building, which was probably destroyed late in MCIII or in LCIA. It was again destroyed at the end of the LCIA period, after which an elaborate rebuilding took place, during which the general layout of the building was not altered. All the Mycenaean pottery found in the building dates to the second building phase in LCIB.

The axis of the rectangular building was roughly east-west orientated. While the external walls of the structure were thick, in many cases exceeding 1.5 m., the internal walls of the structure were rather flimsy. The building possessed two entrances, both in the southern façade. The westernmost entrance was the more elaborate of the two, being located in a tower. The eastern entrance was more modest, but probably more important since it gave access to central courtyard 111, from where room 110 could be reached, quite possibly the location of a staircase which led to an upper floor or terrace. During LCIB the western part of the building was completely devoted to metal working activities. On the successive floors in rooms 101 and 103 tuyères, charcoal and pits with traces of fire have been found. In room 103, a fragment of a clay tablet with Cypro-Minoan script is possible testimony of administration of these activities. The eastern part of the building served residential purposes. The eastern entrance led to room 112, which was separated from room 107 by the foundations of a staircase. In room 111 there was a succession of floors, on the uppermost of which a LHIIIA1 rounded alabastron (cat. no. 933) was found. From room 112, one could reach the three smaller rooms 113-115. In room 114, a well has been found and near the eastern wall there was a pit in which an amphora of Syro-Palestinian type was discovered. Floor VII of this room produced a LHIIA1 rounded alabastron (cat. no. 932). A Syro-Palestinian amphora was also found in room 115, together with a LHI semi-globular cup (cat. no. 930). East of these three rooms was a courtyard, in which postholes indicate that a kind of portico, the so-called stoa, projected from the wall of the building. In the southwest of this courtyard, within the portico, room 118 was situated, which had a bench against its southern wall. On the mud-mortar floor X of this room a LHI semi-globular cup (cat. no. 931) was found, while the subsequent floor IX produced a Syro-Palestinian jar and a fragment of a bichrome vessel.

It is important to realize that the fortress covers a long period of use and that the Mycenaean and other finds may not have been in use simultaneously. Nevertheless, the Mycenaean pottery in this building is concentrated in the residential part, where imports from other areas have also been discovered. This shows that Mycenaean vessels during this early period were restricted to specific activities and it is likely that they were of special significance for the residents of this large house, who most probably were in control of metal working facilities aimed at overseas exchange. The Mycenaean pottery in this building, then, is part of an inventory invoking wealth and international relationships. In this respect, it may be of significance that Mycenaean pottery dating to this period has not been reported from settlement contexts elsewhere on the site.

193 Dikaios 1969, 16-34; 1971, 543-553.
194 Dikaios 1969, 15-16.
195 Keswani 1996, 222. Courtois (1982, 161) identifies evidence for metal working in the same period in area Q5W, which indicates that such activities were not restricted to the fortress.
At the beginning of LCIIA, a new building was constructed at the site of the LCI fortress, which incorporated architectural elements of the previous building and remained in use until its destruction at the end of LCIIIB. The ground plan of the new building consisted of three aisles around a central court, which was open on its northern side (Map 25). The building contained twenty-one rooms on the ground floor and, because of a staircase in the north-eastern corner of room 5, it is conceivable that there was an upper floor. The long southern façade was broken up by a number of entrances. The westernmost entrance led to room 77, which has produced traces of copper smelting, such as clay tubes impregnated with copper-oxide standing vertically in the ground. There were several shallow depressions in the floor, filled with slag and charcoal. In the northern part of the room the remains of a probable kiln were found. In this room, above floor VIII, a fragment of a LHIIIA2 stirrup jar (cat. no. 966) was found. One could continue to room 8, which was probably used as a basement. Here, a Mycenaean one-handled bowl was found (cat. no. 962). Room 7 contained a well and on the floors large quantities of White Slip II bowls were found. The second entrance in the southern façade led to room 13, where a large cooking pot buried in the ground possibly testifies of a foundation ceremony. Room 13 contained four pits and may have served for storage. To the north of this room lay a group of three rooms: 5, 16, 21. In the large room 5 a pit containing many animal bones has been discovered, while a slab of baked clay indicated the position of a hearth. In this room, which has been interpreted as an area for food preparation, fragments of two Mycenaean vessels were found on the original floor: a shallow cup (cat. no. 961) and a LHIIIA2 amphoroid krater (cat. no. 968) decorated with a bull or goat. The succession of floors in this room produced a range of Mycenaean vessels, among which were six shallow cups (cat. nos. 960, 1189, 1190, 1193, 1196, 1198), two kraters (cat. nos. 1191, 1192), a stirrup jar (cat. no. 1197) and a flask (cat. no. 1195). From room 5, one could go to the large central courtyard, where a handle of a Mycenaean amphoroid krater (cat. no. 969) was found, together with remains of copper working.

The central entrance to the building was probably in room 20, from which the large rooms 19 and 12 could be reached. This part of the building presumably served as its residential section. On the floor of room 12 were a sandstone pillar base and a stone trough. A Mycenaean piriform jar (cat. no. 964) was discovered just above the original floor, while a fragment of another piriform jar (cat. no. 963) was found in the same room at a higher level. Room 42 served as a direct passage from the street along the southern façade to the central court. In room 43 a Syro-Palestinian amphora was found on the original floor. The northeastern part of the building included elements of the courtyard and stoa belonging to the LCI phase. This whole area has been interpreted as fulfilling a variety of domestic purposes. Room 54 probably was a courtyard, since a hearth was found here, together with carbonized soil, tuyères and crucibles, suggesting that copper was worked here. In room 54, between floors VI and V, a Mycenaean piriform jar (cat. no. 963) was discovered.

Mycenaean pottery is widely distributed in this building and has been found interspersed with objects testifying of daily activities. This indicates that this pottery was an integral part of the material culture of the inhabitants of the building. The clearest signs of copper working

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197 Dikaios 1969, 45-46.
198 Possibly, the remains of the northern wall of the fortress served as boundary limits for the courtyard; see Dikaios 1969, 35.
199 The high concentration of Mycenaean finds in this room is caused by the fact that Dikaios (1969, 310) has included this room in a section on 'special groups' of pottery which could be used to study the stratigraphy in detail. The vessels from this room derive from different levels in the room and it is uncertain whether similar layers in other rooms contained this much Mycenaean pottery as well.
have been attested in room 77 and room 54. The occurrence of a stirrup jar and two piriform jars in these rooms suggests that storage vessels in particular were associated with industrial activities. The one-handled bowl in basement 8, however, shows that a Mycenaean dinner vessel also could occur in association with copper working. Moreover, the two Mycenaean piriform jars in room 12 show that storage vessels were present in a residential part of the building. The rooms with signs of a variety of domestic functions - kitchen 5, the courtyard and the north-eastern section - have produced mainly Mycenaean dinner vessels, although storage pots were present as well.

The building should be interpreted as serving a variety of purposes; a functional distinction between rooms is difficult to make. The present evidence suggests that Mycenaean storage jars were mainly associated with industrial activities, while dinner vessels were associated with domestic activities. This contextual distinction was not absolute, however. In any case, it is clear that Mycenaean pottery was quite common and did not possess a special status in the building.

**H22 Q4W Level IIA structure - LCIIA-LCIIB**

In Q4W, the lowest settlement strata which have produced Mycenaean pottery were those assigned to LCIIA-LCIIB. Of this period three rooms were explored of a building which probably extended further to the west (Map 26). The remaining part of the excavation area, previously occupied by LCI buildings and later to be occupied by LCIIC-LCIII structures, remained vacant during LCIIA-LCIIB.

![Fig. 10.1 Three shallow cups found between floors XI and X in room 142 (cat. nos. 937, 938, 939)](image)

Two rooms and a hallway have been excavated. Only the pottery of room 142 has been published. Little is known about the ceramic finds in hallway 102, but it was said that it was similar to that found in room 142.\(^1\) Room 142 had three superimposing floors. The original floor XII was of calcareous mortar and on it were found ashes, charcoal and stones. In the layer directly above this floor, fragments of six Mycenaean amphoroid kraters (cat. nos. 947, 948, 950, 951 and 952 were found, one of which (cat. no. 946) is decorated with a bull and two (cat. nos. 947 and 948) with a chariot scene. In addition, this layer produced fragments of four shallow cups (cat. no. 934, 935, 936, 1153), four stirrup jars (cat. 944, 945, 1151, 1152), two jugs (cat. no. 942, 943) and a few LHIII A2 fragments (cat. no. 953, 954). Fragments of White Slip II bowls were also found. The following floor XI consisted of light-colored mud-mortar. The layer above this floor again yielded Cypriot local wares, while ten Mycenaean shallow cups (cat. nos. 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 1154, 1155, 1155, 1158, 1159, 1161), one jug (cat. no. 1157), one stirrup jar (cat. no. 1160), two piriform jars (cat. nos. 957, 1156) and a few

\(^{200}\) Dikaios 1969, 161-163.

\(^{201}\) Dikaios 1969, 308.
Mycenaean fragments (cat. nos. 958, 959) have also been reported from this room. From floor X, in the joined rooms 142 and 143, a LHIIIA2 amphoroid krater fragment with a chariot scene (cat. no. 949) and a linear fragment (cat. no. 955) have been reported.

Nothing can be said about the internal distribution of Mycenaean pottery in this building. Because finds other than Mycenaean pottery have hardly been discussed, it is also difficult to draw conclusions about the activities with which the Mycenaean pottery was associated. It is important, however, to see that during the stratigraphical periods under consideration a wide variety of Mycenaean vessels, including dinner and storage vessels, occurred together in one room. Among these vases were four with pictorial decoration. The occurrence of this wide variety of Mycenaean vessels together with Cypriot wares suggests that they were appreciated similarly and may have circulated together at Enkomi.

H23 Q1W level IIIB building - LCIIC\(^2\) (Map 27)

After the destruction at the end of LCIIB, a new structure was built in Q1W at the beginning of LCIIC. Elements from the previous buildings were incorporated in the new structure, which was rectangular in outline and covered an area of 1232 sq.m. The building consisted of three distinct sections, each fulfilling specific functions.\(^3\) The central section had an eastern entrance through room 40, which gave access to hallway 50, leading to the large room 1, where a copper workshop was installed, as is evident from a hearth, cavities with slags and a trough. In this room were found four Mycenaean shallow bowls (cat. nos. 1030, 1031, 1032, 1035), an amphoroid krater with a chariot scene (cat. 1020) and a large coarse ware stirrup jar (cat. no. 1045), probably of Minoan origin. To the south of this workshop, a group of smaller rooms produced evidence for artisan activities, such as stone grinders, loomweights, a hammer and mace head. In room 34 an LHIIIA2 fragment (cat. no. 1168) was found together with an ivory pin, a wall bracket and a terra-cotta bead. West of this group of rooms was a residential area. In room 3A Base Ring and White Slip bowls were found, together with a Mycenaean kylix (cat. no. 1038) and chalice (cat. no. 1024). A locally produced derivative of a Mycenaean shallow bowl was also found here. Together with animal bones these vessels indicate that dining occurred in this room. In the rooms 3B and 3C, which also belonged to the residential section, a variety of luxury objects, such as a silver ring, a paste bead, a bone stylus and a cylinder seal were found. To the south, room 32A probably was a courtyard and served to connect different parts of the building. Stone slabs and wells suggest that this area was also used as a kind of bathroom, as was also the case for room 32 B. Shallow cups (cat. nos. 1018, 1019) were found in rooms 32A and 32B. From courtyard 32 one could go to room 27, where a rectangular area paved with pebbles was found on the floor. In this room a bird-shaped fragment, probably from a Mycenaean ostrich egg rhyton (FS 201) was discovered (cat. no. 1044), together with a bowl of white glass. A Mycenaean shallow cup (cat. no. 1028) and shallow bowl (cat. no. 1037) were also found here. From this room one could go to room 16, where a pit with three grinders and deer antlers testify of food preparation. Three Mycenaean shallow cups (cat. nos. 1011, 1012, 1017) were also discovered in this pit. Via a staircase in room 21, one could reach room 13, which was situated somewhat higher. In this room a fragment of a Mycenaean bull’s head rhyton (cat. no. 1046) was found, in association with a clay ball with engraved Cypro-Minoan signs. The small room 13A probably served for a wooden staircase leading to an upper floor.

The western section of the building has produced the most extensive evidence for copper working, the center of which seems to have been courtyard 87, where a well, kilns and a thick

\(^2\) Dikaios 1969, 46-66; 1971, 561-571.

\(^3\) These sections are separated from each other by walls and the rooms do not communicate. One could argue that they represent independent entities. This would be similar to the situation at Ugarit, where the insulae are subdivided into separate houses; see Callot 1994 and chapter 5.
layer of slags testified of smelting activities. To the east of this courtyard, room 7 produced a plastered floor and a well suggesting water-related activities. A LIIIB-LIIIC deep bowl (cat. no. 1029) was found on the latest level of this room. Room 8 contained a bench, in the masonry of which a Mycenaean krater fragment was found (cat. no. 1023). On the floor of this room crucibles, copper slag, a cylinder seal and six clay balls with Cypro-Minoan signs were discovered, while the room also produced three Mycenaean shallow cups (cat. nos. 1014, 1015, 1016) and an amphoroid krater fragment (cat. no. 1022). Slag dumps were located to the north-west of the building. Two Mycenaean shallow bowls (cat. nos. 1255-1256) and a fragment (cat. no. 1254) were found in these dumps.

The eastern section of the building has been interpreted as serving a variety of domestic functions. From the street, this section could be entered through hallway 42, which gave access to a group of rooms which have produced evidence of artisan activities and food preparation. A shallow cup (cat. no. 1013), two shallow bowls (cat. nos. 1034, 1036) and a stirrup jar (cat. no. 1041) have been found in higher levels associated with this section of the building. To the east, room 56 produced a cylinder seal, a stone bead and a Mycenaean chariot krater (cat. no. 1021), as well as a small globular jug (cat. no. 1040). Room 54, probably a courtyard, produced a Mycenaean ring-based krater (cat. no. 1026) and a stirrup jar (cat. no. 1042).

The wide distribution of Mycenaean pottery in this building indicates that it was an integral part of the material culture. Nevertheless, a few concentrations of this pottery are visible: in room 1 in the central section and in rooms 7 and 8 in the eastern section. Both areas can be associated with copper working, indicating that Mycenaean kraters, bowls, cups and stirrup jars, were associated with these activities. The domestic part in the center of the building has produced a number of Mycenaean vessels of types which are not very frequent at Enkomi: a bull’s head rhyton, a fragment probably deriving from an ostrich egg rhyton, a kylix and a chalice. The two Mycenaean drinking vessels were found together with similar vases of Cypriot manufacture. This indicates that Mycenaean cups were not appreciated any more or less than local drinking vessels. It is, of course, interesting that the bull’s-head and ostrich egg rhyta have been found close together. They may be testimony of the use of Aegean vessels in ritual ceremonies in this part of the house. It may be concluded that Mycenaean pottery was associated with different kinds of activities in this building. The apparent differences in Mycenaean vessel types associated with these various activities can be related to their function. Such a functional approach to Mycenaean pottery is evidence of the extent to which Mycenaean pottery was part of the daily material culture.

H24 Q4W level IIB structure - LCIIC\(^2\) (Map 28)

In Q4W, in the beginning of LCIIC, a large structure was built with an elaborate architectural lay-out, comprising at least three courtyards and some 40 rooms.\(^3\) Courtyard A was open to the south, most likely opening to a street. The Cypriot tombs 1, 7, 10 and 11, situated near the southern facade, remained in use during this period and the exact course of the street is not altogether clear. A LIIIB-LIIIC stemmed cup (cat. no. 971) was found in courtyard A, together with a ring-based krater (cat. no. 1006) decorated with a bull; a shallow cup (cat. no. 975) was also discovered here. The floors of corridors 116/117 were plastered and a drain led to a well, suggesting that this area served as a kind of bathroom. The rooms west and north of the courtyard produced very few finds, because of later building activities. This was also the case on the eastern side of the courtyard. The mud-mortar floors of rooms 139 and 140 as well as their location suggest that these rooms served residential purposes. In room 140, fragments

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\(^2\) Dikaios 1969, 163-170; 1971, 561, 573.

\(^3\) Dikaios (1969, 168) considered the building to be one coherent whole, but the presence of three courtyards, one of which (court B), apparently separating the southern and northern parts, suggests that the structure may have consisted of more than one house.
of a Mycenaean stemmed cup (cat. no. 972), a shallow cup (cat. no. 975) and a LHIIIB fragment (cat. no. 1005) were found, but all in the make-up of the floor or just below it. The relationship between room 140 and the Mycenaean fragments found in it, therefore, is unclear. In the larger room 139 fragments of a Mycenaean piriform jar (cat. no. 1001), a stemmed cup (cat. no. 970), a krater (cat. no. 1004) and a shallow bowl (cat. no. 988) were found in levels above the floors, showing that dinner as well as storage vessels were used in this part of the house.

In the eastern wing (rooms 561, 52, 122-126, 133-134) few objects were found on the floors; only a hand-made buccherro jug has been reported from this part of the building, which probably had a residential purpose. The central part of the structure (rooms 106-107, 136) adjoined a courtyard on both the northern and southern sides. Room 107 served as a corridor through which the courtyards communicated. In room 136 a LHIIIB deep bowl (cat. no. 982) was found on floor IV, which produced very few other finds. The north-western wing of the building (rooms 102, 112, 127-130, 144, 142-145) included the remains of the level II A building. Few finds have been reported from this area, but the stratigraphical description of room 142 reveals that Mycenaean stirrup jars (cat. nos. 998, 1010), jugs (cat. no. 997, 1167), shallow cups (cat. nos. 973, 983, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1166), a cylindrical cup (cat. no. 985), shallow bowls (cat. nos. 987, 992, 1169-1170) and a piriform jar occurred on and between the floors attributed to LCIIC. As was true for an earlier period, the occurrence of such a wide variety of Mycenaean vessels together suggests that they were appreciated similarly. In the north-eastern corner of the building, room 104 produced Cypriot hand-made sherds, as well as Base-Ring and White Slip II vessels. A Mycenaean amphoroid krater with a chariot scene (cat. no. 977) was found in this room as well, just as a LHIIIB kylix (cat. no. 995) and a shallow bowl (cat. no. 986). The function of the two rooms 104 and 105, which were somewhat isolated from the rest of the structure is not known, but the presence of Mycenaean dinner vessels in direct association with Cypriot vessels testifies of the degree to which Mycenaean pottery was part of the material culture of the building.

Mycenaean pottery appears to be concentrated in the southern, the north-western and the north-eastern sections of this building. However, this picture is caused by the lack of finds in the other rooms. Because of these circumstances the cultural associations of the Mycenaean pottery in this building are not fully known. Signs of industrial activities have not been reported; the structure appears to have possessed a predominantly residential character. A wide range of Mycenaean vessels, among them two pictorial kraters, was part of the inventory of this building.

H25 Q4W the Ashlar building - LCIIIA 206 (Map 29)
An ashlar building was erected in Q4W at the beginning of LCIIIA. 207 Dikaios claimed that pottery in LHITC style was found in the make-up of the lowest floors, but it has also been suggested that the fragments concerned should be assigned to the LHIIIB phase. 208 These fragments in the concrete of the floors are examples of the difficulties in distinguishing the Mycenaean pottery from LCIIC and LCIIIA. 209 In any case, it is clear that LHIIIC-type pottery has been found on the floors, indicating that the building was used during LCIIIA. A number of Mycenaean vessels in ceramic styles earlier than LHIIIC have also been found in this

207 As stated before, the construction of this building has also been assigned to LCIIC, see, for example, Negbi, 1986, 104.
208 Schachermeyer 1979, 60.
The building, which occupied an area of some 1000 sq.m., was orientated around a succession of rooms (rooms 21, 14, 13, 10) leading from street 3 to the central part. Room 21 served as a vestibule, which gave access to room 14. This large rectangular hall had a concrete floor on which, during a rebuilding, a hearth was placed. Below the hearth was a pit, in which a LHIIB piriform jar (cat. no. 1266) was found, together with pottery of local and LHIIC type. From the floors of room 14 and 13 four fragments of bowls in LHIIC style have been reported, just as an LHIIB fragment (cat. no. 1269). Three LHIIB shallow bowl fragments (cat. nos. 1262-1264) were discovered in a pit. Adjoining the central section of the building on the east side, were a number of rooms (nos. 13, 15, 17, 27) which could be reached via room 13B. In this room implements for the making of stone tools were found, for which activity water could be drawn from a pit. A Mycenaean amphoroid krater (cat. no. 1171) decorated with a chariot scene was found in this pit, together with LHIIC-type pottery and two ivory disks. In the rooms north of 13B, no floor was attested.

From the central room 14, one could pass via room 25 to the large courtyard 64. A line of postholes in the floor of this courtyard suggests that it possessed a portico along its western wall. In the southwestern corner, the courtyard was paved and there was a well. The courtyard as a whole produced a succession of floor levels of which floor V can be assigned to the LCIII A phase. On this floor, two LHIIB jugs (cat. nos. 1300, 1301) and a Mycenaean kylix (cat. no. 1051) were found. For the rest, the floor produced a number of deep bowls in LHIIC style and shallow bowls assigned to LHIIB. In the south-west, courtyard 64 opened up to a group of rooms which may have constituted an independent smaller structure. Room 46 possessed a hearth and LHIIC-type pottery was found here, just as a fragment of a tablet with Cypro-Minoan text and three LHIIB sherds (cat. nos. 1186-1187). The small room 39A possessed a pit, which produced pots in LHIIC style, while on the floor of the room a large Aegean stirrup jar was found of coarse fabric (cat. no. 1084). North of this room, courtyard 44 produced fragments of another coarse ware stirrup jar (cat. no. 1182) and of two smaller stirrup jars (cat. nos. 1181, 1183). A fragment of a Mycenaean globular flask (cat. no. 1173) was found here as well, just as a number of bowls ascribed to LHIIB and some of firm LHIIC date.

The north-eastern part of the building consisted of a number of large rooms (nos. 22, 24, 33, 61-63) which were badly preserved. Part of an LHIIBA2 stemmed cup (cat. no. 1057) was found on the floor in room 33, suggesting that it was still in use during LCIII A. It was found associated with pots in LHIIC style and with a LHIIB fragment (cat. no. 1077). In room 12 a pithos was found buried into the floor. A pit-grave, in which a child had been buried, was also discovered in this room. Objects found in this room were stone tools, an amulet of glass paste, LHIIC-type pottery and a fragment of a LHIIB ring-based krater decorated with an animal (cat. no. 1071). This room probably served for storage and manufacturing activities, although the pit-grave and amulet suggest that ceremonial activities could also be carried out here. On the floor of room 3 a Mycenaean stirrup jar (cat. no. 1070) was found in association with local wares and with pottery in LHIIC style. In a pit below the floor a LHIIB cup (cat. no. 1055) and a shallow bowl (cat. no. 1056) were found together with bowls of LHIIC type.

The southern part of the building appears to have been built somewhat later than the central and northern sections. This part, which could be entered separately from the street through a door near room 36A, probably served a variety of domestic functions. The largest room, which

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210 Mycenaean pottery in LHIIC style is not included in the description of this building; because of the stylistic uncertainty pertaining to shallow bowls (FS 295-296) and deep bowls (FS 284) which were assigned to LHIIB by Dikaios, such vessels have largely been excluded from the description as well.

211 A Mycenaean stirrup jar (cat. no. 1059) and a globular flask (cat. no. 1058) were part of the material of the concrete floor of the courtyard.
could also be entered from the central part of the building, was room 45 in which a hearth was
discovered. LHIIIIC-type pots, as well as a shallow bowl assigned to LHIIIB (cat. no. 1308)
were found here. In hallway 36A three amphoroid krater fragments (cat. nos. 1067-1069) were
found, all decorated with chariot scenes and all assigned to LHIIIA2. The southwestern part
of the building yielded very few other finds.

![Fig. 10.2 Three pictorial amphoroid krater fragments from hallway 36A (cat. nos. 1067-1069)](image)

The widespread presence of Mycenaean pottery in this building suggests that it was an
integral part of the material culture. It is noteworthy that LHIIIB vessels and those assigned to
LHIIIA2, were found together with pottery in LHIIIIC style. This suggests that they were in
use at a date much later than their production. The LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB vessels have been
found in the same kind of contexts as the vessels of LHIIIIC type and there is no evidence that
the older pots were appreciated differently than the newer class of pottery. The fragmentary
nature of many of the Mycenaean finds, however, argues for caution in this respect.

The central part of the building, probably devoted to residential and possibly official
activities, has produced very little Mycenaean pottery. One should not draw any conclusions
from this, since this part of the building produced very few finds in general. The two
courtyards in the north-western part of the building each produced quite substantial amounts
of Mycenaean pottery. It is of interest that courtyard 64 produced Mycenaean dinner vessels only,
while courtyard 44 produced mainly Mycenaean storage vessels. This may indicate that
activities of different kind were carried out in these courtyards. It should also be noted that
the two coarse ware stirrup jars were found close together in the north-western part of the
building. Five vessels with pictorial decoration have been found in this building. Three of
these were found in hallway 36A, which was in the domestic section. The amphoroid krater
found in the well in room 13B was associated with the activities of artisans, which was also the
case for the ring-based krater in room 12, although ceremonial activities may also have taken
place there. It appears Mycenaean pictorial pottery was not restricted to specific activities.

The purpose of this section was to determine whether a differentiation can be made within the
general class of Mycenaean pottery in its occurrence in settlement levels at Enkomi. The
contexts which have been investigated here involve four different stratigraphical levels. In the
earliest level, dating to LCI, Mycenaean vessels were limited to the residential areas in the

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212 The three fragments could be from one vessel, see Dikaios 1969, Plate 70: nos. 27, 28, 38.
213 From courtyard 64 five LHIIIIC bowls have been reported and six shallow bowls assigned to LHIIIB.
Courtyard 44 produced only one LHIIIIC bowl. It is unclear whether the differences between courtyard 64 and
44 in ceramic repertoire can also be attested for the Cypriot wares.
214 A third coarse ware stirrup jar (cat. no. 1085) is also associated with this building; its exact find spot,
however, is unclear.
fortress (H20), which suggests that the use of these vessels was restricted to specific activities. In the succeeding level, dating to LCIIA-LCIIB (H21-H22), Mycenaean pottery was widely distributed and was also associated with copper production and with domestic activities such as storage and cooking. By this period, apparently, Mycenaean vessels were widely used and not restricted to specific activities as was the case in the previous period. It is of interest that the change in the appreciation of Mycenaean pottery occurs in the same period during which the quantities of this material increased sharply. In the previous section, I concluded that during this increase Mycenaean dinner vessels became more frequent than storage vessels. Since there is some evidence from H21 that the use of Mycenaean dinner vessels initially was reserved for residential purposes, we may relate the sharp increase of Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi to the desire for Aegean table ware. By LCIIC the use of all Mycenaean vessels at Enkomi was widespread and not restricted to specific activities.

In terms of repertoire, it is clear that H21 and H22, both dating to the LCIIA-LCIIB phase, possessed more or less the same Mycenaean vessel types, including stirrup jars, piriform jars, amphoroid kraters, shallow cups, bowls and a number of jugs. The variety of Mycenaean vessel types was higher in the LCIIC phase, when kylikes, ring-based kraters and deep bowls were added to the repertoire. The two investigated LCIIC buildings have produced more or less the same Mycenaean repertoire. The successive buildings in Q1W all served residential purposes, while at the same time they were the location for copper working. The buildings in Q4W have not produced much evidence for the activities of artisans. Even though the superimposed structures in this area were all large and probably served multiple purposes, their main function appears to have been residential. Indeed, it is possible that the large buildings included more than one house. The structures in Q4W, therefore, differ in character from those in Q1W. The fact that these buildings have produced similar ranges of Mycenaean pottery suggests that this material was not subject to consumptive restrictions at Enkomi.

I have found no situations in which specific Mycenaean types appear to have been deliberately chosen for specific purposes. Such particularisation did not occur with respect to Mycenaean vases with pictorial decoration. According to Keswani, the iconography of Mycenaean chariot kraters fits in with aristocratic lifestyles and these vessels may be associated with social elites at Enkomi. Such a krater occurred together with other Mycenaean vessels in the LCIIA-LCIIB building in Q4W (H22), while a krater decorated with a bull or goat (cat. no. 967) was discovered just outside the contemporary Q1W building (H21) in an area where slag was dumped. Two chariot scenes have been reported from the LCIIC building in Q1W (H23), one came from the copper workshop and was found together with a coarse ware stirrup jar, while another occurred in a residential area and was associated with a bead and cylinder seal. From the same period, a chariot krater has been discovered in the Q4W building (H24) in association with local coarse ware bowls. Another chariot krater was found in a pit in the LCIII Ashlar building (H25) together with pots in LHIIIC style; in room 12 of the same building a krater decorated with a bull was found in a room where a child grave and an amulet were also found.

The evidence above shows that there are a few instances at Enkomi in which Mycenaean pictorial pottery has been found together with other valuable objects. However, this was not the case for most of the pictorial vessels and, in general, the contexts of such vessels are not different from that of other, non-pictorial pottery. It seems therefore that Mycenaean pictorial vessels were not restricted to certain social groups or to specific activities. In non-funerary situations, these vessels do not seem to have served in strategies of consumptive display.

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215 See above, p. 178-179.
Funerary contexts

Schaeffer once estimated that as many as one thousand tombs had been discovered at Enkomi, of which the overwhelming majority by clandestine tomb robbers.\textsuperscript{217} Somewhat more than 180 tombs have been investigated more or less systematically, but the extent to which these have been published varies.\textsuperscript{218} All burials have been found within the enclosure of the city wall, in the settlement area (Map 23). However, not all burials appear to have been directly related to settlement structures. Twenty-four tombs were discovered on the eastern scarp, where other architecture seems unlikely.\textsuperscript{219} Other tombs date from before the rectangular street layout and probably were originally situated in open spaces between the buildings.\textsuperscript{220} Only a limited number of funerary cellars has been discovered which clearly formed a structural part of the building below which they were situated.\textsuperscript{221}

The lack of any data from the numerous pillaged tombs and the incomplete information for many of the published tombs severely limit the possibilities for funerary analyses. In addition, the majority of the tombs have served for collective burial. The shaft graves, which became popular from the beginning of LCIII onwards, contained one-to three interments each.\textsuperscript{222} The other tombs, however, were re-used far more often, in the course of which previous funerary assemblages were disturbed and valuable objects may have been removed.\textsuperscript{223} Many of the tombs appear to have been used over long periods of time, often spanning several centuries. The relationship between the archaeological record of individual tombs and social groups at Enkomi is difficult to assess. It is uncertain whether the use of a tomb was confined to specific people and, if so, whether these were families or wider social groups. Nevertheless, the tombs may be used as units for analysis and important work in this respect has been done by Priscilla Keswani, who has studied variabilities in tomb architecture and in find assemblages.\textsuperscript{224}

In Table XVI seventy-nine tombs are listed from which Mycenaean pottery has been reported. This figure is relatively low in comparison with the ca. 180 tombs which have been investigated, which is probably caused by the extent to which the inventories have been published.\textsuperscript{225} It is very likely that Mycenaean pottery has been found in more tombs than listed in Table XVI. The seventy-nine tombs may be analyzed on a number of points. First the amount of Mycenaean pottery will investigated in relation to the chronology of the tombs. Secondly, the variety of Mycenaean vessel types in the tombs will be studied and, finally, the funerary inventories of which the Mycenaean vases were part.

\textsuperscript{217} Keswani 1989a, 335.
\textsuperscript{218} Descriptions, in many cases very short, of the inventories of ninety-six tombs investigated by the British Museum expedition have been published; see Murray Smith & Walters 1900, 51-54; Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter 1889, 183-186. From British tombs 13, 18, 26 and 42 no description has appeared. The inventories of this expedition have been investigated by Keswani (1989a, 468-475; 1989b), who also studied the field notebooks, and by L. Mol (personal communication). The inventories of the twenty-two tombs explored by the Swedish mission have been fully published, see Gjerstad et al. 1934, 468-575. This is also the case for the tombs excavated by Dikaios' team; see Dikaios 1969, 333-434. Of the thirty-seven French tombs, eighteen have been fully published, the inventories of other tombs are only partly known; see Schaeffer 1952, 105-237; Johnstone 1971; Courtois 1981; Lagarce & Lagarce 1985.
\textsuperscript{219} Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 4.
\textsuperscript{220} Several tombs were sealed by street-pavement or by walls of houses when the street layout was created, see, for example, Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 29 (Fr. T. 5); Dikaios 1969, 357 (Cy. T. 10).
\textsuperscript{221} See, for example, Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 24-26 fig. 4 (Fr. Tombs 1322, 1394, 1409).
\textsuperscript{222} Keswani 1989b, 55-56.
\textsuperscript{223} Keswani 1989b, 52. French tomb 5 appears to have been in use from LCI into LCIII, a period of at least four centuries; see Schaeffer 1952, 220-226.
\textsuperscript{224} Keswani 1989a, 335-345, 567-602; 1989b.
\textsuperscript{225} In the publication of Br. T. 19, for example, a brief reference is made to a Mycenaean krater (cat. 1450) but no other pottery has been published, see Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 33. According to Keswani (1989b, 77 table 1), other Mycenaean vessels derive from this tomb, but these are unknown to me.
The majority of the seventy-nine tombs at Enkomi with Mycenaean pottery are of the rock-cut chamber type, but such material has also been reported from two tholos tombs (Sw. T. 21 and Fr. T. 1336). Of the two other tholos tombs at Enkomi, Br. T. 71 has not been published, while Fr. T. 1432 was found completely empty.\textsuperscript{226} Mycenaean pottery has also been reported from two ashlar-built tombs (Br. T. 12, 66). Very little is known about the other ashlar tombs. Only short descriptions of the inventories of British tombs 1 (= Fr. Tomb 1409) and 11 have appeared\textsuperscript{227} while French tomb 1394 was found almost empty.\textsuperscript{228} Twenty shaft graves have been reported from Enkomi,\textsuperscript{229} none of which produced Mycenaean vessels. The absence of this type of pottery from shaft graves may partly be caused by the relative paucity of finds from such tombs in general.\textsuperscript{229} In addition, the majority of such graves at Enkomi date from an advanced stage of LCIII. It is clear then that Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi was not restricted to a particular type of tomb. Even though it is difficult to relate the different types of tombs to social groups in the society of Enkomi,\textsuperscript{231} it seems that the use of Mycenaean pottery in funerary ceremonies was not confined to specific inhabitants, but a widespread phenomenon. The wide spatial distribution of the tombs at Enkomi with Mycenaean pottery may be taken as additional evidence for such a widespread use of this material.

The tomb at Enkomi from which the largest amount of Mycenaean pottery has been reported is French tomb 1336, which has produced ninety-eight vessels. This tomb, a tholos tomb situated in Q5E, has been published in detail.\textsuperscript{232} The five other tombs which also have produced large quantities of Mycenaean material are fully published as well.\textsuperscript{233} From all other tombs far fewer Mycenaean vessels have been reported. Sw. T. 19 and Br. T. 66 each produced twenty-eight Late Helladic vases, but in most cases only a few Mycenaean finds were made.\textsuperscript{234} This suggests that the quantities of Mycenaean vessels indicated in Table XVI primarily reflect the state of publication and tell us very little about possible variation among social groups at Enkomi with respect to including Mycenaean pots in their funerary ritual. What may be noted, however, is that the six tombs with large amounts of Mycenaean pottery are situated in five different city quarters. This is another indication that the inclusion of large amounts of Mycenaean pottery in tombs was not confined to specific groups within the society of Enkomi.

The long use of the Enkomi tombs makes it difficult to differentiate chronologically among them. On the basis of the primary components of their inventories, Keswani has been able to distinguish four chronological groups: MCIII-LCI (1), LCIA/B-LCIIIA/B (2), LCIA/B-LCIIIC/LCII (3) and LCHC/LCHIIA-LCHIIB (4).\textsuperscript{235} The second and third group overlap chronologically, but, according to Keswani, tombs in the second group have their primary use

\textsuperscript{226} Courtois, Lagarde & Lagarde 1986, 49-50; Keswani 1989b, 53-54.

\textsuperscript{227} The only information available for Br. T. 1 is that a lapis-lazuli gem and two golden earrings were found in this tomb, see Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 41. Of Br. T. 11 we know only that a fragment of a faience zoomorphic rhyton was found in it, see Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 51.

\textsuperscript{228} Courtois, Lagarde & Lagarde 1986, 24-26; Keswani 1989b, 54-55.

\textsuperscript{229} Keswani 1989a, 660-665 tables 5.24-5.27. Only the British Museum expedition did not report shaft graves.

\textsuperscript{230} Keswani 1989b, 56, 69.

\textsuperscript{231} In terms of effort expenditure (Brown 1981, 29) the tholos and ashlar tombs would rate higher than the rock-cut chamber tombs. However, such a ranking does not seem evident from their inventories, which argues for caution; see, also, Keswani 1989b, 54-55.

\textsuperscript{232} Johnstone 1971.

\textsuperscript{233} Sw. T. 18 (78 pots), see Gjerstad et al. 1934, 551-557; Cy. T. 10 (75 pots), see Dikaios 1969, 357-394; Sw. T. 11 (62 pots), see Gjerstad et al. 1934, 515-524; Sw. T. 3 (54 pots), see Gjerstad et al. 1934, 477-485; Fr. T. 110 (43 pots), Courtois 1981, 131-257.

\textsuperscript{234} From forty-three tombs less than five Mycenaean finds have been reported.

\textsuperscript{235} Keswani 1989a, 567-600. The first group is not discussed in Keswani 1989b.
before LCIIC. Tombs in the third group were either used for a very long period from LCI onwards or had their primary use in LCIIC. Only a limited number of tombs can be assigned definitively to the second and third groups.\textsuperscript{236} None of the tombs which have produced Mycenaean pottery can be assigned to the first group, which is logical in view of their early date.\textsuperscript{237}

Eight tombs listed in Table XVI can be assigned to the second chronological group: British tombs 19 and 67, Swedish tombs 2 and 17, French tombs 2, 11 and 110 and Cypriot tomb 19. None of these are among the tombs which have produced large quantities of Mycenaean pottery; French tomb 2 has provided most Mycenaean finds: seventeen vessels. This may not be surprising in view of the state of publication of the British and French tombs.\textsuperscript{238} The Swedish and Cypriot tombs are fully published, however, and the absence of large amounts of Mycenaean pottery in the tombs from this chronological group suggests that the quantities of this material included in funerary rituals were smaller in the period before LCIIC than in that period itself. Four of the six tombs with large quantities of Mycenaean pottery can definitively be assigned to Keswani’s third group.\textsuperscript{239} Only one tomb - Br. T. 58, from which a LHI\textsuperscript{II}A\textsuperscript{2} piriform jar (cat. no. 231) has been reported - can be assigned to Keswani’s fourth chronological group.

Table XVII provides an overview of the frequency of Mycenaean vessel types in the tombs of Enkomi. The first observation to be made on this table is that Mycenaean dinner vessels are only slightly more abundant in the tombs than storage vessels. This is not in agreement with the general pattern at Enkomi, where the quantitative difference between these two classes is far greater. A high frequency of Mycenaean dinner vessels cannot be observed in all funerary cellars. In fact, of all the tombs from which more than ten Mycenaean finds have been reported, a majority of fifteen possessed more storage than dinner vessels.\textsuperscript{240} A few tombs however, such as Sw. T 18 and 3, as well as Cypriot tomb 10, have produced a great many cups, bowls and kraters to which the predominance of Mycenaean dinner vessels in tombs can largely be attributed. In general, it seems that Mycenaean dinner vessels and storage pots were considered equally suitable to be included in funerary inventories.

Cups, in particular of the one-handed, semi-globular variety (FS 219-220), are the most frequent Mycenaean vessel type in the Enkomi tombs.\textsuperscript{241} Just as abundant are stirrup jars, of which a similar quantity has been found in the funerary cellars. Mycenaean piriform jars and kraters also are frequent in the tombs. Apart from the large quantities of these four vessel types in funerary contexts, they also appear to have been widely available: the majority of tombs which have produced more than ten Mycenaean pots include these types. However, stirrup jars and piriform jars occur in more tombs than cups and kraters.\textsuperscript{242} This suggests that the use of

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\textsuperscript{236} Keswani (1989b, 77-78) assigns thirteen tombs to group 2 and sixteen to group 3. The remaining tombs with a LCI-LCII date apparently could not be assigned to either group.

\textsuperscript{237} The analysis above of the Mycenaean pottery found in the fortress (H21) has shown that limited numbers of Mycenaean pottery were imported at Enkomi from LCIB onwards. This would automatically exclude most of the early tombs at Enkomi.

\textsuperscript{238} Moreover, we should realize that most of these tombs were pillaged before they were excavated.

\textsuperscript{239} Swedish tombs 3, 11 and 18; Cypriot tomb 10.

\textsuperscript{240} These tombs are Br. T. 43, 45, 67, 68, 78, 83, 88, 91; Fr. T. 2, 5, 11, 110, 1907; Sw. T. 11, 13. Eleven tombs produced a majority of dinner vessels: Br. T. 12, 48, 66, 69, Cy. T. 10, Fr. T. 12, 1336, Sw. T. 18, 19, 3, 6.

\textsuperscript{241} A total of 138 semi-globular, shallow cups have been found. In addition, conical cups (FS 230-232) cups with horizontal handles (FS 242-244) and handleless cups (FS 207-210) occur.

\textsuperscript{242} Piriform jars are the most widely distributed Mycenaean vessel type among funerary contexts: they have been reported from forty-eight tombs, while stirrup jars occurred in 46 tombs. In contrast, cups and kraters have been discovered in 38 and 39 tombs respectively.
kraters and cups in funerary rituals was less widespread than that of stirrup jars and piriform jars. The distribution of Mycenaean bowls in funerary contexts likewise appears to have been somewhat restricted, but this does not seem to be the case for stemmed cups and bowls, jugs, alabastra and flasks. The relative concentration in the distribution of cups, bowls and kraters in the tombs at Enkomi - albeit slight - indicates that not all inhabitants of Enkomi included these vessels, which can directly be associated with dining, in funerary ceremonies.

Nine tombs at Enkomi have produced Mycenaean ritual vessels and figurines. It is of interest that these items, which were scarce in Enkomi in general, have been found widely distributed: British tomb 53 produced a Mycenaean bovine figurine (cat. no. 2001) in association with a conical rhyton (cat. no. 1); all the other specimens from tombs are singletons. In some cases these tombs contained many other Mycenaean finds, such as Br. T. 88, Br. 67, Br. T. 12, Cy. T. 10, Cy. T. 110, but this may not always have been the case. Mycenaean rhyta, whether of conical or other shape, were scarce at Enkomi and such objects probably belonged to the paraphernalia of cult and other ceremonies. The fact that these objects have not been found concentrated in a few tombs may suggest that funerary use of these vases was not restricted to a few persons, but their number is actually too small to draw any conclusions.

The long use of the Enkomi tombs, their pillaging and the sometimes poor state of publication make it difficult to analyse them in terms of the wealth of their inventories. Nevertheless, it is clear that differences in social status were expressed in the tombs through the inclusion of material wealth and special objects in their inventories, at least from LCIB-LCIIA onwards. Rich tombs possessed a range of elaborate gold jewelry, metal vases, objects of a high iconographic content, such as signet rings and seals, and objects such as weights that refer to trade in metals. Mycenaean pottery could be part of such wealthy funerary inventories, as is testified, for example, by British tomb 67 in Q1E/Q2E, which contained eleven Mycenaean vases in addition to a large quantity of gold jewelry, among which were two signet rings, stone beads and weights, as well as imported alabaster vases. Another example is Swedish tomb 17, which also yielded substantial quantities of gold jewelry, ivory and a stone cylinder seal and seven Mycenaean pots. However, Mycenaean vessels have also been discovered in substantial quantities in tombs with less evidence of material wealth, such as French tomb 1907, which did not produce any golden objects. Another example is Swedish tomb 13, which produced only one golden earring, along with three objects of faience. The occurrence of Mycenaean pottery in tombs with varying degrees of material and symbolical wealth indicates that such vessels were considered suitable to be included in the funerary rituals of inhabitants belonging to different social groups at Enkomi. As a general class of material these vessels cannot be considered indicative of high, or indeed any, status.

The above statement should be differentiated with regard to Mycenaean vessel types. According to Keswani, the distribution of Mycenaean kraters is not equal, with some tombs possessing none or only a few, while others have produced notable quantities of such

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243 It must be remembered that shallow and deep bowls are particularly controversial in their chronological and stylistical classification, see notes 49-50.
244 From Br. T. 70, Br. T. 93 and Br. T. 53 less than ten Mycenaean finds have been reported. None of these tombs, however, has been fully published.
245 Yon 1986; Zaccagnini 1987, 58.
246 Keswani 1989b, 68-70.
247 Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 52; Marshall 1911, 47; catalogue nos. 49-56, 235-237.
249 Lagarce & Lagarce 1985, 139-141: catalogue nos. 915-929.
250 Gjerstad et al. 1934, 530-535.
According to her, this may be related to the iconography of the pictorial scenes with chariots or bulls, which relate well to an aristocratic lifestyle. Concentrations of Mycenaean kraters are notable in Swedish Tomb 3, which has produced twenty-two such vessels, in British tomb 12 with thirteen, and in the side chamber of Sw. T. 18 with eleven kraters. In each of these tombs some of the kraters possessed pictorial decoration. Also, in the cases of Swedish tomb 3 and Swedish tomb 18 substantial amounts of gold jewelry and other valuable objects have been found, indicating that such vessels were indeed associated with material wealth. At the same time, it should be noted that from some very wealthy tombs such as British tombs 19 and 93 only limited amounts of Mycenaean kraters have been reported. Moreover, all the kraters from Swedish tomb 18 came from the side chamber, while the main chamber, which was considerably more wealthy, did not produce any such vessels. A few tombs with an otherwise modest inventory, such as British tomb 83, produced as many as five Mycenaean kraters. A similar situation applies to French Tomb 2, which also produced five kraters, of which two with pictorial decoration. We should also take into account the widespread distribution of small numbers of Mycenaean kraters in general. Apparently, some people within the society of Enkomi chose to distinguish themselves by including a substantial quantity of Mycenaean kraters into their funerary ritual. The tombs in which this is the case are not all very wealthy and it cannot automatically be assumed that they belong to the upper social strata at Enkomi.

It is difficult to determine whether the restricted distribution of Mycenaean kraters in the Enkomi tombs is related to their decoration. The majority of such vessels from tombs possess pictorial decoration, mostly consisting of chariot scenes. However, kraters with non-pictorial decoration are also present in the tombs. Every tomb which has produced more than three Mycenaean kraters included non-pictorial specimens. Moreover, several tombs contained only non-pictorial Mycenaean kraters. The distribution of pictorial kraters, therefore, does not...
seem to differ from their non-pictorial counterparts. This suggests that the unequal distribution of Mycenaean kraters, generally, is not related to the decoration of these vessels.

When we consider the frequency in tombs of Mycenaean vessels of all types with pictorial decoration, we see that many tombs have yielded a few of such vessels. Only six tombs produced more than three pictorial vessels: Sw. T. 3 (16 vases), Br. T. 12 (13 vases), British tomb 54 (4 vases) Br. T. 48 (5 vases), Sw. T. 18 (10 vases) and Sw. T. 7 (4 vases). Swedish tombs 3 and 18 each produced very large numbers of Mycenaean finds and are among the tombs with a rich and varied funerary inventory in general. Obviously Mycenaean pictorial pottery was considered suitable to be included in such a funerary repertoire. Br. T. 12, a built ashlar tomb, did not produce a particularly varied inventory of finds: apart from pottery, one golden ring, a gold bead and an ivory box have been reported. However, this tomb has produced a relatively large amount of Mycenaean pictorial vases, which suggests that they possessed some special meaning in the funerary rituals connected to this tomb. The same is true to a lesser extent for Br. T. 54, 48 and Sw. T. 7, none of which can be included among the very wealthy tombs. Each of these four tombs contained several pictorial Mycenaean kraters. Obviously, for specific groups of inhabitants at Enkomi Mycenaean pictorial kraters possessed a special significance in funerary rituals.

The evidence presented above suggests that Mycenaean kraters were not appreciated in the same way by all the inhabitants of Enkomi, at least as far as their funerary use was concerned. This may also be the case for Mycenaean ritual vessels, which have been found in seven tombs (see Table XVII). A Mycenaean composite vessel (cat. no. 10), consisting of two small three-handled piriform jars attached to one another in the belly zone and both decorated with N-patterns and scale patterns, was found in British tomb 88. From this tomb, the location of which is unknown, a zoomorphic faience rhyton, as well as three Cypriot terra-cotta figurines from Br. T. 67

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Fig. 10. 3 Mycenaean animal head rhyton (cat. no. 49) and Cypriot terra-cotta figurines from Br. T. 67

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264 in all, thirty-seven tombs have produced Mycenaean pictorial vessels. Apart from kraters, jugs, rhyta a stemmed bowl, stirrup jar and piriform jar were pictorially decorated.
265 Keswani 1989b, 78 table 2.
266 Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 38.
267 These four tombs are absent in Keswani’s (1989b, 77-7) tables.
268 These four tombs did not contain kraters with patterned decoration. The decoration of one ring-based krater (cat. no. 186) from tomb 12, as well as of an amphoroid krater (cat. no. 221) from Br. T. 48 and a ring-based krater (cat. no. 407) is not known to me.

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and a glass pomegranate vase have been reported.\textsuperscript{269} Apparently the owners of this tomb distinguished themselves with items which can be related to cult practices.\textsuperscript{270} Similar evidence may be seen in the case of Br. T. 67, which produced a Mycenaean bull’s head rhyton (cat. no. 49) in association with two terra-cotta figurines of local manufacture.\textsuperscript{271} Br. T. 69 produced a Mycenaean conical rhyton (cat. no. 75), likewise associated with local figurines,\textsuperscript{272} as were the Mycenaean conical rhyton and figurine from Br. T. 53.\textsuperscript{273} The association of these Mycenaean ritual vessels with objects of possible ritual significance of local manufacture or imported from elsewhere shows that the Aegean items were used in local ritual practices. Moreover, it appears that some groups at Enkomi distinguished themselves through the inclusion of religious paraphernalia in their funerary inventories.\textsuperscript{274}

The first purpose of this section was to see if a funerary use of Mycenaean pottery was restricted to specific groups within the society of Enkomi. The answer to this is negative: this class of material is widespread in the Enkomi tombs. From many tombs a few Mycenaean vessels have been published, but the large quantities reported from a number of tombs show that many such vases could be included in funerary rituals, especially during LCIIC. A significant observation, however, is that some Mycenaean vessel types, notably amphoroid kraters and vessels with probable ritual functions, were employed by specific groups in the society of Enkomi to distinguish themselves in funerary ritual. At present, it is impossible to identify these groups, but the unequal distribution of these vessels in the tombs shows that the urban society of Enkomi was internally stratified and that varying social groups made use of different elements of the material culture to express themselves.\textsuperscript{275}

The second purpose of this paragraph was to establish if certain Mycenaean vessel types were specifically meant for funerary use. Of all Mycenaean vessel types most finds have been made in tombs. Especially cups, stirrup jars, piriform jars and kraters were widely used in funerary contexts. Each of these vessel types, however, has also been found in significant numbers in settlement contexts (Table XV). This suggests that the widespread funerary use of these vessels derived from the functions they fulfilled in the daily life of the inhabitants at Enkomi.

The role of Mycenaean pottery in the material culture of Enkomi
Apart from the Mycenaean vessels, few other objects produced in the Aegean have been found at Enkomi. A bronze jug from the main burial chamber of Sw. T. 18, dated to LCIIC, is

\textsuperscript{269} Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 33-34. One of the figurines is a standing nude female with a normal face, see Karageorghis 1993, 11: Bii. Of two other figurines only the heads are preserved, which are hollow and possess normal faces, such as in Karageorghis’ (1993, 10-13) category B.

\textsuperscript{270} For the ritual associations of rhyta, see Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 152-156, Yon 1986. For the ritual associations attached to Cypriot figurines, see Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 77.

\textsuperscript{271} Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 37. The figurines, standing nudes with bird faces carrying babies, are classified by Karageorghis (1993, 5-7) in his class A(ii): nos. 2 and 6.

\textsuperscript{272} Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 39-40. The figurine is of Karageorghis (1993, 10-13) class B: a standing nude female with normal face.

\textsuperscript{273} Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 44. A Base-Ring bull vase was found in association with the Mycenaean rhyton and figurine.

\textsuperscript{274} Keswani (1989b) argues that the complex symbolism visible in French tomb 2 relates the dead buried there to the cosmic order rather than distinguishing them from other human beings. This indicates that varying groups at Enkomi expressed different things in their material funerary record.

\textsuperscript{275} Susan Sherratt (1999, 185-188) has recently claimed that Mycenaean pictorial pots were primarily aimed for sub-élite or substitute élite groups in Cypriot society; e.g. those people for whom truly valuable objects were not available. It has been shown here that both richer and poorer tombs contained this type of pottery. This indicates that members of ‘true’ élites, as well as other people made use of these vessels in funerary ceremonies. It is possible that the use of pictorial pottery was not determined primarily by social status.
certainly not Cypriot in shape and finds its best parallels in the Aegean.\textsuperscript{276} Considering the extensive evidence for copper working at Enkomi, however, it is possible that this jug was produced at Enkomi itself. A silver Vapheio-cup in British tomb 92 shows that a vessel in precious metal was imported already at an early date.\textsuperscript{277} Two semi-globular cups of the same material, from French tomb 2 and British tomb 66, probably derive from the Aegean as well, even though their wish-bone handles are familiar also from Cypriot ceramics.\textsuperscript{278} A mould for a dagger of a type unknown at Cyprus and possibly of Aegean inspiration may suggest that objects intended for specific overseas markets were manufactured at Enkomi.\textsuperscript{279} Apart from this mould, no weapons of Aegean type have actually been found at Enkomi in levels earlier than an advanced stage of LCIII.\textsuperscript{280} A fragment of an ivory head showing a bearded warrior with a so-called boar’s tusk helmet may have been imported from the Aegean,\textsuperscript{281} just as an ivory pyxis which has parallels at Mycenae and Sparta.\textsuperscript{282} However, ivory was also produced at Enkomi itself and it may be that these objects were the products of local ivory workshops.\textsuperscript{283}

Objects from a wide range of other areas in the Mediterranean have also been found at Enkomi. Stone and alabaster vases may have been imported from Egypt, even though a local production also existed of such vessels.\textsuperscript{284} Some faience and glass vessels may have been imported from Egypt as well, but this material was also locally produced.\textsuperscript{285} Ivory duck vases and gaming boards probably came from the Syro-Palestinian region.\textsuperscript{286} Seals were produced locally and came from the Levant,\textsuperscript{287} while scarabs came from Egypt.\textsuperscript{288} Ceramic arm-shaped vessels in Red Lustrous Ware may have been imported from the Hittite area.\textsuperscript{289} The cosmopolitan character of the material culture at Enkomi is also evident from its metal production, which shows a variety of artistic influences from the Levant, Egypt and the Aegean.\textsuperscript{290} Nevertheless, the products of the metal industry at Enkomi generally fit into a Cypriot tradition,\textsuperscript{291} as does the material record as a whole.\textsuperscript{292} The imported objects and the apparent artistic influence on the material record at Enkomi shows that the city participated in the cosmopolitan, international networks of the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age.

\textsuperscript{276} Gjerstad et al. 1934, 554: no. 120; Catling 1964, 151-152; Matthäus 1985, 233-234.
\textsuperscript{277} Davis 1973, 318-319: LHI-LHIII.
\textsuperscript{278} Davis 1973, 313-317; Matthäus 1985, 122.
\textsuperscript{279} Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 64, Plate XVII no. 1. The mould has not been dated stratigraphically or stylistically and may derive levels later than LCIII A.
\textsuperscript{280} According to Catling (1964, 135), Naue Type II swords were introduced in Cyprus from the Aegean sometime in the twelfth century BC.
\textsuperscript{281} Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 128, Plate XXIV no. 1.
\textsuperscript{282} Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 128, Plate XXV no. 10.
\textsuperscript{283} Evidence for an ivory workshop has been discovered in Q1W in a level dated to LCIIIA, see Dikaios 1969, 99-100. After LCIIIA, ivory objects became rare at Enkomi, see Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 128. See also Krzyszowska 1992.
\textsuperscript{284} Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 122-127.
\textsuperscript{285} Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 138-158.
\textsuperscript{286} Dikaios 1971, 511; Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 134-138. In British tomb 58 an ivory gaming box was found, see Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 31, Plate I. A fragmentary gaming board, likewise from ivory, was found by the French in a pit which contained the remnants of a robbed tomb, see Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 138, Plate XXIV no. 2. Pieces of a similar board were found in a domestic context in room 27 of area Q4W in LCIC levels (H24), see Dikaios 1969, Plate 128 nos. 65-66.
\textsuperscript{287} Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 171-194.
\textsuperscript{288} Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 194-197.
\textsuperscript{289} Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 163-164. More than fifty of such vessels have been found in Bogazköy, see Bittel 1957, 32-42 figs. 12-16, Plate 28 nos. 5-8. Recently, however, Eriksson (1991) has argued for a Cypriot origin of Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware, including the arm-shaped vessels.
\textsuperscript{290} Catling 1964.
\textsuperscript{291} Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 64-65.
\textsuperscript{292} Knapp 1986a, 39-40; Muhly 1989, 302.
In a material environment with such diverse imports and influences, ceramic vessels from the Aegean probably did not automatically acquire a special significance as a result of their imported nature. According to figures provided by Dikaios, during LCIIA-B Mycenaean pottery constituted 9.91% of the total ceramic assemblage in Q4W. During the same period, the corresponding figure for Q1W was 4.82%. During LCIIC, 14.5% of the pottery found in Q4W was LHIIIA1-LHIIIB, while this was the case for 9.8% in Q1W. During LCIIIA, 9% of all ceramics found in Q4W could be assigned LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB date, while as much as 45% consisted of LHIII C-type ceramics. For Q1W the corresponding figures are 11.5% of LHIIIA2-LHIIIB vases and 48% of pots in LHIIIC style. These figures indicate that the quantities of Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi increased during the second part of LCII. Nevertheless, before the occurrence of pottery in LHIIIC style, imported Aegean ceramics were only a relatively small, but significant part of the total ceramic record at Enkomi. Indeed, it has been established that Mycenaean vessels were quite common at Enkomi: they were widely distributed and have been discovered in several houses and in tombs testifying to different levels of wealth. Moreover, they have been shown to be an integral part of the material record in houses and tombs.

Apart from the general conclusion that Mycenaean pottery was used widely by the inhabitants of Enkomi, a few observations have been made in this chapter which clarify the use and appreciation of this material in more detail. Firstly, it has been shown that ceramics produced in the Aegean arrived at Enkomi in substantial quantities already during LCIB-LCIIA. Initially, mainly storage vessels were imported. The evidence from H20 shows that the earliest vases at Enkomi were restricted to specific, residential activities. From LHIIIA1 onwards the proportion of Mycenaean dinner vessels grew steadily. There is some evidence from H21 that Mycenaean dinner vessels were initially to some extent reserved for use in residential activities. However, the wide occurrence together of Mycenaean dinner and storage vessels in H22-25 shows that from LCIIA-LCIIB onwards there were no restrictions in the use of Mycenaean pottery. Apparently the use and appreciation of this class of ceramics at Enkomi evolved in relation to the quantities that were imported into the city.

The spatial distribution of vessels with pictorial decoration seems to differ somewhat from the general pattern. From the analyses of settlement contexts (H21-H25) it has become clear that from LCIIA onwards Mycenaean pictorial pottery occurred together with other Mycenaean vessels and with local pottery, showing that these vessels were not regarded differently. In settlement contexts, then, Mycenaean pictorial vases did not possess a special significance. However, it has also been shown that for a specific group of people at Enkomi Mycenaean pictorial kraters did serve a special function in funerary ritual. This difference between settlement and funerary use shows that the appreciation of Mycenaean vessels varied according to the cultural associations assigned to them. These cultural associations were expressed, for example, by including a large quantity of Mycenaean pictorial kraters in one tomb, or by combining various items with a cultic function, among which were Mycenaean rhyta, into one funerary inventory. The presence of five large, coarse ware stirrup jars (cat. nos. 142, 559-561, 1336) in tombs shows how such transport jars could acquire a symbolic significance beyond their function in a similar way. The relative concentration of Mycenaean cups and kraters in tombs as compared with stirrup jars and piriform jars may be caused by similar processes. In any case, it is clear that specific Mycenaean vessel types at Enkomi were considered suitable to be part of social strategies of distinction.

293 Dikaios 1971, 447.
295 Dikaios 1971, 458. Dikaios' so-called 'Late Mycenaean IIIB' vessels, which were probably made in Cyprus, are included in these figures.
The fact that at Enkomi Mycenaean pottery, at least some parts of the ceramic repertoire, was socially active and could be included in consumptive strategies may have been a factor involved in the imitation of this type of pottery. Before an advanced stage of LCIIIC, however, imitation appears not to have been very common.296 In French tomb 3 an imitation of a three-handled piriform jar has been found, carried out in Base-Ring I technique.297 A similar vessel, decorated with a floral motif covering the whole body, has been found in Br. T. 84.298 In addition, a rounded alabastron in Base Ring technique has been found in Br. T. 50,299 while a similar vessel occurred in British Tomb 88.300 These three examples can all be related to the LHIIIA2 style and show that Mycenaean pottery was imitated as early as LCIIA,301 the period in which Mycenaean pottery began to arrive at Enkomi in large quantities. Somewhat later, probably from LCIIB onwards, the amphoroid krater was adopted into the local ceramic repertoire in Plain White Wheelmade ware.302 Such vessels have been found in large numbers in the tombs of Enkomi, for example in Sw. T. 11,303 and in Sw. T. 19.304 In most cases these imitations of Mycenaean pottery were associated with genuine Mycenaean pottery,305 suggesting that the same groups of people used both the originals and the local products.306

In an advanced stage of LCIIIC the local production of Mycenaean style pottery increased sharply with the appearance of Rude or Pastoral style kraters and with the introduction of shallow bowls in the local ceramic repertoire.307 Shallow bowls have been reported in abundance from both settlement and funerary contexts at Enkomi.308 The same can be said for Pastoral style kraters.309 Locally produced Mycenaean pottery has been found in direct association with original imports in both settlement and funerary contexts.310 Sherratt has argued that the introduction of the Aegean vessel types in a local ceramic class should be understood as a phenomenon related to a gradual development towards a Cypriot wheelmade, painted ceramic class, which occurred in the context of urbanization and centralization.311 The fact that vessels from this local production have been found directly associated with their

297 Schaeffer 1936, Plate 31 no. 2. For an overview and discussion of Mycenaean-type vases in Base Ring technique, see Aström 1998, 26 (with further refs).
298 Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 38 Plate 66 no. 1189.
299 Smith 1925, Ilea Plate 4 no. 9.
300 Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 34 fig. 62: no. 1252.
301 Similar vessels have been found elsewhere in Cyprus, see Cadogan 1991, 169-170. It is unclear whether the examples from Enkomi were produced in the city itself, or imported from elsewhere in the island.
303 Gjerstad et al. 1934, Plate 82: row 1: nos. 9-10, Plate 83: row 1 nos. 7-9, row 5 nos. 2, 3, 7-8.
304 Gjerstad et al. 1934, Plate 91 row 1 nos. 1-2, 4-5.
305 Only in Fr. T. 3 this was not the case, see Schaeffer 1936, 78 fig. 32.
306 Contra Cadogan (1991, 169), who states that these vases represent "cheaper versions of the more valuable imports for poorer people."
307 Cadogan 1991, 170; Sherratt 1980, 196-197; 1991, 193-195 (with full bibliography). Sherratt (1991, 192 note 11) argues that the Cypriot Pastoral style may have started as early as the Amarna period in Egypt, which would coincide with LHIIIA2 or possibly - early LHIIIB and with LCIIA.
308 For settlement levels, see Dikaios 1969, 308-314; for a funerary context, see, for example, the side chamber of Sw. T. 18: Gjerstad et al. Plate 90 rows 4-6.
309 For settlement levels, see Dikaios 1969, 308-314; for a funerary contexts, see, for example, Sw. T. 19, Plate 91: row 3 nos. 3-5.
310 In room 3A in H23 two Mycenaean stemmed cups were found together with a shallow bowl of local manufacture and with Base Ring and White Slip wares. In the special descriptions of the stratigraphy of room 5 in Q1W (Dikaios 1969, 310-311) and room 142 in Q4W (Dikaios 1969, 309), locally produced Mycenaean style pottery has been reported in association with original imports in LCIIIC and LCIIIA levels. In British tomb 45 two pictorial kraters in 'Rude or Pastoral' style have been discovered with two imported types (cat. nos. 108-109), see Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 45 fig. 71: nos. 931* and 933.
Aegean prototypes, suggests, firstly, that not only shapes and motives were copied, but also the functional and symbolic meanings attached to specific vessel types. Secondly, the close relationship between imports and local products suggest that, by the end of LCIIIC, the imported nature of Mycenaean vessels was of no consequence for the way they were used and appreciated in local cultural practices.

In addition to the ceramic imitations of Mycenaean pottery, two faience stirrup jars have been found at Enkomi and another in glass. One faience stirrup jar was found in Br. T. 50, while another was found Fr. T. 5. The glass stirrup jar was also found in Fr. T. 5, which suggests that the owners of these tombs had special access to such vessels. Faience and glass vases were probably not produced at Enkomi, but imported from the Levant or Egypt. The finding of similar faience stirrup jars of Aegean type at Minet el-Beida (site no. 129), Lachisch (site no. 213), Gurob (site no. 251) and Soleb in Nubia testifies of the extent to which this vessel type had become part of the international culture of the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age.

The final question to be addressed in this chapter concerns the social groups at Enkomi who used the Mycenaean pottery. In its early phase, Enkomi consisted of a number of widely spaced large structures, each surrounded by tombs. Such a plan suggests the presence of a number of heterogeneous groups, possibly deriving from different communities, which converged in order to control the production of copper and to engage in international trade. The presence of metal working in several parts of the city from an early period onwards, the - more or less contemporaneous - construction of monumental ashlar buildings and built tombs in several parts of the city, as well as the absence of building with centralized administrative functions suggest that the population of the city was never integrated in a single hierarchy, but kept a certain heterogeneity. As stated several times above, Mycenaean finds were widely distributed at Enkomi and the settlement and funerary analyses indicate that it occurred in different houses and in tombs of varying material and symbolical wealth. We may, therefore, assume that this pottery was used by a number of different social groups in the city.

Enkomi was probably the center of a regional polity, which was organized around the production and exchange of copper. Within such a polity mining and agricultural villages as well as inland centers and sanctuaries were systematically linked to the coastal center through the exchange of luxury and staple goods. Because of the lack of settlement excavations and of systematic surveys in eastern Cyprus, it is not certain which sites may be considered to have participated in the Enkomi system. Nearby Sinda (site no. 48), where a city wall similar to the

312 Murray, Smith & Walters 1900, 52.
313 Schaeffer 1952, 210-214 Planche supplémentaire.
314 Schaeffer 1952, 210-214 Planche supplémentaire.
315 Courtois, Lagarce & Lagarce 1986, 139. See also Peltenburg (1985, 256) who does not see any evidence for faience production anywhere in Cyprus.
316 Schaeffer 1929, plate 52: no. 3
317 Tufnell 1940, plate 23, 63.
318 Branton & Engelbach 1927, 12, plate 25: no. 4.
319 Giorgini 1971, 210-211, fig. 395.
320 For an overview of the distribution of faience stirrup jars in Egypt and the Levant, see Bell 1983. Hankey 1995a, 117-123. An imitation stirrup jar in stone has been found at Gurob as well, see Petrie 1891, 18, plate 19: no. 27; Hankey 1995a, 124, plate 24.
one at Enkomi was erected early in LCIIC,\textsuperscript{327} was possibly an inland center related to the coastal city. From this site twenty Mycenaean vessels in styles antedating LHIIIC have been reported, among which were storage and dinner vessels, while a conical rhyton was also found.\textsuperscript{328} Such a wide range of vessels compares well to the Mycenaean repertoire found at Enkomi and it shows that a wide variety of Mycenaean vases could occur in a regional center. The site of Ayios Iakovos (site no. 45), located to the north of Enkomi and probably a sanctuary, also produced Mycenaean vessels from settlement levels.\textsuperscript{329} Mycenaean vessels were also found in settlement contexts in Athienou (site no. 67), which appears to have been a sanctuary site related to nearby mining districts (chapter 11).\textsuperscript{330} Smaller quantities of Mycenaean pottery have been reported in funerary contexts in nearby sites such as Milia (site no. 49), Kalopsidha (site no. 51), Ayios Sozomenos (site no. 66) and Nicosia Ayia Pareskevi (site no. 71). Such a wide scatter of sites with Mycenaean pottery in the Mesaoria plain and its bordering hills indicates that this material was incorporated into the exchange systems which linked the coastal centers to secondary inland centers, sanctuaries and mining regions.

The emerging picture shows that Mycenaean pottery was widely used by the commercial élites residing at Enkomi. It is likely, because of the heterogeneity of the social structure in the town, that the social use of this class of ceramic material varied according to different social groups. The differences in the funerary use of Mycenaean kraters which has been discussed above may be testimony of such variations in social function. However, the use of Mycenaean pottery was not limited to the urban élite. By being incorporated in local exchange mechanisms which linked inland sites to the coastal centers, Mycenaean pottery became available to regional and local groups situated far away from the coast.

\textsuperscript{327} Furumark 1965, 103.
\textsuperscript{328} Åström (1972a) reports from Sinda four Mycenaean piriform jars (301: 45u5, 45v5, 45w5, 306), one straight-sided alabastron (323: 94w2bis), four stirrup jars (337: 166k2, 166j2ter, 341: 171n3bis, 343: 173kter), one conical rhyton (354: 199k), one kylix (366: 259a), one ring-based krater (374: 281h7), two deep bowls (376: 284p2, 284q2) two stemmed bowls (381: 309h, 309i) and four fragments (384).
\textsuperscript{329} Gjerstad (et al. 1934, 357-358: nos. 19, 30, 31, 44 Plate XLI-1) report two piriform jars, a deep krater and a jug from the Bronze Age layers in the building. Mycenaean vessels were also recovered from tombs 8, 13, 14.
\textsuperscript{330} Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 46-53.
CHAPTER 11

Athienou-Bamboulari tis Koukouninas

Introduction

In the central part of Cyprus, the Mesaoria plain is bordered on its southern side by limestone hills, which slope upwards towards the Troodos mountains in the west and downwards to the south-east.\(^1\) Athienou is situated in the foothills, in close proximity of both the central plain and mining districts such as Troulli or Sha, which are eight and twenty kilometres away respectively.\(^2\) The Late Bronze Age site is located on a small hillock known as Bamboulari tis Koukouninas, a few hundred meters north of the modern village of Athienou.\(^3\) About ten kilometres to the west of Athienou there is a cluster of other sites with Mycenaean pottery, among which are Idalion (site no. 65) and Ayios Sozomenos (site no. 66). The sloping terrain provided easy access to the Mesaoria plain and the Bay of Famagusta, where Enkomi (site no. 50) is situated. Moreover, the southern coastal plain, with sites such as Kition (site no. 57) and Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59), is also easily reached. The location of Athienou is ideal for the site to serve as an intermediary between the mining districts and coastal centres.\(^4\)

The area of Athienou has drawn the attention of archaeologists since the nineteenth century, when the nearby Archaic site of Golgoi was visited repeatedly by early explorers such as Alexander Palma di Cesnola.\(^5\) In 1952 Hector Catling visited Bamboulari tis Koukouninas during the Cyprus survey.\(^6\) In 1958, when construction activities threatened the site, soundings were made by Ch. Paraskeva on behalf of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus.\(^7\) Even though these soundings were never fully published, they identified the hillock as a Late Bronze Age settlement site and secured it from further damage. In 1971 and 1972 the Hebrew University of Jerusalem conducted two excavation campaigns, which were directed by Trude Dothan and Amnon Ben-Tor. Since 1974, the site is situated in the buffer zone which is patrolled by United Nations troops south of the area occupied by the Turkish forces. Archaeological research in the area has been resumed in 1990, when Michael Toumazou from Davidson University, USA, launched the Athienou Archaeological Project, which investigates an area south-west of the modern village.\(^8\)

On the basis of pottery found during the 1958 investigations, it was assumed that the earliest habitation at the site occurred during the Middle Bronze Age.\(^9\) However, the lowermost layer attested during the more systematic excavations of the 1970’s have been

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5. See O. Masson 1971, for a brief overview of the history of archaeological research at Golgoi, which is situated less than a kilometre to the north-east of our site.
8. For preliminary reports of the AAP, see Toumazou, Kardulias, Yerkes & Sarris 1996; Toumazou, Yerkes & Kardulias 1998.
assigned to the transitional period MCIII-LCI. Several large and shallow pits belong to this period (stratum IV), but remains of architecture have not been discovered. Stratum III has been assigned to the Late Bronze Age. Even though some assemblages in this layer may have an LCI date, the majority of finds date to LCII. The building erected during this period was substantially modified, but continued to exist in the subsequent occupation phase of stratum II, which is dated to the first part of LCIII. The building was destroyed, presumably at the end of the twelfth century BC. After an abandonment of several centuries, some activity at the site in the Early Iron Age is indicated by a few sherds and pits. The cemetery, which has been discovered to the south of our site, has burials dating to this period as well. Possibly, these tombs and the faint traces of settlement at Bamboulari tis Koukouninas are connected to the city of Golgoi, which flourished during the Archaic period and was located at the nearby locality of Yeorgous. On the shallow hill of Bamboulari tis Koukouninas agriculture was practised, including olive cultivation, while since the eighteenth century the site also seems to have served as a source for building blocks for the villagers of modern Athienou. In the Malloura valley to the south-west of our site, sites dating from the Cypro-Archaic period until Ottoman times have been identified.

The Late Bronze Age site is situated on a small hillock, which rises some two meters above its surroundings. Up to a meter of debris was discovered on this natural hill, covering an area about 2500 sq.m. Many of the stones which had formed the foundations for the mud-brick walls had been robbed, but lines of floor plaster, as well as robber's and foundation trenches generally sufficed to reconstruct the architecture at the site. Architectural remains belonging to stratum III have been found in the north-western part of the site only (Map 30). One building has been discovered with a large room (no. 628), possessing a plaster floor, in the north-west. The northern wall of the adjacent room to the east has disappeared, but a section of floor indicates a doorway which connected this room with the area north of it. The easternmost room also possessed a plaster floor. South of these three rooms, a courtyard has been discovered, which probably was - at least partly - enclosed by a wall. The courtyard pavement was covered by large numbers of miniature vessels. Three pits dug in the courtyard also contained miniature vessels, as well as metal scrap and nodules. Additional pits have been discovered east of the courtyard. Directly east of the courtyard, there were three deep, cylindrical pits (nos. 551, 552 and 637). The group of pits east of these were more shallow and contained predominantly waste materials from the metal industry.

During LCIII, the building continued to exist, but was enlarged with several rooms in the eastern part of the site. In the north-east, a lime platform of ten centimetres thickness was erected, upon which a bench and a mud-brick platform once stood, while pits and channels were cut into its surface. Similar platforms have also been discovered directly outside the new eastern rooms. The function of the platforms is unclear, but it is likely that the new features are related to industrial and storage activities.

10 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 20-21, 139.
11 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 14-20, 139.
12 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 6-14, 140.
13 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 3-6, 140.
14 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 1.
16 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 3.
17 Toumazou, Yerkes & Kardulias 1998, 172. Especially during the Roman and Byzantine periods settlement seems to have been extensive.
18 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 1, 3.
19 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 14-20.
20 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 6-14. These rooms were situated in the area of pits 552 and 637, east of wall 4.
The total number of miniature juglets which have been found in stratum III at Athienou-Bamboulari tis Koukouninas has been estimated at 10,000. Consequently, the site has been interpreted as a sanctuary, which formed a regional centre in networks of production and exchange. Associated with the cultic activities was metal production, as is indicated by copper ore and nodules. The absence of crucibles or tuyères, however, suggests that the actual roasting and smelting of the ores took place elsewhere. No other settlement remains have been discovered in the vicinity of the site, but the nearby cemetery reportedly has Late Bronze Age graves. It is unclear who controlled the sanctuary. Possibly, people living in the vicinity had claims on the workings of the sanctuary. The important role of the site in the distribution of copper from the mining districts to coastal centres, however, makes it likely that elites from an urban coastal center also exerted strong influence. A number of pithoi has been discovered in the newly built eastern area, which suggests that during LCIII the site possessed storage functions.

In addition to the large numbers of votive vessels, stratum III produced a variety of LC-LCII pottery which has good counterparts elsewhere on the island. Apart from pots and vases, three ceramic wall brackets have been found, as well as a terra-cotta figurine and a ceramic object which has been interpreted as a ‘snake house’. A haematite cylinder seal with Cypro-Minoan script was discovered in a pit in the courtyard of the sanctuary. The same pit produced a bronze finger ring. A number of stone beads have also been found, while terra-cotta loomweights and spindle whorls may either have served as votives or they testify to the presence of weaving activities. An outstanding find from pit 552 is a small conical rhyton, which was made of ivory and decorated with friezes showing human faces and animals. Even though the rhyton is of Aegean type, there are no doubts that it was made by a Cypriot artist, who was familiar with Aegean and Levantine artistic elements. The rhyton, as well as the cylinder seals, the beads and the bronze ring show that objects associated with international maritime exchange found their way to the interior of Cyprus.

Quantity and quality of the data.
A total of twenty-five Aegean vessels have been reported from Athienou-Bamboulari tis Koukouninas, which are listed in catalogue VI. None of these vessels has been subject to any scientific investigations regarding their provenance. The two shallow bowls (cat. nos. 7-8) are of a type which was manufactured in Cyprus at the end of the LCII period. The ware and the debased decoration of the ring-based krater (cat. no. 9) suggest that this vessel was made on

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21 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 139.
24 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 1.
26 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 113-114; Keswani 1993, 77-78.
29 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 120-121. Another cylinder seal was found in a pit belonging either to stratum II or III.
30 An additional find is a frit scarab, of which it is uncertain whether it derived from stratum III or from stratum II.
31 In addition, five so-called ‘Mycenaean IIIIC:1b’ deep bowls have been discovered in stratum II, see Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 115-117. These bowls, which are certainly of local manufacture, are not discussed here. On the subject of such bowls in Cyprus, see Kling 1987, 101-102, 1989, 94-108.
the island as well. Two coarse ware stirrup jars have tentatively been assigned a Minoan origin, even though such vessels were also produced on the Greek mainland.\(^{35}\)

Twenty-one of our vessels derive from the excavations conducted in 1971 and 1972. Since these campaigns are fully published, it is certain that these are all the Mycenaean finds made by the Israeli team. Four additional Mycenaean finds from Athenon *Bamboulari tis Koukouninas* were seen by Paul Åström in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. These probably were found during the trial excavations conducted in 1958 by the Department of Antiquities. If more Mycenaean finds had been made during this campaign, we may expect that Åström would have noted them. It appears that all Mycenaean vessels found at our site are presented in catalogue VI.

The natural hillock of *Bamboulari tis Koukouninas* covers an area of some 2,500 m\(^2\), which have been excavated down to virgin soil for more than 90 %\(^{36}\). It is possible that a few Mycenaean vessels are still buried at the site, but it is unlikely that they, or their archaeological contexts, would differ substantially from the available finds in catalogue VI. Erosion at the site has resulted in the total disappearance of occupation remains in the south and south-west\(^{37}\). In addition, agricultural activities, as well as stone-robbing, has caused heavy disturbances at the site. In spite of these post-depositional processes, we may consider the material in catalogue VI representative of all the Mycenaean pottery that once was present at the sanctuary.

**The on-site distribution of Mycenaean pottery**

The remains of stratum III, as well as those of stratum II, can be grouped in four different spatial areas, which are relatively clearly defined (Map 30).\(^{38}\) In the north-western part of the site, the floors and walls of the structure clearly belong together. To the south of this building extended the large paved courtyard, which constitutes a second area. A third area is situated in the east, where a building was erected during stratum II, while a number of storage pits were present here during stratum III. The north-east, where the stratum II lime platform is situated, can be considered a separate area. The distribution of the Mycenaean pottery in these four areas is presented in Table 11.1.

<table>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>courtyard</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>east</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>north-east</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11.1**

It is clear that the Mycenaean finds were concentrated in the courtyard and in the eastern area. In both cases, the majority of our finds have been made in pits; only a bowl and jug were found on the pavement of the courtyard itself. In the north-eastern area, only small soundings were made below the lime platform, which helps to explain the absence of Mycenaean pottery from this area. Two Mycenaean sherds were found in the area of the building itself. Both finds (cat. nos. 20 and 21) are small fragments found out of context in stratum II. The stratum III structure did not produce a large quantity of finds in general.\(^{39}\) Nevertheless, the absence of Mycenaean finds from this building is a notable phenomenon. It indicates that Mycenaean

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\(^{35}\) Day & Haskell 1995, 97.

\(^{36}\) Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 1.

\(^{37}\) Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 3.

\(^{38}\) Cf. Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 6-20.

\(^{39}\) Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 21-24. Only *locus* 628 yielded a substantial amount of pottery, among which miniature votive vessels, as well as large vases.
pottery was primarily associated with the activities that were conducted in the courtyard and in the eastern area.

Two Mycenaean fragments (cat. nos. 2 and 4) cannot be assigned a stylistical date, and four vessels (cat. nos. 1, 18, 19, 22) have been dated to LHIII A2-LHIII B in general. All other Mycenaean vessels can securely be given a LHIII B date. The great majority of our finds have been found in features belonging to stratum III.40 LHIII B vessels have been discovered together with Cypriot pottery dating to LCII.41 in pits that were sealed off when the stratum II rooms in the east were built.42 This indicates that the use of these Mycenaean vessels did not extend beyond LCIIIC. However, four of our vessels were retrieved from stratum II, which has been dated to LCIII. Two of these are unstratified fragments (cat. nos. 20 and 21). Two other finds, however, are large parts of shallow cups (cat. nos. 5 and 6), which were found together in pit 620 belonging to stratum II.43 It is possible that these two drinking vessels were deposited a long time after they were manufactured. They may have circulated long, or have served as antiques or heirlooms.

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Table 11.2

The functional differentiation of the Mycenaean pottery found at Athienou is indicated in Table 11.2. Clearly, Mycenaean storage jars were not very frequent. In fact, two of the storage vessels in the catalogue (nos. 24, 25) are probably Minoan.44 A stirrup jar of Mycenaean origin (cat. no. 10) has also been found. The fourth Mycenaean storage vessel is a straight-sided alabastron (cat. no. 1) that was found during the 1958 excavations. The great majority of Mycenaean finds are classified as dinner vessels. However, six of these (cat. nos. 11-16) are miniature jugs, which may have had a purely ceremonial function.45 The presence of these vessels shows that the Mycenaean pottery was part of the rituals that were carried out in the sanctuary.

It is of interest that the two large coarse ware stirrup jars (cat. nos. 24 and 25) were found together in pits in the eastern part of the site, in the same area that produced the stirrup jar with catalogue no. 10.46 In the beginning of the period that is represented by stratum II, a structure was built in this area, which possessed storage functions, as is evident from a number of large pithoi.47 The concentration of Mycenaean containers of large size, suggests that the deep, cylindrical pits in this area served similar functions during the time of stratum III.48

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40 Seventeen finds in our catalogue have been assigned to stratum III. The stratigraphy of the four vessels found during the 1958 campaign is uncertain.
41 White Slip II bowls were found in pit 637, see Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 36. A Base Ring bowl was discovered in pit 551, see Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 40-41: no. 6; the same pit produced a bucchero juglet, see Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 65-66: no. 1.
42 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 12-14.
43 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 11, 46.
45 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 49.
46 Fragments of both Minoan stirrup jars were found in the pits 63 and 552; fragments of the Mycenaean stirrup jar came from pits 552 and 551. These three pits were situated close to one another (Map 30).
47 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 12-14; 113-115.
48 Large containers of Cypriot ware have not been reported from stratum III.
Table 11.3 shows the types of decoration which occur on the Mycenaean vessels at Athienou. The two coarse ware stirrup jars are decorated with lines only. This is also the case for most other Mycenaean pots, but a ring-based krater (cat. no. 9), as well as three fragments (cat. nos. 20-22) have a patterned decoration. Quite remarkable is a cylindrical jug (cat. no. 23), of which the shoulder is decorated with two fighting bulls. Even though it may be significant that no Mycenaean vessels with patterned decoration have been found in the courtyard, there does not seem to be a distinctive pattern in the distribution of the different decorative types at Athienou.

![Table 11.3](image)

Apart from presenting the Mycenaean pottery in some detail, the main purpose of this section was to determine whether any restrictions in the use of this material can be discerned from the spatial and contextual distribution at the site. The main conclusion in this respect seems to be that Mycenaean pottery was an integral part of the activities carried out in the courtyard and in the eastern area. Each of these areas has produced a different repertoire of Mycenaean pots.

Closed contexts

The site of Athienou-Bamboulari tis Koukouninas has been interpreted as a single unified sanctuary. As such, all the Mycenaean finds at the site may be considered to derive from a single context. However, in order to study variations in the cultural associations attached to the Aegean finds, it is useful to compare the two most important find places: the three pits in the eastern area and the group of pits in the central courtyard (see Table XIX). These two pit complexes can be distinguished from those in the easternmost part of the site (pits 650, 661, etc.) which were more shallow and contained predominantly waste materials from the metal industry.

49 Dothan and Ben-Tor (1983, 49) attribute this vase to the 'Painter of Bulls and Bull Protomes', of whom other vases have been discovered in Cyprus. See Karageorghis 1971.

50 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 20.

51 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 11, Plate 9:2.
probably also the case for the higher parts (locii 503, 563).\textsuperscript{52} The uppermost part of the pit contained two Mycenaean miniature jugs (cat. nos 11, 12; see fig 11.1), as well as a variety of Cypriot pottery, stone beads and a spindle whorl. Four additional Mycenaean hand-made miniature jugs (cat. nos. 13-16) were found in deeper levels, together with Cypriot vessels, a spindlwhelorl and a fatine bead. Both the upper and lower levels contained miniature votive vessels and metal scrap and nodules.

Obviously, this pit is related to the cultic activities carried out in the courtyard of the sanctuary. We possibly have to do with a bothros containing objects from a clearing of the courtyard. In any case, the Aegean miniature vessels were part of local cultural practices. Many miniature vessels found in the courtyard and the pit imitate larger type pottery.\textsuperscript{53} Even though one miniature jug (cat. no. 11) appears to be of good Aegean fabric, the other juglets may have been manufactured in Cyprus.\textsuperscript{54} It is possible that Mycenaean-type jugs were part of a range of miniature vases that was specially produced to serve as votive offerings. Clearly, the Mycenaean jugs were an integral part of the material culture at the site. It is remarkable, however, that all Aegean-type miniature jugs found at Athienou have been found in this pit. From the courtyard, where heaps of votive vessels have been attested, a Mycenaean stemmed bowl (cat. no. 18) and a piriform jug (cat. no. 19) have been reported. If the courtyard pit indeed constitutes a bothros, it is possible that this concentration of Mycenaean votive juglets is due to these vessels having been popular at a specific period. However, it is also possible that the courtyard pit served a specific function, in which case the concentration would testify to a special significance for these vessels.

G5 eastern pit complex (Map 30)
The three pits 551, 552 and 637, situated closely together, were cylindrical and much deeper than most other pits at the site.\textsuperscript{55} Pit 551 had a depth of almost five meters below stratum III, while pit 552, the shallowest of all, was almost two meters deep. The rim of pit 551 was lined with stones, which, together with their cylindrical shape, indicates that, at least for some period of time, these pits were not filled. According to the excavators, the pits were filled intentionally to the level of the construction of stratum II. The presence of sherds of the same vessels in different pits (cat. nos. 10, 23-25) shows that this intentional filling occurred simultaneously for all pits. A shallow pit belonging to stratum II (pit 637A), in which LHIIIC-type pottery has been found, cuts through the top of pit 637.

Pit 551 produced two Mycenaean shallow bowls (cat. nos. 7-8) and a globular jug (cat. no. 17). In addition, fragments were found of a stirrup jar (cat. no. 10) and of a pictorial cylindrical jug (cat. no. 23). Loomweights, local pottery and a number of local miniature juglets were also found in this pit. Pit 552 produced only Aegean stirrup jars (cat. nos. 10, 24, 25); of each of these jars sherds were identified in other pits as well. A handle fragment of a LHIIIIB-LHIIIC-type deep bowl of local manufacture was also found in pit 552, together with a Mycenaean-type conical rhyton made of ivory (fig. 11.2), a decorated wall bracket and some Cypriot pots. Pit 637, which lay in between the other two, produced large parts of a ring-based krater (cat. no. 9), which may be of Cypriot origin. In addition, sherds were found of the pictorial cylindrical jug (cat. no. 23) and of the two Minoan stirrup jars (cat. nos. 24, 25). Pit 637 also contained stone weights, a wall bracket, Cypriot pottery and an object that has tentatively been interpreted as a ‘snake house’.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{52} Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 20.
\textsuperscript{53} Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 57-73. Imitation Base Ring bowls and jugs, as well as White Shaved juglets have been recognised.
\textsuperscript{54} Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 49.
\textsuperscript{55} Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 20.
\textsuperscript{56} Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 53; cf. Karageorghis 1972.
Considering the many joints between Mycenaean vessels from different pits, it is likely that all our pots belong to the intentional fill of the pits. Probably, this fill derived from the same part of the site, when it was levelled to construct the eastern rooms of stratum II. In any case, the objects and activities associated with the Mycenaean pots in this area are more diverse than in the courtyard pit complex (G4). The ivory rhyton, as well as the wall brackets and the ‘snake house’ may be considered as atypical objects. Evidently, Aegean vessels were considered suitable to be associated with such rare objects.

A comparison between G4 and G5 highlights the particular nature of the courtyard deposit, which has a uniquely cultic character. The concentration of Aegean-type miniature jugs in one pit may indicate a special significance of these vessels in comparison with other miniature jugs. The other Mycenaean vessels were associated with various atypical objects. It may be concluded that Mycenaean pots, even though an integral part of the material culture at the sanctuary, were endowed with very specific cultural associations.

The role of Mycenaean pottery in the material culture of Athienou
Apart from the Mycenaean pots, no other objects have been discovered at Athienou that can clearly be identified as coming from the Aegean. The ivory conical rhyton, albeit of Aegean type, has obvious Cypriot and Levantine decorative elements, which indicates that it was made by a Cypriot artist. In this sense, it may be compared to similar rhyta in faience, such as the famous example found at Kition (site no. 57).\(^57\) The two cylinder seals found at Athienou were most likely made on Cyprus as well, even though one has a representation of a Bes-like figure, indicating Egyptian associations.\(^58\) A frit scarab and a bronze ring appear to be the only other objects at the site which clearly were imported from outside the island.\(^59\) Metal finds, apart from waste from bronze production, are scarce and include a situla handle, a fibula, an

\(^{57}\) Peltenburg 1974, 116-126.
\(^{58}\) Porada 1983, 120-121.
\(^{59}\) Giveon 1983, 121.
arrowhead and a diadem, all of which have good parallels elsewhere in Cyprus. It appears then that the Mycenaean pottery was part of a small repertoire of objects that had connotations with the international world of maritime exchange. It is likely that the cultural associations of the Mycenaean pottery at Athienou have to do with its international character.

Athienou has been interpreted as fulfilling an intermediary role in the distribution of metal from the mining districts to the coast. The chief role of such a centre was to control the production and distribution of copper and to provide storage facilities for staples and other localised goods. The sanctuary is thought to have helped legitimise the relationships between inland sites and coastal centres. Even though Late Bronze Age burials have been reported from a nearby necropolis, it is uncertain whether habitation took place in the near vicinity of the sanctuary. The absence of Bronze Age sites in the Mallouri valley to the south-west, however, seems to suggest that the sanctuary was free-standing.

Nearby Ayios Sozomenos (site no. 66) in the Yalias valley, where three late Bronze Age cemeteries and a large settlement area have been identified, probably also served as an inland centre. This site yielded some LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB sherds. To the north-west, in the Mesoařia plain Nicosia-Ayia Pareskevi (site no. 71), may have been a secondary centre related to agricultural production, but only tombs have been excavated there. At Idalion (site no. 61), a short distance to the west of Athienou, one tomb contained LHIIIA2-LHIIIB pottery, while some Mycenaean-type fragments from the acropolis may have an LHIIIB date. Settlement remains so far discovered on the top of the acropolis and on the west terrace have been dated to LCIII and are contemporary with the stratum II building at Athienou.

Mycenaean pottery appears to have been part of exchange mechanisms which linked coastal centres to the interior and which connected interior sites. All other extraordinary objects at Athienou-Bamboulari tis Koukouninas are of Cypriot manufacture, but symbolically refer to a wider world of international relations. The rather limited repertoire of Aegean-type pots at our site fits this pattern well. Quite probably, these pots were part of the regional exchanges of prestige goods, which have been described by Keswani. Even though it is uncertain which groups controlled the sanctuary, it may be stated that the Mycenaean pots at Athienou represent luxury items for inland élites, who were in contact with urban coastal groups.

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60 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 125-126. The closest parallel for the diadem, is a silver one from nearby Idalion.
62 Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 1.
63 Toumazou, Yerkes & Kardulias 1998, 172.
64 Catling 1982; Knapp 1997, 57.
65 Kromholz 1982. Tomb 6 produced some LHIIIA2-LHIIIB vessels, but in general the amount of imported Aegean pottery in the LCII tombs was very low, see Kromholz 1982, 244-247.
67 Alin 1978, 74 (period 1), 95-103 (periods 2-3); Hadjicosti 1997, 50-51.
69 Eight Mycenaean vessels may be of local manufacture: catalogue nos. 7-9, 12-16. In addition, a cup of ‘Decorated Late Cypriot IIIA-B ware, clearly inspired by Aegean pottery, has been found in pit 637, see Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 46-47 fig. 12: no. 3. Five LHIIIB-IIIC bowls of local manufacture have also been found, see Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983, 116-117 fig. 53.
70 Keswani 1993, 78-79. She uses the term ‘wealth finance’ when such prestige goods exchange systematically link urban centres and smaller settlements.
CHAPTER 12

Apliki-Karamallos

Introduction
On their northern side, outliers of the Troodos mountains reach almost to the coast of Morphou bay.\(^1\) Several rivers run down the foothills into the sea. One of these, the Marathasa, has created a steep valley in which the village of Apliki is situated.\(^2\) The plateau of Karamallos lies higher up the same valley, on the east bank of the river. The altitude of the ancient site is some 300 m., while the coast is about eight km. away. The hills in this part of the island form a well-known region for copper mining, currently inaccessible because of the Turkish occupation. Somewhat to the south-east of Apliki, in the Karyotis valley, the Late Bronze necropolis of Katydhata (site no. 114) has been discovered.\(^3\) Along the nearby coast, the sites of Loutros-Adhkia (site no. 111), Soloi (site no. 112) and Pendayia (site no. 115) have produced small quantities of Mycenaean pottery. Somewhat to the north-east, Morphou-Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116) constitutes a major Late Bronze Age centre.

Since the nineteenth century, the wider area of Apliki has been subject to repeated archaeological investigations, which had to do with the ancient city of Soloi.\(^4\) In 1938, the Cyprus Mines Corporation explored the hills south of the modern village of Apliki and uncovered some large storage jars.\(^5\) On behalf of the Department of Antiquities, rescue operations were undertaken immediately and an excavation was conducted in the summer of 1939, led by Joan du Plat Taylor. The excavations were of limited scale and covered only a small part of the site.\(^6\) The site was visited by A. Steinberg and A. Koucky in 1972 in the context of a survey of sites with evidence of ancient copper smelting.\(^7\) They discovered the remains of an ancient smelting furnace in the scarp of a road leading to a modern mine. Since the invasion of the Turkish forces, Apliki Karamallos has not been accessible. However, J.D. Muhly has been working on the metal slags which came from the site.\(^8\) Barbara Kling is currently conducting a study of the pottery found at Apliki-Karamallos.\(^9\)

Various finds on the plateau of Karamallos indicate that some activities must have occurred at the site during LCIIB.\(^10\) The earliest buildings excavated at the site, however, have been constructed in LCIIC (Map 31). In area A, Taylor recognised two stratigraphical periods, I and II, which may be separated by a destruction layer dating to the end of LCIIC or the very

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\(^{1}\) For a description of the area in the early 1930’s, see Westholm 1936, 9-12.

\(^{2}\) Taylor 1952, 133-134.

\(^{3}\) Aström 1989, 6.

\(^{4}\) For an overview of the history of research at Soloi, see Westholm 1936, 15-22. Soloi was systematically excavated by the Swedish Cyprus expedition in 1927, 1930 and 1931.

\(^{5}\) Taylor 1952, 133.

\(^{6}\) A preliminary report appeared in 1940, see Taylor 1940. A full report with studies of the finds appeared in 1952, see Taylor 1952.

\(^{7}\) Steinberg & Koucky 1974, 150-151 note 4, fig. 109.

\(^{8}\) Muhly 1989, 306-310.

\(^{9}\) Kling pers. comm.

\(^{10}\) Taylor 1952, 142-143.
beginning of LCIIIA. A contemporary destruction has not been recognised in area B. The final destruction of the building in area A also took place in the early stages of LCIIIA. The buildings in area B seem to have been abandoned earlier than the one in area A, since objects dating to LCIIIA have not been found in area B. Taylor does not report any traces of occupation later than the Late Bronze Age. The nearby city of Soloi existed from the Archaic period well into Medieval times. The location of Soloi is probably related to the copper deposits, which indicates that mining activities took place in the vicinity of our site. At the foot of the Karamallos plateau, a slag heap was discovered. Together with several mining shafts in the area, this heap was dated by Taylor to the Roman period. J.D. Muhly, however, has provided good arguments for a Bronze Age date for these remains. Apparently, very few activities have taken place in the area of Apliki-Karamallos until the activities of the Cyprus Mines Corporation in the modern era. Since then, many of the ancient slag heaps have been removed.

The Late Bronze Age site at Karamallos probably covered the whole plateau (Map 31). Only two trenches have produced the remains of buildings: area A near the rock outcrops in the south, and the long trench of area B in the eastern part of the site. In addition, finds have been made in area C, where the Cyprus Mines Corporation cut into the surface. In this area, walls were discovered showing that the settlement continued on the upward slope. Only exploratory archaeological investigations could be carried out in this part of the site. In the north, three trenches were excavated, of which trench D did not yield any finds. Trench E revealed traces of walls and Bronze Age finds, showing that the settlement extended this far north. In trench F a Late Bronze Age pit was attested. South of area A, two trenches were dug (trenches G and H), which revealed a heavily eroded area, with a pit as the only identifiable structure. The Late Bronze finds, however, suggest that the settlement continued as far as the spring in the south.

In area A, a building was discovered, which consisted of at least eight rooms (fig 2). The structure was L-shaped and faced onto a courtyard in the south-west. The courtyard possessed stone paving and a pit, which has not been excavated. On the northern side of the courtyard, the rooms were cut into the rock to form an artificial terrace. The walls of the structure were 75 cm wide and made of mud-brick on a rubble and mortar plinth. Burnt timbers suggest that the roof was made of brushwood covered with mud. In room 1, fifteen large jars were

11 Taylor 1952, 144. Dr B. Kling, who is studying the pottery of Apliki and has read Taylor's unpublished notes, has doubts about the two phases in area A (pers. com.). According to her, the stratigraphical evidence is extremely fragile. It may be that in area A there was really only one main occupation phase, during which time there were some architectural re-arrangements in some rooms and some accumulation of debris. It seems best to date the settlement to the transitional period LCIIC-LCIIIA. I thank Dr Kling for sharing her ideas with me.
12 Taylor 1952, 149.
13 Taylor 1952, 144.
14 Taylor 1952, 149. Only House B 1 showed traces of destruction, but a stratigraphy could not be established in this building. According to B. Kling (pers. comm.), there are differences between the pottery of areas A and B, in particular concerning the abundance of White Slip ware in the latter area. She is, as yet, not certain whether area B was indeed abandoned earlier than area A.
15 Westholm 1936, 15-22. During the Archaic period, the city was the capital of a kingdom with the same name, see Reyes 1994, 121, table 5.
16 Taylor 1940; 1952, 133, 150.
18 Steinberg & Koucky 1974, 150.
19 Taylor 1952, 149
20 Taylor 1952, 150.
21 Taylor 1952, 150.
22 Taylor 1952, 133-144.
discovered. It has been suggested that the building fulfilled storage functions surpassing the household level.\textsuperscript{23} It is, however, unclear whether the room served as a storage space from the beginning.\textsuperscript{24} Possibly, a part of room 3, at some time also fulfilled storage functions. Room 8 in the extreme north of the building produced a mud-brick bench, on and around which pottery, local terra-cotta figurines and an unengraved steatite cylinder seal were found. It is not certain to which building phase this bench belongs, but the combination of a bench, the figurines and a cylinder may indicate some ceremonial or cultic function for this room.\textsuperscript{25}

In the eastern part of the site, the long narrow trench B was excavated in order to reveal the extent of the settlement (Map 31). The eastern limits of the Late Bronze Age town have, however, not been discovered. The easternmost part of the trench, yielded six rooms of a Late Bronze Age building, which are referred to as House B I (Map 33).\textsuperscript{26} The walls of this structure, like those of the other structures in area B, were of stone packed with earth, sometimes with a rubble core. They varied in width from fifty to seventy-five centimetres and were set directly on the rock. Floors were generally of beaten earth. Room 1 of this building produced a large storage jar, while room 3 contained a shallow pit which was used for refuse. In the west, the remains of a conical oven were discovered in an area (room 6) possibly constituting a courtyard. To the west of room 6, House B II has been excavated.\textsuperscript{27} It consisted of at least four rooms, of which few traces remained. The third structure in this area, House B III produced a well-built mud-brick wall on a stone footing.\textsuperscript{28} The central feature of this building appears to have been a large pit, next to which postholes and a mud-brick feature were discovered. Together with the remains of wooden beams in the layers sealing the pit, the postholes indicate the presence of some kind of superstructure. The pit was slightly bottle-shaped and cut to a depth of almost five meters. Even though it is logical to assume that the pit served as a silo, it must have functioned as a rubbish pit in its final phase, as many small sherds and animal bones indicate.

Apluki-Karamallos has been interpreted as a mining settlement.\textsuperscript{29} The large amounts of copper slag and other implements to do with the production of metals seem to support such an interpretation.\textsuperscript{30} Grains found at the site appear not to have been grown in the near vicinity, which indicates some sort of food import, probably in exchange for metals.\textsuperscript{31} Such a food supply fits well into the model proposed by Priscilla Keswani in which mining settlements are related to inland centres through a form of ‘staple finance’.\textsuperscript{32} The size of the area at Apluki Karamallos in which Late Bronze Ages structures have been found, as well as the evidence for supra-household storage, suggest a full-fledged town rather than a small-scale, one-purpose

\textsuperscript{23} Keswani 1993, 77.
\textsuperscript{24} Taylor 1952, 136. According to Taylor, the storage jars belonged to the later period of occupation only. They were set into a packing of broken bricks, gypsum waste and soil. The finds in this packing may belong to the original inventory of the room.
\textsuperscript{25} One other figurine was found unstratified in area C, while the head of a Base Ring bull was found below the floor outside House A, see Taylor 1952, 162. The steatite cylinder seal is the only one of its kind found at Apliki; a rectangular serpentine seal has been found in phase II of room 3 in House A, see Taylor 1952, 163. For the use of benches in sanctuaries, such as in the so-called ‘sanctuary of the Ingot-God’ at Enkomi (LCIIIIB), see Ionas 1984b, 102-103. Cf. also the sanctuaire aux rhytons at Ugarit (site no. 128), see above chapter 5: pp. 78-79; Mallet 1987; Yon 1987.
\textsuperscript{26} Taylor 1952, 144-146.
\textsuperscript{27} Taylor 1952, 146-148.
\textsuperscript{28} Taylor 1952, 148-149.
\textsuperscript{29} Keswani 1993, 79; Knapp 1997, 59-61.
\textsuperscript{30} Muhly 1989, 306-310.
\textsuperscript{31} Helbaek 1962, 185.
\textsuperscript{32} Keswani 1993, 79.
settlement. We may expect that a wide range of activities took place here, even if the vicinity of copper ores was crucial to the existence of the town.

Pottery common at contemporary Cypriot sites, such as Base Ring, White slip and Plain Wheelmade wares, has also been found at Apliki-Karamallos.\textsuperscript{33} In addition, a large amount of rather coarse, red monochrome pottery has been found; it has been labelled ‘Apliki ware’ and was probably manufactured locally.\textsuperscript{34} Other evidence for local industrial activity may be the large number of stone tools and the spindlewhorls and loomweights.\textsuperscript{35} Apart from the Mycenaean pottery, very few objects have been found which may derive from international exchange. The unengraved steatite cylinder seal from House A probably came from Cyprus itself, as is the case for the rectangular seal, which shows a bull’s head and a Cypro-Minoan sign.\textsuperscript{36} A bone comb fragment was found in House A, in the same room as a golden earring.\textsuperscript{37} Both objects have good parallels elsewhere in Cyprus. Apart from slag, metal objects were generally scarce and consisted of tools such as chisels, gravers and drills.\textsuperscript{38}

**Quantity and quality of the data**

Catalogue VII lists fifty-three Mycenaean-type pots and sherds thereof found at Apliki. These finds range in date from LHIIIA2 to LHIIC.\textsuperscript{39} In her report Taylor noted that some Mycenaean pots were of a hard light buff ware, while there were also pots of softer to greenish buff fabric.\textsuperscript{40} She assumed that the first fabric type was earlier, while the second was ‘Levanto-Mycenaean’, by which she presumably wanted to indicate manufacture in Cyprus. Even though none of the Mycenaean finds from Apliki has been subject to scientific provenance analysis, it is likely that a substantial proportion of the Mycenaean-type finds at Apliki were indeed made in the island.\textsuperscript{41} A number of shallow and deep bowls are of types which were produced in Cyprus during LCIIC-LCIIIA.\textsuperscript{42} Two carinated cups (cat. nos. 8, 9) and two round-bottomed bowls (cat. nos. 24, 25) are of unusual shapes and may be considered hybrids of Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery.\textsuperscript{43} All other Mycenaean pots from Apliki are of types which occur often in Cyprus and for which a manufacture on the Greek mainland is the most likely.

The Mycenaean pottery in catalogue VII derives from a list supplied by Taylor in the excavation report. The presence of very small sherds in this list, as well as the quantity in comparison with other pottery classes, suggest that all the Mycenaean pottery found during the excavations has been included.\textsuperscript{44} However, eight Mycenaean finds in our catalogue (nos. 46-53) are mentioned in Taylor’s text only and do not occur in her find list. Even though all other remarks concerning Mycenaean pots or sherds in the report are accounted for in the list, it is not impossible that inconspicuous finds have been left out altogether. In addition, it must be realised that only about 400 sq.m. have been excavated of a site encompassing at least 5 ha.\textsuperscript{45} It is very likely that additional Mycenaean pots are still buried at the site of Apliki Karamallos.

\textsuperscript{33} Taylor 1952, 158-162.
\textsuperscript{34} Taylor 1952, 159-160.
\textsuperscript{35} For stone objects, see Taylor 1952, 162-163; For loomweights and spindlewhorls, see Taylor 1952, 161-162.
\textsuperscript{36} Taylor 1952, 163.
\textsuperscript{37} Taylor 1952, 163, 164.
\textsuperscript{38} Taylor 1952, 163.
\textsuperscript{39} To a total of seventeen entries in the catalogue, the remark “possibly Cypriot” has been added.
\textsuperscript{40} Taylor 1952, 153-154. She labelled the two types A and B respectively.
\textsuperscript{41} For a discussion of these shapes, see Kling 1987, 101-102; 1989, 94-108.
\textsuperscript{42} Kling 1991, 183.
\textsuperscript{43} The discussion of Mycenaean pottery takes up five pages in the report by Taylor, while somewhat more than three pages are devoted to the various Cypriot wares.
\textsuperscript{44} Area C, which was disturbed by the miners and subsequently only superficially investigated, covers some 3000 sq. m.
Fortunately, there are no indications that the site has since been used intensively for construction or agriculture. Post-depositional processes, therefore, do not play a particularly large role.

We have no idea to what extent the four buildings excavated to date may be considered representative of the town at large. The discovery of terracing similar to that in areas A and B in the large area C and in trench D may indicate similar structures elsewhere the settlement.

The discovery of a stone press in area C shows that activities took place in the town which are not represented in areas A and B. It must be acknowledged that it is unclear to what extent the Mycenaean pottery in our catalogue may be considered representative of all the Mycenaean pottery in the Late Bronze Age town.

**On site distribution of the Mycenaean pottery in Apliki**

Even though the excavation report states that the Late Bronze Age sherds from area E were similar to those from areas A and B, no Mycenaean pottery has been reported from trench E. The same is true for trenches D, F, G and H. All Aegean-type pottery has been found in trenches A and B, or during the surface investigations of the large area C (Table 12.1).

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12.1

According to the figures in Table 12.1, there appears to be a concentration of Mycenaean finds in area A. The difference in size between trenches A and B, however, should be acknowledged. In addition, the buildings in area B were abandoned gradually and it is possible that the occupants took useful objects with them. Nevertheless, the concentration of Mycenaean pottery in trench A is rather large and may be the result of particular groups of people using these vessels more extensively than other people at the site. The Mycenaean finds from area B and C do show that, in general, these pots were widely distributed. Most of the Mycenaean pots from areas A and B were associated with buildings and can be assigned a domestic context. Nine Mycenaean vessels from area B were found in pits in House B I and B III. In the absence of an excavated pit in area A, the significance of the relatively large number of Mycenaean finds from pits in area B cannot be assessed.

Habitation in area A may have continued after the buildings in area B had been abandoned. The concentration of Mycenaean pots in area A, therefore, could be due to more extensive use of this type of pottery in a late period. However, the chronological styles of the Mycenaean pots in all areas does not give any indications for an earlier abandonment of area A (Table 12.1).

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46 Taylor 1952, 149, 150.
47 Taylor 1952, 150.
48 Area A encompasses some 140 sq. m., while area B is about 85 sq. m. in size.
49 Taylor 1952, 149. Only House B I produced evidence for destruction.
50 Two Mycenaean finds (catalogue nos. 17, 18) were found outside House A below a floor; another find (catalogue no. 42) was discovered below the lowest floor of room 2 in the same building. In area B, Mycenaean fragments (catalogue no. 50-51) were found in fill layers above House B II and B III. All these finds have been assigned a general settlement context. All other finds from these areas (twenty-eight for area A and ten for area B) have been assigned to a domestic context.
51 House B I possessed a pit in room 3, which produced four Mycenaean pots (catalogue nos. 3, 7, 23, 28); The large pit from House B III yielded three such finds (catalogue nos. 10, 12, 29).
52 Taylor 1952, 149. See, however, note 14 above.
In both areas there are only a few vessels which have been assigned a LHIIIC date. In the case of area B, the LHIIIC vessels are a semi-globular cup (cat. no. 3) and a one-handled bowl (cat. no. 23), both of which could be of Cypriot manufacture. They were found together in a pit in room 3 of House B I. In area A, a carinated cup (cat. no. 8) and a ring-based krater (cat. no. 45) have been assigned a LHIIIC date. It should be remarked that House A produced four LHIIB-LHIIIC bowls (cat. nos. 19-22) of a type (FS 284) often considered to indicate the LCIIIA phase; such vessels are absent from area B. Moreover, area B produced a higher quantity of White Slip pottery, which could also signify earlier abandonment of area B. Pending more detailed publication of the stratigraphy and pottery, it seems best to understand both excavation areas as having been inhabited in one period during the LCIIC-LCIIIA transition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>area A</th>
<th>area B</th>
<th>area C</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>undatable</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHIIB-LHIIIC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHIIIB</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHIIIC</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHIIIC early</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHIIIC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12.2

The figures in Table 12.2 shows that the earliest Mycenaean pottery have been assigned to LHIIB-LHIIIC. The vessels concerned include a small fragment of a shallow cup (cat. no. 2); The other vessel is a semi-globular cup (cat. no. 1) with linear decoration only. In two cases has LHIIB pottery been found in direct association with pots that have been assigned to LHIIIC. Given the relatively short duration of settlement occupation at Apliki, however, there does not seem to be any evidence that Mycenaean pots were kept as antiques or heirlooms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>area A</th>
<th>area B</th>
<th>area C</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dinner vessels</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>storage vessels</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not assignable</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12.3

As Table 12.3 indicates, there is a significant preference for Mycenaean dinner vessels at Apliki, with only a few storage vessels. This predominance of dinner vessels is true for all Mycenaean stylistical ceramic phases. It is of interest to note that almost all storage vessels

53 The stylistical chronology of the Mycenaean vessels is based on the report by Taylor. The re-evaluation of the pottery by Barbara Kling may provide us with a more refined chronology.
55 At least one of these deep bowls (catalogue no. 20) has been found in Taylor’s phase I, which shows that this vessel type cannot be used to distinguish between LCIIC and LCIIIA.
56 Kling (pers. com.). Traditionally, it has been assumed that White Slip pottery went out of use after the beginning of LCIIIA, see Sjöqvist 1940, 120-131; Åström 1972c, 689-696.
57 In House A, the floor of room 3W contained a LHIIIB narrow-necked jug (catalogue no. 35) together with a LHIIIC carinated cup (catalogue no. 8) and two LHIIB-LHIIIC vessels (catalogue nos. 22, 34). The pit of room 3 in House B I contained a LHIIIB stemmed cup (catalogue no. 28) and a cylindrical cup (catalogue no.7) of the same date; in addition the pit yielded a LHIIIC one-handled bowl (catalogue no. 23) and a semi-globular cup (catalogue no. 3). The two vessels assigned to LHIIB-LHIIIC are all of dinner types. Among LHIIB vases, there are eleven dinner vessels and three storage pots. Among the Mycenaean vessels assigned to LHIIB-LHIIIC, nineteen are dinner vessels, while there are two storage vessels. All of the five LHIIIC vases are of dinner types.
have been found in area A; only one jar fragment (cat. no. 46) came from House B I. Such a concentration of storage vessels could indicate that the people associated with building A made more use of this type of vessel. Mycenaean dinner vessels do not seem to have been restricted in a spatial sense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel type</th>
<th>area A</th>
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<th>area C</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ring-based krater</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cups</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stemmed cup</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowls</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jugs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stirrup jar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large piriform jar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lentoid flask</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fragment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12.4

Table 12.4 shows the distribution of the actual Mycenaean vessel types at Apliki Karamallos. There are quite a number of Mycenaean jugs among the dinner vessels found at the site, showing that not all Mycenaean dinner vases are of open pot shapes. However, the great majority of Mycenaean dinner vessels are bowls.\textsuperscript{59} Many of these may have been produced in Cyprus itself.\textsuperscript{60} Such Aegean-type dinner vessels appear to have been used by many people in the town.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>decoration</th>
<th>area A</th>
<th>area B</th>
<th>area C</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>linear</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patterned</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pictorial</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12.5

The figures in Table 12.5 show that most of the Mycenaean pots at Apliki-Karamallos are decorated with lines only. The predominance of linear pottery, however, may be somewhat exaggerated, since small sherds may have belonged to pots with more elaborate decoration. The distribution of Mycenaean pots decorated with floral and abstract patterns shows patterned pottery was not restricted to a specific part of the site. Two Mycenaean vessel bear pictorial decoration. A fragment of a shallow bowl (cat. no. 11) preserves part of a fish, while a jar fragment (cat. no. 43) shows a bull’s head. Both fragments were found in area A. This could indicate that the use of Mycenaean pictorial pottery was restricted, but two fragments are too small a sample to warrant such a conclusion. Aegean coarse ware pots, which have been discovered elsewhere, are absent at Apliki.

This section shows that in terms of ceramic chronology, pot shape and decoration a rather limited repertoire of Mycenaean pottery is represented at Apliki-Karamallos. This pottery seems to have been concentrated in area A, which implies that the people associated with the large building there made more extensive use of Mycenaean vessels. This is especially true for the rather scarce Mycenaean storage vessels. The presence of open Mycenaean dinner vessels in area B shows that various social groups made use of Mycenaean pots.

\textsuperscript{59} There are six skyphoi or deep bowls: catalogue nos. 5, 19-22, 44. Nine shallow bowls have been found: catalogue nos. 10-18.

\textsuperscript{60} Sherratt 1991, 186 (with further references).
Closed contexts
Because of the limited extent of the excavations, little can be said about the layout of the town of Apliki. The buildings were built on terraces, which were created by cutting into the rock and by terrace walls. The walls of the structures in area B were of rubble patched with mud and most of the floors were of beaten earth. The terrace walls in area C are similar to those attested in area B, which suggests that similar methods of construction were used. Indeed, Taylor describes rubble and mud walls filled with occupation debris in area C. A similar description is given for trench E in the far north. In comparison with the structures in area B and the features in areas C and E, the building in area A appears to be of exceptional quality. Its walls were ca. 75 cm. thick and it had floors of gypsum plaster. In addition, it possessed a courtyard and extensive storage facilities in room 1. On this basis, it has been suggested that House A represents an official residence and workplace from which the local mining and primary processing of copper were controlled. Considering the extent of the site of Apliki, however, there is no way of knowing whether this structure was unique at the site.

The contexts of the Mycenaean pottery at Apliki which has been found in closed deposits, is presented in detail in Table XX in the tables section of this thesis. Thirty-eight Mycenaean-type finds have been made in three buildings (H26-H28) and in two pits (G6-G7). Each of these contexts is briefly investigated here.

H26 House A (Map 32)
Area A is situated in the southern part of the site, where the terrain slopes downwards in the direction of the spring (Map 31). The building which was discovered here, was L-shaped and possessed a stone-paved courtyard in the south-west. Erosion in the area of this courtyard was relatively extensive and finds have not been reported. The pit in the centre of this courtyard has not been excavated. To the east of the courtyard lay room 1, where three rows of five storage jars were discovered. These jars, of which only six were recovered in situ, were originally ca. 1.5 m. high and 1 m. wide. The bases of the jars had been set in rings of gypsum. The spaces between the jars were filled with a packing consisting of rubble and soil. From this packing, a large concentration of Mycenaean finds at Apliki was recovered (cat. nos. 2, 11, 19, 26, 27, 38, 40, 41). In addition, the packing yielded fragments of sheet bronze, an ivory cylindrical implement interpreted as a box stopper, terra-cotta spindlewhorls and loomweights and a variety of Cypriot pottery. It may be significant that three Mycenaean storage vessels (cat. nos. 40-42) came from this storage room. However, it is doubtful whether they were found in a primary context: a handle fragment of a large piriform jar (cat. no. 42) was found below the floor of the building, while two fragments of stirrup jars (cat. nos. 40, 41) were used in the packing of the pithoi. It is uncertain whether the Mycenaean vessels were used in the supra-household storage practices of which the large pithoi in this room bear evidence.

Like storage room 1, room 2 could be entered directly from the courtyard and this room served as a kind of hallway to the main room 3. On the upper floor in this room lay two Mycenaean-type round-bottomed bowls (cat. nos. 24, 25), as well as a Mycenaean deep bowl (cat. no. 21) and a jug (cat. no. 31). They were associated with various utilitarian objects such as a wall bracket and stone tools. The lower floor of this room produced a larger and more

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61 Taylor 1952, 144-149. Only from room 5 in House B I has a lime concrete floor been reported.
62 Taylor 1952, 149.
63 Taylor 1952, 150.
64 Taylor 1952, 134-136.
65 Keswani 1993, 77.
66 Taylor 1952, 133-144.
67 Taylor 1952, 164.
68 Keswani 1993, 77.
varied Mycenaean repertoire, including a LHIIB jar (cat. no. 43) decorated with a bull’s head. In addition, two Mycenaean shallow bowls (cat. nos. 13, 14) were found, together with a Mycenaean deep bowl (cat. no. 20), a lentoid flask (cat. no. 39) and a narrow-necked jug (cat. no. 33). Other items on the lower floor were slag, some stone tools and Cypriot bowls, jugs and flasks.

Fig. 12.1 Deposit of domestic pottery from the floor of room 3 in house A, among which a Mycenaean-type jug (cat. no. 34) and a carinated cup (cat. no. 8)

Room 3 was divided up into two parts (3 and 3W), but had been one room originally. Possibly, the subdivision took place at the same time as the blocking of the passageway from room 3 to room 5. In its advanced phase, the eastern part of room 3 seems to have served as a storage room. On the upper floor, in the centre of the room, two deposits of grain have been discovered, as well as a group of ten spindlewhorls. Near the eastern wall, a LHIIB narrow-necked jug (cat. no. 33) was found, together with the serpentine square seal, a terra-cotta wall bracket, slag and stone tools. Room 3W has been interpreted as habitation space, on the basis of a large quantity of domestic pottery (fig. 12.1), some stone implements and a wall bracket. Associated with these domestic items were two LHIIB-LHIIC narrow-necked jugs (cat. nos. 34, 35), a deep bowl (cat. no. 22) and a carinated cup, probably of Cypriot manufacture, which has been assigned to LHIIC (cat. no. 8) (fig. 12.1). In its earlier phase, the large room 3 possessed a wooden structure, as is indicated by two postholes. The inventory on the lower floor contained a number of stone tools and tuyère fragments. Close together, in the western part, were found a Mycenaean shallow bowl (cat. no. 15), a golden ear-ring, a bronze pin, fragments of a bone comb and a local bowl. This concentration of valuables is unique at Apliki and indicates that room 3 fulfilled an important function in the building.

From room 3, one could originally enter room 5 through a narrow hallway. This hallway was blocked, however, and served as a storage room at the time of destruction. The northern wall of room 5 had collapsed and in the debris a group of loomweights, spindlewhorls, stone tools and bronze gravers were found, which may have been placed together in some kind of niche. On the floor in the centre of the room lay a LHIIB narrow-necked jug (cat. no. 36) together with local jugs and some stone tools. Apparently, in this room manufacturing activities took place. The same can also be said for room 4, where stone tools, pumice and a bronze drill were found. Room 7 produced an abundance of slag, in addition to stone tools, Cypriot pottery and a fragment of a LHIIC ring-based krater (cat. no. 45). Room 8 was not

69 This jar is mentioned in Taylor’s report, but not shown. It has not been included in the corpus of Mycenaean pictorial pottery by E. Vermeule and V. Karageorghis (1982).

70 These grains were analysed and discussed by Helbaek (1962).
completely excavated. It was entered from hallway 6 and contained a mud-brick bench, on and near which lay several jugs and juglets, fragments of terra-cotta figurines and a steatite cylinder. Among the jugs on the bench was one of LHIIB type (cat. no. 37). It is possible that this bench served some ceremonial or cultic function.\(^71\)

The distribution of Mycenaean pottery in House A shows a clear concentration in rooms 1, 2 and 3. However, the Mycenaean finds in room 1 should not be taken into account, since they are all in secondary contexts. Nevertheless, it may not be a coincidence that two fragments of Mycenaean storage vessels, were found in the main storage room 1.\(^72\) Together, rooms 2 and 3 comprise the residential section of the building. The concentration of the Mycenaean bowls, jugs and cups in this part of the building shows that these vessels had predominantly domestic associations. The western part of the building possessed mainly industrial functions. Only two Mycenaean finds were made here, showing that such pottery was only rarely associated with craft production. The presence of a Mycenaean jug in a possible cultic context indicates that Mycenaean pottery could be part of ceremonies of a symbolic nature.

H27 House B I (Map 33)\(^73\)

In the eastern part of the long trench B, at least five rooms were excavated belonging to a building which must extend to the north and south. The easternmost room 2, was very small and had a floor consisting of a thin layer of beaten earth resting on the natural rock. A large number of terra-cotta disks were found on this floor, in addition to local coarse and fine pottery. Taylor also mentions Mycenaean pottery (cat. no. 46), but nothing is known about vessel type or decoration. To the west of room 2 lay room 1, which was somewhat larger and had a mud floor, on which stood a large jar in the north-eastern corner. Here too, a large number of pottery disks were found, as well as local coarse ware and some fine ware vessels. Room 3 was larger and opened up to a passageway in the south-east. Another doorway led to room 5. The floor, consisting of beaten mud, again produced a number of terra-cotta disks and some stone tools. At least one fragment of Mycenaean pottery (cat. no. 48) was also recovered. Room 4 also produced terra-cotta disks, as well as Cypriot coarse and fine wares. The large room 5 possessed a lime floor and its walls were of good quality. It may be, then, that this room served a special function in the building, but this is not clear from its material inventory, which contained pottery disks and some White Slip and ‘Apliki’ sherds. To the west of room 5, an area was discovered which has been called room 6, but which most likely was situated outside the building. A conical oven was situated close to the eastern wall. From the floor of this probable courtyard, a Mycenaean jar (cat. no. 47) has been reported, together with a cooking pot and, again, terra-cotta disks.

The mud floor in room 3 had been cut to form a pit of about one meter wide and seventy-five centimetres deep (Table XX: G6). This pit produced a small concentration of four Mycenaean vessels, among which were two small cups (cat. nos. 3, 7), a one-handled bowl (cat. no. 23) and a stemmed cup with patterned decoration (cat. no. 28) (fig. 12.2). These dinner vessels have been assigned to different stylistical phases: two to LHIIB (cat. no. 7, 28) and two others to LHIIBC (cat. no. 3, 23). In addition to the Mycenaean pottery, the pit yielded Cypriot coarse and fine wares, a loomweight and terra-cotta disks. Such an inventory compares well to that of the rest of the building. Moreover, Taylor also reports that the filling of sand and rock chippings was impregnated with copper. This suggests that this pit should be considered as a refuse pit, filled after cleaning part of the building.

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\(^{71}\) See note 25.

\(^{72}\) Four Mycenaean storage vessels were found in stratified deposits in House A. In addition to the two stirrup jars, they are a flask (catalogue no. 39) and a pictorial jar from the lower floor in room 2. Below the floor of room 1, a handle fragment of a piriform jar (catalogue no. 42) has been discovered.

\(^{73}\) Taylor 1952, 144-146.
The three Mycenaean fragments of unknown shape from the floors in rooms, 2, 3 and 6 indicate that this pottery was used at various places in the building. The four Mycenaean drinking vessels from the pit also show the extent to which such pottery was part of the material record of the building. However, we should also note that there is a very limited repertoire of Mycenaean pots in this building, consisting of a few open dinner vessels only. Their concentration in the pit indicates that these vessels were not used very often and were not widely available to the residents.

It is unclear which activities were carried out in House B I, but it is of interest that numerous terra-cotta disks has been reported from this building. Even though the function of such implements is unclear, it suggests that specialised activities were carried out in this building. Apparently, Mycenaean pottery was only to a limited extent associated with these activities.

H 28 House BII (Map 33)
Few traces remained of House II in area B, which had poorly constructed walls. On the earth floor in the easternmost room a Mycenaean bowl (cat. 49) was discovered, together with Cypriot jugs and bowls and a stone tool. A stone quern was discovered on the floor in the southern room to the west. Mycenaean pottery was not found on the floors in the western part, but from the fill above this part of the building a Mycenaean fragment (cat. no. 50) has been reported.

Very little can be said about this structure, or about the Mycenaean pottery associated with it. It may be of interest, however, that Mycenaean ceramics, albeit very few and inconspicuous, are associated with such a poor quality building. It sheds light on the extent to which Mycenaean pottery was part of the material culture at Apilki.

G7 pit BIII (Map 33)
The deep pit in BIII was associated with a well-built mud-brick wall on a stone footing and, to the east, with a thinner wall at right angles to it. This indicates that the pit was situated in a

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74 Even though erosion had severely damaged parts of House B I, the concentration of Mycenaean pots in the pit cannot be ascribed to this post-depositional factor. Pottery disks, as well as 'Apilki ware' and White Slip and Base-Ring vessels have been found everywhere in the building and do not show a similar concentration.
75 Terra-cotta disks have been reported from other structures in small numbers only. The packing of the storage jars in House A, room 1 contained one disk, as did a probable niche in room 5 in the same building, see Taylor 1952. 136, 142. Disks have also been reported from collapse layers in House B III.
76 Taylor 1952. 146-148.
77 Taylor 1952. 148-149.
building, which has been labelled House B III. Two post-holes in the area of the pit suggest a wooden superstructure. Indeed, the soil sealing the pit was full of decayed wood. The pit contained several strata, the uppermost of which appeared to indicate use as a rubbish dump. In this layer, which was more than two meters deep, many sherds of Mycenaean cups (cat. no. 52) and a goblet (cat. no. 53) have been reported, in association with a whole tuyère, a terracotta larnax, and Cypriot jugs and bowls. The bronze blade of a knife was also found in this layer. It is unsure whether the deeper strata represent earlier fillings of the pit. Stratum 3, which was over a meter thick, contained Cypriot pottery, as well as bones and slag. The bottom stratum 4 contained two Mycenaean shallow bowls (cat. nos. 10, 12) and a stemmed cup (cat. no. 29). In addition, Cypriot pottery was found and more bones.

Since it is likely that all the layers in this pit are the result of rubbish dumping, it is difficult to assess the significance of the Mycenaean pottery. If anything, this pit shows that Mycenaean dinner vessels could be associated with a wide variety of objects and were an integral part of the material culture at Apliki-Karamallos.

In the previous section, I pointed to a concentration of Mycenaean vessels in House A. The material culture in this building in general was wealthier than that in the structures in area B and the Mycenaean pots conform to this picture. Apart from the larger quantities of Mycenaean finds in House A, a wider repertoire of Mycenaean vessel types has been noted. In addition to the cups, bowls and stemmed cups which also occur in area B, area A yielded jugs and a few storage vessels such as stirrup jars and a flask. Apparently, such vessels did not circulate widely.

The Mycenaean vessels in both areas A and B are primarily associated with domestic activities. It is of interest to note that the few rooms with non-domestic functions in House A have produced Mycenaean pottery types other than open drinking vessels: the storage room 1 in House A produced two stirrup jars; the lower floor in room 2, which produced slag, yielded a Mycenaean flask, jar and jug; room 5, likewise with an industrial inventory, also produced a jug, as did the possible cultic bench in room 8. This contextual distinction between Mycenaean vessel types indicates that the appreciation of this pottery was related to the functions of the pots and the extent to which they were part of local practices. Obviously, the use of Mycenaean pots was restricted to specific circumstances.

The role of Mycenaean pottery in the material culture of Apliki-Karamallos

Apart from the Mycenaean pottery, very few objects have been found at the site of Karamallos which may be classified as international imports. The ivory of a probable box stopper, must have been imported, but the object itself may have been manufactured somewhere in Cyprus. The small fragment of a bone comb is undecorated. It belongs to a rectangular, one-sided comb of a type occurring elsewhere in Cyprus as well. The serpentine square seal has Cypro-Minoan signs, which demonstrates manufacture on the island. A similar origin can be assumed for the cylinder seal, which was unworked. The golden earring found in House A, as

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79 Taylor 1952, 164 fig. 13: no. 1.
80 Taylor 1952, 164 fig. 13: no. 1.
81 Taylor 1952, 163.
82 Taylor 1952, 163.

228
well as the scarce bronze objects, all have good parallels in Cyprus and may have been produced on the island.  

The imported Mycenaean pots, then, represent the only objects at the site which derive from international maritime exchange. The Mycenaean-type pots which are of Cypriot manufacture are comparable to the other a-typical objects at the site: they refer to a wider world, without actually deriving from it. From the spatial distribution of the special objects as presented in Table 12.6 it is clear that there is some correlation between the presence of Mycenaean pottery and other a-typical objects. With the exception of the pit in room 3 in House B I, all concentrations of Mycenaean pottery were associated with other scarce objects. Moreover, in all places where more than one different type of valuable object has been found (e.g. rooms 1, 2, 3, 8 and the pit in B III), Mycenaean pottery has also been observed. At the same time, it may also be noted that individual finds of Mycenaean pottery have been made in rooms without any other a-typical objects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>house A, room 1</th>
<th>Myc</th>
<th>ivory</th>
<th>seal</th>
<th>bone object</th>
<th>gold</th>
<th>bronze objects</th>
<th>slag</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house A, room 2</td>
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<td>house A, room 4</td>
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<td>house A, room 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>house A, room 7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>house B I, room 1</td>
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<td>house B I, room 2</td>
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<td>house B I, room 3</td>
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<td>house B I, room 3: pit</td>
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<tr>
<td>house B III: pit</td>
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<td>area C</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 12.6

In House A, the Mycenaean pottery is concentrated in a few rooms, while in area B there are two concentrations of this material in pits (Map 33). The sporadic presence of Mycenaean-type pottery in other places, such as House B II, shows that these vessels were an integral part of the material culture. However, the fact that substantial quantities of Mycenaean pottery are usually associated with other valuables indicates that Mycenaean vessels were highly appreciated and that their use was confined to specific circumstances.

Apliki-Karamallos has been interpreted as a mining village, which depended on exchange with inland and coastal centres for the influx of foodstuffs and valuables. In the near vicinity of Apliki, the necropolis of Katydhata (site no. 114) has also produced substantial amounts of Mycenaean pottery. The Mycenaean vessels from the tombs there have been assigned stylistically to LH IIIA1, LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB. The large number of tombs, all serving for multiple inhumations, cover the periods from Middle Cypriot I to LC IIIA. Six of the latest tombs have been assigned to LC IIIC and LC IIIA and may be contemporary to Apliki.

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83 Taylor 1952, 163-164.
84 As discussed above, concentrations of Mycenaean pottery occur in rooms 1, 2 and 3 in House A and in the pits in area B (Maps 32-33).
86 Åström 1989, 59.
Karamallos. Even though a settlement has not been discovered near Katydhata, it is logical to assume that mining villages similar to the one discovered at Apliki Karamallos were situated in the area.

Along the coast of Morphou bay, Mycenaean pottery has been reported from Loutros Adhkia (site no. 111), Soloi (site no. 112) and Pendayia (site no. 115). In each case it concerns only one Mycenaean find of which nothing further is known. The urban centre nearest to Apliki is that of Morphou-Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116) in the marshy lowlands near the coast of Morphou bay. Even though this site has been badly damaged by construction activities and by the Turkish army, it is clear that it possessed monumental architecture and was involved in international maritime exchange. The site has also produced some evidence for copper working. Most of these activities seem to have taken place in MC III-LCI, well before the establishment of Apliki-Karamallos. A LCIIB level was identified only in a small area in the south of Toumba tou Skourou; some LHIIIB pots from wells and from unstratified deposits testify of even later activities. It is doubtful, however, whether the site can be considered a coastal centre in the period during which Apliki-Karamallos flourished. It is therefore not certain whether Apliki-Karamallos may be associated with Toumba tou Skourou. Instead, it may have had relations with several other centres. Passing along the coast or through the mountains, such contemporary centres as Mza-Palaeokastro (site no.107), Kouldia-Palaepaphos (site no. 105), Alassa (site no. 99), Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96) and Maroni-Vournes (site no.98) could be reached with relative ease.

Because only a very small part of Apliki Karamallos has been excavated, it is not clear if House A represents an official centre from which specific activities at the site were controlled. The concentration of valuables and storage facilities in this building, as well as its superior architecture, indicates that it was related to an élite group in the population of the town. The scarcity of metal objects and other valuables shows that this group was in contact with coastal centres, but received only a modest share of objects belonging to a more cosmopolitan lifestyle. The restricted repertoire of Mycenaean-type vessels obviously was part of such a system of restricted wealth finance. The presence of substantial quantities of this pottery in specific rooms only, usually associated with other valuables, shows that these pots served in consumptive strategies of local élite groups.

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87 LCIIIC: tombs 11, 17, 18, 83, 88; LCIIIA: tombs 11, 104.
88 Catling 1962, 166: no. 170.
89 Pacci 1986, 341: no. 85.
90 Åström (1972b, 306) reports the fragment of a piriform jar.
95 Indeed, the excavators state specifically that Toumba tou Skourou lacks several characteristics that would identify it as an urban centre, see Vermeule & Wolsky 1990, 327. At least partly this could be the result of the severe damage done to the site.
96 Of course, the relationships between Apliki and other sites are highly dependant on the political geography of Cyprus during this period. On this controversial subject, see Merrillees 1992; Keswani 1996; Knapp 1997, 7, 53-63.
97 Keswani 1993, 78-79.
CHAPTER 13

Cultural significance of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus

Introduction
The detailed contextual analyses of the Mycenaean pottery at Enkomi-Ayios Iakovos, Athienou-Bamboulari tis Koukouninas and Apliki-Karamallos allow a comparison between these sites. The basis of such a comparison can be Table XXI, which lists the main conclusions reached for each of these three places. It should be noted that the settlement at Enkomi covers virtually the whole Late Cypriot Bronze Age, whereas the occupation of Athienou and Apliki took place in part of that period only. The import of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus has been subdivided into four chronological phases, encompassing respectively LHII-LHIIIA, LHIIIB-LHIIIA1, LHIIIA2-LHIIIB1 and LHIIIB2-LHIIIC. Enkomi possesses Mycenaean pottery dating to each of these periods, while the Mycenaean-type pottery from Athienou and Apliki are from the third and fourth phases only. Differences between the conclusions reached for Enkomi and the other two sites, therefore, may not only be related to variations in the specific roles of these settlements in Cypriot society, but also be the result of developments in time. By including evidence from other sites in Cyprus such chronological patterns will become apparent.

Investigation of the contexts of Mycenaean pottery at other sites in Cyprus will also shed light on the extent to which the conclusions reached for Enkomi, Athienou and Apliki are paralleled at other places. This will make it possible to assess the cultural significance of the Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus as a whole. In order to do so, I will identify social groups in the society of Cyprus that used Mycenaean vessels. Next, I will investigate variations in the cultural associations of different parts of the Mycenaean repertoire. Of particular importance is the extent to which Mycenaean pottery has been used in funerary ceremonies. Before discussing these matters, I will comment on the repertoire of Mycenaean ceramics in Cyprus.

Mycenaean repertoire
Considerable differences have been observed between the quantity of Mycenaean pottery reported from Enkomi on the one hand and from Athienou and Apliki on the other. At least as much Mycenaean pottery as at Enkomi has been found at Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59), where 965 LHIIIA2-LHIIIB finds have been reported from one deposit in the settlement. This period, from ca. 1700 BC to ca. 1100 BC has also been referred to as the Protohistoric Bronze Age (ProBA), see, for example, Knapp 1994, 274-276 (with further references).

It should be noted that this sub-division is based on the Aegean ceramic chronology rather than on Cypriot stratigraphy. It is possible that Mycenaean vessels were used for long times as heirlooms or antiques, while they may also have been in circulation for a long time and deposited in the archaeological record at a date later than their ceramic style suggests. Also, the distinction between LHIIIB1 and LHIIIB2 is difficult to make in Cyprus and cannot be determined on the basis of sherds, see Sherratt 1980, 196-198

3 Öbrink 1979, 14: deposit F6031. Among the Mycenaean fragments, eighty-one rims and thirty-three bases have been recognised.
while in a well 1502 Mycenaean fragments have been found. In addition, the tombs at Hala Sultan Tekke have yielded a large number of Mycenaean-type pots. At Kition (site no. 57) substantial quantities of Mycenaean pottery have also been discovered: from tombs 4/5 and the two burial layers in tomb 9 came more than three hundred LHIIIA2-LHIIIB vessels; large quantities of such pots have been discovered settlement levels as well. Smaller, but nevertheless significant amounts of Mycenaean pottery have been found in Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96), Maroni-Vournes (site no. 98), Kourion-Bamboula (site no. 102) and Kouklia-Palaepaphos (site no. 105). There are no sites in the interior of the island which have produced more than one hundred Mycenaean vessels of fragments thereof. Apparently, concentrations of large quantities of Mycenaean pottery were restricted to the urban coastal centres, which participated directly in international exchange networks. In spite of the high numbers of Mycenaean pots from the coastal towns, we should always remember that this material is only a fraction of the total of ceramic finds in both settlement and funerary contexts.

Apart from a larger quantity, Enkomi has also yielded a wider variety of Mycenaean pots than Athienou and Apliki. At Enkomi, the class of dinner vessels comprises all the main vessel groups listed in Table II (chapter 3). Among Mycenaean storage vessels at that site, only pithoi are absent. In addition, a number of specialised Mycenaean pot shapes occurred at Enkomi, such as conical and animal-shaped rhyta and a composite vessel; the site also

4 Öbrink 1983, 28-29. At least fifty-seven different vessels have been identified. For the quantities of Mycenaean pottery at Hala Sultan Tekke, see, also, Åström 1986a, 63-64, who reports 3,467 Mycenaean finds. According to Sherratt (1999, 170), more than 4,300 Mycenaean pottery fragments are known from published trenches alone.

5 Bailey (1976, 1-30) mentions at least fifteen Mycenaean pots. In addition, the tombs excavated by Karageorghis (1976, 70-87) produced about one hundred Mycenaean pots. In the tombs in area 6 of Hala Sultan Tekke, in particular in tomb 22, substantial amounts of this pottery have also been found, see Åström 1983, 152-154.

6 Karageorghis 1974.

7 Karageorghis (1981) publishes forty-four Mycenaean finds. However, this is only a small selection of this material found in the settlement. There are at least 600 entries in the catalogue of settlement finds at Kition mentioning LHIIA, LHIIIB or 'Late Myc.' pottery, see Karageorghis 1985a, 1-249. Many of these entries concern more than one fragment.

8 South & Russell 1993. They also report fifty-three Mycenaean-type finds from a pit in Building X, while other parts of the settlement yielded Mycenaean pots and sherds thereof as well. In addition, various tombs produced significant amounts of Mycenaean pottery, notably T. 11, 13, 14 and 19, see South 1997, 163-171; South & Russell 1993, 306.

9 Johnson (1980) lists more than one hundred Mycenaean-type vases from tombs that had been excavated at the end of the nineteenth century. From the recently excavated settlement at Vournes, Mycenaean pottery has, as yet, not been reported.

10 Benson 1972, 106-122. From the tombs and from the settlement levels at Kourion, 193 Mycenaean-type finds have been reported; there were three sherds of Minoan origin.

11 More than three hundred Mycenaean finds have been reported from tombs, wells and the area of the sanctuary, see Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 54-63.

12 Of the sites classified as coastal centres (Keswani 1993, 76; Knapp 1997, 54-55) only Toumba tou Skouro (site no. 116) has not produced large quantities of Aegean pottery. Minoan and Mycenaean pottery was, however, not absent there: Vermeule and Wolsky (1978; 1990, 381-385) report on forty-four Aegean finds. Considering the extensive destruction of the site, these finds may have been part of a far more extensive body of Aegean material.


14 Russell (1989, 7) estimates that the imported Aegean wares do not constitute more than two percent of the total ceramic assemblage at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96). For the settlement levels at Kourion Bamboula (site no. 102), Benson (1972, 107) makes an estimate of less than one percent. In the case of tombs, however, he states that the proportion of Mycenaean vessels can be as high as twenty-five percent.

15 Cf. Table II with Table XV.
produced Mycenaean figurines. It is of interest to note that the comparatively small number of Aegean-type vessels at Apliki comprises a rather wide ceramic repertoire as well; all groups of dinner vessels mentioned in Table II occur, while among storage vessels only pithoi and small, wide-mouthed containers are absent. The Mycenaean repertoire at Athienou is somewhat more restricted: miniature juglets occur, as well as cups and stemmed drinking vessels; Mycenaean storage pots are an alabastron and two large stirrup jars. As at Enkomi, Mycenaean dinner vessels are more frequent at Athienou and Apliki than storage vessels. Ritual vases and figurines, however, are absent from both these sites.

From tombs 4/5 and 9 at Kition (site no. 57) a wide variety of Mycenaean storage vessels has been reported, including piriform jars, alabastra, stirrup jars and flasks. However, both tombs have produced many more Mycenaean dinner vessels, among which were kraters, jugs, cups and stemmed cups. It is uncertain, whether dinner vessels also predominate among the Mycenaean pottery from settlement levels at Kition, but it is clear that both functional types have been discovered in areas I and II on floors IV and IIIA. In addition, Mycenaean female and bovine figurines have been discovered at Kition, while a Mycenaean conical rhyton has also been discovered at that site. From the tombs at Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59) which were excavated by the British Museum in the nineteenth century, a variety of Mycenaean pots has been reported, among which is a relatively small proportion of dinner vessels. The two tombs investigated by V. Karageorghis in 1968 did include a substantial number of Mycenaean dinner vessels, but here too there was a predominance of storage pots. The same was the case for deposit F6031, which was found in area 22, but probably derived from a tomb. In addition, a well-deposit at Hala Sultan Tekke had a high content of Mycenaean storage vessels. It is evident that Mycenaean dinner and storage vessels are widely distributed in the tombs and in the settlement levels at Hala Sultan Tekke, even though the proportion of

16 Cf. Table 12. 4, on page 223 above.
17 Cf. catalogue VI.
18 Karageorghis 1974, 16-94.
19 From tombs 4/5 twenty-five Mycenaean storage vessels have been reported and eighty-three Mycenaean dinner vessels, of which thirty-nine are shallow bowls; see Karageorghis 1974, 36-40. The lower burial of Tomb 9 produced twenty Mycenaean storage vessels and eighty-two Mycenaean dinner vessels, among which were thirty-six shallow bowls; see Karageorghis 1974, 58-60. The upper burial of Tomb 9 produced Mycenaean dinner vessels only, almost all of which were shallow bowls, see Karageorghis 1974, 86-87.
21 Among the material from tomb 4/5 was a bovine figurine, see Karageorghis 1974, 33: no. 238. The lower burial of Tomb 9 yielded a Mycenaean female figurine of Psi type, see Karageorghis 1974, 44: no. 13. In room 44 in area I, a similar figurine was discovered on floor IV, while other Mycenaean figurines occurred elsewhere in area II, see Karageorghis 1985a, 98-99, 105, 170: nos. 3219, 3222, 3225, 3251, 3323, 3213.
22 Karageorghis 1985a, 89: no. 3442.
23 Bailey 1976. Most were piriform jars and stirrup jars, while jugs and bowls have been identified as well.
24 The first tomb excavated by Karageorghis contained twelve Mycenaean storage vessels, among which were a large number of piriform jars, see Karageorghis 1976, 72-78. This tomb also yielded a Mycenaean krater, a jug and some cups and kylikes; there was a large number of shallow bowls, most probably of local manufacture, see Karageorghis 1976, 76. Tomb 2 also produced a large number of piriform jars, as well as stirrup jars and alabastra, see Karageorghis 1976, 78-83. There were eight kraters, as well as some jugs and cups, a kylix and several shallow bowls.
25 Öbrink 1979. This deposit contained one jug, but otherwise storage vessels only, among which were a large number of piriform jars and several straight-sided alabastra.
26 Öbrink 1983, 29 Table 2. Among the 1502 Mycenaean fragments in this deposit were at least thirty-six piriform jars. More than forty-five times, the qualification closed vessel is used. Four kraters have been identified, as well as stemmed cups, jugs, kraters and bowls.
27 Frizell (1977, 43-57) reports Mycenaean cups, bowls, kylikes, kraters and stirrup jars from area 21; Hult (1978, 58-71; 1981, 36) mentions Mycenaean open and closed vessels from area 8, while Öbrink (1979, 23) reports Mycenaean bowls and piriform jars from area 22; Håkansson (1989, 21) speaks of bowls and cups in LCII levels in area 8.
storage vessels at this site seems to be relatively high in comparison with Kition and Enkomi. In addition, Mycenaean ritual vessels such as rhyta have been reported from Hala Sultan Tekke, as well as a female figurine. The tombs at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96) yielded a variety of LHIIIA2-LHIIIB dinner and storage vessels, while the same was the case for the settlement levels. Among the Mycenaean finds reported from the tombs at Maroni (site no. 98), there is a high proportion of dinner vessels. Even though this may partly be due to a bias in the archaeological data due to the attention paid by early explorers to pictorial kraters, the presence of a ring kernos, a zoomorphic rhyton and a fragment possibly representing a ship testifies of an exceptionally wide variety of Mycenaean pottery at Maroni. From Kourion-Bamboula (site no. 102) stirrup jars, piriform jars, flasks and alabastra have been reported, along with kraters, jugs, kylkies and bowls. The same can be said for Kouklia-Palaepaphos (site no. 105). Obviously, all primary centres along the coast possessed a wide variety of Mycenaean pots.

Sites which have yielded smaller amounts of Mycenaean pottery the ceramic repertoire varies highly. The settlement at Sinda (site no. 48) probably constituted an inland centre related to Enkomi. Furumark reports that a great quantity of LHIIIB pottery was found in the lowest settlement levels at Sinda. The pots he refers to probably are those listed by Åström, who mentions a wide variety of Mycenaean dinner and storage vessels as coming from this site. The LHIIIB conical rhyton from Sinda is additional evidence for the varied repertoire of Mycenaean pottery at Sinda. In the buildings excavated in area I and II in Pyla-Kokkinokremos (site no. 52) mainly Mycenaean dinner vessels have been found, the tombs at nearby Pyla-Verghi (site no. 55) produced dinner as well as storage vessels. At the Late Bronze Age settlement of Kalopsidha (site no. 51), Mycenaean cups and bowls have been found, as well as closed vessels; among the latter were a piriform jar and a straight-sided alabastron. The Mycenaean finds made in the settlement area of Idalion (site no. 65) are all

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28 In a well dated to LCIIA-LCIIIB, a fragment was found which may have belonged to a Mycenaean zoomorphic rhyton, see Öbrink 1983, 25: no. 51. A fragment of a possible ring-rhyton (FS 203) was found in a tomb at Hala Sultan Tekke, see Walters 1912, 129: no. C679; Bailey 1976, 25-26.

29 Part of a Mycenaean Psi-type figurine was found in tomb 20 in area 6 at Hala Sultan Tekke, see Åström 1983, 147, fig. 397. A Mycenaean bovine figurine was found in tomb 21 in the same part of the site, see Åström 1983, 150, fig. 402q. Tomb 22 in area 6 produced a similar bovine figurine, see Åström 1983, 153, fig 410n. A Cypriot imitation of a Mycenaean Phi-type figurine was discovered in unstratified levels in area 6, see L. Aström 1983, 69: no. N2000.

30 For example, T13 produced Mycenaean piriform jars, stirrup jars and straight-sided alabastra, but also two kraters, juglets, cups and a kylix, see South 1997, 163-168. Tomb 14 yielded Mycenaean stirrup jars and a flasks, as well as a krater, a cup and a bowl.

31 Russell 1989, 7-8; South & Russell 1993; South 1997.

32 Johnson 1980, 77: according to tableau I, there are fifty-eight dinner vessels, of which forty-two are from amphiroid kraters.


34 Benson 1972, 106-121.

35 Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 50-63; Maier & Von Wartburg 1985, 146-152.

36 Furumark 1965, 105.

37 Åström (1972b,189-384) reports four Mycenaean piriform jars and four stirrup jars, as well as a straight-sided alabastron from Sinda, just as two stemmed shallow bowls, two bowls, a kylix and a krater.

38 Aström 1972b, 354: no. 199k.

39 Karageorghis & Demas 1984, 33-49. From room 13 in complex B (area II) an alabastron has been reported, while a LMIII coarse ware stirrup jar came from area I. All other Mycenaean finds from the buildings appear to have been of dinner type, among which were cups, bowls, kylkies and stemmed bowls, as well as a variety of kraters.

40 Dikaios (1971, 914) reports piriform jars, stirrup jars and flasks as Mycenaean storage vessels, while a jug, a kylix, a cup, two shallow bowls and a number of kraters represent dinner vessels.

41 Aström 1966, 70-71.
very fragmentary, but from a tomb nearby came a wide variety of Mycenaean pottery, including many stirrup jars.\textsuperscript{42} It is clear that secondary and tertiary settlements in Cyprus could possess a wide variety of Mycenaean pots, even if the quantities are far lower than at primary coastal centres.

A much more restricted repertoire of Mycenaean pottery has been found at Ayios Iakovos-Melia (site no. 45), where each of the three tombs dating to LCII has produced a few Mycenaean vessels, mostly of storage type.\textsuperscript{43} This necropolis is possibly related to the nearby sanctuary site of Ayios Iakovos-Dhima (site no. 345). Together, these two sites may have belonged to an inland centre comparable to Athienou.\textsuperscript{44} In the Late Bronze Age levels of the sanctuary at Dhima four Mycenaean piriform jars were found, as well as a jug and a krater.\textsuperscript{45} The settlement of Myrtou-Pigadhes (site no. 84), which included a Late Bronze Age sanctuary, also yielded a restricted repertoire of Mycenaean pottery, among which were kraters and many small jugs.\textsuperscript{46} Two conical rhyta have also been reported from this site. In the necropolis at Angastina (site no. 68) predominantly storage vessels have been found, among which were a large number of stirrup jars.\textsuperscript{47} A similar restricted range of Mycenaean pots was present in tomb 6 at Nicosia-Ayia Pareskevi (site no. 71)\textsuperscript{48} and in the tombs excavated in Akhera (site no. 90)\textsuperscript{49} and Politiko (site no. 93).\textsuperscript{50} Not all sites with smaller amounts of Mycenaean pottery, then, possessed a wide variety of it. However, it should be noted that the sites with a restricted Mycenaean repertoire are all tomb sites or sanctuaries. It is likely that the relatively narrow range of Mycenaean pots is related to the special nature of the activities at such places.

This overview shows that the urban centres along the southern coast of Cyprus possessed a wide variety of Mycenaean pots, as was also the case for Enkomi. However, there are specific differences in the repertoires of Mycenaean pots among these sites, such as the probable predominance of storage vessels at Hala Sultan Tekke. This suggests that preferences existed in the coastal centres for specific classes of Mycenaean pottery. The wide Mycenaean ceramic repertoire at Appliki-Karamallos, Sinda, Pyla, Kalopsidha and Idalion shows that the regional distribution of Mycenaean pottery was not limited to a restricted range of vessel types. Indeed, the occurrence of a wide variety of dinner and storage vessels at many sites, as well as the sporadic presence of ritual vessels and figurines in smaller centres,\textsuperscript{51} indicate that the

\textsuperscript{42} Overbeck & Swiney 1972. One tomb near Kafkalita yielded thirteen Mycenaean stirrup jars, as well as globular flasks, straight-sided alabastra, cups and jugs.
\textsuperscript{43} Mycenaean piriform jars, alabastra, stirrup jars and flasks have been reported, see Sjöqvist 1934, 325-333 (tomb 8), 345-348 (tomb 13), 349-354 (tomb 14). The only vessels that can be classified as dinner vessels are two globular jugs.
\textsuperscript{44} Knapp 1997, 58.
\textsuperscript{45} Sjöqvist 1934, 357-358.
\textsuperscript{46} Catling 1957, 46.
\textsuperscript{47} Karageorghis (1964, 13-16) reports eight Mycenaean stirrup jars, six piriform jars, three globular flasks, a pyxis and one shallow bowl.
\textsuperscript{48} Kromholz 1982, 246-247: apart from two small LHIIIa2 juglets, Tomb 6 yielded a squat jar, three stirrup jars and a globular flask.
\textsuperscript{49} Karageorghis 1965a, 119, 132. Tomb 2 produced eight stirrup jars, as well as alabastra, a flask and a piriform jar. In addition, a jug and kylix were found. Tomb 2 also yielded two cups and a jug, as well as many stirrup jars, piriform jars, a flask and an alabastron.
\textsuperscript{50} Karageorghis 1965b, 20, fig. 4. A tomb at Politiko yielded a shallow cup and two juglets in addition to four globular flasks and a stirrup jar.
\textsuperscript{51} At Myrtou-Pigadhes (site no. 84) two Mycenaean conical rhyta and a hedgehog rhyton have been discovered, see Taylor 1957, 1; Catling 1957, 42. From Sinda (site no. 48) a conical rhyton has been reported, in addition to a female figurine, see Åström 1972b,354: no. 199k; L. Åström (1972, 512, below no. 2). L. Åström (1972, 502 below no. 2) reports a female figurine from the site of Alambra (site no. 64). Recently, a Mycenaean female figurine has also been discovered at Idalion (site no. 65), see Herscher 1998, 333.
differences in the Mycenaean repertoires between inland towns and the coastal centres primarily concern quantities. As at Athienou-Bamboulari tis Koukouninas, the Mycenaean repertoire at secondary or tertiary sites of a special nature such as sanctuaries and necropoleis is restricted, indicating that the regional distribution of Mycenaean pots was related to specific cultural practices.

The conclusion that a wide variety of Mycenaean pots was present not only in primary coastal centres, but also at secondary and tertiary sites, may not be valid for all periods during which this material has been distributed on the island. Among the Mycenaean pottery from Enkomi dated earlier than LHIIB-LHIIA1, there is a majority of storage vessels, but there is a high proportion of dinner vessels as well.52 Obviously, a varied repertoire of Mycenaean pots was imported in Enkomi from early on. The continuation of such a pattern is evident from the LHIIIB-LHIIA1 vessels at Enkomi, which constitute a full range of pot shapes, including piriform jars and alabastra, as well as kraters, jugs, cups and kylikes. The same pattern is visible at Toumba tou Skouro (site no. 116), where the Aegean pottery from the first phase of the Late Bronze Age is exclusively Minoan in origin and includes many cups, some jugs and a large jar.53 To a somewhat later period belong a LMIIIA1 jug, stirrup jar and flask, as well as a LHIIIA1 shallow cup. In three LCI tombs at Ayia Irini-Palaeokastro (site no. 88) a number of shallow cups have been found, which belong either to LMI or to LHI-LHII.54 At Kouklia-Palaepaphos (site no. 105), a LMIA cup has been discovered, in addition to some LHIIB-LHIIIA1 vessels.55 At Maroni (site no. 98) LHIIB-LHIIIA1 pots include piriform jars, alabastra, as well as bowls.56 The earliest Mycenaean find at Hala Sultan Tekke is a LHIIB-LHIIIA1 alabastron picked up from the surface.57 Among the LHIIIA1 finds from this site are piriform jars, cups and a beaked jug.58 At the site of Milia (site no. 49), somewhat to the west of Enkomi, a Mycenaean kylix was found which has been dated to LHIIB-LHIIIA1.59 A LHIIIA1 stirrup jar has been reported from Idalion (site no. 65).60 At Dhikomo-Onisia (site no. 74) a sherd was found from a LHIIIA1 cup,61 while an alabastron in the same ceramic style from Katydhata (site no. 114),62 as well as a jug fragment at Nicosia-Ayia Pareskevi (site no. 71) may also be assigned to this ceramic style.63

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52 Indeed, among the three earliest Aegean vessels imported into Enkomi, there are two LHI cups and one alabastron of the same date.
53 Vermeule & Wolsky 1978.
54 Pecorella 1977, 21, 26: nos. 16, 29 (tomb 3), 112: nos. 38-39 (tomb 20); Quilici 1990, 142 (additional tomb); Grazia 1995.
55 Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 55; Maier & Von Wartburg 1985, 149 note 22.
56 Tomb 5 yielded a LHIIIA1 krater, as well as a kylix, jug and piriform jar from the same period, see Johnson 1980, 17-18. Tomb 23 yielded LHIIB alabastron and a LHIIIA1 kernos, see Johnson 1980, 27-28. The investigations at Maroni-Tsaroukkas (site no. 330) covered an area which included part of the extensive necropolis excavated by the British museum expedition in the nineteenth century (listed in my catalogue I below the site of Maroni-Vounes). LHII alabastra, as well as a LHIIIA1 goblet have been found during this survey, see Manning & Monks 1998, 320-321.
57 Frankel & Catling 1976, 65: no. 90; Catling 1964, 36. A cup found during the excavations of area 8 has been assigned to LHIIB-LHIIA2, see Håkansson 1989, 21: no. F1712.
58 Äström 1972, 320: no. 84c, 321, 332: no. 144a, 357: no. 219b.
59 Westholm 1938, 3.
63 Catling (1964, 36) mentions a jug fragment with a curved stripe, which he compares to a LHIIIA1 beaked jug from Maroni (site no. 98). Nicolaou (1973, 54) discusses a krater from Dhekelia (site no. 54) and another from Pyla Verghi (site no. 55), which have been assigned LHIIIA1-LHIIA2 dates.
The distribution in Cyprus of finds dating to the very beginning of Aegean contacts with the island (LMI/LHI-LHIIA) is very limited and restricted to a few places on the coast. Even though at Ayia Irini-Palaekastro only Aegean cups have been found, the finds at Toumba tou Skourou and Enkomi show that a wide variety of pots found their way to the large centres from early on. From the succeeding LHIIB-LHIIIA1 phases, a wide variety of dinner and storage vessels is known. Mycenaean finds in these ceramic styles are concentrated at coastal sites. The presence of the kylix at Milia, the cup at Dhiikomo and the alabastron at Katydha, however, shows that some Mycenaean pots of this early date were distributed to the interior of the island, among which were dinner and storage vessels. This indicates that the presence of a wide variety of Mycenaean vessels at secondary and tertiary sites in Cyprus is not a phenomenon typical of the LCIIC period, but began earlier.

During the Late Bronze Age, secondary and tertiary sites in Cyprus were linked to the primary coastal centres through differentiated systems of wealth and staple finance.64 Within such a system, manufactured objects deriving from international maritime trade probably served as exchange goods for groups in the coastal centres to acquire materials such as copper and agricultural produce.65 The Mycenaean pots in Cyprus are almost all decorated and differ from the products of the local ceramic industry, which were not made on the potter’s wheel.66 Their obvious character as manufactured imports, made Mycenaean pots suitable to serve in regional strategies in Cyprus.67 We have seen that at Athienou-Bamboulari tis Koukouninas, as well as at Apliki-Karamallos these pots were part of a limited body of objects that symbolically referred to a wider world of international relations.

The wide range of Mycenaean vessels at secondary and tertiary sites in Cyprus may be taken as evidence that these pots served as symbols referring to a specific life-style involving a range of objects.68 The fact that the quantities of Mycenaean finds in the interior are far lower than those found in the coastal centres, indicates that access to such a life-style for groups in the interior was limited. The presence of Mycenaean pottery in the interior, then, was related to strategies of restricted distribution.

**Social groups associated with the Mycenaean pottery**

Mycenaean pottery was used widely by different groups in the society of Enkomi. Although the earliest Aegean vessels appear to have been restricted to the Fortress (H20), the wide distribution of this class of pottery among houses and tombs of later periods shows that various groups within the urban society made use of these vessels. A similar conclusion was reached for Apliki, where Mycenaean vessels were found in various parts of the site, including the small structures in area B. At both sites, there is evidence that Mycenaean pots were associated with domestic activities (H20-H26), as well as with activities relating to craft production (H20, H21, H26). At Enkomi and Apliki the Mycenaean pots in the houses, generally, were found interspersed with objects of Cypriot manufacture and, in some cases, with objects imported from elsewhere. The distribution of the Mycenaean pots within the houses at Enkomi (H20-H25) indicates that they were used in the daily life of the inhabitants of

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67 Keswani 1996, 79-80. Cf. the role of glass beads in the relationships between native American Indians and Dutch settlers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries along the eastern coast of the modern USA, see Francis Jr. 1996.
68 For the symbolical role of objects deriving from international exchange, see Hugh-Jones 1992, 54-59. Goods with a high symbolical content are often part of strategies of collecting: assembling a few specimens of related objects (instead of assembling as many of one object as possible); cf. Thompson 1979.

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the town. The concentration of Mycenaean vessels in the residential parts of house A (H26) at Apliki, however, shows some restrictions in use.

At Kition (site no. 57) LHIIIB pottery has been reported from various rooms of the level IV building in area I. Furnaces and slag show that this building served as an industrial complex and included several copper workshops. Additional Mycenaean finds in the same area came from higher levels, in which LHIIIC-type pottery was present as well. Even though habitation at Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59) probably began at the end of the Middle Bronze Age, most settlement remains date to advanced stages of LCIII. The few places where earlier deposits have been attested contained LHIII A—LHIII B pottery. In general, pottery in LHIII B and LHIII C style is very abundant everywhere at Hala Sultan Tekke. In several parts of the site at Kalavasos-Ayi os Dhimitrios (site no. 96) Mycenaean pottery has been found, but it seems to have been significantly less abundant in the area where more modest sized-houses have been excavated. A concentration of Mycenaean dinner vessels have been found in a pit in the elaborate Building X, as ashlar structures adjacent to Building X also produced Mycenaean dinner vessels. The exact findspots of Mycenaean pots from the settlement at Kourion-Bamboula (site no. 102) are difficult to assess, but it is clear that this material has been found in areas A, B, D and E, which can be classified as habitation areas with a variety of houses of simple and more elaborate construction. At Kouklia-Palaepaphos (site no. 105), likewise, Mycenaean pottery was found among the Late Bronze Age building remains in the Asproyi area. From this overview it is clear that in the primary centres along the coasts Mycenaean pots occurred in average domestic contexts, as well as in contexts associated with craft production.

Among the settlements which have produced smaller amounts of Mycenaean pottery than the urban coastal centres, Pyla-Kokkinokremos (site no. 52) is one that shows a wide distribution of this material. In area II at this site, Mycenaean vessels were found in three of the four structures. Moreover, within these buildings the Mycenaean pots were widely distributed on the floors of various rooms and were interspersed with Cypriot pottery and domestic objects such as terra-cotta wall brackets, stone tools and some metal objects. The Aegean pottery found in LCII levels at Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116) came from various rooms

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69 Karageorghis 1985a, 1-8. In level IV, Mycenaean pottery was attested in rooms 39, 40, 40A, and 44. A concentration of Mycenaean finds, including a Psi-type figurine was found associated with furnace A in this building.

70 Demas 1985, 10

71 Karageorghis 1985a, 9-77.

72 Åström 1985, 174; 1996.

73 Öbrink (1983) reports on a well dating to LCIIA-B with more than 1500 Mycenaean sherds. The sherd deposit in the eastern part of area 22 likewise contained much LHIIIA2-LHIIIB pottery, which probably came from a looted tomb, see Öbrink 1979, 14. The lowest layer in a domestic structure excavated by Furumark in 1947-1948 contained exclusively LHIIIB pottery and probably dates to LCIIIC, see Åström 1976, 37. From the part of area 21, where walls and pavement could be dated to LCIIIC, Mycenaean vessels has also been reported, see Frizell 1977, 50-57. Some walls in area 8 have been dated to LCIIA-LCIIIB; Mycenaean pottery has been reported from levels in this building with domestic functions, see Häkansson 1989, 21.

74 Åström 1986a, 63-64.

75 South & Russell 1993, 305.

76 South 1987; South & Russell 1993, 305.

77 In Building XI a shallow bowl has been discovered, see South 1991, 134; fragments of a Mycenaean pictorial krater have been discovered in Building XIV, see South 1997, 158.

78 Weinberg 1983, 32-51; Benson 1972, 107-121.

79 Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 52-55.

80 Karageorghis & Demas 1984, 33-49. Mycenaean finds have been reported from the floors of rooms 1, 4, 5, 8, 13, 24, 25.
in Houses B and C and from a few pits in these houses. This pottery was interspersed with objects of Cypriot manufacture and appears to have been an integral part of the inventory of these buildings, which were related to large-scale production of pottery. At the site of Kalopsidha (site no. 51) no buildings were found intact, but in undisturbed levels in trench 9, seven Mycenaean fragments of both storage and dinner vessels were discovered together with a variety of Cypriot domestic wares. At Myrtou-Pigadhes (site no. 85), Mycenaean pottery was not very abundant, but it occurred in various rooms in levels V and VI. Such material was not only found in the courtyard of the ashlar altar, but also in the rooms surrounding the courtyard and the building to the east. Finally, at Maa-Palaekastro (site no. 107), which was founded during the period of the LCIIIc-LCIIIa transition, pottery in LHIIIB and LHIIIc styles was widely distributed in all parts of the settlement. Obviously, at a number of smaller sites Mycenaean pottery was also used by various groups in the population.

From the overview above it is clear that in coastal centres, as well as at sites in the interior of Cyprus, Mycenaean pots have been found in average domestic contexts and in contexts that are associated with craft production. However, this type of pottery also occurs in contexts which are indicative of a certain level of wealth, prestige and power. According to Priscilla Keswani, the Cypriot centres can be divided into two distinct types of social organisation. On the one hand there are sites such as Enkomi, Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116), Kition (site no. 57) and Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59). In such towns there is evidence of a complex social organisation in which no single group managed to exert a controlling hegemony. The clearest evidence of this social complexity is the fact that buildings testifying of central administration and monopolisation of storage facilities and craft production are lacking in these towns. A second type of urban social organisation in Cyprus can be classified as hierarchical and is visible at sites such as Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96), Maroni-Vournes (site no. 98) and Alasas (site no. 99). In these towns, a specific élite group had been able to acquire ruling power over other social groups. Evidence for such a social hierarchy are the monumental buildings at these three sites with extensive storage capacity. It is likely that the role of Mycenaean pottery among Cypriot élite groups varied according to the type of social organisation.

At Enkomi, a number of impressive architectural buildings employing ashlar masonry have been discovered, dating to the period of the LCIIIc-LCIIIa transition and indicating that there existed a complex society involving various élite groups. The level IIB building in area Q4W (H24), with an elaborate architectural lay-out, may be assumed to constitute a predecessor of such an élite building. The repertoire of Mycenaean pots found in this building did not differ from that found in contemporaneous buildings elsewhere at the site; the same was the case for the succeeding Ashlar building (H25). The ashlar structures at Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59) have yielded a relative abundance of valuables, but notable concentrations of LHIIIB and

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81 Vermeule & Wolsky 1990, 383-384 (LMIIIa-LMIIIb), 384-385 (LHIIIA-LHIIIB). The pithoi in house B appear not to have been used but were probably in store for distribution elsewhere, see Vermeule 1974, 9.
82 Åström 1966, 56-57.
83 Catling 1957, 46.
84 Karageorghis & Demas 1988, 100-215.
85 Keswani 1996.
86 This social complexity is referred to by Keswani with the term heterarchy. Probably the urban centres at Kourion-Bamboula (site no. 102) and Kouklia Palaepaphos (site no. 105) also had a heterarchical social organisation.
87 For an intriguing account of the archaeological evidence for the use of ancestor burials in strategies to assert power over other groups at Maroni, see Manning 1998.
89 Dikaios 1969, 163-164.
LHIIIC-type pottery in such buildings have not been reported. The ashlar buildings at Hala Sultan Tekke are to be dated somewhat later than those at Enkomi. Nevertheless, the distribution of Mycenaean pottery in both urban centres appears to be similar. At Kourion-Bamboula (site no. 102) monumental architecture has not been discovered, but the domestic buildings differ in size and quality, probably reflecting social stratification. On the basis of the published reports, it is difficult to relate Mycenaean finds to specific structures at Kourion, but is clear that such material has been found in areas A, B, D and E. The elaborate architecture of house B at Toumba tou Skouroú (site no. 116) and the pithos with storage functions are indicative of a certain level of wealth. The floors and a well in this building produced a wide variety of Aegean dinner and storage vessels. Several Mycenaean sherds were also found in a well in the adjacent house C. At all these sites Mycenaean pots appear to have been used by élite groups, but other groups in the society had access to this class of material as well.

The clearest settlement evidence for controlling élite groups has been found in Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96), where Building X represents an administrative centre, as is indicated by the ashlar masonry, the extensive storage facilities and by five clay cylinders with Cypro-Minoan script. In comparison with other buildings at the site, the floor levels of Building X did not so much yield a larger quantity of Mycenaean pottery, but a wider repertoire of it, including kylikes and bowls. In addition, a pit in room A173 in the eastern part of Building X produced a large number of Mycenaean dinner vessels, associated with many animal bones and other evidence for feasting. Such a concentration of Mycenaean pottery clearly shows that the groups associated with Building X had wider access to Mycenaean pottery than other groups at the site.

Monumental structures indicative of central control similar to the one at Kalavasos have also been found at Maroni-Vournes (site no. 98) and at Alassa (site no. 99). Both sites have only been published in preliminary reports and it is uncertain whether the distribution of Mycenaean pottery is comparable to the situation at Kalavasos. Nevertheless, there is a clear difference in the concentration of Mycenaean pottery in élite structures between Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke and Kourion-Bamboula on the one hand and Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios on the other hand. It is likely that this difference can be related to specific roles of élites within their respective communities. The absence of concentrations of Mycenaean pottery in élite structures at sites with a complex, heterarchical organisation may reflect the failure of élite groups to monopolise the flow of the flow of goods. The restriction of large quantities of Mycenaean pottery at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios to a specific group shows the firm grip of these people on the flow of goods. The concentration of a large number of Mycenaean pots in House A in Apliki may suggest that Mycenaean pots played a role similar to that at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios.

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90 Hult (1983, 9) and Åström (1986, 63) assign the ashlar structures to LCIIIa.
91 Weinberg 1983, 52-55.
92 Vermeule 1974, 9; Vermeule & Wolsky 1990, 106-117.
93 LMIIB kraters, a LMIIB shallow bowl, a LHIIB amphoroid krater, as well as several LHIIB-LHIIB jar fragments came from this building, see Vermeule & Wolsky 1989, 383-385
96 South & Russell 1993, 304. Elsewhere at the site, Buildings II, III and VIII had produced Mycenaean storage vessels only.
97 South 1988; South & Russell 1993, 305-306.
99 According to Knapp (1996a, 22), access to foreign goods helped to legitimise the regime of the metal controlling élite.
At Athienou-Bamboueri tis Koukouninas Mycenaean pots were found in a sanctuary. They were clearly used in local cultic practices, as is evident from the Mycenaean juglets in votive pits in the courtyard (G4). At Ayios Iakovos-Dhima (site no. 345) a circular area has been interpreted as a sanctuary, which should be dated somewhat earlier than Athienou. The paved area was divided into an upper and lower part, with two stone podia in the north-east. All the votive finds were made in the lower section in the east. In the centre of this lower section, a terra-cotta basin was placed in a shallow pit. In this pit, LHIIIA2 pottery was associated with a variety of objects such as a Red-Lustrous arm-shaped vessel, bronze arrow heads and tools and faience and glass items. The deposit suggests that at Ayios Iakovos too Mycenaean pottery served in a local cultic ritual, together with other valuables. The sanctuary at Myrtou-Pigadhes (site no. 84) probably was not free-standing like those at Athienou and Ayios Iakovos, but may have been a small settlement temple comparable to Near Eastern examples. The courtyard surrounding the ashlar altar at Myrtou-Pigadhes produced more than ten Mycenaean pots dating from LHIIIA2-LHIIIB to LHIIIIC. One LHIIIC-type deep bowl was deposited in an ash-filled pit in the courtyard, which indicates that the vessel had been part of some kind of ritual. Rooms 6 and 7, which may have belonged to the sanctuary, produced Mycenaean pots as well.

At Kition (site no. 57) a cultic area has been excavated, consisting of various temples, of which temples 2 and 3 were already in existence during LCIIC. In temple 2, on floor IV, Mycenaean stirrup jars, as well as drinking vessels have been discovered, hardly any finds were made on the contemporary floor in temple 3. During LCIIIA at least four temples functioned simultaneously at Kition; in addition there were several workshops in the area. LHIIIB and LHIIIC-type vessels were widely distributed in the layers belonging to LCIIIA. At the site of the later Aphrodite sanctuary at Kouklia-Palaepaphos (site no. 105) a cultic precinct existed already during the Late Bronze Age. Mycenaean pottery, although unstratified, has been found in this sanctuary. It is clear, then, that Mycenaean pottery occurred not only in sanctuaries at smaller centres, but also in cultic precincts associated with coastal cities.

It is obvious that Mycenaean pottery was directly involved in Cypriot cultic practices. On the basis of its storage facilities which were created during LCIII, it has been argued that the sanctuary at Athienou was a secondary centre involved in the exchange of goods between coastal towns and settlements in the interior. Possibly, the sanctuary at Ayios Iakovos-Milia fulfilled a similar function. Both sanctuaries, then, fulfilled a role in the relationships between communities. Of a different nature are the temples discovered at Kition and possibly at Kouklia, which are of more monumental character and specifically related to one

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100 Sjöqvist 1934, 355-361. The excavators date the structure from MCIII-LCIIC. In addition, there was a sanctuary at this location during the Early Iron Age.
101 Ionas 1985. Cf. the small temple 6136 in area C at Hazor, see chapter 6: p. 113, Map 16.
103 Catling 1957, 46: n.
104 Demas 1985, 24-37.
105 Karageorghis 1985a, 88-91.
106 Karageorghis 1985a, 91 LHIIIB pots and fragments have been found in temple 3 in higher levels, see Karageorghis 1985a, 94.
107 Demas 1985, 38-94.
108 Karageorghis 1985a, 93-135.
109 Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 99. A temenos wall of cyclopean masonry and a building comprising a large hall has been discovered. The exact date of the structures is not known, but unstratified sherds found in the area apparently date to the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC.
111 Knapp 1997, 58
community. The Mycenaean vessels at these sanctuaries are related to rituals to do with relationships within communities. The rituals in the sanctuary at Myrtou-Pigadhes, which is much smaller and situated in a modest settlement, may have served either of these purposes. In any case, it is clear that Mycenaean pottery was considered suitable to be part of cultic ceremonies operating at various levels in society.

The overview presented above shows that there is a differentiated picture with regard to the groups in Late Cypriot society that used the Mycenaean vessels. In many places, Mycenaean pottery has been found in small houses and industrial complexes, showing that this material was available to various groups in Cypriot society. In conjunction with the wide distribution of this material in Cyprus, we may state that it was quite common and an integral part of the material culture of the LCII period on the island. However, only at coastal centres such as Enkomi, large quantities of this pottery appear to have been available for various groups among the urban population. Elsewhere, in settlements such as Kalavasos and Apliki, only small numbers of Aegean vessels were used by non-elite groups in the society. In such places, substantial quantities of this pottery were assembled by the ruling elite. It is possible that the character of Mycenaean pots as manufactured imports made them suitable as symbols of power. As the association of Mycenaean pots with cultic activities indicate, a religious dimension may have been part of the symbolic role of Mycenaean pottery.

Differentiation within the repertoire of Mycenaean pottery
The role of Mycenaean pots in cultural practices probably varied not only according to social group or place. Different Mycenaean pot shapes or types of decoration may also have been endowed with a different of meanings. In addition, we need to review the significance of Mycenaean vessels in the various chronological styles. The earliest Aegean imports at Enkomi, which date to LHII, have only been found in the so-called fortress (H20). They were part of an inventory invoking wealth and international relationships and we may assume that these scarce imports were used by a very limited group. However, LHIIB-LHIIIA finds have been discovered in tombs in various parts of the site, indicating that Aegean pottery gradually became available to many inhabitants.

At Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116), a substantial body of Late Minoan I pottery has been discovered, which is contemporaneous to the earliest imports at Enkomi. A concentration of thirteen of these vases has been found in tomb 1, which also produced objects of gold, silver and bronze, as well as ceramic imports from Egypt. Only a few fragments of Minoan pottery have been found in other contemporaneous tombs at Toumba tou Skourou; the retrieval of a few Minoan fragments in the settlement area suggests that this pottery was also used in non-funerary practices. At Ayia Irini-Palaeokastro (site no. 88), nine tombs were

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\[113\] See chapter 9 and Map 21; see also Pacci 1986; Sherratt 1999, 169-170.
\[114\] Knapp 1988b, 154.
\[115\] A handless cup dated to LHIIA (catalogue V no. 205) has been found in British Tomb 40, along the eastern scarp at Enkomi.
\[116\] Vermeule & Wolsky 1978, 381-383. Seven cups and two jugs have been dated to LMIA. A large fragment of a so-called ‘flower pot’ has a LMIB date, as do fragments found in settlement layers. For the chronological correlation of LMIA with LHI and LMIB with LHIIIA, see Warren & Hankey 1989, 137-144.
\[117\] Vermeule & Wolsky 1990, 381. The seven LMIA cups, as well as the two jugs in the same ceramic style came from tomb 1, as did the ‘flower pot’.
\[118\] Two LMI fragments came from tomb II and another was found in tomb III, see Vermeule & Wolsky 1990, 381. A LMIA sherd was found in a layer dating to LCIC, see Vermeule & Wolsky 1990, 114. Three sherds from the same period were found in the bulldozer debris at the western end of the site, see Vermeule & Wolsky 1990, 93-98.
discovered dating to LCIA-LCIB. In only three of these tombs, cups were found which were imported from the Aegean. Obviously, here too Aegean pottery was not available to many people. The only other site in Cyprus with contemporary Aegean pottery is Kouklia-Palaepaphos (site no. 105), where a rim fragment of a LMIA cup was found in a well at the locality of Evreti. This one fragment is not enough to decide whether the use of the earliest Aegean ceramic imports at this site too was confined to a restricted group of people. The same should be said for Maroni (sites no. 98, 330), where a LHIIA alabastron has been found in tomb 03.

Various tombs at Maroni produced a range of LHIB-LHIIIＡ1 vessels. At Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116) LMII finds have not been discovered, but tomb II at this site yielded a LHIIIＡ1 beaked jug, while a LHIIIＡ1 shallow cup was found unstratified in settlement levels. In comparison with the earlier and later stylistic phases, Aegean finds in styles contemporary to LHIB-LHIIIＡ1 are scarce at Toumba tou Skourou. From Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59), a number of LHIB-LHIIIＡ1 finds have been reported, mostly without secure contexts. A number of LHIIIＡ1 fragments were found in a well indicating that pottery of this ceramic style was used in the town. Nothing can be said about the groups in the society at Hala Sultan Tekke which may be associated with the imported Aegean pottery in these styles. The same is true for Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96), where fragments of a LHIB-LHIIIＡ1 alabastron were found unstratified. All other sites which have yielded Mycenaean pottery dating to the time before the introduction of LHIIА2 on the island have produced only single examples of it. Nevertheless, the occurrence of LHIB-LHIIIＡ1 vessels at a number of sites in the interior of Cyprus, as well as the evidence from Maroni and Enkomi suggest that during LCII ceramic vessels imported from the Aegean gradually became available to various different groups in the society in Cyprus.

At Enkomi the ceramic style of Mycenaean finds in primary contexts correlated to a large extent with their stratigraphical position. However, a few Mycenaean vessels have been noted which appear to have been used for a long period of time. In particular, the presence of a large part of a LHIB-LHIIIＡ1 stemmed cup in a LCIIIC destruction level and a LHIIIＡ2 kylix on a LCIC floor indicate that some vessels were in use long after their manufacture. At Athienou two LHIIIＢ shallow cups were discovered in a pit assigned to LCIII. At Ma’a-Palaokastro (site no. 107) a complete LHIIIＡ2 globular flask was found in room 73 on floor II, which has

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119 Pecorella 1977: tombs nos. 3, 7, 10-12, 17, 20, 21. A tomb dating to the same period was found ca. 150 m. to the north of the acropolis, see Quilici 1990, 142.
120 Pecorella (1977, 247-248) left the exact provenance of these shallow cups open for discussion by labelling them as LMIB/LHIIＡ. They were assumed to come from the Argolid by Vermeide & Wolsky (1978, 298-299). An origin on the island of Aegina has recently been suggested, see Graziado 1995.
121 Maier & Von Wartburg 1984, 71.
123 Tomb 5 produced a LHIB-LHIIIＡ1 pirliform jar, as well as storage and dinner vessels in LHIIIＡ1 style, see Johnson 1980, 17-18. Tomb 23 yielded a LHIB alabastron and a ring kernos dated to LHIIIＡ1, see Johnson 1980, 27-28.
124 Vermeide & Wolsky 1990, 382.
125 Seventeen Aegean finds date to LMI, while there are twenty two finds in either LHIIIＡ2-LHIIIＢ or the contemporary Minoan ceramic styles.
126 See notes 58, 59.
127 Öbrink 1983, 29 It is possible, however, that this well contained part of the inventory of a robbed tomb.
128 South 1997, 156.
129 See chapter 3: pp. 33-35 and Table V. See also Nicolaou 1973.
130 Above, chapter 11: p. 180. In addition, a number of fragments were found on floors that should be dated much later than their construction.
been dated to LCIIC-LCIIIA.\textsuperscript{131} At Myrtou-Pigadhes (site no. 84) a complete LHIIIA2 conical rhyton was found on the level VI floor (LCIIC-LCIIIA) of a room in the building to the east of the ashlar altar.\textsuperscript{132}

Other instances in Cyprus where it is clear that Mycenaean vessels are present in archaeological strata of much later date than the ceramic style, are not known to me.\textsuperscript{133} The wide margins of ceramic chronology, however, prevent a conclusion that long use of Mycenaean vessels was common at Cyprus. The signs of repair on a Mycenaean pictorial krater from Pyla-Kokkinokremos (site no. 52)\textsuperscript{134} suggests use for a considerable length of time. In addition, signs of wear and intensive use have been observed on kraters which were deposited in tombs.\textsuperscript{135} When a ceramic vessel arrives in the archaeological record a long time after its manufacture, this may mean that it was kept very long as an heirloom or antique. It could also indicate that it was imported when already old, or that it circulated for a long period. The Aegean pots dating to the earlier phases of Cypro-Aegean contacts which have been found in archaeological strata or tombs which conform with their ceramic date show that such pots did arrive on the island during these periods. Moreover, the wide distribution of LH1-LHIII A1 vessels within Cyprus suggests that these vessels were part of regional distribution networks.\textsuperscript{136} On this basis, it seems most likely that Aegean pots could circulate in regional exchange systems for substantial periods of time, in a few cases more than several centuries.

At Enkomi-Ayios Iakovos there were no obvious differences in the spatial and contextual distribution between Mycenaean dinner and storage vessels. During LCIIA and LCIIB Mycenaean dinner vessels appear to have been restricted to contexts of residential character, but there are no archaeological indications that these two classes of Mycenaean pottery were appreciated differently by the LCIIC period. Such a pattern has not been observed for Apliki-Karamallos, where Mycenaean storage vessels occurred in the large house A, while dinner vessels were more widely distributed. This was also the case at the sanctuary of Athienou-Bambahari tis Koukouninas, where Mycenaean storage vessels were restricted to the eastern part of the site, and associated with a number of other objects referring to international exchange. In contrast with Enkomi, then, Mycenaean storage vessels seem to have possessed a specific cultural significance at Athienou and Apliki.

It is difficult to determine whether Mycenaean dinner and storage vessels were appreciated differently at other sites in Cyprus. Each of the three Late Bronze Age burials reported from Kition (site no. 57) has produced a large quantity of dinner vessels.\textsuperscript{137} A widespread use of Mycenaean dinner vessels is also suggested by their presence in various rooms on floor IV of

\textsuperscript{131} Karageorghis & Demas 1988, 231, Plate 79: no. 287. The objects associated with this vessel consisted mainly of LHIIIC-type pottery.

\textsuperscript{132} Catling 1957, 42.

\textsuperscript{133} It has been suggested by Öbrink (1979, 16-17) that the LHIII A2 pots in deposit F6031 at Hala Sultan Tekke may have been heirlooms. However, if this deposit indeed derives from a looted tomb, as is suggested by Öbrink herself, the earlier vessels may simply have been part of a funerary inventory in a tomb that was in use for several generations.

\textsuperscript{134} Karageorghis 1982b, 78.

\textsuperscript{135} Keswani 1989a, 562.

\textsuperscript{136} Nicolaou 1973.

\textsuperscript{137} Karageorghis 1974. From tomb 4/5 more than seventy Mycenaean dinner vessels have been reported, while there were twenty-five storage vessels. The lower burial of tomb 9 produced eighty-seven Mycenaean dinner vessels and twenty of storage type. The upper burial in tomb 9 produced Mycenaean-type dinner vessels only, of which more than one hundred shallow bowls.
the industrial complex in area I at the site. A large number of storage and dinner vessels have also been reported from contemporary levels in area II at Kition. At Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59) very few closed contexts dating before LCIII have been discovered. In the LCII tombs at the site Mycenaean dinner vessels were present in significant numbers, even though, generally, there was a relatively high proportion of Mycenaean storage vessels. A LCII deposit from a well at the site contained a majority of Mycenaean storage jars, but it also included at least one krater, a kylix and a bowl. In general, Mycenaean sherds of various pot shapes appear to have been distributed widely at Hala Sultan Tekke. At the site of Kourion-Bamboula (site no. 102) both Mycenaean dinner and storage vessels were distributed widely in the settlement deposits and in tombs. The frequency of Mycenaean dinner and storage vessels in the tombs at Kourion is not equal, but both types widely distributed. It seems, then, that as at Enkomi there was no difference in the appreciation between Mycenaean dinner and storage vessel in most of the other coastal centres.

A clear distinction in the cultural significance between Aegean dinner and storage vessels has been observed for Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96), where a limited range of Mycenaean storage jars occurred in average houses, while kylikes and bowls were found on the floors of the elaborate Building X. In addition, the pit in room A173 in the eastern part of Building X produced a large number of Mycenaean dinner vessels. The presence of many animal bones in this pit suggests that these vessels had been part of an elite dining ritual. The association of Mycenaean pots with elite dining practices has at Kalavasos also been observed in tombs, of which only the richest contained imported dinner vessels. It has recently been argued by Louise Steel that in Cyprus Mycenaean dinner vessels were specifically monopolised by the elite in order to be employed in such occasions of ceremonial dining and drinking. It should be noted, however, that as yet such a pattern can only be established for Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios. As stated above, the social organisation at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios was more hierarchical than elsewhere and specific elite groups had been able to acquire central control there. It is quite possible that elite dining ceremonies in which Mycenaean dinner

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138 Karageorghis 1985a, 1-6. LHIIIB stirrup jars, shallow bowls, as well as krater fragments have been reported; one of the krater fragments was decorated with a chariot scene.
139 Karageorghis 1985b, 88-92. Mycenaean stirrup jars, as well as chalices and a krater fragment have been reported.
140 The first of two tombs excavated by Karageorghis (1976, 76-78) produced more than thirty Mycenaean dinner vessels, of which most were shallow bowls. In addition, twelve Aegean storage vessels were found. In the second tomb were a number of Mycenaean kraters and cups, as well as piriform and stirrup jars, see Karageorghis 1976, 86-87. From the tombs excavated by the British Museum at the end of the nineteenth century both Aegean ceramic functional types have been reported as well, see Bailey 1976. The same is the case for tombs 21 and 22, see Åström 1983, 146 (tomb 20).
141 Obrink 1983, 29.
142 Öström 1986a, 64.
143 Benson 1972, 107-121.
144 Mycenaean pottery has been reported from sixteen tombs at Kourion-Bamboula (tombs nos. 5, 6, 7, 12, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 33, 36, 38 and the so-called Voupha tomb, see, Benson 1972, 34. In only four of these tombs have Mycenaean dinner as well as storage vessels been found (tombs nos. 6, 16, 21, 36); six tombs produced only a small number of dinner vessels (tombs nos. 5, 17, 24, 25, 28, and 33); five tombs produced only storage vessels (tombs nos. 5, 7, 12, 19, 22, 38). The seven krater fragments from the Voupha tomb have been discounted here, due to the fragmentary state of this tomb.
145 South & Russell 1993.
146 South 1988; South & Russell 1993, 305-306.
147 South 1997, 163-171; Steel 1999.
vessels were used, were related to the legitimisation of the power of these groups. In such a case, the large numbers of Mycenaean drinking vessels in tombs and in a pit at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios could be testimony of conspicuous consumption by which valuables were taken out of circulation.

In contrast to the monopolisation of Mycenaean dinner vessels by the élite at Kalavasos, in urban centres of more heterarchical nature not one group needed to monopolise Mycenaean vessels associated with dining - or was able to do so. In a state of continuous competition between various groups, the status of valuables is in flux and there is repeated redefinition of the significance of objects. It is interesting that the contextual analysis of the level IIA building in Q1W at Enkomi (H21) revealed that in this early period Mycenaean dinner vessels were restricted to residential activities. It may well have been the competition between various groups, which by LCIIC had devalued the suitability of Mycenaean dinner vessels to serve as prestige items in cities with a complex heterarchical social structure such as Enkomi.

The monopolisation of Mycenaean drinking vessels, such as attested at Kalavasos, is in contrast with the relatively wide dispersal of Mycenaean drinking vessels which has been demonstrated for Apliki and Athienou. At Pyla-Kokkinokremos (site no. 52) LHIIIIB dinner vessels, likewise, were widely distributed in the habitation complexes and they were interspersed with a large variety of Cypriot domestic items. Mycenaean storage vessels have not been reported from the habitation buildings in area II, but a Minoan coarse ware stirrup jar was found there. In level VI at Myrtou-Pigadhes (site no. 84), Mycenaean-type bowls, as well as kraters, kylikes and cups were also widely distributed. Aegean storage vessels, were also found in various parts of that site, but were less abundant than dinner vessels. At Maal-Palaeokastro (site no. 107) bowls and cups in LHIIIB and LHIIIC style were widely distributed all over the site. Obviously, at a number of places with relatively small amounts of Aegean pottery, Mycenaean dinner vessels were relatively widely distributed. It should be noted that all the sites mentioned here date to the very end of LCIIC, or to the LCIIC-LCIIIA transition.

Above, I have concluded that the small quantities, but representing a wide repertoire, of Mycenaean pottery at secondary and tertiary sites in Cyprus should be understood as the result of restricted access to an élite life-style. In this respect, it is of interest that at both Athienou and Apliki concentrations of Mycenaean finds have been found in association with objects that refer to a cosmopolitan world, without actually being part of it. The associations with élite dining rituals so clearly indicated at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, may well have been an element making Mycenaean dinner vessels particular suitable to serve in systems of restricted

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150 For the involvement of imported objects in rituals to acquire and legitimise power, see Knapp 1996a, 20-22 (with further references). Unfortunately, little is known of the Mycenaean pottery from the settlements of Maroni-Vournes (site no. 98) and Alassa (site no. 99), two other sites which, according to Keswani (1996, 229-230, 232), were hierarchically organised.


152 Bourdieu 1984, 208-225; Appadurai 1986, 21, 56-57;

153 Karageorghis & Demas 1984, 33-49.

154 Catling 1957, 45-47. Many of the shallow bowls are described as having a coarse fabric and we may assume them to have been made in Cyprus, see Kling 1987, 1991; Sherratt 1991, 186.

155 Karageorghis & Demas 1988, 216-232. LHIIIB pottery was present mainly in small sherds and, generally, constituted a minority in comparison with fragments in LHIIIC style. Storage and dinner vessels in both wares have been found in all four buildings at the site and in bothros I.

156 At Athienou, an ivory rhyton and two cylinder seals were in all likelihood made in Cyprus, see chapter 11. At Apliki, a range of Cypriot-made objects appeared that are derivations of objects circulating in Mediterranean exchange networks, see chapter 11. The concepts of sub-élite and substitute-élite used by Sherratt (1999, 185) may also be applicable to these type of objects.
distribution from primary centres to lower order sites.\(^{157}\) The élite connotations of Mycenaean dinner vessels made them active components of strategies of regional distribution.

The widespread use of Mycenaean dinner vessels at smaller sites at the end of LCIIC indicates that the exclusivity of this pottery by that time had devaluated. It is of interest that the Cypriot ceramic industry during an advanced stage of LCIIC began to incorporate various Mycenaean pot shapes, among which were mostly dinner vessels.\(^{158}\) It is possible that social groups not belonging to the urban coastal élites increasingly emulated the cosmopolitan lifestyle.\(^{159}\) The role of Mycenaean dinner vessels as a symbol of such a life-style seems to have resulted in the appropriation of these vessels by many groups to the point that these vessels were actually manufactured locally. Most Mycenaean storage vessels in Cyprus are quite small and probably contained oils or unguents.\(^{160}\) Activities involving these substances were probably quite widespread in antiquity and the Mycenaean storage pots do not seem to have had specifically élite connotations.\(^{161}\) It is of interest to note that such pots are not very abundant at Apliki and Athienou and were restricted to specific circumstances. Obviously, due to their less active role in social strategies, the use of Mycenaean storage pots was not subject to the same emulation as dinner vessels were.

It has repeatedly been asserted that Mycenaean vessels with pictorial decoration were specifically produced for and used by élite groups in Cyprus and the Near East.\(^{162}\) Evidence for such a hypothesis may come from Enkomi, where Mycenaean pictorial pottery was unequally distributed on the site. However, the use of such vessels in settlement contexts was not restricted to specific groups or activities. Specific groups at Enkomi expressed themselves by including notable quantities of pictorial kraters in their funerary ritual. The tombs in which these concentrations of pictorial kraters have been attested do not distinguish themselves in any other way from the rest of the funerary cellars at Enkomi and it is difficult to identify the social groups at Enkomi for whom these vessels seems to have been a medium to distinguish themselves.\(^{163}\) Mycenaean pictorial pottery has also been found at secondary and tertiary sites such as Athienou-Bamboulari tis Koukouninas and Apliki-Karamallos, albeit in very small numbers. At both sites, however, the Mycenaean pictorial repertoire consists of animals decorating dinner vessels such as a jug and a shallow bowl;\(^{164}\) more elaborate vessels with a complex iconography, such as chariot kraters, have not been found at these sites.

In each of the three Late Bronze Age burials at Kition (site no. 57) pictorial vessels were included in the funerary inventory.\(^{165}\) Mostly, such decoration occurred on jugs and bowls, while pictorial kraters were exclusively in the ‘Rude’ or ‘Pastoral’ style. Even though a few

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\(^{157}\) The restricted distribution of Mycenaean pottery probably was part of the systems of wealth finance in which small quantities of prestige goods figured, see Keswani 1993.

\(^{158}\) The vessel types which are most frequently mentioned as being produced on Cyprus from LCIIC onwards are shallow bowls, deep bowls and ‘Rude’ or ‘Pastoral’ style kraters; see Sherratt & Crouwel 1987, 341-342; Kling 1987, 103, 106; 1989, 130, 170-173; Sherratt 1991, 191-193.

\(^{159}\) See, for example, Veblen 1899, 22-34; Appadurai 1986, 57; Glennie 1995, 180-181; Miller 1995, 27-28.


\(^{161}\) Steel 1998, 294-296.


\(^{163}\) Sherratt (1999, 185-188) has argued that pictorial kraters were aimed at sub-élite groups in Cypriot society - e.g. those people who could not afford real valuable objects such as metal vases and for whom the nearest they ever got to owning a chariot would be a picture of it painted on a pot.

\(^{164}\) A cylindrical jug with a bull on the shoulder was discovered at Athienou, see catalogue VI no. 23. At Apliki, fish decorate a shallow bowl, while a bull’s head reportedly is present on a jar fragment (Catalogue VII nos. 11, 43).

\(^{165}\) Karageorghis 1974, 17-33: nos. 109, 132, 151A, 190, (200 (tomb 4/5), 43-56: nos. (40), 66, 75, 105, 107, (111), 112, 115A, (124), 127 (tomb 9 lower burial), 67: no. (90) (tomb 9 upper burial). The numbers in brackets indicate vessels in ‘Rude’ or ‘Pastoral’ style, which may be considered to be of Cypriot manufacture.
non-pictorial Mycenaean kraters came from these tombs, it does not seem that at Kition specific people used these vessels to distinguish themselves by including large quantities of them in their funerary ritual. The widespread occurrence of Mycenaean pictorial pots on floor IV in areas I and II indicates that these vessels were available to many people at Kition. A differentiation in the presence of Mycenaean pictorial pottery between various tombs may possibly be seen at Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59), where one of the tombs excavated in 1968 produced six Aegean kraters, several of which have pictorial decoration. Mycenaean pictorial pottery was virtually absent from the three LCII tombs that have been investigated in area 6 at the same site. Fragments of Mycenaean pictorial pottery have been found in various parts of the settlement at Hala Sultan Tekke, indicating a relatively wide distribution of this kind of pottery. At Maroni (site no. 98) Mycenaean pictorial pottery was discovered in a number of tombs. At Kourion-Bamboula (site no. 102) only very few Mycenaean pictorial vessels have been found, mainly amphoroid kraters. Mycenaean pictorial pottery was apparently extremely rare. It appears that this type of pottery is not equally distributed among the coastal centres in Cyprus and it may have been restricted to a certain extent to specific social groups.

At Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96) three tombs have produced Mycenaean pictorial kraters. These graves were situated among the ashlar buildings and had rich inventories, on the basis of which they have been interpreted as elite tombs. Other tombs in the vicinity did not produce Mycenaean pictorial vessels, nor did graves elsewhere at the site. A few Mycenaean bowls with pictorial decoration were among the vessels from the pit in room A173, while fragments of a Mycenaean pictorial krater was discovered in Building XIV and during the survey of the site. In addition, a bowl with bull protomes was found in a tomb at nearby Kalavasos-Mangia (site no. 97). At Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, then, the evidence

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166 In tomb 4/5, a LHIII A2 amphoroid krater was found with patterned decoration; there was also a LHIII B ring-based krater, see Karageorghis 1974, 20-21: nos. 104, 108. In addition, the tomb contained a 'Rude' or 'Pastoral' style krater with pictorial decoration (no. 200). In the lower burial of tomb 9, there was one amphoroid krater with patterned decoration; see Karageorghis 1974, 55: no. 122. Three ring-based kraters in 'Rude' or 'Pastoral' style were decorated with various animals, see Karageorghis 1974, 43-56: nos. 40, 111, 124.

167 Karageorghis 1981.

168 Tomb 2 yielded two amphoroid kraters with chariot scenes, two similar vessels with patterned decoration and two Minoan kraters, see Karageorghis 1976, 78-86: nos. 162, 163, 213-216. Tomb 1 contained only one amphoroid krater with patterned decoration and two kraters in 'Rude' or 'Pastoral' style, which were decorated with animals, see Karageorghis 1976, 72-76: nos. 8, 22, 86.

169 Only an unclear pictorial motif has been identified on a Mycenaean sherd from tomb 20, see Åström 1986a, 64.

170 See, for example, Frizell 1977, 53 fig. 39; Hult 1981, 36; Öbrink 1979, 86 fig. 236. Also, see Åström 1986a, 64.

171 Tomb 1 contained an amphoroid krater decorated with birds, see Johnson 1980, 15: no. 13. Tomb 2 produced four kraters, of which three with a chariot scene, see Johnson 1980, 16-17. From tombs 5, 15, 17, 18 and 25 pictorial kraters have also been reported, see Johnson 1980, 22-30. In addition, there is a large collection of Mycenaean pictorial finds from Maroni that cannot be related to specific tombs, see Johnson 1980, 32-34. Mycenaean sherds with chariot scenes have also been found during the recent survey of the cemetery area, see Manning & Monks 1998, 334, 327, 344, 346.


173 Maier 1984, 10. Only some fragments decorated with bulls in the 'Rude' or 'Pastoral style' have been found.


175 South 1997, 163-171: T. 12, T. 16-16A. Tomb 12 has been interpreted as a child's tomb; tomb 16-16A has been described as very poor in general. See, also, Russell 1989.

176 South 1988, 223.

177 South, Russell & Keswani 1989, 142: no. K-AD 1019; South 1997, 158.

178 South 1987, 84.
for restricted access by the elite to Mycenaean pictorial pottery is much stronger than for Enkomi, or any of the other coastal sites. Such a marked pattern is probably related to the restricted distribution of Mycenaean dinner vessels at Kalavasos.

At the majority of sites which have produced smaller amounts of Mycenaean pottery, vessels with pictorial decoration are absent. At Pyla-Kokkinokremos (site no. 52) a LHIIIIB pictorial ring-based krater was found on the floor of a courtyard in a habitation structure. Pictorial amphoroid kraters, as well as similar vessels with patterned decoration, were found in a tomb at nearby Pyla-Vergi (site no. 55). In the hinterland of Larnaca, pictorial pottery has been reported from tombs at Arpera Chiflik (site no. 60) and Klavdhia (site no. 61). At Myrtou-Stephania (site no. 83) a pictorial krater was also found in a tomb. Among the settlement finds at Myrtou-Pigadhes (site no. 84) a fragment has been identified with the legs of a bull. Reports of isolated Mycenaean pictorial vessels have also come from sites such as Galinoporni (site no. 33) and Psilatos-Moutti (site 46). From the overview given here, it is clear that only very small quantities of Mycenaean pictorial pottery occur at secondary and tertiary sites in Cyprus. Obviously, the regional distribution of this type of pottery was restricted.

The evidence from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios indicates that Mycenaean pictorial pottery was used in elite cultural practices. The concentrations of Mycenaean pictorial kraters in tombs at Enkomi indicate that these vessels served distinctive roles in the funerary practices of specific social groups in the town. Possibly, these concentrations represent strategies by specific groups of people in the continuous social competition in the town. The restricted regional distribution of Mycenaean pictorial pottery is surely related to the active role of this type of pottery in Cypriot social strategies.

At Enkomi, twenty-three Aegean vessels have been discovered which have been classified as decorated coarse ware, in all cases large stirrup jars (FS 164). The presence of these vessels in several areas at Enkomi has been taken as an indication that this type of vessel was not restricted to specific groups in the population. At Athienou two stirrup jars of similar type have also been discovered. These jars, which are distributed widely within the Aegean and beyond, have been interpreted as transport jars, most probably containing oil. Considering the likely function of these vessels, it is remarkable that five of them have been found in tombs at Enkomi. Obviously, these vessels could be endowed with a symbolical meaning beyond their primary function. The occurrence of similar coarse ware stirrup jars in the sanctuary at Athienou may, likewise, point to a symbolical meaning. It should be noted, however, that only few people at Enkomi included such stirrup jars in their funerary rituals, which may indicate that a symbolical significance for these pots was restricted to a small group of people.

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179 According to Crouwel (1991, 51), some twenty sites in total in Cyprus have produced this type of pottery. We should never forget that many museums possess Mycenaean pictorial vessels, many probably from Cyprus, which do not have a known provenance.

180 Karageorghis 1982b, 78.


182 Crouwel 1991, 46 fig. 1, 49-50 figs. 8-9.


184 Catling 1957, 42: no. 188


186 Keswani 1996, 221-226.

187 On the provenience and distribution of coarse ware stirrup jars, see Haskell 1990; Day & Haskell 1995.

188 See chapter 10: pp. 184, 203 above. Of the five coarse ware stirrup jars at Enkomi that have been found in tombs, three were found in the side chamber of Sw. T. 18.
A large number of Aegean coarse ware stirrup jars have been published from Kourion-Bamboula (site no. 102). Most of these are represented by small fragments only, but two vessels could be almost completely reconstructed. Both these vessels, as well as most fragments derived from settlement levels; at least one similar vessel came from a tomb at Kourion. At Kition (site no. 57) Aegean coarse ware stirrup jars were included in the inventories of tomb 4/5 and tomb 9, in addition, a few fragments of similar vessels have been reported from settlement levels in area I and II. At Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59) a Mycenaean coarse ware stirrup jar has also been reported from a tomb. At Kouklia (site no. 105) two large fragments of similar stirrup jars have been identified from the cemetery near the locality of Mantissa, while other stirrup jars were discovered in settlement levels. It is clear that Aegean coarse ware stirrup jars have been found in the majority of the coastal centres, even though these centres differ greatly in the absolute numbers of these jars. The practice to put this type of jar in tombs does not appear to have been common at any of the coastal sites, even though everywhere some people did so.

The presence of Aegean coarse ware stirrup jars is not limited to large coastal centres. In addition to the two jars at Athienou, such vessels have also been found at a number of other sites in Cyprus - on the coast and in the interior. Only in a few cases have these vessels been found in tombs. This was the case in Tomb 2 at Myrtou-Stephania (site no. 83) and in a tomb at Lapithos-Ayia Anastasia (site no. 81). The presence of small numbers of Aegean coarse ware jars at sites all over the island is indicative of the phenomenon observed above that a relatively wide repertoire of Aegean vessels was involved in regional exchange networks. The limited deposition of coarse ware stirrup jars in tombs in the interior of Cyprus corresponds to the pattern established for the urban coastal centres.

The final class of Mycenaean pottery to be considered consists of specialised ritual shapes such as rhyta, composite vessels and figurines. At Athienou or Apliki these ceramic types have not been discovered. At Enkomi, however, eleven rhyta have been found, some in settlement contexts, but the majority in tombs. Concentrations of Mycenaean rhyta have not been attested, which suggests that these items were not restricted to specific groups of people or activities. In the level II building in Q1W at Enkomi (H23) two Mycenaean rhyta have been found in a context which suggests that they were used in local ceremonies. At the same site, another Mycenaean rhyton, a composite vessel and figurines were discovered in tombs with an exceptionally large number of Cypriot paraphernalia to do with cultic practices.

189 Benson (1972,117-118) mentions twenty six Aegean coarse ware stirrup jars (FS 164). See also Aström 1972b, 335-336.
191 Benson 1972, 118: B1134 (tomb 26). This large fragment joined with a vessel from the old excavations, because of which the equation of 'old tomb 50' and (new) tomb 26 could be confirmed, see Benson 1961, 38-40.
193 See, for example, Karageorghis 1985a, 16: no. 219 (area I, between floors IV and IIIA), 132 (area II, room 16 in temenos B, below floor III).
195 Catling & Karageorghis 1960, 121: nos. 32 & 33.
196 Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 71; Maier & Von Wartburg 1985, 149.
197 Aström (1972b, 335-336) reports such jars from Nitovikla-Korovia (site no. 34), Akanthou-Moulos (site no. 44), Kalopsidha (site no. 51), Pyla-Kokkinokremos (site no. 52), Idalion (site no. 65), Dhenia-Kafkalla (site no. 80), Lapithos-Ayia Anastasia (site no. 81), Myrtou-Stephania (site no. 83).
198 Hennessy 1963, 2: no. a.
199 Pieridou 1966, 9:98a-c (tomb 2)
At Kition (site no. 57) a Mycenaean conical rhyton was found on floor IV in temple II. A concentration of Psi-type female figurines was found in a pit below floor IIIA in temenos A at the same site; the floor itself produced two additional figurines. Considering the cultic nature of area II at Kition, it is logical to assume that these ritual objects were used in ceremonies at the sanctuary. In tombs at Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59) individual Mycenaean rhyta and figurines have been discovered, while two conical rhyta occurred in levelling strata in area 22 at this site. Figurines and rhyta have also been found in the tombs at Maroni (site no. 98). From a tomb at Kourion (site no. 102), one conical rhyton has been reported. This overview shows that various primary coastal centres are similar to Enkomi with regard to the presence of these specialised Mycenaean ceramic items. However, it should also be noted that at other important sites such as Kalavasos-Ayios Dimitrios (site no. 96) and Kouklia-Palaepaphos (site no. 105) Mycenaean figurines or ritual vessels have not been reported.

A few sites with relatively small numbers of Mycenaean pottery have also produced specialised shapes such as figurines or rhyta. At Myrtou-Pigadhes (site no. 84) one Mycenaean conical rhyton and a hedgehog rhyton were found when villagers dug a well near the site. In addition, another Mycenaean conical rhyton was found on a floor in the building east of the ashlar altar. It is tempting to think that this rhyton was used in rituals performed at the sanctuary. From Sinda (site no. 48) a conical rhyton has been reported, in addition to a female figurine. L. Åström mentions a female figurine from the site of Alambra (site no. 64). Recently, a Mycenaean female figurine has also been discovered at Idalion (site no. 65).

It is clear that Mycenaean specialised ceramic objects with possible ritual connotations were scarce at Cyprus. The unequal distribution of these objects among sites at the coast indicates that preferences existed for specific parts of the Mycenaean ceramic repertoire. It is clear that the Mycenaean rhyta and figurines were used in rituals of local cult in a number of places on the island. In this respect, they are in agreement with the evidence from Athienou, where Mycenaean juglets have been deposited in a votive pit together with Cypriot wares.

The appreciation of the various categories of Aegean vessels in Cyprus is not uniform through time and space. The earliest Aegean vessels were available to a very small group of people, who can be associated with wealth and international contacts and who lived in the emerging coastal centres. Gradually, however, Aegean vessels became available to larger parts of the Cypriot population and they became incorporated in regional distribution systems. Apparently, some vessels could circulate for a long time in such systems. There is evidence that Mycenaean dinner vessels were highly appreciated initially by elite groups in particular, probably because they could be used in ceremonial sessions. However, at sites where different groups were in competition, the exclusivity of Aegean drinking vessels seems to have eroded during LCIIIC. Nevertheless, specific groups in Cypriot society continued to distinguish themselves by including substantial numbers of pictorial kraters in their tombs.

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200 Karageorghis 1985a, 89: no. 3442.
201 Karageorghis 1985a, 98-99, 105, 170: nos. 3213, 3219, 3222, 3225, 3251 and 3323.
202 See notes 28, 29.
203 Niklasson-Sönnerby 1989, 78 fig. 143 (no. F6517), 79 fig. 147 (F6521).
204 A Mycenaean conical rhyton was found in tomb 18; a Psi type figurine came from tomb 19; a kernos was found in tomb 23, see Johnson 1980, 24: no. 141, 25: no. 149, 27: no. 173.
205 Åström 1972b, 354: no. 199d.
206 Taylor 1957, 1.
207 Catling 1957, 42 no. 187.
208 Åström 1972b, 354: no. 199k; L. Åström (1972, 512).
209 Niklasson-Sönnerby 1989, 78 fig. 143 (no. F6517), 79 fig. 147 (F6521).
211 Steel 1998, 289-292;
As has been stated earlier, Mycenaean pots in Cyprus ought to be considered as objects symbolising an international, cosmopolitan world. It has also become clear that the symbolic meaning of these pots found its origin in specific cultural practices of emerging urban elites. As such, these pots were symbols in the acquisition and legitimisation of power on the part of these groups.212 The deposition of Aegean coarse ware transport jars in tombs by a few people all over the island shows that Mycenaean pottery could be endowed with meanings beyond the purely functional. The inclusion of small numbers of Mycenaean rhyta and figurines in Cypriot cultic rites at various sites throughout Cyprus suggests that religious aspects also played a role in the cultural significance of Mycenaean pottery. Obviously, a variety of different meanings relating to Cypriot social reality and cultural practices could be imposed on the imported ceramic vessels and figurines.

Funerary evidence
The majority of the Mycenaean pots which are known to have been found in Cyprus probably derive from tombs, which have been subject to pillaging from ancient until modern times.213 Most sites in Cyprus where Mycenaean pottery has been found are tomb sites.214 At Enkomi, even though tomb robbing and fragmentary publication of many tombs made funerary analysis difficult, it is clear that the inclusion of Mycenaean pots in tombs was a widespread phenomenon at that city. Not only have tombs with Mycenaean pottery been found in almost every part of the site, such pottery was present in tombs of widely varying levels of wealth. The absolute numbers of Mycenaean finds in the tombs at Enkomi varied highly. The most occurring pot shapes were stirrup jars and piriform jars, as well as cups and kraters. Even though all Mycenaean vessel types were widely distributed in the tombs at Enkomi, there was a relative concentration of cups and kraters.

At Kition (site no. 57) tombs have been discovered in area I only.215 The inventory of tombs 4/5 included a wide variety of Cypriot pottery, together with a Red Lustrous bottle, stone vessels and a few small objects of ivory, glass paste and faience.216 The Aegean pottery, which constituted almost forty percent of the total number of objects which came from these tombs, comprised a wide repertoire of pot shapes, among which piriform jars, stirrup jars and jugs were frequent.217 Particularly abundant, however, were Mycenaean-type shallow bowls which were probably produced on the island itself. The lower burial of tomb 9 at Kition, which dated to LCIIIC, also produced some Mycenaean stirrup jars, as well as a rather large number of kylikes and shallow bowls.218 In addition, alabaster, glass and faience vases were found, along with golden beads and a ring, ivory and stone objects. An equally wealthy inventory, including a variety of golden and bronze jewellery as well as metal vessels and weapons, was associated with the upper burial of tomb 9, which can be dated to the period of the LCIIIC-LCIII

213 Karageorghis 1968b, 10-37.
214 Forty-three Cypriot sites in catalogue I have produced only tombs, while at twenty-six sites there were funerary as well as settlement remains. Only fifteen sites were settlements only.
215 Karageorghis 1974, 16.
216 Karageorghis 1974, 16-35 A splendid faience conical rhyton decorated with a hunting scene was found in a chamber in the house above this tomb, but it is possible that it was originally part of the funerary inventory, from which it was then removed in ancient times, see Karageorghis 1974, 16, Peltenburg 1974, 116-126.
217 Karageorghis 1974, 36-40: eleven Mycenaean piriform jars, ten stirrup jars, three kraters, twenty-one jugs, five cups, eight kylikes, one bovine figurine and more than forty shallow bowls.
218 Karageorghis 1974, 58-60: six Mycenaean piriform jars, ten stirrup jars, four kraters, twenty jugs, nine cups, sixteen kylikes, one Psi-type figurine and thirty-six shallow bowls.
The Mycenaean repertoire of this tomb was limited, however, consisting of a large number of shallow bowls only. The three tombs at Kiton were situated close together and it is possible that they represent a specific group in the population of that town. Nevertheless, the repertoire of Mycenaean pots in these tombs is comparable to the pots found in the funerary cellars at Enkomi. This suggests that at Kiton the practice of including Mycenaean pottery in funerary ceremonies was widespread as well.

A far larger number of tombs have been excavated at Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59), a site that has been subject to various archaeological expeditions in the nineteenth and twentieth century. As a result, the inventories of many tombs are only partially known. The re-investigation of objects from the old excavations have made clear that Mycenaean pottery was included in the majority of tombs. This picture is confirmed by the two tombs that were excavated in 1968, which are comparable to the tombs at Enkomi and Kiton in terms of the variety of their funerary inventories and the repertoire of Mycenaean pots. In addition, four tombs, all of which were pillaged, have been investigated in area 6 at Hala Sultan Tekke; these also produced substantial quantities of Mycenaean pottery. It would seem that the Mycenaean pottery from funerary contexts at Hala Sultan Tekke presents a similar picture to that at Enkomi. The same can be said for Kourion-Bamboula (site no. 102), where the majority of LCII tombs produced Mycenaean pots.

At Maroni (sites nos. 98, 330) a large Late Bronze Age cemetery was excavated in 1897. Objects from twenty-eight graves have recently been retrieved, which has made clear that most tombs contained Mycenaean pottery. A few tombs seem to have produced a larger quantity of Mycenaean vessels than others, as well as a somewhat wider variety of vessel types. From the letters written by the excavators, it is certain that there were many more tombs, which were

219 Karageorghis 1974, 86-87. He dates this tomb to LCIIC. However, due to the re-assessment of the chronological value of Aegean-type shallow bowls, a LCIIC-LCIII A date seems more appropriate, see Kling 1987, 103; 1989, 80; 1991, 183.
220 More than one hundred Mycenaean shallow bowls have been found, in addition to five Mycenaean spouted jugs, five cups and five deep bowls or skyphoi, see Karageorghis 1974, 86-87.
221 Bailey (1976) reports on twenty-one tombs, but it is certain that more have been investigated: Crowfoot opened up some fifty tombs in 1898, but considered only eleven worth commenting upon, see Åström 1986b, 7-8.
222 Bailey 1976. Of the ten tombs excavated by the expedition led by Walters in 1897, only from tomb VI could Mycenaean pots not be re-located. Of the eleven tombs investigated in 1898 by Crowfoot, Mycenaean pottery has not been re-located from tomb 6.
223 Karageorghis 1976. The first tomb contained a wide range of Cypriot pottery, as well as ostrich eggs, a stone cylinder and some gold an silver, it also produced more than fifty Aegean-type pots, among which many shallow bowls. Tomb 2, likewise, contained Cypriot pottery, in addition to ivory objects, faience vases and bronze and gold jewellery; almost sixty Aegean-type vases were found, among which were ten piriform jars, seven kraters, and eleven shallow bowls.
224 Aström 1983. In tomb 20, Mycenaean fragments, piriform jars, bowls and a figurine were found. Tomb 21 yielded a Mycenaean krater, as well as some shallow bowls. Large numbers of Mycenaean piriform jars were found in tomb 22, in addition to eleven stirrup jars and a similar number of cups. Tomb 23, which produced gold jewellery and bronze vessels did not yield any Aegean pottery; the fact that it is a shaft grave indicates that it should be dated in LCIII, which is later that most other tombs.
225 Benson 1972, 10-35. Sixteen of the twenty-two tombs with a LCII date have produced Mycenaean vessels. In addition, tomb 5, dated to LCIII yielded two Mycenaean-type jugs.
227 Johnson 1980. Of the twenty-eight tombs, from only nine has Mycenaean pottery not been reported: tombs nos. 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 20, 24, 26.
228 See Johnson 1980, 14-15 (tomb 1), 17 (tomb 3), 17-18 (tomb 5), 24-25 (tomb 18) and 27-28 (tomb 23). In other tombs, such as tomb 8 and tombs 13-15, mainly Mycenaean stirrup jars and piriform jars have been found. It must be remembered, however, that only a selection of objects from the tombs at Maroni has been saved and that there are many ceramic finds from the site which cannot be assigned to a specific tomb, see Johnson 1980, 32-34.
considered “not productive”, i.e. they contained “only local wares or fragmentary pieces of pottery.”

A recent survey of the cemetery has produced evidence for fourteen Late Cypriot tombs, most of which contained Mycenaean sherds. This is an indication that small amounts of Aegean pottery may have been present in many tombs at Maroni, which makes it unlikely that the presence of Mycenaean pots in tombs is indicative of elite status, as has recently been stated by S. Manning and L. Steel. It may be that large quantities of Mycenaean pots, together with other prestige goods, were reserved for élite groups.

At Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 97), several graves yielded Mycenaean vases, but from only a limited number came substantial quantities and a wide variety of drinking vessels. It seems, then, that at Kalavasos a restricted group distinguished itself by including larger quantities and a wider variety of Mycenaean pottery in their tombs, which may also have been the case at Maroni. This pattern is much more marked for Kalavasos than for Enkomi, where Mycenaean drinking vessels were relatively widely distributed in the tombs. Other coastal centres appear to confirm the picture of Enkomi. It seems logical to assume that the variation in the role of Mycenaean pots in the funerary rituals between Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke and Kourion on the one hand and Kalavasos and Maroni on the other is related to the differences in socio-political organisation that have been commented upon before.

From many other sites tombs with Mycenaean pottery have been reported. In the eastern part of the island, Ayios Iakovos-Melia (site no. 45) produced three tombs of LCII date, each containing a variety of Mycenaean storage vessels. At the site of Angastina (site no. 68) five tombs were investigated, of which only one has been published. In addition to a wide variety of Cypriot pottery and a glass cylinder seal, this tomb yielded several Mycenaean storage vessels and one shallow bowl. At Nicosia-Ayia Pareseki (site no. 71) two LC tombs have been discovered, of which only tomb 6 contained Mycenaean pots, mostly storage vessels. The same was also the case for a tomb near the locality of Kafkallia in the area of Idalion (site no. 65). In the hinterland of Larnaca, several sites have yielded Late Bronze Age tombs. At Laxia tou Riou (site no. 58) four tombs were discovered, from which three Mycenaean piriform jars and one stirrup jar have been reported. From Aradhippou (site no. 56) a Mycenaean deep krater with pictorial decoration, as well as a ring-based krater showing a hunting scene have been reported, presumably from one or more tombs. From a tomb at Kladhia (site no. 61) came a large jug with cut-away neck, which may be dated to LLIIB-

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229 Letter by H.B. Walters, 3 December 1897, see Manning 1998, 43.
230 Manning & Monks 1998, 308-347. Only from tombs 8, 9 and 11 has Mycenaean pottery not been reported.
232 Of twenty tombs, Mycenaean pottery has been reported from tombs 1, 6, 11-14, 18, 19 and 20; see South & Russell 1989, 44, 55; South & Russell 1993, 306; South 1997, 163-171; Steel 1998, 295 note 66.
234 Even though there was a slight concentration in the distribution of Mycenaean cups and kraters at Enkomi in comparison with stirrup jars and piriform jars, the majority of tombs did produce these vessels.
235 Keswani 1996.
236 Mycenaean piriform jars, alabastra, stirrup jars and flasks have been reported, see Sjöqvist 1934, 325-333 (tomb 8), 345-348 (tomb 13), 349-354 (tomb 14). The only pots that can be classified as dinner vessels are two globular jugs.
237 Karageorghis 1964, 10: no. 70. The tomb produced seven Mycenaean piriform jars, seven stirrup jars, three flasks, one straight-sided alabastron and one shallow bowl, all ranging in date from LHIIA2 to LHIIIB.
238 Kromholz 1971, 246-247. Three Mycenaean stirrup jars, one straight sided alabastron and a flask have been reported in addition to two LHIIA2 juglets. The other Late Cypriot tomb, no. 15, yielded very few finds in general, due to heavy pillaging.
240 Myres 1897, 148-152.
241 Pottier 1907 234-236.
LHIIIA1. A range of later Mycenaean vessels from various tombs have also been reported from this site, among which were piriform jars, stirrup jars, flasks, cups and kraters. Tombs excavated in the nineteenth century at Dromolaxia-Trypes (site no. 337), not more than two kilometres from Hala Sultan Tekke, produced Mycenaean stirrup jars, piriform jars and a jug. A tomb excavated in the same area during a rescue excavation in 1977 yielded Mycenaean jugs, piriform jars and shallow bowls, in addition to kraters in ‘Rude’ or ‘Pastoral’ style. To the east along the south coast of the island, at Pyla-Verghi (site no. 55), a looted tomb was investigated, which produced a wide variety of Mycenaean vessels, including at least seven kraters.

The site of Kalavasos-Mangia (site no. 97), situated along the south coast in the vicinity of Ayios Dhimitrios, was a cemetery with at least six Late Bronze Age tombs. Four of these contained Mycenaean pottery, mainly of storage type, but a shallow bowl decorated with bull protomes has also been discovered. Unfortunately, very little is known of the other cemeteries along the southern and south-western coast. In the north-west of the island, tomb II at Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116) yielded a LMIIIA1 jug in addition to two LHIIIA2 storage vessels. At Mytou-Stephania (site no. 83) a total of fourteen tombs have been excavated, mostly belonging to the MCIII-LCI period. The few tombs which could be assigned to LCII yielded only a few Mycenaean vessels. At Akhera (site no. 90) in the Troodos mountains, two tombs have been assigned a LCIIIC date, each of which contained many Mycenaean storage vessels and a few small dinner vessels. The nearby site of Politiko (site no. 93) produced a tomb with a similar Mycenaean inventory, even though the vessels are somewhat earlier than at Akhera.

From the overview presented above, it is clear that the practice of including Mycenaean pots in tombs was widely known in all parts of the island. In agreement with the distribution pattern in general, however, the quantities of Mycenaean pottery in tombs at secondary and tertiary sites are far lower than in tombs at the urban coastal centres. Moreover, it should be noted that the presence of Mycenaean dinner vessels in graves at the lower order sites is limited. Even though in a few cases jugs or small drinking vessels have been reported, storage vessels predominate and large Mycenaean kraters are all but absent. The importance of

243 Aström (1972b, 289-384) lists twenty-nine Mycenaean vases from this site, where, apparently, more than twenty tombs have been excavated. Among the Mycenaean pottery is a variety of kraters, in addition to piriform jars, jugs, flask and one stirrup jar.
244 Witzel 1979, 195-196.
246 Dikaios 1971, 914.
247 Tomb I yielded LHIIIA and LHIIIB pottery, see Todd 1988, 203. Tomb 5, excavated in 1986, produced four LHIIIB stirrup jars, a LHIIIA2 flask and a LHIIIB shallow bowl, see Todd 1988, 206-207 fig 11: nos. 3-7. Tomb 6 produced two LHIIIB flasks and a stirrup jar in the same ceramic style, see Todd 1988, 207-208, fig. 11: nos. 44-45.
249 Tomb 2 produced a pictorial krater, see Hennessy 1963, 2: no. 2 (not illustrated). Tomb 4A yielded two Mycenaean piriform jars, two stirrup jars and a sherd of a krater, see Hennessy 1963, 5: no. 4, 7: no. 25, 8: no. 40, 9: no. 60, 10. Tomb 7 produced a Mycenaean flask, see Hennessy 1963, 7: no. 25. Tomb 12 yielded a LHIIIA2 stirrup jar, see Hennessy 1963, 31: no. 11.
250 Tomb 2 produced nine stirrup jars, two alabastra, one piriform jar, a jug and a kylix or stemmed bowl, in addition to Cypriot pottery and Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware, see Karageorghis 1965a, 111-121. Tomb 3 at Akhera contained six Mycenaean stirrup jars, two piriform jars, a flask a jug and two shallow cups, which were associated with a wealthy inventory containing gold, silver and bronze jewellery, Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware vessels, and Cypriot pottery. With the exception of a LHIIIA2-LHIIIB alabastron from tomb 3, all Mycenaean finds have been dated to LHIIIB.
251 Four LHIIIA2 flasks have been reported, in addition to a stirrup jar, two jugs and a shallow cup, all of LHIIIA2 date, see Karageorghis 1965b, 20-23.
Mycenaean dinner vessels in strategies of funerary display in the coastal centres, apparently, caused a restricted access to similar vessels at inland sites. In order to distinguish themselves in their funerary ritual, regional élites in the island’s interior made use of small quantities of modest Aegean drinking vessels and storage pots. An exception to this pattern may be seen in the hinterland of Larnaca, where tombs at Aradhippou, Klavdhia and Dromolaxia did produce a wide variety of Mycenaean pots, among which a great many kraters. This may indicate that smaller sites in the vicinity of large coastal centres had wider access to ceramic imports than sites situated further away.

It is possible that the widespread occurrence of Mycenaean pots in tombs, as well as the restricted range of shapes in funerary contexts at inland sites are not indicative of all periods during which this type of pottery was imported. At Enkomi, the earliest Mycenaean pots in the tombs belonged to the LHIIA stylistical phase, while several LHIIIB-LHIIBIA1 pots have also been found in funerary contexts. At Maroni (sites nos. 94, 330) a LIIIA alabastron was found in a tomb, and several tombs yielded pots in LIIIB-LIIIBIA1 styles. The largest concentration of Aegean pottery of an early date has been found in Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116), where nine LMI dinner vessels and a so-called ‘flower pot’ were found in tomb I. In addition, two sherds in similar ceramic styles were found in tomb II, while another fragment came from tomb III. Three tombs at Ayia Irini-Palaekastro (site no. 88) produced Minoan or Mycenaean semi-globular cups which also date to the very beginning of the Aegean contacts with Cyprus. From these finds, it is clear that Aegean vessels were included in Cypriot funerary rituals from an early period onwards. However, a difference is visible between Enkomi and Maroni on the one hand, where exclusively Mycenaean storage vessels were deposited in tombs, and Toumba tou Skourou and Ayia Irini on the other hand, where only Aegean dinner vessels were deposited. Obviously, in the very beginning of the presence of Mycenaean pots in Cyprus, their suitability to serve in funerary ceremonies was regarded differently in different areas.

At a number of sites in Cyprus, LIIIB-LHIIBIA1 vessels have been found in tombs. Most of these sites are situated in the vicinity of the coast, but Milia (site no. 49) and Katydhata (site no. 114) are inland sites. The relatively wide distribution of LIIIB-LHIIBIA1 vessels in Cypriot tombs shows that the practice of putting Mycenaean pots in tombs spread in the island during the earlier stages of LCII. By LICIIC, the role of Mycenaean vessels in funerary ceremonies varied not according to geography but to the site’s place in regional distribution networks.

Conclusions
The investigation of the cultural contexts of Mycenaean vessels in Late Bronze Age Cyprus has not provided us with a homogeneous picture. The quantities of Mycenaean pottery vary highly between primary centres near the coast on the one hand and secondary and tertiary sites nearby. In this case it is significant that at Pyla-Verghi (site no. 55) many Mycenaean kraters were found. The coastal location, as well as the lay-out of nearby Pyla-Kokkinokremos (site no. 56) and the extensive other necropoleis in the area, are indicative of a coastal centre.

Catalogue V. British tomb 40 produced a LIIIA handleless jar, which was the only Mycenaean find from this tomb dated to LCII. In British tomb 88 a LIIIB alabastron was found; in French tomb 11 two LIIIB-LHIIBIA1 piriform jars were discovered; British tomb 10 yielded a LIIIB-LIIIBIA1 rounded alabastron in LIIIB-LHIIIAl style, while British tomb 12 produced a squat alabastron of similar date. All these tombs produced Mycenaean vessels of later periods as well. In addition, twenty LHIIBIA1 vases came from various tombs at the site. Manning & Monks 1998, 321. Tombs 5 and 23 from the British Museum excavations produced several LIIIB-LHIIBIA1 vessels, see Johnson 1980, 17-18, 27-28.

Vermeide & Wolsky 1990, 381-383.

256 In addition to Enkomi and Maroni, such pottery has been found in tombs at Milia (site no. 49), Hala Sultan Tekke (site no. 59), Arpera (site no. 60), Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios (site no. 96), Toumba tou Skourou (site no. 116) and Katydhata (site no. 114).

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253 Catalogue V. British tomb 40 produced a LIIIA handleless jar, which was the only Mycenaean find from this tomb dated to LCII. In British tomb 88 a LIIIB alabastron was found; in French tomb 11 two LIIIB-LHIIBIA1 piriform jars were discovered; British tomb 10 yielded a LIIIB-LIIIBIA1 rounded alabastron in LIIIB-LHIIIAl style, while British tomb 12 produced a squat alabastron of similar date. All these tombs produced Mycenaean vessels of later periods as well. In addition, twenty LHIIBIA1 vases came from various tombs at the site. Manning & Monks 1998, 321. Tombs 5 and 23 from the British Museum excavations produced several LIIIB-LHIIBIA1 vessels, see Johnson 1980, 17-18, 27-28.


on the other. Variations in the repertoire of Mycenaean pottery occur among individual coastal centres, which implies that cultural choices were made in these places with regard to the vessel types that were imported. The repertoire of Mycenaean vessel types is also variable among secondary and tertiary sites, but it should be noted that a wide variety of imported pots could be assembled at such places, including dinner and storage vessels, large coarse ware containers, as well as specialised shapes such as rhyta and figurines. All this indicates that Mycenaean vessels were subject to strategies of restricted distribution from the coast to sites inland. As such, they were part of unequal exchange which provided the basis for the power of élite coastal groups.

In the period contemporary to LHI-LHIIA Aegean pottery was restricted to specific - probably high-level - groups in the society. Gradually, however, Aegean pots became available to more people until, by the LCIIC period, it was widely used by various groups in Cypriot society. The use of Mycenaean pots in tombs of that period, for example, was a practice that was widely known not only in coastal centres, but in many parts of the island. Moreover, Mycenaean vessels have been found in average domestic contexts, in contexts indicative of wealth and prestige, in industrial contexts and in contexts relating to cultic practices. When we also consider the wide distribution of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus, it is fair to say that this material was an integral part of the material culture on the island during much of the Late Bronze Age.

The conclusion that Mycenaean pottery was relatively common in Cyprus should not be understood as indicating that this material was without cultural significance. Mycenaean dinner vessels were initially restricted to specific élite groups in Cypriot society. It is possible that these vessels were included in aristocratic dining rituals, as has recently been asserted by L. Steel. In coastal sites with a complex, heterogeneous social structure, such as Enkomi, Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke, the exclusive connotations attached to Mycenaean dinner vessels devaluated due to competition among various élite groups. The exclusivity of Mycenaean dinner vessels which was observed by Steel continued only at sites with a more hierarchical structure, such as Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios. There, the elite was able to monopolise large quantities of Mycenaean dinner vessels, which were included in rituals of conspicuous consumption. In other primary centres, the significance of specific Mycenaean vessels for particular social groups was expressed in a more subtle way, for example by including large quantities of pictorial kraters in tombs.

Apparently, Mycenaean vessels were associated with a cosmopolitan life-style. Such a lifestyle was available to non-urban groups only to a very limited extent. The smaller quantities of Mycenaean pottery found in the interior of Cyprus, as well as the scarcity of Mycenaean dinner vessels, in particular pictorial kraters, in tombs at secondary and tertiary sites, are evidence of restricted access for regional élites to this material. This indicates that Mycenaean vessels, in particular of dinner type, served an active role in social strategies on a regional level. Due to the gradual appropriation of the cosmopolitan life-style by groups not living in primary centres, Mycenaean dinner vessels gradually became available to wider groups of people during LCIIC. This form of emulation was complete when Mycenaean dinner vessels became part of the Cypriot ceramic industry at the end of LCIIC.

257 For the existence of systems of unequal exchange which supported élite groups on the coast that controlled copper production and engaged in international maritime exchange, see Knapp 1986a; 1996a; Keswani 1993; 1996; Webb & Frankel 1994 (all with further references).

258 According to Susan Sherratt (1999, 170), all parts of the island, excluding the upper reaches of the Troodos mountains has yielded Mycenaean pots and there is "...scarcely a cluster of tombs or settlement known from surface survey which has not produced imported sherds."


As Louise Steel has also shown, Mycenaean storage vessels were not primarily related to élite practices. A process of emulation comparable to that of Mycenaean dinner vessels is not apparent with regard to storage pots. Nevertheless, it is of significance that such vessels served specific roles in supra-regional distribution. Such may be concluded from the concentrations of these vessels in Building A at Apliki and in the eastern part of the sanctuary at Athienou. Also, Mycenaean storage vessels seemed to have played a major role in the funerary ceremonies of people living in the interior of the island. Rather than to élite practices, the significance of these Mycenaean storage vessels appears to have been related to their character as imported craft products. They may be compared to other paraphernalia of international trade which played a role in supra-local relations, such as the ivory rhyton and stone cylinder seals at Athienou and the seals, the ivory box stopper and the bone comb at Apliki.

The cultural significance of Mycenaean pots in Cyprus, then, was connected to the symbolic messages they carried as artefacts indicative of a wider, international world and a cosmopolitan life-style. By subjecting these imported vessels to strategies of restricted distribution, they became active paraphernalia that legitimised the supra-local powers of coastal élites. Several observations have been made, however, which indicate that Mycenaean vessels could be endowed with a variety of other meanings as well. First of all, such vessels could circulate for substantial periods of time in regional exchange networks. This opens the possibility that they were part of systems of gift-exchange, and referred to former owners and situations of which they had previously been part. Secondly, it has been shown that large Aegean coarse ware stirrup jars, which originally must have been intended for bulk transport, were included in small quantities in tombs all over Cyprus. Obviously, these vessels had acquired a cultural meaning that made them suitable to be part of ceremonies of a symbolic nature. Finally, specialised Mycenaean ceramic shapes, such as rhyta or figurines, have been part of Cypriot rituals of cult. Such was also the case for the Mycenaean jugs discovered at Athienou. This indicates that religious meanings could also be a part of the cultural significance of these imported vessels. Mycenaean pots, therefore, were endowed with a variety of meanings which derived from indigenous cultural practices. It is logical to assume that the relative importance of these cultural meanings was the rational behind the unequal appreciation of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus.

263 Malinowsky 1922; Mauss 1954. For more recent discussions of this topic, see, for example, Gregory 1982; Parry & Bloch 1989 (both with extensive bibliography on the subject).