

*Eggen Stav Jørdm*

# Ritual Architecture, Iconography and Practice in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age

Jennifer M. Webb

---



Paul Åströms förlag  
Jonsered 1999

**STUDIES IN MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND  
LITERATURE**

Pocket-book 75

Published by Professor Paul Åström, William Gibsons väg 11,  
S-433 76 Jonsered, Sweden

*In fond memory of Jacques-Claude Courtois*

Cover image after P. Beck 1983  
A Cypriote cylinder from Lachish. *Tel Aviv* 10 fig. 1

© Jennifer M. Webb 1999

ISBN 91-7081-148-2

Printed in Sweden by

Graphic Systems AB, Göteborg



# CONTENTS

List of tables	v
List of figures	v
Preface	xii
Abbreviations	xii
<b>I. THEORY AND CONTEXT</b>	<b>1</b>
Religion, Ritual and Ideology	1
Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age	3
Terminology	8
<b>II. CULT SITES</b>	<b>10</b>
The Problem of Recognition	10
A Polythetic Approach	13
The Data Base. A Spectrum of Reliability	17
A. Reliably Identified Sites	21
1. Athienou <i>Bamboulari tis Koukounninas</i>	21
2. Ayios Iakovos <i>Dhima</i>	29
3. Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> . Rooms CD1–CD6. Periods III–IV	35
4–5. Kition <i>Kathari</i> . Temple 2 and Temple 3. Floor IV	37
6. Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> . Periods V–VII	44
7. Ayia Irini. Period 1	53
8. Kouklia <i>Palaepaphos</i> . Sanctuary I	58
9–10. Kition <i>Kathari</i> . Temple 1, Temple 2, Temene A and B and the Northern and Western Workshops	64
11–12. Kition <i>Kathari</i> . Temple 4 and Temple 5	77
13. Idalion <i>Ambelleri</i> . Periods 1–3	84
14–15. Enkomi. The Sanctuary of the Horned God and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess	91
16. Enkomi. The Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sols IV–I	102
B. Less Reliably Identified Sites	113

17. Kalopsidha <i>Koufos</i>	113	Stepped Bases	182
18. Enkomi. The Quarter 6E Ashlar Building (formerly 'The House of the Columns')	116	Baetyls and Stelae	182
19. Enkomi. The Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sols VI-V	119	Anchors	184
20. Alassa <i>Pano Mandilaris</i>	122	Other	187
21. Alassa <i>Paliotaverna</i>	125	The Ceramic Assemblage	188
22. Hala Sultan Tekke. Area 8. Rooms 61, 67, 67A, 71 and 79	127	Bowls and Skyphoi	189
23. Hala Sultan Tekke. Area 8. Room 95 Complex	130	Kylikes/Stemmed Cups	193
24. Enkomi. Quarter 5E. The 'Sanctuaire du Dieu Lunaire'	130	Kalathoi	196
25. Enkomi. Quarter 6W	132	Kraters	196
26. Enkomi. Quarter 6W	134	Offering Stands	197
27. Phlamoudhi <i>Melissa</i>	134	Jugs and Juglets	198
28. Sinda <i>Harman Tepe</i>	134	Jars	199
29. Arsos	134	Amphorae and Amphoriskoi	199
C. Misidentified Sites	135	Rhyta	199
30. Korovia <i>Nitovikla</i> . The Fortress 'Altar'	135	Kernoï	201
31. Phlamoudhi <i>Vounari</i>	135	Arm Vessels	202
32. Ambelia <i>Djirpoulos</i>	140	Ladles, Sieves and Cooking Pots	202
33. Enkomi. Fortress Room 113. Level IB	140	Pithoi	203
34. Enkomi. Fortress Rooms 13 and 13A. Level IIA	143	Lamps, Torches and Wall Brackets	203
35. Sinda <i>Siratas</i> Tomb 1. Period I	143	Vessels with Figured Decoration	205
36. Pyla <i>Kokkinokremos</i>	144	Other	209
37. Enkomi. Area III. The 'Tower Sanctuary'	146	Terracottas	209
38. Chatos/Psilatos	149	Anthropomorphic	209
<b>III. ARCHITECTURE AND ARTEFACTS</b>	<b>157</b>	Horse-rider and Bull-handler Groups	215
Structure and Function	157	Zoomorphic	216
Interior Furnishings	166	Masks	219
Benches	166	Bronzes	223
Hearths	166	Freestanding Anthropomorphic Figures	223
Stone Tables	169	a. The Ingot God	223
Slaughtering Blocks	171	b. The Horned God	227
Stone Platforms	171	c. Seated Male Figures	229
Wells and Pithoi	173	d. The Double Goddess	231
Drains, Sumps and Channels	173	e. The Bomford, Bairaktar and Kouklia <i>Teratsoudhia</i> Bronzes	232
Pits and Bothroi	174	f. The Pyla <i>Kokkinokremos</i> Bronze	235
Basins	175	Human/Animal Groups	235
Horns of Consecration	176	Zoomorphic	236
Stepped Capitals	179	Other Portable Finds	237
		Bronze Objects, Scrap and Metallic Waste	237
		Ivory, Faience, Glass, Alabaster and Ostrich Eggs	243

Cylinder and Stamp Seals	243
Grinding and Percussion Tools	247
Weaving Tools	248
Weights, Clay Balls	248
Incised Scapulae, Modified Astragali and Worked Shells	249
Faunal Remains	250
<b>IV. IMAGES OF THE SUPERNATURAL</b>	<b>259</b>
The Evidence of Vase Painting	259
The Evidence of Glyptic	262
The Robed Crowned God	263
The Master of Animals	263
The Robed Crowned Goddess	266
The Mistress of Animals	266
The Caprid Goddess	267
The Nude Goddess	267
The Anthropomorphic Ministrant	270
The Bull-man	270
The Lion-man	271
The Griffin-man	271
Ritual Processions	271
Adoration of the Tree	272
Animal Hunts	272
Male Figure with Tree, Bucranium and Ingots	276
<b>V. IDEOLOGY, CULT AND POLITICS</b>	<b>284</b>
The Structural Evidence	284
Constructing a Typological Framework	295
Artefacts and Ideology	297
The Archaic State Model	305
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>309</b>
<b>INDEX</b>	<b>365</b>

#### LIST OF TABLES

Table I: The chronology of Late Bronze Age Cypriot cult sites	18
Table II: Ceramic vessels in residual cult assemblages	190
Table III: Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representation in residual cult assemblages	212
Table IV: Knives, axes, sickles and weapons in residual cult assemblages	238

#### LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Cyprus showing major sites mentioned in the text	16
Figure 2: Athienou <i>Bamboulari tis Koukounninas</i> . Stratum III. After Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: plan D	23
Figure 3: Athienou <i>Bamboulari tis Koukounninas</i> . Stratum II. After Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: plan C	24
Figure 4: Miniature vessels from Athienou <i>Bamboulari tis Koukounninas</i> Stratum III. After Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: figs. 18.1-2, 31.1, 42.1, 44.1, 45.10, 46.4, 37, 47.27, 48.19, 21	26
Figure 5: Finds from Athienou <i>Bamboulari tis Koukounninas</i> Stratum III. After Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: figs. 11.20, 54.3-4, 56, 60.1	27
Figure 6: Ayios Iakovos <i>Dhima</i> . After Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934: plan XIII	30
Figure 7: Finds from Ayios Iakovos <i>Dhima</i> . After Åström and Åström 1972: figs. 60.18, 30, 33, 65.4, 6, 8, 17, 37, 71.7, 27 (nos. 1-10); Eriksson 1993: fig. 7 (no. 11)	32
Figure 8: Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> . Periods III-IV. Rooms CD1-CD6. After du Plat Taylor <i>et al.</i> 1957: fig. 3	36
Figure 9: Kition. Area II. Temples 2 and 3. Floor IV. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan III	38
Figure 10: Kition. Temple 3. Floor IV. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan IX	39
Figure 11: Kition. Temple 2. Floor IV. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan VIII	40
Figure 12: Mycenaean pottery from Kition Temple 2, Floor IV. After Karageorghis <i>et al.</i> 1981: pls. XI.1-3, XIV.24-25, XV.33	41

Figure 13: Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> . Periods V–VII. After du Plat Taylor <i>et al.</i> 1957: fig. 4 .....	45
Figure 14: Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> . Periods V–VII. Detail of Rooms 15–17. After du Plat Taylor <i>et al.</i> 1957: fig. 12 .....	46
Figure 15: Finds from Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> Periods V–VII. After du Plat Taylor <i>et al.</i> 1957: figs. 20, 23, 32, 34 .....	49
Figure 16: Cylinder seals and other objects from Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> Periods V–VII. After du Plat Taylor <i>et al.</i> 1957: pl. V.a–c, e .....	50
Figure 17: Ayia Irini. Period 1. After Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1935: fig. 263 .....	55
Figure 18: Assemblage in Room V at Ayia Irini. After Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1935: plan XXX.1 .....	56
Figure 19: Kouklia <i>Palaepaphos</i> . Sanctuary I. After Maier 1979b: fig. 3 .....	59
Figure 20: Kouklia <i>Palaepaphos</i> . Sanctuary I. Proposed reconstruction ...	60
Figure 21: Clay basin (no. 1) and pithos (no. 2) from Kouklia <i>Palaepaphos</i> Sanctuary I. After Maier and Karageorghis 1984: fig. 78 (no. 1); Maier 1977: fig. 3 (no. 2) .....	63
Figure 22: Kition. Area II. Floor IIIA. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan II .....	66
Figure 23: Kition. Area II. Temple 1. Floor IIIA. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan XI .....	67
Figure 24: Kition. Area II. Temple 1, Temple 2 and Temenos B. Reconstruction according to Callot. After Callot 1985: fig. 67 .....	68
Figure 25: Kition. Area II. Temple 2 and Temenos B. Floor IIIA. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan XVI .....	70
Figure 26: Kition. Area II. Temenos A. Floor IIIA. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan IV .....	72
Figure 27: Kition. Area II. Northern Workshops and Tower B. Floor IIIA. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan XXVIII .....	75
Figure 28: Kition. Area II. Temple 4. Floor IIIA. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan XXIV .....	78
Figure 29: Bronze and ivory objects from Kition Temple 4. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pl. CXC VII .....	79
Figure 30: Kition. Area II. Temple 5. Floor IIIA. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan XXIV .....	81

Figure 31: Objects from Kition Temple 5. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pls. CXCII, CCX, CCXIII, CCXVI, CCXVII .....	82
Figure 32: Idalion <i>Ambelleri</i> . Period 1. After Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1935: plan XVI .....	85
Figure 33: Assemblage in west corner of Room XXXIV at Idalion <i>Ambelleri</i> . Period 1. After Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1935: fig. 242 .....	86
Figure 34: Idalion <i>Ambelleri</i> . Period 2. After Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1935: plan XVII .....	87
Figure 35: Idalion <i>Ambelleri</i> . Period 3. After Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1935: plan XVIII .....	88
Figure 36: Enkomi. Area I (Quarter 4W). Reconstructed Ashlar Building. Sanctuary of the Horned God and Sanctuary of the Double Goddess. Level IIIB. After Dikaios 1969: pl. 277 .....	93
Figure 37: Finds from the Sanctuary of the Horned God, Enkomi. After Dikaios 1969: pls. 136, 170.14, 173.24 .....	94
Figure 38: Bronze objects from the Sanctuary of the Horned God, Enkomi. After Dikaios 1969: pls. 171.16, 41, 51, 53, 172.7, 176.47 .....	95
Figure 39: Enkomi. Area I (Quarter 4W). Second reconstruction of Ashlar Building. Sanctuary of the Horned God. Level IIIC. After Dikaios 1969: pl. 279 .....	97
Figure 40: East-west section through Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God, Enkomi. After Dikaios 1969: pl. 280.8 .....	98
Figure 41: Enkomi. Quarter 5E. After Courtois 1971b: fig. 1 .....	103
Figure 42: Enkomi. Quarter 5E. Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sols IV–I ..	104
Figure 43: Enkomi. Quarter 5E. Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sol III. After Courtois 1971b: figs. 1–2 .....	105
Figure 44: Ceramic vessels from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, Enkomi. After Courtois 1971b: figs. 69, 90, 94, 96, 118 .....	108
Figure 45: Decorated ceramics from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, Enkomi. After Courtois 1971b: figs. 77, 99, 102, 104, 118, 140 .....	109
Figure 46: ‘Centaur’ A (no. 1) and ‘Centaur’ B (no. 2) from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, Enkomi. Sol III. After Courtois 1971b: figs. 121, 123–24, 126 .....	110

Figure 47: East-west section through the northeast adyton of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, Enkomi. After Schaeffer 1971: fig. 10.....	111
Figure 48: Miniature vessels from Kalopsidha <i>Koufos</i> . After Åström 1966: figs. 71, 78.....	114
Figure 49: Enkomi. Quarter 6E. Ashlar building (formerly the House of the Columns). After Courtois 1986b: fig. 7.....	117
Figure 50: Enkomi. Quarter 5E. Proposed reconstruction of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sols VI–V.....	121
Figure 51: Alassa <i>Pano Mandilaris</i> . After Hadjisavvas 1991: fig. 17.3....	124
Figure 52: Alassa <i>Paliotaverna</i> . Building II. South wing. After Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997: fig. 1.....	126
Figure 53: Hala Sultan Tekke. Area 8. Room 67 complex. After Åström <i>pers comm</i> .....	128
Figure 54: Hala Sultan Tekke. Area 8. Room 95 complex. After Åström 1998: fig. 3.....	131
Figure 55: Enkomi. Quarter 6W. After Caubet and Courtois 1986: fig. 2.....	133
Figure 56: The Korovia <i>Nitovikla</i> fortress. After Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934: plan XV.....	136
Figure 57: Phlamoudhi <i>Vounari</i> . After Al-Radi 1983: fig. 5.....	137
Figure 58: Enkomi. Area III. Fortress. Room 113 of Level IB (no. 1) and Rooms 13 and 13A of Level IIA (no. 2). After Dikaios 1969: pls. 246, 250.....	142
Figure 59: Pyla <i>Kokkinokremos</i> . Area I. After Karageorghis and Demas 1984: fig. 3.....	145
Figure 60: Enkomi. Area III. Tower. Levels IIIB and IIIC. After Dikaios 1969: plans 256–57.....	147
Figure 61: Cult buildings of LC IIA–LC IIC/IIIA.....	159
Figure 62: Cult buildings of LC III.....	160
Figure 63: Enkomi. Sanctuary of the Ingot God. North-south section in northwest corner of hall (no. 1) and east-west section (no. 2). After Courtois 1971b: figs. 54, 46bis.....	167
Figure 64: Ritual hearths. After Courtois 1971b: fig. 58 (no. 1), Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pls. 38.2, 42.1, 45.2 (nos. 2–4).....	168

Figure 65: Stone tables. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pls. 33.1, 46.1, plan XVI (nos. 1–3); Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934: plan XIII (no. 4).....	170
Figure 66: Stone platforms. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pl. 42.3 (no. 1); du Plat Taylor <i>et al.</i> 1957: fig. 8 (no. 2); Ionas 1985: fig. 1 (no. 3).....	172
Figure 67: Stone horns of consecration. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pl. 42.3 (no. 1); du Plat Taylor <i>et al.</i> 1957: fig. 9 (no. 2); Maier and Karageorghis 1984: fig. 85 (no. 3).....	177
Figure 68: Horns of consecration. After South 1997: fig. 6 (no. 1); Karageorghis 1976e: fig. 1 (no. 2); Murray, Smith and Walters 1900: fig. 67 (no. 3).....	178
Figure 69: Stepped capitals from Kition (nos. 1–2) and reconstruction of pillar, capital and base (no. 3). After Callot 1985: figs. 35, 37, 55.....	180
Figure 70: Carved stele from Hala Sultan Tekke (no. 1) and anchor stones from Room 12 of the Northern Workshops at Kition (nos. 2–4). After Hult 1977a: fig. 175 (no. 1); Frost 1985b: fig. 11.1–3 (nos. 2–4).....	185
Figure 71: Kition. Area II. Disposition of anchor stones. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan II.....	186
Figure 72: Images on seals. After Karageorghis 1959: fig. 2 (no. 1); Boardman 1970b: pl. 206 (no. 2); Porada 1986: pls. XVIII.5 (no. 5), 6 (no. 3), XIX.1 (no. 6), 2 (no. 4).....	195
Figure 73: Decorated vessels from Kition Temple 5 (no. 1) and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (no. 2). After Karageorghis <i>et al.</i> 1981: pl. XIII (no. 1); Courtois 1971b: fig. 106 (no. 2).....	206
Figure 74: Female images in terracotta. After Karageorghis 1993: cover (no. 1) and fig. 51 (no. 5); Morris 1985: figs. 269 (no. 3), 274 (no. 4), 280 (no. 2).....	210
Figure 75: Terracotta figurines from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (nos. 1–3, 5–6) and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess (no. 4). After Courtois 1971b: figs. 149 (nos. 1–2, 6), 153 (no. 5), 154 (no. 3); Dikaios 1969: pl. 170.3 (no. 4).....	214
Figure 76: Terracotta animals and human/animal groups. After Morris 1985: figs. 278–79 (nos. 1–2); Karageorghis 1993: figs. 4, 20 (nos. 3–4).....	217

Figure 77: Terracotta masks from Enkomi and Kition. After Courtois 1971b: fig. 149 (no. 3), 1984: fig. 27.1-2, 4 (nos. 1-2, 4); Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pls. CCXIV.553, CCXXXIII.3809 (nos. 5-6); Lagarce and Lagarce 1986: pl. XXIX.9 (no. 7).....	221
Figure 78: The Horned God (no. 1) and Ingot God (no. 2). After Dikaios 1969: pl. 140 (no. 1); Catling 1971:16, fig. 1 (no. 2).....	224
Figure 79: Seated male figures in bronze. After Schaeffer 1971:518, fig. 7 (no. 1); Negbi 1976:55, figs. 65-66 (nos. 2-3).....	230
Figure 80: Female figures in bronze. After Catling 1971: fig. 2 (no. 1); Karageorghis 1990b: pl. LII (no. 2); Karageorghis and Demas 1984: pl. XLIV.62 (no. 3); Dikaios 1969: pl. 171.52 (no. 4).....	233
Figure 81: Miniature ingots (nos. 1, 3-5), inscribed metal object from Kition Temple 2, Floor IV (no. 2) and notched scapula from Kition (no. 6). After Dikaios 1969: pls. 171.14, 176.42 (nos. 1, 3); O. Masson 1971:452, figs. 3-4 (nos. 4-5); Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pls. CLXXXVI, CCXXVII (nos. 2, 6).....	242
Figure 82: Cylinder and stamp seals from Idalion (no. 1), Ayia Irini (nos. 2-4), Ayios Iakovos <i>Dhima</i> (nos. 5-7) and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (no. 8). After Gjerstad <i>et al.</i> 1934: pl. CL.8-10 (nos. 5-7), 1935: pls. CLXXXVI.19 (no. 1), CCXLIII.11, 20-21 (nos. 2-4); Courtois 1971b: fig. 80 (no. 8).....	245
Figure 83: The robed crowned god (nos. 1-3), bull-man (nos. 1, 3-5), lion-man (nos. 2, 6), griffin-man (nos. 1, 5-6) and anthropomorphic ministrant (nos. 2-3, 5-6). Images on seals. After Dikaios 1969: pl. 185.4 (no. 1); Kenna 1972: figs. 83, nos. 31 (no. 2), 32 (no. 4), 84, no. 33 (no. 5); Schaeffer 1983:45, R.S. 21.014 (no. 3), 60, Chypre A4 (no. 6).....	264
Figure 84: The Master of Animals. Images on seals and a sealing. After Kenna 1972: figs. 82, no. 27 (no. 3), 86, no. 41 (no. 1); Schaeffer 1983:56, Enkomi-Alasia 1.002 (no. 2); Porada 1976: fig. 78 (no. 4); Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997: fig. 4 (no. 5); Porada 1990:340, no. 2 (no. 6).....	265
Figure 85: The robed crowned goddess (nos. 1-4), nude goddess (no. 1) and caprid goddess (nos. 5-6). Images on seals. After Kenna 1971: pl. XVII, no. 71 (no. 6), 1972: figs. 82, no. 26 (no. 2), 83, no. 30 (no. 1), 84, no. 35 (no. 4); Beck 1983: fig. 1 (no. 3); Courtois and Webb 1987: no. 8 (no. 5).....	268
Figure 86: The Mistress of Animals. Images on seals. After A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. XIV, nos. 38 (no. 4), 40 (no. 3), 41 (no. 1), 42 (no. 6); Dikaios 1969: pl. 186a.4b (no. 2); Kenna 1972: fig. 82, no. 29 (no. 5).....	269
Figure 87: Ritual processions. Images on seals. After Courtois and Webb 1987:80, nos. 2-4 (nos. 1-2, 4), pls. 7, nos. 24 (no. 3), 8, no. 26 (no. 6); Kenna 1971: pl. XXIX, no. 108 (no. 5).....	273
Figure 88: Adoration of the tree (nos. 1-2) and hunt scenes (nos. 3-6). Images on seals. After Courtois and Webb 1987:80, no. 1 (no. 6), pl. 8, nos. 28-29 (nos. 1-2); Dikaios 1969: pl. 186.11 (no. 3); Schaeffer 1983:65, Chypre A16 (no. 4); A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. XIII, no. 28 (no. 5).....	274
Figure 89: Seated figure with spear, attendant, bucranium, tree and ingots. Images on seals. After A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. XIII, nos. 17 (no. 1), 22 (no. 4), 23 (no. 5), 25 (no. 6), 26 (no. 3), 27 (no. 2).....	275
Figure 90: Hunt-related scenes. Images on seals. After A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pls. XII, nos. 10 (no. 6), 11 (no. 5), XIII, nos. 20 (no. 4), 21 (no. 3), 32 (no. 2), XIV, no. 36 (no. 1).....	277
Figure 91: Male figure with tree, bucranium and ingots. Images on seals. After Kenna 1971: pl. XXX, no. 114 (no. 1), 1972: fig. 88, nos. 54 (no. 3), 57 (no. 6), 59 (no. 4), 61 (no. 5); Porada 1976: fig. 80 (no. 2).....	278
Figure 92: Enkomi. Town plan showing location of cult buildings. After Negbi 1986: fig. 3.....	290
Figure 93: Kition. Proposed line of city wall showing location of Area II. After Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pl. 2.....	291
Figure 94: Ship graffiti on the south wall of Kition Temple 1. After Basch and Artzy 1985: fig. 3.....	303



## PREFACE

This manuscript is a substantially revised and updated version of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Melbourne in 1988. Its completion, in both the original and revised forms, is due to the support and encouragement of many people. Vassos Karageorghis both suggested this subject for research and gave me the opportunity to study the Kition temples at first hand. I have also benefited greatly from the advice and expertise of Hector Catling, F.-G. Maier, Bogdan Rutkowski, Robert Merrillees, Paul Åström, J.-C. Courtois, A.B. Knapp and David Frankel, with each of whom I have discussed particular aspects of the archaeological record. J.-C. Courtois answered numerous questions concerning unpublished material from Enkomi and provided access to excavation notes, enabling this to be a more complete record than would otherwise have been possible. Paul Åström accepted a much belated manuscript for publication as a SIMA Pocket-book and provided important information concerning his excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke. Alex Kaplan expertly prepared the figures and assisted with layout. The volume was completed while the author held an Australian Research Council Fellowship, awarded by the Australian Research Council, Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, Commonwealth Government of Australia in 1998. I am most grateful for this support.

Jennifer M. Webb  
Australian Research Council Fellow  
Department of Archaeology  
La Trobe University  
Bundoora, Victoria 3083  
jenny.webb@latrobe.edu.au

## ABBREVIATIONS

BR:	Base-ring Ware
BRW-m:	Base-ring Wheel-made Ware
CW:	Coarse Ware
EC:	Early Cypriot
LC:	Late Cypriot
MC:	Middle Cypriot
PW:	Plain Ware
PWH-m:	Plain White Hand-made Ware
PWP:	Proto White Painted Ware
PWW-m:	Plain White Wheel-made Ware
RLW-m:	Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware
WPW-m:	White Painted Wheel-made Ware
WS:	White Slip Ware

## I. THEORY AND CONTEXT

THIS VOLUME focuses on the recognition of cult in the context of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age and the characterisation of cult buildings and related paraphernalia. It is concerned with the identification and elucidation of cult places and cult practices based on the existing archaeological record, and the formulation of a series of indicators which allow reasonable inference that a particular site was given over to organised ritual activity. These indicators are drawn from the material record of excavated sites and supplemented by iconographic data. The study is also concerned with an analysis of underlying belief systems and might therefore be characterised as an exercise in both effective applied and cognitive archaeology (Renfrew 1994a:3).

### RELIGION, RITUAL AND IDEOLOGY

DEFINITIONS of religion vary considerably but for the most part include a belief in unseen powers and the existence of patterns of meaning embodied in symbolic form. More specifically, religion may be said to constitute a set of symbols which formulate a basic congruence between a particular style of life and a specific if rarely explicit metaphysic, and in so doing sustains each with the borrowed authority of the other (Geertz 1966:4). For Horton (1960), Goody (1961) and Spiro (1966) the core variable which distinguishes religion from other sociocultural phenomena is the belief in superhuman beings and their power to assist or to harm mankind. Thus Spiro (1966:96–98) defines *religion* as ‘an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings’, while beliefs concerning the existence and attributes of these beings, and of the efficacy of certain types of behaviour in influencing their relations with man, constitute a *belief system*. ‘Interaction’ refers to activities that are believed to carry out or be consistent with the will of superhuman beings or powers, undertaken in order to obtain their assistance or protect against their wrath. Such activities, which are in large measure symbolic, may be said to constitute a *ritual system*. Such systems, like the belief structures upon which they are based, are culturally patterned and may, if viewed from without, appear obscure or arbitrary.

While the distinction between religion and other culturally constituted institutions may strictly lie in its ultimate reference to superhuman beings, in reality it is virtually impossible to set substantive boundaries to religious behaviour (Spiro 1966:90). Not only are functional aspects of religion (for example anxiety reduction and social solidarity) frequently common to other

parts of the sociocultural system (such as kinship, class and political structures), but religion itself is a core product of that system and may underlie virtually every arena of social action. Furthermore, religious beliefs and ritual practice are frequently embedded in ideological constructs which provide the conceptual basis for the belief that a particular social order is the natural order of things.

Ideology may be defined as the use of religious and other symbolism for political and social purposes, or more specifically as 'the capability of dominant groups or classes to make their own sectional interests appear to others as universal ones' (Giddens 1979:6. See also Manning 1980; Thompson 1984; Eagleton 1991). The role of ideology in the development and maintenance of stratified society is increasingly evident (Miller and Tilley 1984; Miller *et al.* 1989; Kristiansen 1984; Demarest 1989; Demarest and Conrad 1992; Friedrich 1989; Earle 1993; Knapp 1986b, 1988a, 1996a, 1996b). It may be widened to include the active manipulation of mythology to promote elite claims to power and explain specific events (Sahlins 1981, 1985; Urton 1990; Bauer 1996). In Cyprus, the emergence of sociopolitical inequality in the early years of the Late Bronze Age is likely to have involved elites in ideological legitimisation, as they sought to establish control over wealth production and exchange. Mechanisms of legitimisation typically include the construction and control of ceremonial architecture, ritual paraphernalia and exotic and symbolic artefacts and the development of socially coercive sanctions (Knapp 1986b, 1996a, 1996b; Webb 1997b). This presumes an active role for material culture and its encoded symbols and suggests that the manipulation of such referents played a significant role in mediating social relationships and establishing social boundaries.

Analyses of religious and ideological constructs require detailed observation of the society within which they were embedded. A prior and more fundamental issue, however, concerns the recognition of material residues of the cognitive and affective aspects of ritual behaviour and the interpretation of complex iconographic and symbolic data. These substantive issues are peculiar to the archaeological study of religion, and of particular importance in the case of Late Bronze Age Cyprus where contemporary textual data are unavailable. Only a handful of clay documents in the undeciphered Cypro-Minoan script have been found, suggesting that records were normally kept on non-durable materials, such as wood, papyrus, leather and wax-covered writing boards (Smith 1994:61–62, 253). In any case literacy is likely to have been restricted to those at the highest level of sociopolitical organisation. The dissemination of belief systems to other sectors of society must have taken place through objects and images, oral traditions and ritual performances.

## CYPRUS IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

DURING the course of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus independent village-based communities became integrated into stratified, urban-based societies which may be characterised as states or polities. State formation in Cyprus, however, was not the result of indigenous restructuring along a gradual evolutionary trajectory. It was, rather, initiated by cultural and economic interaction with more organisationally complex polities of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean and the elaboration of a prestige-goods economy based largely on the import of foreign goods acquired in exchange for Cypriot copper. This process of 'secondary state formation' (Price 1978) was accompanied by a profound shift in both the material culture and geo-political history of the island.

A number of scholars (Muhly 1989; Knapp 1988a, 1993:99, 1994a:424–28, 1997a:65–66, 1997b; Knapp and Cherry 1994:137–38; Peltenburg 1996) have proposed the emergence of a single archaic state in Cyprus during the C16th, founded and dominated by a paramount centre at Enkomi on the east coast. While this fledgling state may not have been able to establish island-wide authority it appears to have dominated foreign relations and maintained control over the mining, distribution and export of Cypriot copper. Since copper had to be obtained from inland sources, a regional infrastructure was required to ensure the consignment of ores from the mines to refinery and transshipment points. This, Peltenburg (1996) suggests, was achieved by a hinterland strategy of direct procurement, underpinned by a network of forts established at critical junctures to ensure the cooperation of local populations and the safety of the east-west routes between the mines and Enkomi. Some twenty-one forts have been identified, built during the period in which Enkomi was establishing control. At the same time Enkomi may also have been mobilising agricultural surpluses collected as tribute for distribution to specialists at the mines, along transshipment routes and at Enkomi itself.

The existence of such a 'unitary state' in LC I and early LC II is not universally accepted. Merrillees rejects both the equation of Cyprus with the kingdom of Alashiya and the pre-eminence of Enkomi, suggesting that 'Cyprus' polity ... probably consisted of autonomous settlements, differentiated only by size and wealth according to the nature and level of their economic, especially commercial activity' (1992:310). Keswani, also, finds little evidence for the operation of a hierarchically organised, island-wide administrative system at any time during the Late Bronze Age (1996:234). There is, she argues (1993:74–75), no coherent system of symbols that would suggest a state-sponsored religion and no iconographic evidence of subordination to a common central authority. The prominent, if not predominant, role of Enkomi throughout the period, however, is clear. Analyses of mortuary data from this site have demonstrated the presence of a highly stratified social order with symbolically



and economically differentiated elites by the late C16th (Keswani 1989a, 1989b). The primacy of Enkomi as a metallurgical production and export centre throughout the Late Cypriot period also appears beyond doubt (Manning and De Mita 1997; Pickles and Peltenburg 1998).

There is general agreement that by the late C14th or early C13th the island was divided into a series of regionally-based polities (perhaps as many as eight), administered by local elites whose authority rested largely on the control of regional copper industries and other material and symbolic resources (Knapp 1986a, 1986b, 1988a, 1988b, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1996c, 1997a; Keswani 1993, 1996; Merrillees 1992; Webb and Frankel 1994; Manning and De Mita 1997). The development of this system was accompanied by a significant expansion of the metal industry and overseas trade (Muhly 1989), increased urbanisation (Negbi 1986; Keswani 1996) and an intensification of the agricultural base (Webb and Frankel 1994), requiring greater levels of specialised labour and managerial control, and an enhanced dependence on well-integrated regional networks of alliance and exchange. The C13th is also characterised by the construction of large ashlar buildings, apparently used for administration and/or storage, and a concomitant rise in bureaucratic administration and specialist craft production. These are generally understood to be signs of a new complex of regional political entities (Keswani 1993, 1996; Knapp 1997a:48–63; Manning 1998:48–49).

Keswani has argued that these regional systems followed varied paths to urbanisation and, as a result, had diverse internal organisations (1996). *Tounba tou Skourou*, Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke, it is suggested, were formed when residents from various communities and perhaps regions gathered in new localities to exploit the possibilities of foreign trade. In their more developed form they appear to have remained segmentary, with a multiplicity of institutions and elite groups in each centre, none of which was clearly paramount. Competing groups may have exercised control over some spheres of political and economic activity but not others and the ascendancy of particular groups may have fluctuated over time. The organisation of these polities, which typically have a multiplicity of ashlar buildings, religious and industrial areas and a wide distribution of elite tombs, is characterised by Keswani (1996) as 'heterarchical'. 'Hierarchical' polities, which include Kalavassos, Maroni and Alassa, appear to have drawn their populations from earlier settlements in their own geographically circumscribed valleys. As a result, older structures of social and political integration may have survived longer and functioned more effectively. These polities typically have spatially localised complexes of ashlar buildings and storage facilities, whose residents appear to have exercised centralised control over agricultural production and metallurgy and to have had few or no institutional peers. The seemingly greater degree of centralisation at sites such as Kalavassos and Alassa may also relate to their closer proximity to the copper mines, which may have made it easier for small elite groups to

maintain control over copper exploitation. Sites more distant from the mines had of necessity to rely on extensive regional networks of copper procurement and exchange, allowing more opportunities for competing groups to gain access to the same sources of copper or to exploit alternatives (Keswani 1996:237).

Keswani (1993) has further proposed that the larger regional polities (eg Enkomi, Kition) operated within a hierarchical system of urban coastal centres, inland ceremonial or/and transshipment points (eg Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*), mining communities (eg Apliki *Karamallos*) and agricultural support villages (eg Analiondas *Palioklichia*), linked by a complex network of tributary and exchange relations. This has been refined by Knapp (1997a:48–63, Table 2, 1997b:156), who proposes a four-fold hierarchy, comprised of primary ('urban') coastal centres, secondary ('town') inland centres, tertiary inland sites and peripheral production (mining, pottery, agricultural) centres. Both settlement models, and Keswani's distinction between hierarchically and heterarchically structured polities, have significant implications for understanding the range and function of excavated cult sites.

The organisational strategies which governed the production, consumption and exchange of resources in both the centralised polities and broader regional systems of Late Bronze Age Cyprus remain uncertain. Peltenburg (1996:35) suggests that during the early stages of its formation the archaic state at Enkomi used staple finance as a means of socioeconomic integration, in conjunction with the coercive underpinning of the fortified outposts (see also Knapp 1993:98–100). The latter, however, do not appear to have been a long-term solution to the problems of security and most were out of use by the late C16th. Subsequently, a more complex disbursement system dependent on both staple and wealth finance may have come into use. A similar two-fold redistribution model (based on D'Altroy and Earle 1985) has been convincingly applied to the political economy of the autonomous polities of the C13th and C12th by Keswani (1993). See also Knapp 1997a:49–50). New mechanisms must also have been developed for instilling compliance amongst local elites and those engaged in the extraction, smelting and transport of copper. While these are not well understood, it has been suggested that physical coercion was replaced by covert ideological sanctions, expressed through monumental architecture, official ritual paraphernalia and the circulation of symbolically charged artefacts (Peltenburg 1996; Knapp 1996a, 1996b; Webb 1997b). These are likely to have been important mechanisms of organisational and ideological control, and to have played a prominent role in encouraging the spread of a common symbolic system based on centralised expressions of power and prestige.

The last decade has added significant new insights to our understanding of the late C13th and early C12th (Muhly 1984; Kling 1989a, 1989b, 1991; Karageorghis 1990a:27–30, 1994; Sherratt 1991, 1992). The LC IIC/IIIA

transition has been seen as marking a major turning point in the history of the island, attributed to the arrival of Aegean newcomers fleeing disturbances on the Mycenaean mainland at the end of Late Helladic IIIB. Fabrics identified as Late Mycenaean IIIB, Mycenaean IIIB:2, Mycenaean IIIC:1 or Mycenaean IIIC:1b, Decorated Late Cypriot III, Levanto-Helladic and Rude (or Pastoral) Style were considered chronologically as well as culturally and historically distinct, reflecting styles in use on the island either prior to or immediately following the arrival of Aegean immigrants. Detailed studies of these matt-painted wheel-made 'wares' now, however, suggest that they overlap in shape and decoration and are present in both LC IIC and LC IIIA, creating a situation in which 'one man's Decorated Late Cypriot III is another man's Mycenaean IIIC' (Kling 1991:181). Kling's proposal (1989a:172, 1991) that the term White Painted Wheel-made III (introduced by Åström 1972b:276 and hereafter WPW-III) be used as an umbrella nomenclature for this material has been adopted by a number of scholars (Hadjisavvas 1991; Sherratt 1991). It has the advantage of removing the rigid chronological and cultural distinctions imposed on the LC IIC/IIIA transition and provides a new framework within which to examine developments in Cyprus in this period.

It is now clear that the destructions and/or abandonments which mark individual sites and regions in Cyprus toward the end of the C13th did not signify the sudden and total replacement of LC IIC material culture (Kling 1989a:174–75; Karageorghis 1990a:29; Sherratt 1991, 1992). Elements of continuity in ceramics and other aspects of the archaeological record are increasingly evident and display a blending of local, Levantine and Aegean (primarily eastern Aegean) features (Kling 1989a:175; Sherratt 1991). Previous arguments suggesting an incursion of a dominant population from the Mycenaean mainland in LC IIIA have been undermined, in favour of an increased emphasis on the continuity of local cultural traditions reflecting contacts with both east and west. More specifically, Sherratt has suggested that Aegean influences on Late Cypriot ceramics reflect 'Cyprus' participation in a new pattern of maritime trade which began to emerge with the collapse of the political and economic imperial systems towards the end of the 13th century' (Sherratt 1991:194). While small groups of Aegean people may have reached Cyprus at this time, they are likely to have been economic and cultural migrants for whom 'acculturation and integration to the comparatively cosmopolitan society of Cyprus ... was a desired and desirable process' (Sherratt 1992:325).

Recently Karageorghis has pointed anew to the introduction of Aegean elements in LC IIIA, including horns of consecration, 'cyclopean' defensive walls, central hearths and Handmade Burnished Ware, attributing these to the establishment of ethnic elements from the Aegean (1994:3–4). There is general agreement, however, that this did not constitute a full colonisation of the island and that Aegean settlers were nowhere politically or culturally dominant (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:276; Karageorghis 1994:4; Iacovou 1989:53).

These early indications of an Aegean presence appear, on the contrary, to mark the beginning of a lengthy process of ethnogenesis which did not result in an archaeologically visible hellenisation of the island until the end of the C11th (Karageorghis 1990a, 1994:4; Snodgrass 1988). Snodgrass (1994) has also emphasised the continuity of indigenous Cypriot traditions, particularly in cult practice, across the LC III/Cypro-Geometric transition.

Circumstances surrounding the LC IIIA/IIIB transition, in the last quarter of the C12th, are more vigorously contested. Associated with site abandonments, a shifting of settlements and cemeteries and the introduction of a new tomb type, LC IIIB has long been understood to reflect the arrival of a second and perhaps larger wave of Mycenaean colonists. Kling suggests that these changes were neither dramatic nor sudden but merely mark 'the culmination of a long, slow and peaceful process of assimilation of new people into the population' (1989a:176). Other scholars view the changes as more disruptive. Karageorghis argues for 'a completely new scenario' in LC IIIB (1990a:30), as a result of political and economic rivalry between native Cypriots and those Aegean settlers who had arrived almost a century before, while Catling suggests a prolonged period of urban breakdown 'during which Cyprus was the target of a series of uncoordinated attacks or incursions by bands of raiders whose ethnicity was largely, but not exclusively, Aegean-based' (1994:137). In a recent review Iacovou also notes disruptions in trade and communications between Cyprus and both the Aegean and the Levant from the mid-C12th to the mid-C11th BC (1994:159).

Disagreements concerning the rate and timing of the changes in LC IIIB are in part dependent on the dating of the Proto White Painted Ware pottery (hereafter PWP) which characterises this period and its relationship with the 'wavy line style' of Mycenaean IIIC:1c (see Kling 1989a:81–82). Iacovou argues for the last quarter of the C12th as the earliest possible date for the inception of PWP, with the lower limits put at around 1050 BC (1988:2). She further believes that PWP was not present in Areas I and III at Enkomi, indicating that the town was abandoned in favour of nearby Salamis at the end of LC IIIA (1988:8, 10). According to Iacovou, only Sols III–I of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God produced PWP, in a range of types which may be attributed to a single relatively short phase within the last quarter of the C12th (1988:9, 1989:55, 1991:203). By this reckoning the sanctuary continued in use for some years following the abandonment of the remainder of the town (see also Karageorghis 1990a:30 and Yon 1980a:79). Kling (1989a:83, 87, 174), however, recognises a stylistic overlap in pottery from settlement deposits at Enkomi and from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, and suggests that Sols III–I are contemporary with Dikaios' Levels IIIB and IIIC in LC IIIB, and thus in use during the final occupation of the town (on the chronology of excavated deposits at Enkomi see also Ionas 1984c; Kling 1989a:9–11, 23–34, 36–40, 82–84; Vanschoonwinkel 1994:113–115).

These developments in our understanding of LC IIC/IIIA and LC IIIA/IIIB are of particular importance to this study, as many of the excavated cult places were founded, remodelled or in use at these times. In some instances the blurring of the LC IIC/IIIA boundary has made the dating of construction (eg Kouklia *Palaepaphos* Sanctuary I) and abandonment (eg Myrtou *Pigadhes*) more problematic. The absence of major discontinuities in the archaeological record of cult practice across both transitions may now, however, be viewed in a new explanatory framework.

## TERMINOLOGY

THERE IS little consistency in the terminology used for Cypriot cult installations (see Karageorghis and Demas 1985:250–51; Wright 1992a:256). Buildings of similar type are identified as sanctuaries, house sanctuaries, house chapels, shrines or temples. Their main rooms are courts or halls, their inner rooms adyta, cellae, cult rooms, holy-of-holies or storerooms and associated external areas are variously temene or courtyards. Real morphological and functional diversity, on the other hand, is concealed in the indiscriminate use of the term ‘altar’ for such disparate installations as hearths, tables, rectangular blocks with concave surface, high stepped structures and ash-filled pits.

In the Aegean and the Near East freestanding public cult buildings are normally referred to as temples, while more diverse and less imposing installations (for example high places and sacred enclosures) are referred to as sanctuaries, cult places, cult sites or shrines (Nilsson 1950:77; Rutkowski 1972:38f., 1986:xix, 169–99; Ottosson 1980; Davey 1979; Wright 1985:225–26). As noted by Pelon (1984:61) and Whittaker (1997:6), however, the term ‘temple’ often carries implications of a major public monument. Thus, in the Cypriot context, the term may be appropriate for the cult buildings at Kition, Kouklia and Myrtou *Pigadhes* (Periods VI–VII), but is less so for smaller, less imposing structures at Idalion, Ayia Irini and Athienou. A further complicating factor arises from the fact that individual buildings have long been known by the names given to them by their excavators—hence the ‘Sanctuary of the Horned God’, the ‘Sanctuary of the Double Goddess’ and the ‘Sanctuary of the Ingot God’ at Enkomi, ‘Sanctuary I’ at Kouklia and ‘Temples 1–5’ at Kition. These designations are embedded in the literature and their dismissal in favour of a new terminology would serve little purpose. In what follows, therefore, individual buildings are referred to by their conventional titles where these exist, while in general discussion relatively neutral terms such as ‘cult building’ and ‘cult place’ are used (see also Whittaker 1997), with ‘sanctuary’ specifically reserved for less permanent installations such as that at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*.

The main room of an Aegean or Levantine temple is normally identified as a hall and is so designated in the following discussion (note, however, Mazar

1980:62–73). In the Near East the term ‘holy-of-holies’ refers to a raised platform, usually provided with steps and located at the rear of the hall, on which cult objects were displayed. An adyton is normally a separate room, often located behind the platform and identified as a storeroom. A different terminology is used, however, by Ottosson 1980:117–18, who refers to the platform as a ‘dais’ and, in tracing a development from dais to screened cult niche and eventually adyton, views the latter as the home of the cult statue rather than a simple storeroom. In Near Eastern terminology an inner room housing the cult statue is also identified as a cella (*Dictionnaire Illustré Multilingue de l’Architecture du Proche Orient Ancien* (O. Aurenche), 46). The Cypriot rooms conform to this adyton or cella type. Likewise the outer precinct of a temple or sanctuary complex is identified here as a courtyard or temenos in conformity with general practice.

The term ‘altar’ is defined by Yavis (1949:54) as an ‘object or structure, temporary or permanent, made for the purpose of receiving the fire in which flesh offerings for the gods were burned’, and by Ottosson (1980:119, n. 14) as ‘a place where sacrifices are performed’. It is usually, however, employed as a holdall for a broad range of installations involving the slaughter or/and exposure of sacrificial animals, the burning of flesh and other substances, the pouring of libations and the display of cult symbols, offerings, votives and equipment. In order to avoid confusion, this diversity of internal furnishings will be described below under more specific terms reflecting their morphology, location and function (Webb 1977a; Raptou 1988).

Cult places are frequently associated with enclosed pits, identified as bothroi (Lat. *favissae*). These appear to have been ritually defined areas where votive offerings and other debris were placed when the cult building was dismantled or cleared prior to rebuilding, or when lack of space in the precincts where they had originally been presented made it necessary to dispose of them elsewhere. Votive offerings may be broadly defined (with van Straten 1981) as objects given to the gods in the same way as prayers and sacrifices. In the Cypriot context they encompass a wide variety of ceramic and non-ceramic types, most of which occur regularly in non-ritual assemblages and few, if any, of which appear to have been reserved for particular deities. In some cases, however, these occur as unique items, possibly imbued with special significance within a particular cult (eg the bronze peg, ivory pipe and Bes plaque from Kition Temple 4).

## II. CULT SITES

### THE PROBLEM OF RECOGNITION

THEORETICAL and methodological problems involved in identifying the archaeological remnants of belief systems and their correlates in the iconographic record significantly constrain the study of ritual data (French 1978; Cole 1985; Alon and Levy 1989; Renfrew 1994b; Garwood *et al.* 1991; Wasilewska 1994). Recognising these limitations should not, however, deter us from attempting to impose some order on what is currently a haphazardly constructed and generally neglected body of material. In doing so, we need to steer a path between the cautious cynicism of those who view the investigation of religion on the basis of material remains as beyond the limits of archaeological inference, and the imaginative reconstructions of much previous work in this area. Ritual, as Rappaport has observed (1979:176), involves the repeated performance of prescribed activities. Thus artefacts used in ritual should exhibit a non-random pattern of use and discard and yield insights into both the nature and location of ritual practice.

Few attempts have been made to establish reliable criteria for recognising and documenting the archaeological remains of either domestic or communal ritual in Late Bronze Age Cyprus (see Knapp 1986b and Webb 1992a with reference to funerary data). For the most part material correlates have been identified for one supposed cult place by reference to another. Given this approach, *a priori* reasoning is inevitable. Most studies, in addition, have concentrated on individual sites, object types or iconographic concepts rather than the full corpus of archaeological and representational data. As a result, there is no agreed inferential framework to resolve methodological problems and to analyse and interpret archaeological data.

The problems faced in this study are identical to those already described by a number of scholars (Rutkowski 1986:xv-xix; van Leuven 1981:11-26; Ottosson 1980; Stern 1984:28-38; Mazar 1980:61-73,78ff; G. Wright 1985:215-54; Alon and Levy 1989; J. Wright 1994, 1995), and discussed in detail by Renfrew (1985b:1-4, 11-26, 1994b). How do we recognise the archaeological correlates of religious practice, given that these are likely to display significant variability and to have left, in many or most instances, either non-durable (myth, dancing, prayer, prophecy, libations) or non-diagnostic traces? This question is fundamental and necessarily prior to any discussion of the meaning of individual artefacts or images or the wider role of religion and

ideology (Renfrew 1985:2-3). Studies of the latter run a significant risk of being undermined if issues of identification and interpretation have not been adequately addressed.

Valid inferences concerning the religion of a given time and place must also, as Renfrew (1985b:3) has noted, be derived from evidence available for that time and place, and not on the basis of earlier or later belief structures or those of better known contemporary but foreign systems. A warning against the misuse of cross-cultural analogy is also sounded by Hulin (1989a, 1989b) and Begg (1991:6-9), and is particularly apposite in the Late Cypriot context, where the absence of textual data and a focus on cultural interaction with the Aegean and the Levant have encouraged a reliance on non-Cypriot data to identify and explain indigenous cult practice. The present study is restricted to an analysis of material from Late Bronze Age Cyprus, as far as possible avoiding extrapolation from earlier or later times, non-Cypriot cultural systems and ethnographic analogy.

Identification of Cypriot cult buildings and installations is frequently problematic. In some cases this is due to incomplete excavation or preservation or inadequate or delayed publication. More significantly, however, there appear to be few artefacts or architectural or locational indicators exclusively diagnostic of cult activity. Virtually all object types, with the probable exception of horns of consecration, are found in domestic and funerary as well as apparently ritual contexts. The same is true of hearths, stone tables, benches, pits and wells. Such installations can in many cases only be identified as hearth altars, altar tables, offering benches and bothroi by virtue of their location within or beside a cult building or by associated artefactual material. Few have inherently ritual characteristics.

The identification of ceremonial installations by reference to associated artefacts is further inhibited by curate and disposal strategies operating during normal ritual practice and by processes of final abandonment. Abandonment is a normal aspect of settlement to which most structures, activity areas and archaeological sites are exposed (Cameron and Tomka 1993; Webb 1995). In most cases it is a gradual and planned phenomenon, allowing a high degree of curation (Binford 1976, 1979). Catastrophic abandonment, in which structures or sites were abandoned suddenly or disastrously, leaving behind a complete or near complete artefactual complement in its original location of use, is extremely rare. None of the Late Cypriot structures for which a cult purpose has been claimed show evidence of sudden destruction or closure—with the exception of Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, which appears to have been used for a single, specific activity followed by the deliberate burial of an intact assemblage. On the contrary, most sites were subject to planned abandonment, either coincident with the abandonment of the settlement as a whole (in the case



of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Enkomi) or as a precursor to periodic rebuilding (as in the case of the temples at Kition).

The effects of curate and discard and final abandonment behaviour on the systemic integrity and spatial patterning of domestic assemblages is well documented in both the ethnographic and archaeological record (Cameron and Tomka 1993; Leedecker 1994; Webb 1995). Together these processes usually result in a significant reduction in the amount of *de facto* or fully functional refuse (Schiffer 1972, 1976, 1987) left on pre-abandonment floors, with residual assemblages likely to be composed primarily of fragmentary or exhausted items discarded up to the time of abandonment. In domestic situations this has significant implications for the identification of household units and room function. In the case of ritual activity areas the effects of 'normative' and abandonment curation and disposal strategies are less well understood. Such strategies are likely, however, to have been conditioned by ritual or other non-cognitive factors and may have differed significantly from those which operated within domestic and industrial assemblages.

A striking indication of discard behaviour apparently peculiar to ritual assemblages is provided by Stratum III at Athienou. Here remains of over ten thousand vessels were recovered from pits in the courtyard adjacent to the cult building, where they had been placed prior to the reconstruction of the area in Stratum II. Both the nature of these vessels (most of which are miniatures) and their redeposition are uncharacteristic of domestic assemblages, suggesting that the disposal of *de facto* refuse from areas of ritual activity was determined by different factors from those operating in secular contexts. Similarly, the recovery of the bronze statuettes of the Horned God and the Ingot God in their respective sanctuaries at Enkomi suggests that the formal closure of these cult places involved the deliberate 'abandonment' of both 'deities'. This again differs from curate strategies impacting on domestic assemblages, where the most valuable items were usually removed for use elsewhere. The absence of divine images in cult buildings at Kition, Kouklia and elsewhere may be due to their continued use in later times. While the absence of such images should not, then, preclude a building from being identified as a cult place, their recovery may be seen in most instances as a correlate of cult observance.

Depositional strategies, particularly where these deviate from those associated with domestic assemblages, may prove to be useful behavioural indicators of ritual or ritually prescribed activity. At the same time it cannot be assumed that all objects used in formal observances or given as temple donations were subject to such prescriptions. Such artefacts were frequently of high intrinsic or extrinsic value. Where their subsequent use was not determined by specific ritual considerations (involving, for example, their burial within associated bothroi), they may have been stored, redistributed, reused by cult personnel for secular or other purposes or, in the case of metal items, melted

down and recycled. In any case, the removal of much of this material from residual deposits contributes to the difficulties involved in identifying cult structures by reference to associated artefacts.

There is considerable variety in the location, plan and architecture of cult buildings in Cyprus. Rules governing this variability, if any existed, may not be visible within the limited sample currently available. Identification of ritual installations is further compounded by problems of preservation. Many cult buildings were in use over long periods of time, leading to the periodic removal of cult apparatus and the remodelling of internal installations. In the case of Kition Temple 1 and Kouklia Sanctuary I, both in use for at least 500 years, this resulted in the effective removal of virtually all associated artefacts and furnishings. The identification of these structures relies almost solely on their size, architecture and subsequent use.

## A POLYTHETIC APPROACH

ASPECTS of ritual behaviour which might contribute toward its recognition in the material remains include its formality, its tendency toward patterned and repetitive action, its evidently purposive character and its focus on display, acts of propitiation (sacrifice, libations, votive gifts) and the use of designated equipment in special locations (Renfrew 1985:14–19). While a number of these parameters are equally applicable to secular behaviour (Renfrew 1985:15; Begg 1991:9–10), Renfrew's list (1985b:19–20, 1994b:51–52; Renfrew and Bahn 1991:359–60) of expected archaeological correlates relating, in particular, to public or communal cult sites is helpful (see also Alon and Levy 1989). It includes the following:

1. Location within a special building set apart from secular functions.
2. Conspicuous public display or/and hidden exclusive mysteries whose practice will be reflected in the architecture.
3. Special facilities for the practice of ritual (altars, benches, pools, basins, hearths, pits etc).
4. The presence of portable cult equipment and the remains of food and drink offerings, sacrifices, votives or/and other rituals.
5. The presence or/and repetition of decorations or images reflecting ritual iconography and associated mythology.
6. The use of cult images or related aniconic representations.
7. An investment of wealth and resources in facilities, equipment and offerings.

Such lists, however, are of little use in resolving fundamental methodological problems involved in the identification of altars, votives, ritual equipment and images and the distinction between cult and domestic or industrial pits, benches and hearths. Nor do they allow for the fact that the full complement of cult image, cult equipment and offerings is only likely to be found in buildings subject to sudden abandonment. We are most often confronted with a subset of the systemic inventory and few if any means of identifying the depositional and post-depositional factors responsible for the transformations which have taken place between ritual behaviour and the record of that behaviour. Thus no single excavated cult site is likely to contain a full array or even a diagnostic subset of attributes which might be used to identify others of similar type. Similarly, symbolic decoration, such as the use of architectural colour (Wasilewska 1991), is rarely visible.

Recognition of private or domestic ritual is even more problematic (Renfrew 1985:21–22). In this case designated ritual activity areas may not be separate from other domestic pursuits, nor will architecture, facilities or equipment necessarily be distinct from those used elsewhere for utilitarian purposes. While some symbolic focus may be present (in the form of iconic or aniconic images), for reasons noted above these will not always survive in their original use context. Nor will they necessarily indicate ritual rather than other formalised or symbolic behaviour.

Renfrew recognised these problems, concluding that the identification of cult activity must rest on a number of features which in isolation may be non-diagnostic, but in combination may reasonably be taken to indicate the practice of ritual (1985b:15). This polythetic approach, normally concerned with the identification of groups characterised by sets of shared attributes, will in the present case be dependent rather on the recognition of a set of attributes some, but never all, of which occur in each of the installations for which a cult purpose appears likely. This predicted absence of a wholly shared set of attributes recognises both the normal range of variation within the wider cohort as well as the effects of poor or incomplete archaeological recovery and the differential effects of abandonment and curation. In effect it suggests that no one item or architectural feature will be present in all or even the majority of ceremonial structures. Conversely, with the possible exception of horns of consecration, there may be no object types which do not also occur regularly in secular or/and funerary contexts. At best the presence of some objects may be suggestive of cult activity, but only in combination with others and with related locational and/or architectural indicators.

To this appeal to a polythetic contextual approach may be added the observation that ritual activity typically involves both prescribed and prohibited actions. We should be concerned, then, not only with objects regularly associated with cult locations, but also with those which are not associated—

that is with the material consequences of proscribed as well as prescribed behaviour. Other contributing factors suggested by Renfrew include 'indications of high seriousness of intention', 'the scale or quantity of finds' (particularly where votives may be involved), and an estimation, in the opinion of the excavator, that the assemblage is not 'explicable in secular terms in the light of what we know of the society' (1985b:20–21). Unfortunately these criteria, and in particular the last, are open to subjective interpretation and have been responsible for the misidentification of a number of Cypriot sites (eg Phlamoudhi *Vounari*).

While the establishment of a polythetic set of durable material consequences of ritual behaviour might have significant predictive value, it is important to note that it will not be definitive. Ultimately, an understanding of Late Cypriot cult practice can only be achieved by means of an inferential process based upon a study of the totality of the available material. Inferences, however, are dangerously close to assumptions. Indeed, where some step in the sequence of logical argument is missing, an assumption will need to be made if any definitive statement is to result. The temptation to make such statements is considerable. If we do not do so, we may be reduced to saying nothing at all. In the present context, furthermore, where the objective is to establish archaeological correlates for ritual activity, it is necessary to identify a sufficient number of cult places from whose combined record such correlates can be extracted. Thus our initial problem re-emerges, albeit in a more sophisticated form. We are reduced to an attempt to devise warranted statements based on a rigorously applied framework of inference. The present work is intended as a contribution to this inferential process.

Finally, much of the above is predicated on an assumption that religious beliefs will form a more or less coherent system, and that this system will engender more or less consistent patterns in cult observance which may be discernible archaeologically. This raises the critical issue of chronological and regional variability and the degree to which these might be expected in the Cypriot data. Excavated cult places range in date from LC IIA to the end of the Late Bronze Age, a period of some 400 years (**table I**). They include urban, inland and isolated rural sanctuaries, spread across most of the autonomous polities believed to have existed on the island from the late C14th to the C11th BC (**figure 1**). This reduces the number of cult places with which any one site may be directly compared and makes it difficult to estimate the degree of similarity or difference within and between particular subsets of the data. Until a sufficient number of sites of related type and date have been excavated, making it possible to compare, for example, rural sanctuaries at a local, regional and island-wide level, the search for consistent patterning or meaningful spatial, temporal or behavioural variability may be unrealistic.

Previous discussions of Late Cypriot belief systems have drawn upon a large body of representational data, although as a rule concentrating on individual objects, object types or motifs. Use of this material is problematic as the relation between meaning and representation is never fully evident. Ideological data associated with a figurative expression may also vary considerably in time and space or the same ideological content be contained in different figurative symbols. In other cases the significance of an object or depiction may depend on function or context rather than inherent symbolic content.

Some discussion of the iconographic record is, however, important. In theory, at least, it might be expected to throw light on the 'cognised' or 'emic' elements of religious belief (Rappaport 1968:237; Pike 1954:8; Renfrew 1985:14), as opposed to, or as well as, the operational or 'etic' aspects of cult practice reflected in the artefacts and ecofacts found in ritual assemblages. In Cyprus much of this record is not directly associated with cult buildings, a reminder that religious beliefs operate at a systemic level and extend far beyond formalised institutional practices. Glyptic iconography, for example, is primarily concerned with ritual, mythology and ideology. As sealing devices, these objects were key mechanisms in Late Cypriot administrative and economic structures and may also have played a socially coercive role (Webb 1997b). Seals, and in particular the semi-narrative sequences engraved on those of the Elaborate and Derivative Styles, provide a dynamic pictorial record from the Cypriot Bronze Age. Ivory-, gold- and bronze-work and imported pictorial pottery similarly appear in a range of recovery contexts and display a politico-religious imagery associated with the dissemination of ideological messages and belief systems.

The problems involved in moving from an immediate perception of an object or image to a more or less sophisticated conception of its cognitive value have been extensively discussed by Gardin (1980). While clearly critical to the present inquiry, detailed treatment of issues relating to the interpretation of iconographic data lies beyond the scope of this book. Representational data associated with or relevant to residual cult assemblages are, however, systematically reviewed and an analysis of the broader content and function of Late Cypriot pictorial pottery and glyptic is presented in Part IV.

### THE DATA BASE. A SPECTRUM OF RELIABILITY

NO CULT places of the Early or Middle Cypriot period have yet been identified. This is unsurprising in view of the limited excavations carried out on only two Early Cypriot (Marki Alonia, Sotira Kaminoudhja) and six Middle Cypriot settlements (Marki Alonia, Alambra Mouttes, Kalopsidha Tsaoudhi Chiflik, Ambelikou Aletri, Kalavasos Laroumena, Pyrgos Mavroraka) (Frankel and Webb 1996; Swiny 1985a, 1985b; Coleman *et al.* 1996; Gjerstad 1926:19-

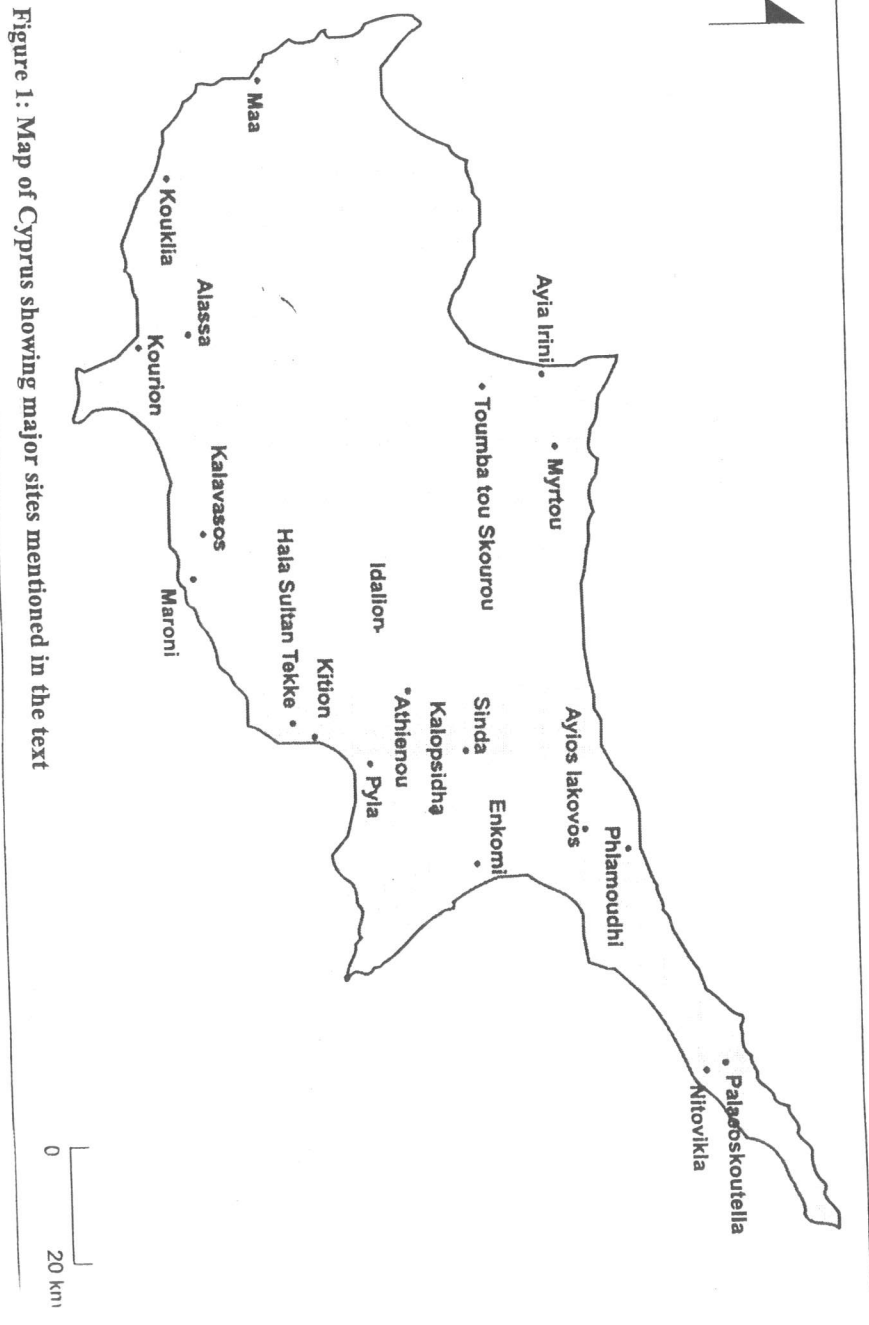


Figure 1: Map of Cyprus showing major sites mentioned in the text

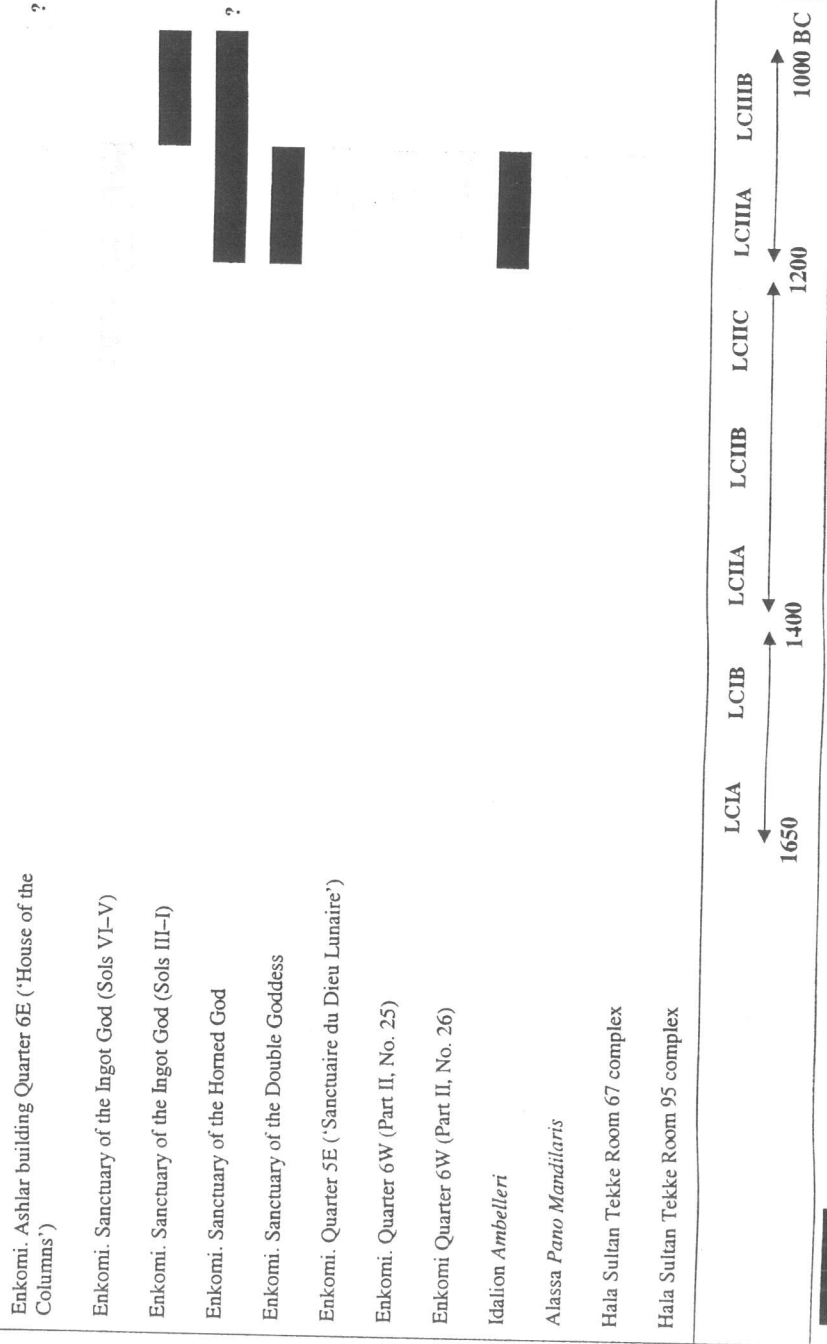
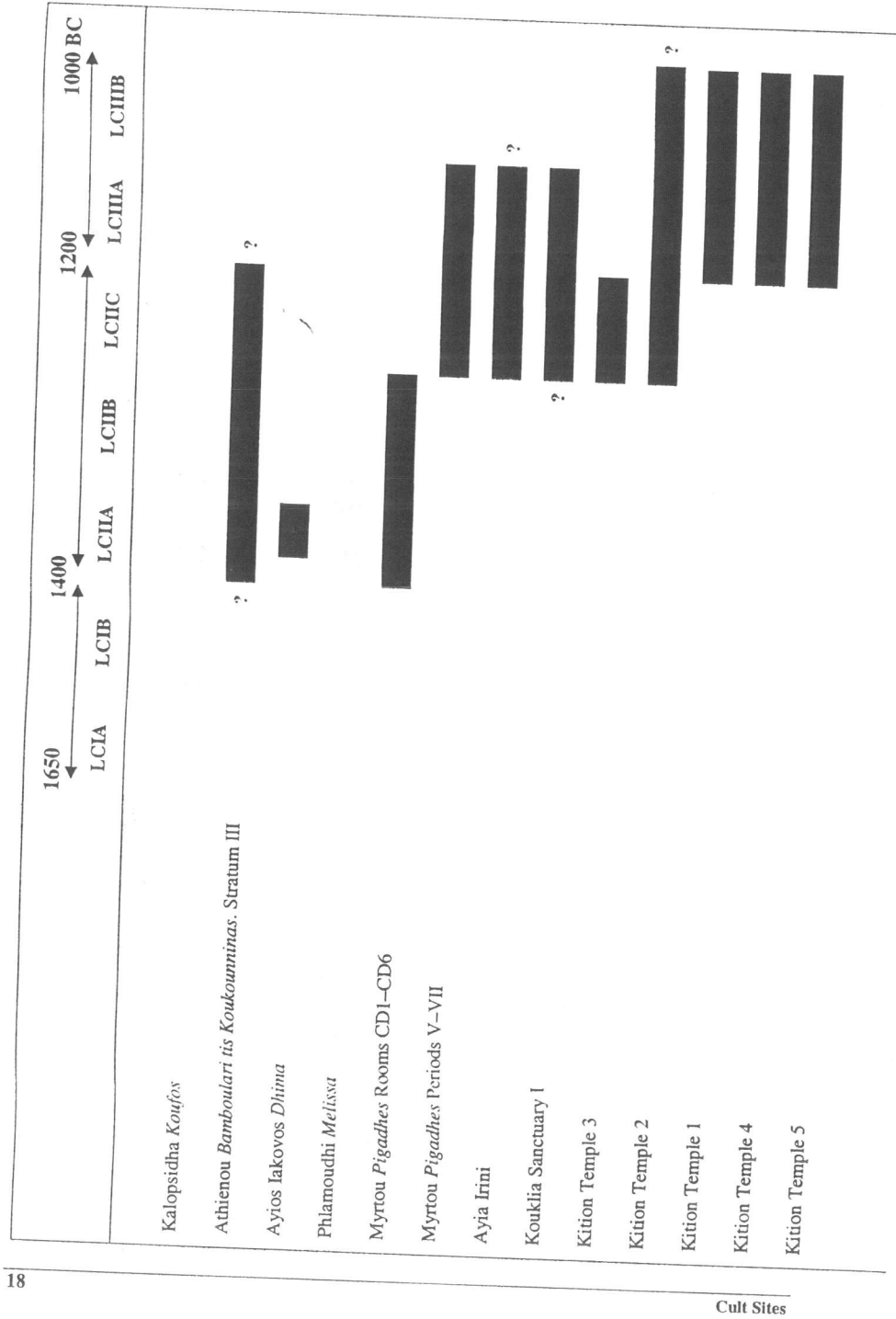


Table I: The chronology of Late Bronze Age Cypriot cult sites

Reliably identified sites

Less reliably identified sites



37; Merrillees 1984; Todd 1993; Belgiorno 1997). Restricted exposures at these sites leave open the question of whether the lack of such installations is an accident of archaeological recovery, or reflects an absence of communal or extra-household ritual facilities. The well-known terracotta model in Red Polished Ware from Tomb 22 at Bellapais *Vounous* and three more abbreviated versions in the same fabric from tombs at Kalopsidha and the Kotchati/Marki region have been identified as models of open-air temene (Dikaios 1940:118; Åström 1966:14–15; Karageorghis 1970). Their purpose and the nature of the activities depicted, however, remain uncertain (Frankel and Tamvaki 1973; J. Karageorghis 1977:43; Loulloupis 1979:218–22; Morris 1985:281–84; Merrillees 1980:184; Åström 1988a; Peltenburg 1994). A pit with MC III material (300 sherds) beneath the LC IIA enclosure at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* might have been associated with a sanctuary (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:356, 360–61, plan XIII; Åström 1972a:1, 204). It predates the later enclosure, however, by some 200 years. A further hint of a Middle Cypriot cult place may lie in the recovery of miniature juglets similar to Late Cypriot votives but associated with Middle Cypriot material at Anglisidhes (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:356, 360–61; Åström 1966:74, 142, 1987:178; Frankel 1974a:21, 72).

By comparison the Late Bronze Age offers an embarrassment of riches with a cult purpose claimed for as many as thirty-eight sites and structures of various kinds. These are systematically examined below<sup>1</sup>. Such a review is necessary, given the generally piecemeal way in which cult installations have been identified which has led to some structures being recognised as ritual solely because no other explanation was ready to hand. Other studies of Late Cypriot cult practice focus on a subset of the available data (Burdajewicz 1990) or discuss the architectural record without reference to associated finds (Wright 1992a). Summary catalogues of Cypriot Bronze Age cult sites have been compiled by Al-Radi (1983:64–95) and Demas (in Karageorghis and Demas 1985:94–99. See also Webb 1989b). These provide a synopsis of the architectural remains and a select list of recorded finds, but are based on a relatively brief examination of the archaeological data.

Most of the sites examined are well known. Kalopsidha *Koufos*, however, has not hitherto been identified as a cult place (but see Åström 1987a) and ashlar buildings in Quarters 6E and 5E at Enkomi (identified in the literature as the 'House of the Columns' or 'Sanctuaire à la Colonne' and the 'Sanctuaire du Dieu Lune') are described in detail for the first time. The interpretation of a number of other locations (Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, Phlamoudhi *Vounari*, Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, Myrtou *Pigadhes* and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God) differs from the accepted view. Notably, almost all installations are public cult buildings. Other ritual locations such as sacred groves, hilltop and domestic and funerary shrines are virtually unknown.

Sites are presented in an order which reflects the apparent reliability of their identification, ranging from those which certainly or almost certainly served as cult places (group A), through those of less obvious status (group B) to those for which a cult purpose appears highly improbable (group C). While this in part presumes what this volume sets out to demonstrate, it makes little sense to begin the task of establishing a polythetic set of indicators of cult activity by including obviously aberrant examples in the data set. Of the thirty-eight proposed cult installations, sixteen appear to have been convincingly identified, while nine may be removed from further consideration. Of the remainder, at least five are incompletely documented, inaccessible or/and poorly preserved. Little additional information on these installations is likely to be forthcoming. In other instances further excavation and full publication may confirm their identification as cult structures.

The majority of excavated cult places date to LC IIC and/or LC III. A disproportionate amount of ritual paraphernalia comes from Enkomi and Kition. Sites of earlier date include Athienou, Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* and the Myrtou *Pigadhes* CD1–CD6 complex. In what follows dating does not always follow traditional lines. In particular, recent developments in the understanding of Mycenaean IIIC:1b and related fabrics have implications for the dating of installations erected in LC IIC/IIIA and the chronology of the final phase at Myrtou *Pigadhes*.

## A. RELIABLY IDENTIFIED SITES

### 1. Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* (figures 2–5)

A complex excavated in 1971–1972 by Dothan and Ben-Tor at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* is identified as an allied cult and bronzeworking facility (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983)<sup>2</sup>. It occupies 2,500m<sup>2</sup> on a low hillock rising 2m above the plain mid-way between Nicosia and Larnaca. No neighbouring settlements have been located. There is, however, a Late Cypriot and Iron Age cemetery 100m south of the hillock and another at *Gastra* to the north, 'on both sides of the road north of the [Athienou] police station' (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1972:202; Catling 1963:161, no. 24). *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* was thus an extramural site, located within the vicinity of a contemporary cemetery and (presumably) an as yet unrecognised settlement.

Four occupation phases were distinguished. Stratum IV produced only shallow pits possibly marking hut sites of MC III/LC I and a small amount of undecorated hand-made pottery. Stratum III, during which the complex was constructed, extended uninterrupted from the late C16th to the end of the C13th BC and continued without a major break into Stratum II, when new industrial installations were established. Stratum II occupation lasted through LC IIIA and possibly into early LC IIIB (Kling 1989a:84), following which the site was

abandoned. Sporadic resettlement occurred during the Iron Age. The remains of all periods were badly destroyed and reconstruction is very uncertain.

### Architecture

The Stratum III complex comprised a large open court bordered to the north by small rectangular rooms (figure 2). The court measured at least 20m north/south by 16m east/west. Neither the west nor south and only part of the east wall, however, survive. The room to the northwest (6m by 6.5m) had a plaster floor and was probably entered from the court. A smaller room to the northeast (3m by 2.5m) remained unexcavated below Stratum II. The area between seems to have been open to the north, or more probably closed by a lost wall with a central doorway leading south into the court. If so, the main entrance to the complex may have been located here. To the east pits and metallurgical refuse suggest metalworking, although this material was not found *in situ* and the area was not extensively excavated (Muhly 1985:33–34 and n. 91–92).

The complex continued in use in Stratum II with some modifications (figure 3). The northwest room was reduced in size, a plaster floor and bench were installed in the northeast room and the central room was closed to the north. New installations to the northeast include a plaster platform covering at least 120m<sup>2</sup>, apparently given over to metalworking and/or pottery making. To the east rectangular platforms showing heavy traces of fire were associated with eleven pithoi, a jar, a stone basin, unbaked clay and metal waste.

### Finds

Stratum III produced enormous quantities of pottery deposited in pits at the time of the construction of Stratum II and in heaps on the floor of the court, with a further accumulation in the northwest room. In all 2,000 intact vessels were found and a count of near complete vases and diagnostic fragments reached 10,000. They fall into three main groups. The first and smallest comprises full-size vessels of White Slip I–II (hereafter WS), Base-ring I–II (hereafter BR), White Shaved, Plain White Hand-made (hereafter PWH-m), Plain White Wheel-made II (hereafter PWW-m) and Mycenaean IIIB with some White Painted V–VI, Bichrome Wheel-made, Black Slip II–III, Red Slip, Black Lustrous and Minoan Ware. The most common vessels are jugs of BR I and White Shaved jugs. The second group consists of carefully made miniatures which duplicate normal Late Cypriot and Mycenaean vessels (figure 4.1–2), in particular juglets of BR, Monochrome, Bucchero and PWH-m with bowls of WS and BR II present on a smaller scale. The third and largest group comprises crude miniatures which do not conform to canonical wares (figure 4.3–12), the majority being hand-made juglets of thick coarse fabric apparently manufactured on site. Other types include bowls, ladles and crucibles and a number of finer wheel-made vases.

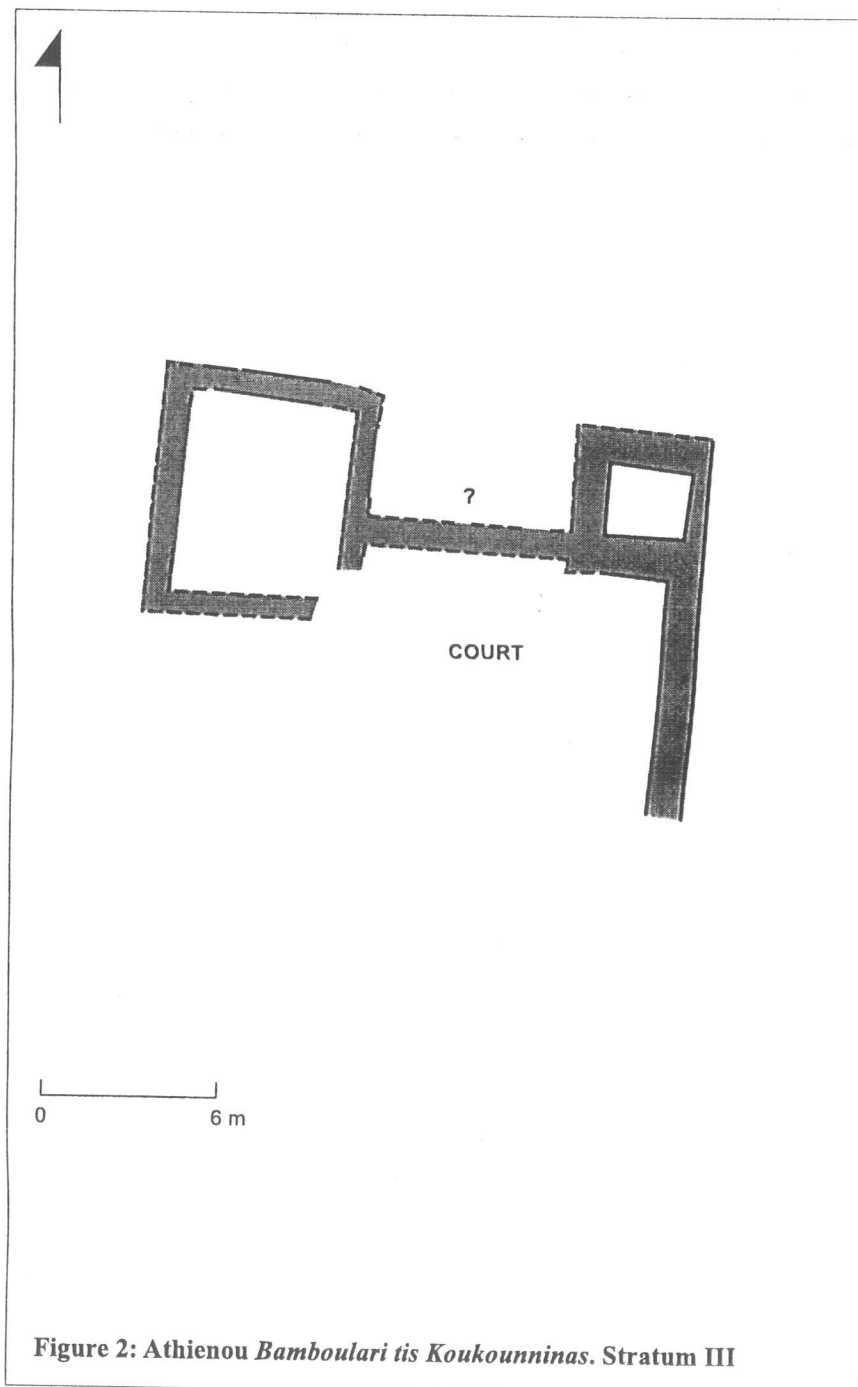


Figure 2: Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*. Stratum III

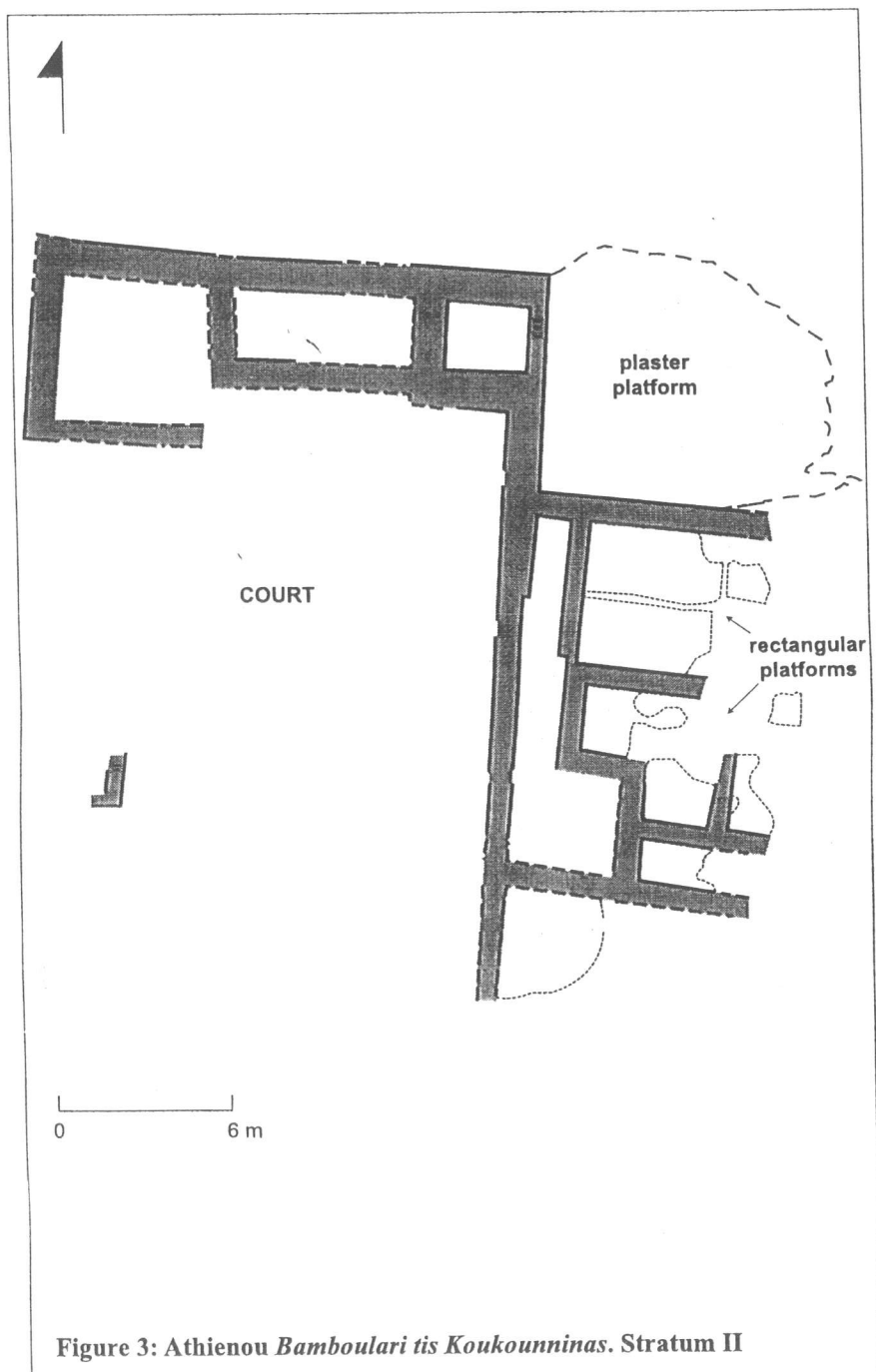


Figure 3: Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*. Stratum II

An offering-stand of PWW-m (figure 5.3), a fragmentary composite vessel of uncertain type and the leg of a large zoomorphic figure or vessel 'probably in the shape of a bull' were also found in Stratum III (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:46, 53, figs. 11.20, 48.23–24). Pits to the east of the court produced two terracotta wall brackets and a perforated tubiform object identified as a snake house, but most probably a rodent trap (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:53, pl. 18.1–2; Drummond 1983; Margueron 1985; Karageorghis 1972b, 1992, 1993:56–57)<sup>3</sup>. Non-pottery finds include an ivory rhyton decorated with incised human heads, birds, caprids, plants and fish (figure 5.1), a fragmentary Elaborate Style cylinder (figure 5.4), a Common Style cylinder (figure 5.5), an Egyptian scarab, a bronze ring inscribed with the hieroglyph of Ptah, a fibula, situla handle, arrowhead and band of bronze, a pestle, six loomweights, six spindle whorls, several weights and beads of clay, steatite, carnelian and faience. A stone brazier and a basin decorated with a relief bucranium (figure 5.2) from Strata I–II and a bronze 'cult chariot' (Schaeffer 1969) found on the site in 1915 may also have originated in Stratum III.

Finally, some 120kg of small nodules and chunks of metallic waste were recovered from a pit in the court with lesser concentrations to the north of the complex and beneath the northeast platform of Stratum II (Maddin, Muhly and Stech 1983:132–38). A further 202.5kg of larger chunks came to light east of the east platform. In both cases analysis showed these to be waste cores of chalcopyrite altered by roasting and smelting and chemical changes occurring since deposition (Stech 1982:107). As no crucibles, tuyeres or smelting furnaces were identified, Maddin, Muhly and Stech Wheeler (1983) suggest that the roasting and smelting of ores took place primarily in the vicinity of the mines. Extracted metal and roasted ore nodules containing prills of metallic copper may then have been sent to Athienou for further processing, before the resulting copper was shipped to the coast. Some 5kg of scrap metal, principally nails, tools, metal spill and pieces of lead, found in and around the pit in the court suggest, however, that some alloying, casting and working processes were performed at Athienou.

The ceramic assemblage of Stratum II differs completely from that of Stratum III, with vessels of normal size occurring in normal quantities and covering the full range of bowl, jug, krater, jar, cooking pot and pithos shapes in PWW-m and WPW-m III<sup>4</sup>. Eleven large, heavily burnt pithoi associated with the plastered platforms east of the architectural remains are thought to have contained olive oil, their capacity estimated at between 5,500 and 11,000 litres, or 'enough to support 180–365 adults for two years on a generous ration of 15 liters per year' (Keswani 1993:78). Other finds include a stamp seal, a wall bracket, spindle whorls, loomweights, pestles, beads, a brazier and a limestone bowl. Pits in the court also contained ash, bone (including a pair of ox horns) and shell material possibly linked with the metal industry. In addition 100kg of

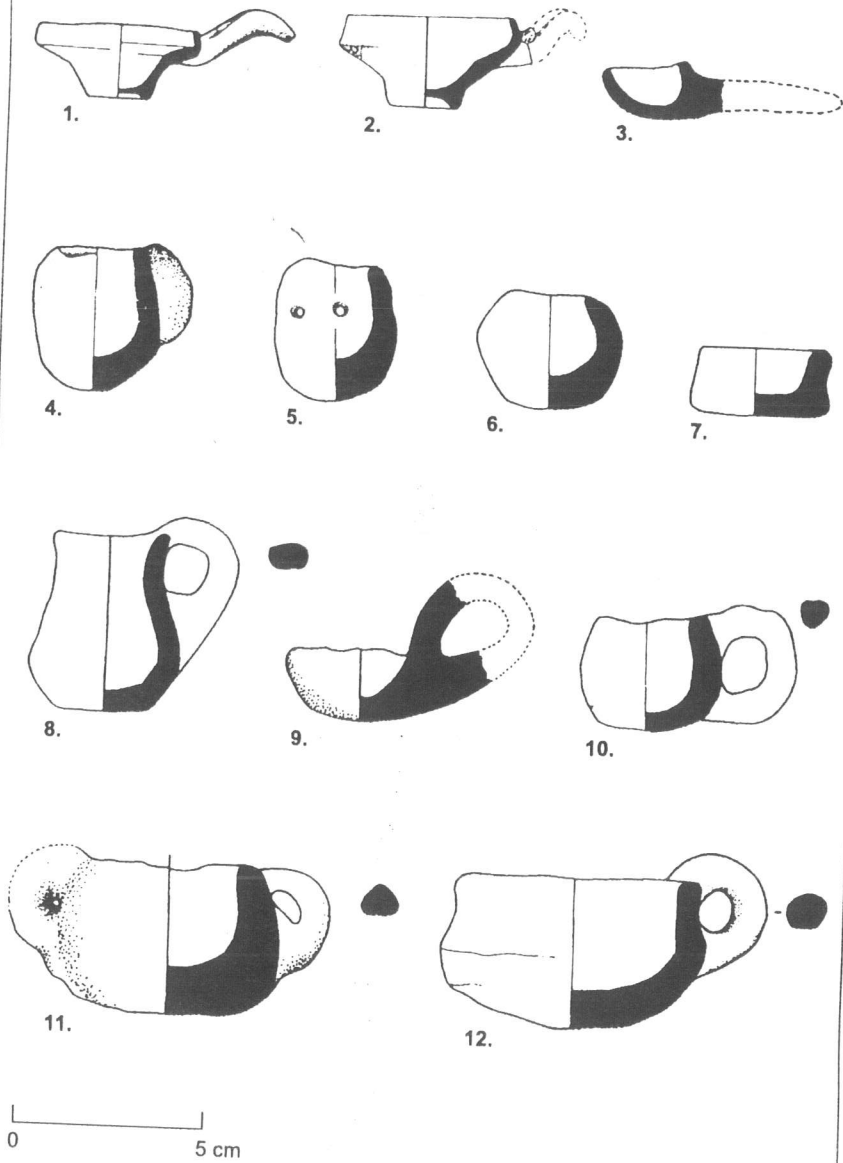


Figure 4: Miniature vessels from Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas Stratum III*

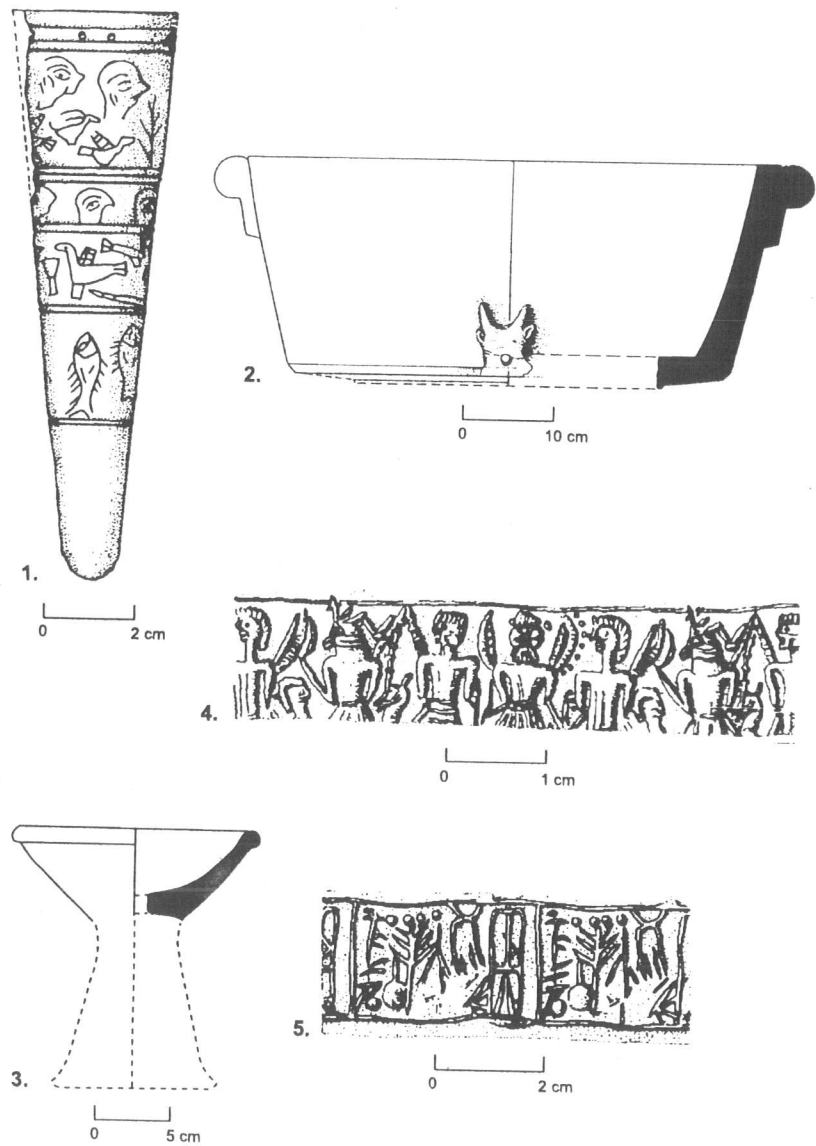


Figure 5: Finds from Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas Stratum III*

roasted ore chunks were found east of the court, in the northeast room and in channels associated with the northeast platform.

### Discussion

The identification of the Stratum III complex as a cult place is based on the nature and quantity of the finds and their circumstances of deposition. Miniature vases form the vast majority of associated vessels. Although not completely non-functional, they are atypical of domestic and industrial assemblages (Åström 1987a:178–79; Yon 1986:282). There can be little doubt, also, that some metalworking processes were carried out in the vicinity of the complex and that refuse from those processes found its way into the ceramic deposits<sup>5</sup>.

The date of the construction of the Stratum III complex is uncertain. While Stratum III itself is said to extend from the late C16th to the close of the C13th without discernible stratigraphic subdivisions, the excavators conclude that 'metal working at the site began as early as the 14th–13th centuries BCE and was connected with a cult' (Dothan 1981:93; Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:140)<sup>6</sup>. Thus, either the evidence for metalworking and cult in Stratum III dates only from the C14th BC or the cult existed for some time before the establishment in the C14th of allied metallurgical installations. The ceramic assemblage forms an uninterrupted sequence from LC IB to late LC IIC. Material of the C14th–C13th BC was, however, more numerous and the miniature vessels of known fabrics are principally copies of C14th and C13th types (BR II, Bucchero, White Shaved and Monochrome). While it is possible that a cult place existed here already in LC I, the pre-C14th ceramic assemblage is not obviously votive in character and may be residual from Stratum IV (as suggested by Peltenburg 1986). It is also difficult, as Peltenburg notes, to believe that the surviving remains of Stratum III were in use for the whole of the period represented by the ceramic sequence.

The attribution of the Stratum III/Stratum II transition to the close of LC IIC may also need revision. Three cylindrical pits in the east part of the site, which the excavators believed had been filled in order to level the area immediately prior to the construction of the Stratum II platform (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:20), produced a skyphos of Mycenaean IIC:1b (noted by Kling 1989a:47 and n. 30, but not by the excavators), two Late Mycenaean IIIB bowls, a Decorated LC III bowl and a Rude Style krater. The presence of these fabrics, now subsumed within WPW-m III, leaves open the possibility that Stratum III continued into LC IIIA (Kling 1989a:84).

Beyond the existence of an open rectangular court with rooms to the north, little can be determined of the layout of the site at Athienou and precise indications for the working of the cult, apart from the accumulation of vessels and metal waste, are also lacking. The recovery of a possible bull figurine, a basin with bucranian protome and a 'cult chariot' (with bulls) suggests that this

animal was important in cult iconography. As frequently suggested, the specialised nature of the cult may have been determined by Athienou's position as an intermediary between the copper mining districts of the eastern Troodos and the workshops and trading centres on the east and southeast coasts (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:140; Keswani 1993:77, 1996:235; Knapp 1997a:57).

The function of the complex in Stratum II is less certain. The excavators assume that the cult continued alongside new metallurgical and storage installations, despite concern in preliminary reports over a lack of evidence (Dothan 1981:94–95. See also Karageorghis 1990a:13; Burdajewicz 1990:37)<sup>7</sup>. In fact the ceramic assemblage of Stratum II is entirely different to that of Stratum III and wholly in keeping with the predominantly industrial character of the site at this time<sup>8</sup>. With the possible exception of the ox-horns, none of the finds suggest ritual activity. In these circumstances it is reasonable to conclude that the cult was abandoned at the end of Stratum III and the area given over entirely to the secondary processing and refining of copper ore and the storage of agricultural commodities.

### 2. Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* (figures 6–7, 65.4, 82.5–7, 83.2)

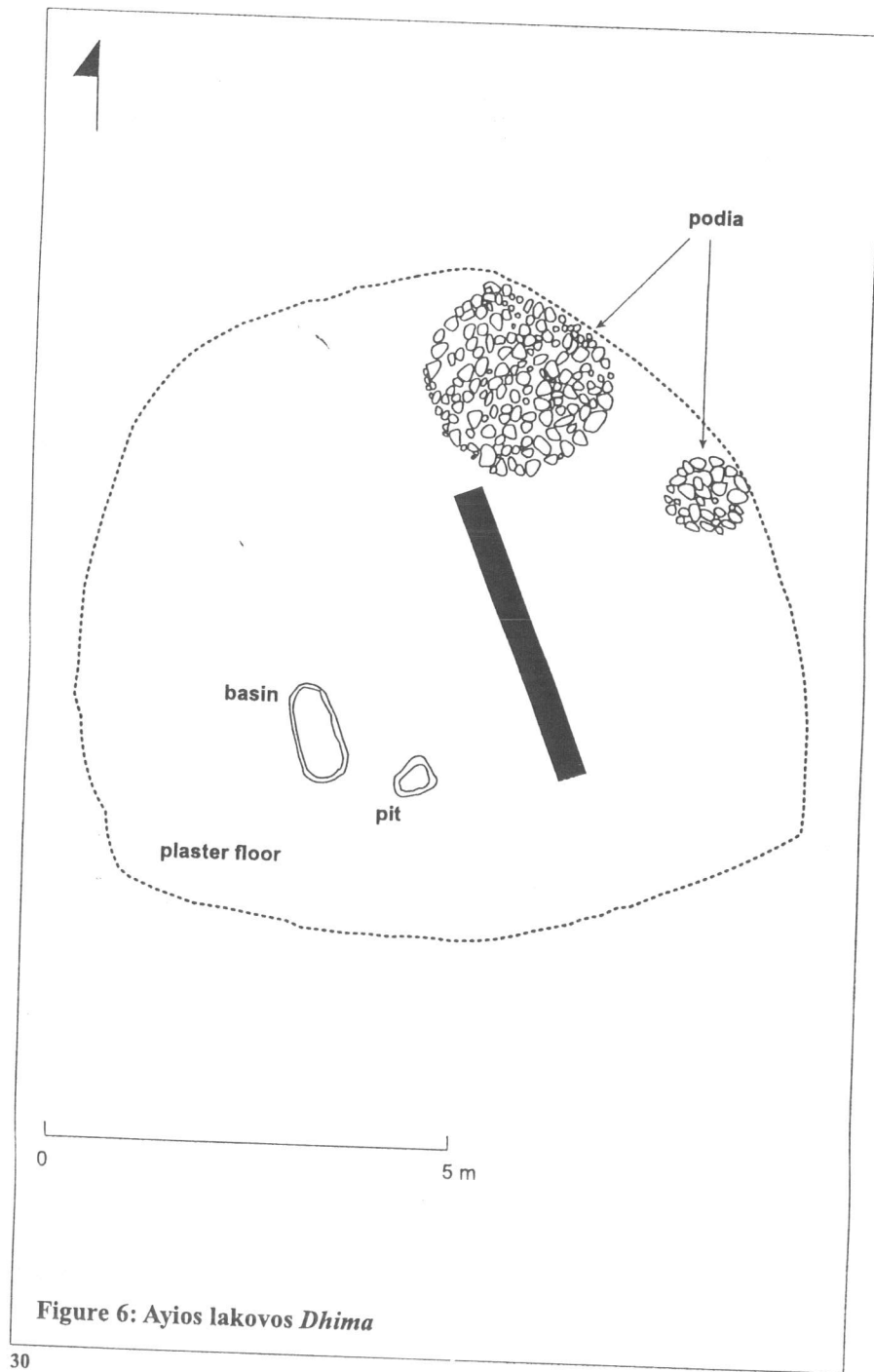
In 1929 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition identified the remains of an isolated enclosure on a low hillock at *Dhima* near the village of Ayios Iakovos as a cult place of LC IIA. The hillock lies inland at the foot of the Karpas peninsula, some 8km southeast of a pass leading north through the Kyrenia range at Mersinikki (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:356–61, plan XIII, figs. 134–37, pls. LXVI–LXVII; Gjerstad 1933, 1980:61–64; Sjöqvist 1940:2–4. See also Wright 1992a:74–75, 257–58, 1992b:269; Webb 1992a:94–96).

No contemporary settlements were identified in the area. Åström, however, reports receiving information from the foreman at *Dhima* and from Westholm of a Late Cypriot settlement east of the village, between *Dhima* and *Milia* (1966:147). Of three cemeteries in the vicinity, *Kakotri* produced only MC III tombs, Ayios Iakovos appears from surface indications to date from MC III to LC II and *Milia*, extensively excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, was in use from MC III to LC IA and again in LC IIA (*BCH* LXXXIV 1960:221; Åström 1966:144–48; Catling 1963:155, 161, nos. 17, 34; Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:302–55). Both Ayios Iakovos and *Milia*, like *Dhima*, had been abandoned by LC IIB. An Iron Age sanctuary was excavated on another low hillock 100m north of the Bronze Age enclosure (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:361–70).

### Architecture

The remains consist of a circular lime-plaster floor with a maximum diameter of 10.1m, unequally divided by a low, 0.35m wide rubble wall (figure 6). In the smaller eastern area, which lay 0.25m below the western room, two circular rubble podia survived to a height of 0.45m above the floor, the smaller (1.12m





in diameter) against the edge of the enclosure and the larger (2.62m in diameter) at the northern end of the dividing wall (figure 65.4). They showed no trace of burning. In the western room a bath-shaped terracotta basin (1.28m long) had been partly set into the floor and two pits, one circular and one trapezoidal, cut in the rock nearby. The basin was filled with ash and burnt bone, suggesting the presence of a hearth beyond the enclosed area.

#### Finds

All finds lay in and around the basin in the west room. Gold and silver jewelry formed the most numerous group (figure 7.2, 4–6) with nineteen pieces (fifteen of which lay in a heap to the east of the basin), including three finger rings, five earrings, six hair rings, a diadem and necklace of gold, a silver bracelet and finger ring and fragments of gold leaf. Nine small silver funnels (figure 7.10), six with gold mountings, lay in a group beside the jewelry and another in the basin. Bronze weapons were also common with six arrowheads (figure 7.1, 3) and four spear butts or ferrules (figure 7.8), the latter originally set into the floor along the southeast edge of the trapezoidal pit<sup>9</sup>.

The remaining objects include a paste bead and stone axe (figure 7.9), four cylinder seals (figures 82.5–7, 83.2), one of which is unengraved, a bone plaque, a pierced *Conus* shell, a cylindrical marble piece, lumps of unworked iron, a bronze chain, two pairs of bronze tweezers, a glass juglet of BR shape (figure 7.7), an alabaster jar and a small bronze lion which was once part of a larger object<sup>10</sup>. Three kraters of WS I, Mycenaean IIIA:2 and PWW-m, a large PWH-m jug, a BR II juglet, a Mycenaean IIIA:2 juglet, two Mycenaean IIIA:2 amphoriskoi and a spindle bottle and six arm vessels of Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware (hereafter RLW-m) (figure 7.11) stood together around the basin, with the exception of the bottle and one amphoriskos which had fallen in and the arm vessels which lay apart in a group near the western edge of the enclosure. According to Åström another five arm vessel fragments, 'possibly representing less than five vessels', were also found as well as fragments of a BR II bowl, a Mycenaean stirrup jar, three Mycenaean pithoid jars and at least one RLW-m bottle and pilgrim flask (1972b:177, 202–203, 205, Type VIII.b.9–13).

#### Discussion

Both Gjerstad and Sjöqvist identified *Dhima* as an open-air rural sanctuary of similar type to that illustrated by the EC III/MC I terracotta model from Bellapais *Vounous* and later found in the Iron Age (see also Wright 1992a:74–75, 257, 1992b:269–70). The western sector is described as a temenos accessible to worshippers, who deposited offerings in and around the basin, and the eastern sector as an inner sanctum with rubble altars or offering tables. The fact that there are two podia was thought to indicate that the sanctuary was dedicated to two deities or a dual deity, perhaps a 'Mother Goddess' and her

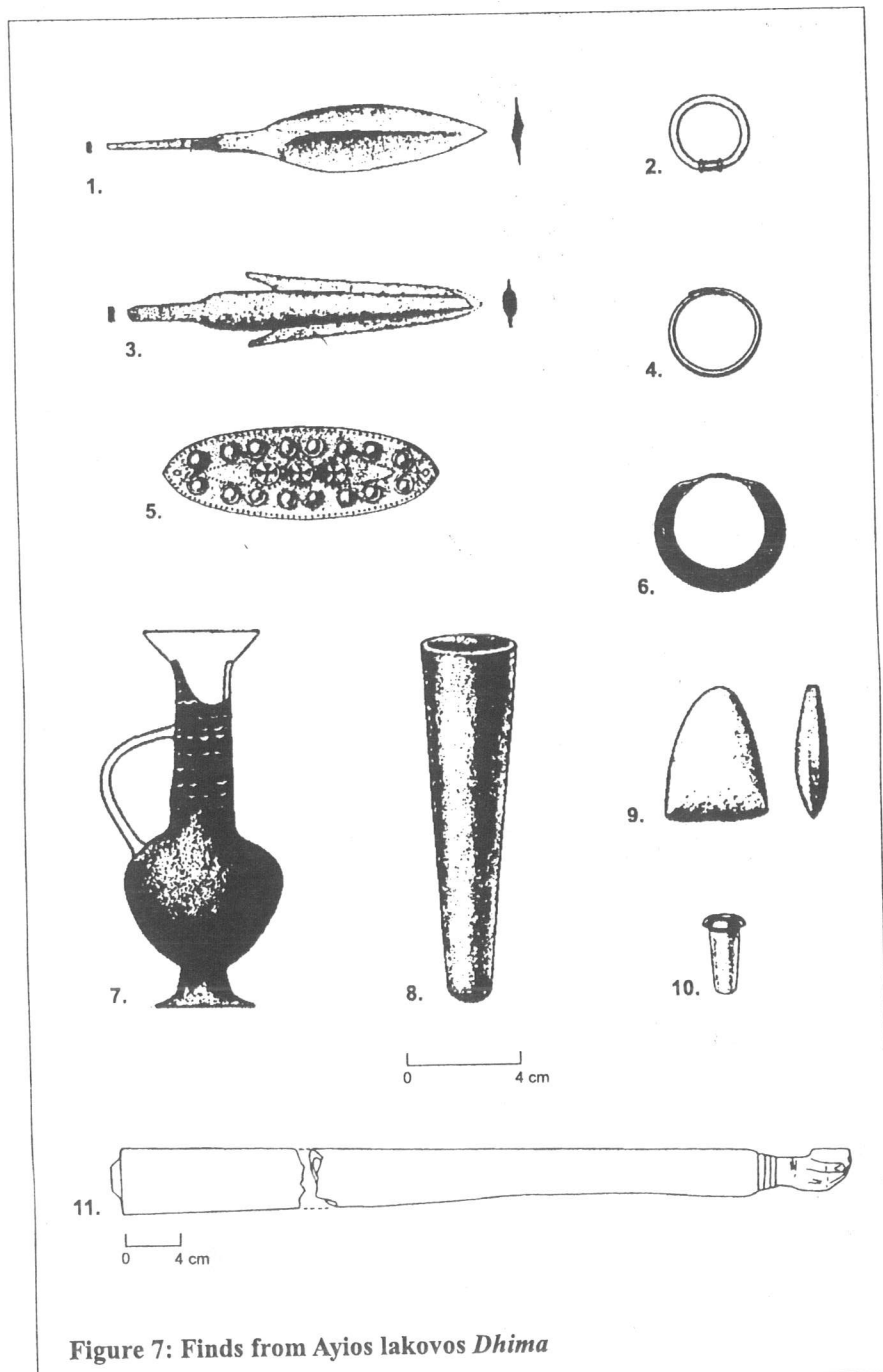


Figure 7: Finds from Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*

consort (see also Dikaios 1940:121; Yavis 1949:46-48; Åström 1972b:1; Karageorghis 1982:69; Al-Radi 1983:69-70).

There are, however, aspects of the *Dhima* assemblage which suggest a more complex situation. Most striking is the disparity between architecture and finds. The latter number at least eighty and include some of the finest examples of Late Cypriot glyptic and gold and silver jewelry and a surprisingly high incidence of imported objects. The alabaster jar and one of the gold rings, with a cartouche of Thutmosis III (Jacobsson 1994:56), are Egyptian, the glass vessel Egyptian or Syrian (Jacobsson 1994:64-65), the bronze lion possibly Syro-Palestinian and the lumps of iron probably Anatolian (Holmes 1975:94-96; Harden 1981:32, 35; Catling 1964:258). The latter, along with several from Dromolaxia on the south coast, provide the only evidence of this metal on the island at this date (Waldbaum 1978:18; Lubsen-Admiraal 1982:43, no. 27)<sup>11</sup>. Of the twenty-five or more pottery vessels, moreover, eight are imports from the Aegean. The origin of RLW-m has been much debated, with most scholars proposing North Syria or Cilicia as the principal area of production (see Eriksson 1993:81-83, Table 10.1). More recently, Eriksson (1993), citing both chronological and distributional data and the presence of pot-marks related to Cypro-Minoan script signs, has suggested northern Cyprus as the place of manufacture of all RLW-m.

Particular groups of finds are also rare and distinctive. The RLW-m arm vases, for example, account for half the total number of complete examples known from the island (Courtois 1979a:88-89; Amiran 1962:173; Eriksson 1993:257-59; South 1997:167, fig. 8). Silver funnels, likewise, are unusual although examples in gold have been recovered in tombs at Erimi, Maroni, Dromolaxia, Ayia Irini *Palaeokastro* and Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (L. Åström in Åström and Åström 1972:510, 582; *Archaeological Reports* 1975-76:44; *BCH* XCVII 1973:612; Johnson 1980:19-20; Witzel 1979:191-92; Pecorella 1977:93). Karageorghis has proposed that they were used in conjunction with ostrich-egg flasks or glass bottles (*BCH* XCVII 1973:612), while Eriksson notes their association with RLW-m vessels (1993:41, n. 163)<sup>12</sup>. The presence of ten at *Dhima* suggests that they appear here in their own right. The cylinder seals are also distinctive. The designs on the two Elaborate Style examples include nude human figures with their hands clasped on the chest, an extremely rare device in Cypriot glyptic. In addition, one bears a cuneiform inscription engraved in the positive subsequent to the execution of the main design. The inscription is written in Akkadian and reads 'Mi-la-ta-ja(wa) (or Sil-la-ta-ja) the Prince' (Reidel 1934:576-77; Smith 1994:148 and n. 116)<sup>13</sup>.

The placement and complete (although fragmentary) condition of the finds are also remarkable. They appear for the most part to have been unearthed more or less as originally placed, undisturbed by subsequent use of the enclosure. There is a clear grouping of objects by type with the jewelry, funnels, ferrules

and arm vessels forming well delineated units. Both the ceramic and non-ceramic vessels, apart from the arm vases, stood together around the basin with the larger grouped to the south. This degree of preservation and the apparent survival of the entire contents of the western sector *in loco* are unparalleled among other Late Cypriot cult places, which are normally distinguished by long and continuous use with periodic destructions, rebuilding and clearing of excess votives.

These observations underline the complexity of *Dhima* but provide little in the way of a coherent explanation. The remains are those of a modest even transitory structure, poorly protected from the elements, in which rare and exotic objects were carefully placed and subsequently abandoned. They appear in fact to derive from a single, specific operation, following which the area was covered over in deliberate termination both of the proceedings and the cult place itself. There is nothing to suggest use of the enclosure prior to the placing of the objects in the western sector (the MC III pit predates the LC IIA remains by some 200 years). Nor, in the absence of any evidence of destruction or looting, is it likely that the enclosure was forcibly abandoned. A 'one-off' operation with minimum structural effort followed by concealment would, further, explain the disparity between architecture and finds and the remarkable preservation of those finds.

The precise nature of the ceremony for which *Dhima* was constructed remains unclear. Given its proximity to contemporary burial grounds and certain similarities between the installations at *Dhima* and those below Tumuli 1, 3 and 6 in the LC IA cemetery at Korovia *Palaeoskoutella*, it may be suggested that it was in some way associated with burial (see Webb 1992a). At both *Dhima* and *Palaeoskoutella* (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:416–38, figs. 160–73; Webb 1992a:92–94) rectangular and circular pits were cut into areas of levelled rock, filled with ash and burnt bone and subsequently covered over and abandoned. In both instances, also, the use of fire is indicated, although hearths were not found, as well as the cooking of animal flesh, the use of pottery vessels for mixing and storing liquids and libation rites in association with pits and basins. The RLW-m vessels, so prominent at *Dhima*, are also found primarily in tomb deposits, where they were frequently placed near the head of both male and female burials (Eriksson 1993:58, 144–45; South 1997:167). The presence of sets of grave goods is also noted in an exceptional tomb of similar date at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Goring 1989:102; South 1989:318). Whether *Dhima* served as a cenotaph (for *Mi-la-ta-ja?*) or as a place for consigning or commemorating the dead is unclear. It was not, however, given over to continuing observances and does not provide evidence for the conduct of a funerary cult.

*Dhima* is the only installation of its type known from Bronze Age Cyprus. It is often assumed that such enclosures were common and that their absence is

due to the difficulty of tracing such scanty remains. The accumulation of valuable and exotic objects at *Dhima*, however, gives the impression of a unique rather than typical phenomenon. While similar sites may await discovery, it is unlikely they will prove as rich or as distinctive.

### 3. Myrtou *Pigadhes*. Rooms CD1–CD6. Periods III–IV (figure 8)

Myrtou *Pigadhes*, located in a small inland plain southeast of Myrtou, appears to have been the most extensive settlement in the area with the possible exception of Ayia Irini. The nearest Late Cypriot cemetery is located at *Stephania* northwest of the village. Another at *Kafkalla* on the ridge above *Pigadhes* may also have been in use at this time. The relatively small area of the site excavated by du Plat Taylor in 1949–1951 exposed a complex of LC IIC–IIIA (Periods V–VII), identified as a cult centre, overlying a smaller group of rooms (CD1–CD6) of LC IIA–IIB (Periods III–IV) (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957)<sup>14</sup>. Trial trenching in the surrounding area revealed further remains extending over more than an acre.

#### Architecture

Rooms CD1–CD6, built in Period III (LC IIA) and occupied in Period IV (LC IIB), form a small complex oriented approximately east/west with walls of mudbrick on stone foundations (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:8–10, 114, fig. 6). An open court (CD6) lay to the west surrounded by rooms to east and south and a street to the north. An opening led east into CD2 (3m by 5m), where the excavators note a depression (0.6m in diameter), an oval pit (1.5m long) and a niche in the north wall. Further to the east CD3 (10m by 5m) was entirely occupied by a rubble podium rising at least 0.4m above the floor of CD2. The north wall, one course high, appears to have been a retaining wall and the east and south walls, overlaid by later structures, may have had a similar purpose. An opening from CD2 perhaps formed the beginning of a ramp leading to the podium with a second entrance to the southeast. To the south CD1, entered from CD6, was only partly preserved. To the east two adjacent rooms, CD4 and CD5, each measured 4m by 2m, with plaster flooring and postholes located near the entrance to CD4. Other walls lay to the west and south.

#### Finds

The format chosen for the publication of the pottery from *Pigadhes* makes the attribution of vessels to individual rooms difficult. Three bowls, two jugs, a jar and a krater of Red Polished, Black Slip, Red Slip, BR and PWW-m and PWH-m appear, however, to have been found in CD2. Of these, two bowls and the krater lay in the pit, together with the rim of a Monochrome vessel. CD3 contained three jugs, three bowls and four pithoi in Black Slip, White Painted III, BR, PWW-m, PWH-m and Coarse Ware (hereafter CW) and CD1 two jugs, a jar and a bowl of Black Slip, 'Painted Apliki' and *Bucchero*. CD4 produced at



least fifty-two vases including nine jugs, nine jars, twenty-two bowls, seven pithoi, two offering stands and a juglet, tripod bowl and miniature vessel in Black Slip, Red Slip, White Painted, BR, WS I–II, Monochrome, 'Apliki', PWW-m, PWH-m and CW. There were no finds in CD5 and CD6.

Non-pottery objects were few. A stone axe lay in the pit in CD2 and a silver earring and bronze pin on the floor of the same room. A pair of goat horns and a White Painted II–III bull figurine were found in CD4 and two querns, four pestles, three hammer stones, two mace-heads, a bronze pin and the leg of a bull? figurine of BR type outside the walled area.

#### Discussion

Although the excavators were unable to reach a firm conclusion, owing to uncertainty over the date of the podium, they tentatively suggest that Rooms CD1–CD6 served as a cult place (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:114. Also Åström 1972b:5, n. 3; Al-Radi 1983:81). This seems indicated in particular for CD4, which contained a high percentage (65%) of bowls and jug/juglets as well as a number of more specialised vessels (two offering stands and a miniature vase). The goat horns recall the remains of horned animals from *Pigadhes* Periods V–VI and cult buildings at Kition and Enkomi, while bull figures appear in cult deposits at Athienou, Enkomi, Kition, Ayia Irini, Idalion and *Pigadhes* Periods V–VI and stone axes at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, Idalion, Ayia Irini and Enkomi. There can be little doubt, also, that the podium is contemporary with the remainder of the CD1–CD6 complex, given that all the sherds in its make-up pre-date Period III, no Period III or IV levels were found beneath it and the north wall of CD3 seems to have been built to support it. It cannot, further, have been intended as a foundation for the altar of Period V, which cut into and partly destroyed its surface. There is, in fact, marked continuity between the CD remains and those of Period V, with the later altar built directly above the podium and offering stands and bull figures present in both assemblages.

If correctly identified, the LC IIA–IIB unit at *Pigadhes* is the earliest excavated intramural cult place in Cyprus and of considerable importance.

#### 4–5. Kition *Kathari*. Temple 2 and Temple 3. Floor IV (figures 9–12, 65.1, 81.2, 93)

Temples 2 and 3 are the earliest of five freestanding structures identified by Karageorghis as public cult buildings in Area II of the major urban settlement of Kition *Kathari* on the south coast. Built for Floor IV, they occupy a precinct of approximately 2,000m<sup>2</sup> at the north edge of the town (figures 9, 93). The city wall, built of mudbricks on a stone socle, and two towers (A and B) constructed of ashlar blocks adjoin the cult area immediately to the north. Apart from Rooms 127A–127C to the southwest and a 'boundary wall' to the south, there were no other structural remains in the immediate area. Karageorghis attributed

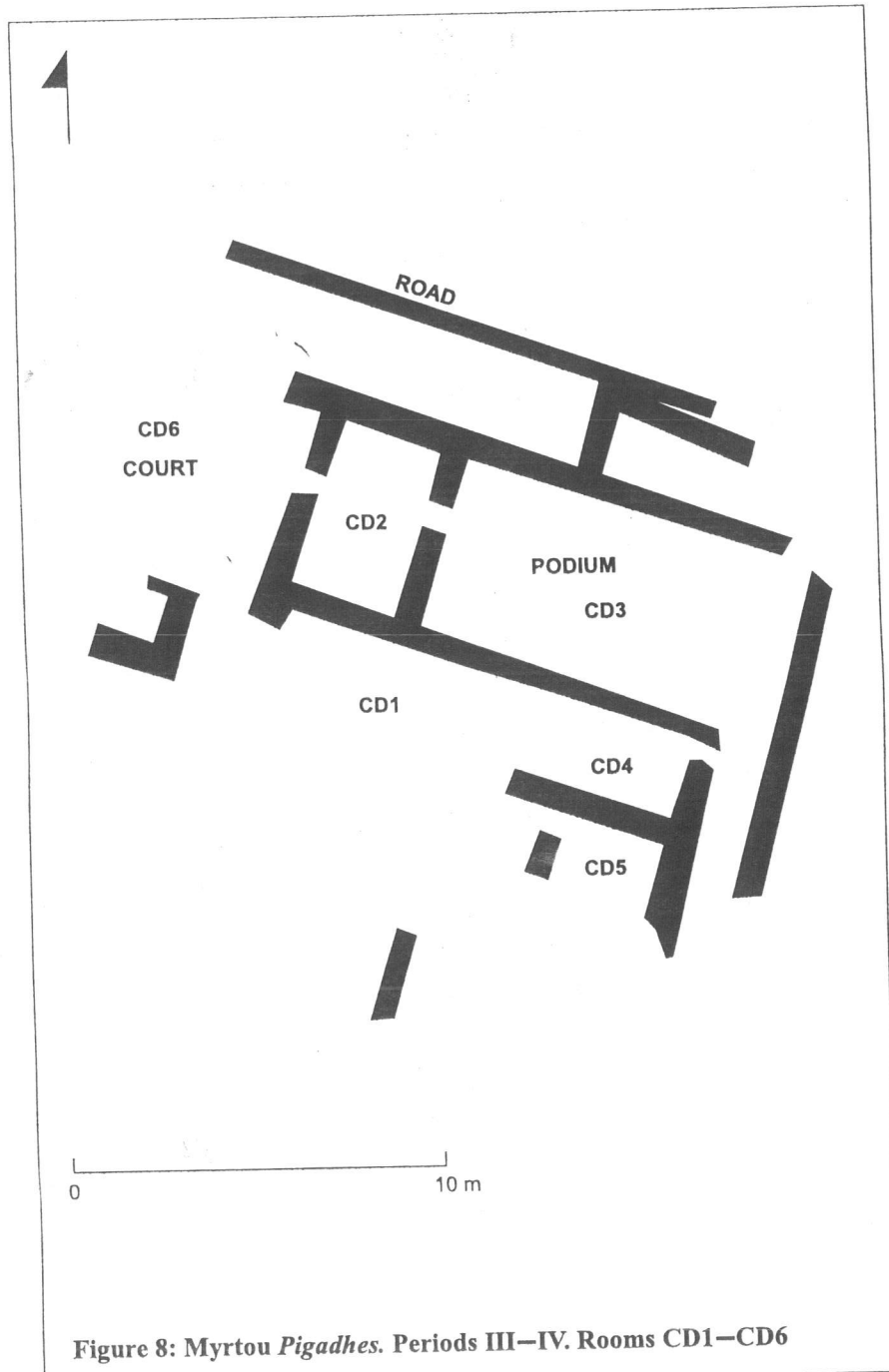


Figure 8: Myrtou *Pigadhes*. Periods III–IV. Rooms CD1–CD6

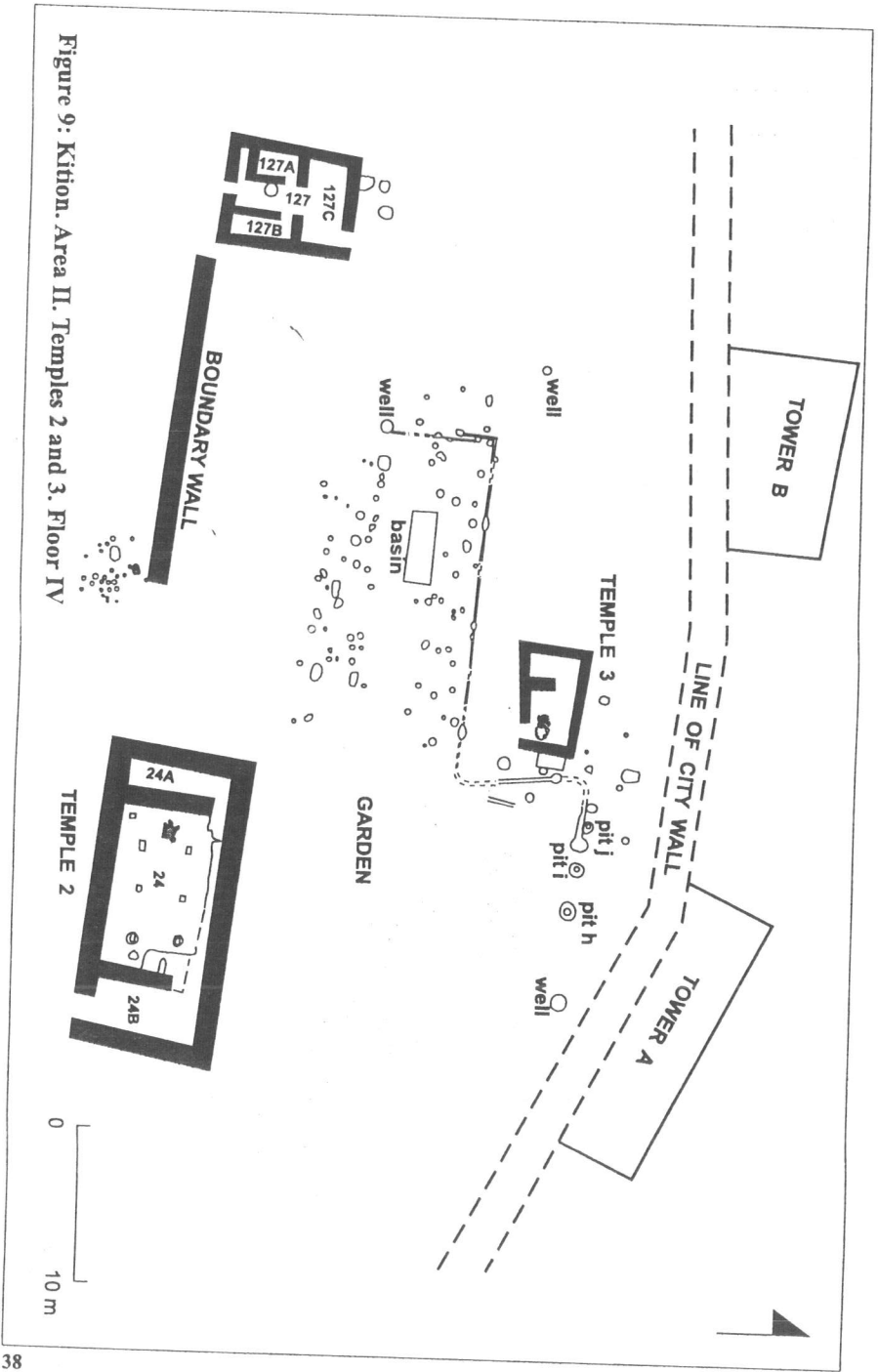


Figure 9: Kition. Area II. Temples 2 and 3. Floor IV

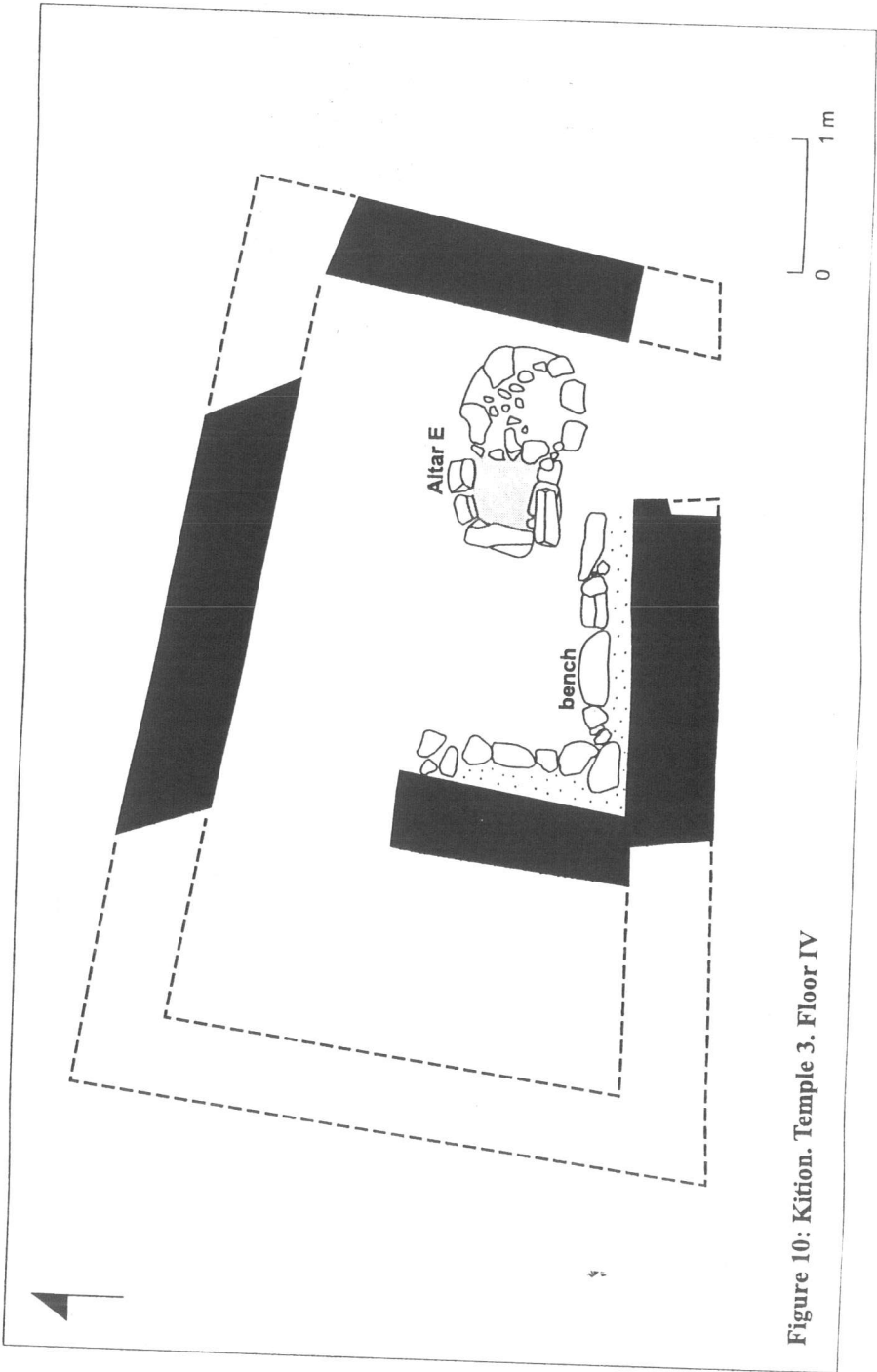


Figure 10: Kition. Temple 3. Floor IV

Figure 11: Kition. Temple 2. Floor IV

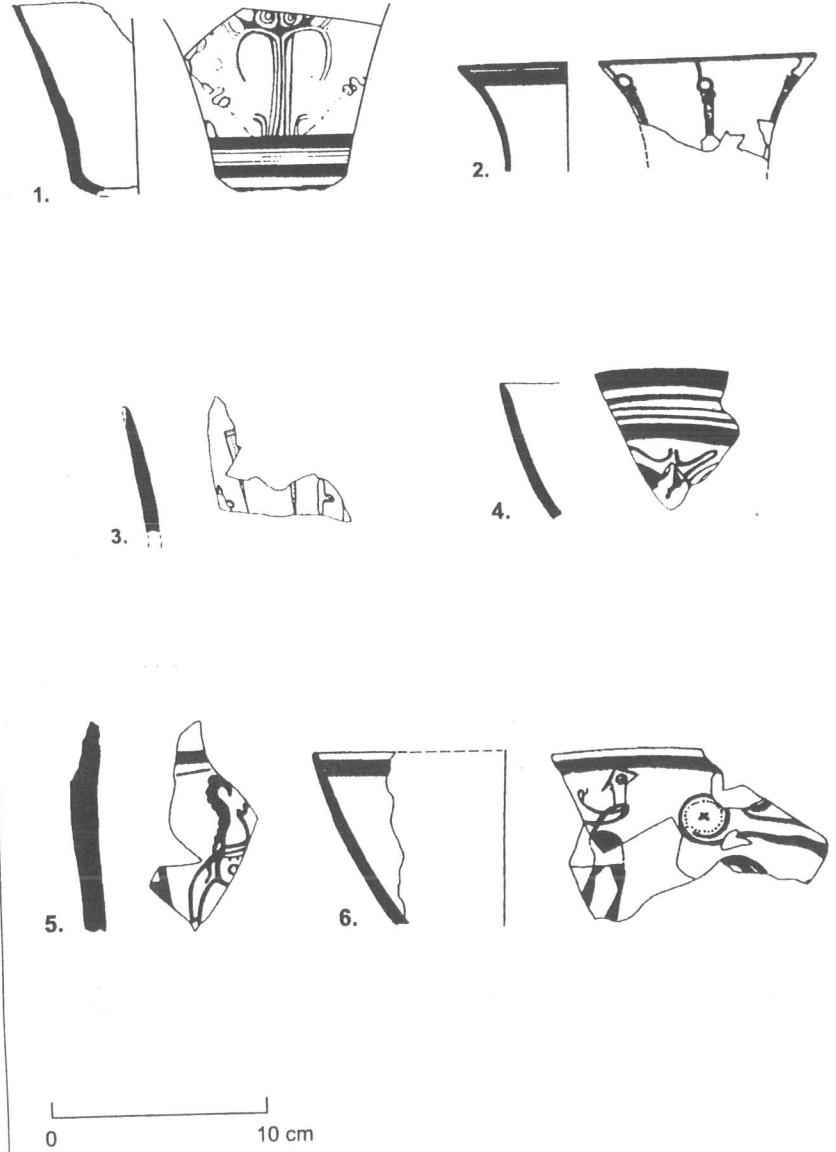
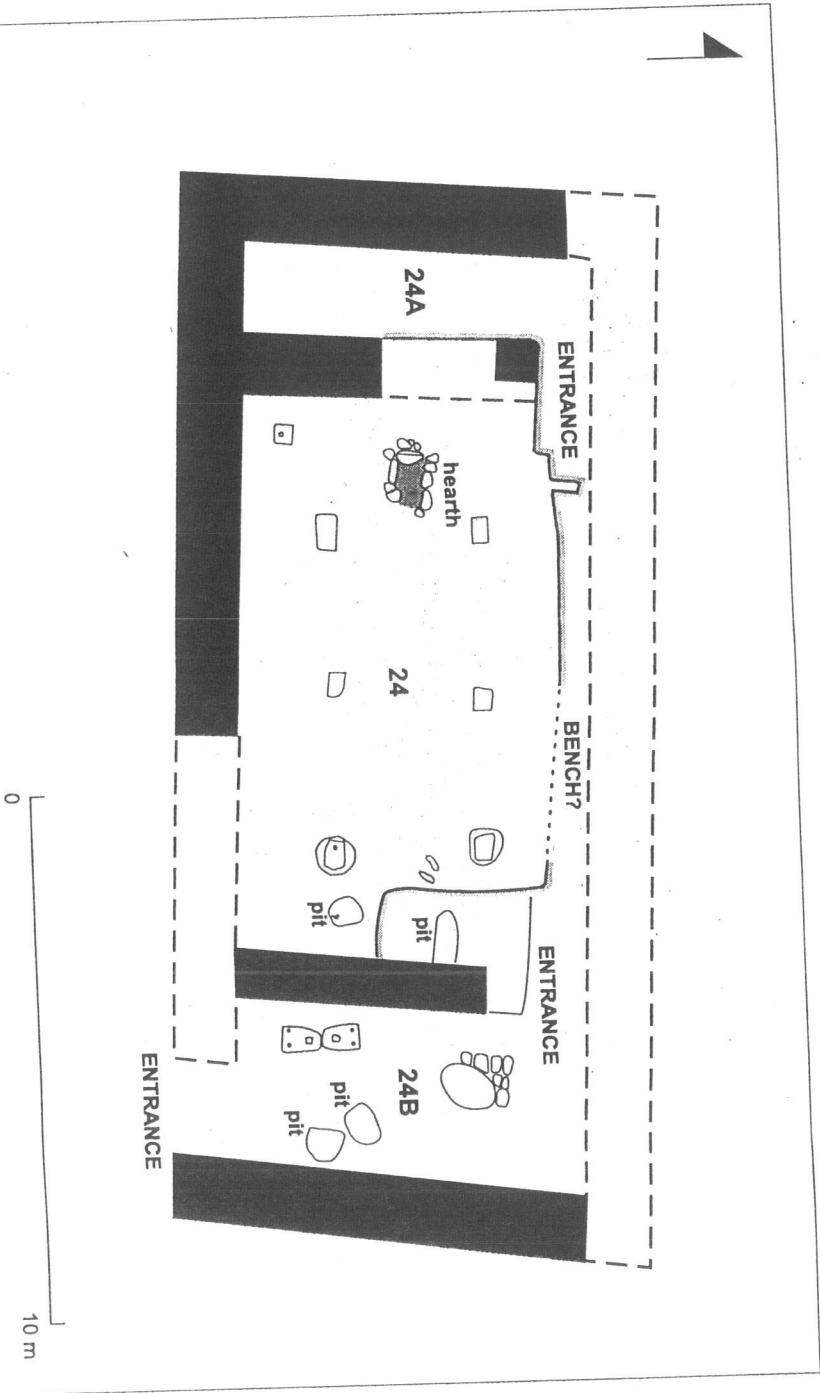


Figure 12: Mycenaean pottery from Kition Temple 2, Floor IV

Floor IV to LC IIC (Karageorghis and Demas 1985; Karageorghis 1990a:19–21 and n. 5). Kling's reassignment of Floor IV to LC IIIA (1987, 1989a:41–44, 68–79, 82, 87) has not been widely accepted (Sherratt 1991:190 and n. 7).

### TEMPLE 3 (figure 10)

#### Architecture

Temple 3 is a slightly trapezoidal two-roomed building (5.55m by 2.65–3.15m) built of mudbrick on a rubble socle, with a main room or hall to the east, almost certainly covered despite the lack of column bases, and a smaller, inner room or adyton to the west (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:24–26, 29–33, 36–37, 240f., plans III, IX, pls. 33.1–2, 42.6, LXVIII.4; Karageorghis 1985d: 91, 98–99, pls. CIX, CX, CLXXXIX, CXC)<sup>15</sup>. Access to the hall was through a lateral entrance (1.1m wide) in the southeast corner and to the inner room through an opening (1.25m wide) at the north end of the dividing wall. Immediately left of the entrance a U-shaped hearth (0.55m by 0.45m), constructed of small stones packed with earth, ash and bone, adjoined a roughly circular table (Altar E: 0.85m by 0.95m) built of stones set in clay, its surface 0.1m above the floor (figure 65.1). Mudbrick benches faced with large stones (0.35m high) lined the south and west walls.

An open area of levelled havana to the east and northeast of Temple 3 and between Temples 3 and 2, located 16m to the southeast, produced 116 circular and oblong pits (0.3–0.5m in diameter and 0.06–0.8m deep), channels, wells and a rectangular basin (4.55m by 1.65m by 0.9m). These are believed by Karageorghis to be the remains of a garden in which bushes and flowers were grown in association with the cult buildings. It is further suggested that the basin served as an ornamental pond for sacred fish.

#### Finds

Two floor levels in Temple 3 had been almost completely destroyed and no objects survived<sup>16</sup>. Three carefully constructed pits (pits h, i and j) to the northeast contained dark soil, pebbles, bones and fragmentary material of LC IIC. These were either used as bothroi during Floor IV or dug by the builders of Floor IIIA to house discard from the earlier use of the area. Pits h and i contained significant amounts of material, including seven fragmentary imported Mycenaean female figurines (at least three of *psi* type, with upraised arms), eighty-five faience beads, two PWW-m jugs, two stone anchors, a crucible and a platter of CW, an ivory chip, a WPW-m III (Pastoral Style) krater decorated with a bull, a WPW-m III jar, a BR II juglet, a glass flask, a loomweight and a stone bowl. Other, smaller pits in the area contained ash, bone, rubble and mudbrick. Copper slag was found in the basin and the fill below Floor IIIA. It is thus possible that there was some metallurgical activity in the vicinity.

Rooms 127A–127C featured a well, plaster floors, pits and a basin, suggesting the extensive use of water perhaps in a cult-related industry or activity, such as the manufacture or dyeing of cloth (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:37). The finds (a stone pyxis and two rubbers) are undiagnostic.

### TEMPLE 2 (figure 11)

#### Architecture

Temple 2 was of similar plan and construction to Temple 3. Aligned east/west and measuring 17.3m by 6.6m, it comprised a small inner room or adyton to the west (Room 24A: 1.75m by 6.6m) with a covered rectangular hall (Room 24: 10.65m by 6.6m) and an additional entrance room to the east (Room 24B: 3m by 6.6m) (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:26–29, 36–37, 240–42, pls. LXXIX–LXXXIV, plans III, VIII; Karageorghis 1985:88–96, pls. CVI–CVIII, CLXXXVI–CLXXXVII)<sup>17</sup>. Major access was again from the south through an external doorway (1.65m wide) to the entrance room and thence to the hall through a stepped and possibly paved opening (1.75m wide) in the northwest corner of Room 24B. A narrower opening (1m wide) on the same axis led to the inner room. Two rows of three rectangular stone bases divided the hall into a central aisle and two side porticoes. A U-shaped hearth (0.9m by 0.5m), constructed of unworked blocks set over a stone slab, lay at the western end of the central aisle and a bench possibly lined the face of the north wall.

#### Finds

Ash, bone, two BR II bowls, a Mycenaean IIIB stirrup jar, a White Shaved jug with a Cypro-Minoan sign and a bronze pin and weight lay on the floor of Room 24B, which also contained three pits, one with two anchors set below floor level. In the southwest corner of Room 24 two faience beads, scrap metal, a spindle whorl, a bronze arrowhead, a WS bowl, a Mycenaean IIIB kylix decorated with murex shells (figure 12.2) and a Mycenaean IIIB stirrup jar lay around an anchor set horizontally into the rock at floor level. Three faience beads and a second Mycenaean IIIB kylix (figure 12.1), also decorated with murex, were found near the hearth. Two rubbing stones, two CW jars, a rhyton decorated with murex (figure 12.3) and a deep bowl of Mycenaean IIIB possibly decorated with an octopus (figure 12.4), a gold ring and a sling bullet lay elsewhere on the floor and ash, bones, a cooking pot and a bronze ring in a pit south of the entrance. In Room 24A, twenty-three beads of faience and carnelian, a gold ring, a bronze awl, a small lump of melted bronze with two incised Cypro-Minoan script signs (figure 81.2)<sup>18</sup>, a toggle, an earring, a spindle whorl, scrap metal, a Mycenaean IIIB deep bowl decorated with boxers and an octopus (figure 12.6), a Mycenaean IIIA krater decorated with a female figure (figure 12.5) and a BR II bowl were concentrated toward the south wall. Fragmentary pithoi, a lamp and seven sea shells also came from Floor IV.

Another four shells, including two holed *Luria*, were found between Floors IV and IIIA (Reese 1985:342).

### Discussion

Temples 2 and 3 are identified by Karageorghis as twin shrines. Both are oriented east/west, with their inner rooms to the west and a single point of entry located at the eastern end of the south wall. The proximity of Rooms 127A-C raises the possibility of cult related workshop or crafting activities in LC IIC, foreshadowing the metallurgical and textile workshops constructed in the sacred quarter in LC IIIA.

While there is little to indicate the deities to whom they were dedicated, the presence of seven female figures in the vicinity of Temple 3 may indicate that a goddess (of fertility?) was worshipped in the smaller structure. Temple 2, although the larger and presumably the more important of the two cult buildings, faces away from the central courtyard and was entered from a major thoroughfare to the south. A garden located in this area would appear, then, to have been primarily associated with Temple 3. Also notable is the presence of a number of anchor stones in Room 24B of Temple 2. These are a major feature of the LC III cult complex at Kition. The number (eight) and quality of the Mycenaean vessels found in Temple 2 are also remarkable. Together with the seven Mycenaean figures from pit h, these bring the total number of imported Aegean objects associated with Floor IV in Area II to fifteen.

### 6. Myrtou Pigadhes. Periods V-VII (figures 13-16, 66.2-3, 67.2)

Following the levelling of Rooms CD1-CD6 (see above no. 3) a new complex was built at *Pigadhes* in Period V (early LC IIC), with subsequent occupation in Period VI and destruction in Period VII (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957). It consisted of two units covering an area 45m east/west by 24-32m north/south and extending south, west and southeast into unexcavated soil.

#### THE WESTERN UNIT

##### Architecture

The western unit centered on a rectangular court (14m by 16.5m) oriented northwest/southeast directly over Rooms CD1-CD6, with principal access from the northeast (via a street to the north of the eastern unit) and secondary openings at the east end of the north wall, the southeast corner and perhaps also to the northwest. The east wall was lined with a rubble bench (0.5m wide and 0.46m high), below a series of pierced stones inserted into the wall at 4.5m intervals with a partly paved drain (0.8m wide) running parallel to the wall at a distance of 1.5m. The south wall was also lined with a bench with a small recess to the southwest (3m by 1.4m) enclosing a well surrounded by a stone platform. To the west and southwest a series of rooms led from the court to

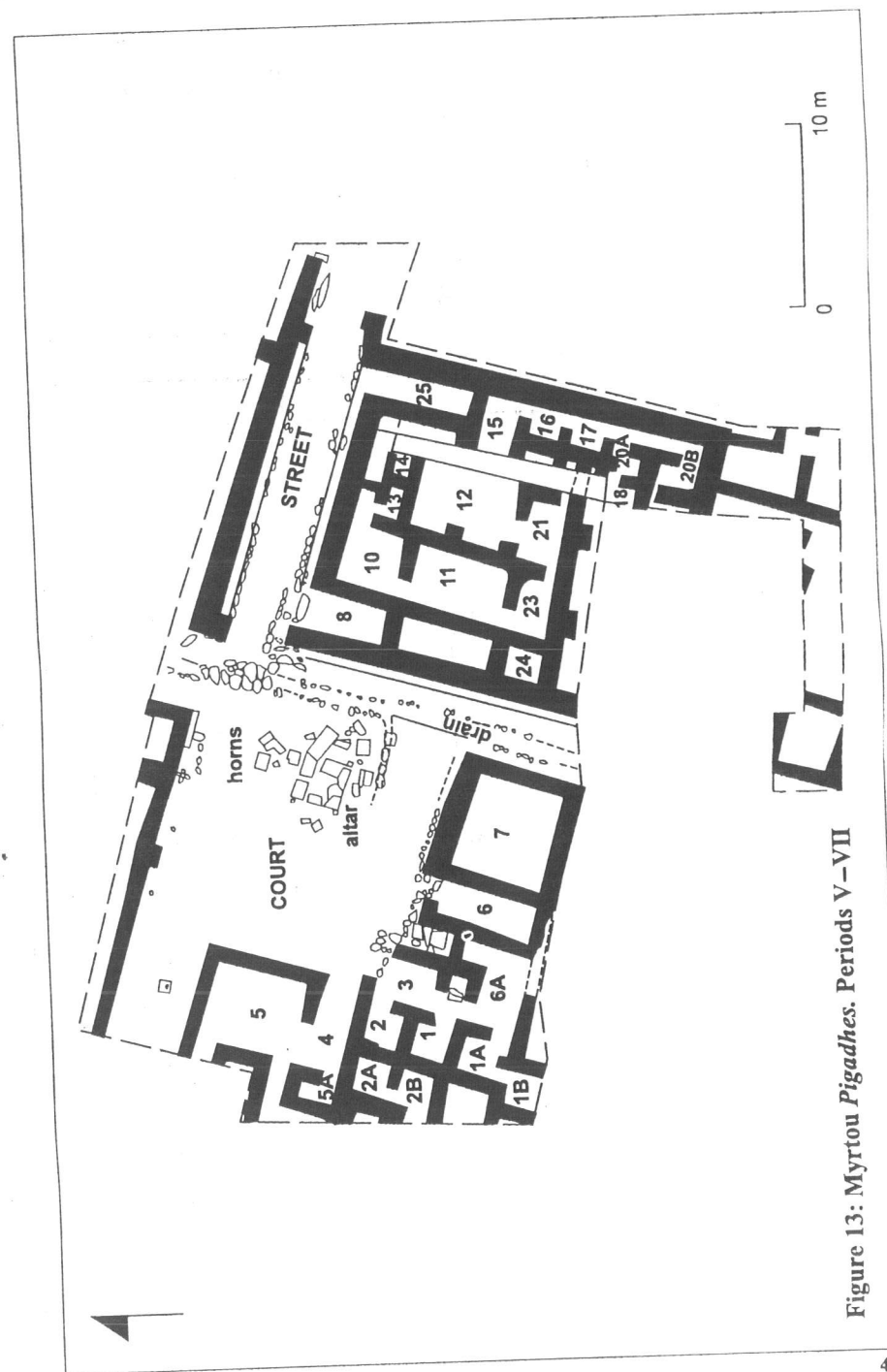


Figure 13: Myrtou Pigadhes. Periods V-VII

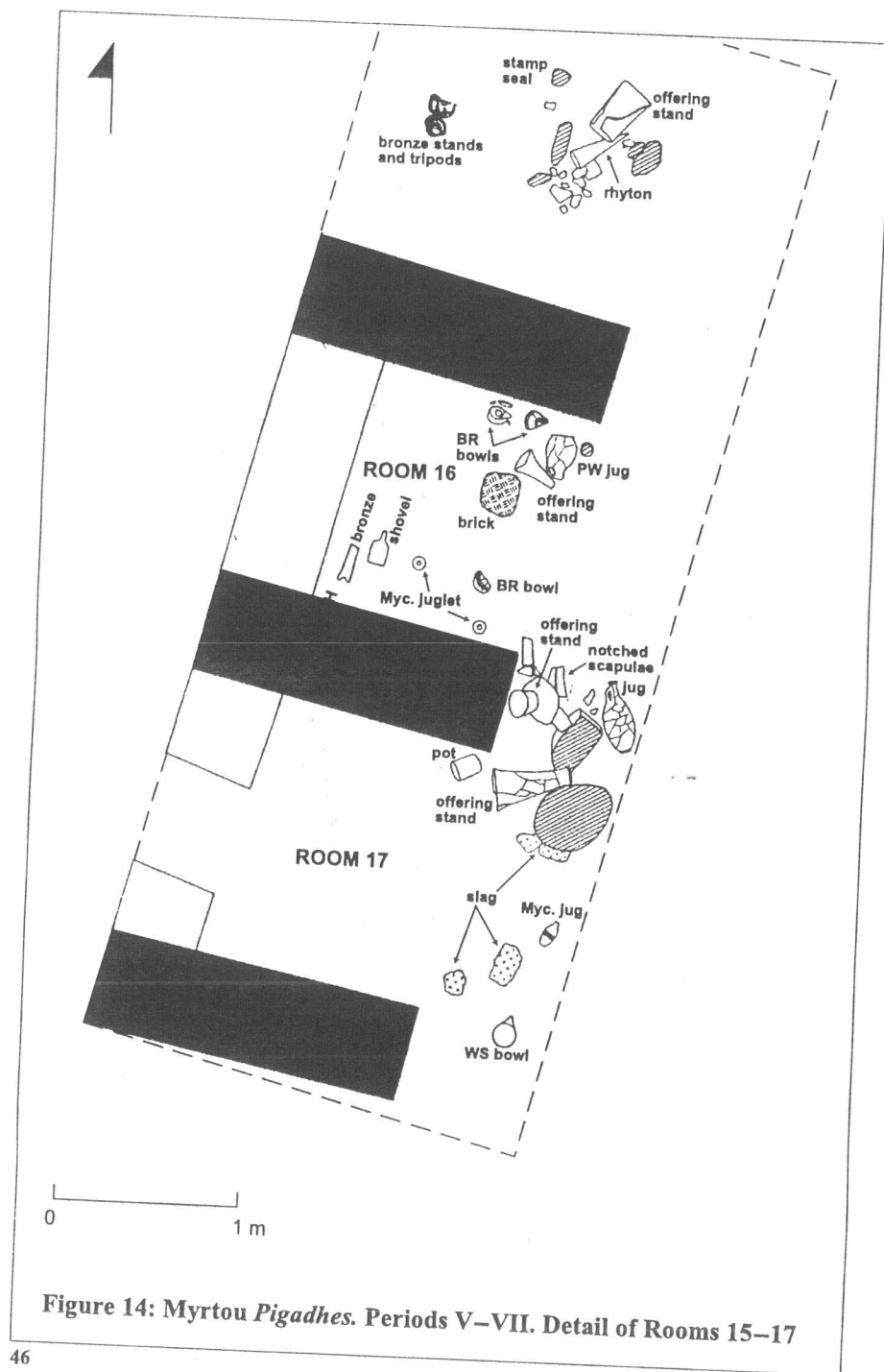


Figure 14: Myrtou Pigadhes. Periods V-VII. Detail of Rooms 15-17

unexcavated structures. Rooms 6 (2m by 5.3m) and 7 (5.2m by 5.2m) to the south appear, however, to belong to the same architectural unit.

A monumental stepped stone construction identified as an altar lay at the eastern end of the court (figure 66.2-3). Five blocks form a 2.5m square base with small recesses (0.15m by 0.07m by 0.13m deep) at each corner. Only two blocks of the second course remained (2.3m by 2.3m by 0.82m high) while another forty found nearby or incorporated into later walls probably formed, in the opinion of the excavators, a further three courses—0.6m, 0.45m and 0.35m high and 2.1m, 1.9m and 1.7m square respectively. This reconstruction, producing a four-stepped pyramidal structure with a height of 2.27m, remains credible despite some criticism (Loulloupis 1973; Ionas 1985).

More complex architectural fragments from the vicinity of the altar include two stepped stone capitals, several blocks with angles, sockets and channels and one in the shape of a truncated horn (1.15m high) joining a coffered side (0.5m square) with four squared insets, the lower two horizontally barred (figure 67.2). In the opinion of the excavators, the latter stood on the northeast face of the altar adjoining a similar block to form horns of consecration. The importance of this face is further confirmed by the presence 1.6m to the northeast of a rectangular block (1.05m by 0.76m) embedded in the floor and a large accumulation of faunal remains, including antlers of at least forty-one individuals of *Dama mesopotamica* and the horns of two goats and a moufflon. To the south a branch of the drain runs behind the altar, ending in a sump to the southeast.

#### Finds

The ceramic material from the court was predominantly Plain Ware (hereafter PW) with some Coarse Monochrome, CW, Mycenaean IIIB, BR, WS and sherds identified by the excavators as Mycenaean IIIC (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:22. See Kling 1989a:15-16). A fragmentary Mycenaean IIIB krater was found in the drain, a Mycenaean IIIB stirrup jar on the south bench, a small bronze bull in disturbed soil above the altar (figure 16.7) and fragments of a large wheel-made bull (0.34m high) beneath fallen blocks to the south<sup>19</sup>. Other finds include the leg of a second animal figure, a fragment belonging to an offering stand from the eastern unit, several querns, a bread mould (or statuette base?), a cylinder seal (figure 16.1), a bone handle, a wall bracket, a handled lamp (figure 15.3), a faience bowl, a pestle, a hammer and a whetstone. Several areas of burning on the floor were identified as platforms for offering stands.

Rooms 1-3, 1A-1B and 6A to the southwest produced two terracotta bulls, querns, loomweights, domestic vessels and a jasper amulet. Room 1C, with seven jars and several querns, was apparently a storeroom. Rooms 4 and 5 contained a pestle, a spindle whorl, a storage jar, a Black Slip jug, bowls of BR and the leg of an animal figurine. In Room 6 two jars, stone bases on which



others may have stood, a RLW-m pilgrim flask with fenestrated stand (Eriksson 1993:27, 252, no. 919, Type VIIAe, fig. 6), a wall bracket, a polisher, two querns and two bronze daggers lay on the floor and a Coarse Monochrome jar, two diorite polishers, a cylinder seal (**figure 16.4**), a bronze knife and sherds identified as Mycenaean IIIC:1 (WPW-m III) in pits near the door and west wall. Fourteen wall brackets, a whetstone, a bronze knife, an imported Mitannian cylinder seal and Mycenaean IIIB sherds came from Room 7.

## THE EASTERN UNIT

### Architecture

The eastern unit, an integrated freestanding structure (16m east/west by 20m north/south) enclosed to the west by the east wall of the west court, to the north by a street and to the east and south by broad rubble walls, underwent several phases of construction. The first centered on an internal court (Rooms 12–14+21: 14.5m by 4.5m), entered from the street via a corridor (Rooms 25+15) to the east and divided by a partition wall from Rooms 10, 11 and 23 to the west. Three narrow rooms along the western edge of the building appear to have been casemates. During the second phase the court was subdivided to become Room 12, Rooms 13–14 to the north and Room 21 to the south. The corridor was also divided (Rooms 25, 15–17) and a buttressed wall built south of Rooms 17, 21, 23 and 24. Floor levels, however, were impossible to distinguish and it is uncertain which, if any, of the following objects predate the subdivision of the building.

### Finds

A double layer of ash mixed with clay and bone covered the floor of Room 12, extending into Rooms 14 and 15. Room 21 produced a pestle, Room 25 a cylinder seal (**figure 16.2**), Room 23 a WPW-m III (Pastoral Style) krater with birds, Room 9 a pestle and Room 8 jars, two bowls and an offering stand of PWW-m. III-defined levels in Rooms 10–11 appear to have been associated with jar fragments, a single bowl rim identified as Mycenaean IIIC:1, a bead, a spindle whorl, a pestle and a rubber. In Room 15 three bronze tripods and two inscribed tripod rings (**figure 15.1–2**) lay entwined. The same room contained a Mycenaean IIIA/B rhyton decorated with palms and flowers (**figure 15.4**), a PWW-m offering stand, two BR bowls, a WS krater and bowl, a Bucchero vessel, a basin, a stamp seal, spindle whorls and burnt and calcined sheep and ox bones, including an entire sheep forelimb (see **figure 14**).

Room 16 produced two Mycenaean juglets, four BR bowls, an inscribed PW jug, an object of unidentifiable material possibly coated with silver, a bronze shovel (**figure 16.5**), two lumps of fused copper, some slag and the foot of an offering stand (**figure 15.5**). The remainder of the latter lay in the doorway between Rooms 16 and 17, together with a limestone offering stand (**figure 16.6**), a PW vessel, a jug, a notched ox scapula, a cylindrical vessel and

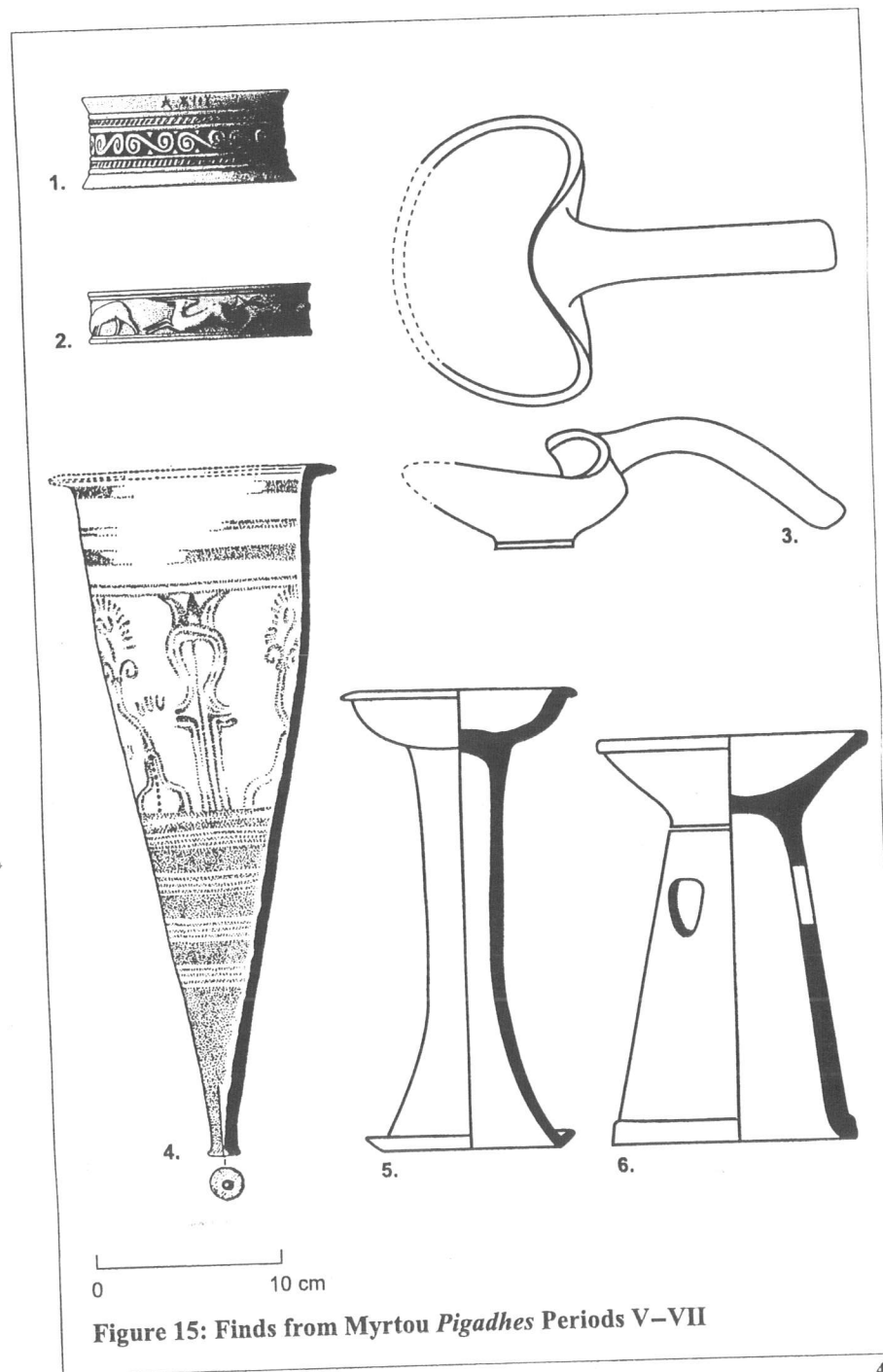


Figure 15: Finds from Myrtou *Pigadhes* Periods V–VII

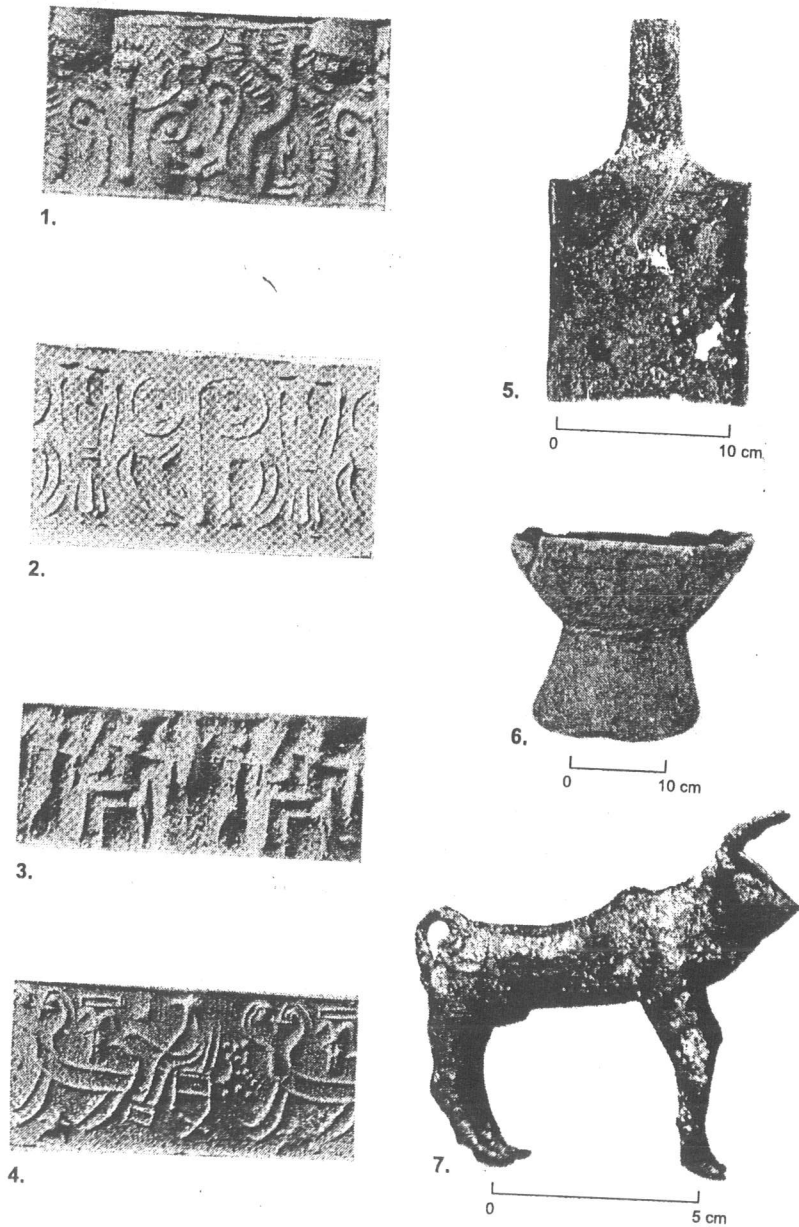


Figure 16: Cylinder seals and other objects from Myrtou Pigadhes. Periods V–VII

another fragmentary offering stand (figure 15.6). In Room 17 a Mycenaean jug, a WS bowl, two ox scapulae and a bronze knife lay on the floor amid slag and mudbrick. Two pithoi sunk into the floor, a BR bowl and seven ox scapulae were found in the northwest corner of Room 20A and many more scapulae, another BR bowl and a PWW-m offering stand on a plaster ledge to the south. Room 20B contained four scapulae, Room 20C a Mycenaean juglet and two bronze pins and Room 18 a Mycenaean juglet.

Muhly (1985:302) notes the presence of chunks of furnace conglomerate amongst the metallurgical debris from *Pigadhes* (see also Matthäus and Schumacher-Matthäus 1986:171; Muhly 1989:302). Although not published in detail, this probably refers to material from the eastern unit. In addition a BR bowl, a Mycenaean bowl, a RLW-m flask, a lamp, an annular rhyton, two querns, a pestle, a hammer, loomweights, wall brackets, fragmentary terracotta bulls and a female figurine lay on the street. A fifth cylinder (figure 16.3) came from the surface. A Mycenaean IIIB hedgehog-shaped rhyton, found by villagers, may also be from the site (Karageorghis 1965a:225, no. 3, fig. 52.2).

#### THE SOUTHERN UNIT

Immediately south of the eastern unit several rooms belonging to a third complex extend into unexcavated soil (Rooms 19A, 19B, 26 and 27). These produced stone basins and jars and quantities of stone tools (querns, pestles, rubbers and pounders). They appear to have been used for industrial purposes. Room 27, identified by the excavators as a bathroom (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:22), is now thought to have housed an olive press (Hadjisavvas 1988:112, 1992a:21–23, fig. 38, 1992b:233–34).

#### Discussion

Neither the chronology nor the interpretation of the remains at Myrtou *Pigadhes* is straightforward. The material from the eastern unit belongs wholly to LC IIC with the possible exception of a bowl rim classified by the excavators as Mycenaean IIIC:1 (Room 10) and an offering stand of Iron Age type (Room 8), both apparently intrusive. The majority of the pottery from the western unit is also of LC IIC date. The presence, however, of some thirty sherds identified as Mycenaean IIIC:1b in the court and Room 6 was thought by the excavators to indicate a second phase of occupation extending into early LC IIIA. While the date of the altar could not be precisely pinpointed, the structural sequence indicated that it had been added after the laying of the floor of the court. It was also, therefore, attributed to LC IIIA.

Subsequent studies of Mycenaean IIIC and related ceramics and the transition from LC IIC to IIIA have suggested that small quantities of Mycenaean IIIC:1b may not be sufficient to assign a LC IIIA rather than late LC IIC date (French and Åström 1980:267–69; Karageorghis and Demas 1985:269–71; Karageorghis 1990a:7; Kling 1987, 1989a). Mycenaean IIIC:1b



is, also, indistinguishable in many respects from Late Mycenaean IIIB, a fabric which first appeared in LC IIC and continued into LC IIIA (Karageorghis and Demas 1984:47–48, n. 6, 70; Kling 1989a:1–2). It is thus possible that the few Mycenaean IIIC:1b style sherds from *Pigadhes*, described as being ‘close to IIIB forms’, belong to Late Mycenaean IIIB and so to the same LC IIC horizon as the remainder of the ceramic material. Kling, however, although in agreement with Karageorghis in an earlier study (1987:105), now follows the excavators in regarding the assemblage from Periods VI–VII as LC IIC/IIIA transitional (1989a:15–16, 68, 85–87. See also Russell 1986:346–48).

The attribution of the altar to LC IIIA, long supported by the belief that ashlar masonry, horns of consecration and stepped capitals were not introduced to Cyprus until the early C12th BC, may also need revision. Excavations at Maroni *Vournes*, Maa *Palaeokastro*, Phlamoudhi *Melissa*, Kition *Kathari* and Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* have shown that ashlar were already in use in LC IIC (Hult 1983:3–15, 88; Karageorghis and Demas 1985:35). While the horns of consecration and stepped capitals at Kition belong securely to LC IIIA, examples from Kouklia *Evreti*, *Palaepaphos* and *Arkalou* and the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi were associated with material of LC IIC–IIIA and may belong to either horizon. A LC IIC date for the *Pigadhes* altar is cited by Raptou (1988:75), Cook (1988:29) and Negbi (1986:109, 115–16. See also Hult 1983:15, 88).

Some LC IIIA use of the western unit, however, seems indicated by other finds. At least three of the bull figurines from the western unit, including that found beneath the fallen altar blocks, belong to a hollow wheel-made type with incised, impressed or painted decoration well represented in C12th and C11th BC levels at Enkomi (Courtois 1984:88–89)<sup>20</sup>. Comparable bulls from Alassa *Pano Mandilaris* (Hadjisavvas 1986: pl. XVIII.2, 4; 1989: fig. 3.6) and two similar figurines acquired by the Cyprus Museum are also assigned to LC IIIA (Karageorghis 1985a:235, pl. XXVI). While it is thus conceivable that the *Pigadhes* bulls are earlier, some use of the court in early LC IIIA cannot be ruled out. This is also suggested by the RLW-m flask from Room 6, which is of a type dated by Eriksson to LC IIIA (1993:27, fig. 40).

The relationship between the eastern and western units is also unclear. In the opinion of the excavators the western complex served as the focal point of the cult throughout Periods V–VI. They do not consider the function of the eastern unit except to suggest that, at the time of the construction of the altar, the western court was cleared of offerings, discarded equipment and ash and bone debris which were then cast into the eastern building. There is, however, no indication that the material in the eastern unit was deposited at one point in time. The objects themselves, in particular those in Rooms 15–17 and 20A–20B, and the lay-out of the building are consistent rather with its use as a cult house in LC IIC at least subsequent to the second construction phase<sup>21</sup>. The ash

and bone in Room 12 likewise appear to be *in situ*, in which case use of the complex may also have involved the burning of animal flesh.

What of the western unit in LC IIC? If the altar was not added until LC IIIA then all associated indications of ritual activity (faunal remains, horns of consecration and bull figurines) also belong to this final phase. Apart from the offering stand fragment, which may have moved during the final destruction, there is otherwise little evidence of ritual activity here in LC IIC. In these circumstances it might be suggested that the cult was located in the eastern unit throughout LC IIC and transferred to the western unit at the time of the construction of the altar in LC IIIA. If, however, the altar was erected in LC IIC—at the same time, perhaps, as the subdivision of the eastern unit—it is possible that the focus of the cult shifted at this time to the western court while the eastern unit continued in use as a storehouse. Alternatively, the eastern unit may have served as the cult place proper and the western court as an adjacent temenos throughout LC IIC, in an arrangement similar to that of Temples 1 and 2 and Temene A and B at Kition<sup>22</sup>.

Whatever the case, the excavators can hardly be correct in assuming that the eastern unit served only as a repository for discarded material from the western court. It is clear also that the two units were in simultaneous use only in LC IIC. If there was LC IIIA occupation it was limited to the western unit and more specifically to the court and Room 6. It should also be noted that the absence of LC IIIA or transitional LC IIC/LC IIIA material elsewhere on the site and in nearby cemeteries suggests that the region was depopulated at the end of LC IIC, in which case the LC IIIA remains may represent a short-lived or intermittent attempt to prolong the life of the cult in an otherwise abandoned town.

In this context the faunal remains associated with the altar deserve further comment. Most of the antler pedicles include the burr, indicating that the animals were killed at a time of the year when the antlers were intact and fully grown which would appear in Cyprus to have been spring or early summer<sup>23</sup>. The remains must therefore be those of deer slaughtered during one or more spring or early summer ceremonies or an accumulation over a number of years of animals hunted and killed each spring. This, in turn, may indicate seasonal or intermittent use of the unit during its final phase and, if correctly attributed to LC IIIA, explain the minor incidence of Mycenaean IIIC:1b. Of interest, also, is the excavators’ suggestion, prompted by the scattered state of the altar blocks, that the sanctuary was deliberately dismantled following final abandonment (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:22–23).

## 7. Ayia Irini. Period 1 (figures 17–18, 82.2–4)

The complex at Ayia Irini was excavated in 1930 by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. It lies immediately west of the modern village, about 1km from the

northwest coast, on the edge of a low rock plateau bounded to the north by a shallow valley and to the south and west by coastal dunes (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:642–824, plans XXIII, XXVII, XXX, fig. 263, pls. CLXXXVII.1, CCXXIV.1–2, CCXLI–CCXLIII)<sup>24</sup>. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition found no evidence for associated domestic structures, although architectural remains some distance to the north are believed to belong to a settlement which included the excavated area (Gray in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:103, n. 4). Catling lists five other sites in the vicinity, at *Liontos*, *Koutrakes*, *Philika*, *Kaladoulis* and *Palaeokastro*, where a LC I necropolis was excavated in 1970–1972 (Catling 1963:161, nos. 26–30a. Also Karageorghis 1971b:7–9; Pecorella 1977).

### Architecture

The earliest remains (Period 1) consist of a large rectangular courtyard (30m by 20m) oriented northwest/southeast, surrounded by freestanding rectilinear units separated by broad passageways leading from beyond the excavated area (figure 17). The northern building, identified as a cult storehouse, contained three rectangular rooms (Rooms I–III). Rubble benches lined the outer facade of Rooms I and II, which were both entered from the courtyard and furnished with an upper storey. The southern unit (Rooms IX–X), which opened onto a corridor (Room IV) leading to the central unit, was identified as a store for votives and cult equipment and the western unit, of which only a single wall was uncovered, as a dwelling for the priest.

The central or eastern unit, identified as the cult house proper, is a small (8m by 5.8m) two-roomed building on the same orientation as the courtyard with a hall to the southeast (Room V) and a small inner room (Room VI) to the northwest. Room V (4.4m square) was entered from the corridor which screened the unit from the courtyard. To the left of the doorway a small recess (1.1m by 1.1m) may have supported a stair emplacement (Wright 1992a:120). Both the southwest wall, east of the doorway, and the southern half of the southeast wall were lined with rubble benches (0.6m wide and 0.2m high). A shallow hearth with ash and carbonised matter lay in the southwest corner, a flat stone slab (0.9m by 0.6m) with a dark glossy surface at the head of the central long axis and a second slab at the foot of the northeast wall. Room VI (4.4m by 1m, with a similar recess to the left of the doorway) was entered through an opening at the north end of the dividing wall. Two stone slabs, smaller than those in Room V, lay on the floor before the northeastern wall.

### Finds

Most finds came from the central unit and in particular from Room V (figure 18). A diorite axehead, two basalt pestles, two CW bowls, nine spindle whorls, a terracotta bead, a bronze arrowhead, two fragmentary pithoi and charred olive pits lay on the floor between the hearth and stone table. A second group, including a bull figurine of BR type, juglets of BR II and PWH-m and a PWW-

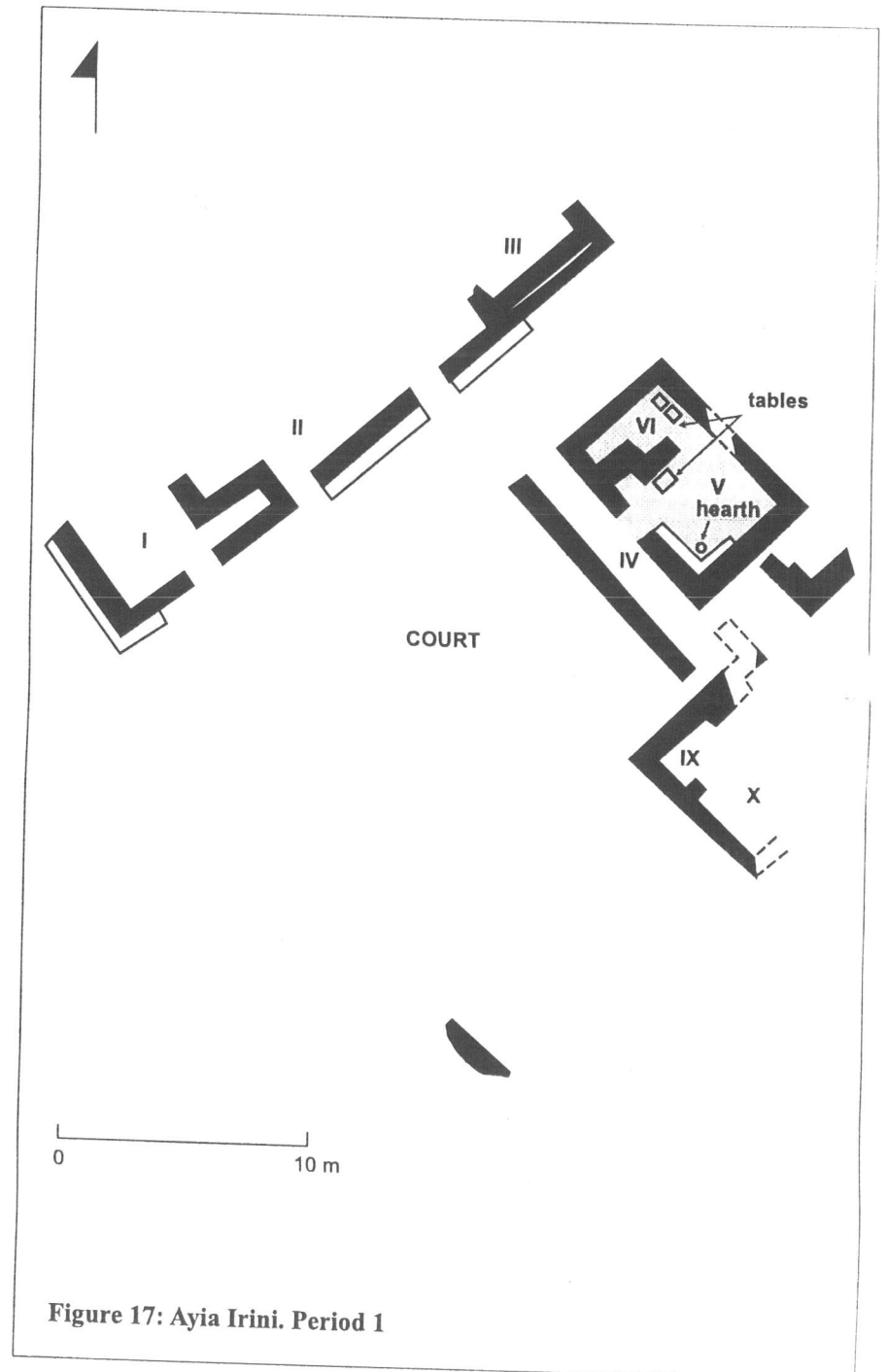


Figure 17: Ayia Irini. Period 1

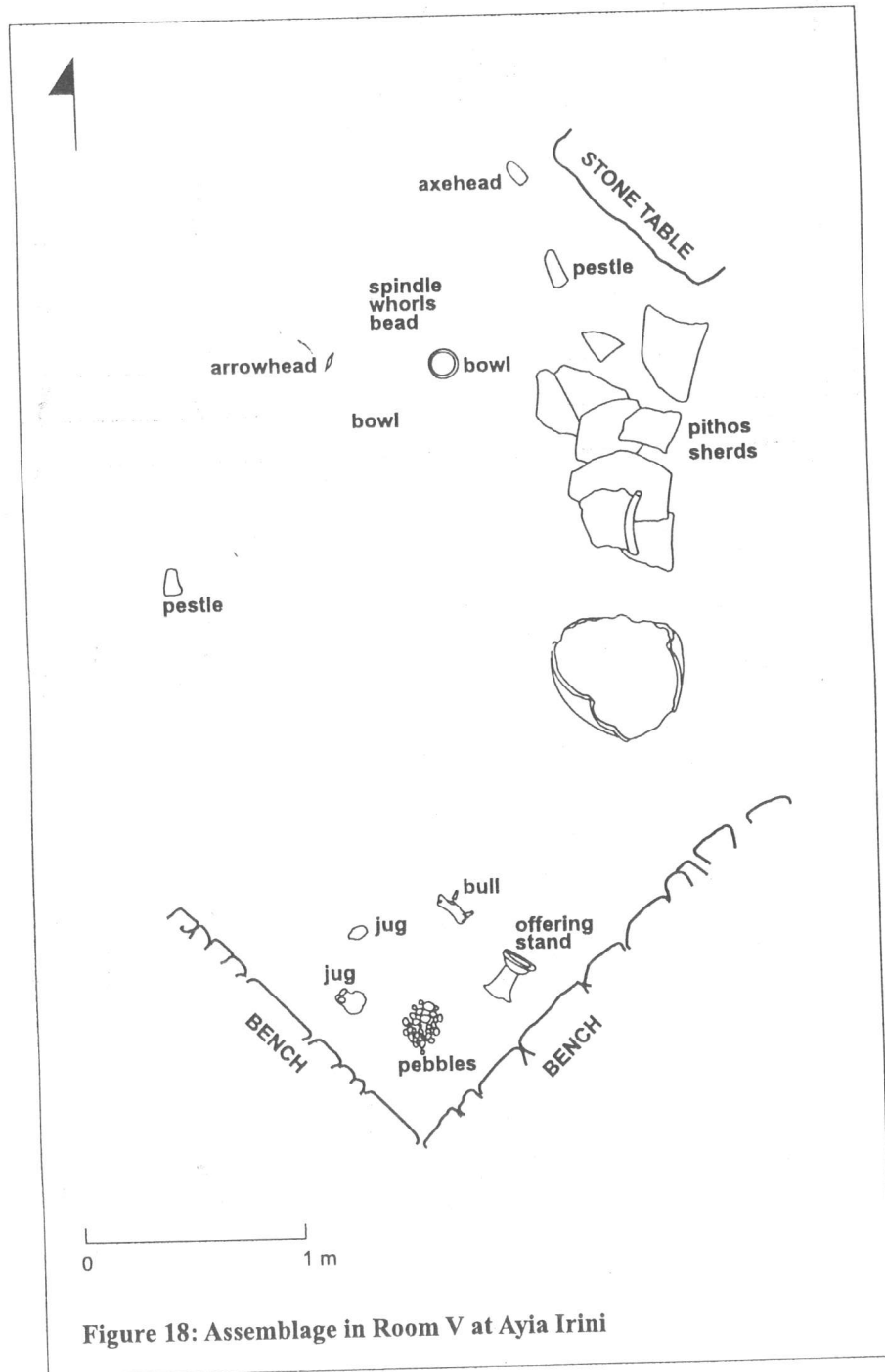


Figure 18: Assemblage in Room V at Ayia Irini

m II offering stand were found in the southeast corner around a circle of red and white pebbles, while another pithos and axehead lay along the northeast wall near the second stone slab. Other finds in Stockholm, not mentioned in the report, include a shallow bowl and jug of Coarse Monochrome and a second BR bull (Åström 1972b:104–105, Type I.B.a.2, 107, Type VII.B.3.a; Catling 1976a:69, no. 7)<sup>25</sup>. Room VI produced a pithos and a kylix, the latter apparently of WPW-m III (Catling 1965:6–7 and n. 4).

The northern unit contained fragmentary pithoi and other vases not described by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and pithoi, grinders and unidentified vessels are recorded also from the southern unit. Two cylinders and a stamp seal from Cypro-Archaic Period 4 are of Bronze Age type and may be survivals from Period 1 (figure 82.2–4; Gjerstad *et al.* 1935: pl. CCXLIII.11, 20–21). Two terracotta bulls acquired subsequently by the Cyprus Museum may also come from the site (Karageorghis 1985a:235, pl. XXVI).

### Discussion

Period I was dated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition to LC IIIA. The contents of the cult unit, however, as both du Plat Taylor and Åström have noted, belong primarily to LC IIC and it seems probable that the complex was first occupied in the C13th BC (du Plat Taylor 1956:29, 37; Åström 1972b:1; Åström and Åström 1972:694–95. *Contra* Wright 1992a:120). The substantial accumulation on the floors as well as evidence for refurbishing suggest it remained in use for some time, perhaps into the C12th BC. It was later rebuilt after a period of abandonment in Cypro-Geometric I and continued as an important cult centre until the late C6th, with a poor revival in Hellenistic times.

While the identification of the central unit has been widely accepted, the nature of the surrounding buildings is far from clear. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition's conclusion that all four structures form a single functional entity with each serving the needs of the cult was based on their belief that they lay apart from any settlement. Following the recovery of other, apparently domestic remains nearby it is now possible to argue (*contra* Wright 1992a:120) that some or all were purely secular. Certainly the finds from the northern and southern units do little to support their use as cult storehouses, while the courtyard produced no Bronze Age finds and the function of the western unit remains entirely unclear. There is no evidence for ritual activity other than in the central unit which should perhaps be viewed independently.

Sjöqvist and Gjerstad identified the Ayia Irini cult as that of a god in bull form comparable to Syro-Hittite Hadad and Egyptian Apis. They also propose that the ritual was purely agrarian with offerings of corn, wine, olives and honey but no animal sacrifice (see also Wright 1992a:120). This, however, is an unwarranted conclusion given their own report of 'remnants of a sacrifice' and fragmentary animal bones in the hearth in Room V (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:662;

Gjerstad 1980:112). The recipient of the Iron Age cult, possibly related to his/her predecessor, is unknown, although bull figurines continued to be offered and minotaurs (with bovine bodies and male or hermaphrodite torsos), chariot groups, horsemen, musicians and warriors were introduced in Period 3. This material suggests a male deity associated with war and fertility, tentatively identified by Al-Radi as Resheph/Apollo (1983:68).

### 8. Kouklia Palaepaphos. Sanctuary I (figures 19–21, 67.3)

Sanctuary I (Site TA) at *Palaepaphos* occupies an area of high ground overlooking the coastal plain on the southern outskirts of Kouklia, some 3km from the southwest coast. The site was first investigated by the Cyprus Exploration Fund in 1888 and subsequently by Mitford and Iliffe in 1950–1953 (Gardner, Hogarth, James and Elsey Smith 1888; Mitford and Iliffe 1951 and 1952). More thorough excavation began in 1966. Recent work shows that the settlement, which appears to have been one of the largest in western Cyprus (Rupp 1981:256–57), extended from southern *Evreti* across *Asproyi* and *Mantissa* to the *Marcello* plateau (Maier 1997:101, fig. 1). It dates initially to MC II/III with extensive occupation from LC I onward.

Sanctuary I, excavated by a Swiss-German mission in 1973–1978<sup>26</sup>, was extensively destroyed in Roman times, when many of its stones were reused in the nearby Temple of Aphrodite (Sanctuary II), and subsequently during the construction of a Medieval sugar refinery. The excavations of 1888 further removed what little stratigraphical evidence remained so that everywhere bedrock lies exposed or below a shallow covering of disturbed soil. As a result the complex is fragmentary and virtually without associated stratigraphy.

#### Architecture

The remains form two contiguous rectangular units identified as a covered hall to the north and an open courtyard or temenos to the south (figure 19). The temenos (25.5m north/south by ?15.5m east/west) is enclosed by a substantial western wall (1.5m wide and 28m long) of dressed limestone orthostats (up to 5m long and 2.2m high) on a pediment of rectangular blocks. Both orthostats and pediment blocks are pierced at irregular intervals by circular holes of uncertain date and purpose. A stepped opening (2m wide) toward the north and a second (3.5m wide) in the northwest corner provide access from the west. The south and east walls, destroyed except for a single block at the southwest corner, were apparently of similar construction. The north wall (1m wide), however, which survives for a length of 11.5m, is built of drafted ashlar blocks. Although the temenos floor was nowhere intact, a shallow rectangular limestone basin (1.62m by 0.7m) remained *in situ* 7.8m east of the stepped entrance and a square limestone block on the same alignment to the north.

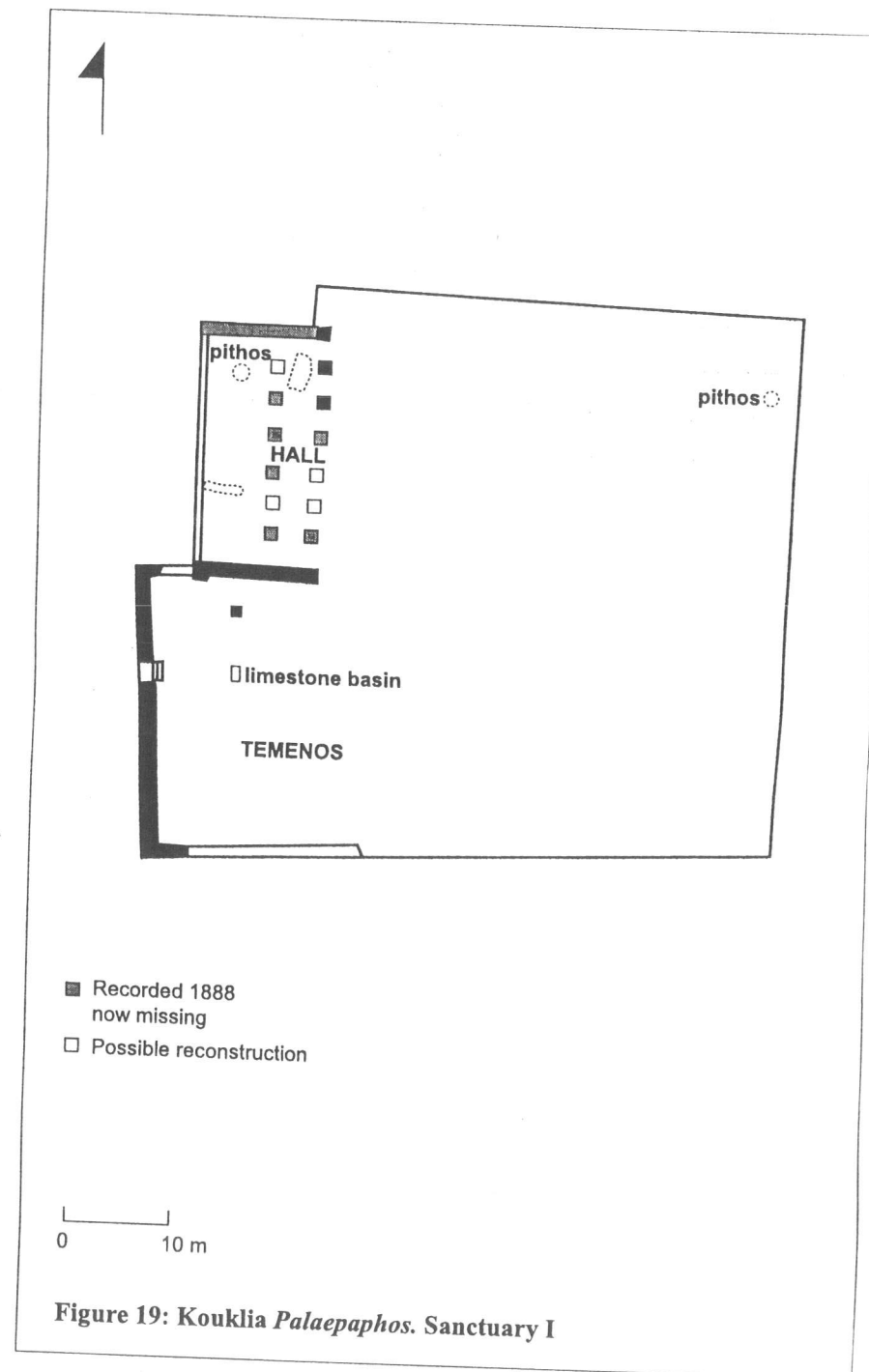


Figure 19: Kouklia Palaepaphos. Sanctuary I

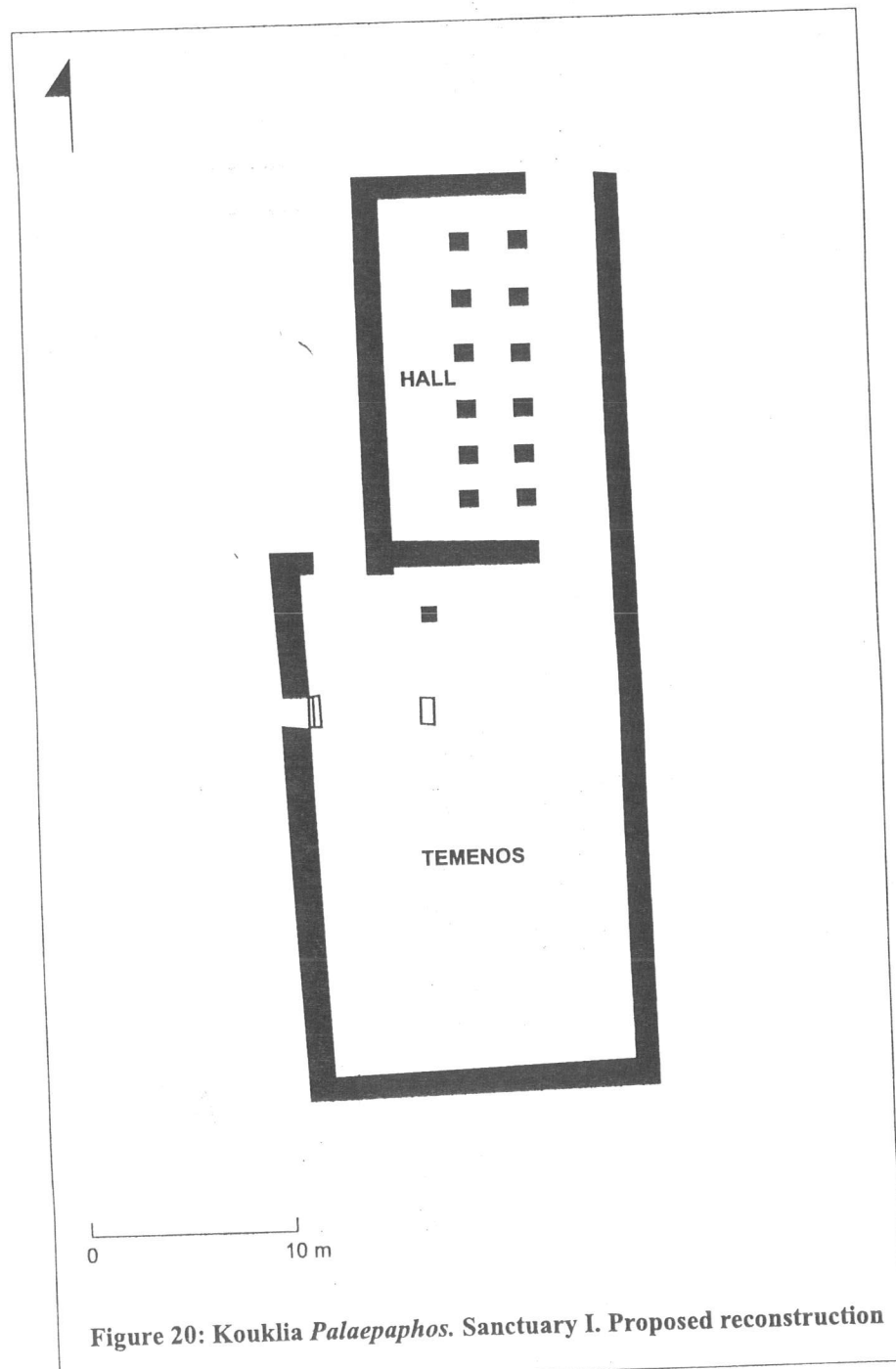


Figure 20: Kouklia Palaepaphos. Sanctuary I. Proposed reconstruction

The hall (21.5m north/south by at least 11.5m east/west) survives in similar condition. The north wall, recorded in 1888 21.5m to the north of the south wall, is now visible only as a cutting in the rock, with the exception of a monolithic pillar with drafted edges at the eastern end. It was apparently of similar width and construction to the south wall. No traces of the east or west walls were found. Two rows of six square stone bases extending between the north and south walls, two of which survive with six others recorded in 1888, are thought to have supported drafted pillars similar to that at the east end of the north wall. A rock-cut pit (3.5m by 0.75m) lay to the southwest, a circular pit (1.5m in diameter) to the northwest and a rectangular basin (3m by 1.5m), not certainly of Bronze Age date, east of the latter. Another pit containing a large pithos came to light near Sanctuary II, 43m to the east.

### Finds

The most significant finds were architectural. Two complete (1.15m square at the upper surface) and two fragmentary stepped capitals recovered in the vicinity probably come from the main building. A fifth (1.3m square) was found in a house in Kouklia village (Hult 1983:13 with refs). The recovery of similar capitals at Kouklia *Evreti* and *Arkalou* suggests, however, that Sanctuary I was not the only complex at Kouklia in which they were used (*BCH* CVIII 1984:947, fig. 147; *BCH* CIX 1985:942; Maier 1985:118, n. 74). Other stone fragments include two pairs of horns of consecration (figure 67.3), one with a base measurement of 0.81m and a horn rising 1.1m. The other, from the debris of the temenos, has an existing height of 1.2m but was originally larger. Both horns and capitals are of the same grey limestone as the temenos orthostats.

Sanctuary I also produced unstratified sherds dating from the C14th–C12th BC. The only *in situ* material came from the pits, one of which contained a terracotta basin (figure 21.1) and fragments of roughly moulded plaster and the other a large pithos with a seal-impressed handle depicting a bull/lion combat, a sphinx, bird and tree (figure 21.2), resting on a round limestone object tentatively identified by Maier as a smelting pan. It yielded fragments of two BR II bowls, a PWW-m jug and a small Canaanite jar. A second pithos was found in 1976 in a circular rock-cut pit 9m west of the southeastern corner of the South Stoa of Sanctuary II (Maier 1977:137, fig. 4).

Mitford and Iliffe recovered several hundred fragmentary figurines from below the foundations of a Roman peristyle house at Site KC 35m west of Sanctuary I. Renewed investigations by Maier revealed more than 4,500 new fragments and determined that the foundations of the house had destroyed one or more bothroi with discarded votives from both Sanctuaries I and II. The great majority are of Cypro-Archaic to Classical types and show females with upraised arms or finely decorated near life-size statues. The bothroi also contained LC IIC–IIIA sherds, copper slag and three Late Cypriot female figurines.



### Discussion

Given the lack of stratigraphy, the date of Sanctuary I cannot be ascertained with certainty. Maier, previously of the opinion that the remains belong wholly to LC IIIA, now accepts the possibility of a LC IIC foundation (1986:313. Also Rupp 1981:256; Negbi 1986:110; Burdajewicz 1990:30–35). Ashlar masonry is evident elsewhere in LC IIC and pillars of similar type are recorded at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (LC IIC) and Akaki *Chalopetra* (LC II), while horns and capitals are associated with LC IIC–IIIA material at Enkomi and Myrtou *Pigadhes* (South 1984:25, fig. 3; *BCH CVIII* 1984:903). The use of orthostats on plinths and drafted margins appears to have been most common at the end of LC II and the beginning of LC III (Hult 1983:88–89). The pithoi and unstratified ceramic material from the area, likewise, belong to LC IIC or IIIA (Kling 1989a:86–87), while the figurines are of a LC IIC type which continued in use in LC IIIA.

Maier's reconstruction of Sanctuary I (**figure 19**) presupposes a western wall linking the north wall recorded in 1888 and the existing south wall, but extends both hall and temenos 43m to the east to incorporate the pithos located near the South Stoa of Sanctuary II. My own reconstruction (**figure 20**) rejects the assumption that the pithos below Sanctuary II lay within the walls of Sanctuary I, in favour of an enclosing wall for both hall and temenos immediately east of the existing remains<sup>27</sup>. This appears supported by the presence of the pillar in the north wall of the hall, which is both aligned with the east row of pillar bases at the same distance from the northernmost base as each of the others is from its neighbour, and similar to other pillar fragments from the site which are thought to have stood upon these bases. It has, also, drafted margins to the north, east and south and its surface is prepared to receive what Elsey Smith supposed when the wall was first cleared to have been a lintel or architrave, 'the soffit of which would be at a height of 7 feet and 6 inches above the top of the base' (*JHS* 1888:195). It seems logical to suggest it flanked an entrance to the hall from the northeast<sup>28</sup>.

An entrance here presupposes the existence of an adjoining eastern wall, as also suggested by the eastern row of bases, which must have supported roof pillars or porticoes along each side of the hall. The proposed line of this wall, 5m to the east of the eastern row of bases, also allows a symmetrical arrangement of pillars to either side of the central axis as in Temples 2 (Floor IV) and 5 (Floor III) at Kition. The resulting dimensions are 21.5m north/south by 15.5m east/west, with an entrance approximately 5m wide in the northeast corner and an opening of similar width to the southeast. The dimensions of the temenos, if the east wall is continued to the south, are 25.5m north/south by 18.5–20m east/west.

A major problem with both reconstructions, as well as that proposed by Burdajewicz (1990:33–34, fig. 14), is the absence of an inner cult room, hearth

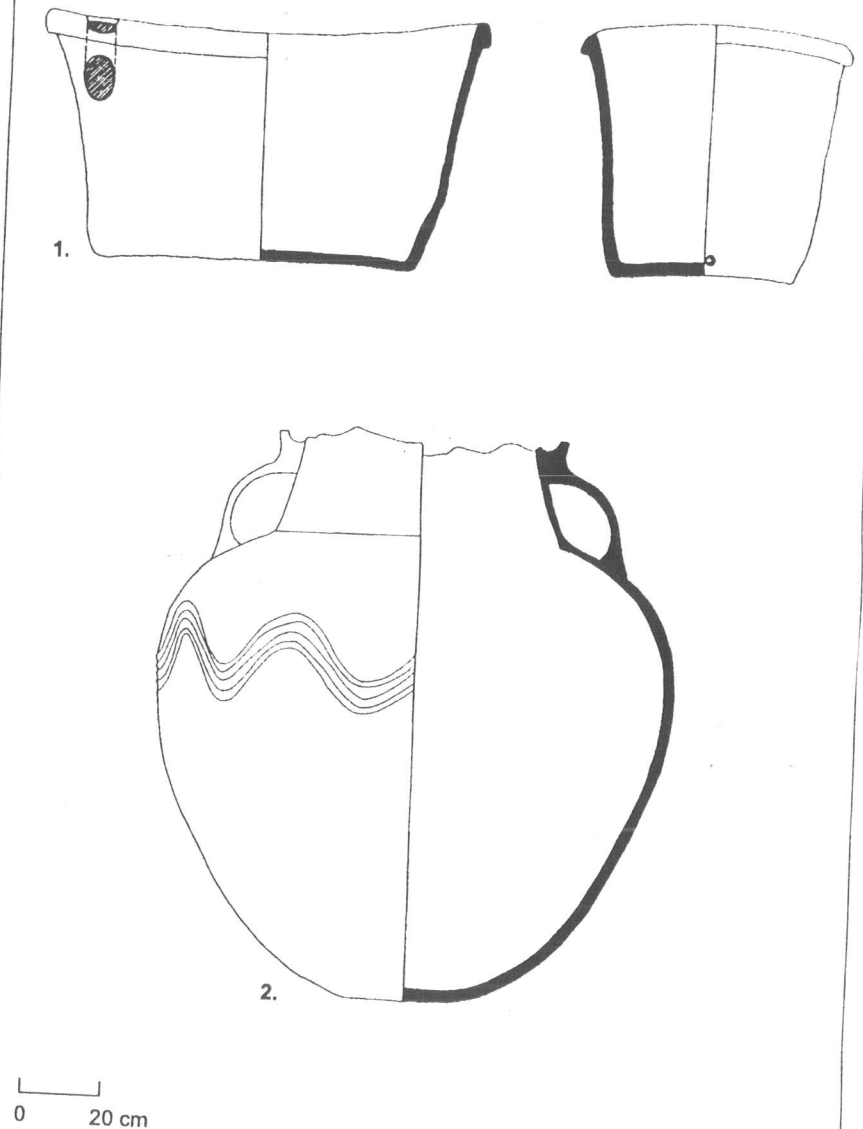


Figure 21: Clay basin (no. 1) and pithos (no. 2) from Kouklia Palaepaphos Sanctuary I

and altar. A small adyton may, however, have opened off the hall to the east or more probably to the north, where all earlier remains had been destroyed by Sanctuary II. The horns of consecration, associated with platform altars at *Pigadhes* and *Kition*, also suggest the presence of a high altar, probably located in the temenos, although the larger pair has a rough-hewn base and may have been set into the floor. The capitals were most probably associated with the hall pillars (Karageorghis 1982:98; Negbi 1986:110; Wright 1992a:430).

Little can be said about the nature of the cult. Ancient sources refer mainly to the Iron Age and Roman periods, at which time the site was dedicated to Aphrodite/Astarte. Herodotus (*Histories* I.105, VII.90), Pausanias (VIII.5.2) and Tacitus (*Histories* II.3), however, each associate the temple with this goddess from the very beginning and the unbroken sequence of female images in the bothroi likewise suggests that no major change at least in the sex of the deity took place during the lifetime of the cult<sup>29</sup>. The appearance also of horns of consecration in depictions of Sanctuary II on Roman Imperial coins suggests continuity in religious symbols while other features, notably aniconic worship, the open-air altar, a taboo on sacrifice in the area of the altar and the practice of divination, may also have been established in the Bronze Age<sup>30</sup>.

Tacitus (*Histories* II.3) names the local king Kinyras as founder of the shrine and first high priest of Aphrodite<sup>31</sup>. Kinyras is also said to have introduced bronzeworking to the island and been buried with his successors in the sanctuary (Homer *Iliad* XI.19–23; Arnobius *adv. gentes* 6; Clement Alex. *Protrept.* III.40). This tradition, perhaps linked with a LC IIC foundation, is of particular interest in view of the copper slag found in the bothroi, although it is unclear whether the latter is to be associated with Bronze Age or later levels.

Sanctuary I, despite its highly fragmentary state, is one of the most monumental of all existing Late Cypriot cult buildings and was undoubtedly of considerable importance in western Cyprus in the late C13th and C12th BC. It seems probable that the goddess worshipped here in LC IIC/III was assimilated with Aphrodite/Astarte at the beginning of the Iron Age, her early association with this part of the island and the importance of the Bronze Age temple perhaps giving rise to the tradition of *Aphrodite Kyprogenia* to which the shrine owed its importance in Greek and Roman times.

### 9–10. Kition *Kathari*. Temple 1, Temple 2, Temene A and B and the Northern and Western Workshops

(figures 22–27, 64.2–3, 65.3, 66.1, 67.1, 69.1–3, 70.2–4, 71, 77.5, 94)

The sacred area at Kition underwent a major reorganisation early in the C12th BC (Floor IIIA) with the extension of the precinct east to the line of the City Wall and the construction of four new temples, two temene, two workshop areas and a street system. The complex remained in use with minor alterations

through LC III (Floors IIIA, III and II) and into CG I (Floor I). Temples 1 and 2, both of ashlar construction, and Temene A and B form an integrated unit in the western sector of the precinct (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:38–65, 89–91, 103–108, 122–28, 141–48, 245–48, pls. LXXIII–LXXXIV, plans IV–VII, XI–XXIII)<sup>32</sup>.

### TEMPLE 1 (figures 22–24, 94)

#### Architecture

Temple 1 (27.85m by 18.5m), erected immediately south of the earlier Temple 3, is oriented east/west with a large rectangular hall (23.95m by 18.5m) to the east and three small rooms (Room 20: 5.25m by 2.5m; 20A: 2m by 2.5m; 20B: 7.5m by 2.5m) to the west. A monumental entrance (3.75m wide) with ashlar threshold and propylaeum in the northeast corner led into the hall from Temenos B, while a second stepped opening (4m wide) to the southeast gave access from Street B and a smaller doorway (3.2m wide) in the northwest corner opened into Room 12 of the Northern Workshops. The south and east walls, the inner face of the north wall and the south part of the west wall are built of finely dressed ashlar orthostats up to 3.35m long and 1.48m high. The remaining sectors, screened from view by the Northern and Western Workshops, were of less elaborate construction.

Within the hall all floors and associated features had been destroyed by later structures with the exception of a retaining wall to the south, built to support the bedrock which falls sharply at this point, and Well 1 at the head of the central east/west axis. No floors were associated with Rooms 20, 20A and 20B, nor was there any indication of openings either to these rooms from the hall or between rooms. The eastern face of the massive wall dividing this sector from the hall is, further, built of ashlar orthostats for 5.5m to the north and south with a central section (7.5m long) of conglomerate blocks, the resulting segments not corresponding to the division of Rooms 20–20B.

The loss of internal features and the unusual construction of the western sector of Temple 1 pose significant problems of reconstruction. Callot (1985:165ff), however, convincingly argues that the building was a tripartite roofed structure, with the hall divided into a broad central aisle (11m wide) and two porticoes (3.8m and 3.6m wide) by two rows of five wooden columns supporting stepped capitals, and a windowed upper storey above the central aisle (figures 24, 69.3). The western sector appears to have supported a platform occupying the whole of Rooms 20–20B behind a rectangular podium, approached by lateral stairways to north and south, located at the head of the central aisle. This platform is identified by Karageorghis as an adyton and believed to have been used to store votives and cult equipment.

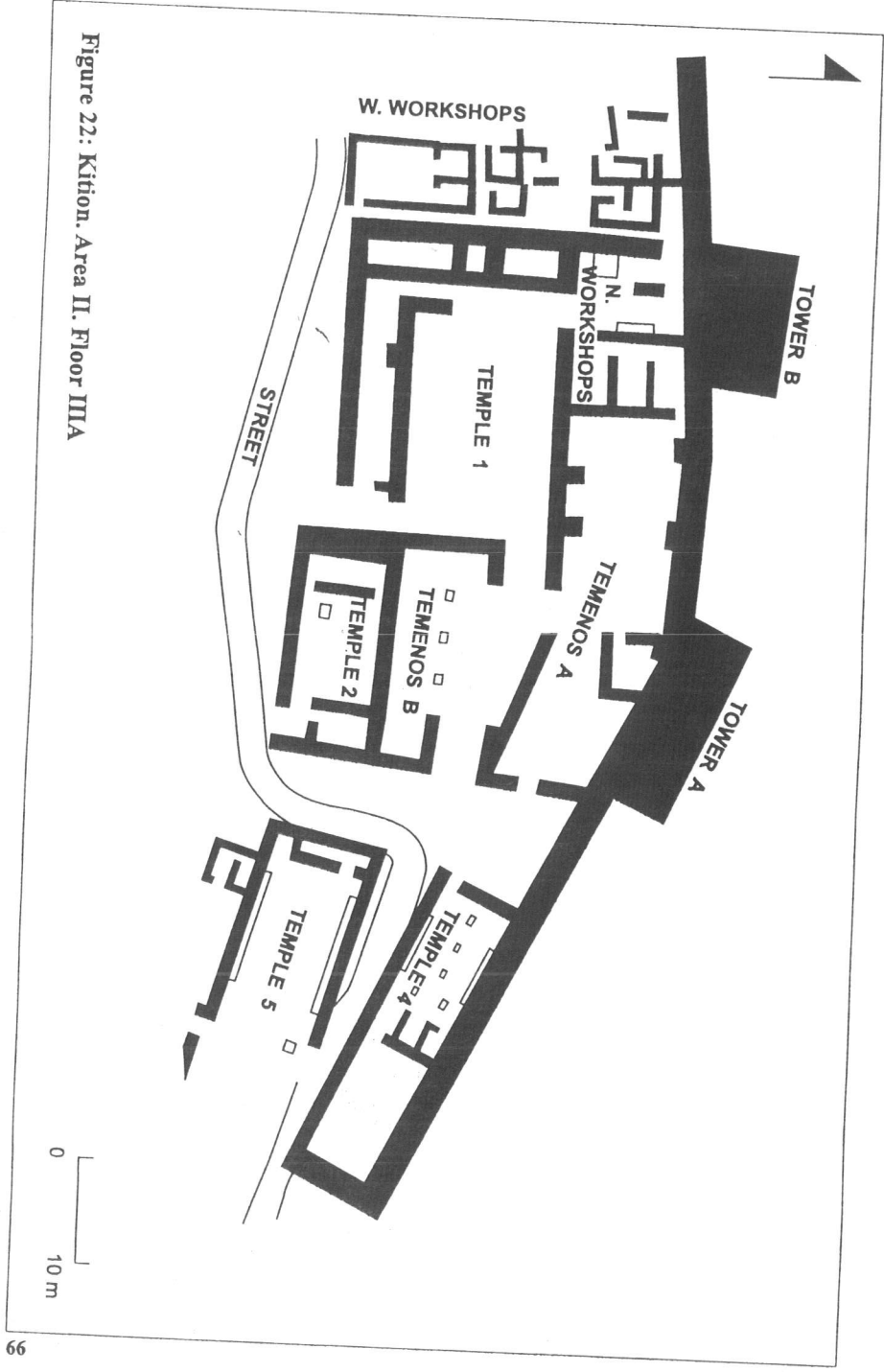


Figure 22: Kition. Area II. Floor IIIA

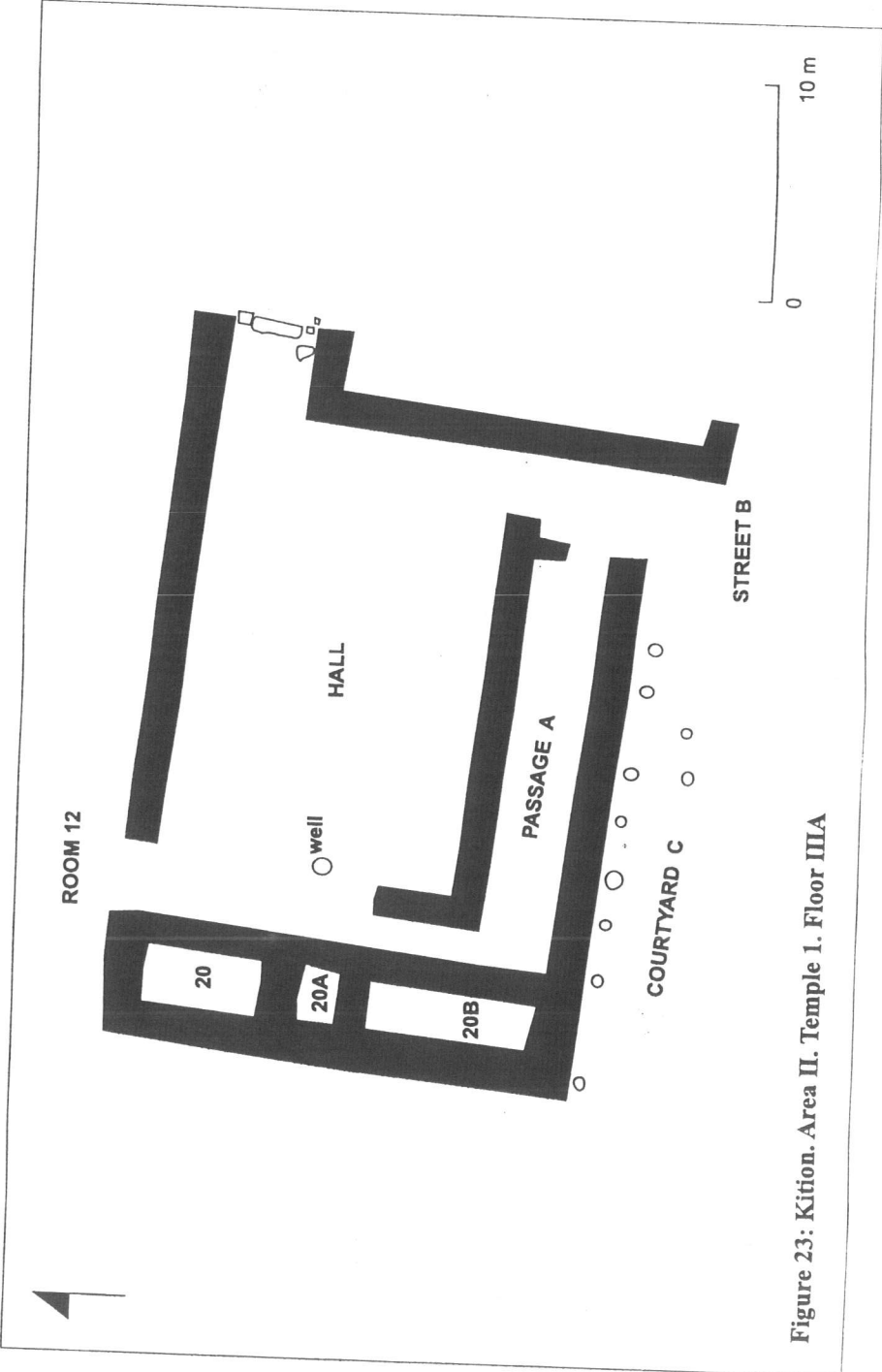
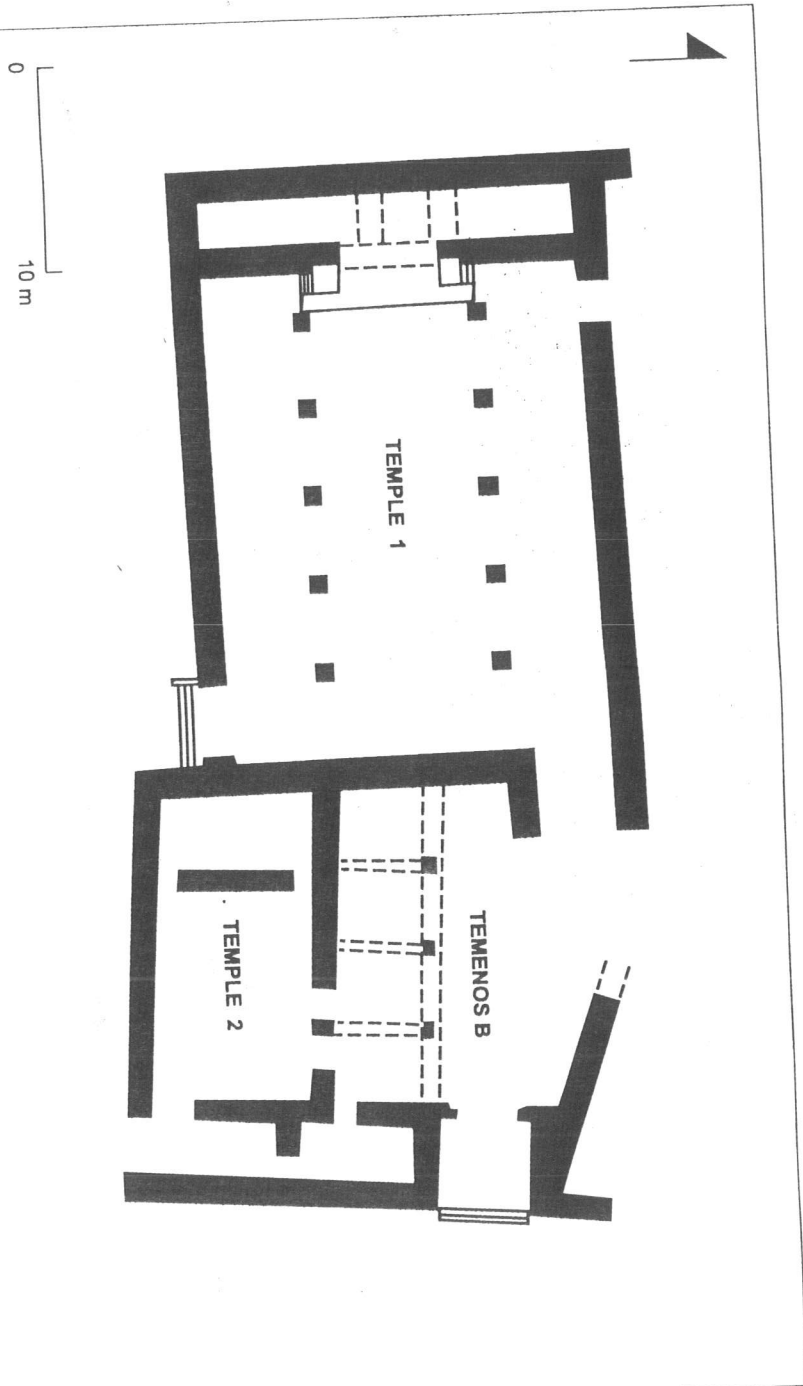


Figure 23: Kition. Area II. Temple 1. Floor IIIA

Figure 24: Kition. Area II. Temple 1, Temple 2 and Temenos B. Reconstruction according to Callot



### Finds

No objects were found in the building. Karageorghis (1992:212, fig. 3), however, identifies a roughly conical stone of dark grey diabase (0.5m by 0.52m by 0.36m) found on bedrock near the southeast entrance as a baetyl, possibly associated with the original floor of the temple. Floor IIIA in Courtyard C to the south produced three loomweights, a bronze earring, a cylinder seal, an ivory rod and a faience vessel while a spindle whorl and three loomweights were found below Floor IIIA and eleven loomweights, two spindle whorls, two wall brackets, a bird-shaped bone pyxis, a scarab, a stylus, a bull figurine, a terracotta wheel, a Mycenaean IIIB cup, a gold earring, a bronze ring, earring and pin, a quern, a rubber and an incised ox scapula between Floors IIIA and III. Another scapula, a bull figurine, loomweight, ivory rod and stylus and a lead-filled astragalus were recovered from Floor III and a stylus, wall bracket, loomweight, female figurine with upraised arms, PWP bowl and Canaanite jar fragments between Floors II and I. Nineteen graffiti (figure 94) representing round ships with fan-like sterns (mercantile) and long boats with rams (war?) incised on the ashlar blocks of the south facade of the building are attributed to the Late Bronze Age and linked with similar engravings on an early C12th BC altar from Tell Akko in northern Israel (Basch and Artzy 1985:322–36; Artzy 1988:183–84). These appear to have been engraved by different hands and may represent ex-votos (Artzy 1988:183–84).

### TEMPLE 2 (figures 22, 24–25, 64.2, 65.3)

#### Architecture

Temple 2 of Floor IIIA (17.45m east/west by 7.70m north/south) was erected over Temple 2 of Floor IV, reusing some wall lines and the hearth of the original structure. It is an ashlar building, again incorporating a rectangular hall (Room 24: 7.7m by 10m) with a narrow inner room (Room 23) to the west and a two-roomed entrance hall (Rooms 24A–24B) to the east<sup>33</sup>. Room 24B is identified as a vestibule leading to the hall from a major external entrance (2.65m wide) at the southeast corner while the larger but less finely constructed Room 24A allowed access, according to Demas, from Temenos B through a secondary opening in the northeast corner. Callot's reconstruction (figure 24), however, proposes a large double doorway toward the east end of the hall's north wall, leading to an external portico supported by three wooden columns and surmounted by stepped capitals and perhaps an open gallery (Callot 1985:198–99, figs. 67–71). Narrow openings (0.9m wide) at each end of the internal dividing wall allowed passage from Room 24 to Room 23.

Floor IIIA and associated features were well preserved. In the hall three stone bases, one with a circular impression, lie on an east/west axis 2m distant from the north wall with a hearth altar at the western end before the inner room (figure 64.2). A small pit (Pit A) and stone slabs to the northeast may have been

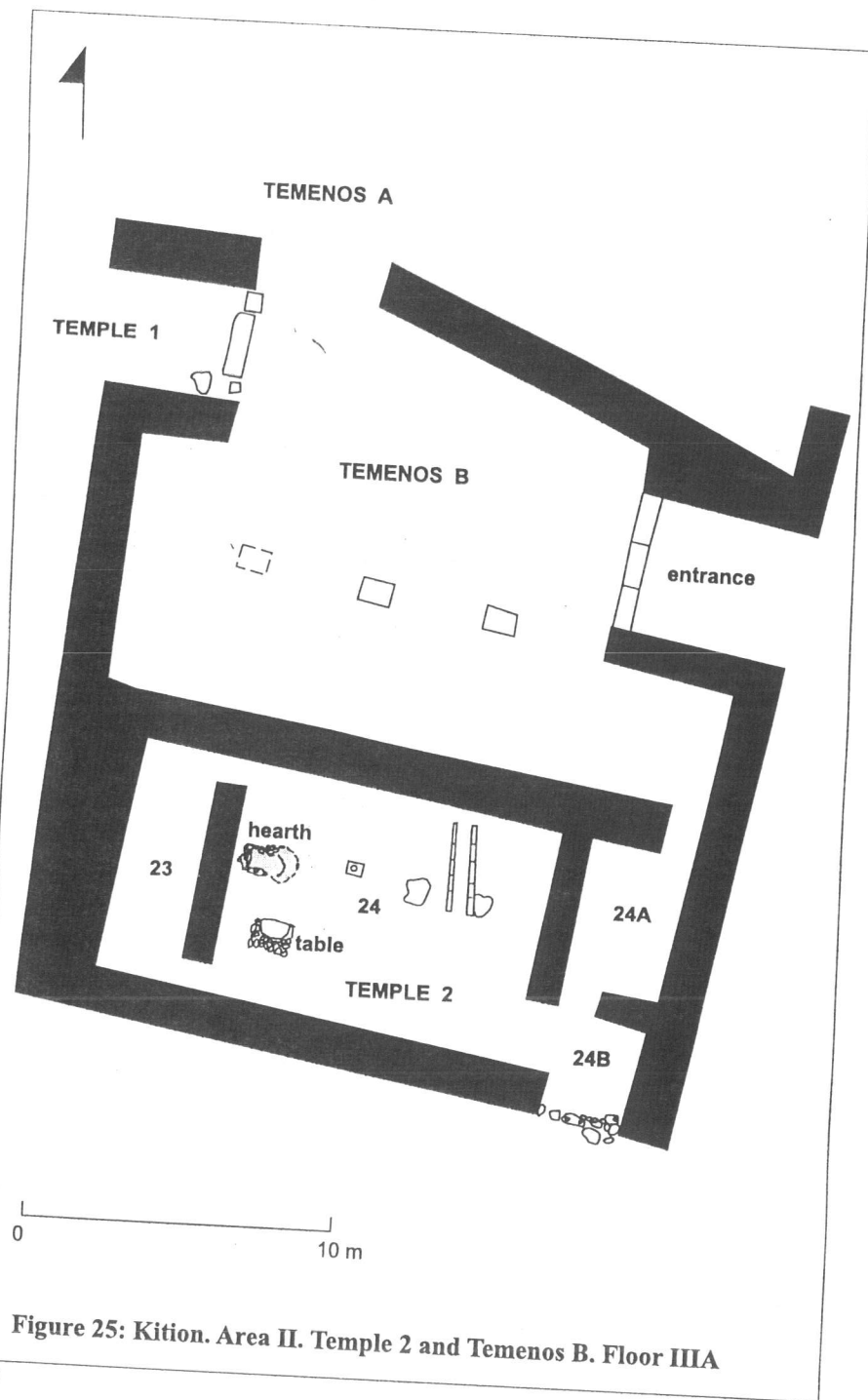


Figure 25: Kition. Area II. Temple 2 and Temenos B. Floor IIIA

associated with an opening in the roof above the hearth. To the southeast a rectangular rubble structure (1.3m by 0.95m, 0.1–0.15m above Floor IIIA) with an ashlar block in its northern face is identified as an offering table (figure 65.3). A concentration of ash lay near the centre of the room and a smaller patch against the east wall. In Room 23 the floor was 0.1–0.15m higher and the only feature a bench or low platform along the inner face of the west wall.

Column bases, hearth, stone table and Pit A remained in use for Floor III, together with a newly built rubble bench along the south wall of the hall (0.25m high). None of these features, however, were retained for Floor II (LC IIIB), at which time the south wall of Room 24A was dismantled and a new wall and doorway constructed between Room 24A and Temenos B. It is uncertain whether the building continued in use as a temple.

### Finds

Floor IIIA produced no finds. Two kraters, three skyphoi and a bowl of WPW-m III, a White Shaved juglet, a faience goblet (identified by Peltenburg 1985:264–65, fig. 2 as an Egyptian 'Lotus chalice'. See also Jacobsson 1994:81<sup>34</sup>), a bronze earring, a grinder, a rubber, five faience beads and fourteen shells came, however, from between Floors IIIA and III. On Floor III at the western end of the hall three skyphoi, six bowls and a jug of WPW-m III, a CW jug and a PWW-m miniature bottle, broken from a larger, composite vessel, lay around the hearth and table. Two grinders, an axe<sup>35</sup>, a mortar, a bronze pin and earring, scrap bronze, a sheet of folded silver, a wing-shaped bone lid, a loomweight, an imported polychrome Egyptian faience vase (Peltenburg 1985:267–68), a paste uraeus, a spindle whorl, thirty-three shells and five beads were also found in this area and another grinder toward the east. The hearth contained fragments of two skyphoi and a kylix of WPW-m III and a PW kylix, seven shells, a pestle, an ivory disk, lead and bones corresponding to Floor III. Room 24B produced a bead and three shells and Room 23 an ivory finial. A PWW-m jar and a PWP ring-shaped vessel were the only finds from Floor II.

The concentration of shells (eighty-four from Floors IV–II/I) is remarkable. Most are inedible *Conus*, a number ground and holed and one filled with lead, with *Murex*, *Luria* (Cowrie), *Charonia sequenzae* (Conch) and other species also represented (Reese 1985)<sup>36</sup>. Reese suggests that the worked examples were used as ornaments or gaming pieces in divination processes and the remainder offered as votives (1985:352–53). The presence on Floor IV of Temple 2 of three Mycenaean IIIB vessels decorated with murex shells and two with other marine motifs is unlikely to be accidental. Together these features suggest continuity in cult practice and iconography across the LC IIC/IIIA transition.

### TEMENOS A (figures 22, 26, 64.3, 66.1, 67.1)

Temenos A occupied the area (35.5m by 9–10.5m) between Temple 1, Temenos B and the City Wall. It communicated directly with the Northern Workshops



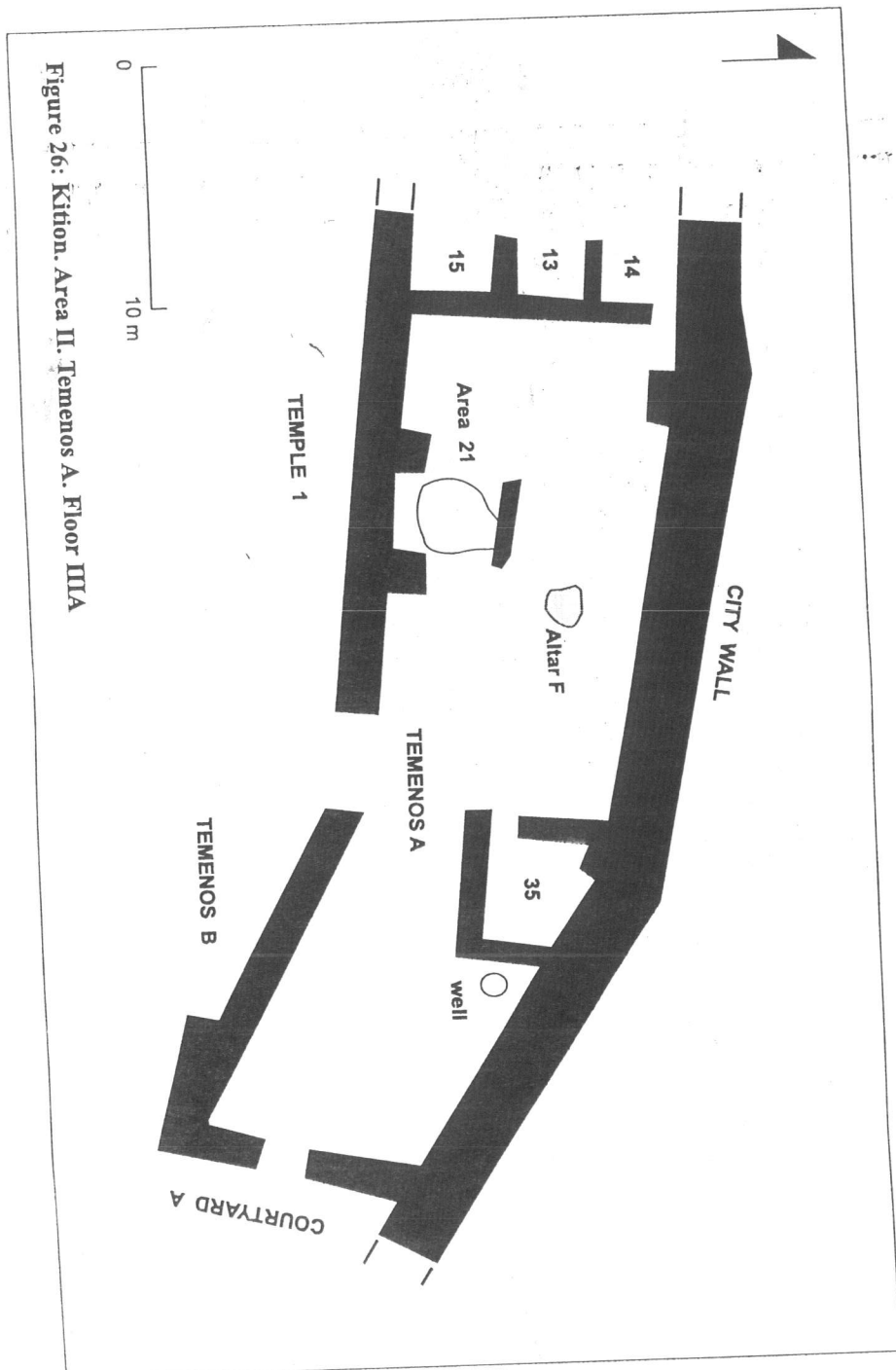


Figure 26: Klition. Area II. Temenos A. Floor IIIA

and Temenos B, with an eastern entrance from Courtyard A. Room 35 to the east is of uncertain purpose. This sector also contained a well and a large concentration of ash, burnt stone chips and burnt bone to the right of the entrance from Courtyard A. In the south-central sector, against the north wall of Temple 1, a circular area of burning (Area 21) located directly over the hearth of Temple 3, is bordered to the south by two stone structures (0.8m above Floor IIIA) identified as offering or slaughtering tables and by Altar F, a plaster hearth (1.85m in diameter) with ash and carbonised bone, to the northeast (figure 64.3). Area 21 was replaced for Floors III and II by Altar D (figure 66.1), a 1.2m square stepped platform with two surviving courses of sandstone blocks (0.56m high). Horns of consecration (0.48m high and 0.36m wide) were found nearby on Floor II (figure 67.1).

Temenos A produced three to four faience bowls, three PW jugs, two glass bottles, a bronze pin, a crucible of CW, a Canaanite jar, an ivory plaque, eight glass beads, a sling bullet, two Late Minoan IIIB vessels, a Mycenaean IIIB bowl, a Middle Cypriot White Painted IV bowl and a Mycenaean *psi* figurine on Floor IIIA. Five skyphoi, a bowl, a krater and several large vessels of WPW-m III, a glass bead, scrap bronze, a sling bullet, a bronze fibula, a stone bowl and a bull? figurine (on Altar F) came from Floor III. Another bull? figurine, a PWW-m bowl and two PWP kylikes were found between Floors III and II, two human figurines, a Syro-Palestinian? vessel, a fragmentary annular rhyton with a spout in the form of a horned animal head, an amphoriskos, a large vessel and two fragmentary pictorial vases of PWP (Iacovou 1992:219–20), a pestle, a trough and a rubber on Floor II and ostrich eggs, beads, the legs of a bronze figure? and a mask, female figurine, bronze pin and White Painted I vessels between Floors II and I.

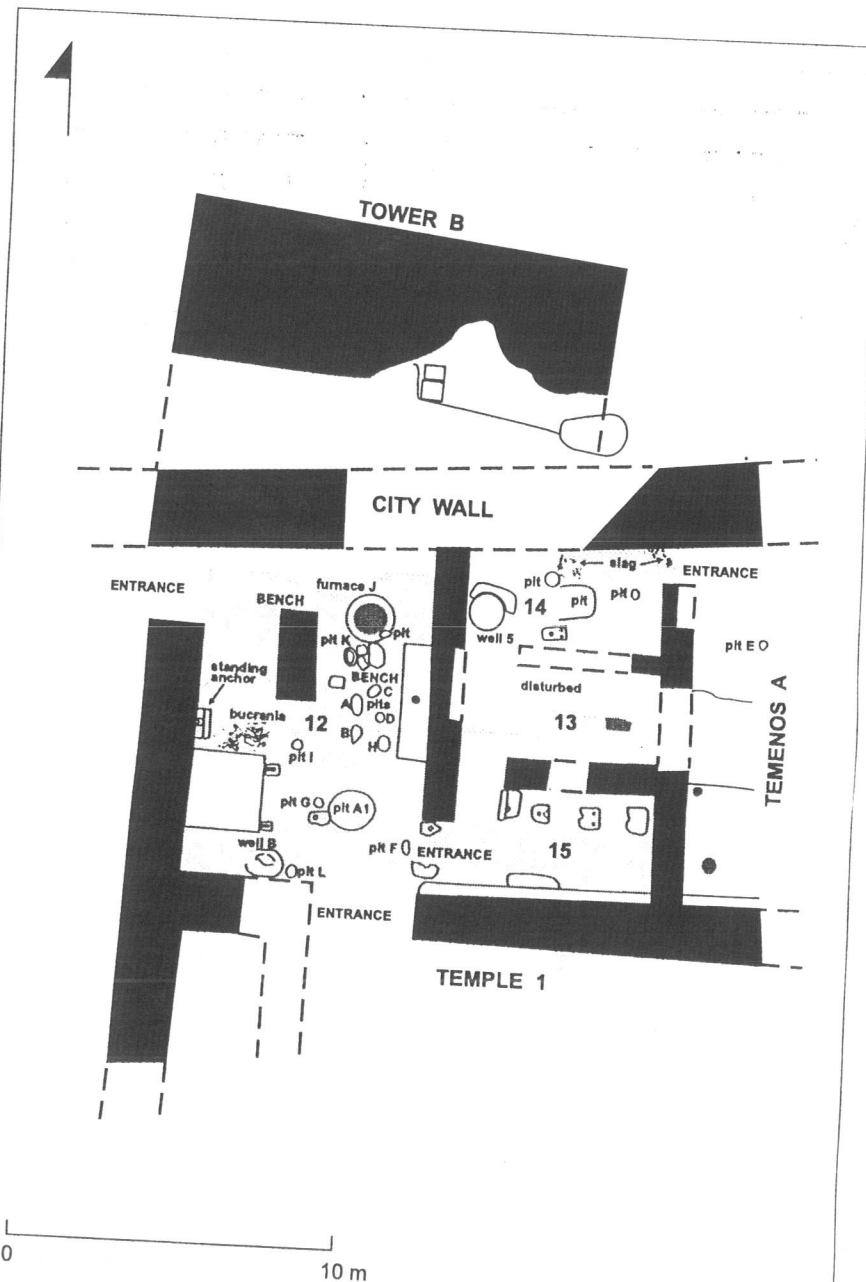
#### TEMENOS B (figures 24–25, 69.1)

Temenos B, located immediately to the north of Temple 2 and east of Temple 1, was a large open courtyard (19.5m east/west by 13.4m north/south) with a broad portico to the south enclosed by impressive ashlar walls. It communicated directly with Temple 1 to the northwest and Temenos A to the north and with Temple 2 either through a small doorway to the southeast (figure 25) or, according to Callot's reconstruction, directly into the hall (figure 24). An external entrance with ashlar threshold and propylaeum led in from an open square to the east. The single floor in use through LC III contained two large patches of burning in the north-central area and two pits, one with the remains of a wooden post, in the south portico. The few finds included a WPW-m III krater, a bull figurine, scrap bronze and a bronze ring. A pair of stone horns of consecration, two complete (figure 69.1) and one fragmentary stepped stone capital of Bronze Age date were recovered from post-Bronze Age levels (Louloupis 1973:237–38, pl. XXIX.1–2; Karageorghis and Demas 1985:255, figs. 55–57, pl. CIV.3–4).

**THE NORTHERN WORKSHOPS (figures 27, 70.2–4, 77.5)**

The Northern Workshops comprise Rooms 12–15, which form a unit directly north of Temple 1 (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:81–84, 115–20, 135–38, plans XXVIII–XXX). All four rooms were associated with the processing of copper ore (Stech, Maddin and Muhly 1985; Zwicker 1985; Tylecote 1985). Room 12, which appears to have been the most important, provided the clearest evidence of both industrial and ritual activity. It opened directly into the hall of Temple 1 to the south and provided access between Temple 1 and the Western Workshops as well as to other rooms of the Northern Workshops and Temenos A. For Floor IIIA Room 12 contained two low benches or platforms, pits containing bone-ash or greenish sand and slag, a furnace (Furnace J) and a well. A large stone anchor of burnt conglomerate (figure 70.2) stood upright before the west wall (Frost 1985b:309, no. 947). To the east a smaller stone anchor had been set horizontally into the floor. Three bucrania and five horns were found on the surface of the latter and on the floor nearby. Other bones, also primarily of *Bos*, were associated with the standing anchor (Nobis 1985:419, 422–23). Anchor stones in Room 12 also served as threshold blocks, the foundation for a door jamb and column bases (figure 70.3–4). The only objects recovered were a bronze nail, a bronze strap, a shallow bowl and copper slag. Well 2 in Room 12 also produced a *Charonia nodifera* (Triton) shell worked for use as a trumpet (Reese 1985:354). Such shells have been identified, along with Aegean and Near Eastern examples, as cult objects (Åström and Reese 1990). Rooms 13–15 formed smaller units between Room 12 and Temenos A. They also contained anchors, pits, a well and copper slag but few finds.

Room 12 continued in use for Floor III, with the addition of a second furnace (Furnace A). The standing anchor remained in position, surrounded by animal bones. Burning and ash were noted throughout the room. A hearth built of sherds beside a rectangular stone set into the floor along the western side of the room was also associated with burnt animal bone. The excavators suggest that the latter may be evidence of burnt sacrifices carried out in the workshops (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:116–17). Rooms 13–15 also remained in use for Floor III with few changes. Room 16, occupying the western end of Temenos A, was added to the workshop area at this time. It contained one or possibly two ovens or furnaces. Rooms 12–16 stayed in use for Floor II, with a number of modifications. Continuity of industrial and ritual activity is, however, clearly indicated. The standing anchor in Room 12 remained in position, its surface 0.45m above the floor. A 1.10m square area of red soil with ash, charcoal and bone before it appears to have been a hearth. Several other anchors were found on the floor, including an example with a large cupule and traces of burning (Frost 1985b:311, no. 943). Finds in Room 12 included a terracotta mask (figure 77.5).



**Figure 27: Kition. Area II. Northern Workshops and Tower B. Floor IIIA**

### THE WESTERN WORKSHOPS (figure 22)

The Western Workshops were located west of Temple 1 and Room 12 (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:77–81, 112–15, 132–35, plans XXXII–XXXIV). They communicated with the Northern Workshops through an opening near the City Wall and may have been in part given over to activities related to copper working. The recovery of clay reels, terracotta loomweights, spindle whorls and stone set-line-weights also suggests textile production and perhaps the manufacture of fishing-tackle and anchor stones (Karageorghis 1985d:179; Frost 1985b:295, 319). The workshops comprised two units—Rooms 5A, 7, 8 and 8A to the north and Rooms 123, 123A, 125 and 126 to the south, separated by a courtyard. Associated facilities for Floor IIIA include hearths, pits, benches, a well and possibly an oven. The northern unit was maintained for Floor III. The southern unit was substantially reorganised as a result of an increase in the intensity of industrial activity in this area. It underwent further structural change for Floor II, again as a result of increased industrial use.

### Discussion

This complex as a whole formed the main focus of the sacred quarter at Kition. Temples 1 and 2 are identified by the excavators, like their predecessors, as twin shrines with Temple 1 dedicated to a goddess of fertility. This receives some support from the recovery of female figurines near Temple 3, the immediate predecessor of Temple 1, combined with the evident attempt made by the builders of Floor IIIA to preserve the original character of the site and the subsequent dedication of the building to Astarte in Phoenician times. Such straightforward association of female figurines with a female deity and bull figurines with a male deity is, however, to be treated with caution as elsewhere both types appear in the same assemblage. There is little to indicate the nature of the deity worshipped in Temple 2, although the predominance of sea shells and marine motifs is notable.

Temenos B served as a monumental entrance hall and processional route to Temple 1, which in large part explains the absence of finds. Callot's reconstruction allows it an important role also as an access route to Temple 2 and the major means of communication between Temples 1 and 2. Temenos A, believed to be of lesser importance, seems on the contrary to have been the scene of intensive ritual activity, judging by Altars D and F, Area 21 and the distribution and number of finds. Such activity in Temenos A may also have been associated with the Northern Workshops. Direct communication between the latter and both Temple 1 and Temenos A has long been thought to indicate a special relationship between cult and metallurgy at Kition. This is supported by the indications of regular ritual activity in Room 12 involving the use of anchor stones, horned animals, fire and perhaps masks.

### 11–12. Kition *Kathari*. Temple 4 and Temple 5

(figures 22, 28–31, 64.4, 65.2, 73.1, 77.6, 81.6)

Temples 4 and 5, located to either side of Street D in the eastern area of the precinct at Kition *Kathari*, are also identified by the excavators as twin sanctuaries (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:65–77, 108–12, 128–32, 148–53, 240f, pls. LXXXVI–XCIV, plans XXIV–XXVII)<sup>37</sup>.

### TEMPLE 4 (figures 28–29, 64.4)

#### Architecture

Temple 4, an ashlar structure built directly alongside the City Wall, is oriented east/west with a large rectangular hall (Room 38: 12m by 7.1m) to the west and two small rooms (Rooms 38B–38C: 2.25m by 1.9m) and a vestibule (Room 38A) to the east<sup>38</sup>. A doorway (1.25m wide) at the southwest corner led to Courtyard A and a second (1.65m wide), directly opposite, to an open area paved with rectangular stone slabs (Room 39: 12.25m by 6.7m) to the east. The walls appear to have been of ashlar and ashlar benches lined the north and south walls. The roof was supported by five columns, three aligned on an east/west axis and two on a north/south axis framing the entrance to Room 38B. A well lay immediately inside and to the left of the doorway from Courtyard A and another ashlar-built example in the northwest corner of Room 39. The floor in Room 38C was 0.1m lower than in the hall. An area of heavy burning in the west of Room 39 suggests the presence of an external hearth. At the western end of Room 38 a circular feature (0.9m–1.1m in diameter) composed of spiral bands of havara, clay, burnt havara and mudbrick set in Floor IIIA was identified as a hearth altar (figure 64.4).

#### Finds

There were no finds on Floor IIIA, other than an inscribed Mycenaean IIIB jar handle. A group of objects found between Floors III and IIIA in Room 38C, however, probably belonged to Floor IIIA. They include a handle, an inscribed pipe (figure 29.5), a rod (figure 29.4) and two plaques of ivory (one in the form of a lion (figure 29.6), the other depicting Bes), ten PWW-m bowls (imitating BRW-m), two BRW-m bowls, three bowls and a skyphos of WPW-m III, a PWW-m jug, a spindle whorl, stone and lead weights, a knife, pin, scales?, nail, tool, bowl, miniature peg? and earring of bronze and two faience beads. A bronze button in Room 38A and three PWW-m bowls, a WPW-m III jug, a mortar and faience beads in Room 38 were found in a similar context and three incised scapulae in the well in Room 39.

Column bases, wells and benches continued in use for Floors III and II. Shallow pits containing ash, bone and sherds were also dug to the left of each entrance and two bronze ploughshare castings (figure 29.1–2) and a large bronze peg (figure 29.3) placed below Floor III in the northwest corner of the

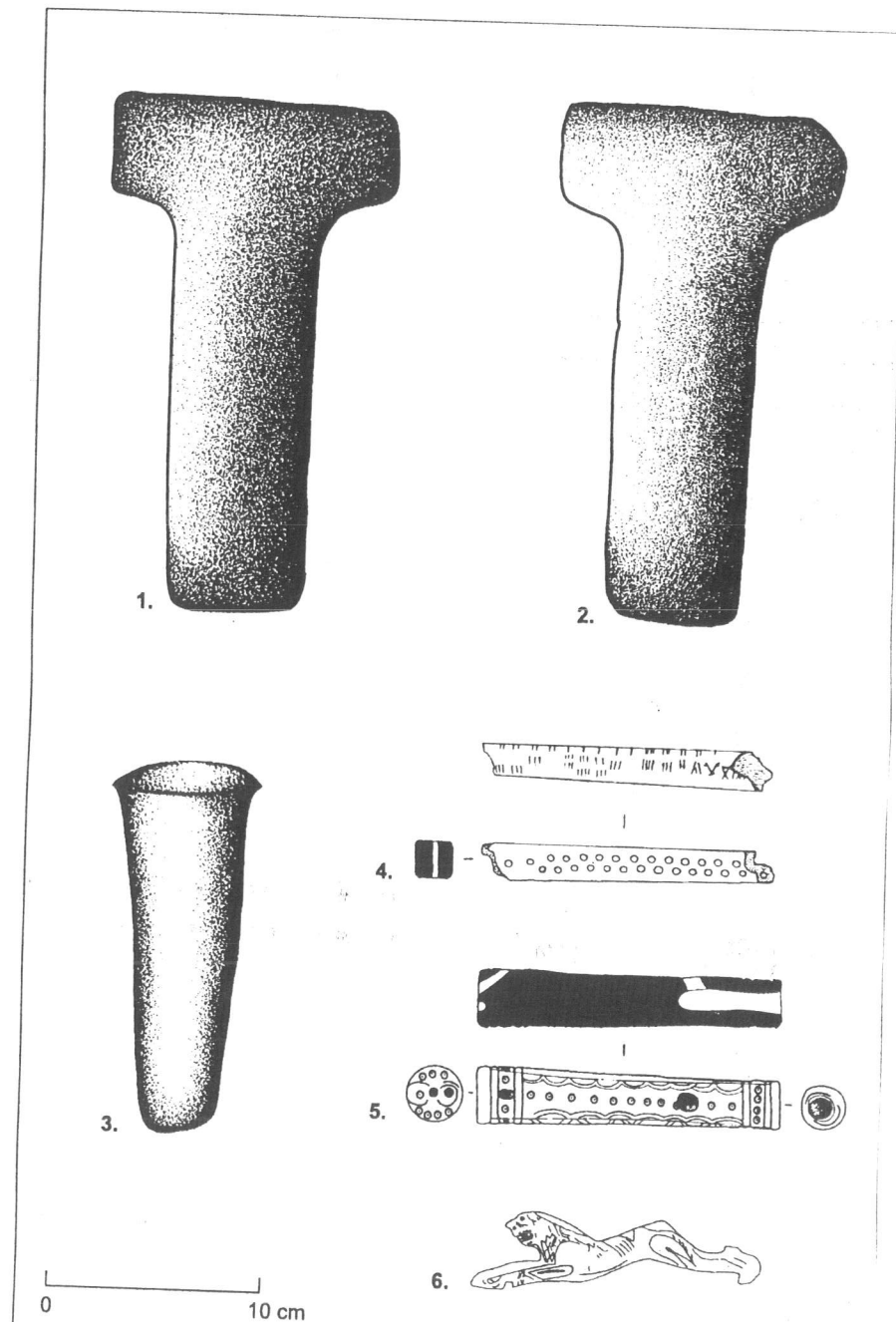
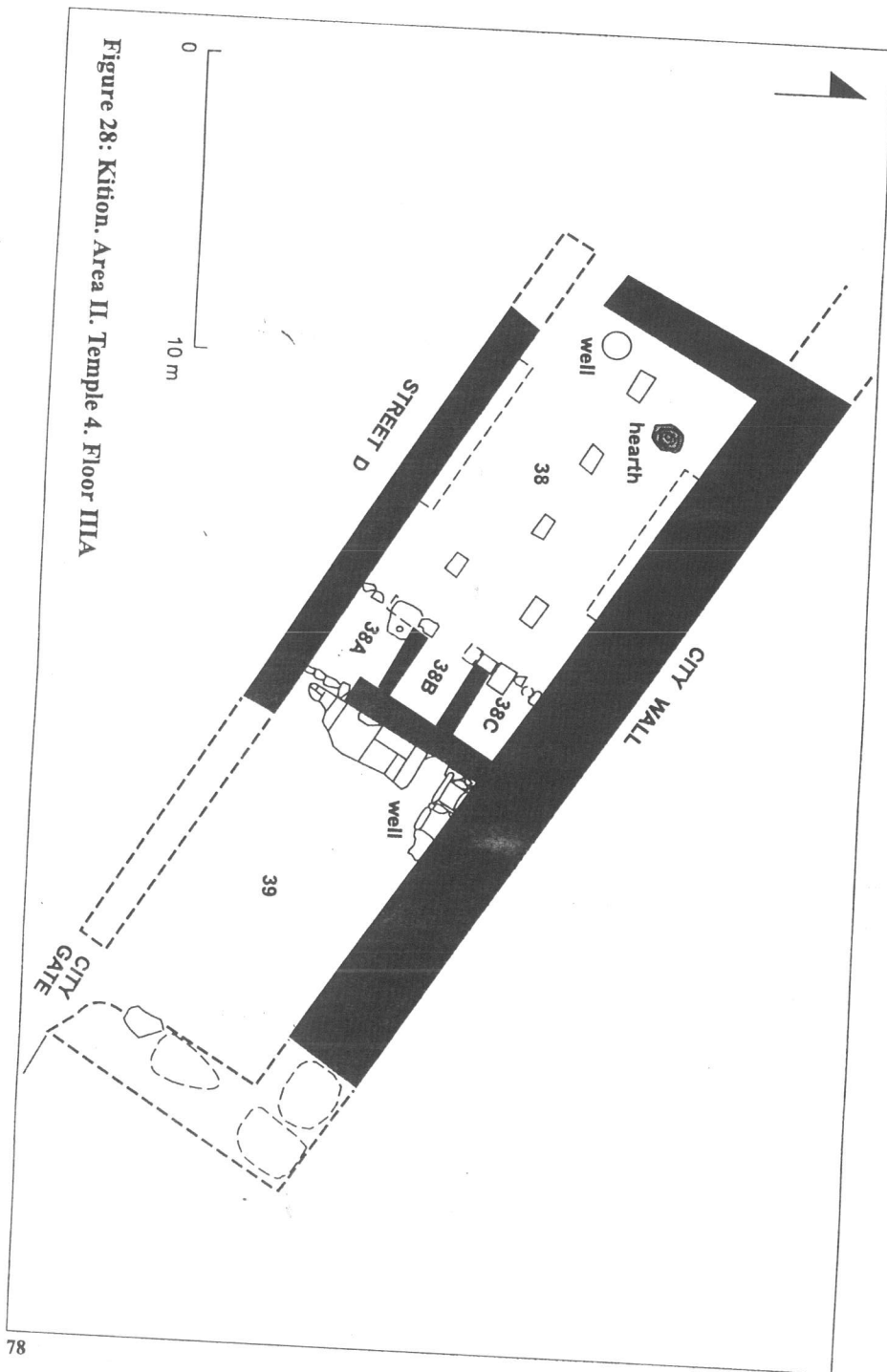


Figure 29: Bronze and ivory objects from Kition Temple 4

hall, possibly as a foundation deposit. Two beads, scrap bronze, a PWW-m bowl and a WPW-m III amphoriskos and bowl were found on Floor III in Room 38, a bead, a bronze strap and two WPW-m III skyphoi in Room 38A, the lower part of a potter's wheel, a fragmentary pithos and gold ring (engraved with a bull) in Room 38B and a polisher, three glass beads and a bull figurine (between Floors III and II) in Room 38C. Floor II produced a terracotta wheel and a PWP bowl in Room 38.

### TEMPLE 5 (figures 30–31, 65.2, 73.1)

#### Architecture

Temple 5 (29m by 9.15m) comprised a large rectangular hall (Room 58) extending into a courtyard to the east and a narrow inner room (Room 58A: 1.2m by 6.7m) to the west. Access was from Street D through a broad opening (4m wide) at the eastern end of the north wall. A second doorway (1.85m wide) at the eastern end of the south wall led to Courtyard F and external rooms (Rooms 58B–58D) to the southwest. The hall is divided into three aisles by two rows of four or possibly five column bases. It is unclear whether the courtyard, which had been badly damaged, was also roofed. The entrance to Room 58A (1.5m wide) lay at the head of the north aisle. Directly opposite, before the northern entrance to the hall, a 1.04m square stone base may have served as an offering table while four circular areas of heavy burning in the central aisle were apparently hearths. A pit lined with havara near the western hearth contained a stone platter and a WPW-m III bowl. A smaller circular pit to the northwest held ash and bones. Benches of rubble and mudbrick (0.8m wide and 0.45m high) lined the north wall and the central section of the south wall (0.7m wide and 0.2m high).

The benches, column bases and square stone table and the easternmost hearth in the central aisle remained in use for Floor III. New features include small hearths with animal bones (including antlers) to either side of the southern entrance, a narrow mudbrick bench (0.3m high) along the south edge of the western column bases, three small pits west of the south wall bench and a large table set obliquely at the head of the central aisle (figure 65.2). The latter (2m by 2.85m) is constructed of stone, including reused ashlar blocks, with two rows of mudbricks to the south and stands 0.4m above the floor. A low ashlar block with an incised sign lay embedded in the floor before the east face while two small pits and an anchor set horizontally in the floor to the south perhaps supported a canopy or cult emblems.

For Floor II low partition walls were erected along both rows of column bases, the hearth altar rebuilt and a doorway opened from Room 58B. A flat red stone set in clay and covered with ash and animal bone to the left of the latter appears to have been a small hearth. The main altar table was enlarged to the south and southeast and a large anchor placed against the southern face.

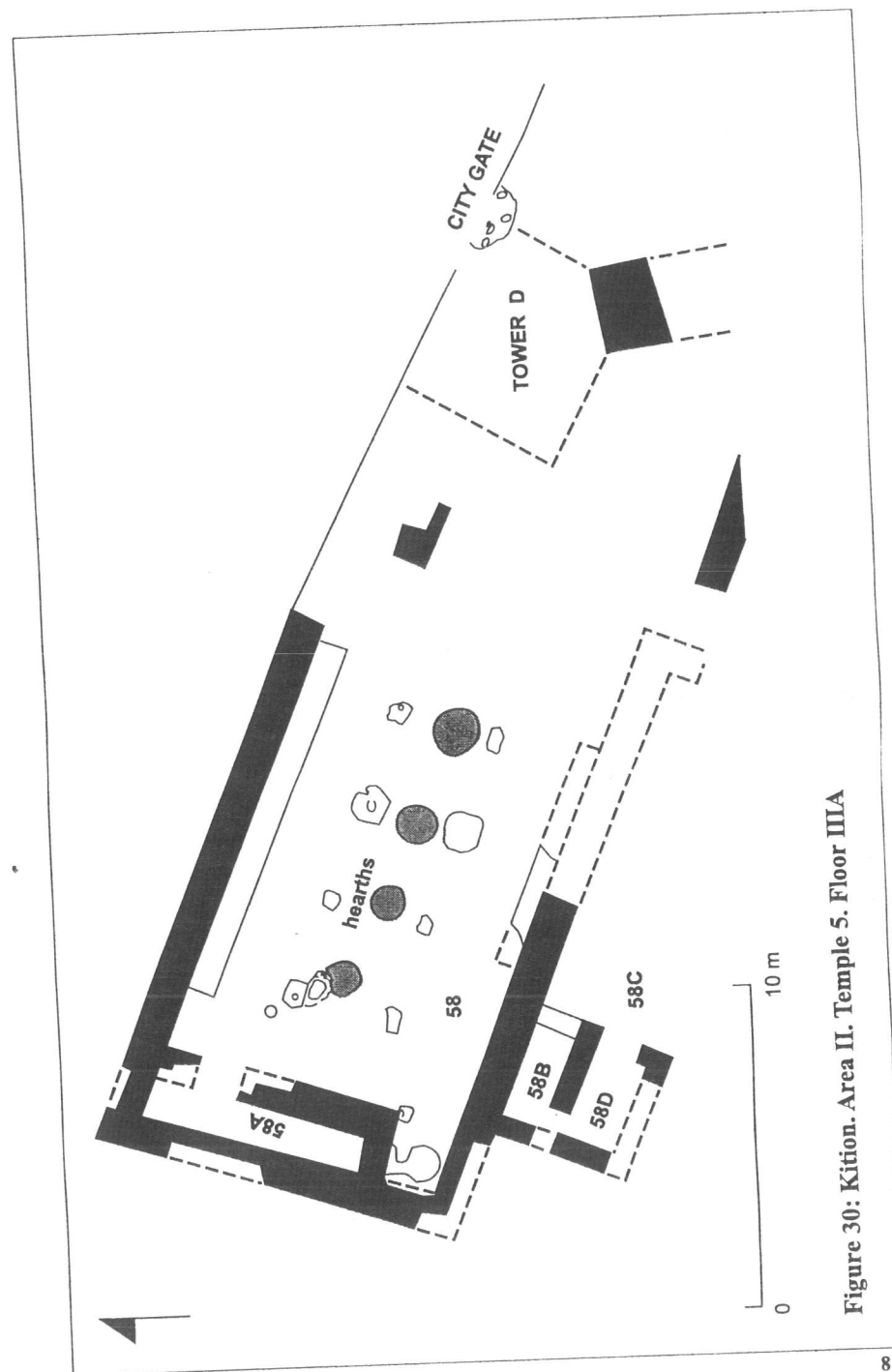


Figure 30: Kiton. Area II. Temple 5. Floor IIIA



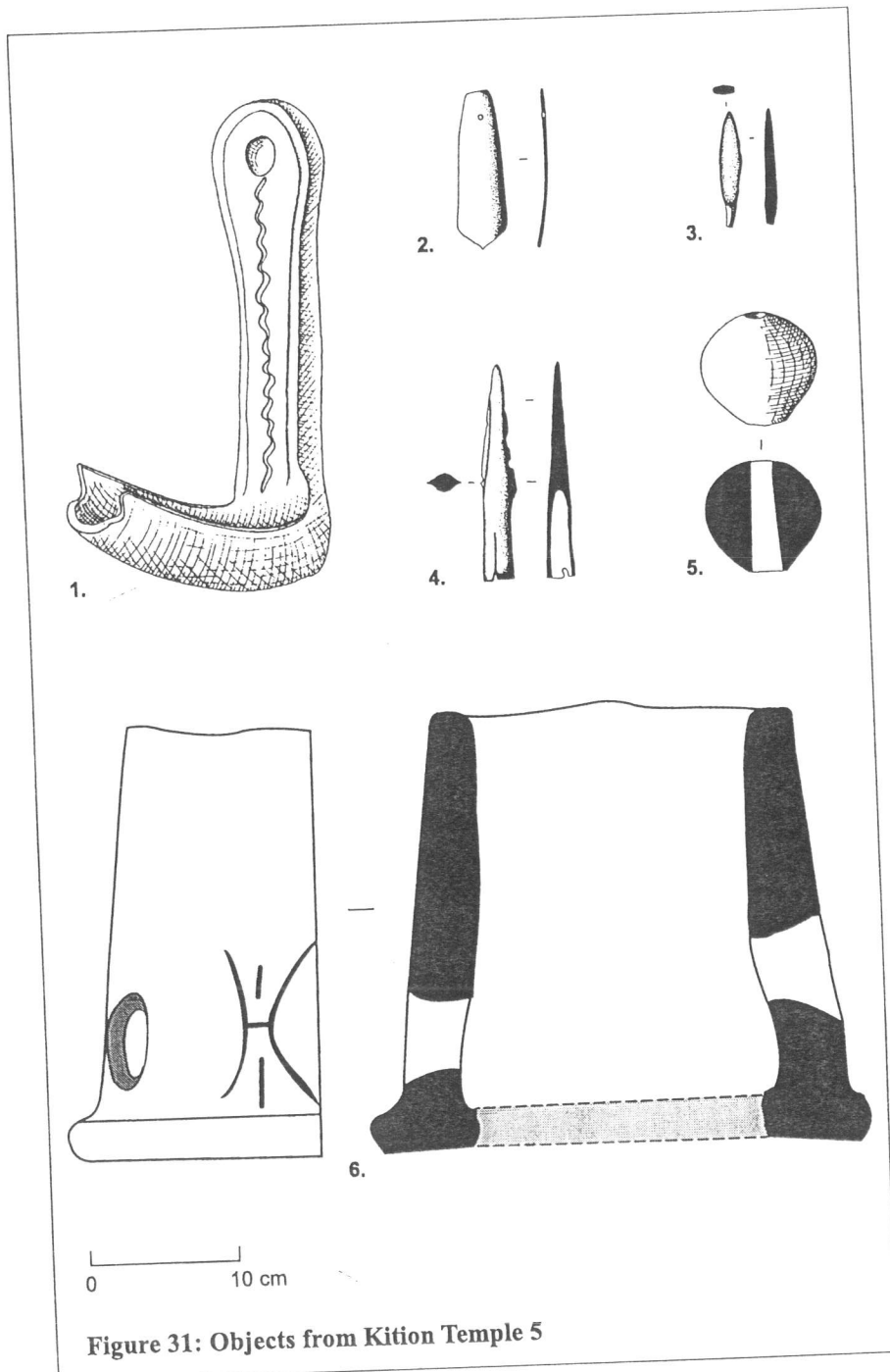


Figure 31: Objects from Kition Temple 5

### Finds

Floor IIIA of Room 58 produced a WPW-m III amphoroid krater decorated with birds and fish (figure 73.1), an inscribed clay ball, an inscribed and fenestrated cylindrical vessel (figure 31.6), four beads, fragmentary ostrich eggs, a spindle whorl, a White Shaved juglet, a bronze rod, nail and button and a wall bracket. A bone tool identified by the excavators as a stylus, lay south of the southern entrance (figure 31.2). Recently Smith (1994:56-60) has suggested that objects of this type were weaving tools. A wall bracket was found in Room 58A (figure 31.1) and a spindle whorl in Room 58B. Floor III in Room 58 produced two glass bottles, two glass beads, scrap bronze, two fragmentary wall brackets, a bronze strap, a weight, a loomweight, a WPW-m III bowl and an inscribed Canaanite jar handle. A shallow cutting between two of the northern bases contained another WPW-m III bowl and animal bones. Room 58A produced glass beads, a bronze strap, a WPW-m III bowl and copper slag and Room 58B two glass beads and a loomweight. Three styli or weaving tools (two between Floors III and II) and an ivory bowl lay in the southern entrance.

Floor II in Room 58 produced two PWP pyxides, two fragmentary wall brackets, a glass bottle, a Canaanite jar handle, a PWW-m juglet, a tripod mortar, a mace-head (figure 31.5), a loomweight, a shell, a Horus eye, a bead, two arrowheads (figure 31.3), a bronze loop, scrap bronze, copper slag, pithos sherds and a fragmentary human figurine. A horn from a large terracotta bull of PWP came from between Floors II and I. In the northern aisle animal skulls, including three bucrania and antlers, and other bones on and between Floors II and I lay in a heap before an ashlar block on the lower step of the wall bench. An anchor set vertically in the midst of similar material on Floor I may originally have stood on the ashlar block. Room 58A contained scrap bronze, a spearhead (figure 31.4) and feeding bottle and Rooms 58B and 58D a mortar and scrap bronze. Bothroi associated with Floor I contained female figurines with upraised arms, incised ox scapulae, two terracotta masks (figure 77.6), a moulded face detached from a cylindrical vessel, naiskoi, miniature dishes, a ring-kernos, scrap bronze and a stylus or weaving tool. Some of these may have been in use on Floor II.

### Discussion

Temple 5 is believed, on the evidence of the terracotta ox horn, horned skulls and anchors, to have been dedicated to a male fertility deity and Temple 4, on the evidence of a fragment from a large female figurine found on Floor I, to a goddess. These indications, however, are not decisive, particularly as fragmentary female figures were also associated with Temple 5 (on Floors II and I and in associated bothroi) and at least one bull with Temple 4. The ritual in both temples is also thought to have involved the smoking (in the pipe from Room 38C of Temple 4) and inhaling (over charcoal in the fenestrated vessel

from Temple 5) of opium. The recovery of five bone objects identified by the excavators as styli near the southern entrance to Temple 5, together with at least sixty-five inscribed objects (ivories, vessel handles, a clay ball, ashlar blocks etc) from the sacred area as a whole, suggests a significant link between cult and literacy. These former may, however, have been weaving tools (Smith 1994:56–60). The presence of copper slag and scrap bronze, standing anchor stones and masks in Temple 5 is also worthy of note.

### 13. Idalion Ambelleri. Periods 1–3 (figures 32–35, 82.1)

The Idalion complex, identified by the excavators as a 'cult house', is located within a fortified settlement on *Ambelleri* hill to the south of the modern village of Dhali. It was excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:460–628, fig. 242, plans XVI–XVIII, pls. CLXII–CLXIV, CLXXXI–CLXXXVI)<sup>39</sup>. The hill is steep-sided and rises 45m above the plain. Excavation covered the entire surface (about 2 acres), revealing six periods of habitation (Periods 1–6). Although more recent work by the American Expedition to Idalion suggests some occupation of the site in the early C13th, the contents of Period 1 belong primarily to LC IIIA<sup>40</sup>. Periods 2 and 3, originally assigned to LC IIIB by Sjöqvist, are also attributed to LC IIIA by Ålin, following an analysis of the Mycenaean style pottery from these levels (Sjöqvist 1940:125; Ålin 1978. See also Kling 1989a:59–60, 86). Stray finds include a small amount of PWP and Iron Age White Painted I and II sherds from the lowest levels of Period 4, suggesting some continuity between the latest Bronze Age occupation and the large open-air temenos established in Cypro-Geometric III.

#### Architecture

Three freestanding structures of Period 1, located along the northern rampart, were identified as a cult house, storehouse and priest's house (figure 32). The remaining area was occupied by rock-cut bothroi, apparently used in the disposal of offerings and other ritual waste. The cult house consisted of two adjoining rooms (Rooms XXXIII–XXXIV: 3m by 2.64m and 3.2m by 3m respectively) with an opening at the southwest end of the dividing wall, and a courtyard (Room XXX: 5.2m by 12+m) to the northeast. Access to the former was possible only from the courtyard. A table (Altar 105: 0.42m square) of horizontal limestone slabs surrounded by uprights of the same material lay in the northwest corner of Room XXXIV. The courtyard was bordered to the west by the so-called priest's house and to the east by a partly preserved wall, and lay open-ended to the north with a secondary entrance alongside Room XXXIV. Bothroi 1–24, 26–28 and 30–31 (0.85–3m in diameter and 0.2–1m deep) lay east, southeast and northeast.

The 'storehouse', a two-roomed unit (Rooms XXXVIII–XXXIX) on the same axis as the cult building, lay immediately southwest. Room XXXVIII (4.25m by 3.1m) was entered from the northwest via a narrow street leading to

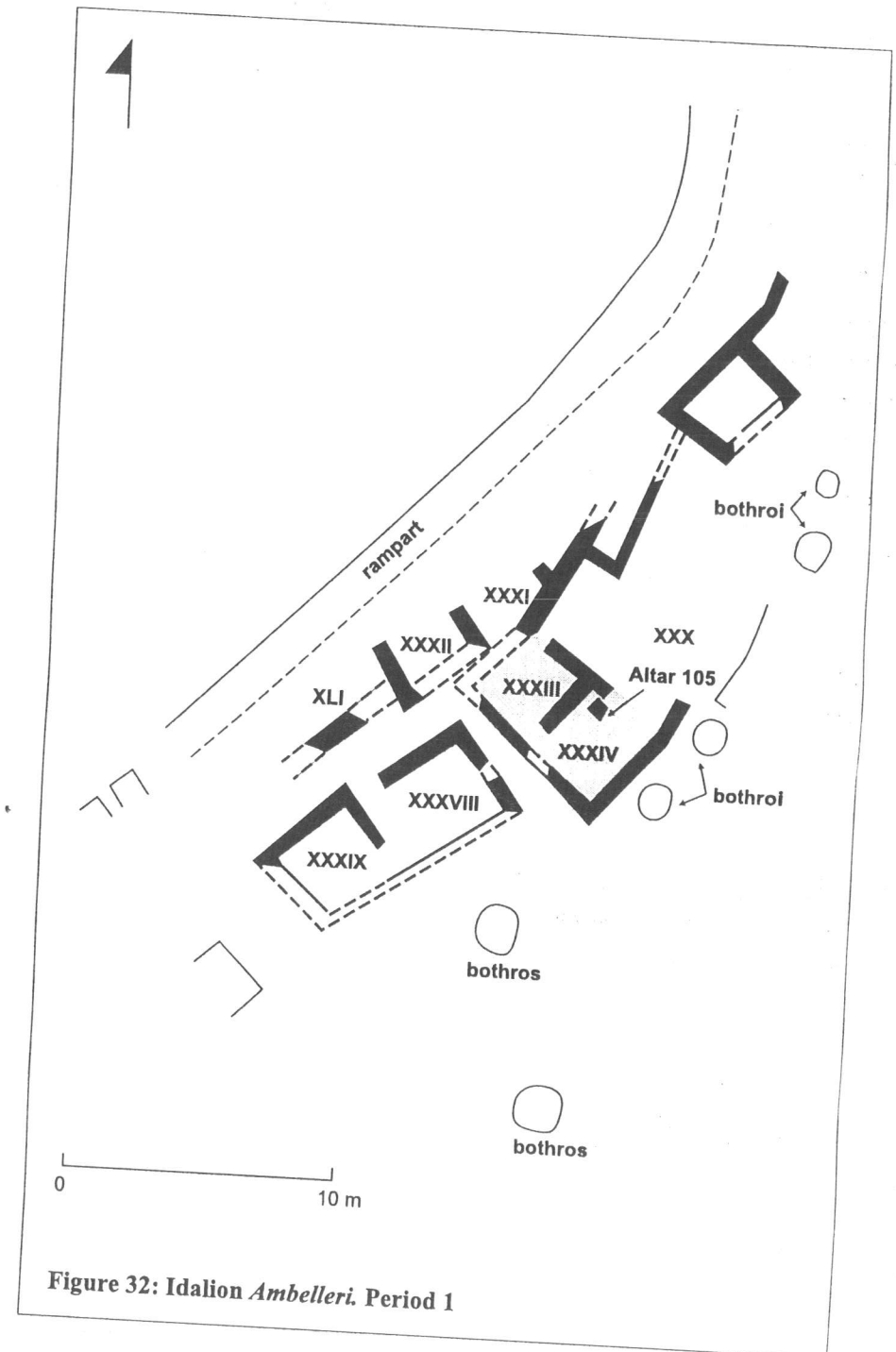
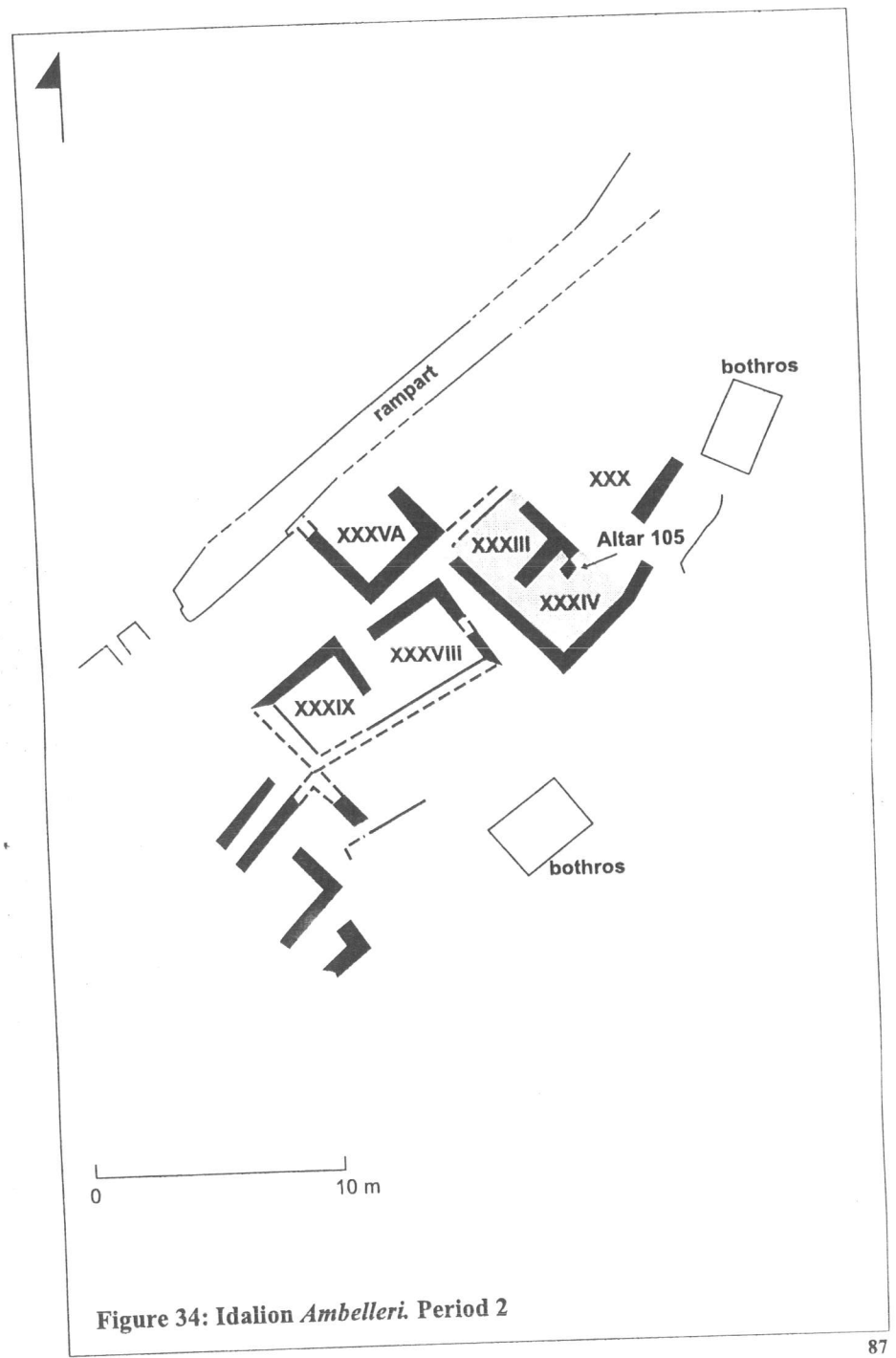
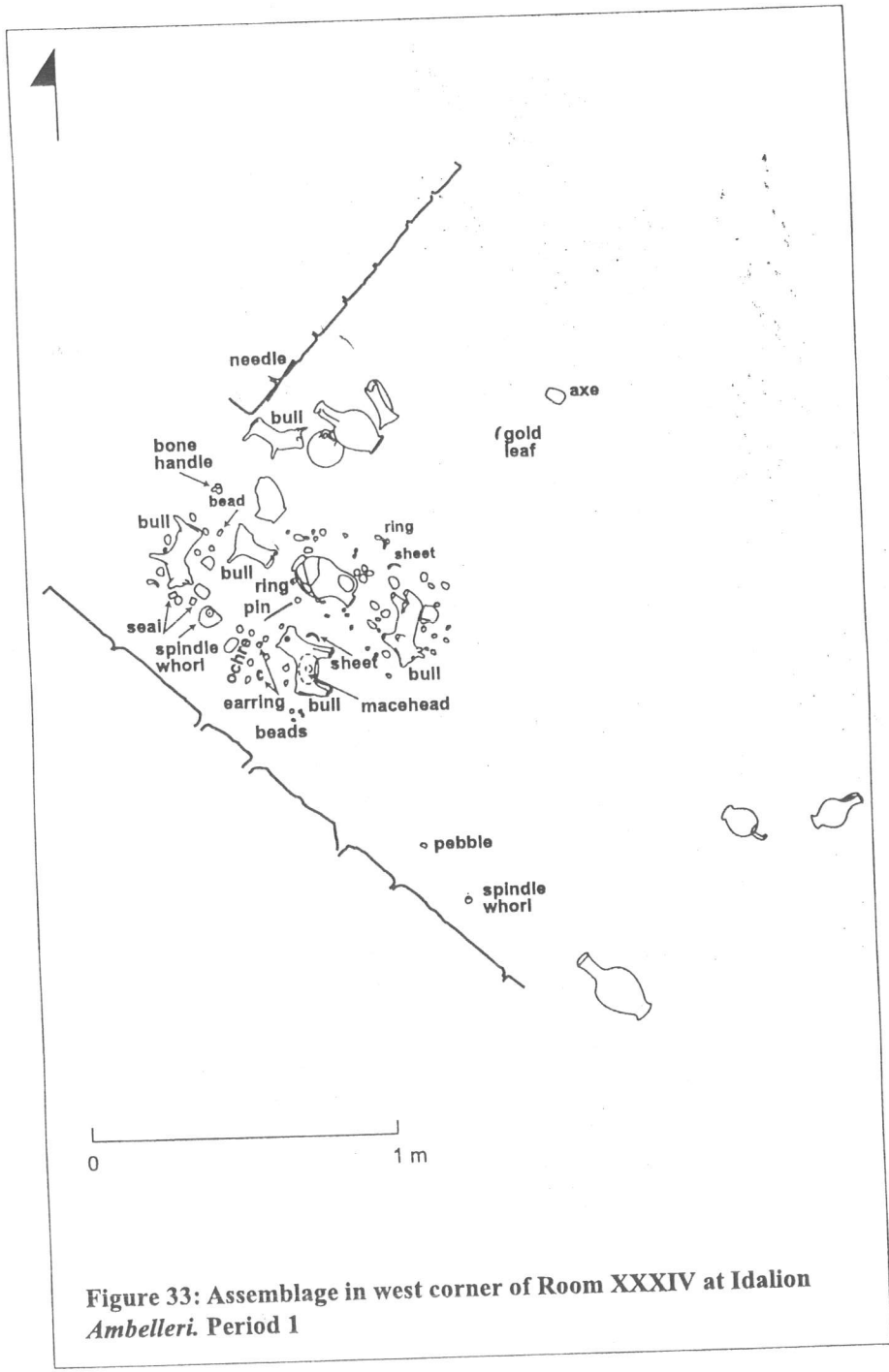


Figure 32: Idalion Ambelleri. Period 1



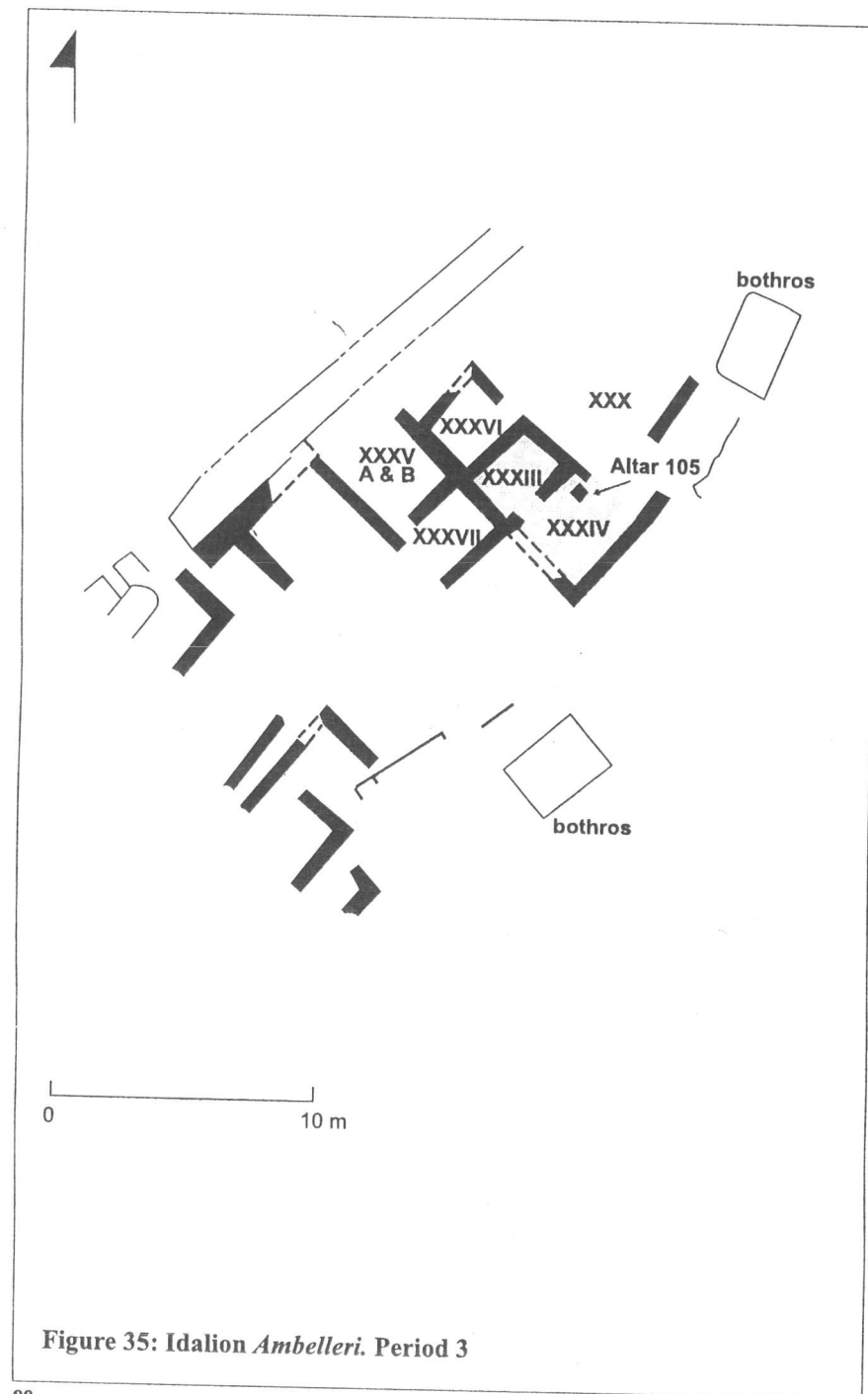


Figure 35: Idalion Ambelleri. Period 3

the western rampart gate. A second opening may have existed in the northeast wall. A doorway at the south end of the dividing wall led into Room XXXIX (3.4m by 3.1m). The 'priest's house', consisting of six adjoining rooms (Rooms XXV-XXVI, XXIX, XXXII, XLI) adjacent to the northern rampart, was not fully excavated.

Both cult house and storeroom remained in use for Period 2 (figure 34). The 'priest's house', however, was replaced by the single Room XXXVA. The 'priest's house', however, was replaced by the single Room XXXVA, entered from the courtyard which now extended to the northern rampart. To the southwest and north new complexes were built, the latter with small courtyards, kitchens and storerooms. In Period 3 the storehouse was demolished, Room XXXVA was enlarged to become Room XXXVA+B and Rooms XXXVII and XXXVI were added to the southeast and northeast (figure 35). The northern and southwestern units were also enlarged and the fortifications strengthened. Only the cult house retained its original plan, although the opening to Room XXXIII from the courtyard was blocked and a new doorway constructed between Rooms XXXIII and XXXIV. Bothroi 25 and 29, in use for both Periods 2 and 3, lay south and southeast of the courtyard.

#### Finds

Most Period 1 finds came from Room XXXIV. Thirty objects lay in the west corner before the doorway to Room XXXIII (figure 33), including five terracotta bull figurines, one of BR and the rest of various fabrics with dark paint over a white slip, four jugs of Bucchero Wheel-made, PWW-m and Black Slip, a bone handle, three beads, a lump of red ochre, a gold earring and strip of gold leaf, a macehead and two axes of basalt<sup>41</sup>, a spindle whorl, a stamp and cylinder seal (figure 82.1) and a needle, earring, pin, two rings and sheet of bronze. Carbonised olive stones and wood were found near the pestle and coloured pebbles throughout the deposit. A second spindle whorl, a red quartz pebble, three jugs of Bucchero and PWW-m and a White Painted flask lay elsewhere on the floor. Room XXXIII produced a bronze earring and an ivory pin and the courtyard an ivory lid, two spindle whorls and a seated female figurine, the latter without stratigraphic context but almost certainly from Period 1.

A bronze needle and fragmentary pithoi came from the storehouse and two bronze pins, a bronze sheet, a bone awl, two beads, three spindle whorls, two stamp seals, a fragment of iron, a grinder, two lumps of ochre, fragments of cloth and a steatite mould with bull matrix from Room XXXII<sup>42</sup>. The remainder of the complex contained a lead sheet, a stone grinder and cover in Room XLI, a terracotta weight in Room XXXI, three lumps of 'iron slag' in Room XXVI and a bead and spindle whorl in Room XXV.

Period 2 produced fewer objects. Two Bucchero Wheel-made jugs, a spindle whorl and a quartz pebble were found in Room XXXIV and two spindle

whorls, copper slag, a steatite bead, a bronze mounting and a fragmentary animal figurine in the courtyard. The storehouse contained two spindle whorls, a bead and a bronze pin and the southwest complex weights and jar fragments. Room XXXVA produced four beads, a pendant, two spindle whorls, a bronze earring, a limestone pyxis, red ochre, 'iron slag' and an iron knife.

The Period 3 cult house contained only a wall bracket and a bronze needle and bracelet in Room XXXIV and a second wall bracket in Room XXXIII. The courtyard, however, produced five spindle whorls, two faience beads, a faience cylinder, a loomweight, a carnelian pendant, a macehead, a basin and lid of limestone, two terracotta bull figurines, a PWW-m jug and a weight, needle, earring, nail and bucranium-shaped handle in bronze—and Room XXXVA+B nine spindle whorls, two beads, a bronze knife, pin, earring and handle, a slingstone, a pestle, a pomegranate-shaped knob in ivory, two cylinder seals, three stamp seals, a bull figurine and a PWW-m jug. Two other stamp seals from Periods 1–3 came from the sieves and outside the rampart and two cylinder seals from Period 6. A small ivory bull without context may also date from Periods 1–3.

### Discussion

The cult house is of similar type to cult buildings elsewhere in Cyprus, with an outer courtyard, covered hall (Room XXXIV) and inner room (Room XXXIII). It differs, however, in allowing direct access from courtyard to inner room and in the almost equal size of the hall and inner room. The absence of a hearth led the Swedish Cyprus Expedition to conclude that the ritual did not involve sacrifice or burnt offerings, an apparently incorrect observation as according to their own reports carbonised wood and olive stones were found in Room XXXIV and the bothroi contained 'sacrificial waste' and more specifically 'ashes, charcoal and bones' (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:627, 821; Gjerstad 1980:122; Sjöqvist 1940:5). The proportion of jug and juglet shapes, however, is very high (91.7% of the total ceramic assemblage), suggesting that drinking or/and libations were of particular importance.

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition identified the LC III remains as those of a self-contained unit isolated from neighbouring sites. It now seems, however, that they were located within a settlement in Periods 2–3, when domestic structures were built to the northwest and southeast, and probably also in Period 1<sup>43</sup>. The purpose of the so-called priest's house and storehouse is unclear. While finds from the latter indicate some storage activity, they do not demonstrate a functional alliance with the cult house. Equally, the priest's house produced domestic material, although whether or not this belonged to cult personnel is impossible to determine. Smith (1994:129–30) has proposed that this complex, which produced spindle whorls, ochre and cloth fragments, was used for textile production in Period 1. Both Room XXXII and the succeeding Rooms XXXVA and XXXVA+B of Periods 2 and 3, however, contained objects closely related

to those from the cult unit, suggesting that they served as repositories for offerings and other objects.

The bull features prominently in cult iconography at Idalion. An association with metalworking is also suggested by the recovery in the courtyard, Rooms XXVI, XXXVA and elsewhere of copper slag, casting waste, a mould, a fragmentary ingot and material identified as iron slag. The latter may be a byproduct of copper smelting, which often in Cyprus produced iron-rich slags easily mistaken for iron smelting waste (Waldbaum 1978:85 n. 211; Maddin 1982:311). This suggests the existence of metallurgical installations, perhaps located in the unexcavated area of the priest's house. Alternatively, it must be supposed that it was brought to *Ambelleri* from other smelting and manufacturing sites in the Idalion region which lies 10–15km northeast of major ore bodies at Mathiati, Lythrodonda, Kornos and Sha.

The identity of the deity(ies) remains obscure. The Iron Age temenos was dedicated to Anat-Athena whose votives consist of weapons, personal accessories and pottery (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:628; O. Masson 1961:235–45). There is, however, little evidence of continuity from the Bronze Age in either iconography or ritual practice, although a miniature bucranian mask suggests the survival in some form of the zoomorphic associations of the earlier cult.

### 14–15. Enkomi. The Sanctuary of the Horned God and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess (figures 36–40, 75.4, 78.1, 80.4, 92)

The Ashlar Building in Quarter 4 West (Area I) at Enkomi was erected, according to Dikaios, in Level IIIA (LC IIIA:1), destroyed in ca 1190 BC, reconstructed shortly after in Level IIIB (LC IIIA:2–IIIB:1), destroyed again during the last quarter of the C12th, partially rebuilt in Level IIIC (LC IIIB:1) and in use until the abandonment of the town in about 1075 BC (Dikaios 1969–1971:171–220, 514–16, 523–24, 527–30)<sup>44</sup>. An initial date for LC IIIA in about 1190, rather than 1220 as Dikaios proposed, is now, however, widely accepted with some subsequent lowering of the absolute chronology of Levels IIIA–IIIC. Likewise Karageorghis has proposed that the LC IIIA horizon ended some twenty-five years later at Enkomi than at Kition, assigning the end of Level IIIB/C to about 1075 BC (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:267; Karageorghis 1990a:27). Dikaios' attribution of Levels IIIB (late phase) and IIIC to LC IIIB:1 is questioned by Iacovou who assigns all three divisions of Level III to a single cultural phase within LC IIIA, prior to the introduction of PWP which she believes is not present in Areas I or III at Enkomi (1988:8–11, 1989, 1991:203). Schachermeyr and Negbi also attribute the original phase of the Ashlar Building to LC IIC, with subsequent re-dating of both Levels IIIB and IIIC to LC IIIA (Schachermeyr 1982:132–38, 145; Negbi 1986:104). These refinements to Dikaios' schema have not met with full acceptance (see Kling 1989a:36–37 and Ionas 1984c for a review of the issues and Cook 1991:93–94). Most notably,



Kling (1989a:82–83, 87) re-attributes both Levels IIIB and IIIC to LC IIIB, arguing for ceramic contemporaneity with Sols IV–I of Bâtiment 18 and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God and Floors III–II at Kition.

In Level IIIA the Ashlar Building (32.5m north/south by 28.5m east/west) centered on a large pillared room and appears to have been used for domestic purposes, although its size and monumental character suggest at least an official residence. During the Level IIIB reconstruction the pillared hall was subdivided and its official character obliterated, following which residential and domestic use was restricted to the northwest, north-central and western sectors while cult activity was introduced into the south-central and southeast sectors. These were identified by Dikaios, respectively, as the Sanctuary of the Horned God and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess.

### THE SANCTUARY OF THE HORNED GOD

#### Architecture. Level IIIB (figure 36)

The principal components of the Sanctuary of the Horned God in Level IIIB were a large pillared hall (Room 45: 8.75m by 6.75m) oriented north/south leading to two small rooms (Rooms 9–10) to the northeast. Three columns along the central long axis supported the roof. A hearth (0.5m in diameter) lay west of the two northernmost columns on the original Level IIIB floor (Floor III), superseded on Floor II (also in Level IIIB) by a larger hearth (1.2m in diameter) west of the doorway to Room 9. Room 9 (2.45m north/south by 1.55m east/west) was entered from the hall and led to Room 10 (2.5m square), in the southwest corner of which were two stone slabs, their edges cut to form a semi-circular niche corresponding with a depression in the floor.

Several other rooms appear, by virtue of their location, to have been associated with the cult unit. Room 1A (4.5m by 1.5m with a well flanked by two dressed stone slabs) forms a narrow passage leading from Street 4 West into the hall. Rooms 1, 34 and 35A (with well and hearth) to each side were accessible only from the hall and both Rooms 26 and 50 are extensions of the hall to the north. Room 13 (4.75m by 4m) communicated directly with Room 10 while Room 36 gave access to the hall from the west and perhaps also from an upper storey<sup>45</sup>.

#### Finds. Level IIIB

The Level IIIB finds were concentrated in Rooms 45, 9 and 10, which appear to have formed the core area of ritual activity. Floor III in Room 45 produced an ox skull near the hearth, a mould for gold ornaments (figure 37.2) and a haematite weight from the west wall and a faience bowl, an ivory lid, a bronze arrowhead (figure 38.4), two gold leaf horns (possibly from a bull's-head rhyton, see figure 37.1) and unidentified animal bones from the entrance to Room 9. Five ox skulls and other bones lay near the hearth on Floor II, a

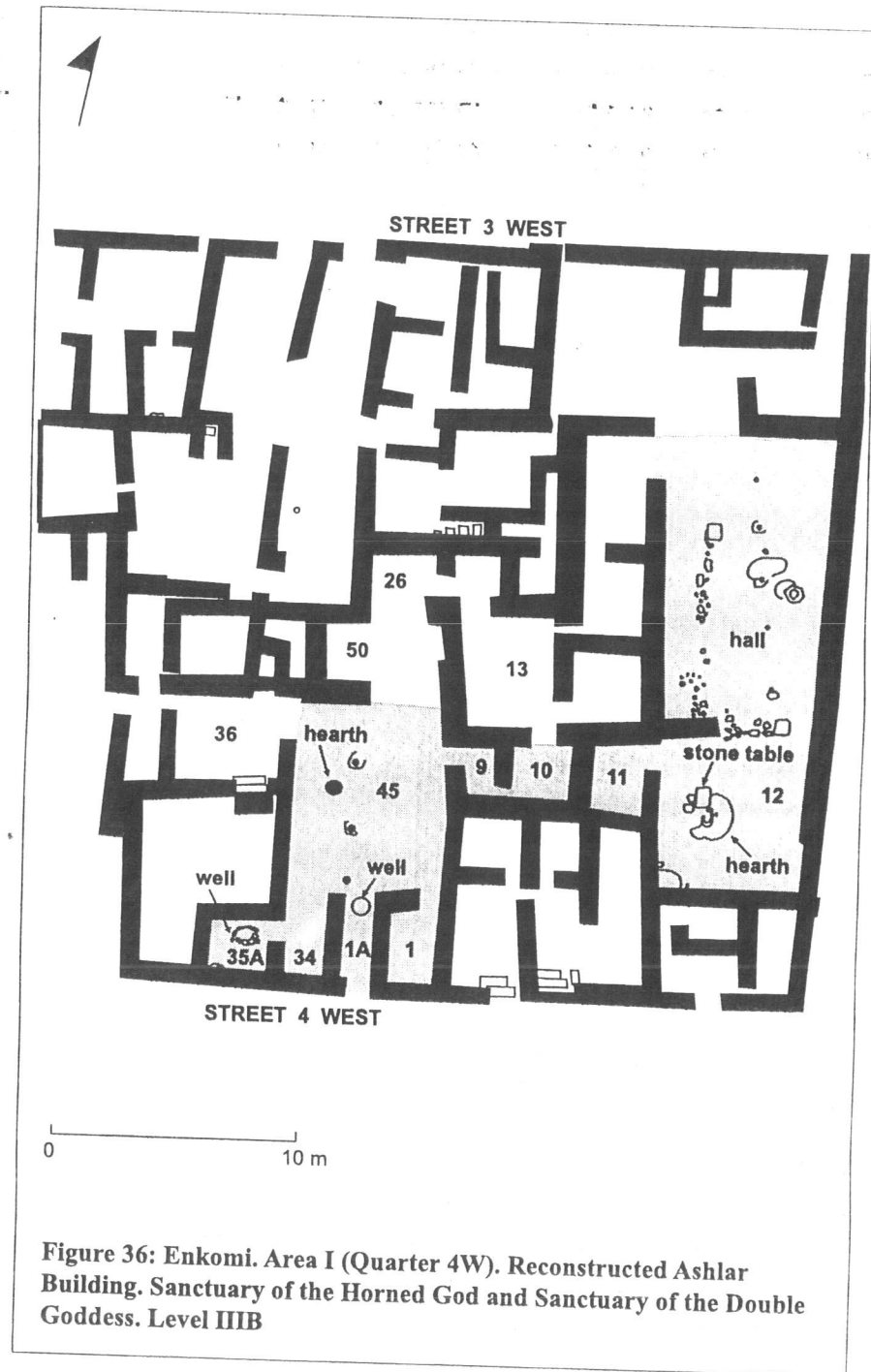


Figure 36: Enkomi. Area I (Quarter 4W). Reconstructed Ashlar Building. Sanctuary of the Horned God and Sanctuary of the Double Goddess. Level IIIB

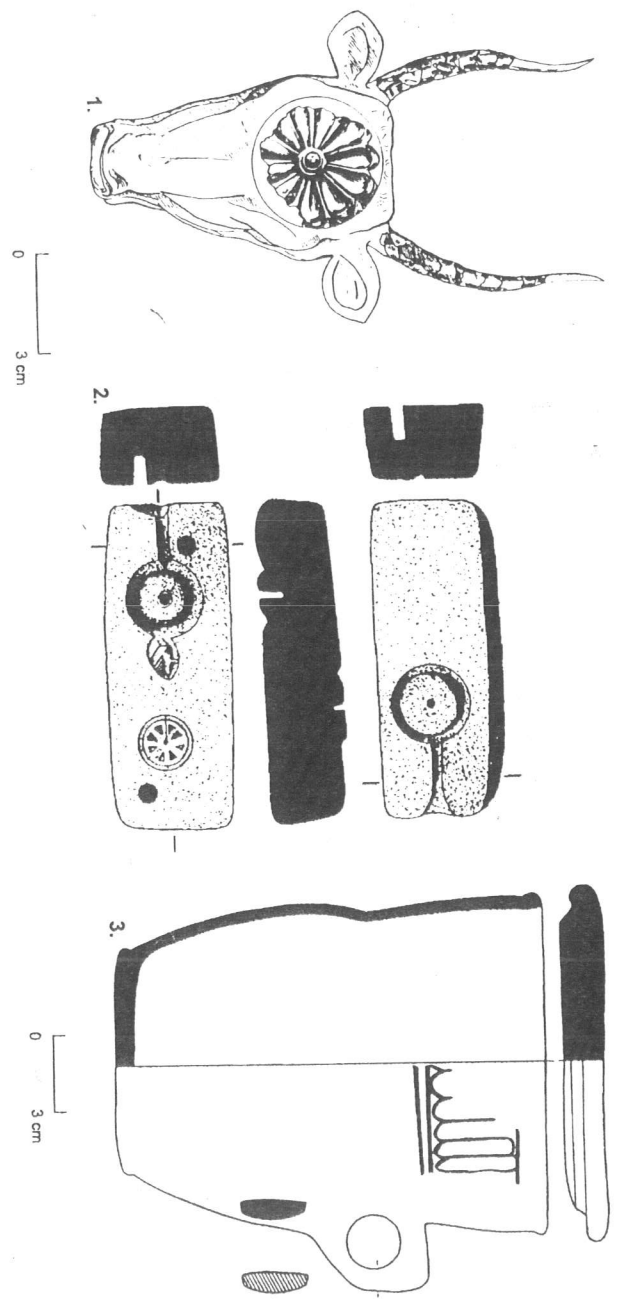


Figure 37: Finds from the Sanctuary of the Horned God, Enkomi

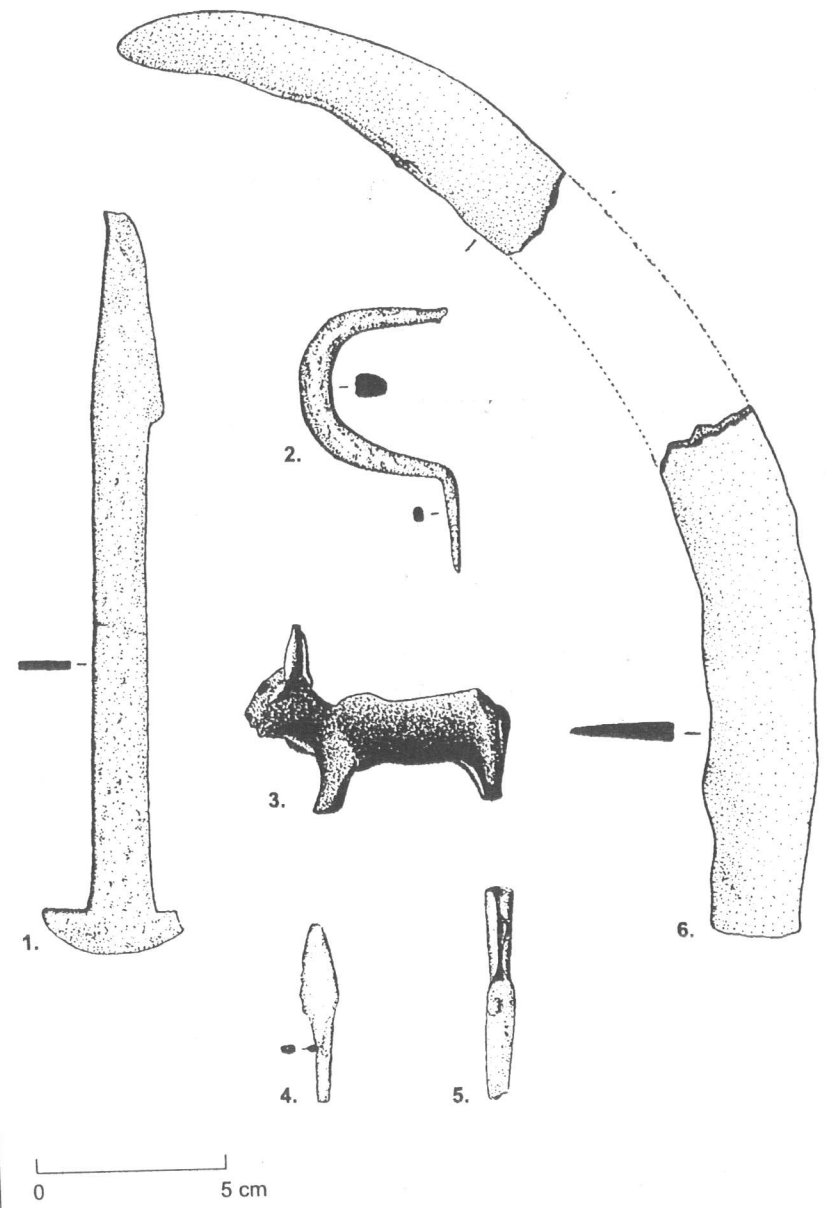


Figure 38: Bronze objects from the Sanctuary of the Horned God, Enkomi

fragmentary vessel of WPW-m III and a quern in the northwest of the room and a small bronze bull (figure 38.3) and two fragments of a bronze sickle (figure 38.6) near the doorway to Room 9. In the northeast corner of Room 9 a stone trough (0.7m by 0.32m), a channel along one side connecting with a hole through the centre of the base, lay inverted on Floor III. Two gold pendants and animal and bird bones were also recovered. Floor II produced a PWW-m juglet, a gold pendant and nail, a lead rosette, a miniature ox horn of gold leaf, two bronze pins and a nail, a BR jug and animal bones. In debris overlying Floor II were antlers, an ox horn and articulated leg bones.

In the northwest corner and along the west wall of Room 10 a total of 276 PWW-m II bowls, imitating BR II shapes, were found upside down one upon the other in three separate deposits, overlying a small pit (0.42m in diameter and 0.14m deep). Among them also were a bowl of WPW-m III shape, fragments of at least three bowls of WPW-m III, an alabaster jug and lid (figure 37.3), a stone bead and animal bones. The alabaster vessel and a similar example from Kouklia *Eliomylia* Tomb 119 may be Egyptian in origin (Jacobsson 1994:17, 64, 68, 78). A bronze knife (figure 38.1) lay under the northeast wall and a stone trough, with grooves along both narrow sides and a perforated base, amid the destruction debris. Fifty-eight small fragmentary objects were found on top of the lower, ashlar course of the east wall of Room 10, which at the time of the destruction of Level IIIB lay at ground level (Dikaios 1969–1971:295–96, 815, n. 641, pls. 35.1, 36.4, 146.21, 172.2–11). These, Dikaios suggested, were the remains of offerings retrieved from Room 10 of Level IIIB and placed on the wall as a foundation deposit prior to the rebuilding of the wall in mudbrick for Level IIIC. They include a silver ribbon, a paste bead and a scale pan, cup, tripod leg, drill, tool, tube and miniature spearhead (figure 38.5), miniature spear and miniature chisel of bronze. The latter recall the miniature sickle found before the hand of the Horned God statue (see below). The presence of the silver ribbon and paste bead also lend support to Dikaios' identification of these as votives rather than scrap metal gathered for resmelting as suggested by Catling (1964:288–89, pl. 54a).

Room 13 produced a fragmentary pithos, two Canaanite jars, a WPW-m III kylix, a terracotta crucible, a PW amphora, jug and ladle, an antler, a bronze fish hook? and several fish bones and an iron knife, gold leaf, a second bronze hook and a bronze pin from the destruction debris. Room 26 contained two loomweights, a fragmentary terracotta bull figurine, a pilgrim flask and a bronze arrowhead and the well in Room 1A an ox skull and sherds.

#### Architecture and Finds. Level IIIC (figure 39)

The unit was reconstructed with minor alterations in Level IIIC (Floor I). Rooms 9 and 10 continued as the focus of the ritual and two circular stone hearth platforms in Room 45 suggest that this area was also used. Room 13 played a more important role with access from Room 26 via a small

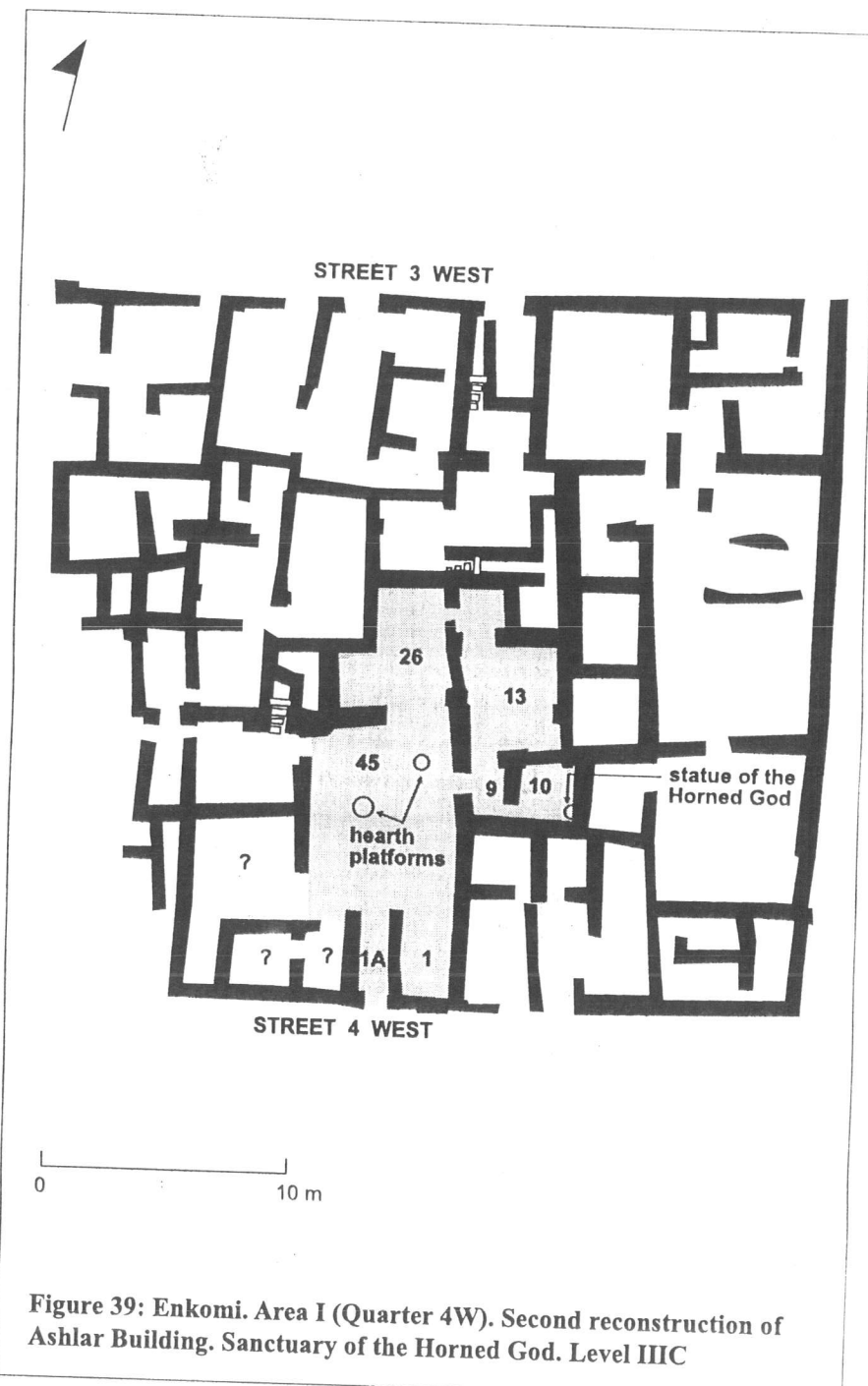


Figure 39: Enkomi. Area I (Quarter 4W). Second reconstruction of Ashlar Building. Sanctuary of the Horned God. Level IIIC

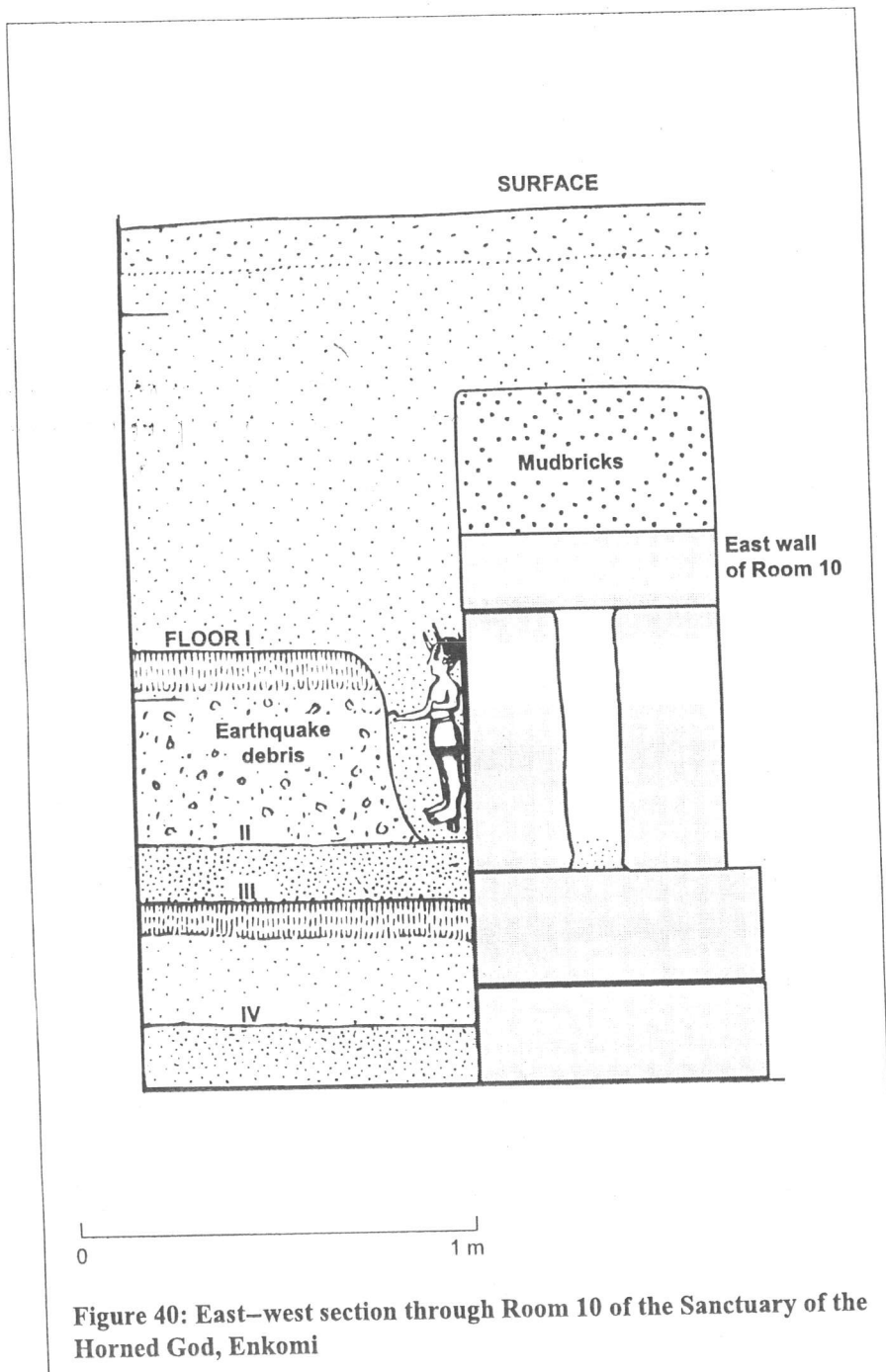


Figure 40: East-west section through Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God, Enkomi

antechamber. The earlier opening from Room 10, however, was blocked and a new doorway built from Room 9. The unit remained accessible from Street 4 West and without communication with the rest of the building. No finds are noted from Room 45. Four BRW-m bowls and three of PWW-m II imitating BR II were found in Room 26. Room 13 produced eight ox skulls, two Canaanite jars, a wall bracket, a jug of Cretan origin and a quern. At least one antler is also visible on the plan. Room 9 contained faunal remains and in particular bucrania and antlers. The bronze statue of the Horned God (figure 78.1) stood upright in a pit in the southeast corner of Room 10 (figure 40), facing the doorway to Room 9 with his feet on Floor II (Level IIIB) and a miniature bronze sickle (figure 38.2) before his right hand. The pit also held the jaw of an unidentified animal, a bronze pin and a ribbon.

Dikaios suggested that the Horned God statue belonged originally to Floor III of Level IIIB, where it stood on a pedestal in a semicircular niche in Room 10. Several pits and general stratigraphic indications suggesting the disturbance of earlier deposits led Dikaios (1969:196–99) to propose that the occupants of Floor I retrieved some items, and in particular the Horned God, from the earlier building following the destruction of Floor II. The circumstances of final deposition of the Horned God, however, have not been well understood. It is clear from the published section (Dikaios 1962:22, fig. 13, 1969: pl. 280.8. Here figure 40) that the pit in which the statue was found was dug either from or through Floor I, the final floor of the sanctuary (Level IIIC), to the level of the preceding Floor II (Level IIIB). As the fill of the pit corresponds to the general post-abandonment fill overlying Floor I, the pit cannot have been closed during the use of Floor I or immediately upon final abandonment. The Horned God was not, therefore, either ritually buried or hidden as sometimes assumed (Cook 1988:29), but placed in an open pit—his feet on or just above Floor II, his back resting against the west facade of the east wall of Room 10 and his head and horns protruding 0.05m above Floor I and facing the doorway to Room 9.

The importance of oxen in the Sanctuary of the Horned God is evident. The finds include fifteen skulls and other bones of *Bos*, three ox horns in gold leaf and bull figurines in bronze and terracotta. The ritual appears also to have involved regular animal sacrifice, in particular of oxen although remains of deer, other horned species and birds are also recorded, as well as the libations indicated by the stone troughs and bowls in Room 10. The votives, notably, include miniature weapons and tools unparalleled in other assemblages.

#### THE SANCTUARY OF THE DOUBLE GODDESS (figures 36, 75.4, 80.4)

##### Architecture

At some time during Level IIIB ritual activity was also introduced to Rooms 11 and 12 in the southeast sector of the Reconstructed Ashlar Building, immediately east of the Horned God unit (Dikaios 1969:199–200)<sup>46</sup>. A circular

"double female deity"

hearth platform (1.7m in diameter and 0.1m high) constructed of CW sherds and mud mortar occupied the centre of Room 12, with fire restricted to a central rectangular enclosure (0.7m by 0.4m). To the northwest a rectangle of three stone slabs (1m by 0.8m), identified by Dikaios as supports for roof columns, may have served as a low table of offerings (Webb 1977a:116, no. 7, 120-21). Room 12 led into the smaller Room 11 through an opening in the west wall and a rectangular pillared hall (12m north/south by 7.75m east/west) north of Room 12 provided access from Street 3 West.

**Finds**

In Room 12 two WPW-m III bowls, a PW amphoriskos, a fragmentary vase and a whetstone lay on the hearth and the surrounding area and stone slabs produced thirteen deep bowls, an amphora, jar and jug of WPW-m III<sup>47</sup>, two jars, a jug and two unidentified vessels of PW, a quern and a clay sling bullet. A terracotta female figurine with upraised arms and disc-shaped head (figure 75.4) came from the east wall and another three bowls, a plate and a kylix of WPW-m III from between Levels IIIB and IIIC. A shallow pit in the southeast corner of Room 11 contained a small double-sided bronze plaque (5.5cm high), depicting a nude female figure with her hands on her breasts (figure 80.4). The remainder of the room produced gold leaf, a paste bead, a nail, pin, studs, rods and other small objects of bronze. There is no suggestion that Rooms 11-12 continued to be used for ritual purposes in Level IIIC.

**Discussion**

According to the chronology established by Dikaios, worship of the Horned God was introduced to the Reconstructed Ashlar Building during the first phase of Level IIIB and continued until the abandonment of the town over a century later. The eastern unit, however, is associated with a single level identified as Floor II, corresponding to the second of the two phases of Level IIIB in the Horned God unit. It thus appears that the cult of the Double Goddess was introduced some years after the founding of the Horned God ritual, remaining active for little more than a generation.

The area reserved for the cult of the Horned God seems to have been rather larger than Dikaios believed, incorporating Rooms 1, 1A, 34, 35A, 45, 9 and 10, perhaps Rooms 26 and 50 and, at least in Level IIIC, Room 13<sup>48</sup>. They form a cohesive unit in the centre of the building with access from Street 4 West. The Sanctuary of the Double Goddess occupies a similar area (pillared hall included) with access from Street 3 West. The two are thus closely related in plan and arranged with some attention to symmetry, one being almost the reverse image of the other, and together give the impression of a well organised re-use of the existing structure. Their location within the confines of a larger complex, however, is unique. All other identified Late Cypriot cult buildings are freestanding and associated with open courtyards, with related structures

forming independent units. This raises the possibility that the Sanctuaries of the Horned God and Double Goddess were domestic rather than public shrines or, alternatively, that the whole of the Reconstructed Ashlar Building was non-secular, perhaps combining ritual activity with residential quarters for cult personnel, related workshops, kitchens etc.

Dikaios identified the Level IIIA Ashlar Building as a residential complex and, noting the ashlar masonry and what he believed to be parallels with Mycenaean palace architecture, suggested that those responsible for its construction were Mycenaean immigrants. He also identified the Level IIIB building as residential, with the exception of the cult units. Recognising further similarities with the mainland, he concluded that the reconstruction and introduction of ritual were carried out by a second group of immigrants, assuming in consequence that both cult units were Mycenaean domestic shrines (1969:191). The identification of the Ashlar Building as a Mycenaean foundation is, however, no longer tenable. It is now clear that ashlar masonry existed both at Enkomi and elsewhere before the arrival of Aegean immigrants in early LC IIIA. The parallels, further, between Mycenaean architecture and the pillared courts of Levels IIIA and IIIB are unconvincing and derive more from the assumed Aegean origin of the ashlar masonry than from any more decisive links (Baurain 1984:347-48; Ionas 1984b:102; Schachermeyr 1982:138).

The function of the building is more difficult to determine. The west, north-central and southeast sectors were certainly given over to domestic installations with bathrooms in Rooms 5, 39 and 40 and hearths, wells, platforms, benches and utilitarian objects in most of the first floor rooms. This, however, need not imply wholly secular use, as residential requirements of cult personnel would not necessarily differ from those of other inhabitants nor leave distinctive traces in the archaeological record. A number of rooms outside the cult units, furthermore, did produce objects of possible ritual use. The well in Room 5, for example, contained eight miniature terracotta oxen, a bovine and moufflon horns, Room 44 a miniature ingot, knife, bird rhyton, bull figurine and animal bones, Room 43 an anthropomorphic mask, Room 17 an altar or shrine model, Room 39B an inscribed anchor and Room 42 a cylinder seal and bull figurine identified by Dikaios as votives<sup>49</sup>. This material may indicate more widespread use of the building by cult personnel. Metallurgical workshops in the western sector, partly revealed by Pelon in 1971, might also have been associated with the cult (BCH XCVI 1972:1056; Pelon, Lagarce and Lagarce 1973:103). Public rather than private use of both cult units is also suggested by their size, which accounts for over half the ground floor of the building, and the fact that principal access was from public thoroughfares to north and south. The associated remains, in particular the large number of upturned bowls in Room 10 and the statue of the Horned God, further suggest that the cult was of considerable importance and unlikely to have been a wholly private concern.



## 16. Enkomi. The Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sols IV–I (figures 41–47, 63.1–2, 64.1, 73.2, 75.1–3, 5–6, 78.2, 82.8, 92)

The Sanctuary of the Ingot God, located in the centre of Quarter 5E at Enkomi (figure 41), was excavated by the French Mission in 1961–1965 (Courtois 1971b, 1973, 1986b:32–37, figs. 5–6; Schaeffer 1971:506–10, 525–33, figs. 8–12)<sup>50</sup>. It was constructed above an earlier building of LC IIC–IIIA which may also have been ritual in function (see below no. 19). The amount of material preserved is remarkable. While the incomplete state of many items argues against this being an intact assemblage left behind in its entirety when the building was abandoned, it constitutes the largest and most varied array of objects from any excavated cult building in Cyprus and is the closest we have to a systemic inventory.

The chronology of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, like that of the Ashlar Building excavated by Dikaios, is the subject of considerable debate. The excavators attributed the construction of the building to Sol IV, an apparently short-lived and poorly preserved phase which they assigned to LC IIIB ('Chypriote Fer I'). According to Iacovou (1988:9), however, no PWP or other ceramic material from Sol IV is illustrated by the excavators. It thus remains unclear, in her view, whether the building was constructed just prior to or immediately following the abandonment of the town which she dates to the end of LC IIIA. Iacovou suggests that the brief occupation of Sol IV represents a temporary period of disruption contemporary with the events which led to abandonment, a proposal perhaps preferable to the alternative assumption that the sanctuary was built after most or all of the inhabitants had moved to Salamis (1988:9). The succeeding Sols III–I are distinguished by a range of PWP shapes identified by Iacovou as belonging early in the LC IIIB period (1988:8–9). These show little or no stylistic evolution and are attributed to a single relatively short phase of use within the last quarter of the C12th (Iacovou 1988:9)<sup>51</sup>. In Iacovou's view, then, the sanctuary continued in use for some years following the abandonment of the town (Iacovou 1988:8, 1989:55, 1991:203. See also Yon 1980a:79)<sup>52</sup>. Kling, however, recognises parallels for ceramic material from the Ingot God Sanctuary in settlement strata in other areas of the site, which may indicate that 'the occupation of the Sanctuary of the Ingot overlapped the final occupation of the rest of the settlement at Enkomi, and that some overlapping exists also between material classified as Mycenaean IIIC:1c at Enkomi and Proto-White Painted ware elsewhere' (1989a:174).

### Architecture (figures 42–43)

The principal phase of the building is that of Sol III (figure 43), at which time it comprised a rectangular hall (16.4m by 9.6m) oriented east/west with a small room (2m by 1.9m) in the northeast corner and a second room (2.5m by 3.5m)

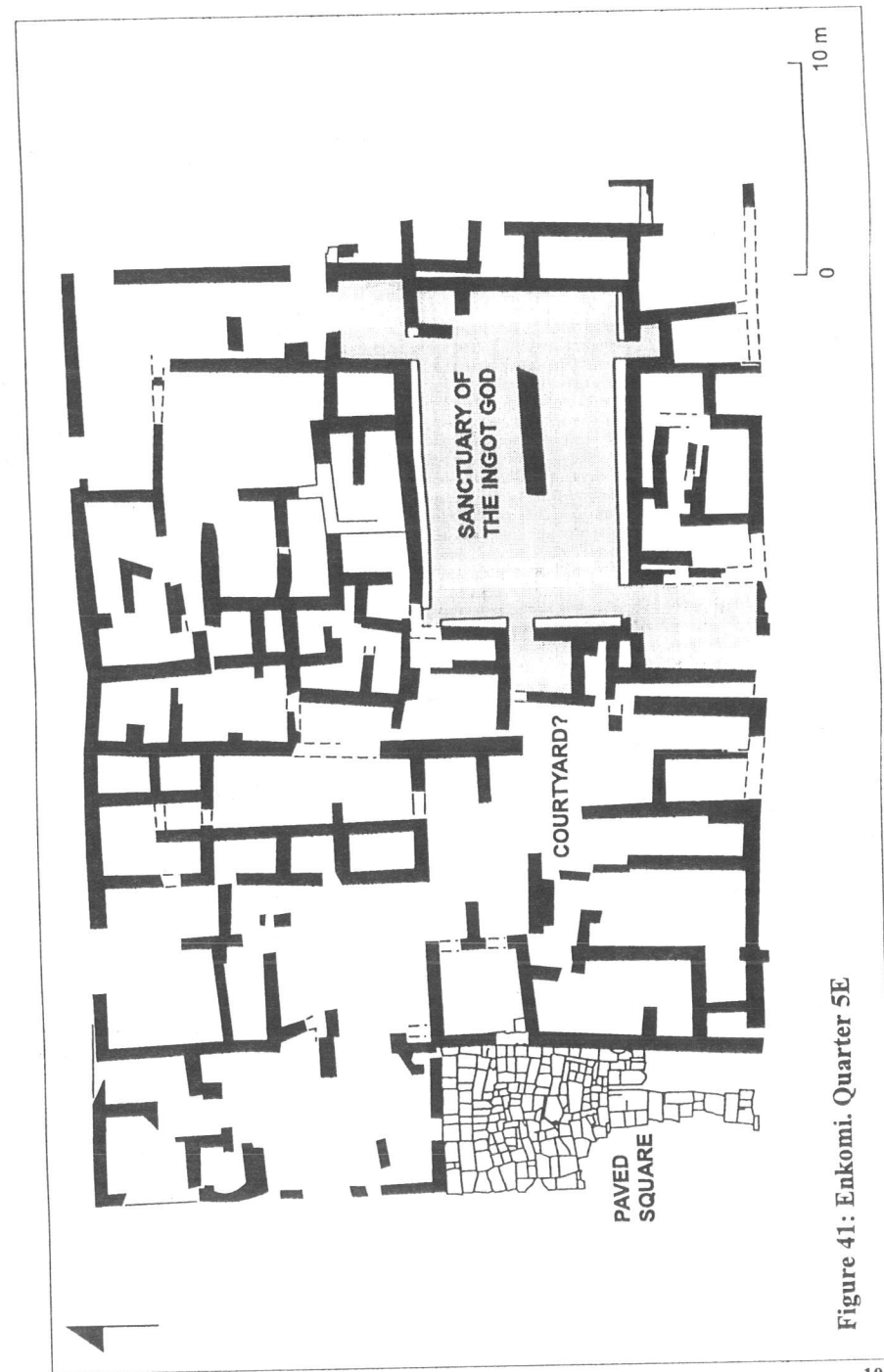
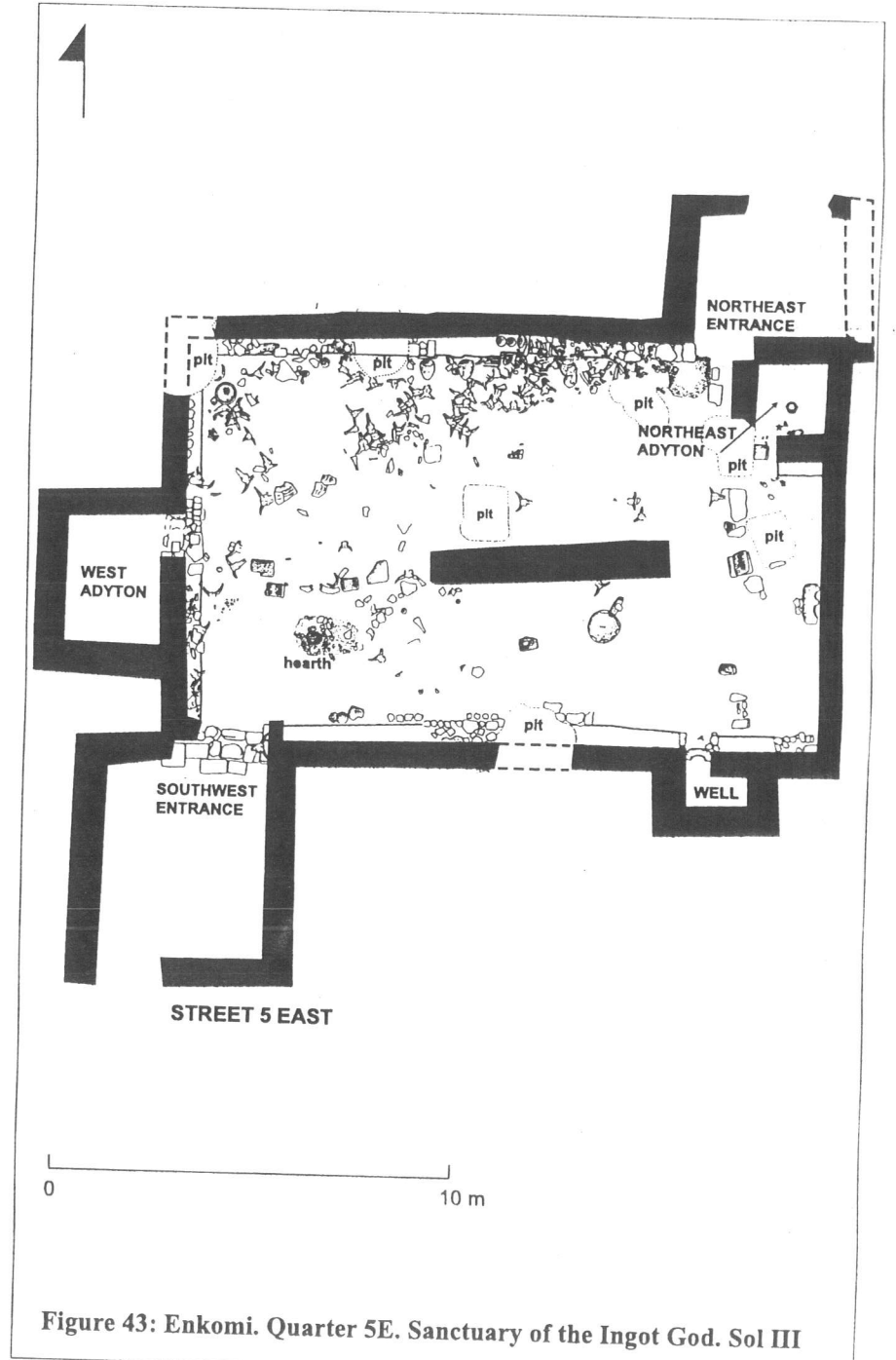
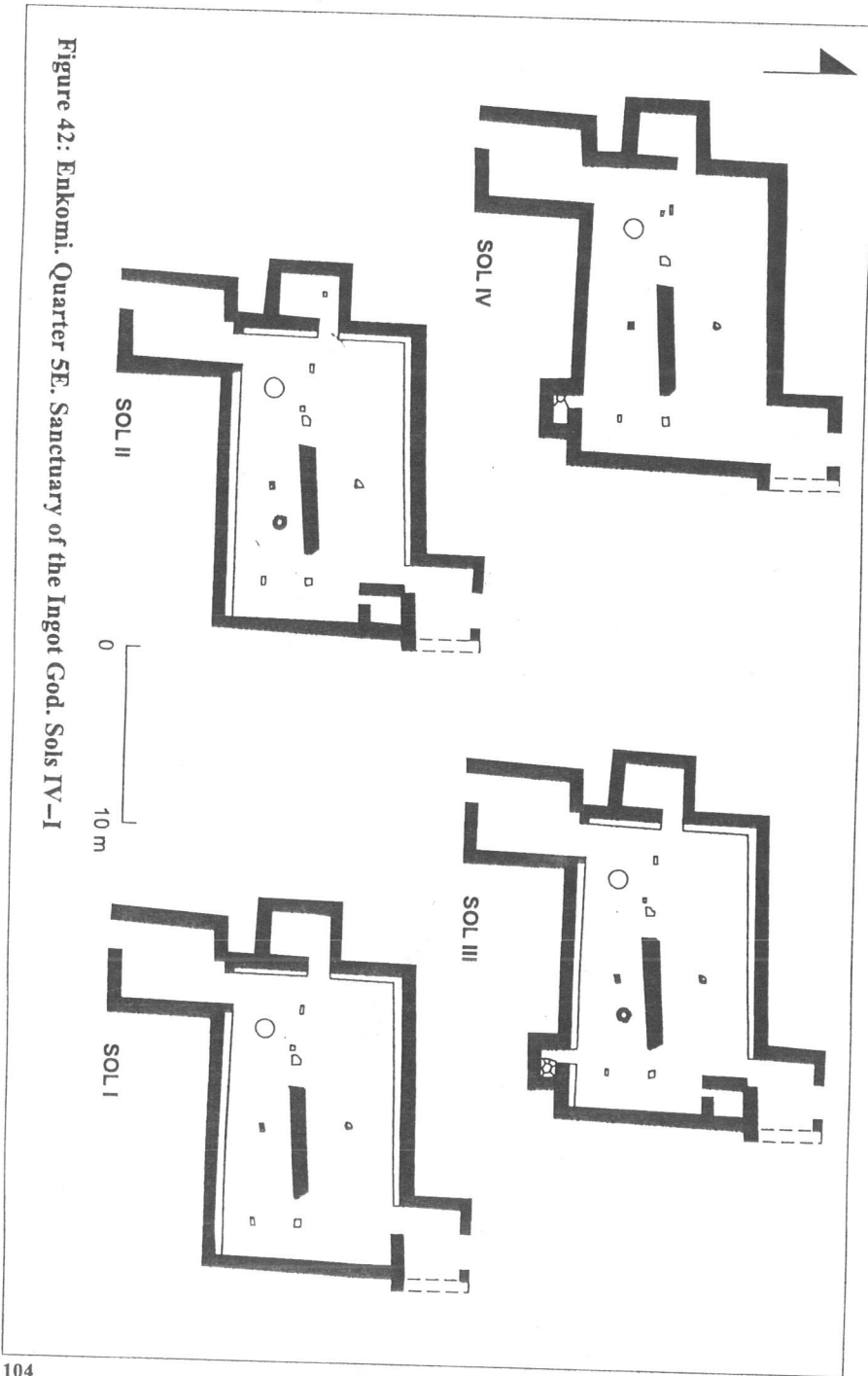


Figure 41: Enkomi. Quarter 5E



off the principal rectangle to the west, entered through a broad doorway (1.5m wide) in the centre of the west wall<sup>53</sup>. An annex (1.75m by 1m) to the southeast housed a built stone well. Six stone bases or sockets and a 6m wall on the central long axis suggest three rows of roof supports<sup>54</sup>. Major access was from the southwest (2m wide) via an entrance porch (6m by 4m) from Street 5 East. A second opening to the northeast (1.75m wide) appears also to have been preceded by a porch (ca 4m by 3.2m)<sup>55</sup>. A courtyard west of the building stretched to a paved square (*place dallée*) at the junction of Street 5 East and the main North/South artery.

All walls were of rubble. Those to the north, south and west were lined with rubble benches (average width 0.45m, average height 0.4m. See **figure 63.1**). A rectangular hearth (Foyer 3: 1.5m by 1m) covered with sherds and supported by a low plaster wall lay to the right of the southwest entrance. A stone block with concave surface to the northeast (*autel supérieur*: 0.47m by 0.29m, 0.3m above Sol III) is identified as a slaughtering table and a second pierced example to the northwest (0.8m by 0.38m, 0.5m above Sol III) as a tethering block for sacrificial animals (**figure 63.2**). An oval stone-lined drainage sump lay 6m to the east.

The pierced block, well annex and west room were already in use for Sol IV, the latter with a central mudbrick construction of unclear purpose and a plaster facing on the west wall<sup>56</sup>. The south and west benches and northeast room, however, did not exist. A circular hearth (Foyer 4: 1.2m in diameter) of white plaster lay below Foyer 3, and to the northwest an upright block (*autel inférieur*) of similar shape and dimensions to the *autel supérieur* (**figure 63.2**). For Sol II the well annex was blocked, a small stone baetyl (about 0.6m high) and rectangular plaster platform were erected in the centre of the west room and a double hearth (Foyer 2: 1.75 by 1m) of earth and sherds was built above Foyer 3 (**figure 64.1**)<sup>57</sup>. Foyer 1, of similar construction, belonged to Sol I. Both the *autel supérieur* and pierced block remained in use. The northeastern room, however, fell into disrepair prior to Sol I (Schaeffer 1971: fig. 10).

### Finds

The only finds from Sol IV were animal bones, including sheep/goat mandibles, and a fragment of gold leaf from Foyer 4, scattered sherds of PWP and PW and at least twelve anthropomorphic figurine fragments and one bovine from the west courtyard<sup>58</sup>.

Sol III in the area of the west bench produced a wall bracket, a pithos fragment with inscribed rim, two deep bowls and an annular rhyton (with bucranial spout) of PWP (**figure 45.6**), a Bucchero juglet, an inscribed Canaanite jar, a ladle, six inscribed clay balls, a cylinder seal (**figure 82.8**), lamp (**figure 44.2**), ring and stamp of bronze, an iron knife and a large number of ox skulls, horns, small animal bones and teeth. On and before the north

bench were a kalathos, two bowls, a jug, tripod vessel and krater decorated with an archer, birds and fish of PWP (**figure 73.2**. See Iacovou 1988:17, 24, no. 19, figs. 44–45), ten PWW-m II bowls imitating Y-shaped BR II bowls (**figure 44.1**), two jars, two ladles (**figure 44.4**), a cooking pot, the neck of a pithos (**figure 63.1**), two Canaanite jars (**figure 44.6**), two wall brackets, a handtorch<sup>59</sup>, gold leaf, animal bones (mainly sheep/goat), incised and unincised ox scapulae and ox skulls and horns. A niche contained incised scapulae and a bronze knife.

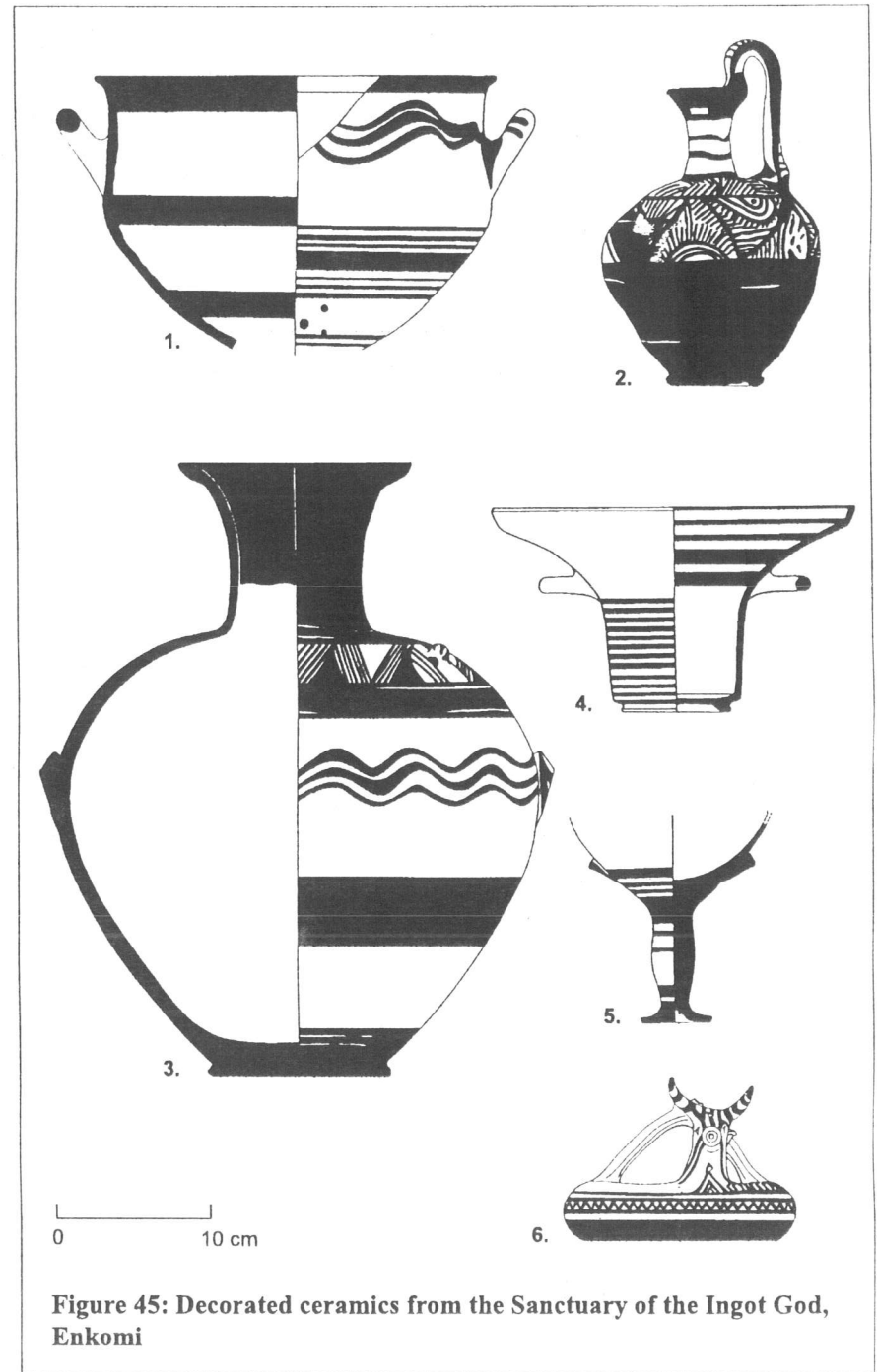
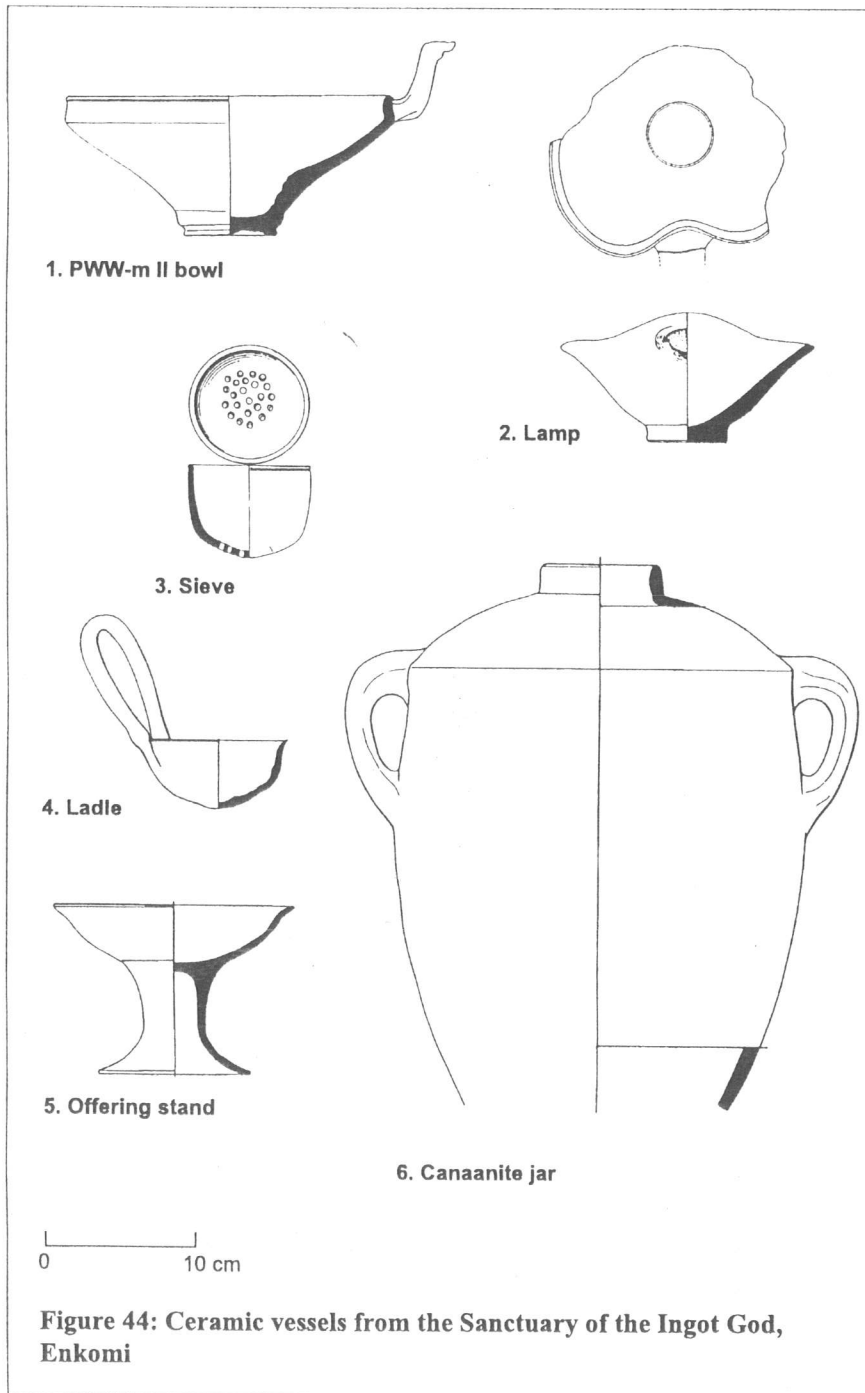
Elsewhere fragments of two deep bowls, a kylix and large jar of PWP lay in the northeast doorway and a CW jar, PWW-m II bowl, bronze ox horn (Webb and Courtois 1980) and ox skull before the entrance to the northeast room. The latter contained a krater and jug of PWW-m III, two PWW-m II bowls imitating Y-shaped bowls of BR II (Iacovou 1988:9) and the bronze statuette of the Ingot God (**figure 78.2**). Several ox skulls were found north and south of the central wall, an antler in the well annex and a kalathos, jar, krater and fragmentary bowls of PWP, cooking pots, a Canaanite jar, pithos, stylus or weaving tool, quern, ox skull, antlers and other bones in the well. A kalathos and three bowls of PWP, a Canaanite jar, a stirrup jar and a set of pierced stones identified as miniature anchors but possibly set-long-line weights came from the west room. In the courtyard a scarab and thirty-seven fragmentary human and several animal figurines were also attributed to Sol III.

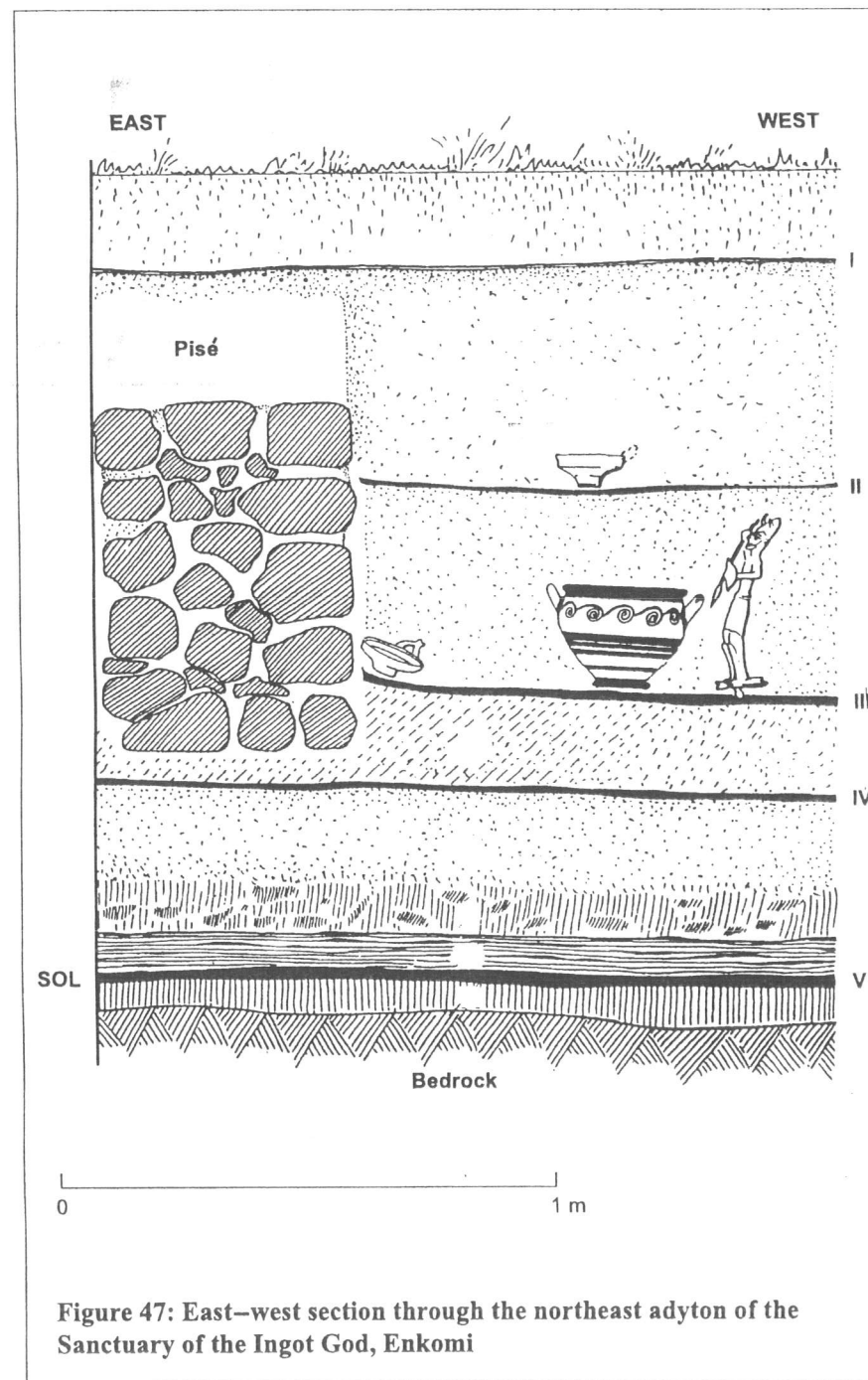
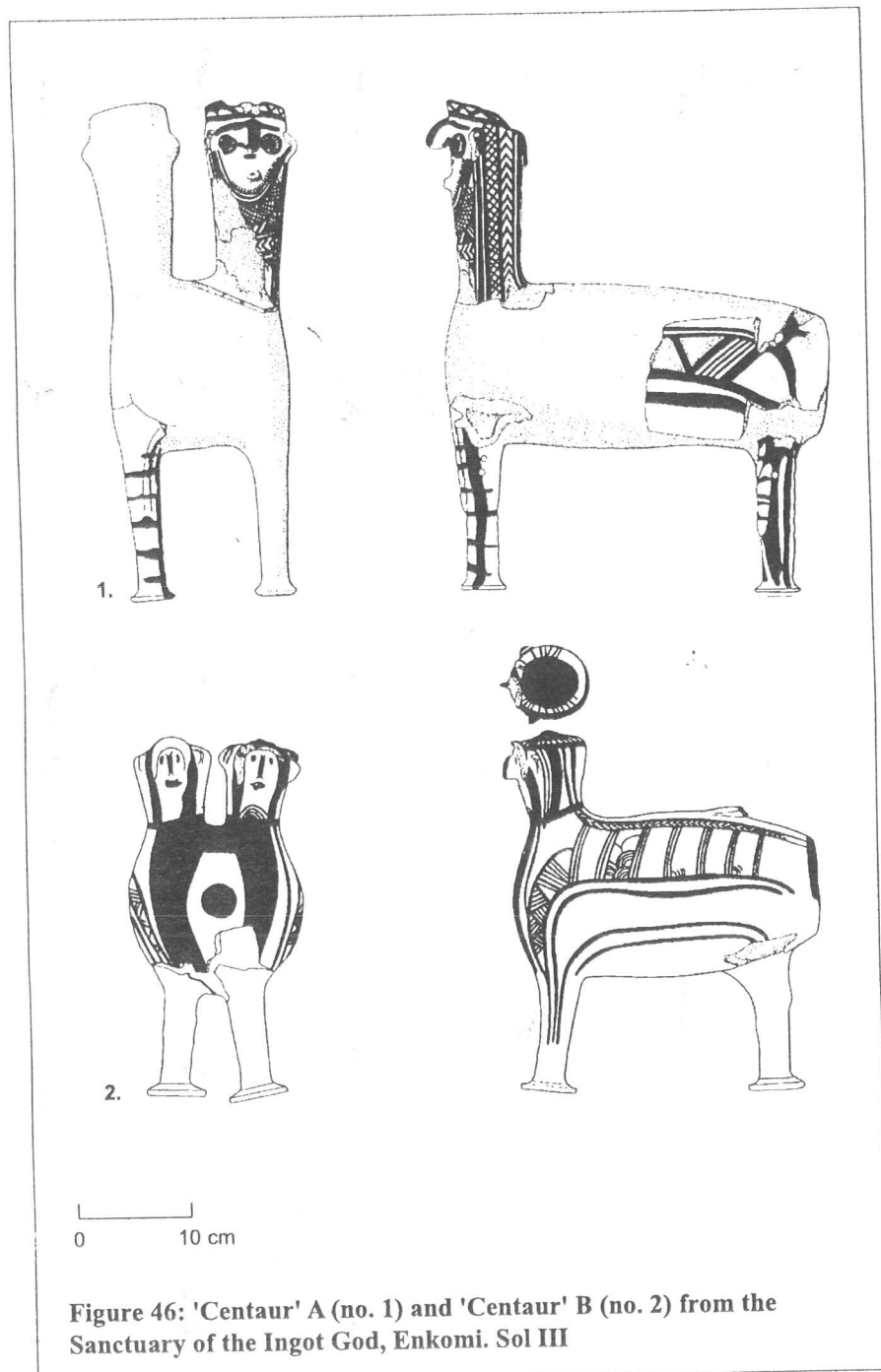
Objects assigned to Sols II–I from the west bench include two jugs, a bowl and two amphoriskoi of PWP, an inscribed handle, pestle, bronze fibula, wall bracket, two figurines and bovine horns, scapulae and skulls. Two bicephalous figurines of PWP (**figure 46**), identified as centaurs but possibly depicting sphinxes, stood in a plaster niche on the north bench together with two PWW-m offering stands (**figure 44.5**), a jug and deep bowls of PWP and bucrania and horns. At the foot of the south bench a round stone, quern, jar and chisel (Courtois 1984:24, no. 206, fig. 5.11) lay on Sol I.

In the northeast room Sol II produced a BRW-m bowl, gold leaf, a PWP gourd vessel and three Canaanite jars. To the south a sieve (**figure 44.3**) and jug lay on Sol II. In the west room eleven human figurines and fragments of at least ten more, a skyphos, kylix and amphora of PWP (**figure 45.3**) and an inscribed clay ball surrounded the baetyl and a PWP kalathos lay on the plaster platform. At least 120 fragmentary figurines from the west courtyard are also assigned to Sols II–I<sup>60</sup>. The majority of these appeared to the excavators to have been deliberately broken (Courtois 1984:80).

### Discussion

The Sanctuary of the Ingot God is persistently misrepresented in the literature as a result of the somewhat confusing presentation of the data in the excavation report and subsequent publications. In Schaeffer 1971 a detailed description of







hall, northeast room, well annex, west room and entrance porches is accompanied by a 'plan de détail' (Schaeffer 1971: fig. 2) which shows only the hall and northeast room while another floor plan (Courtois 1973: fig. 3, 1986b: fig. 5) shows hall, well annex, northeast room, southwest porch, west room and northeast porch with the latter, however, indicated as secondary additions. Not surprisingly, the building continues to appear in various guises. For Karageorghis (1982b:94), Al-Radi (1983:71–72, fig. 12.8) and Mazar (1980:63, fig. 15.N), for example, it consists only of the hall and northeast room while Knapp (1986b:18–20) also notes the well annex and Ionas (1984b:102–103, fig. 4) includes both porches and the west room, but gives an incorrect version of the latter by confusing the walls of Sols IV–I with those of an earlier building.

There can in fact be no doubt that the west room belonged to the LC IIIB complex from the beginning and this is almost certainly true also of the southwest and northeast porches and well annex (see also Burdajewicz 1990:42). All, furthermore, with the exception of the latter remained in use throughout the life of the building. There can be little doubt also that the west room, located at the head of the central axis, entered through a wide doorway framed by offering benches and housing a mudbrick feature (Sol IV), plaster platform (Sol II), baetyl (Sols III?–I), vessels, figurines, clay ball etc, was of considerable importance. The conclusion can only be that it served as an inner room or adyton for Sol IV and all subsequent phases.

The northeast room was added to the original structure for Sols III–II. The statuette of the Ingot God was found to the right of the entrance in an upright position resting on Sol III, where it had apparently been deliberately buried at the time of the construction of Sol II (**figure 47**)<sup>61</sup>. The reasons for burial are obscure. Schaeffer suggests a desire to protect the god from flood and earthquake. Alternatively, a change in the cult or its recipient might be proposed or perhaps, more simply, a new cult statue superseded the old. Whatever the case, the discovery of the Ingot God in the northeast-room suggests that it, too, served as an adyton for Sols III and II.

It thus appears that the building had two inner rooms or adyta located at opposite ends of the structure during Sols III and II. This in turn suggests that it was dedicated to two deities, one the Ingot God of the northeast room and the other a female deity associated with the hundreds of terracottas found exclusively in the west adyton, on the west bench and in the western courtyard. The great majority of these are human figures broken from ring dance compositions in which three or four female votaries with arms upraised were arranged around a central musician. Several larger, more finely decorated fragments, originally at least 25–30cm high, may however have been images of the goddess (Courtois 1971b:330–32, 334–35, 340). The bicephalous centaur/sphinxes and double hearths of Sols II–I may also be manifestations of the dedication of the building to two deities.

Oxen again played a significant role in ritual practice and iconography. The vast majority of the almost one hundred skulls and horns on and before the north and west benches belong to *Bos* of both sexes, although males were predominant (Ducos 1971). Almost all lay face upward covered with plaster and wood charcoal and those from the west bench showed signs of burning and discolouration due to their proximity to the hearth. Several, according to Karageorghis (1976b:102–105. See also Courtois 1986b:33), had been cleaned of projecting bones for use as masks. The remaining material included some twenty-seven incised bovine scapulae and five astragali, one skull and four horns of *Capra hircus*, two antlers, a moufflon skull and mandibles and long bones of sheep/goat. Bovids are also present among the terracottas, a rhyton with bucranial spout lay on the west bench and a bronze ox horn was found before the northeast room.

The iconography of the Ingot God, as often noted, appears to be that of a warrior deity responsible for the protection of the city's bronze industry, a role perhaps underlined by the proximity of the temple and in particular the northeast adyton to metallurgical workshops in the north and northwest of Quarter 5E (Lagarce 1971; Courtois 1973:243, 1982:161–63, fig. 3, 1986b:30–31). Muhly (1985:34, n. 95), however, doubts that these workshops were in use in the C12th. There is general uncertainty also over whether Sols III–I were in use before or after the abandonment of the town. The goddess of the west adyton may also have been linked with the metal industry and is perhaps to be identified with the so-called 'Astarte-on-the-ingot' bronzes of C13th date from the Bomford Collection, Bairaktar and *Teratsoudhia* (see below and **figure 80.1–2**). The fact that her adyton appears to be earlier, larger and closer to both altars and offering benches may indicate that she was, at least initially, the more important of the two.

## B. LESS RELIABLY IDENTIFIED SITES

### 17. Kalopsidha Koufos (figure 48)

In 1894 Myres partially excavated an Early and Middle Cypriot settlement at Site C, 2km westsouthwest of Kalopsidha (1897:138f). In 1924 Gjerstad excavated a Middle Cypriot house at the same site and sunk a trial trench at *Koufos* 500m to the southwest, following which, in 1959, Åström dug a second and larger trench (Trench 9) at *Koufos* (Gjerstad 1926:12, 27f, 175f, 198, 268f, 272f; Åström 1966:48–115, 1987a; Hult 1975). These investigations led to the identification of *Koufos* as a settlement of MC III–LC IIA, while the nature of the material prompted Åström to describe Trench 9 as 'a dump outside a settlement where remains of meals and broken pots were discarded' (1966:48). The more recent discoveries at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* (above no. 1), however, provide a close parallel for those from *Koufos*, raising the

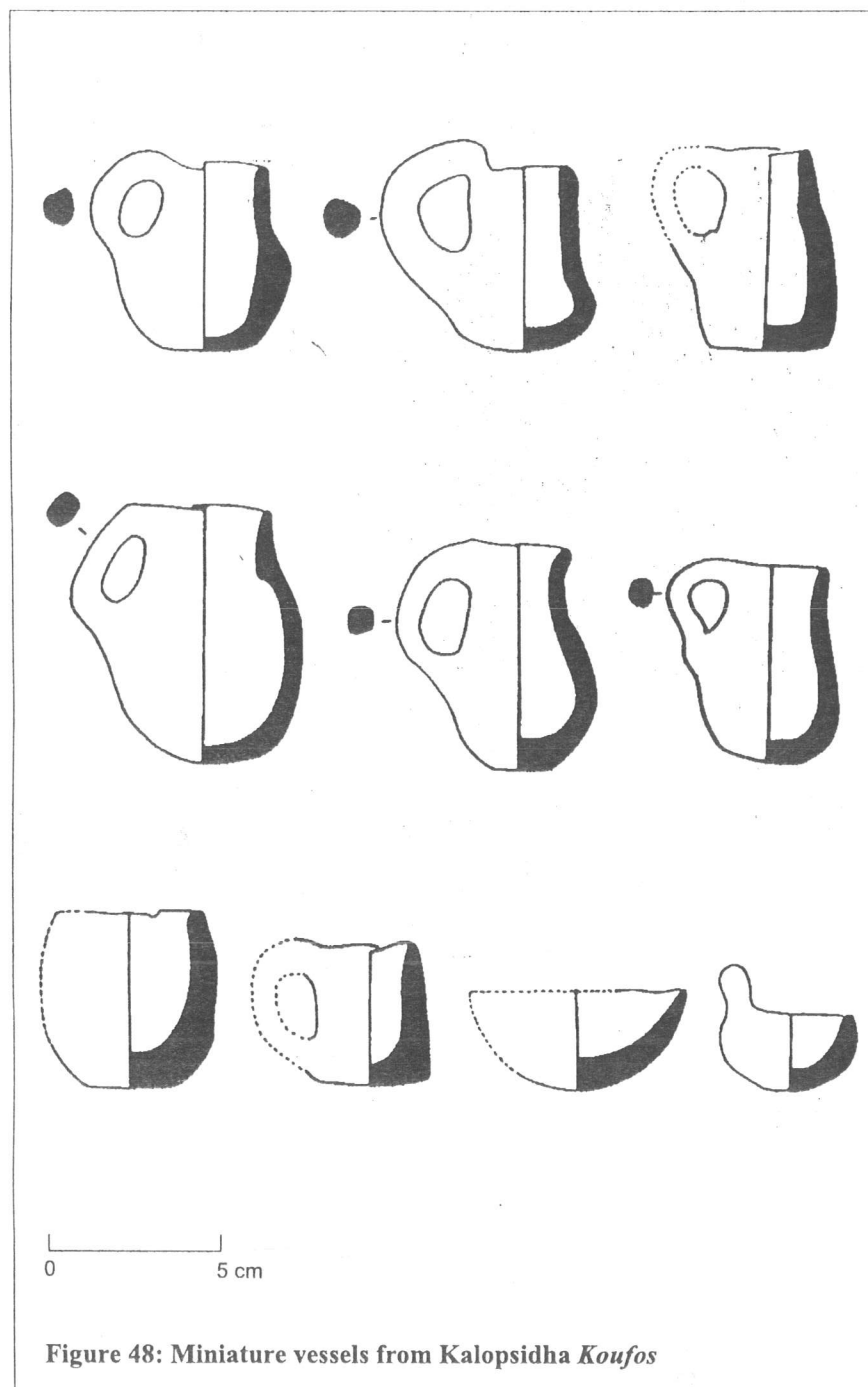


Figure 48: Miniature vessels from Kalopsidha Koufos

possibility that Trench 9 was associated with a cult and bronzeworking complex of similar type (see Åström 1987a)<sup>62</sup>.

#### Finds

Judging from the distribution and density of surface finds, the *Koufos* site occupied an area no more than 40–50m in diameter. No intact building remains were found. Stones and large boulders from disintegrated walls, however, suggest a structure of considerable size. Trench 9 (5m by 1m) produced 223,000 sherds, ranging in date from MC III through LC I and II to an admixture of LC II and Iron Age material, suggesting continuous use from MC III to LC IIA, with gradual abandonment around 1400 BC and minor reoccupation in the early Iron Age. Fabrics were predominantly of PWH-m, Pithos, Monochrome and White Painted wares with Black Slip, Red Slip, PWW-m, Red Lustrous, Black Lustrous, Bichrome, WS, BR and White Shaved present in smaller quantities. A large proportion of the material, however, belonged to miniature vases of coarse fragile manufacture (figure 48). These were mainly juglets and cups with an average height of 6cm, unevenly modelled and fired at low temperatures with varied and arbitrary peculiarities of shape. Åström initially suggested that these served 'for pouring fluid copper into moulds for [the manufacture of] minor objects' (1966:74). More recently, he has suggested their use as votives (1987a).

No other vessels of obvious ritual use were found with the exception of an offering stand of PWW-m II, similar to examples from Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Ayia Irini (Åström 1966:76, fig. 88; Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: fig. 11.20; du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:56, Forms 329–33, 335; Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. CLXXXVII.1). The *Pigadhes* stands, however, belong to LC IIA/B and IIC and the example from Ayia Irini to LC IIC or IIIA. A fragmentary zoomorphic figure in White Painted VI was also recovered (described as 'possibly from the shoulder of a jug' in Åström 1966:92–93, fig. 105 and as 'a figurine or rattle' in Åström 1987a:178).

The remaining Bronze Age material consisted of small bronzes and objects associated with copper smelting and the manufacture of bronze artefacts (Watkins 1966; Bachmann in Åström, Bailey and Karageorghis 1976:127–28). Lumps of ore and cupiferous slag testify to smelting processes on site or nearby while scum, unfinished metal fragments, a stone mould and crucibles also suggest some manufacture of metal goods. The finished objects (handles, daggers, rings, a chisel, tube, razor, pin and other pieces) were all in a highly fragmentary state and have the appearance of scrap metal. A considerable number of bone fragments, predominantly of immature sheep/goat, were also recovered (Gejvall 1966:128).

### Discussion

The *Koufos* assemblage finds a close parallel in the votives unearthed at Athienou, 35km to the west, which likewise include large numbers of miniature vases as well as copper ore, scrap and waste products from smelting and casting processes. The parallels between the two sites extend, however, beyond the material remains. *Koufos*, like Athienou, lay on the overland route from the mines of the Troodos to manufacturing and export centres on the east coast. Like Athienou, also, *Koufos* was not situated within the confines of a settlement and Åström was unable to locate domestic remains with which his dump might have been associated closer than those at Site C. The two sites are also similar in size, Athienou occupying approximately 2,500m<sup>2</sup>, an area not larger than the estimated extent of *Koufos*.

The contents of Trench 9 may, then, have been associated with an allied cult and metalworking complex similar to that at Athienou. As the majority of miniatures and bronzes are dated by Åström to LC I–IIA, the *Koufos* assemblage may be regarded as contemporary with the earlier years of Athienou Stratum III. While the latter, however, continued until the end of LC IIC, *Koufos* appears to have gone into decline around 1400 BC.

### 18. Enkomi. The Quarter 6E Ashlar Building (formerly ‘The House of the Columns’) (figure 49)

Between 1955 and 1958 French excavations in Quarter 6E at Enkomi uncovered a large ashlar building variously identified as ‘Le Bâtiment à la Colonne’, ‘Le Bâtiment aux Colonnes’, ‘Le Temple à la Colonne’ and ‘Le Sanctuaire à la Colonne’. It has received only brief publication and much remains uncertain (Courtois 1986b:37–40, figs. 7–8, pls. XII.2, XIII)<sup>63</sup>. Additional details are derived from the excavation notes of de Contenson, made available by Courtois.

### Architecture

The building occupies the southwest corner of Quarter 6E, 30m southwest of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (figure 92). Constructed of fine ashlar blocks (with an average length of 2.1m), it stands independently of surrounding structures on an east/west orientation, with direct access from the main north/south artery located 5m to the west via a monumental entrance (3.5m wide) in the centre of the west wall. According to Courtois (1986b:37–39), the building measures 19m by 16m and comprises only two rooms, identified as a vestibule to the west and a cella to the east. As noted by Wright (1992a:98) and Burdajewicz (1990:39–40), however, the published plans (Courtois 1986b: figs. 7–8) suggest a third room to the east and therefore a tripartite building. This third (and innermost) room is tentatively identified as an adyton by Wright (1992a:98) and as an altar room by Burdajewicz (1990:39).

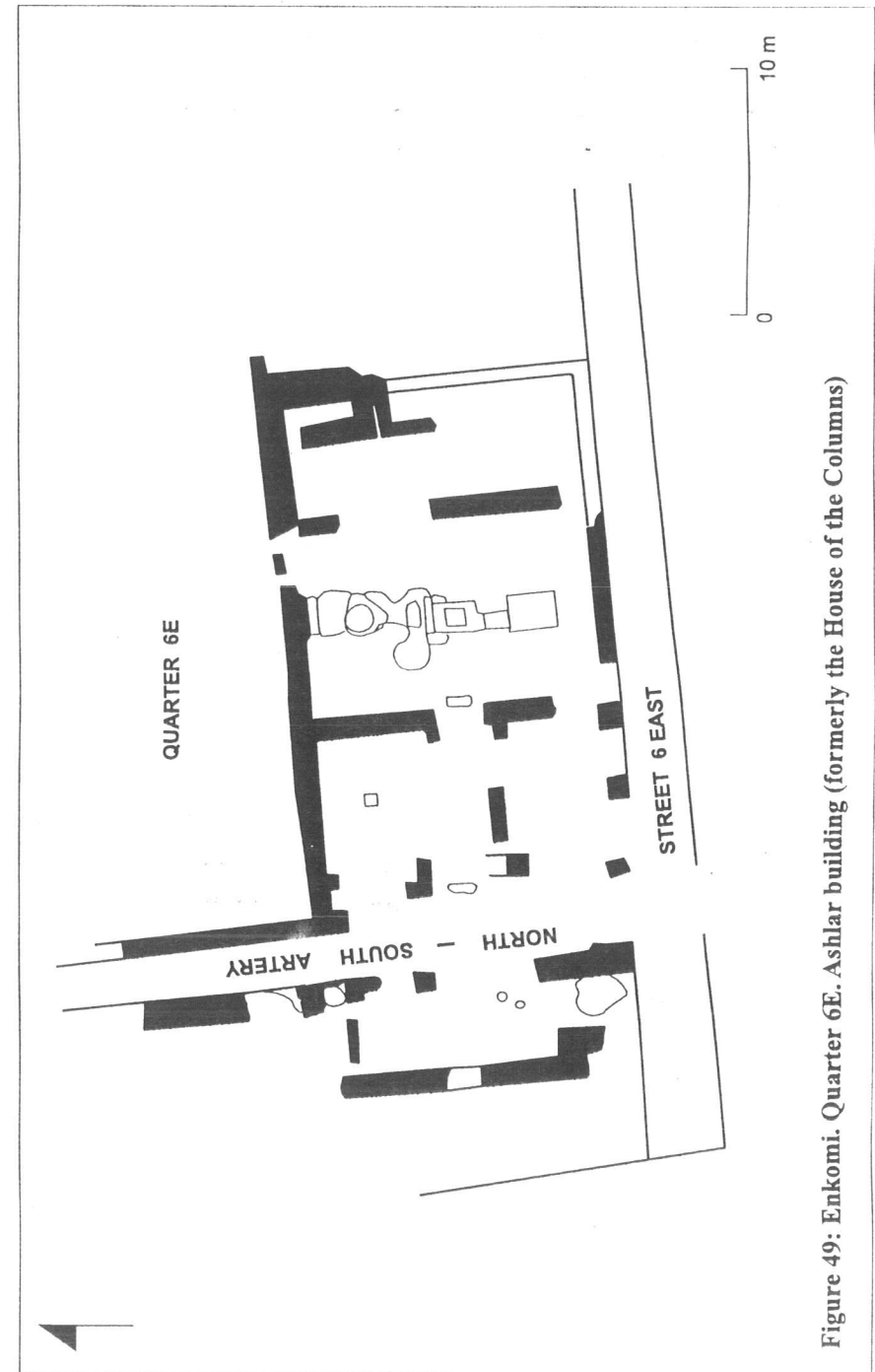


Figure 49: Enkomi. Quarter 6E. Ashlar building (formerly the House of the Columns)

The westernmost room or hall (14.5m north/south by 8m east/west) was roofed by means of a central north/south row of four stone bases of which three survive, two with square tenons and the third surmounted by a block thought to be part of the original pillar. An earth bench lined the east wall to either side of a central monumental doorway (almost 3m wide) with ashlar orthostats leading to the eastern or central room. This slightly larger room (14.5m north/south by 9m east/west) is also divided along the central north/south axis, in this case by a row of flat, closely fitting slabs (about 1.1m wide) of uncertain function (bench, platform or wall base?), which end 2m before the south wall to allow passage to the inner area. A large stone base, 1.1m square and no more than 0.1m high, stood in the centre of these slabs on the central east/west axis of the building and a partly embedded block with rectangular socket immediately to the east within the inner room. The former is identified by de Contenson as an altar or offering table and the latter as the base of a statue or post<sup>64</sup>. In the northwest corner of this room a tomb of LC I–II date lay sealed below the floor. A large bothros or well nearby produced Hellenistic material as well as a stepped capital and a pair of cylindrical column drums. The latter are believed by Karageorghis to be of Bronze Age date and to have stood originally upon the square base in the eastern sector surmounted by the capital (1971d:102–106, figs. 2–2a). According, however, to both de Contenson and Schaeffer the drums are inscribed in Greek. They must, therefore, either belong to or have been reused in a later level<sup>65</sup>. The capital is of Bronze Age type. The third poorly preserved room to the east is not mentioned in the preliminary publication of the building and nothing is known of the finds in this area.

The stratigraphic sequence varied throughout the building. In the western room the latest floor (Sol I) produced material identified by the excavators as belonging to 'l'âge du Fer initial' (LC IIIA). In the central room, however, Sol I is said to have been associated with PWP. Sol II, in use for some time, produced material of LC IIC ('Chypriote Récent final') and early LC IIIA and ended in widespread conflagration, presumably as a result of the same catastrophe which brought an end to Sol V in Bâtiment 18 and Dikaios' Level IIIA (Ionas 1984c). A third floor (Sol III) without ceramic finds was visible only in the western room. Below, post-holes and other features belong to MC III. The building thus appears to have been built in LC IIC (postdating the sealed tomb) and in use until the abandonment of the town.

### *Finds*

Finds from the western room include a rectangular bone plaque on Sol III, an ox horn, a bronze ring, a bronze earring, a pithos and a fragmentary plaque of ivory showing the wing and tail of a sphinx or griffin (Caubet, Courtois and Karageorghis 1987:30, no. 29, fig. 3) in debris overlying Sol II and an axehead of polished green stone between Sols I and II. In the northwest corner of the central room two fragments of gold leaf, an ivory disk, several lumps of slag, a

pithos containing fragmentary bronze objects and copper slag, a fragmentary bull figurine of BR type<sup>66</sup> and a human figurine (described only as stylised) were found on Sol II and a pit from the same level contained a miniature bronze wheel, a point and other fragments of bronze. Also on Sol II but closer to the doorway were a bronze weight and a fragment of lead and in the northeast corner an inscribed clay ball (E. Masson 1971a:481–82), a spindle whorl and a bronze knife (Courtois 1984:9, no 9, fig. 1.8). To the south another pithos, mended with lead tenons, contained sherds of Bucchero while a stone bird lay in the southwest corner and a bronze arrowhead to the southeast. Several wall brackets were also recovered and a calcite bowl, faience bead and jar fragments.

### *Discussion*

The building was identified by the excavators as a 'temple' on the basis of both architecture and finds. As noted, however, the extent of the structure is unclear and remains difficult to assess in the absence of a full publication. Burdajewicz has questioned its use as a cult building on the grounds that it lacks a hearth and diagnostic finds and shows little architectural similarity to contemporary cult buildings—a reference, principally, to the partitioning of the interior along the short rather than long axis (1990:39–40). The full list of finds (not available to Burdajewicz) is, however, more suggestive. All the objects recovered are paralleled in more reliably identified cult assemblages and several (notably the miniature wheel, stone axehead, slag, bronze scrap, bronze knife, bull figurine and ox-horn) have particular contextual associations with ritual installations (see **tables II–IV**). The absence of a hearth and temenos, both features of public ceremonial architecture at Enkomi and elsewhere, is more problematic. The column drums associated with the well or bothros in the central room may not be of Bronze Age date (as suggested also by Wright 1992a:98 but for different reasons). The building should not, therefore, be referred to as the 'House of the Columns'.

### **19. Enkomi. The Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sols VI–V (figure 50)**

The Sanctuary of the Ingot God in Quarter 5E at Enkomi was excavated by the French Mission in 1961–1965. According to the excavators it was constructed for Sols IV–I. Architectural remains of two earlier floors, Sols VI–V, revealed in soundings below Sol IV, were also believed to be those of a cult building (Courtois 1971b:198–211, dépl. II, nos. 18–29, IV; *BCH* LXXXVIII 1964:355; *BCH* XC 1966:345; Webb and Courtois 1980:102). Although not fully investigated and only briefly noted in the excavation report, the building can be partly reconstructed through an examination of the plans, sections and photographs. Courtois (1971b:198–211) dated both Sols VI and V to LC IIC (Chypriote Récent III). Sol V, however, has been reassigned by Kling to LC IIIA (1989a:37–38, 83).

### Architecture

A substantial north/south wall below the western area of the later sanctuary is constructed of a triple row of uncut stones and survives to a height of three courses and a length of at least 7m (Courtois 1971b: figs. 1, 35, 39, 46bis, 48, 50, 53). To the north it forms a right angle with the north wall of the Sol IV sanctuary, the latter built over an earlier wall which may have formed the northern boundary of the original building (Courtois 1971b:152, figs. 1, 9B, 117a). This earlier north wall continues to the west, indicating that the building extended in that direction (an observation confirmed by the recovery in this area of both Sols VI and V), where it probably joined another major wall which runs north/south below the western annex of the later sanctuary (Courtois 1971b:198–211, figs. 1, 37, 46bis–54, 82). The latter forms the western boundary of the building and has a central opening some 2m wide. There are indications, also, that the north wall, the line of which lies slightly to the north of the later wall, is broken to the east by a narrow doorway (about 1m wide), flanked by one or more probably a pair of walls approximately 1.20m long forming a small antechamber<sup>67</sup>. To the south the north/south wall continues beneath the hearths associated with Sols IV–I (Courtois 1971b:220–21, figs. 39, 50, 60, 63). Earlier walling visible below the entrance threshold of the south wall for Sol IV suggests that the south wall of the original building followed the same line, although excavation did not extend to a sufficient depth to confirm this (Courtois 1971b: fig. 39).

There is no mention of an east wall for the Sol VI–V building. There are, however, indications on the general plan of a wall running north/south well inside the line of the east wall of the later sanctuary, some 10m east of the existing north/south wall (Courtois 1971b: fig. 1). This wall appears as a single line of stones to the north and in the negative in the form of a pre-Sol IV looters' trench to the south. It continues south to join the south wall of the Sol IV building (Courtois 1971b: figs. 8, 10–11). To the north it reaches as far as the west wall of the later adyton and may continue beneath it to join the north wall of the original structure. In this area, also, there are clear indications of an inner rectangular room (2.5m east/west by 4m north/south), with narrow walls constructed of a single row of flat stone blocks (Courtois 1971b: figs. 1, 10). An entrance was apparently located in the northwest corner.

### Finds

Sols VI–V, revealed by soundings below Sol IV, were thin layers of grey clay covered with ash and charcoal. Sol VI, constructed above a fill laid directly over bedrock, produced a fragmentary stemmed cup and shallow bowl of Cypro-Mycenaean types, a fragmentary pithos with relief decoration and other ceramic material dated by Courtois to the mid-C13th (Courtois 1971b:198–211, figs. 45–53). Within the ash layer on Sol V were sherds described as 'Mycénien IIIB évolué', Close Style or 'Mycénien final (IIIB/IIIC)' and 'Rude

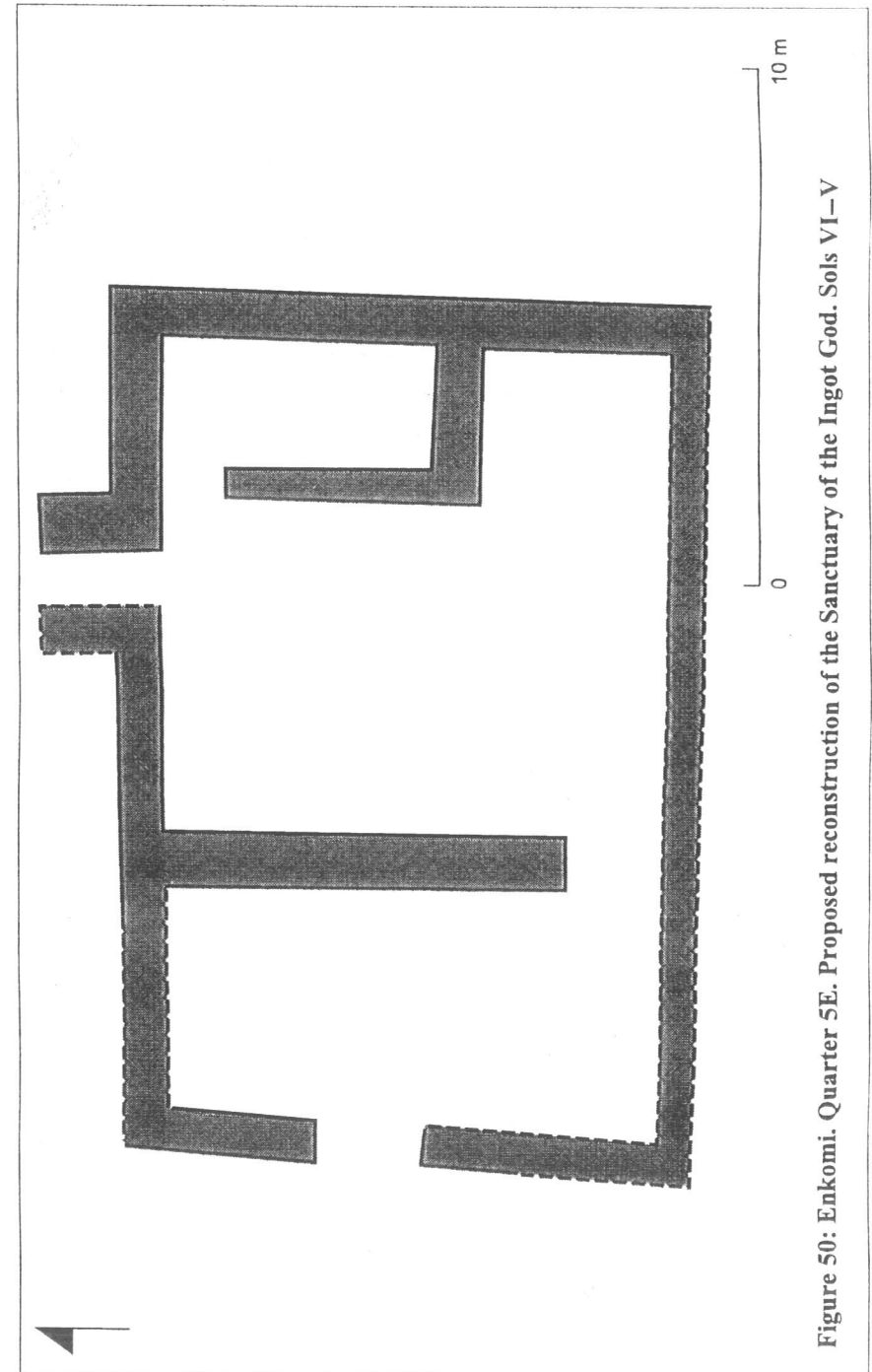


Figure 50: Enkomi. Quarter SE. Proposed reconstruction of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sols VI–V



Style finissant' as well as the skull and horns of a bovid<sup>68</sup>. A bronze dagger, found below Sol III of the later sanctuary, may also belong to this structure (Courtois 1984:10, no. 16, fig. 1.15). Below Foyer 4 (Sol IV) a small area of burning may indicate an earlier hearth for Sol V (Courtois 1971b:220, fig. 60, layer U). Sols VI–V were also located below the south court, the northwest angle of the north court and in the western annex of the Sol IV building, all areas within the original structure (Courtois 1971b:162, 209, 312).

### Discussion

The reconstruction of the Sol VI–V building proposed here is far from certain (figure 50), although its major outlines are clear. It is oriented east/west, with an internal measurement of approximately 15m by 10m, and comprises a large hall to the east (9.5m by 10m) with a small inner room in the northeast corner and an outer court to the west (4.5m by 10m), entered through a central doorway in the west wall. Immediately to the north and west a series of workshops with furnaces, washing installations, wells, benches, channels, slag, tuyeres and metal scrap were given over to metallurgical activity (Lagarce 1971:381–400, fig. 1; BCH XCV 1971:375; BCH XCVI 1972:1056–58). The two areas may have communicated directly, via one or both of the north and west entrances to the Sol VI–V building. Their precise relationship is obscured, however, by later structures and pits.

The identification of the Sol VI–V building as a cult complex is uncertain. Only the subsequent construction of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God and the recovery of a bucranium, large numbers of which were associated with the later building, can be cited in its favour. Notably, a krater and jug of WPW-m III from Sol III in the northeastern adyton of the later sanctuary are of pre-LC IIIB date (Iacovou 1988:9; Schaeffer 1971:527, fig. 8A) and may have originated in the earlier building. The Sols VI–V structure is not unlike more reliably identified Cypriot cult buildings, most notably in the provision of a rectangular hall and small inner room, the latter occupying a similar position to that which later housed the statue of the Ingot God. The building finds a parallel, too, in the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi (above no. 18), where the hall is also divided along the shorter axis and entered through a central doorway in the western wall.

### 20. Alassa Pano Mandilaris (figure 51)

Alassa Pano Mandilaris, partially excavated by the Department of Antiquities in 1984–1986 prior to the building of the Kouris River dam, is located 500m south of the new village of Alassa in the southwest of the island (Hadjisavvas 1986, 1989, 1991)<sup>69</sup>. An area of approximately 1,000m<sup>2</sup> was uncovered, revealing habitation units, a street opening into a small square and eight tombs. The site appears to have been occupied from LC IB to LC IIIA, but all existing floors belong to the final phase. A small hoard of bronze weapons, found in a

hole in the bedrock during cleaning of the site in 1991, suggests that the settlement was abruptly abandoned early in LC IIIA (Hadjisavvas 1994:112–13, 1996:28, fig. 4).

Hadjisavvas has identified 'two sanctuaries and a household cult place' (1989:36) within the excavated area. In the northeast corner (Square A9) a rectangular room extending into unexcavated soil to the north and east was divided by a low rubble structure identified as a screen wall (Hadjisavvas 1989:36–37, fig. 3.4). Six square stone blocks lay in a haphazard arrangement around this structure, a large fragmentary pithos was found on its side on its southern part and two terracotta bull figurines on the eastern part<sup>70</sup>. Given the location of these objects on the surface of the rubble structure and the fact that the latter does not extend across the width of the room, it seems possible to identify it as a freestanding bench, perhaps originally incorporating the square blocks, rather than a wall proper. A further unspecified number of bull figurines lay on the floor nearby, while finds to the south include a steatite bowl, two PWW-m II jugs, a steatite spindle whorl, two loomweights, seven pounders, two diabase platters, a whetstone, a pumice and the neck of a pithos.

A second installation, in this case identified as a communal shrine independent of domestic structures, lies in Squares Γ/Δ 6–7 at the centre of the excavated area (Hadjisavvas 1989:378, fig. 3.5). Here a floor paved with sherds and enclosed by a single course of stones adjoined a small semi-apsidal structure which produced a large concentration of pottery, including two strainer jugs of WPW-m III (one decorated with a fish and net pattern, Hadjisavvas 1991:177–78, fig. 17.5) and PW. A bull figurine (Hadjisavvas 1989: fig. 3.6), a PW juglet and a diabase pounder lay on the sherd floor, a bronze axehead, slag and natural copper alloy to the north and a haematite cylinder seal and bronze handle to the west. Immediately to the south, in Locus 003, a small rectangular area (1.5m by 0.75m) belonging to an earlier LC IIC building phase produced two bull figurines of BR type. In the opinion of the excavator this confirmed continuity of ritual in this area.

The third area was associated with Room Π in Square Γ4, which appears to have formed part of a multi-roomed house built around an open yard (Hadjisavvas 1989:38–39, fig. 3.7). The room produced five terracotta bull figurines, a miniature bronze ox-hide ingot (Hadjisavvas 1986: pl. XVIII.6), an object identified as an incense burner and vessels of WPW-m III and PWW-m II. It is believed to have been a domestic cult place located within a habitation unit.

The identification of all three areas as cult places is primarily dependent on the recovery of terracotta bull figurines, which Hadjisavvas refers to as the 'prevailing ritual artefact' (1996:25). The site as a whole produced more than thirty such figures (Hadjisavvas 1986: pl. XVIII.2, 4, 1991:178, 1996:25), of which ten, plus the unspecified number associated with the wall or bench in A9,

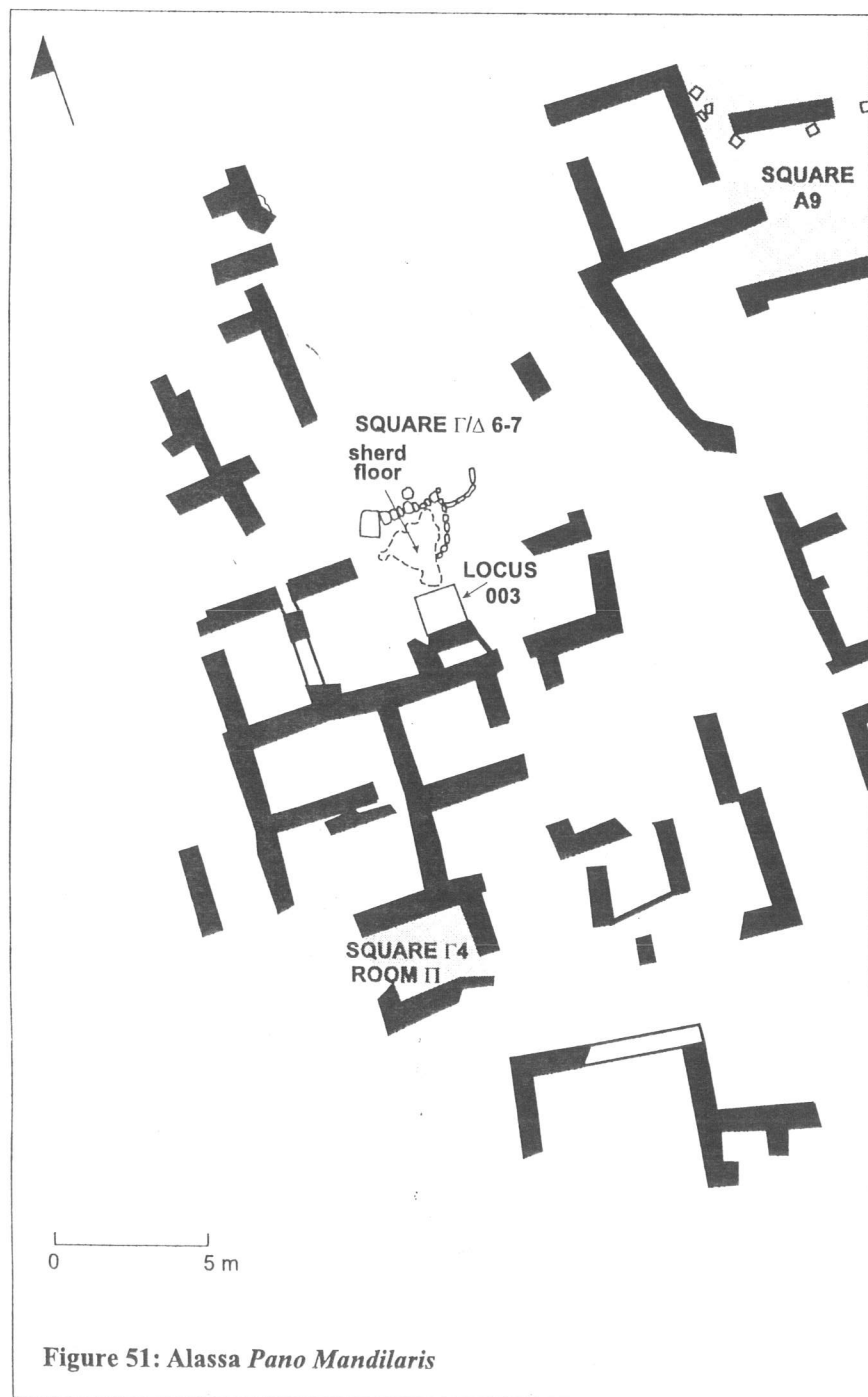


Figure 51: Alassa Pano Mandilaris

are accounted for in the above locations. Elsewhere bull figurines appear in domestic and mortuary as well as ritual contexts of LC IIIA–IIIB (Catling 1976b; Johnson 1980: nos. 127–28, 145–46, 198–200; Hult 1978:84, figs. 113.i, 115.e; Courtois 1984:84–89). This suggests that some caution should be applied in assigning a cultic significance on such grounds alone. On the other hand, their number and concentration across a comparatively small area is remarkable and in the case at least of Room II their recovery with a miniature ingot and incense burner (or offering stand) is suggestive of ceremonial use. As little is known of domestic architecture in LC IIIA and nothing at all of domestic cult assemblages at this time, these indications at *Pano Mandilaris* are of particular interest.

## 21. Alassa Paliotaverna (figure 52)

Excavations at Alassa *Paliotaverna*, 250m west of Alassa *Pano Mandilaris* in the upper area of the same settlement, have revealed two monumental ashlar buildings constructed in LC IIC (Hadjisavvas 1994, 1996; Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997). Neither is well preserved owing to deep ploughing and looting of the ashlar wall blocks and Building I, to the south, is incompletely excavated. Building II covers an area of 1,410m<sup>2</sup> and is one of the largest structures known in Bronze Age Cyprus. It is π-shaped in plan, with long north and south wings connected by a shorter western wing enclosing an inner courtyard of approximately 400m<sup>2</sup>. The south wing (figure 52) is comprised of a pair of small rectangular rooms at either end, both opening onto a rectangular court, and a sunken stone-built rectangular feature toward the centre. Some time after construction the sunken feature was covered over and replaced by a central room with an open hearth. The north wing includes a long rectangular storeroom, originally containing two rows of pithoi set on stone bases and in circular floor depressions. The west wing contained a series of small rooms and corridors with elaborate stone drainage and sewage facilities. The inner courtyard had a cement-like floor, dotted with pits apparently cut to support storage vessels. Finds were few and consist primarily of pithos sherds, some of which have rolled seal impressions showing chariot and procession scenes and warrior/griffon and warrior/lion combats (Hadjisavvas 1996:34, fig. 11; Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997:146, fig. 4. See figure 84.5).

Building II has been tentatively identified by the excavator as a 'public building containing a cult place' (Hadjisavvas 1994:113). The latter is suggested in particular for the south wing, in view of the central 'hearthroom' (Hadjisavvas 1996:32, fig. 9) and the presence of a crushed clay bathtub or basin in the northeastern Room B (Hadjisavvas 1994:112–13, pl. XIX.2, 1996:30–32, fig. 8). The latter is compared by the excavator to similar examples from Sanctuary I at Kouklia (Maier and Karageorghis 1984:96, fig. 78) and the west sector of the enclosure at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* (note also the 'tub full of vessels' from Phlamoudhi *Melissa*, below no. 27, cited by Al-Radi 1983:100).

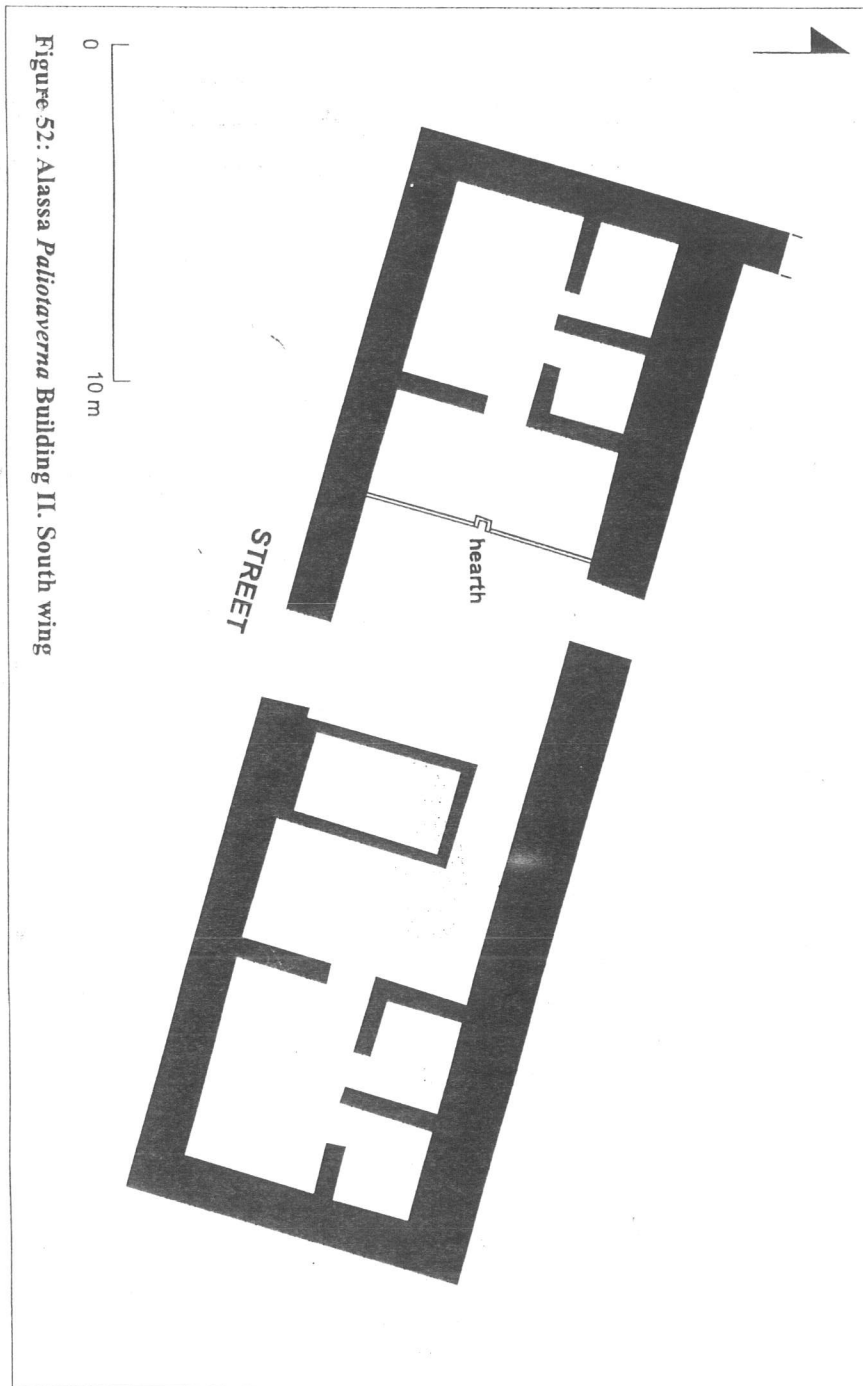


Figure 52: Alassa Paliotaverna Building II. South wing

Basins in both limestone and terracotta are, however, associated with bathrooms at Enkomi (Courtois 1992) and Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (South 1980:39, pl. VIII.2)<sup>71</sup>. Notably, in later reports (Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997:145) Room B is identified as a bathroom. Apart from the obvious indications for extensive storage, the function of the remainder of Building II is uncertain.

Early reports by Hadjisavvas also note a cross-shaped ashlar block from *Paliotaverna*, said to resemble an architectural fragment from the altar at *Myrtou Pigadhes* (1989:32).

## 22. Hala Sultan Tekke. Area 8. Rooms 61, 67, 67A, 71 and 79 (figure 53)

Excavations in Area 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke have revealed a complex tentatively identified by Åström as a temple or sanctuary of LC IIIA (*BCH CXIII* 1989:824; *BCH CXV* 1991:811; Åström and Reese 1990; Åström 1991a: fig. 3; Karageorghis 1990a:16, pl. IX.1). The complex is not freestanding but adjoins a well-built house (House C) to the east and other structures to the north and west (for a plan of Area 8 see Åström 1989a:12, fig. 3). It appears, however, to have been open to public access from the south, although this area remains incompletely excavated.

### Architecture

The main room of the complex (Room 67) is rectangular, aligned north/south and measures 8m by 6m with an entrance at the southwestern corner. A rectangular annex (Room 71) with a well room (Room 61) located off the southeastern corner of Room 67 is almost certainly part of the complex. The well head is lined with limestone slabs (Åström 1998b:59, figs. 102–103). A slightly smaller rectangular room (Room 79) immediately west of the well annex and south of the entrance to Room 67 may also be related, perhaps serving as an antechamber or portico. Taking the additional rooms into consideration the complex has an overall measurement of approximately 10.5m north/south by 6–9m east/west.

Room 67 is divided along its central axis by a row of two rectangular stone pillar bases. A small almost square inner room (Room 67A), approximately 2.5m by 2m and entered through a doorway at the western end of the south wall, is located in the northeastern corner. A well-constructed ashlar bath or well room, associated with House C, is located immediately adjacent to Room 67A to the east. There is, however, no direct access between the Room 67 complex and either House C to the east or other adjoining structures to the north and west. It therefore appears to have functioned as a self-contained entity within a series of contiguous units. Whether these comprise an autonomous building, similar to the Reconstructed Ashlar Building at Enkomi, is not clear.

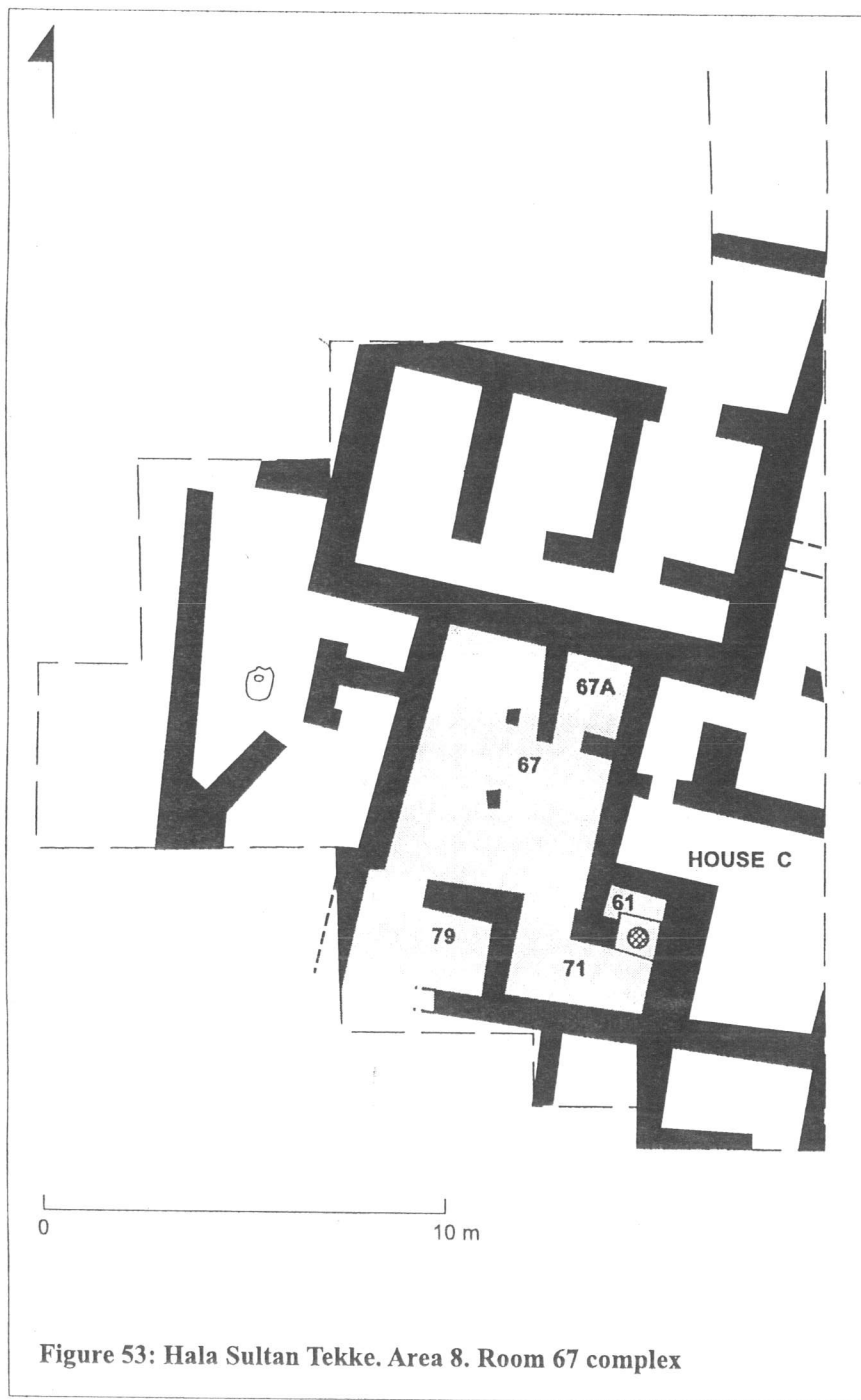


Figure 53: Hala Sultan Tekke. Area 8. Room 67 complex

### Finds

Only the final floor of the complex, provisionally dated to the end of LC IIIA:1 (ca 1175 BC), has been excavated. Stratigraphic soundings, however, indicate earlier floors below. Finds associated with the final floor of Room 67 include a triton shell (*Charonia sequenzae*), carefully worked at the apex for use as a trumpet, a terracotta lamp, the neck of a pithos, a pilgrim flask, a number of Canaanite jars, a krater and a juglet of PWW-m II, two grinders, a pestle and a pounder of stone, a bronze strip, a terracotta loomweight and four faience beads. Room 67A produced two pilgrim flasks. The well in Room 61 (Well F1750) produced copper slag, charcoal, quantities of animal bones (Reese in Åström 1998b:136–37), sherds, fragments of bronze, ochre and bitumen, a faience bead, two mortars, two grinders, a quern, two pounders, a pestle, a small stone box and two tortoise carapace fragments (Åström 1998b:59–64, figs. 104–106). The sherd material included cooking pot, Canaanite jar and pithos fragments, as well as a deep WPW-m bowl with a fish motif (Åström 1998b, 59–63, fig. 106). In 1990 soundings below the final floor in Room 67 revealed a large pithos containing a bronze shepherd's crook, bronze earrings and a seal. The relationship between this deposit and the complex is unclear.

### Discussion

The plan and individual components of this complex find a close parallel in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi, the only significant difference being the orientation of the main room. Otherwise both units comprise a rectangular hall, divided along the central axis, a small square inner room located in the northeast corner, a well annex in the southeast corner and an entrance in the southwest corner, preceded by an antechamber or entrance portico slightly offset from the main alignment of the building. These components are found also in the Level IIIB Sanctuary of the Horned God at Enkomi, which comprises a rectangular hall divided along the central axis, leading in this case to two inner rooms opening off the principal rectangle to the northeast—the whole entered from the south via a passageway, with a well room located to the southeast. The Sanctuary of the Horned God and that of the Double Goddess may also provide a parallel in their location within a larger residential complex.

Several of the finds from Room 67 are suggestive of cult use. In particular, the triton shell recalls a similar object from Area II at Kition (Reese 1985:354). While unmodified tritons, possibly used as vessels, are known from domestic levels at Hala Sultan Tekke and other Late Cypriot sites, examples worked for use as trumpets have not been recovered in non-ritual contexts (Demetropoulos 1979: Reese 1985:353–62; Åström and Reese 1990:7–8)<sup>72</sup>. Other finds appear in both cult and domestic assemblages<sup>73</sup>. Little more can be said until excavation of the earlier floors is complete and full publication of the complex and surrounding structures is available. The suggestion that it served as a cult unit is consistent with its plan, architecture and associated finds. The lack,

however, of a hearth is notable, although a circular area of burning in Room 67, immediately west of Room 67A, and the ashes found in the well shaft indicate some use of fire. The absence of benches and an offering table or built altar is more problematic.

### 23. Hala Sultan Tekke. Area 8. Room 95 Complex (figure 54)

A second possible LC IIIA cult place in the southern part of Area 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke is briefly reported in Åström 1998a. Room 95, as yet incompletely excavated to the south and east, appears to comprise a main hall (at least 10m by 11m) oriented approximately north/south, with a rectangular column base on the central long axis. An inner room, Room 95A, (4m by 4.5m) is located against the north wall. In the centre of this room a 1m square freestanding stone structure with a preserved height of 0.6m is identified as an altar. A pithos sunk in the floor occupied the northeast corner. In a second phase the eastern part of the room was screened off by a wall. The few objects found include a WPW-m strainer and two stone pounders from Room 95 and a cylinder seal from the top of the north wall of Room 95A. Rooms 94N, 94S, 97A and 97B to the west and northwest produced mudbrick ovens, tuyères, a stone mould for making sickles and a fragmentary terracotta mould. They are identified as copper workshops. Åström suggests that the altar in Room 95A was associated with a deity responsible for the protection of metallurgical activities (1998a:6).

### 24. Enkomi. Quarter 5E. The 'Sanctuaire du Dieu Lunaire'

In 1958–1959 French excavations at Enkomi uncovered a C12th BC ashlar building in the northeast corner of Quarter 5E with what was considered evidence, in the western sector, of a ritual dedicated to a lunar deity. Although unpublished apart from preliminary reports (Schaeffer in *CRAI* 1958:288–89; *Afo* 1959–1960:237, *BCH LXXXIV* 1960:283; Picard in *CRAI* 1958:297–99), the so-called 'Sanctuaire du Dieu Lunaire' is included in Åström's list of Late Cypriot cult places and noted in a similar context by a number of other scholars (Åström 1972b:9; Hult 1983:8, n. 19; Ionas 1984a:125–26; Burdajewicz 1990:61–62).

Finds from the western sector included a fragmentary object identified as a lunar crescent of limestone (0.3m in diameter), a phallus (of stone?), a painted terracotta figure said to be of 'style osé' and engaged in 'un geste impudique' and a stone block with a frieze of bronze sickles in relief. In 1960, however, the remainder of the 'lunar crescent' was found in the same building, proving it to be a saddle quern (Courtois *pers comm* 1979). The sickle block also, in Courtois' view, was not a cult object but a multiple mould for casting bronze sickles similar to examples from Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke, although in this case the sickles remained in their matrices (Murray, Smith and Walters 1900:26, 50; Dikaios 1969: pl. 132.34; Courtois 1984:99–101, nos. 886, 889,

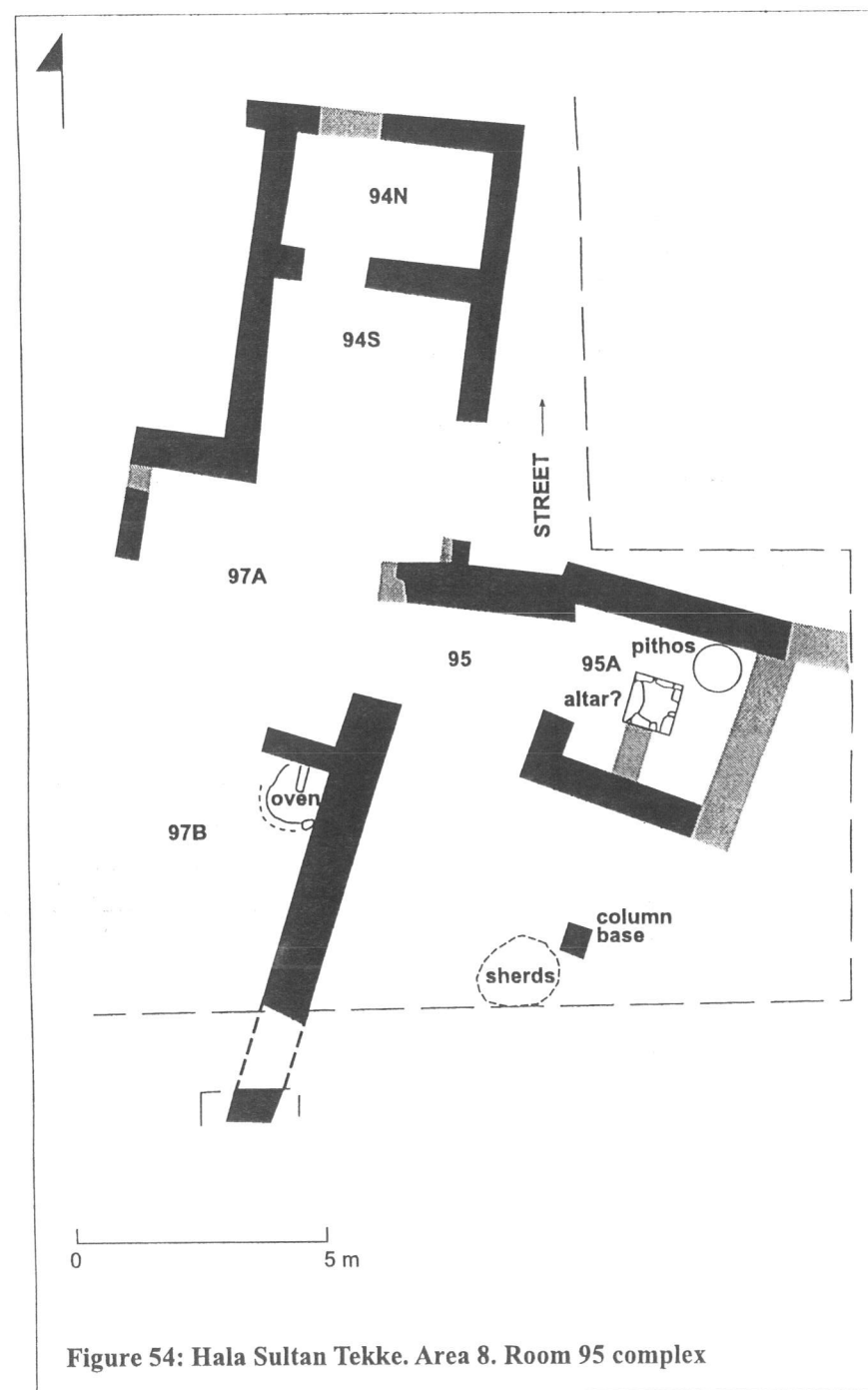


Figure 54: Hala Sultan Tekke. Area 8. Room 95 complex



897, fig. 34.6; Hult 1978:83, 93, fig. 183, N1055). The terracotta, now fully published by Courtois (1984:75, 81, fig. 26.1, pl. X), shows a nude, wheel-made female figure (15.8cm high) of unusual type. Her right arm is broken away and the left is bent with the hand holding the left breast. The vulva, identified by Courtois as the navel, is shown in prominent relief, below a narrow painted belt at the waist.

The function of the building and more particularly its western sector remains uncertain. Even with the lunar crescent no longer at issue and the sickle frieze identified as a casting mould, the unusual character of the figurine and the possible presence of a phallus leave some ground for suggesting ritual use. Lunar associations, as cited by Schaeffer and Ionas, however, are inappropriate.

### 25. Enkomi. Quarter 6W (figure 55)

Caubet and Courtois (1986) have suggested a ritual purpose for a freestanding two-roomed complex of late C12th BC date excavated by Schaeffer in 1949, 1959 and 1966 in the northeast corner of Quarter 6W at Enkomi. It measures approximately 8m east/west by 11m north/south. The western half of the south room contained a circular stone base, a stone trough and a large jar and the northern room a large hearth and fragmentary ashlar walls perhaps supporting a light-well. Small lanes to south and west led to an open court with a large stone well in which eight painted and unpainted, hand- and wheel-made bull figurines (Courtois 1979b:171-72, 1984:87-89, nos. 843-850, figs. 29.6-10) and fragmentary skyphoi were found. The west lane produced a fragmentary Common Style cylinder seal, the south room a sling bullet (Courtois 1984:69, no. 652, fig. 23.1), a bronze needle (Courtois 1984:16, no. 98, fig. 4.4), a wall bracket, two stamp seals (Schaeffer 1952:72, pl. V.3) and a terracotta liver model and the north room an inscribed plaque and three stamp seals<sup>74</sup>.

The concentration of seals is unusual and their iconography suggestive. Two show bucrania and the remainder a bird, bird and snake, humans, quadrupeds and plants and a bird, caprid, astral symbols and script signs. As the subject matter of Cypriot glyptic, however, is predominantly mythical or talismanic this in itself is insufficient reason to identify these seals as votives. Similarly, bull figurines, which are frequently found in groups of two to six or more (Courtois 1979b:171-72, 1984:89) appear in the Period I cult house at Idalion, the sacred quarter at Kition and rooms possibly used in domestic cult at Alassa *Pano Mandilaris*, but also in habitation levels at Enkomi (Courtois 1984:88-89). In the Near East liver models were used for divination in temples, palaces and related buildings (Caubet and Courtois 1986:75-76). Thus neither internal arrangements nor associated finds allow a definitive identification of the complex.

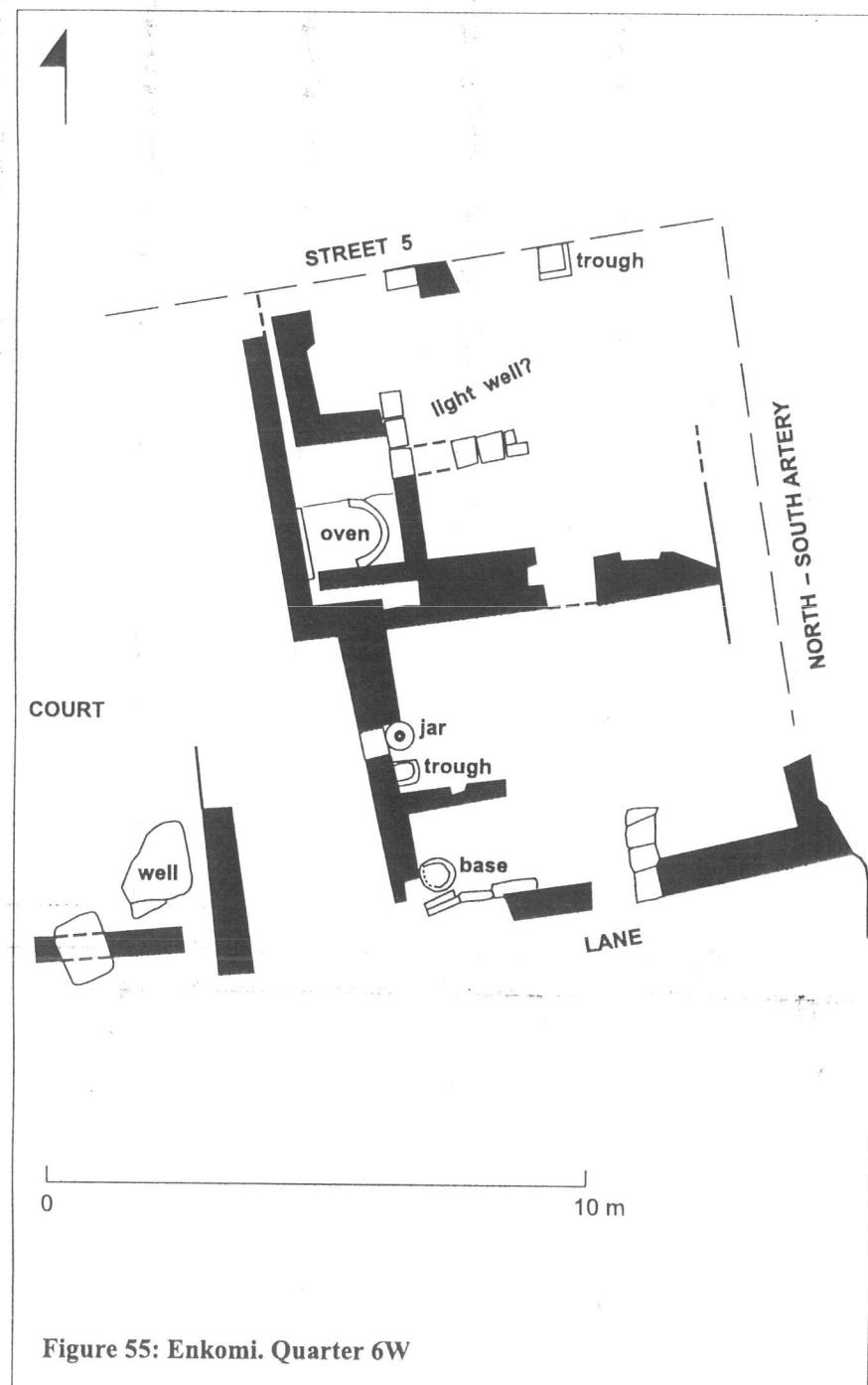


Figure 55: Enkomi. Quarter 6W

## 26. Enkomi. Quarter 6W

A sacred function has also been suggested for another complex bordering Street 5 in Quarter 6W (Courtois 1986b:51–52). In this case only the north part of the building, located 50m from the west gate of the city, has been uncovered, revealing a room measuring 10m east/west with two large stone column bases on the central north/south axis and several other dressed blocks. Finds include a small jug with a base in the form of a sieve, a carved stone channel with six script signs and, on an earlier floor, an inscribed handle and conical rhyton of WPW-m III.

## 27. Phlamoudhi *Melissa*

The settlement of Phlamoudhi *Melissa* was partially investigated by Columbia University in conjunction with the excavation of Phlamoudhi *Vounari*. Al-Radi briefly notes a rectangular structure attributed to LC IIA, which is tentatively identified as a cult place (1983:100)<sup>75</sup>. It is described as having a low surrounding wall, a pebble floor, a bench, a pit and ‘a tub full of vessels .. bones, gold leaf fragments and a magnificent cylinder seal’<sup>76</sup>. In addition, Hult notes a building, partly constructed of ashlar blocks and dated to LC IIB–IIC, with ‘two ashlar blocks, one on top of the other, close to a wall at its middle’ which ‘may be an altar’ (1983:15). Given the limited extent of excavation, the function of these units is likely to remain uncertain.

## 28. Sinda *Harman Tepe*

In his preliminary report on the excavations at Sinda *Siratas* Furumark (1965:107, 113, fig. 2) notes a small walled hill at *Harman Tepe*, 350m northwest of *Siratas*. Although no excavation was carried out here, Furumark mentions ‘finds of various periods’ from inside the walled area, as well as sculptural remains said to reflect the development of Cypriot sculpture from its inception to the C4th BC from the construction of a Classical roadway at *Siratas*. These, he believed, came from a sanctuary on *Harman Tepe* founded in LC IIC/III and in use throughout the Iron Age.

## 29. Arsos

A bronze ‘cult chariot’ similar to that from Athienou, a bronze bull and a bronze figure of ‘smiting god’ type were recovered along with Late Cypriot pottery by Ohnefalsch-Richter during excavation of an Iron Age sanctuary at Arsos in 1883 (1891:12, Site 18, 1893: pl. 43, nos. 6–7. See also Courtois 1971a:15–16, pl. VI.1–4; Gjerstad *et al.* 1937:583–600; Al-Radi 1983:66). This material may derive from an otherwise unknown LC IIC/III cult place.

## C. MISIDENTIFIED SITES

### 30. Korovia *Nitovikla*. The Fortress ‘Altar’ (figure 56)

The Korovia *Nitovikla* fortress, located at the southwest corner of a fortified plateau near the east coast of the Karpas peninsula, was excavated by Sjöqvist for the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1929 (Sjöqvist in Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:371–407; Gjerstad 1980:54–58). On the basis of the ceramic sequence Sjöqvist dated the construction of the building to MC IIIB, its subsequent destruction to the end of MC IIIC, with repair and reuse in LC IA and final abandonment in LC IB (Sjöqvist in Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:407; Merrillees 1994:256–57). This has given rise to considerable controversy (Merrillees 1971:64–65; Åström 1972c:51; Baurain 1984:64; Karageorghis and Demas 1984:71–72 and n. 11). Most recently Hult (1992), following a re-examination of associated sherd material, has lowered the construction date to LC IB, with destruction in LC IB/IIA1 and reoccupation from LC IIA1 to early LC IIB. This is considered too low by Merrillees who continues to prefer a construction date in LC IA (1994).

The fortress is roughly trapezoidal in plan and consists of a courtyard surrounded by massive ramparts with an entrance flanked by towers near the north corner. In the centre of the courtyard a 1.8m square base of rubble surrounded by ash and carbonised organic matter was identified as an altar on the grounds that ‘it stands quite free and lacks all structural function’ (Sjöqvist in Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:398, figs. 145, 158; Gjerstad 1980:58. See also Grey in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:103; Åström 1972a:5, 1972b:9; O. Masson 1973:112; Al-Radi 1983:90; Symeonoglou 1975a:72; J. Karageorghis 1977:93, n. 79; Yavis 1949:45–46)<sup>77</sup>. There is, however, no reason to believe that secular hearths could not be freestanding and no objects suggestive of cult activity were found in the vicinity. Indeed no artefacts other than sherds (totalling some 11,000), mortars and stone vessels were found in the entire area of the fortress.

### 31. Phlamoudhi *Vounari* (figure 57)

In 1970–1973 the University of Columbia uncovered a small but substantial building at Phlamoudhi *Vounari*, believed prior to excavation to be a fortification but subsequently identified as a cult place of LC I (Al-Radi 1983)<sup>78</sup>. The site occupies the summit of a prominent waterless hill, 55m in diameter and rising 10m above the coastal plain 5km north of Phlamoudhi village. The nearest settlements lie on the slopes of another hill at *Melissa* 5km to the southwest and at *Sapilou* 2.25km due south (Symeonoglou 1972)<sup>79</sup>. Late Cypriot cemeteries have also been identified 2km to the northeast at *Ayios Ioannis* and *Lithosourka* (Al-Radi 1983:6–7, fig. 2, nos. 4, 30).

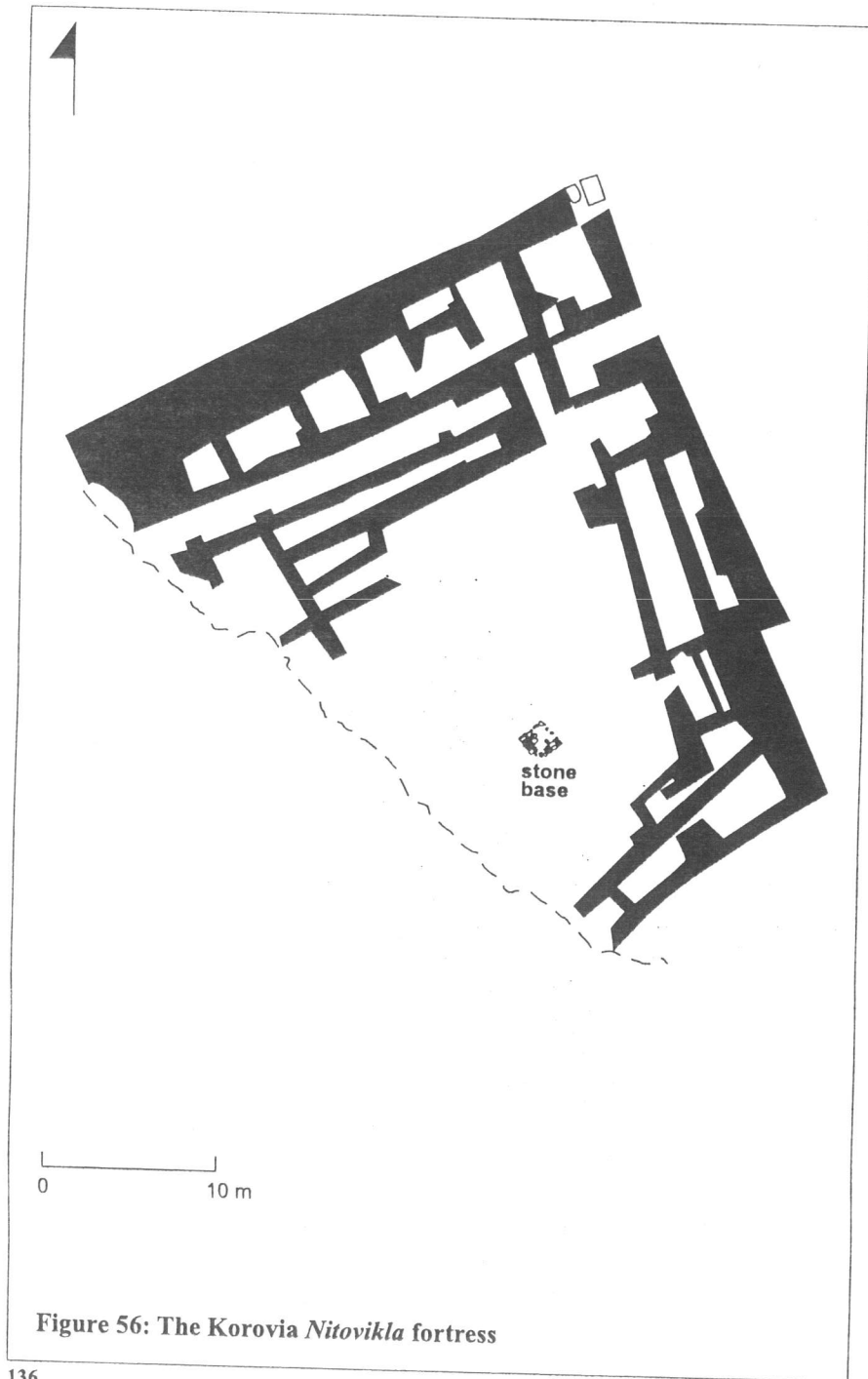


Figure 56: The Korovia *Nitovikla* fortress

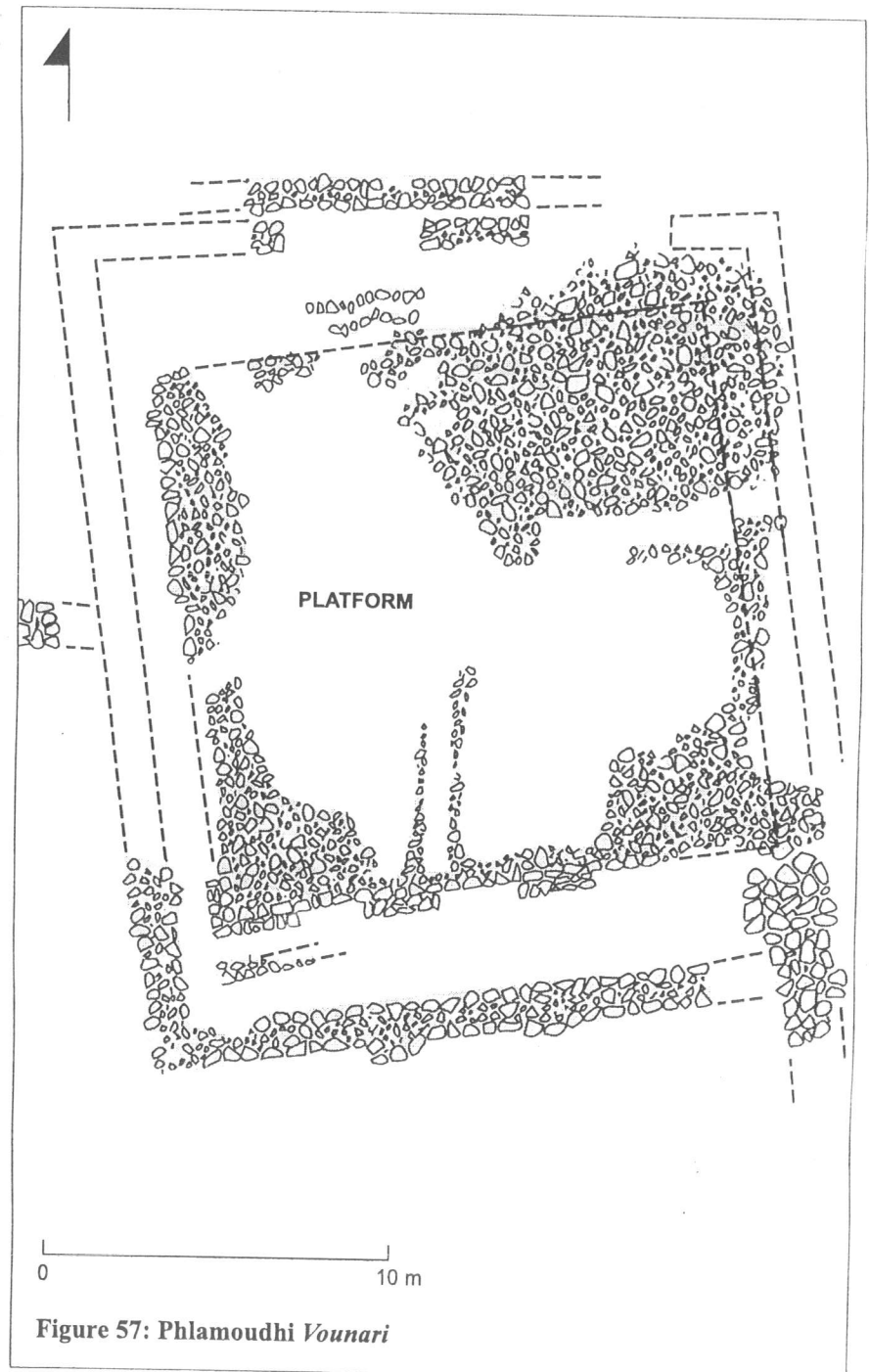


Figure 57: Phlamoudhi *Vounari*

### Architecture

The earliest remains are those of a thick-walled room of indeterminate function dated to MC III/LC IA. In early LC IA this structure was filled with rubble to form a 16m square platform across the crest of the hill with an outer face of sandstone and havana and a well-built parallel wall forming a broad passageway to the south. Similar walls may have existed to the north, west and east. The platform remained in use in LC IB with buttresses erected against the south face, which had begun to slip and crack, a new outer wall forming a 3m wide passageway to the south and perhaps to the north and narrow corridors to east and west. These installations were abandoned in late LC IB or early LC IIA. The site remained unoccupied until Cypro-Archaic II when several structures were erected on the north and west slopes. In the C3rd BC a new podium was built over the platform and the area apparently used as a sanctuary.

### Finds

No floor levels were preserved on the platform in either LC IA or IB. There is, therefore, no indication of the sort of structure, if any, which existed upon it. The finds are also remarkably few and badly broken. Those of Bronze Age date include thirteen mortars, twenty-five grinding slabs, four rubbing tools, ten door sockets or pivot stones, two weights, a hand axe, a scraper, a small anchor or set-long-line weight, two terracotta spindle whorls, a spool, a gaming piece, a fragmentary female figurine, a small pierced pyramid-shaped object of terracotta (identified as a miniature or votive anchor) and a weight and folded fragments of lead<sup>80</sup>. Ceramic material included a large number of fragmentary vases and sherds but virtually no complete vessels. Some unstratified animal bone, analysed by Hesse, Ogilvy and Wapnish, was considered to result from processing activities no different to those evident at the settlement at *Melissa* (in Al-Radi 1983:116–18; Hesse, Ogilvy and Wapnish 1975).

### Discussion

The most detailed arguments in favour of the identification of *Vounari* as a cult place are presented by Al-Radi in the final report. In her opinion the remains are too small to have served, as originally believed, as a habitation or fortress. The outer walls, further, were neither high enough nor strong enough to withstand a siege, there is no permanent water supply, the site is too far from the nearest settlement to have served a useful defensive purpose and there are few or no similarities with contemporary fortresses at Nikolidhes *Glyka Vrysis*, Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* and Korovia *Nitovikla* (Al-Radi 1983:23, 109–15; Symeonoglou 1975a:72). It should, however, be noted that the platform might have supported a tower or two-storey structure, substantially increasing the amount of space within its walls (note the ten door sockets). Some means of rainwater collection might, also, have provided sufficient water to make *Vounari* a viable refuge during occasional times of danger (note the abundant pithoi). An absence of

permanent water, as Fortin (1981) has shown, is a feature of most MC III/LC I fortified sites. *Vounari*, further, provides an ideal defensive position within sight of *Melissa* and the chronology of the remains closely parallels that of fortified sites in eastern Cyprus which appear to have been constructed in MC III/LC IA, destroyed at the end of LC IA and rebuilt in LC IB. Finally, if *Vounari* was built as a refuge to be used in intermittent times of danger there is little or no reason to expect it to resemble the permanent military forts at Enkomi and *Nitovikla*.

Unfortunately nothing is known of the ritual architecture of LC I. As Al-Radi notes, however, the isolated location of the site is not uncharacteristic of Late Cypriot cult places in general. Those at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* and Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* were also situated some distance from the settlements they served and on low natural hillocks. The ground, however, at Athienou and *Dhima* rises no more than 2m above the plain, in contrast to the 10m elevation of *Vounari*, and neither the plan nor the architecture of the latter show any resemblance to the *Dhima* enclosure or the Athienou installations.

One of the least persuasive arguments in favour of a cultic function for *Vounari* lies in the nature of the finds. These, with two possible exceptions, consist entirely of utilitarian objects suggesting the preparation of food and other domestic activities. Al-Radi's conclusion, that they 'indicate a farming society offering the tools of their trade to their local sanctuary' (1983:109), is convenient but surely specious unless more convincing evidence can be found. More promising are the female figurine and 'votive anchor'. The former, however, was found in the Cypro-Archaic building, constructed 800 years after the abandonment of the platform. Such figurines, in any case, are also found in tomb and domestic deposits and not diagnostic of cult activity. The 'votive anchor' recalls objects elsewhere identified as net weights (Öbrink 1979a:45, fig. 241; Hult 1981: fig. 116; Frost 1985a:169–73).

The majority of the sherds were found loose in the fill or in the packing material of the platform. This both accounts for their fragmentary state and suggests, most obviously in the case of the material associated with the construction of the platform, that the vessels to which they belonged could not have been used in the structure which existed on the platform. Al-Radi, however, makes no distinction between vessel types from construction *loci* and those contemporary with the use of the platform—noting only that they 'were of a limited number of shapes, mainly bowls and jugs' with 'no obvious kitchen or household shapes', leading to the conclusion that they 'were not used for domestic activities but...to offer dry and liquid goods to the sanctuary' (1983:99). Elsewhere, however, mention is made of 'pithos ware, abundant in the Bronze Age levels' and a 'plethora of jugs, jars, pithoi and bowls' (1983:52, 112). Presumably, then, jars and pithoi were in fact present in significant numbers. Most of the pithos fragments and a lot of the plain ware sherds were

left at Phlamoudhi with the intention of studying them after completion of the excavations (Al-Radi 1983:46). This proved impossible following the events of 1974. Al-Radi's report is not, therefore, a complete record of the ceramic material from the site.

The final argument, which supposes that the use of *Vounari* hill as a sanctuary in the later Iron Age allows one to surmise that 'during the earlier periods it had the same function' (Al-Radi 1983:111), is equally unsatisfactory. The Hellenistic podium may have served a ritual purpose, as suggested by associated finds. The recovery of a limestone statue and terracotta figurines of types elsewhere associated with votive deposits also offers support to Al-Radi's identification of the Cypro-Archaic remains as those of a cult installation. Are we, however, to suppose that these cult places preserve a continuing memory of the sanctity of a building which had lain in ruins for eight hundred years? This seems improbable at best, and those sites cited as examples of a similar religious continuity from the Bronze to Iron Ages provide no real parallel (Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, Idalion, Kition and Myrtou *Pigadhes*). Only at *Dhima* is there a significant hiatus between the sanctuary of Cypro-Geometric I and its LC IIA predecessor and then of some 300 years, less than half the time proposed for continuity of cult at *Vounari*.

Whatever the structure on the platform at *Vounari* was, there is little reason to believe it was a cult building. Its identification as such appears to have been reached by default. Apparently too small to have been a fortress, palace or settlement and clearly not a cemetery, a sanctuary was 'the only alternative left to consider' (Al-Radi 1983:109).

### 32. Ambelia *Djirpoulos*

The architectural remains at Ambelia *Djirpoulos* lie on the summit of a small hill 10m above the plain within the Ayios Sozomenos site group near Ambelia and Dhali. Noted by Al-Radi during a survey of the area in 1976 and dated to MC III-LC I, they consist, as far as could be determined, of a structure some 16m square with an outer wall and inner dividing walls (Al-Radi 1983:92)<sup>81</sup>. Al-Radi considered the site similar to Phlamoudhi *Vounari* in physical conditions, external appearance and proximity to contemporary settlements and consequently added *Djirpoulos* to a list of probable Bronze Age cult sites compiled in connection with the publication of *Vounari* (1983:64-95). In view of the problems associated with *Vounari* it seems best to exclude *Djirpoulos* from further discussion.

### 33. Enkomi. Fortress Room 113. Level IB (figure 58.1)

The massive freestanding building identified by Dikaios as a fortress in Area III (Quarter 1W) at Enkomi was constructed in early Level IA (LC IA), destroyed at the end of the period and rebuilt at the beginning of Level IB (LC IB)

(Dikaios 1969:16-32)<sup>82</sup>. In both phases it contained some eighteen rooms arranged around a central court with staircases leading to an upper storey. Abundant evidence for the smelting of copper came from the rooms to the west of the court, while those to the east were apparently reserved for residential and domestic purposes (Pickles and Peltenburg 1998:87-90).

Room 113 of Level IB, the northernmost of three small rooms (Rooms 113-115) of similar size and shape to the east of the entrance, was considered by Dikaios to show 'unmistakable signs of ritual' (1969-1971:26-28, 814, pls. 5.1-2, 245-48. See also Burdajewicz 1990:61; Wright 1992a:100, 'Area III Blockhouse chapel'). All three rooms were divided by a thick wall from the eastern sector of the complex, through to which there appears to have been no passage. Rooms 114 and 115 were entered direct from the hallway. Access to Room 113, however, was possible only from Room 107, located in the secluded area behind the stairway. The room measured 2.8m east/west by 2.5m north/south, with a doorway at the north end of the west wall.

The earliest Level IB floor (Floor VIII) in Room 113 was covered with red pigment and the south wall and the southern half of the east and west walls were lined with a bench (0.5m-0.6m wide), divided into six rectangular compartments outlined with pebbles and filled with mud mortar. On the surface of the northeastern compartment a circular area of dark soil (0.25m in diameter) was thought to be either the base of a pit darkened by materials placed there during rituals or the mark of a pillar or tree-trunk. In the northwestern corner of the room the lower part of a pottery vessel (0.31m in diameter) which 'may have contained water used in a ritual' lay embedded in the floor (Dikaios 1969:27). Following the destruction of Floor VIII a new pebble floor (Floor VII) was laid down, a bench constructed along the south wall and a semi-circular and three rectangular stone blocks set into the floor. Floor VI, succeeding Floor VII within LC IB, did not retain these features.

Dikaios considered these installations 'exceptional' and identified Room 113 as a house sanctuary, explaining the absence of objects by supposing that the rituals involved only libations or/and that other items perished in the conflagration which destroyed Floor VIII. It seems more probable, however, that it served as a storeroom, in keeping with its size and position as one of a series of adjoining basement rooms behind the stairwell—the bench providing storage for organic materials and the jar for liquids. The doorway, furthermore, was blocked during the use of Floor VIII following which, according to Dikaios, the only access was through a trapdoor in the roof. Finally, no conflagration mild enough to have left the lining of floor and bench intact is likely to have led to the total destruction of associated artefacts. Their absence in a magazine given over to the storage of organic materials requires no further explanation.



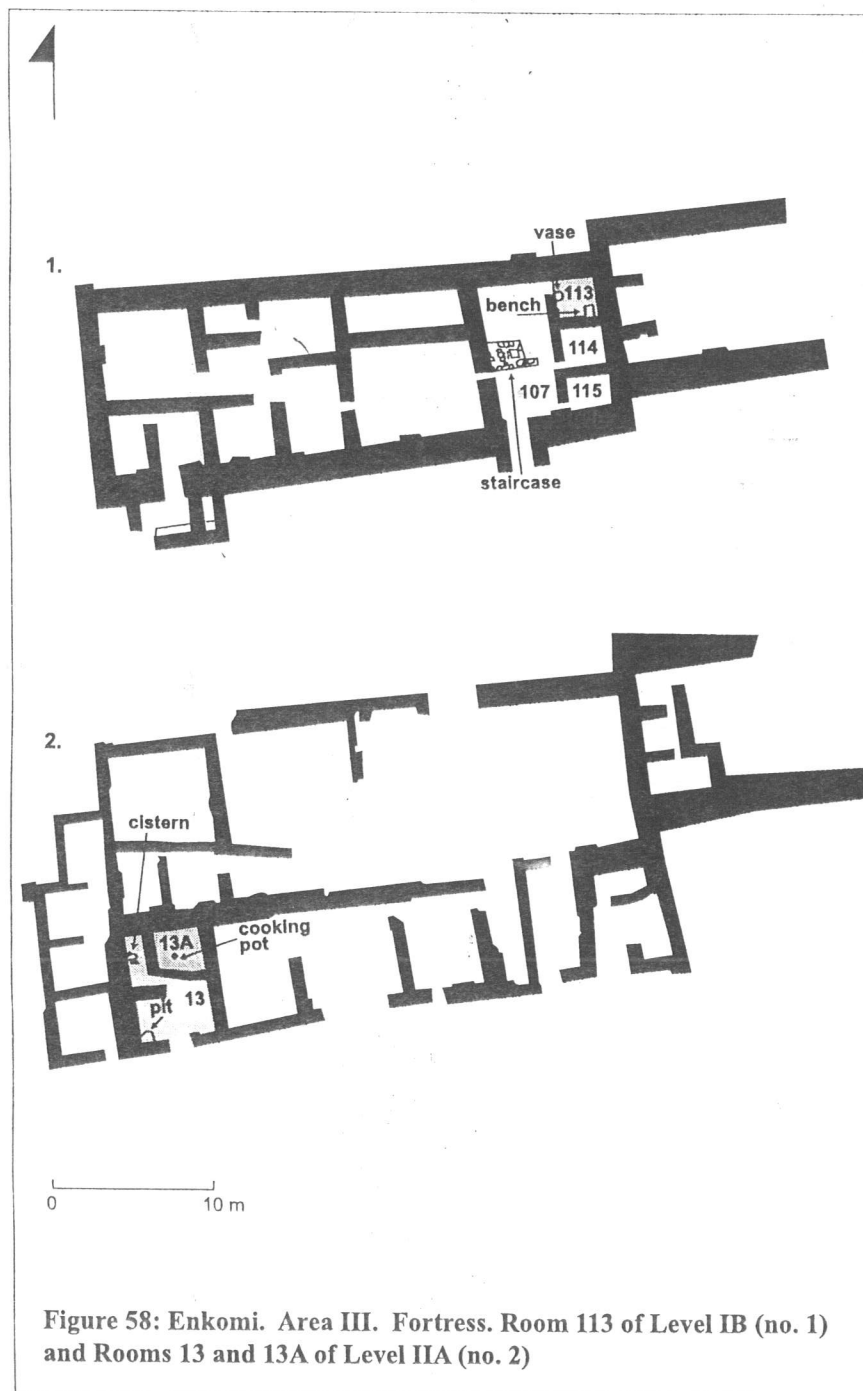


Figure 58: Enkomi. Area III. Fortress. Room 113 of Level IB (no. 1) and Rooms 13 and 13A of Level IIA (no. 2)

### 34. Enkomi. Fortress Rooms 13 and 13A. Level IIA (figure 58.2)

In Level IIA at Enkomi a new complex of rooms was erected over the ruins of the Level IA–IB fortress in Area III. Evidence for copper smelting and other industrial activity was found in most areas. Dikaios, however, attributed a sacred character to Room 13 (6.2m by 4.5m) in the southwest corner (1969–1971:34–45, 813f., pls. 121.15, 249–50).

Two successive floors (Floors VI–V) in Room 13 belonged to Level IIA. A circular rock-cut pit ringed with stones was found in the south corner for Floor VI, a cistern screened by rubble walls in the northwest corner and an embedded cooking pot filled with soil and a few animal bones in the northeast corner. Sometime during the use of Floor VI the northeastern angle was screened off to become Room 13A. Floor V succeeded Floor VI without distinctive features.

Dikaios assumed a ritual purpose for Room 13, centered on the cooking pot which he thought might ‘give evidence of a foundation rite in connection with the erection of the new building’ (1969:38). He further suggested that the ritual performed earlier in Room 113 was reinstalled in Room 13 in Level IIA. In support he cites the discovery of a fragmentary *kourotrophos* figurine (see also Merrillees 1988:51, no. 10) below Floor VI, a cylinder seal and Mycenaean bull’s head rhyton in Room 13 of the succeeding Level IIB and a crudely engraved cylinder, also identified as a votive by Porada (1971:798–99, pl. 179.15), in Room 13 of Level IIIA. More recently Begg has extended Dikaios’ foundation deposit to include the *kourotrophos* figurine (1991:29–30, 69). The cooking pot, however, was not, as Begg states, sealed by Floor VI, but embedded in the floor ‘with the mouth flush with the latter’ (Dikaios 1969:38, pl. 8.2), and the figurine was not found ‘directly alongside’ the pot (*contra* Begg 1991:29, fig. 6), but ‘south of the well’ or cistern in the northwest corner of Room 13 (Dikaios 1969:38, pl. 249).

None of the objects cited by Dikaios in support of a ritual purpose for Room 13 were found on the floor concerned. The rhyton and cylinders, furthermore, came from levels separated from Floor VI by Floor V, which showed no evidence of ritual. Nor was the cooking pot sealed beneath the floor in the usual manner of foundation deposits and other features (cistern, pit and rubble screening walls) are found also in nearby rooms. Finally, as Room 113 of Level IB appears to have been a magazine rather than a cult place, continuity of ritual from Room 113 to Room 13 of Level IIA is unlikely.

### 35. Sinda Siratas Tomb 1. Period I

Furumark’s excavations in 1947–1948 at Sinda Siratas (or Sira Dash) on the banks of the Yalias River revealed a fortified settlement founded, according to Furumark, in the C13th BC with occupation in LC IIC (Period I), LC IIIA:1 (Period II) and LC IIIA:2 (Period III) (Furumark 1965). Although this

chronology is accepted by Karageorghis (1990a:12), Kling (1989a:84) suggests that Period I continued into early LC IIIA on the basis of several WPW-m sherds previously considered intrusive (Åström and Åström 1972:688).

In the northwest corner of the site Furumark partially excavated a chamber tomb (Tomb I) of normal type, which he believed pre-dated the founding of the town, recovering 21,372 sherds and 198 other objects of Periods II–III (Furumark 1965:105–106, fig. 5). As there was no evidence of burial, he suggested that the tomb had been emptied of its original contents, refashioned and reused as a sanctuary in Period I and subsequently converted in Periods II and III into a dump for broken household furniture.

Neither the attribution of a non-funerary character to Tomb I in Period I, which rests solely on the absence of skeletal remains, nor the pre-Period I dating of the tomb seem justified. No sherds earlier than LC IIC were found in the vicinity or indeed on the site as a whole, and the oldest material in the tomb consists of Mycenaean IIIB, corresponding to Period I and partially joining sherds surrounding the tomb. This in itself suggests that the tomb was either dug and used in Period I and subsequently looted or never employed for the purpose for which it was intended<sup>83</sup>. In either instance its function as a dump in Periods II–III is an unlikely sequel for a ritual installation and the use of emptied tombs for cult purposes is without parallel.

### 36. Pyla Kokkinokremos (figure 59)

Pyla Kokkinokremos, located on a rocky plateau 800m from Larnaca Bay, was briefly investigated by Dikaios in 1952 and dated to LC IIIA (Dikaios 1971:896–907). Following more recent excavations at the site, Karageorghis and Demas place the foundation of the settlement at the end of the C13th BC with abandonment soon after in about 1190 BC, reclassifying ceramics identified by Dikaios as Mycenaean IIIC:1b as Mycenaean IIIB or IIIB:2 (Karageorghis and Demas 1984; Karageorghis 1990a:7–10). This has not been universally accepted and a foundation date in either late LC IIC or LC IIIA remains possible (Åström 1985b:13; Kling 1984:34–35, 1989a:63–66, 85).

In the centre of the plateau (Area I) Dikaios partly uncovered what he believed to be a sanctuary complex. The remains comprise an open court (10+m north/south by 8m east/west), divided to the west into small recesses (Rooms 4–5) and surrounded by rooms to the south (Rooms 2–3), west (Rooms 1, 6–7) and perhaps north. A pit in the court produced a cache of gold jewelry prior to excavation<sup>84</sup>. Nearby a second pit was filled with ash, a third contained a PW jar and a jar, stone tripod, pestle, cooking pot and large vessel were found on the floor. Room 1 produced a PW juglet, Room 3 two juglets and a jar of PW, a bronze axe-adze, a loomweight, a grinder, a pounder and two querns and Room 6 a fragmentary jar and small bronze tripod (placed upside down in a shallow circular pit).

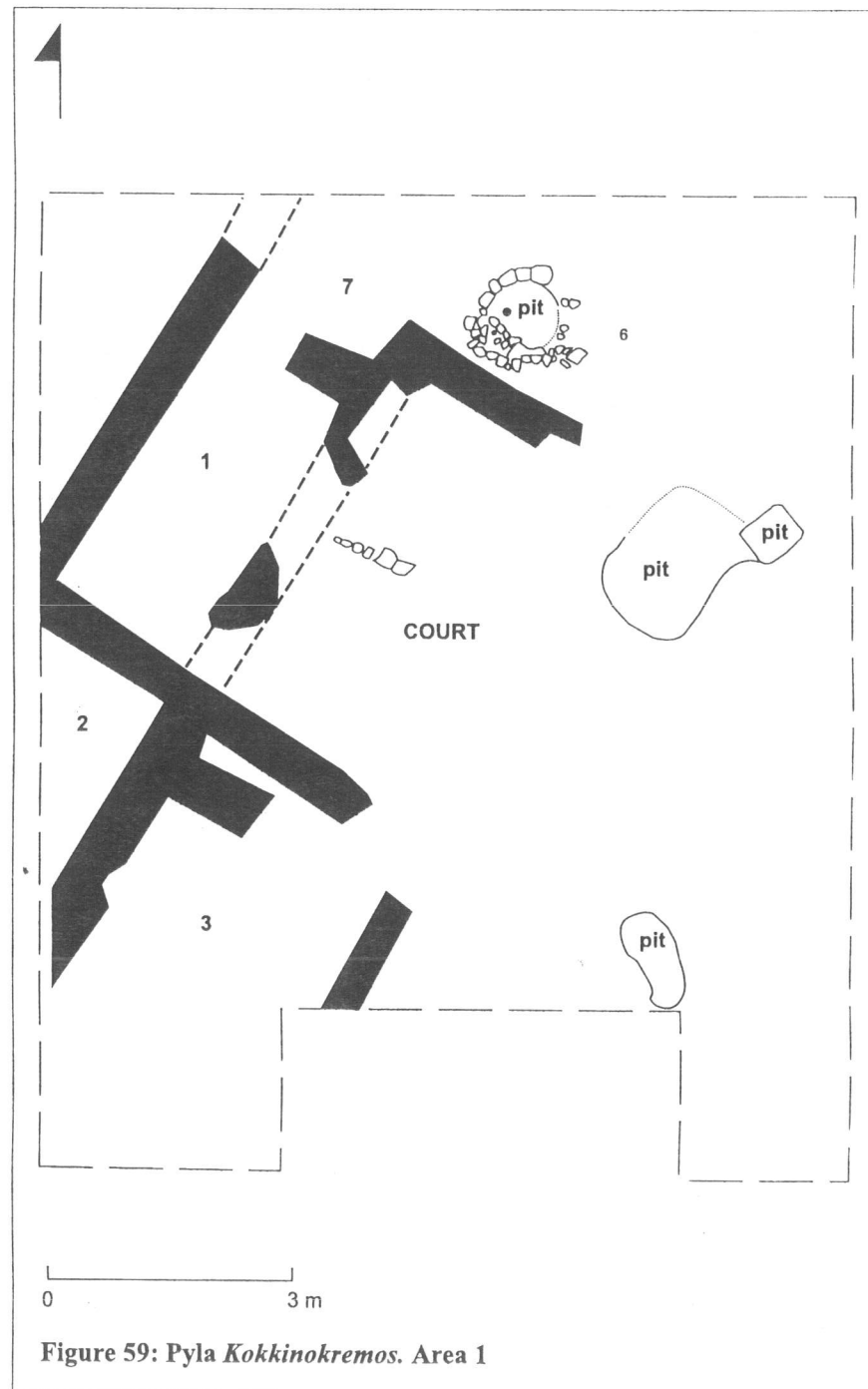


Figure 59: Pyla Kokkinokremos. Area 1

Dikaios' identification of these remains was prompted by perceived architectural similarities with cult buildings at Idalion and Myrtou *Pigadhes* and the belief that the ash-filled pit served as an altar and the gold items as votives. Karageorghis and Demas' excavations, however, have shown that the complex is typical of domestic architecture at *Kokkinokremos* and the finds, also, are duplicated in domestic assemblages. The gold cache may be linked with similar hoards of bronze and silver objects from the site, considered by Karageorghis to have been buried for the purpose of concealment at a time of danger immediately prior to abandonment (Karageorghis and Demas 1984:60–65). Only the bronze tripod, similar to examples from Room 15 at *Pigadhes*, is more suggestive.

A Late Minoan III amphoroid krater decorated with a snake, bucranium and waterbirds and a limestone tripod trough with relief horns of consecration (figure 68.2), collected by Paraskevas and Catling from the surface in Area I, are frequently cited in support of Dikaios' identification (Dikaios 1969–1971:899–900, pl. 297.1; Catling and Karageorghis 1960:115–16, no. 17, 127, n. 199; Karageorghis 1976e:76–78, fig. 1). In the absence of other evidence for ritual activity we may now suppose that these were secular vessels or come from an as yet unexcavated cult building in the vicinity.

### 37. Enkomi. Area III. The 'Tower Sanctuary' (figure 60)

A large (ca 350m<sup>2</sup>) rectangular ashlar structure outside the City Wall to the east of the North Gate in Area III at Enkomi was identified by Dikaios as a gate tower of LC IIIA (1969–1971:120, 125–26, 302–303, pls. 23.1–3, 107.10–28, 36–43, 254, 256–57). Catling (1975), however, has suggested that it was built as a sanctuary in LC IIIB. This has been accepted by Courtois and Burdajewicz (1990:44–45) but rejected by Hult (1983:3, 18, ns. 7–8) and Baurain (1984:349–50)<sup>85</sup>.

The 'tower' (21m north/south by 17m east/west) projects from but is not bonded to the City Wall which forms the southern boundary of the building. An entrance in the middle of the east wall was identified by Dikaios as a postern gate. The floor was of bedrock with the exception of a 6m width of pebbles, sherds and red soil along the south wall with two slabs and smaller stones along the northern limit. These provided a base, in Dikaios' view, for wooden columns supporting a light roof. The rest of the building remained open. A well contained animal bones and PW sherds. The only other recorded objects are nineteen sherds and six figurines with upraised arms from surface layers, dated by Dikaios to the Iron Age (1969–1971:302–303, pl. 107.1–28, 36–43). The structure itself is attributed to Level IIIA (LC IIIA:1), coincident with a major strengthening of the city's defences including a redoubling of the thickness of the City Wall.

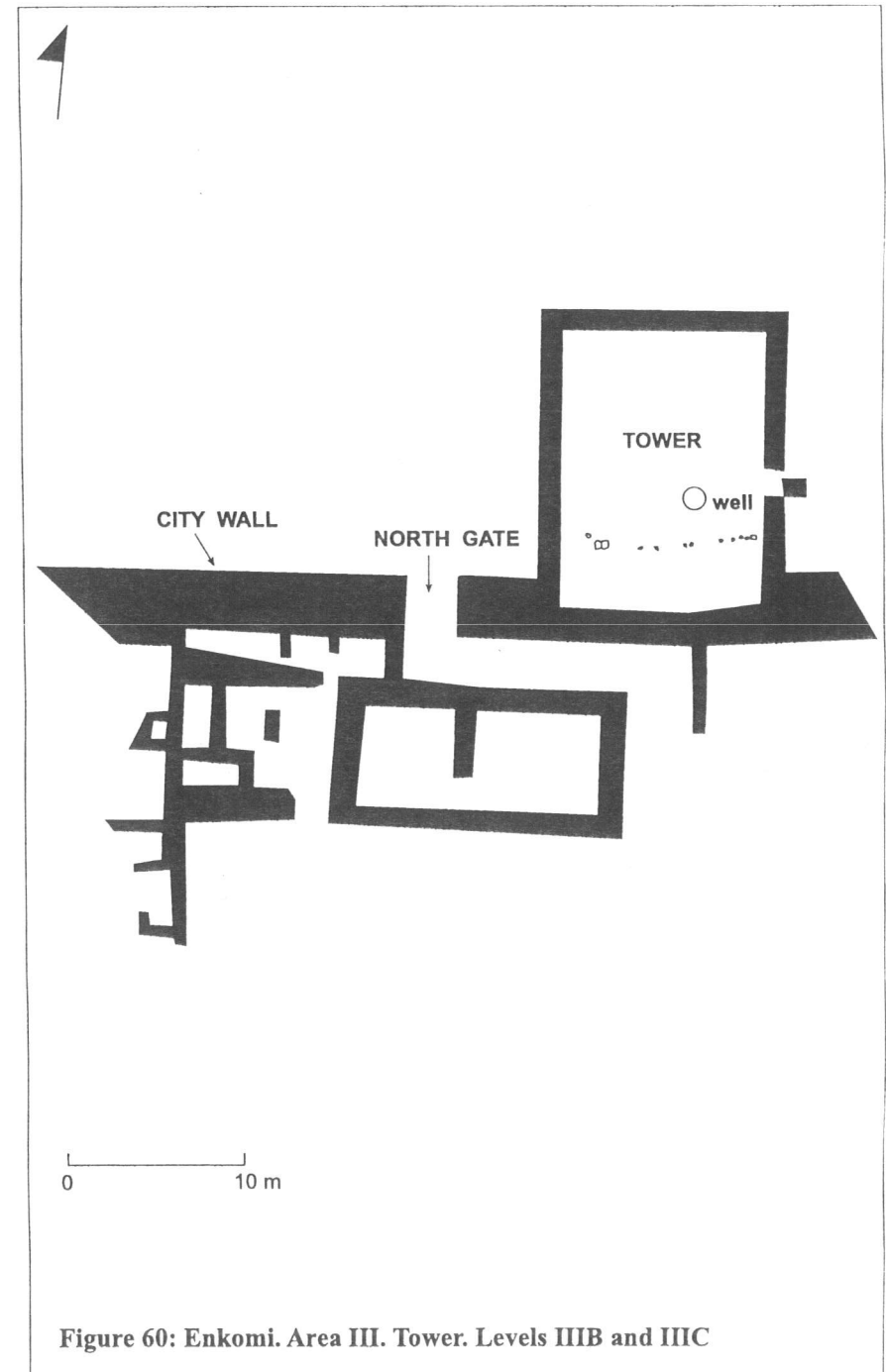


Figure 60: Enkomi. Area III. Tower. Levels IIIB and IIIC

Catling rejects a defensive purpose for this structure on the grounds that it is 'too large to have been defensible, had walls too narrow to support a parapet and rampart walk, cannot have been roofed and was gratuitously vulnerable to the east' (1975:51). Instead, he envisages a cult unit comprising an enclosed courtyard with a small adyton 'concealed behind a relatively flimsy screen supported on wooden piers' to the south (1975:53). The illustrated figurines are compared with examples from the Sanctuary of Ingot God, dated by Courtois to LC IIIB–IIIB/Cypro-Geometric I (see most recently Courtois 1984:80), and the sherds identified as PWP. Catling further proposes that sherds and figurines belong to the use of the 'tower', which is therefore attributed to LC IIIB.

Catling's arguments against a defensive purpose for the 'tower' have been examined by Fortin (1984) who, while accepting that it is unlikely to have served in any real sense as a tower, nevertheless believes it formed an integral part of the city's defence system. Both Fortin (1984) and Hult (1983:18, ns. 7–8) also question its attribution to LC IIIB, preferring Dikaios' date of LC IIIA. The walls do not bond with the original thickness of the City Wall, which should indicate that it was built subsequent to LC IIC. Equally, the fact that the City Wall, where it serves as the south wall of the 'tower', retains its original thickness suggests that the latter was added either at the same time or prior to the doubling of the City Wall in LC IIIA.

The find material is of little further help. Although described by Catling as coming 'from the tower' (1975:53), the illustrated sherds were collected, according to Dikaios 'in superficial layers, in no association with architectural remains' and the terracottas only generally 'in the area of the tower' (Dikaios 1969:302–303). The figurines are of a type which became common in the mid-C11th, although they appear to have been in use in the western courtyard of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi as early as the last quarter of the C12th (V. Karageorghis 1977–1978:5ff; J. Karageorghis 1977:123; Nicolaou 1979; Courtois 1984:80–81). Several of twenty-eight additional terracottas from Dikaios' excavations in this area, published by Hadjicosti, are likewise assigned to Cypro-Geometric I (1989:112–13, nos. 1–2, pl. XXII.1–2). The majority, however, are of Cypro-Geometric III–Cypro-Archaic I and Cypro-Archaic II types. These are thought to derive from a rural shrine erected in Late Geometric times above the abandoned fortification wall (Hadjicosti 1989:112–19, nos. 3–28, pls. XXII–XXIII). Catling's attribution of the sherd material to LC IIIB is also problematic. Dikaios (1969:302) identified the sherds as White Painted I or II, deriving from a brief reoccupation of the site in Cypro-Geometric I. This is accepted by Karageorghis (1977–1978:7), Ionas (1984c:60) and Hadjicosti (1989:111)<sup>86</sup>, while Hult recognises both LC IIIB and Cypro-Geometric material (1983:18, n. 7).

In conclusion, there seems no reason to deny the 'tower' the date and broadly defensive purpose attributed to it by Dikaios. It contained no cult

furniture, equipment or votives and neither the illustrated sherds nor the figurines are reliably associated.

### 38. Chatos/Psilatos

In the early 1970s persistent rumours reported the discovery and looting of a LC II sanctuary at the Turkish Cypriot village of Chatos and/or Psilatos in the northern Mesaoria (Catling 1974:97; Karageorghis 1975b:62). Objects said to have been acquired at this time in one or other of these villages include three standing and two seated female figurines in the Hadjiprodomou Collection and the Ashmolean Museum, a bull and horse figurine in the Ashmolean, a large bull with a Cypro-Minoan inscription and a four-sided bronze stand in the Cyprus Museum (Karageorghis 1975b:62–63, pls. VII.7, VIII.1–2, 1979a:203–208; Catling 1971:26f, fig. 11, 1976a:66–67, nos. 1, 3; J. Karageorghis 1977:74, 82, pl. 19a; Brown and Catling 1980:114–15, nos. 54–55, 57; *BCH* XCV 1971:350, fig. 25). While these objects may have a single provenance, both villages are known to have been the centre of an illicit antiquities trade. A Late Cypriot site at nearby Marathovouno and a cemetery at Psilatos, pillaged in 1972, are thus likely sources for the terracottas while the stand may have come from Sinda which produced a bronze hoard at this time (Gjerstad 1926:9; Catling 1963:166; Karageorghis 1973b, 1979a:203 and n. 4). Similarly a kernos, bottle, chest model and horse-and-rider rhyton of PWP, acquired from Chatos by the Ashmolean Museum, may derive from the LC IIIB cemetery at Alaas (Brown and Catling 1980:118–19, nos. 69–71, 73).

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> They do not include the LC IIC Ashlar Building at Maroni *Vounes*, initially identified as a sanctuary (Cadogan 1984:9–10, 1986a:109–10), but now considered to have been an administrative centre (Cadogan 1987:81–84, 1988:230–31, 1989a:77–78, 1989b. See, however, Cadogan 1996:18). The same applies to Buildings I and II of Period I at Maa *Palaeokastro*, originally ascribed a partial ritual function (Karageorghis 1984a:21), but now believed to have been residential (Karageorghis 1990a:21–26). Nor does it include Apliki *Karamallos* House A, erroneously identified by Begg as an 'important industrial and cultic complex' (1991:31), with Room 8 in particular said to have produced 'ritual paraphernalia'. The building was identified by the excavator (du Plat Taylor 1952) as domestic. Begg's conviction that bull figurines show 'an almost exclusive correspondence to ritual structures' (1991:32) has also led him to suggest a cultic function for Kition Area I, Room 32A (Floor III), Enkomi Area III, Room 43 (Level IIIB, Floor II), the yard of Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* Building VIII and Kourion *Bamboula* House II, Area D. Burdajewicz (1990:61) has suggested a partial cult function for Building X at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. This again conflicts with the views of the excavator (South 1984:25, 1988:228).

<sup>2</sup> Preliminary reports include Dothan and Ben-Tor 1972, 1974; Dothan 1979, 1981; *BCH* XCVI 1972:1064–66; *BCH* XCVII 1973: 654–58. For an earlier investigation

## Endnotes

- of the site by Dikaios see *BCH* LXXXIII 1959:354 and P. Åström in Åström and Åström 1972:833. See also Knapp 1986a:49–52 and Burdajewicz 1990:35–38.
- <sup>3</sup> Davaras (1989) has suggested that similar objects from Minoan Crete were used for smoking bees, a function rejected by Karageorghis (1992:214–15) for the Cypriot examples. The offering stand is Åström 1972b:259, Type IX.
- <sup>4</sup> A few miniature vessels found in this stratum were considered by the excavators to have originated in Stratum III. For a review of the ceramic assemblage of Stratum II see Kling 1989a:47–48.
- <sup>5</sup> Muhly's objection (1985:33–34) that the metalworking refuse could have been brought in from elsewhere is valid, although it is unlikely to have been transported any significant distance.
- <sup>6</sup> In all early reports Stratum III is dated to the C14th–C13th BC. In the final report, following a full investigation of the pottery, it is attributed to a broader period covering LC I and LC II. The date given, however, for the construction of the Stratum III complex is the same throughout.
- <sup>7</sup> Burdajewicz (1990:38) suggests that Walls 21 and 24 of Stratum II (Squares E8 and E9), identified as fragments of adjacent walls by the excavators, formed part of an altar base located at the head of the courtyard as at Myrtou *Pigadhes*.
- <sup>8</sup> Burdajewicz's suggestion (1990:37) that the change in the nature of the pottery was due to the arrival of Aegean newcomers in Stratum II does not explain the absence of objects of ritual usage.
- <sup>9</sup> These objects, referred to as socket-shaped pikes in Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:358, are identified as ferrules by Catling 1964:134(a), 103.
- <sup>10</sup> On the lion see Catling 1964:249 and Caubet 1986:303. The unengraved cylinder (no. 41) appears to be an unworked rather than abraded example (Porada 1971:800, n. 607). An andesite bowl may also have come from the sanctuary (*BCH* LXXXVII 1963:340–41, fig. 24).
- <sup>11</sup> Bronze Age iron is present in small quantities at Tarsus, Alisar Hüyük and Kusura and in larger amounts at Alaca Hüyük, Bogazköy and Korucutepe (Waldbaum 1978:20, 219–20; Muhly, Maddin, Stech and Özgen 1985:67–84). Note the presence of a Hittite sherd in Ayios Iakovos Tomb 14 (Sjöqvist 1940:185–86, fig. 29).
- <sup>12</sup> Other suggested functions are cylinder seal mountings (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899:134) and hair rings (Flourentzos in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident"* 1986:139).
- <sup>13</sup> Nude human figures otherwise appear only on Kenna 1971:29, no. 77 and Schaeffer 1983:13, RS 3.226. Inscriptions in scripts other than Cypro-Minoan are almost unknown.
- <sup>14</sup> Other reports include *ILN* March 22, 1952:495; *FAV*, No. 1762, fig. 32; Hopper *PEQ* 19 1958:70–72; Sjöqvist *Gnomon* 30 1958:328–30; Schachermeyr *AfO* 18 1958:420–21; Dikaios *AJ* 38 1958:255–56; de Vaux *RB* 66 1959:158–59; O. Masson *Revue de phil.* Sér. 3.33 1959:293–94; Stewart *AJA* 64 1960:290–92. See also Åström 1972b:5–8; Al-Radi 1983:81–82; Negbi 1986:109; Wright 1992a:118–19.

## Endnotes

- <sup>15</sup> Preliminary reports include *BCH* XCV 1971:386, fig. 99; Karageorghis 1973a:522, 1973c:8–10, fig. 2, 1976b:56–57, fig. 9. See also Wright 1992a:111–12.
- <sup>16</sup> Peltenburg 1985:276 notes a strong correlation between imported Egyptian faience kohl jars and Temple 3 and suggests that 'specific rites may be indicated'. All four vessels, however, were recovered from Floor IIIA–Floor I contexts (Peltenburg 1985:265, nos. 682, 2591, 3180, 107+854) and thus postdate the construction and use of Temple 3.
- <sup>17</sup> Preliminary reports include *BCH* XCV 1971:384–86; Karageorghis 1971a:217–36, 1973a:520, 1973c:8–9, 1976b:55–57; Karageorghis, Webb and Lubsen-Admiraal 1978:107. See also Wright 1992a:111–12.
- <sup>18</sup> The inscribed bronze was initially identified as a liver or kidney model (Karageorghis and E. Masson 1971). See Karageorghis 1985d:89, 93, no. 2409, pls. CVI, CLXXXVI.
- <sup>19</sup> Begg (1991:28, 91) describes the terracotta bull as 'sealed beneath the altar stones' and identifies it as a foundation deposit. In fact it lay beneath *fallen* altar blocks and must originally have stood on the floor of the court.
- <sup>20</sup> Begg's dating of the bull found beneath the altar stones to LC IIB is incorrect (1991:91).
- <sup>21</sup> Wright 1992a:119 also suggests use of Rooms 10, 11 and 23 as a shrine on architectural grounds.
- <sup>22</sup> Burdajewicz (1990:25), following Demas (in Karageorghis and Demas 1985:97–98), identifies Rooms 6 and 7 as the cult building used in conjunction with the court. Given the presence of Mycenaean IIIC pottery only in the court and Room 6, it is possible that the two areas were closely related in function in the last phase of site use.
- <sup>23</sup> P. Halstead (*pers comm*) suggests that antlers were shed in midsummer, missing in autumn/winter, growing in late winter and fully grown in spring/early summer.
- <sup>24</sup> Other reports include Gjerstad 1980:111–12, *ILN* Sept. 24 1932 and Sjöqvist 1933, 1940:4–6, 186. See also Yavis 1949:50–52; Gray in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:103; Åström 1972b:1–4; Al-Radi 1983:67–68; Wright 1992a:119–121.
- <sup>25</sup> Begg (1991:68–69) notes only one bull, which he wrongly attributes to LC IIB.
- <sup>26</sup> *BCH* XCVIII 1974:871–75; *BCH* C 1976:884–86; *BCH* CI 1977:759–61; *BCH* CII 1978:920–22; *BCH* CIII 1979:700–703; Maier 1971:45–48, 1974:133–38, 1975:76–78, 1976:95–97, 1977:133–37, 1979a:169–71, 1979b, 1985, 1986; Maier and Karageorghis 1984:81–101; Maier and Wartburg 1985:149–50. See also Åström 1972b:10–11; Hult 1983:13; Negbi 1986:109–10; Burdajewicz 1990:30–5 and Wright 1992a:259, 430.
- <sup>27</sup> Note Hult's suggestion (1983:13) that the south and east walls of the Hall were retaining or pediment walls with the upper parts open and pillared.
- <sup>28</sup> A 2.9m long drafted ashlar block noted by Elsey Smith lying on two ashlar courses at the eastern end of the south wall, may have supported a similar pier flanking the opening between hall and temenos.



## Endnotes

- <sup>29</sup> Several Chalcolithic female pendants and a larger basalt idol found in the area of Sanctuary I prompted Maier to propose a third millennium origin for the Kouklia cult (1983:231–33).
- <sup>30</sup> The suggestion (Maier and Karageorghis 1984:99, fig. 83; Karageorghis 1992:212) that the large conical stone of microgabbro found in the vicinity belonged to the Bronze Age sanctuary is impossible to substantiate.
- <sup>31</sup> Pausanias VIII.5.2, however, attributes the construction of the sanctuary to Agapenor of Tegea and Herodotus to Phoenicians from Ascalon (*Histories* I.105).
- <sup>32</sup> Preliminary reports, in which the plan of Temple 1 differs, however, from that of the final report, include *BCH* XCV 1971:381–86; *BCH* XCVI 1972:1058–64; *BCH* XCVII 1973:648–53; Karageorghis 1973a:522–30, 1973c:13–9, 1976b:62–72; Karageorghis, Webb and Lubsen-Admiraal 1978:107. See also Wright 1992a:112.
- <sup>33</sup> Cook's (1988:21) identification of the room at the northeastern corner of Temple 2 as the cella is incorrect.
- <sup>34</sup> In Egypt such vessels were used predominantly for funerary purposes (Vandiver and Kingery 1992:80ff). Other examples were found in the temple of Hathor at Timna (Rothenberg 1972:165, fig. 49.3) and temple areas at Beth Shan (Rowe 1940:66, pl. XXI.26).
- <sup>35</sup> This object is identified by the excavators as an adze/weight?, but shows wear consistent with use as an axe. See Karageorghis 1985d:136, no. 2391; Elliott 1985:301.
- <sup>36</sup> Reese 1985:354 and Åström and Reese 1990:8 also note an apical fragment of *Charonia sequenzae* from between Floors III and II in Courtyard B, immediately south of Temple 2.
- <sup>37</sup> Preliminary and specialist reports include *BCH* XCIX 1975:831–35; *BCH* C 1976:875–81; *BCH* CI 1977:755–57; *BCH* CII 1978:914–16; Karageorghis 1976b:76–81, 1976c, 1976d, 1977b, 1981; Karageorghis and Webb 1975; Karageorghis, Webb and Lubsen-Admiraal 1978. See also Wright 1992a:112–13.
- <sup>38</sup> These three rooms should thus not be characterised as a tripartite debir (*contra* Wright 1992a:112).
- <sup>39</sup> Other reports include Sjöqvist 1940:5–6, 186; du Plat Taylor 1956:26–27 and Gjerstad 1980:121–22. See also Yavis 1949:48–50; Åström 1972b:4–5; Stager and Saltz in Stager, Walker and Wright 1974:xxix–xxx; Catling 1982:231–32; Al-Radi 1983:73–74; Knapp 1986a:53–54 and Wright 1992a:258.
- <sup>40</sup> Stager, Walker and Wright 1974:xxix, 82. Some Mycenaean IIIB and WS sherds were found in the Swedish Cyprus Expedition spoil dump (*BCH* XCVI 1972:1074) and similar material is reported in Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:624. This admixture of LC IIC and IIIA material in Period I need not, however, indicate an initial date in LC IIC (see Kling 1989a:86, 1991:182).
- <sup>41</sup> Inventory number 467 is described by the excavators as a pestle, but identified by L. Åström (in Åström and Åström 1972:535) as an axe.

## Endnotes

- <sup>42</sup> For moulds of similar purpose and date see Webb and Courtois 1979 and Karageorghis 1989, where it is suggested that they were used to make plaques for bronze stands.
- <sup>43</sup> Ålin 1978:91 suggests further remains on the lower slopes of *Ambelleri* to the north.
- <sup>44</sup> Other accounts of the Sanctuary of the Horned God include Åström 1972b:9; Al-Radi 1983:70–71; Ionas 1984b; Burdajewicz 1985, 1990:40–41; Knapp 1986b:20–23; Courtois 1986b:16–18 and Wright 1992a:92–95.
- <sup>45</sup> Burdajewicz (1985:15–18, 1990:40–41) argues that an entrance to Room 10, where the cult statue was located, from Room 13 would have been entirely inappropriate and suggests that a blocking wall was destroyed by a tomb looter's pit recorded in Room 10 (Dikaios 1969:197). It is difficult, however, to see how a pit, described by Dikaios as extending from the eastern part of the room toward the centre, could have removed the northern wall.
- <sup>46</sup> See also Burdajewicz 1990:41 and Wright 1992a:94–95. This complex is not noted in Åström 1972b or Ionas 1984b and only briefly by Al-Radi 1983:70 and Knapp 1986b:22.
- <sup>47</sup> The term WPW-m III is used here for pottery identified by Dikaios as Mycenaean IIIC:1c with wavy-line decoration, an advanced expression of local Mycenaean IIIC pottery in use within the later phases of LC IIIA (Iacovou 1988:10–11). For a review of Mycenaean IIIC:1b, Mycenaean IIIC:1c and related pottery and its chronological and historical implications with regard to the reconstructed Ashlar Building of Levels IIIB and IIIC see Kling 1989a:30–32.
- <sup>48</sup> This reconstruction also runs contrary to that proposed by Burdajewicz (1990:41), for whom the Sanctuary of the Horned God consists only of an antechamber (Room 9) and cult repository (Room 10), entered in Level IIIB from Hall 45 and in Level IIIC from Room 13.
- <sup>49</sup> Dikaios 1969–1971: inv. 4012, 6225, 4039/1, 21, 885, 893, 5912/5, 987, pls. 137.16a, 19, 21, 138.2, 39, 147.52, 149.17, 177.12. A RLW-m arm vessel also came from this area (Åström 1972b:205, Type VIII:b, 19).
- <sup>50</sup> Preliminary reports include Courtois 1963, 1969:97–99; Schaeffer 1965, 1972; *BCH* LXXXVI 1962:395–96; *BCH* LXXXVII 1963:370–73; *BCH* LXXXVIII 1964:354–55; *BCH* XC 1966:345; *Archaeological Reports* 1961–1962:33. See also Åström 1972b:9; Webb and Courtois 1980; Karageorghis 1982:94; Al-Radi 1983:71–72, fig. 12.8; Knapp 1986b:18–20; Ionas 1984b:102–103, fig. 4; Wright 1992a:95–97.
- <sup>51</sup> In Webb and Courtois 1980:101, n. 2 it is suggested that Sols II–I date to the transitional LC IIIB/Cypro-Geometric I period, on the basis of an amphora considered to be White Painted I (Courtois 1971a: fig. 140.826; Karageorghis 1977–1978:7, n. 14. Also Ionas 1984c:62, n. 149, who attributes Sol I to a partial reoccupation in Cypro-Geometric I). The vessel is now identified as PWP (Iacovou 1988:9, 31).
- <sup>52</sup> The suggestion (Karageorghis 1990a:27) that the material culture of LC IIIA lingered on later at Enkomi than elsewhere and that the town was not abandoned until c. 1075 is problematic, given that PWP from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God belongs to an early phase of LC IIIB, attributed by Iacovou (1988:2) to the last

## Endnotes

- quarter of the C12th. On Karageorghis' reckoning we would need to suppose that early phase PWP was in use in the sanctuary while the remainder of the town maintained an exclusively LC IIIA ceramic culture, or that the ceramic isolation of Enkomi continued into the mid-C11th, following the abandonment of the town, with the exclusive use of early phase PWP in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at a time when late phase PWP was in use elsewhere on the island (the lower limits of PWP are set at about 1050 BC by Iacovou 1988:2).
- <sup>53</sup> Schaeffer (1971:525f) attributed the northeast room to Sol II and suggested that the larger room to the northeast (here identified as a porch) served as the adyton for Sols IV–III. The sections (Schaeffer 1971:529, 532, figs. 10, 12), however, clearly show the former in use for Sol III.
- <sup>54</sup> The bases appear on Courtois 1973: fig. 3 but not on Schaeffer 1971: fig. 2.
- <sup>55</sup> This area, disturbed by tomb looters, is unclear. The fact that the north wall and bench break off some 3m before the northeast corner and pebble flooring extends over the wall line would seem to indicate an opening of ca 1.75m through the north wall for Sol III (Schaeffer 1971: figs. 1–2). In addition, the north wall of the northeast room, here also the north wall of the temple, follows a slightly different line suggesting it was added, like the other walls of the room, after initial construction of the building. For Sol IV, therefore, the opening may have been as wide as 3m. The nature of the room off the principal rectangle to the northeast is also uncertain. For Schaeffer it served as an original adyton while Courtois (1973:231) refers to it as 'de destination indéterminée'. My own suggestion is based on the presence of the doorway.
- <sup>56</sup> These features, although not mentioned in the text, are visible on Courtois 1971b: figs. 131 (enduit) and 132 (Feature A). I owe the identification of the latter to Courtois *pers comm* 1979.
- <sup>57</sup> The base of the baetyl rests on Sol III. Courtois 1973:226 notes two more small pillars 'incorporés dans la maçonnerie du mur ouest'. It is unclear whether they were cult furnishings or part of the wall itself.
- <sup>58</sup> Courtois' attribution of the figurines to all four phases of the sanctuary is questioned by Nicolaou (1979:251), V. Karageorghis (1978–1979:7) and J. Karageorghis (1977:123), who believe that the type did not become common until the mid-C11th. More recently published examples, however, suggest that they were already current in the late C12th (Courtois 1984:75–78, figs. 25.2, 4–5, 10–11, 16–17, 26.3, 6).
- <sup>59</sup> Initially identified as a tuyère. For parallels from Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, Kouklia *Evreti* and elsewhere at Enkomi see Karageorghis and Demas 1984:51, pl. XXXVI, nos 55, 141; Maier and Wartburg 1985:105, pl. X.6–7; Courtois 1984:70, fig. 41.9–11.
- <sup>60</sup> This figure includes only those specifically assigned to Sols I and II and is therefore a conservative estimate.
- <sup>61</sup> Schaeffer proposed burial by the builders rather than the occupants of Sol II, a point missed by Ionas who objects (1984c:61) that the statuette cannot have been intentionally buried at the time of Sol II because it was sealed below that floor.

## Endnotes

- <sup>62</sup> Similarities between the *Koufos* and Athienou assemblages are also noted by Merrillees, Dothan and Misch-Brandl in Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:25, 29, 31–32, 57, 83, 95 and Knapp 1986b:52–53.
- <sup>63</sup> Other brief reports include Megaw *JHS* LXXVI 1956:42; *BCH* LXXXIV 1960:283; Schaeffer 1971:570, fig. 26, dépl. IV and Courtois 1969:101, fig. 12, ph. 89. See also O. Masson 1973:112, n. 18; Karageorghis 1982:94; Hult 1983:8, no. 20; Demas in Karageorghis and Demas 1985:96; Burdajewicz 1990:39–40 and Wright 1992a:97–98. There are, however, a number of discrepancies. Megaw, Hult and Karageorghis describe the 'altar podium' as rectangular (rather than square), Courtois (1969:101) and Hult locate the building in Quarter 6S (instead of 6E) and Demas assigns it to LC IIIA.
- <sup>64</sup> Burdajewicz (1990:39) suggests that the square block formed part of a pillar, one of a series which originally stood on the row of slabs, while the altar proper may have been located in the third room to the east. The size of the block, however, appears too large for a pillar.
- <sup>65</sup> According to Schaeffer (1971:570) each drum is inscribed with two letters. De Contenson, however, refers to one letter on one drum only.
- <sup>66</sup> The bull, identified by de Contenson as a vase, is in fact a figurine (Courtois *pers comm*).
- <sup>67</sup> Most of these details appear on the general plan of Quarter 5E (Courtois 1971b: fig. 1). The line of a possible wall flanking the entrance to the west is obscured by a looters' pit, while that to the east is clearly visible below a later wall.
- <sup>68</sup> There is some confusion as to whether the skull was associated with Sol VI or Sol V. Courtois 1971b:204 and fig. 53 appear to indicate that it was found with the pithos and Mycenaean IIIB fragments on Sol VI, while according to figs. 43 and 49 it was associated with sherds of the Close Style and thus found on Sol V.
- <sup>69</sup> Other preliminary reports include *BCH* CVIII 1984:905; *BCH* CIX 1985:932–39; *BCH* CX 1986:851.
- <sup>70</sup> According to Begg 1991:28–29 these bulls comprise a foundation deposit. They were not, however, found within the screen wall or bench, as Begg states, but on the wall.
- <sup>71</sup> Miniature bathtubs in stone and ivory have also been found in settlement and tomb deposits at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969–1971:768, no. 3269, pls. 147.8, 176.55; Courtois 1984: Cat. 904, fig. 35.2) and Kition (Karageorghis 1974:91, pls. LXXXVII, CLXX).
- <sup>72</sup> This situation is paralleled outside the island where worked tritons have been found in sanctuaries at Phaistos, Knossos and Kephala Khondrou in Minoan Crete and at Qasile and Hazor in Israel, but not as yet in non-cultic contexts (Åström and Reese 1990:8–12).
- <sup>73</sup> Åström cites a number of anchors in rooms to the north and northwest of Room 67 and the bath or well room to the east as possibly associated with the cult unit. The relationship of the Room 67 complex to surrounding structures is as yet, however, unclear.

#### Endnotes

- <sup>74</sup> Originally identified by Schaeffer 1952:73 as a phallus.
- <sup>75</sup> Other interim reports include *BCH XCV* 1971:406–407; *BCH XCVI* 1972:1045–47; *BCH XCVII* 1973:638–41; *BCH XCVIII* 1974:864–65; Symeonoglou 1975b:68–71; Hesse, Ogilvy and Wapnish 1975.
- <sup>76</sup> The seal is published in Porada 1986:294–96, pl. XX.1 and again in Porada 1992:364, fig. 9.
- <sup>77</sup> The measurements of the altar are taken from Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: plan XV. Those given by Yavis 1949:45–46 are incorrect.
- <sup>78</sup> Preliminary reports include *BCH XCVI* 1971:406–407; *XCVII* 1972:1045–47; *XCVIII* 1973:638–41; *XCI* 1974:864–65; Symeonoglou 1975a. The identification has been widely accepted. See Porada in Al-Radi 1983: preface; Merrillees 1973:52–55; Åström 1972b:43; Burdajewicz 1990:36 and Wright 1992a:258. A dissenting voice, however, is raised by Harding in a review of Merrillees 1973 in *PPS* 43 1977:385.
- <sup>79</sup> There is, however, some uncertainty over the date of material from *Sapilou*. See Catling 1963:168, no. 206, 1973b, 1976a and Symeonoglou 1975a.
- <sup>80</sup> A miniature stone offering table from the debris of the Hellenistic podium may, according to Al-Radi, belong to the Bronze Age. It is, however, of Iron Age type and not, as she suggests, related to Late Cypriot installations of my Type B (Webb 1977:115, 120–24).
- <sup>81</sup> The site lies immediately south of a Middle Cypriot cemetery noted by Catling 1963:155, no. 27 as Ayios Sozomenos *Djirpoulos*.
- <sup>82</sup> For a critical discussion of both the relative and absolute dating of Levels IA and IB at Enkomi see Eriksson 1992:209–13.
- <sup>83</sup> There are, however, Middle and Late Cypriot tombs outside the city. See Furumark 1965:104, n. 3 and Catling 1963:160, 168, nos. 153, 227.
- <sup>84</sup> There is some uncertainty over the find spot. Catling remembers being told it was found under a stone (*pers comm* 1978).
- <sup>85</sup> Fortin 1984 suggests a double purpose as ‘a defensive sort of outwork structure and a sanctuary, both dedicated to the protection of the main northern gate of the city’. See also the discussion by Catling, Åström, Karageorghis and Schaeffer in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium ‘The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean’, 27 March–2 April 1972*, pp. 352–53 and a useful analysis by Wright 1992a:98–100 (‘North Gate Sanctuary’), who remains equivocal.
- <sup>86</sup> Note that Iacovou 1988:8 also argues against the presence of PWP in either Area I or Area III at Enkomi.

### III. ARCHITECTURE AND ARTEFACTS

THIRTY-EIGHT cult buildings, installations or sites for which a cult purpose has been proposed have now been examined. Of these only sixteen are considered to be reliably identified. This assessment is based in each case on a combination of factors involving location, plan, architecture, furniture and finds. These are isolated and examined below in an attempt to establish minimum archaeological correlates for the identification of Late Cypriot cult sites and assemblages.

Finds from reliably identified and well preserved sites are listed in **tables II** (ceramic)<sup>1</sup> and **III–IV** (non-ceramic). Such listings, however, should be treated with caution. Straightforward analyses based on the presence or absence of artefact types ignore much of the complexity of the archaeological record. As noted in Part II, the entry of items into and their removal from ritual contexts are governed by numerous factors, including discard and curation strategies, conditions of abandonment and salvaging and taphonomic processes. At best residual assemblages represent a subset of the full array of artefacts and ecofacts originally in use in the cult buildings. Thus, while the presence of an object in one assemblage might be significant, its absence in another may be due to extraneous factors. In the case of Kouklia Sanctuary I, Kition Temple 1 and Kition Temple 3 associated floor deposits are entirely missing.

#### STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION (figures 61–62)

IN CYPRUS ritual architecture had developed its own traditions at least as early as LC IIA and in its most visible form—in the well-preserved temples of LC IIC and III—is readily distinguishable from contemporary and earlier domestic structures (although sharing some features and furnishings). While no two cult buildings are exactly alike, a number of fundamental principles may be observed. The *Dhima* enclosure, which manifestly belongs to a different tradition, the Sanctuary of the Horned God and Double Goddess, uniquely located within a larger building, and the arrangements of Periods III–VII at *Pigadhes* are of more complex type and will be treated separately.

Late Cypriot cult buildings are, as a rule, freestanding rectangular structures located within or beside an enclosed but unroofed courtyard (temenos), which both isolated the building from its surroundings and served as

an area of cult activity in its own right. The majority (Kition Temples 1, 3 and 5; the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Sol I); Idalion (Periods 1–2); Ayia Irini and probably Kouklia) are two-room units comprising a covered hall and a smaller covered adyton, the latter normally occupying less than a third of the building. Other structures are three-room units, the additional room comprising either an entrance vestibule (Kition Temple 2 and possibly the ashlar building in Enkomi Quarter 6E) or second adyton (Kition Temple 4) or, in the case of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, four-roomed (Sol IV—two vestibules and one adyton) or five-roomed (Sols III and II—two vestibules and two adyta). In most instances both adyta and vestibules are located within the principle rectangle. In the case, however, of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (with the exception of the northeast adyton) and perhaps Sanctuary I at Kouklia (where the adyton is not preserved), they project from the main rectangle of the hall. Other complexes associated with cult buildings, where these exist (Idalion Rooms XXXII, XXXVA, XXXVA+B; the Northern and Western Workshops at Kition), are separate although occasionally interconnecting structures. All extant buildings appear to have been single storey, with the possible exception of Temple 1 at Kition.

Orientation, although nowhere exactly in line with the compass points, is predominantly east/west with adyta variously located at the east (Kition Temple 4), west (Kition Temples 1–3 and 5; Sanctuary of the Ingot God Sols IV and 1) or both ends of the building (Sanctuary of the Ingot God Sols III–II). Kouklia Sanctuary I, however, is aligned almost due north/south with an adyton possibly located to the north, and both Idalion and Ayia Irini are oriented northwest/southeast with adyta to the northwest. Major access in almost all cases was toward one end of one of the long sides, with the main internal features (adyton, hearth etc) located at the distant end against the middle of the short side. Approach to the latter was therefore by bent axis, characterising these buildings as of *Knickachse* or *Herdhaus* type<sup>2</sup>. The exceptions are not on the whole significant. Although the entrance, for example, at Ayia Irini lies in the centre of one of the long sides, passage to the adyton was again by bent access and approach to the adyta of Kition Temple 4, where external entrances are located at one end of each short side, was likewise indirect. In the case of the ashlar building in Enkomi Quarter 6E, entered through the centre of a short side, the doorway to the inner room (possibly an adyton) also lies off the main axis.

Cult buildings were normally roofed by means of one (Sanctuary of the Horned God Level IIIB; Kition Temples 2 Floors IIIA–III and 4) or two (Kouklia Sanctuary I; Kition Temples 1, 2 Floor IV and 5) equidistant rows of three (Kition Temples 2 and 4; Sanctuary of the Horned God), four (Kition Temple 5), five (Kition Temple 1?) or six (Kouklia Sanctuary I) wooden columns or stone pillars located on the central or side long axes of the hall. Exceptions include the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, which was provided with a

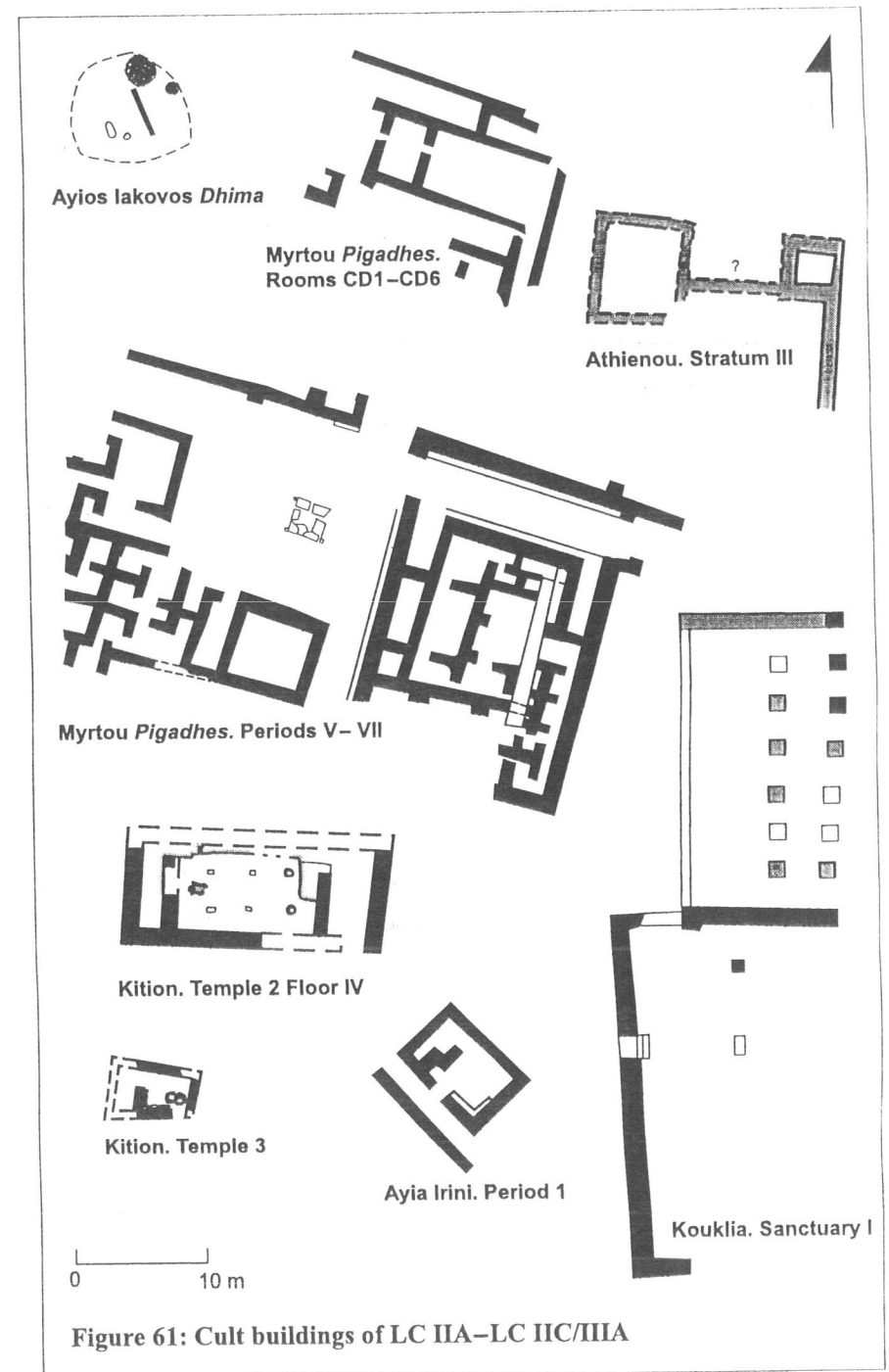
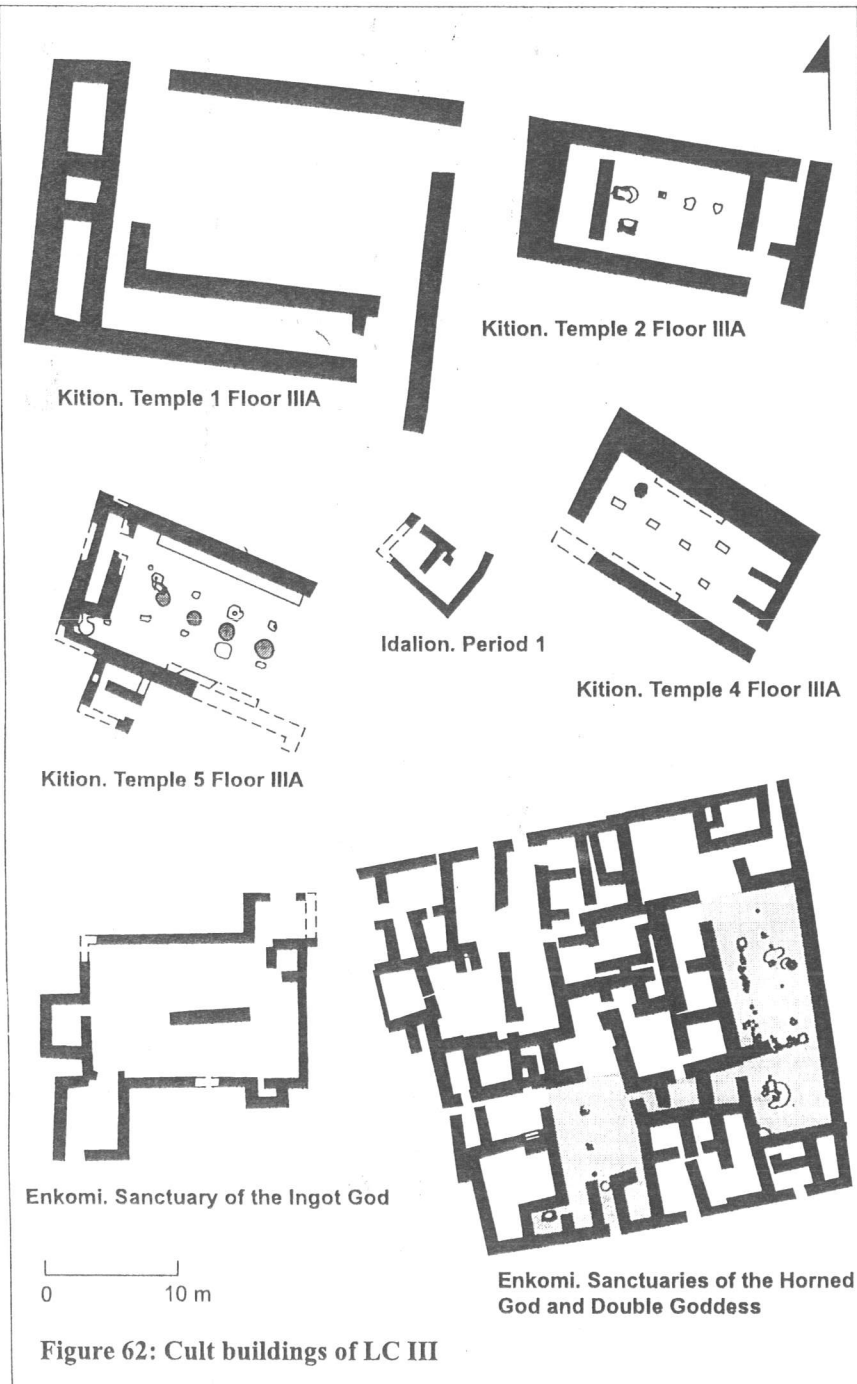


Figure 61: Cult buildings of LC IIA–LC IIC/IIIA





low? central wall as well as two rows of three columns, and the possible cult place in Quarter 6E at Enkomi, where column bases follow the central broad axis. The tripartite division resulting from the use of two colonnades is a distinctive feature of larger buildings (Kition Temples 1 and 5; Kouklia Sanctuary I). Smaller structures (Kition Temple 3; Idalion; Ayia Irini), adyta and vestibules were roofed without columnar supports. In many cases the floor of the adyton lay 10–15cm higher (Kition Temples 2 and 3) or lower (Kition Temple 4; Ayia Irini) than that of the hall. An extreme (or monumental) example of this principle occurs in Kition Temple 1, where the adyton appears to have stood upon a high platform preceded by a podium and approached by flights of steps.

Autonomy, rectangularity, the combination of external temenos, covered hall and adyton and bent-axis alignment between external entrance(s) and adyton are thus distinctive features of Late Cypriot cult buildings. Orientation, although predominantly east/west, does not seem to have been governed by canonical rules and other considerations, such as the alignment of surrounding buildings and streets, may have been taken into account. There is a marked preference, however, for the location of the adyton toward the west, north or northwest, and where arrangements differ (Kition Temple 4) they may do so for conscious ritual reasons. Ease of public access was also important, with most temples located close to major streets, public squares or, in the case of Kition and Idalion, a city gate. Cult buildings, particularly those in urban settings, are similar to public secular structures in size, use of ashlar masonry and association with crafting and industrial activities. They do not, however, include large-scale storage facilities.

The location of the Sanctuary of the Horned God and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess within a larger building complex in Quarter 4 West at Enkomi is without parallel among reliably identified cult places. Two possible ritual areas, centered on Room 67 and Room 95 in Area 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke, however, are also located within larger structures. In other respects, the Sanctuary of the Horned God and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess conform to the normal type of LC III cult building, with a rectangular pillared hall (oriented north/south) leading to one (Double Goddess) or two (Horned God) adyta off the principal rectangle to the east (Horned God) or west (Double Goddess). Together they form a cohesive double unit, occupying over half the ground floor of the building and directly accessible from public thoroughfares to north and south. In these circumstances it is unlikely that they were restricted to domestic use. It appears that public cult places were on occasion located within the residences of private individuals.

The remains of Periods III–IV at Myrtou *Pigadhes* form an open court (CD6 and CD1) before a small room (CD2), leading to a rectangular podium (CD3) aligned approximately east/west with another small room to the south



(CD4) containing vessels, offering stands and a bull figurine. Thus the basic principles of temenos (CD6 and CD1), rectangular two-roomed autonomous unit comprising a hall with altar podium (CD2 and CD3) and an adyton (CD4?) and public access (from the street to the north) are already evident, although the podium itself is unparalleled.

The remains of Periods V–VII at *Pigadhes* present more complex problems, not the least of which is the chronological and functional relationship between the west and east units. The latter, although regarded by the excavators as a repository for discarded material from the west unit, appears to have been used for cult purposes throughout LC IIC and may even have been the principal cult building. Of the rooms surrounding the court (temenos) in the western unit, only Rooms 6 and 7 appear directly related. The remainder form part of residential complexes extending beyond the excavated area. The west unit may thus have comprised a temenos and an adjoining two-roomed structure, in keeping with other LC IIC/IIIA cult buildings noted above. Whether the east and west units formed separate complexes in LC IIC, or the east unit served as a storehouse for ritual activity located in the west unit, or the west unit as a temenos for a ritual centered in the east unit remains uncertain.

The construction of Late Cypriot cult buildings is, on the whole, similar to that of secular buildings of similar size and location. While Temple 1 at Kition and Sanctuary I at Kouklia are among the most monumental of all excavated ashlar buildings, administrative complexes at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes* and Alassa *Paliotaverna* were as large and almost certainly as impressive. Stepped stone capitals, once thought to be diagnostic of ritual architecture, may have been used in secular structures as suggested by the discovery of examples at Kouklia *Evreti* and *Arkalou* (Maier 1985:118, n. 74). It is also clear that they were integral functional elements and not, as previously thought, a symbolic adornment for freestanding pillars (Callot 1985:189, 198–99, figs. 35–41, 55–60).

The primary function of ancient cult buildings appears to have been to give shelter to the deities and their belongings (offerings, cult equipment). The building itself may not have been an assembly place for worshippers or performances of public ritual, which were more probably located in the temene. Related structures, such as storerooms, workshops and quarters for personnel, being additional to this concept, normally appear as architecturally distinct units. With regard to the Near Eastern evidence, it is widely believed that only libations, the burning of incense, the preparation of sacrificial meals and the storing of votives and cult objects took place inside the cult building and that only priests were allowed access to hall and adyton (Ottosson 1980:117, 119, n. 14; Stern 1984:31; Mazar 1985:130). A similar situation is likely to have existed in Cyprus. Given the variety of internal furnishings and finds, however, the list of activities performed in temple halls may have to be expanded to

include animal sacrifice, masked rituals, ablutions and divination. The halls of all well-preserved Cypriot cult buildings are furnished with wall benches, hearth altars and low stone tables and finds regularly include faunal material, offering vessels and votives.

Karageorghis identified the Kition adyta as storerooms for equipment and perhaps offerings (1985:249–51)<sup>3</sup>. At Enkomi the bronze statuettes of the Horned God, Double Goddess and Ingot God were all found in inner rooms, suggesting that the function of the adyton may also have been to house the divine image. In all three cult places at Enkomi, however, this represents the location of the divine image *upon final abandonment*. During normal operation of the cult such images may have been more prominently displayed in the hall. Elsewhere adyta produced objects possibly used to adorn the cult statue (jewelry, gold leaf), as well as votives (ivories, small bronze tools and metal scrap) and occasionally cult equipment (an ivory pipe, wall brackets and pottery vessels). In other cases (Kition Temple 2, Room 23 and Temple 5, Room 58A, Floor IIIA; Ayia Irini Room VI) they were virtually empty, leaving one to suppose that votives and equipment had been removed prior to abandonment while similar objects in the hall of the same building were not, or that they originally housed little more than the divine image.

There are indications, also, that adyta could be the scene of ritual observances. In the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Enkomi 276 bowls, possibly containing food or liquid offerings, were found inverted in stacks in the adyton (Room 10), while skulls, antlers, articulated leg bones, bird remains and grooved stone troughs from both Rooms 9 and 10 suggest meat offerings and the performance of libations. A similar situation is visible in the west adyton of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Sols II–I), which contained a baetyl and plaster platform as well as vessels, figurines and other objects. Fifteen bowls, a jug and a skyphos were also recovered from Room 38C of Kition Temple 4 (between Floors IIIA and III).

Cypriot adyta thus appear to have served a variety of functions, ranging from simple housing of the deity (when not on display or in use in the hall or temenos) to the storage of other cult objects (votives and equipment) and regular ritual performances. Use of the term adyton—a place apart where the cult image was kept or/and venerated away from profane view—therefore appears justified. The bent-axis approach, screening doors, proximity to hearth, table and offering benches and the slight raising (or lowering) of the floor level, which uniformly characterise these rooms, further confirm their importance within the building.

In Cyprus open courtyards or temene are consistently associated with cult buildings. At Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* the Stratum III court measured 20m+ by 16m and was at least partially enclosed. Quantities of pottery and other votives were discarded in this area prior to the reconstruction

of Stratum II. Room CD6, the courtyard associated with the cult complex of Periods III–IV at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, provided the sole means of access to both podium (CD3) and ante-room (CD2) but produced no finds. Similarly, a large open space (30m by 20m), entered by broad passageways from beyond the excavated area, provided access to the cult house, storehouse and ‘priest’s house’ at Ayia Irini, but contained little or no residual material. At Idalion the courtyard (Room XXX, 5.2m by 12+m) allowed access to the cult house for Periods 1–3 and produced a number of finds, including spindle whorls, loomweights, beads, stone tools and bull figurines. Discarded offerings and other waste were disposed of in rock-cut bothroi to the south. None of these temene produced hearths, tables or other installations. They appear to have served as gathering places and access routes to cult buildings, rather than as major areas of ritual activity. Temene of this type are associated with small cult buildings.

Temene associated with the large, monumental temple complexes at Kition, Kouklia and Myrtou *Pigadhes* (Periods V–VII) played a more significant role in public cult. At *Pigadhes* the walled western court (14m by 16.5m), entered from a street to the northeast, housed a stone platform surmounted by horns of consecration, wall benches, tethering stones?, a drain and well annex. Areas of burning on the floor, an accumulation of faunal remains, offering stands, bull figurines, stone tools, wall brackets and pottery vessels leave little doubt that the courtyard was a focus of regular ritual activity. This was clearly also the case in Temenos A at Kition (35.5m by 9–10.5m), which housed a well, a large concentration of ash and burnt bone, a second circular area of burning, two stone structures identified as offering or slaughtering tables (Area 21) and Altar F, a large plaster hearth with ash and carbonised bone on Floor IIIA. For Floors III and II Area 21 was replaced by Altar D, a 1.2m square stone platform. Floor deposits produced animal and human figurines, pottery, faience and glass vessels, a mask, ostrich eggs, beads, stone tools and horns of consecration. Temenos B produced few finds and no installations. It appears to have been a monumental entrance hall and processional route to Temples 1 and 2 and Temenos A.

Temple 4 at Kition was also associated with an open courtyard, located to the east between the temple and the city gate. While this part of the site was not well preserved, an area of stone paving (Room 39, ca 12.25m by 6.7m) with a built well and a large patch of burning communicated directly with Temple 4 (via Room 38A) and appears, like Temenos A, to have provided an external focus of ritual activity. A similar temenos may have existed to the east of Temple 5, in an area much disturbed by later stone looting and building. In the earliest period of the sacred quarter at Kition (Floor IV) the entire area between Temples 2 and 3 appears to have been planted with bushes and flowers and watered by wells, channels and a rectangular pool.

The poorly preserved temenos of Kouklia Sanctuary I (25.5m by 18.5–20?m) was enclosed by a very substantial wall of dressed limestone orthostats. Although floor deposits were nowhere intact, a shallow limestone basin 7.8m east of the stepped doorway, a square limestone block on the same alignment to the north and several large pairs of horns of consecration suggest that the Kouklia temenos, like Temenos A at Kition, was used to display this cult symbol and for ritual activities.

Although the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi does not communicate directly with an external courtyard, an open area to the west (adjoining the western adyton) extends at least 10m toward the *place dallée* at the junction of Street 5 East and the main north/south artery. This area produced over 150 fragmentary human and animal figurines on Sols IV–I. The only excavated cult places not associated with exterior courtyards (excluding Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, which belongs to a different architectural tradition) are the Sanctuary of the Horned God and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess at Enkomi, located within the Reconstructed Ashlar Building.

Open areas adjacent to public cult buildings in Cyprus thus appear to have served a number of functions. In the case of unwalled or partly walled courts associated with small regional cult centres, they separated sacred from profane, provided access, ensured visibility (but note the screen wall between courtyard and cult house at Ayia Irini) and probably served as meeting or gathering places. If ritual activities were carried out in these areas, they have not left visible traces, with the exception of Stratum III at Athienou. Quantities of offerings recovered in this instance may, however, be the result of abandonment behaviour rather than ongoing use of the courtyard. Only in the open area between Kition Temples 2 and 3 (Floor IV) is there evidence for a more specific function, in this case as a garden.

The monumental walled temene of the LC IIC/III urban temples at Kition, Kouklia and Myrtou *Pigadhes*, however, were architecturally and functionally integrated into the sacred area. In these instances the boundaries were not the walls of the cult building but the perimeter of building and temenos combined. At all three sites the temenos was also intended from the outset to serve as a focal point of ritual activity. This involved the prominent display of stone horns of consecration and in Temenos A at Kition and the west court at *Pigadhes*, where floor deposits and installations are well preserved, also animal sacrifice, burnt animal offerings or feasting, water, the display of votives and perhaps ritual performances. These temene (most notably in the case of Kition Temenos B) also served, in common with the simpler open courtyards, as access routes leading from public streets, gateways and squares to temples and associated workshops.

## INTERIOR FURNISHINGS

### Benches (figure 63.1)

Low benches of earth, rubble, mudbrick or ashlar blocks regularly line the interior of the hall, normally along one or both long walls (Kition Temples 2, 4 and 5), one short and one perpendicular long wall (Ayia Irini; Kition Temple 3) or/and the wall fronting the adyton (Sanctuary of the Ingot God). They are occasionally stepped, covered with plaster or provided with shallow niches and vary in width between 0.45m and 0.8m, with a maximum surviving height of 0.45m. The concentration of finds on and before the benches in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God leaves little doubt that in this instance they were used for the display and storage of cult equipment and votives. Niches appear to have been reserved for special objects (terracottas, offering stands, notched scapulae, a bronze knife).

At Myrtou *Pigadhes* the southeast and east walls of the court in the western unit were also lined with benches. In the case of the east wall, the bench was constructed below a series of pierced stones set into the wall at 4.5m intervals and identified by the excavators as tethering stones for sacrificial animals. The rear wall of the adyton of Kition Temple 2 may also have been provided with a low stone bench or platform. Normally, however, benches are found only in the hall.

### Hearths (figure 64)

One or more hearths appear in the hall and frequently also the temenos of all well-preserved Late Cypriot cult buildings, with the exception of the Idalion *Ambelleri* cult house and the Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* enclosure. The former, however, was associated with carbonised organic remains and bothroi containing ash, charcoal and burnt bone. A hearth, perhaps of portable type, may be assumed to have existed. The enclosure at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* also produced ash and burnt bone. Hearth construction varies from building to building and site to site (Raptou 1988:76). Both built and unbuilt types occur, ranging from patches of burning or ash-filled cavities in the floor to larger examples constructed of sherds, clay, plaster or/and stone chips.

The position of the hearth(s) within the hall varies considerably, with a preference for the central long axis (Kition Temples 2 and 5; Sanctuary of the Horned God; Sanctuary of the Double Goddess) or the immediate vicinity of an external entrance (Kition Temples 3 and 5 (Floors III–II); Sanctuary of the Ingot God; Ayia Irini). Once established, however, the location of the hearth achieved considerable importance and subsequent hearths were normally built directly above<sup>4</sup>. Often two (Kition Temple 5 Floor II), three (Kition Temple 2 Floor IIIA) or four (Kition Temple 5 Floor IIIA) areas of burning are visible. These range from shallow cavities or concentrations of ash to more elaborate

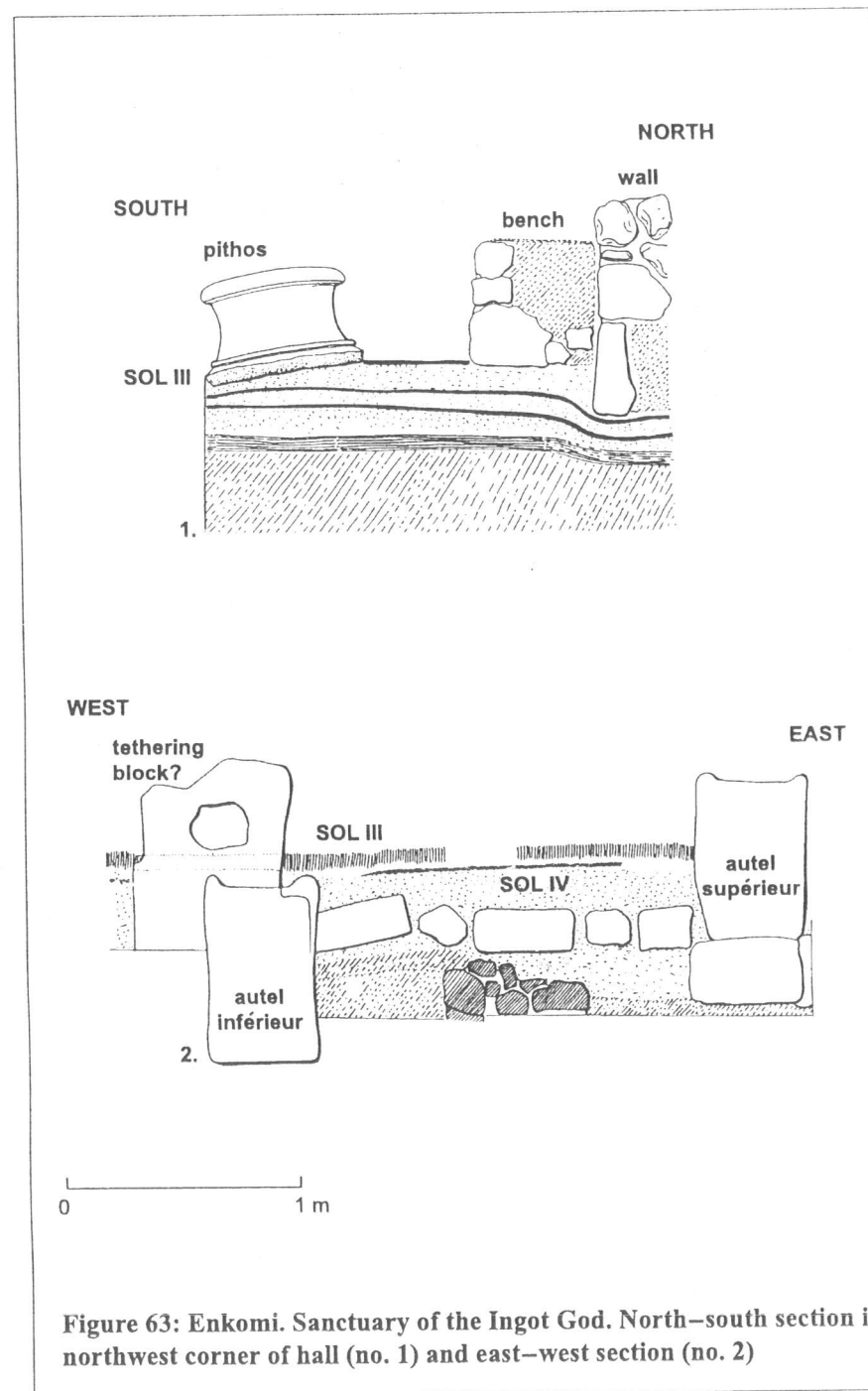
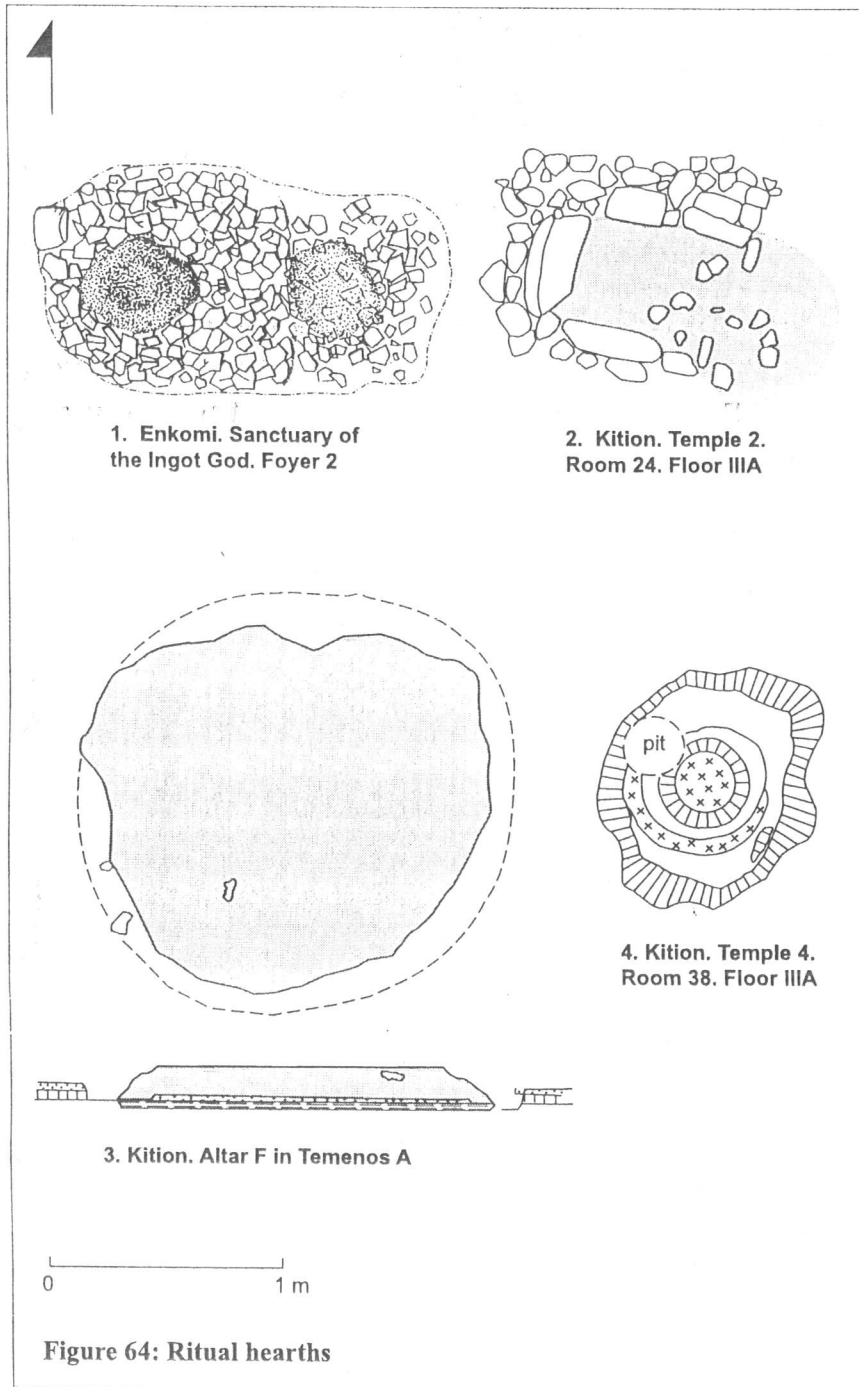


Figure 63: Enkomi. Sanctuary of the Ingot God. North-south section in northwest corner of hall (no. 1) and east-west section (no. 2)



constructions, such as the U-shaped stone and earth hearths in Kition Temples 2 (figure 64.2) and 3 (Floor IV. See figure 65.1), the spiral formation of mudbrick and havara in Floor IIIA of Kition Temple 4 (figure 64.4), the circular stone podia of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (Level IIIC) and the oval and rectangular platforms of plaster, CW sherds and mud in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess. The latter normally have an additional enclosure or central cavity to which the burning was confined or, in the case of Foyers 1 and 2 (figure 64.1) of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, two cavities perhaps corresponding to the dedication of this sanctuary to two deities. Larger hearths range from 1.2–1.7m in length or diameter but do not exceed 0.1m in preserved height.

All hearths produced small fragments of burnt and unburnt animal bone. The fact that large or larger numbers of bones were not found may in part be explained by the regular removal of this material to pits in the floor of the hall or to external bothroi—those remaining representing only the remnants of the latest offerings. It is possible also that inner body parts and fat were offered inside the cult building, while the flesh and hide were burnt outside. As skull and horn fragments also occasionally appear, however, this cannot wholly account for the use of internal hearths. Incense in the form of fragrant wood and other vegetable matter may also have been burnt on open fires. This is suggested in particular by the recovery of carbonised wood and olive pits in cult buildings at Ayia Irini and Idalion and the grinding stones and pestles found in all cult assemblages. Shells, broken kylikes and skyphoi, an ivory disk, pestle and fragments of lead found in the ashes of the Floor III hearth in Kition Temple 2, and the discovery of a bull figurine on Altar F in Temenos A suggest that offerings of other kinds were also occasionally placed on or near the fire.

Temenos hearths are considerably larger. Altar F in Temenos A at Kition, for example, is 1.85m in diameter (figure 64.3). They normally survive as irregular concentrations of heavy burning, ash and animal bone (Kition Temple 4 Room 39; Kition Temenos A and B). Larger animals or animal parts not consumed on interior hearths may have been offered here. Small circular patches of stones and burning in the court of the western unit at Myrtou *Pigadhes* may also have been small hearths or, as the excavators suggest, platforms for offering stands.

### Stone Tables (figure 65)

Low, freestanding stone 'tables' or podia are regularly located in the hall, normally at the head of the central long axis against the outer wall of the adyton. They are flat-surfaced, circular, square or rectangular, built of rubble, horizontal or horizontal and upright slabs or squared blocks and mudbrick and normally associated with hearths. Occasionally two were in use at the same time (Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*; Ayia Irini). In other instances (Sanctuary of the



Ingot God, Sanctuary of the Horned God Level IIIB, Kition Temple 4) none were found. Their size varies in length or diameter from 0.42m to 2.62m (Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, **figure 65.4**) and 2.85m (Kition Temple 5) with an average height of 0.1–0.15m, increasing in the case of the larger examples to 0.45m. The Kition Temple 5 'table' has an ashlar block incised with a Cypro-Minoan sign before its east face, small pits (perhaps supporting a canopy or cult emblems) and a large anchor (Floor II) along its south face and several shallow depressions in its surface (**figure 65.2**).

Structures of this type, perhaps fitted with perishable superstructure, probably served a range of purposes. The frequent concentration of vessels and other objects in their vicinity suggests that they were used primarily as repositories for food and drink offerings, votives and perhaps also cult equipment, in similar manner to the wall benches<sup>5</sup>. It is possible that they were also used for the display of cult objects (as suggested by Mazar 1980:67 for the table in Kition Temple 5), during ritual banquets or even as slaughtering tables. The example in Room V at Ayia Irini is said to have a dark, glossy surface, perhaps resulting from the pouring of libations, the blood of sacrificial animals or the preparation of organic substances. Portable, wooden tables may have been used for similar or related purposes.

### Slaughtering Blocks (figure 63.2)

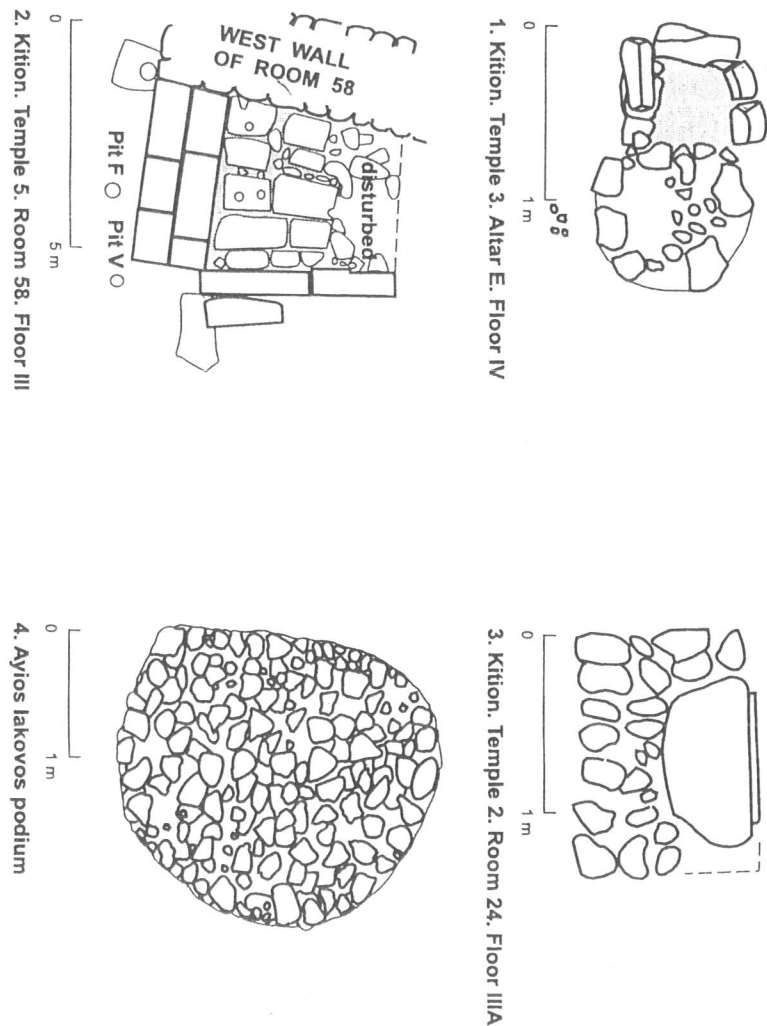
The *autel inférieur* (Sol IV) and *autel supérieur* (Sols III–II) in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God have been identified as slaughtering blocks (Courtois 1971b:178; Karageorghis 1982:94; Raptou 1988:77). Rectangular and of similar size (0.47m by 0.32m; 0.47m by 0.29m), with shallow concave surfaces, they had been set into the floor to a height of 0.45m and 0.35m respectively, beside a pierced stone block believed to have been a tethering stone. A similar interpretation is proposed for two rubble and conglomerate structures (ca 3m<sup>2</sup> and 0.8m high) built against the south wall of Kition Temenos A (Floors IIIA–III, Area 21) and two smaller blocks (0.42m by 0.36m by 0.19m high) with shallow surface depressions, which replaced them for Floor II (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:64, 107, 128, 256–57).

The form of the *autels* in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God accords well with the use suggested. The Kition structures, perhaps more appropriately located in a temenos, may have served a similar purpose, along with a rectangular block set in the floor and surrounded by faunal remains 1.6m northeast of the high stone platform in the west court at Myrtou *Pigadhes*<sup>6</sup>. A sacrificial use for some of the flat stone tables described above also cannot be ruled out.

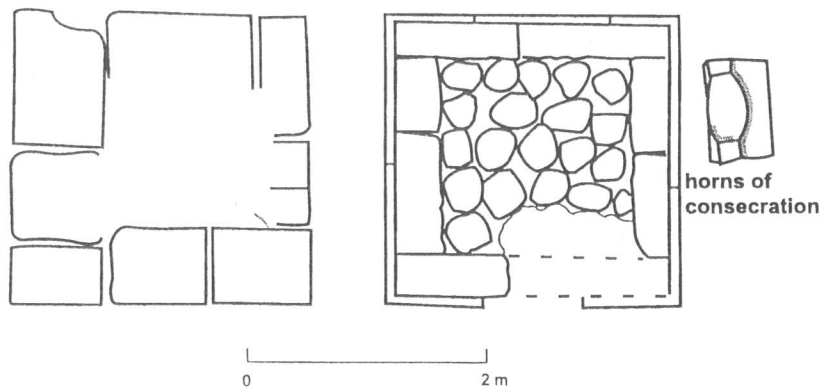
### Stone Platforms (figure 66)

High, square, freestanding stone platforms associated with horns of consecration were located in the west court at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (**figure 66.2–3**)

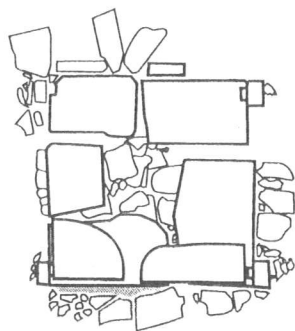
Figure 65: Stone tables



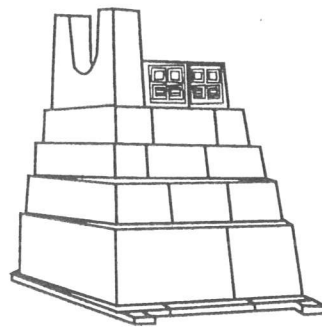




1. Kition. Altar D in Temenos A



2. Myrtou *Pigadhes*. Altar in west court. Base plan



3. Myrtou *Pigadhes*. Reconstruction of altar in west court

0 5 m

Figure 66: Stone platforms

and Temenos A at Kition (Floors III–II. See **figure 66.1**). The former measures 2.5m square at the base and has a reconstructed height of 2.27m. Aligned with the four compass points on the central long axis of the court<sup>7</sup>, it has a narrowly stepped profile, with small sockets at each corner which the excavators suggest may have held cult emblems or a canopy. Half of a large pair of stone horns lay nearby and a rectangular block surrounded by animal skulls was embedded in the floor 1.6m to the northeast. The Kition platform (Altar D) is 1.2m<sup>2</sup> in area and likewise located on the central east/west axis of the temenos. Although surviving to a height of only 0.56m, it was originally considerably higher and probably also stepped. A pair of stone horns was found nearby on Floor II.

There can be little doubt that the principal function of these platforms was to give permanent and impressive display to the associated horns of consecration (Gray in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:104–107; Webb 1977a:119–20; Raptou 1988:75). Notably, the horns from Kition Temenos B have rectangular cavities in the base, possibly to facilitate permanent attachment to a larger structure. The platforms seem also to have served as a focal point of ritual activity in the temene. The block before the northeast face of the *Pigadhes* platform may have been a slaughtering block or offering table, as suggested above. The Kition structure was associated with a large plaster hearth, ash and animal bone (Altar F). Similar platforms may have existed in Temenos B at Kition and in the temenos of Sanctuary I at Kouklia, as suggested by the recovery in both areas of horns of consecration<sup>8</sup>. One of two large pairs of horns from Kouklia, however, has a rough-hewn base and may have been embedded in the floor.

### Wells and Pithoi

Wells are found in both temene (Kition Temple 4 Room 39 and Temenos A; Myrtou *Pigadhes*) and halls (Kition Temples 1 and 4; Sanctuary of the Ingot God; Sanctuary of the Horned God Room 1A). In both cases they are normally located close to an external entrance or in a self-contained well annex. For the most part these wells are stone-built, with well-constructed ashlar wellheads. A pithos embedded in a rock-cut pit in the hall of Kouklia Sanctuary I, and another located 9m west of the South Stoa of Sanctuary II may have served a similar purpose—namely to store water or other liquids used in cult activities. A pithos may also have been located in Pit J (Floor IIIA) at the head of the south aisle in the hall of Temple 5 at Kition (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:76)<sup>9</sup>. Sunken pithoi are also associated with both possible cult places in Area 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke.

### Drains, Sumps and Channels

The stone-lined and at least partially paved drain which runs the full length of the west court at *Pigadhes*, with a secondary branch ending in a sump along the

south side of the altar, is the most obvious feature of its kind. It no doubt served to carry off rainwater but may also have been used for other purposes. According to the excavators, libations were poured into the branch and thus conveyed to the main drain, an unlikely suggestion in view of the lower level of the former (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:16, 110). Ionas' alternative proposal (1985:142) that the branch brought water to the altar to be used in cleaning the area after sacrifices conflicts with our interpretation of this structure as a platform for the display of horns of consecration. Elsewhere stone-carved channels appear in Temene A and B at Kition, where they were used to evacuate rainwater. Rock-cut channels linked with wells in the open area between Kition Temples 2 and 3 for Floor IV apparently brought water to the garden.

A shallow, oval, stone-lined sump with a terracotta conduit in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God is of less obvious purpose. It does not appear to have been located in an unroofed area nor is it sufficiently closely linked with either the *autel inférieur* or the *autel supérieur* to have served a purpose similar to that suggested by Ionas for the branch drain at Myrtoú *Pigadhes*.

### Pits and Bothroi

Pits in or near cult buildings appear to have served a variety of functions. Shallow circular or oval earth or rock-cut bothroi associated with Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* Stratum III (Pits 672, 510, 516+531+536+563), Kition Temples 3 (Pits h, i and j) and 5 (Bothros 19+21), Kouklia Sanctuary I (Site KC), Idalion *Ambelleri* (Bothroi 1–31) and a possible cult place at Kalopsidha *Koufos* (Trench 9) were used for the disposal of broken and discarded offerings, cult equipment and sacrificial waste. Connected in particular with cult places which remained in use over a considerable period of time, they are located within temene or, in the case of Kouklia Site KC, some 35m from the architectural remains.

Small, shallow, circular or oval pits in the hall or temenos, either located near a hearth (Kition Temple 2 Floor III, Temple 5 Floor IIIA, Temenos A Pit K; Sanctuary of the Ingot God Foyer 3) or to the left of the entrance (Kition Temple 2 Floor IV, Temple 4 Floors III–II; Myrtoú *Pigadhes* CD 2) contain ash, burnt bone, sherds or/and votive objects—the latter including an axe (Myrtoú *Pigadhes* CD 2), cooking pot and ring (Kition Temple 2 Floor IV), stone platter and bowl (Kition Temple 5 Floor IIIA) and copper slag (Temenos A Pit K). This appears to represent excess material from the hearths as well as discarded offerings. The bronze statuettes of the Ingot God, Horned God and Double Goddess were also found in pits, located in the inner room or adyton of the cult building. In the case of the Horned God, where the pit remained open, this may represent an attempt to house the deity as closely as possible to its original location in Level IIIB. It seems likely that pits within the cult building

proper were both a means of safeguarding ritual objects and debris and maintaining continuity with earlier phases of the cult.

Elsewhere pits were dug to house plants and bushes (Kition Floor IV and Courtyards B and C for Floor III), pithoi or basins (Kouklia Sanctuary I, Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, Kition Temple 5, Hala Sultan Tekke Area 8 Rooms 67 and 95A) while others (eg Kition Temple 5 Floor III, Temene A and B) no doubt had a structural function supporting canopies, emblems and wooden posts.

### Basins (figures 5.2, 21.1, 68.2)

Terracotta bath-shaped basins (larnakes) were located in rock-cut pits within the Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* enclosure (length 1.28m) and in the hall of Kouklia Sanctuary I (Maier and Karageorghis 1984:96, fig. 78, restored length 0.72m. **Figure 21.1**). They are also present in a LC IIA building at Phlamoudhi *Melissa* (Al-Radi 1983:100) and in Room B of Building II at Alassa *Paliotaverna*, for both of which a cult purpose has been suggested (Hadjisavvas 1996:30–32, fig. 8). The *Dhima* example was filled with ash and burnt bone and surrounded by storage, mixing and pouring vessels (amphoriskoi, bottles, kraters and jug/lets). The Phlamoudhi basin was also filled with vessels, bones, fragments of gold leaf and a cylinder seal. A limestone basin with a relief bucranium from Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:129–31, fig. 60.2, restored diameter 0.55m. See **figure 5.2**), two from the neighbourhood of the cult house at Idalion *Ambelleri* (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:543, 552, nos. 421, 715), a fragmentary larnax from Myrtoú *Pigadhes* Room 15 (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:20), a clay basin from Room 44 of the Reconstructed Ashlar Building at Enkomi (Dikaios 1967:208, pl. 33.3, restored diameter 0.57m) and stone troughs with grooves and perforated bases from Rooms 9 and 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (Level IIIB) may also have been used in connection with cult activities.

L. Åström (in Åström and Åström 1972:588, 605) and Karageorghis (1983:435–38) have argued that these objects had a religious significance, suggesting that those found in cult contexts served as 'lustral basins' during purification rituals. The vessels associated with the *Dhima* example (and perhaps that at *Melissa*) leave little doubt that they were used in connection with liquids, although these may have involved libations, rather than or as well as ablutions or purification. The presence of ash and bone suggests that they were also used (like bothroi) for the disposal or accumulation of sacrificial debris. In both respects they recall the rock-cut basins beneath Tumuli 1, 3 and 6 in the cemetery at Korovia *Palaeoskoutella*, an observation which may provide a link between funerary installations and cult places of other types.

The importance of stone basins and troughs in ritual observance is further suggested by the appearance on three examples of relief bucrania or horns of consecration (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:129–31, fig. 60.2. See **figure 5.2**;

Karageorghis 1976c:76–78, fig. 1. See **figure 68.2**; Åström 1985a: pl. X.2). Stone and terracotta larnakes, however, are also regularly found in domestic (Courtois 1992; South 1980:39, pl. VIII.2; Karageorghis and Demas 1984:52, pl. XLII) and tomb deposits (Karageorghis 1974:91, pls. LXXXVII, CLXX—a miniature in ivory, 1983:435–36, n. 1, fig. 2; Maier and Karageorghis 1984: fig. 45—a miniature in stone).

### Horns of Consecration (figures 67–68)

So-called ‘horns of consecration’ in stone of LC IIIA or possibly LC IIC date were found in the west court at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (**figure 67.2**), Kition Temene A (**figure 67.1**) and B (in the latter case reused in a post-Bronze Age level) and the temenos of Sanctuary I at Kouklia (**figure 67.3**). In each case they were apparently displayed on high stepped stone platforms (see above) or/and embedded in the floor. They range in height from 0.43m (Kition Temenos B), 0.48m (Kition Temenos A Floor II), 1.1m (Kouklia) and 1.15m (*Pigadhes*) to 1.2+m (Kouklia). The examples from Kition Temenos A and Kouklia are made of a single block of stone. Those from Kition and *Pigadhes* are constructed in two halves, each comprising a single horn. The one surviving horn from Myrtou *Pigadhes* adjoins a coffered side (0.5m square) with four squared insets, the lower two barred horizontally. Both horns from Kition Temenos B have a rectangular cavity in the base (12 by 18 by 12cm; 12 by 18 by 9cm), presumably to allow attachment to a table or platform (Loulloupis 1973:237, pl. XXIX.4).

Horns of consecration are also depicted on two imported Mycenaean vessels. On a Mycenaean IIB krater from British Tomb 12 at Enkomi (**figure 68.3**) they appear in an alternating frieze with bucrania (or bull’s head rhyta) and double axes (Murray, Smith and Walters 1900:38, fig. 67, no. 844; Loulloupis 1973:231–32, pl. XXVIII.9; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982:22). Of greater interest is a Mycenaean IIIA pictorial krater (**figure 68.1**) from Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* Tomb 13 (South 1997:163, fig. 6, pl. XV.5–6; Steel 1994). On one side a chariot with two human figures moves toward a female figure shown inside a building topped by horns of consecration. On the other two horses and a fish approach the same central motif. Horns of consecration also appear on a mid C12th bell krater of local WPW-m III from Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1988b)<sup>10</sup>, and in low relief on a limestone trough from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* (Catling and Karageorghis 1960:127, n. 199; Dikaios 1971:900, n. 740; Loulloupis 1973:235–36, pl. XXVIII.10. See **figure 68.2**). The latter is attributed to the late C13th or early C12th (Karageorghis 1976c:76–78, fig. 1, pl. XIII.1–2; Karageorghis and Demas 1985:255)<sup>11</sup>.

Stone horns of consecration are thus not evident in Cyprus prior to the C13th and are widely believed to have been brought to the island by Aegean immigrants toward the end of LC IIC (Loulloupis 1973:242; Renfrew 1985:413;

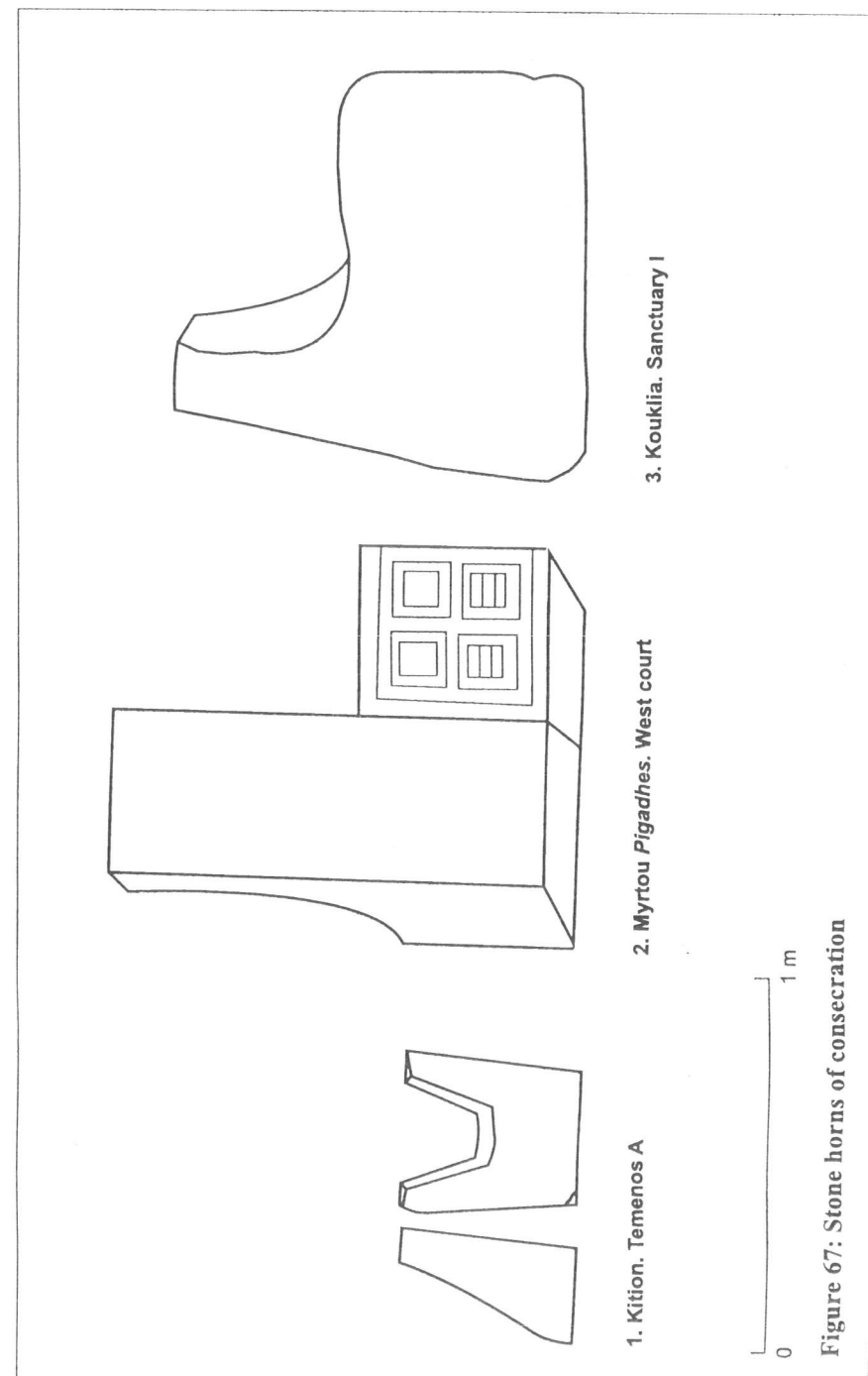




Figure 68: Horns of consecration

Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1992; Papadopoulos 1997). Imported pictorial vessels such as those from Enkomi and Kalavassos, which reached Cyprus during the C14th and C13th, provide an alternative method of transfer. Although certainly derived from the Aegean, and most probably from Crete (Hägg 1991:79–80), it should be noted that the Cypriot stone horns have flat square terminals and in this respect differ significantly from their Minoan and Mycenaean counterparts, which have high, inward curving and pointed horns (Gesell 1985:143–49, pls. 71–79; Renfrew 1985a:429; Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1992:330–31 with refs).

Both Aegean and Cypriot horns of consecration have been identified as the emblem of a bull deity, a symbol of bull sacrifice or/and a sign of consecration, indicating the sanctity of an area or structure and setting it apart from secular buildings (Nilsson 1950:184–85; D'Agata 1992; Powell 1977:70–80; Willetts 1978; Rutkowski 1979:226; Hitchcock 1998:163–68). A conceptual link between horns of consecration and the numerous bucrania associated with Cypriot cult practice and represented in glyptic and other media seems inescapable, although the former are notably less bovine than their Minoan counterparts. In each case the symbolising process appears to be one of metonymy with the horns or bucranium representing the entire animal or a deity or deities wholly or partly visualised in bovine form. It appears also, however, that horns of consecration, bucrania and isolated horns served a broader purpose as sacred, sanctifying or apotropaic symbols. This is suggested by the use of horned headgear as a generic indicator of divinity in glyptic and the association of horns of consecration at Myrtou, Kition and Kouklia with both bull and female images.

### Stepped Capitals (figure 69)

Square limestone capitals with a distinctive stepped profile were associated with Kition Temple 1 (figure 69.2–3), Kition Temenos B (figure 69.1), Sanctuary I at Kouklia, the west court at Myrtou *Pigadhes* and the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi. Two examples from Kition Temple 1 were found in secondary use in Iron Age levels. One was reused as a pillar base in the north portico of the temple dedicated to Phoenician Astarte and measures 1.42+m square (upper surface) by 0.7m high. The other survives as a small fragment (Callot 1985:189, fig. 35, pl. CIV.5–6). Two complete examples were found in a Phoenician bothros in Temenos B (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:59–60, pls. LXXI.2–3, 60.1; Callot 1985:199, figs. 55–56). They measure 1.24m by 1.25m (upper surface) by 0.55m high and 1.15m by 0.82+ (upper surface) by 0.52m high respectively. A third example, reused in a Phoenician altar in Temenos B, is only partly exposed but appears to have been of similar dimensions (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:60; Callot 1985:199, fig. 57, pl. CIV.3). At Kouklia three complete capitals of the same grey limestone as the orthostats of Sanctuary I measure 1.15m, 1.15m and 1.3m square respectively (Hult 1983:13

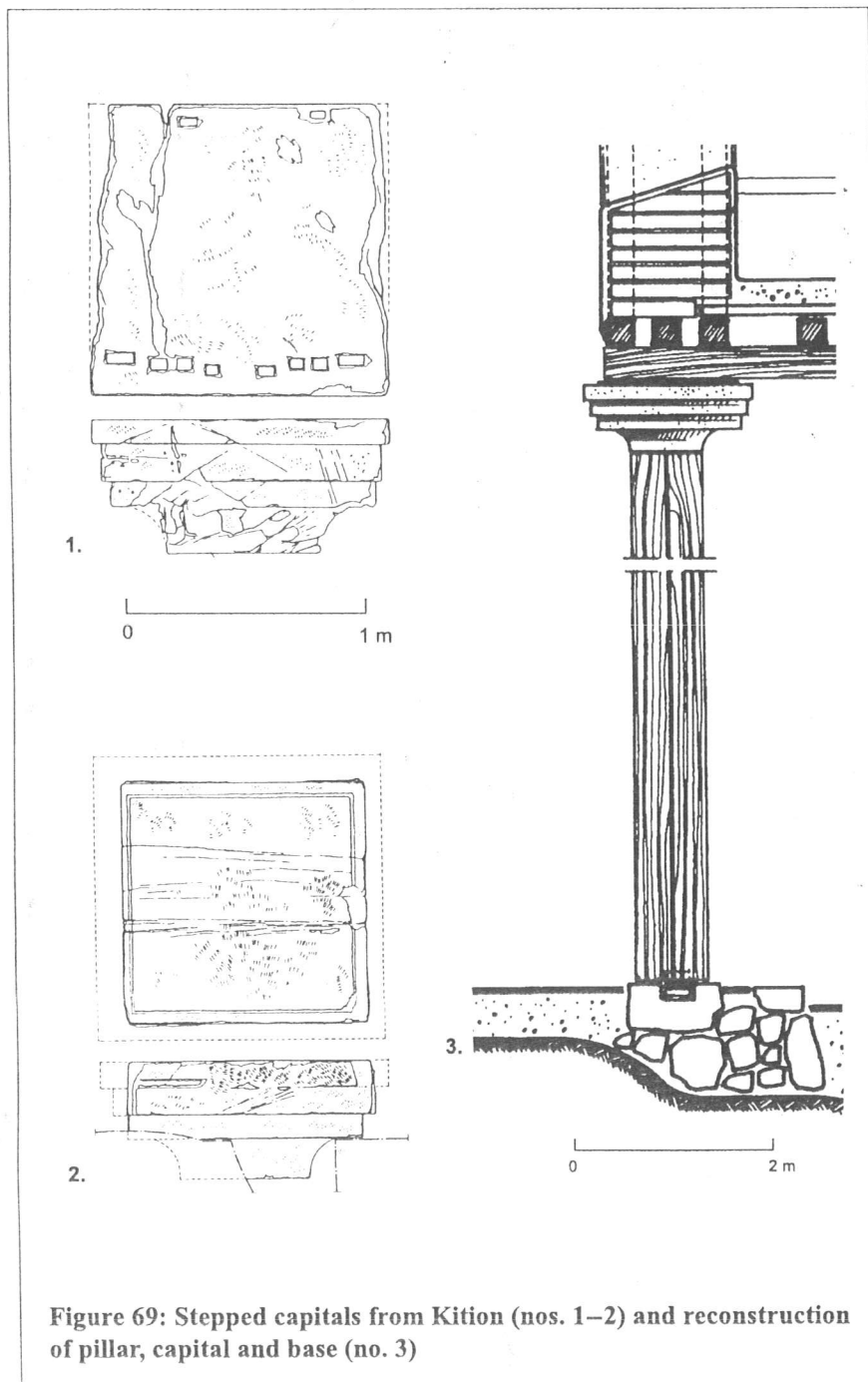


Figure 69: Stepped capitals from Kition (nos. 1–2) and reconstruction of pillar, capital and base (no. 3)

with refs). Two further examples are fragmentary. None were found *in situ*. Two smaller capitals from the west court at Myrtoú *Pigadhes* also survive as fragments<sup>12</sup>. The example from the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi measures 1.47m square (upper surface), with a preserved height of 0.45m (Karageorghis 1971d:102).

Stepped capitals were originally thought to have been freestanding votive monuments (du Plat Taylor 1957:16; Karageorghis 1971d; Maier and Karageorghis 1984:99). It is now clear, however, that they served an architectural function. Callot's proposed reconstruction of Kition Temple 1 (figure 24) proposes a tripartite roofed structure, with the hall divided into a broad central aisle and two porticoes by two rows of five wooden columns supporting stepped capitals (1985:188–89, fig. 36–41). The size of the lower surface of the surviving capital from Temple 1 (0.74m) accords almost exactly with the upper surface of the existing pillar bases (Callot 1985:189, fig. 36). The capital, also, has a raised square panel on its upper surface, perhaps to prevent the weight of the superstructure falling directly on the stepped overhangs (Callot 1985:189, fig. 35). Callot's reconstruction of Kition Temple 2 and Temenos B (figure 24) proposes a large double doorway toward the east end of Temple 2, leading to an external portico supported by three wooden columns surmounted by the three existing capitals (1985:198–99, figs. 67–71). The most complete capital from Temenos B has rows of eight and two small rectangular mortises arranged along opposing edges on its upper surface (figure 69.1). These were probably intended to support a wooden superstructure (Callot 1985:199, figs. 58. See figure 69.3).

The location of the capitals within Sanctuary I at Kouklia and the west court at *Pigadhes* is uncertain. Given their proposed use at Kition, however, it may be suggested that they surmounted the two rows of six square pillars located in the hall at Kouklia (as also suggested by Karageorghis 1982:98; Negbi 1986:110 and Wright 1992a:430). The fragmentary capital recovered from the ashlar building in Enkomi Quarter 6E may also have been placed upon a square pillar set on one of the four stone bases located in the hall<sup>13</sup>.

Stepped capitals are consistently associated with urban cult buildings of LC IIC and IIIA, where they appear to have been internal structural elements, normally located in the hall. The recovery of several examples at Kouklia *Evreti* and *Arkalou* suggests that they might also have been used in secular buildings, although these were not found *in situ* (BCH CVIII 1984:947, fig. 147; BCH CIX 1985:942; Maier 1985:118, n. 74). Such capitals may prove to be associated with monumental ashlar construction *per se*. Karageorghis (1971d) proposed an Aegean origin for the capitals, despite an absence of parallels from the mainland and associated their appearance on the island with the arrival of Aegean immigrants around 1200 BC. Ashlar masonry is, however, now documented on LC II sites and can no longer be attributed to the immigration of



new groups or even new foreign influences (Hult 1983:88–90). The use of ashlar masonry during the latter part of LC II appears to have evolved gradually, under the influence of continuous contacts with Syria and particularly Ugarit (Hult 1983:90). Along with its particular constituents, such as stepped capitals, this architectural tradition may have been a largely local creation.

### Stepped Bases

Eight stepped stone blocks from Areas 8 and 22 at Hala Sultan Tekke have been interpreted as having religious significance, largely by comparison with the stepped capitals (Jacobsson 1985:189). Most are relatively large and heavy and appear to have been used as bases. Cavities and holes in the surface of some may have held pillars, poles or stelae (Jacobsson 1985:189; Åström 1984b:66). Although all were recovered from contexts of LC IIIA, few were found *in situ* and their original use may be of earlier date (Jacobsson 1985:189). They are not associated with either of the two proposed cult buildings at Hala Sultan Tekke, nor found in cult buildings elsewhere on the island. An example from Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* was associated with a thick lime floor in a partially excavated building to the south of Building X (Todd and South 1992:197).

### Baetyls and Stelae (figure 70.1)

A number of natural or shaped stone blocks or boulders have been identified in Cypriot cult buildings. These include a roughly conical, smooth-surfaced block of dark grey diabase (0.5m by 0.52m by 0.36m) found on bedrock near the southeast entrance to the hall of Temple 1 at Kition (Karageorghis 1992:212, fig. 3). Karageorghis suggests that this stone originally stood on an elevated base on Floor IIIA. A larger, conical, dark grey-green block of microgabbro, 1.22m high, was found upside down in a rock-cut pit in the floor of the South Stoa of Sanctuary II at Kouklia (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: fig. 83). It has been suggested that it was originally located in Sanctuary I and ‘represents the cult idol of Aphrodite, venerated through more than one and a half millennia’ (Maier and Karageorghis 1984:99; Karageorghis 1992:212)<sup>14</sup>. Similarly, an ovoid stone found by the altar in the Iron Age sanctuary at Ayia Irini was believed by Sjöqvist (1933:347) to have been the cult object proper and to have belonged originally to the LC III cult house (see also Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:809, 821 and Karageorghis 1977c:42, 1992:212).

The only baetyl found *in situ* in a Late Cypriot cult place comes from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi. A small upright, shaped rectangular stone block (0.6m high) and a rectangular plaster platform were erected in the centre of the western adyton for Sol II, the base of the baetyl resting on Sol III and remaining in use for Sol I (Courtois 1971b:312–25, figs. 131–38). The latter was surrounded by twenty-one human figurines, a skyphos, kylix and

amphora of PWP and an inscribed clay ball. A PWP kalathos lay on the platform. The baetyl clearly provided a focus for ritual activity in this adyton, which appears to have been dedicated to a female deity associated with the hundreds of female figurines found exclusively in the western sector of the cult building and courtyard. Courtois (1973:226) also notes two small pillars ‘incorporés dans la maçonnerie du mur ouest’ of the same room. It is unclear whether these were cult furnishings or part of the wall construction.

A sculptured limestone block, reused in a paved building of LC IIIA in Area 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke (figure 70.1), is decorated in relief with what appears to be a doorway with lintel and door-jambs and two windows (*BCH* XCVII:659–60, fig. 89; Hult 1977a; Webb 1977a:126–28). Both sides are carved with recessed panels. Traces of red pigment were found on the surface of the stone and in surrounding soil. The block is rectangular (0.58m by 0.28m by 0.15m) and appears to have been freestanding, since all sides are carefully dressed. Remains of a rectangular niche in the top allow for the attachment of an additional object. Hult (1977a:152) has drawn attention to the similarity of the decoration on the upper half of this stone with that on the coffered block which adjoined the horns of consecration found in the west court at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:15, 108, fig. 9, no. xlvi, pl. Iib). Both show four rectangles, the lower two barred horizontally. The suggestion that windows are represented is strengthened by a comparison with the style of window depicted on a four-sided bronze stand of LC III date from British Tomb 97 at Enkomi (Catling 1964:204–205, pl. 33c). Each panel shows part of the facade of a building pierced by a window divided in two by a mullion, out of which two women look *en face*. Below the sill of each half window are three horizontal bars or slats.

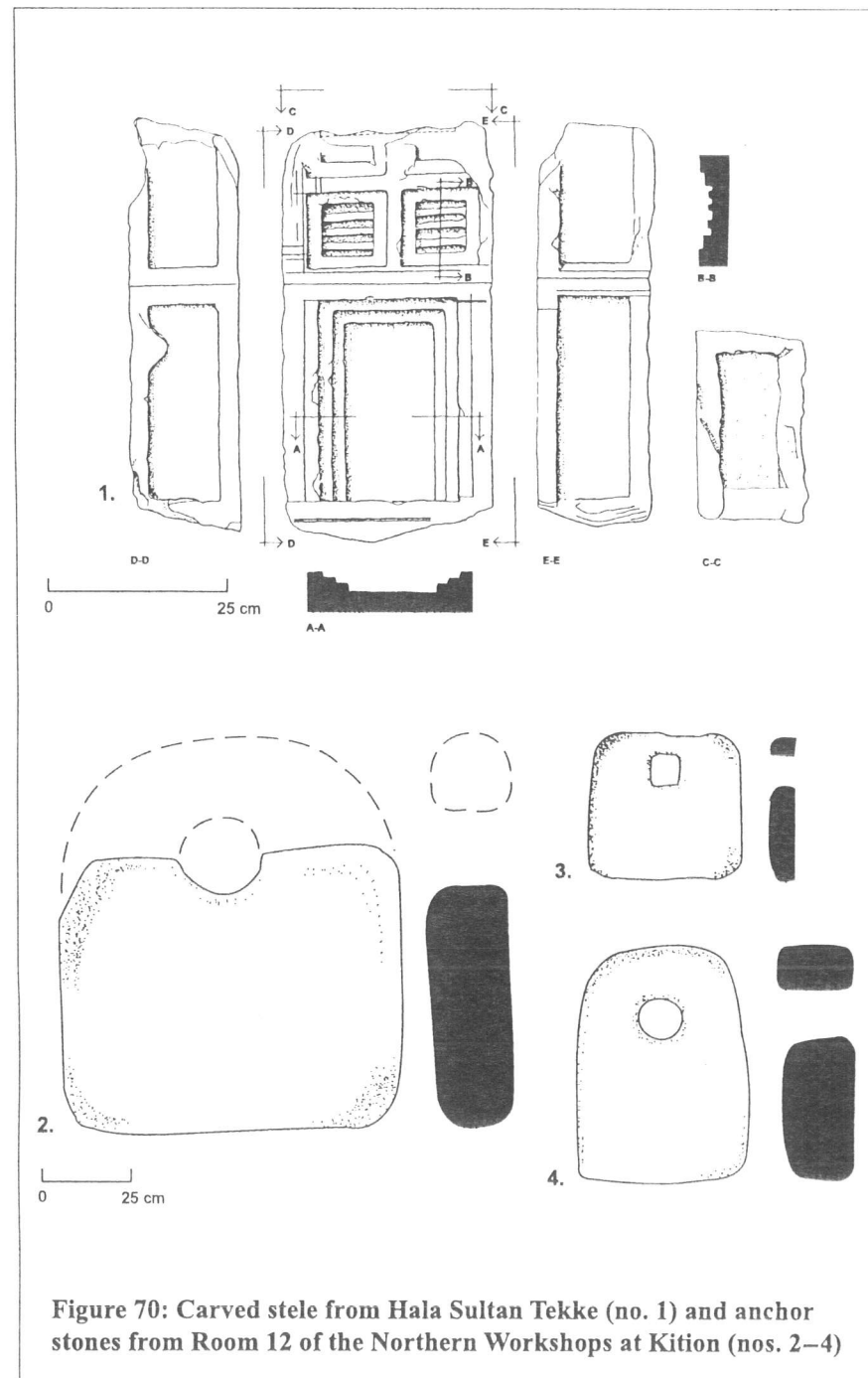
The Tekke stone is unique in Cyprus and has few close parallels beyond the island (Hult 1977a:153–54). In Hult’s views it is a ‘house model in the shape of a stele equipped with a socket on top for some object and door and windows carved on the front’ (1977a:154). Given the similarities with the coffered block from Myrtou and the ritual use of house models in the Near East, she suggests a cultic or funerary function, perhaps as one of a pair of stelae flanking the entrance to a temple or marking a tomb. A possible parallel is provided by a Cypriot cylinder seal from Enkomi (A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. XIV, no. 45; Ward 1910:348, 350, fig. 1183; Porada 1948a:192–93, pl. X, no. 42), which depicts a waist-high rectangular object with decoration resembling the doorway on the Tekke stone between two seated figures (figure 72.5). A bird which alights on its surface may be the attribute of a deity or a cult symbol attached to the object on which it stands. This recalls the carved socket on the upper surface of the Tekke stone, which may have been intended for the attachment of a similar object. Waist-high tables or stelae, supporting birds or in one instance a seated lion, appear also on a number of other Cypriot cylinders (Porada 1986:299, pls. XVIII.5–6, XIX.1–2. See figure 72.3–4, 6).

Several other rectangular stone blocks with flattened sides, convex upper edges and incised signs or figured decoration from Hala Sultan Tekke may have been stelae (Hult 1978:6, figs. 30–31, 38; *BCH* XCVIII (1974):870–71. See also Bailey in Åström *et al.* 1976:4, pl. VII). They were not, however, recovered in overtly religious contexts. Other instances of standing stones in Cypriot cult include anchors set upright in Room 12 and Temple 5 at Kition (see below).

### Anchors (figures 70.2–4, 71)

Over one hundred stone anchors were used in the construction of the sacred area at Kition—as pillar bases, threshold blocks, corner stones, wall foundations and within wells and benches (Karageorghis and Demas 1985: plan II. See **figure 71**). These include the largest anchors yet recorded from Cyprus or elsewhere, ranging in height from just over 1m to 1.62m and in weight from 300kg to 1,350kg (Frost 1985b:291). A number have incised markings, Cypro-Minoan signs, burning or/and cupules on their surface, suggesting ritual or other use prior to or during the erection of these buildings (Frost 1985b:281–321). *In situ* anchors in obviously ritual contexts include a large and thoroughly burnt example set upright against the west wall of Room 12 of the Northern Workshops (**figure 70.2**), before a heap of burnt bucrania and other animal bones arranged partly over a second anchor embedded horizontally in the floor (Frost 1985b:289, 309, pl. E.6, 10, nos. 947, 942A). A third, with evidence of burning and a large cupule, lay nearby (Frost 1985b:289, 311, pl. H.9, no. 943). In Temple 5 a large anchor stood upright against the south face of the stone altar table on Floors II–I (Frost 1985b:294, 303, pl. D.2, no. 4978), and another on a mudbrick plinth surrounded by animal bones in the hall on Floor I (Frost 1985b:289, 305, pl. D.4, 7, fig. 8.10, no. 4199). The latter shows traces of fire on one face. Anchors were also built into offering tables in Temple 2 and Temple 5 (Frost 1985b:298, 303, nos. 2613A, 4977, 4978, 4978A, 4978B, 4978C, pls. B.4, D.1–3), and several placed one upon the other with rope-holes aligned to form a funnel to the right of the east entrance to the hall of Temple 4 (Frost 1985b:299, nos. 5138, 5138A). Sets of anchors, comprising two, three, four or six examples and associated in particular with the wall foundations of Temple 4, may represent the compliment of anchors carried on a single ship and consequently the ship itself (Frost 1985b:294, 298)<sup>15</sup>.

With a few exceptions, however, these anchors show no sign of having been employed at sea (in the form, for example, of rubbing inside the rope-hole). On the contrary, as Frost notes (1985b:282), many have cupules in their surface, roughly hewn undersides, fresh chisel cuts and in some cases unfinished piercings. They may therefore have been made specifically for the temples, perhaps in workshops located within the sacred precinct (Frost 1985b:290, 295, 319). They have been identified, most recently by Frost (1985b:282, 290), as votives offered by seafarers as a precaution against future



**Figure 70: Carved stele from Hala Sultan Tekke (no. 1) and anchor stones from Room 12 of the Northern Workshops at Kition (nos. 2–4)**

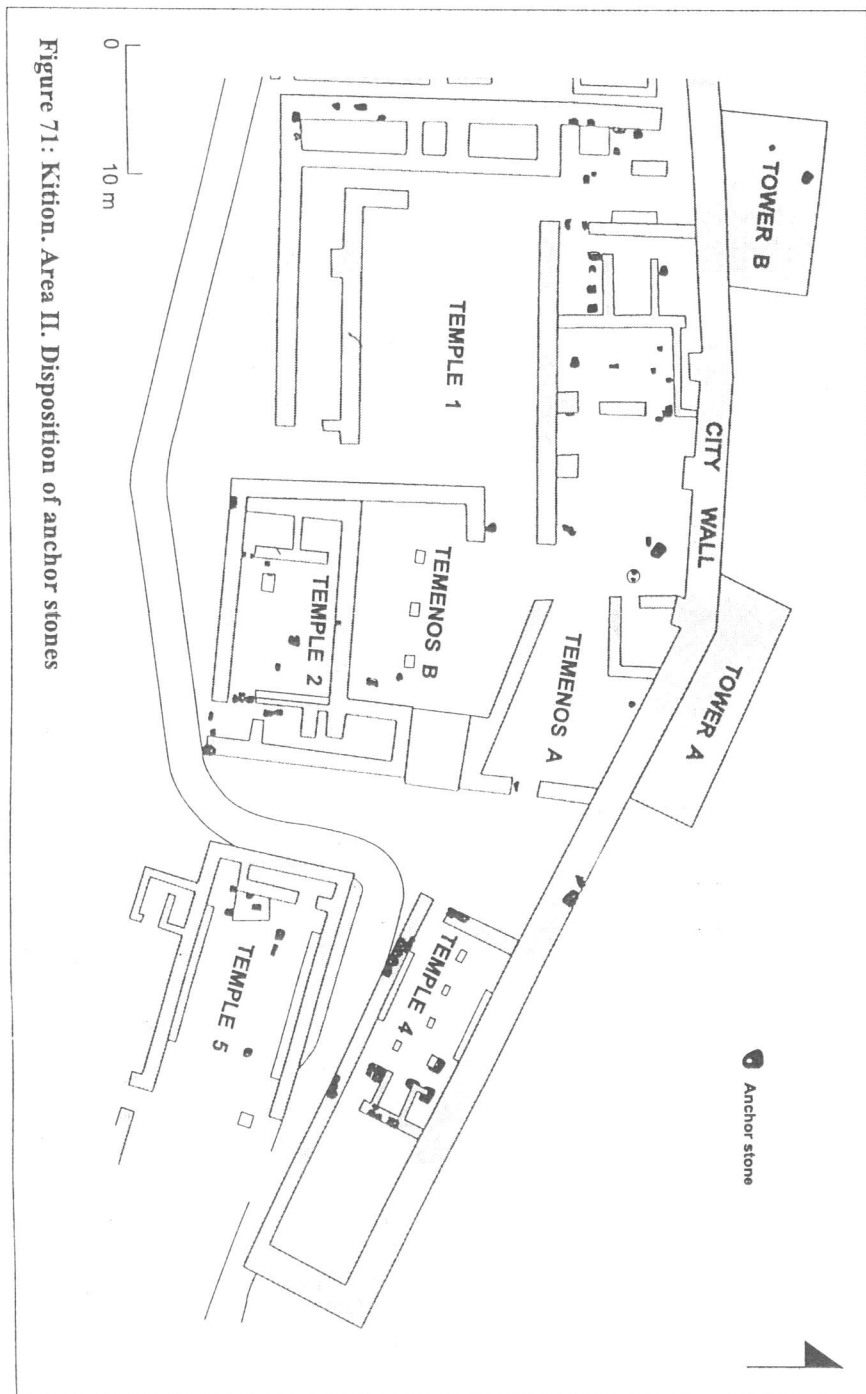


Figure 71: Kition. Area II. Disposition of anchor stones

sea journeys. This explanation is difficult to reconcile, however, with their use *within the construction* of the sacred buildings. Most are architectural elements belonging to the initial construction phase and were clearly present prior to the completion of the temples. Only the anchor propped against the table in Temple 5 (Floor II) has the appearance of a votive. It remained in position for Floor I.

The use of anchor stones was clearly basic to the plan and construction of the sacred area at Kition from its inception in the C13th (Floor IV). Anchors are associated with all structures, with the exception of Temple 3, and in particular with Temples 2 (seventeen examples), 4 (twenty-three examples) and the Northern Workshops (twenty-five examples with eleven from Room 12 alone). Notably, none were recovered from secular buildings excavated in Area I. A preoccupation with seafaring in the sacred quarter is also evident in the appearance of ship graffiti on the south wall of Temple 1 (figure 94) and on blocks reused in the construction of the Floor I altar in Temple 4, the recovery of eighty-four marine shells in Temple 2 and the predominance of marine motifs on decorated pottery from the same building. This suggests a relationship between cult and seafaring or/and maritime trade at Kition of at least equal importance to that between cult and metallurgy (see Part V).

Anchors are not noted in the construction or furnishings of other excavated cult buildings in Cyprus<sup>16</sup>. Similar anchor groups are associated, however, with temples at Byblos and Ugarit (Frost 1969a, 1969b). Notably also, while anchor stones were used as construction material at Hala Sultan Tekke and other Late Cypriot coastal sites, they are nowhere as common as in the sacred quarter at Kition and in most instances are fragmentary (Hult 1977b:147–49; McCaslin 1978:118, fig. 215; Öbrink 1979b:16, 19–20, figs. 49, 94–95, 102–102A; Hatziantoniou 1983:107, 124, figs. 373–74). The majority of anchors from Kition Area II are complete and intact.

### Other

A shallow, rectangular limestone basin (1.62m by 0.7m) with low, narrow rim embedded at floor level in the centre of the temenos of Sanctuary I at Kouklia has been identified as an ablution basin (Webb 1977a:128–29; Maier 1977:136–37). A square limestone block on the same alignment to the north is of uncertain purpose. It is unlikely (*contra* Negbi 1986:110) to be the remains of a platform supporting horns of consecration as those found in the temenos are far larger and have a rough-hewn base, suggesting that they were embedded in the floor.

A large, irregularly-shaped limestone block with ninety-eight small circular depressions arranged in a spiral around a central larger depression, found in a rubble heap outside the City Wall north of Temple 4 at Kition, was originally identified as a kernos (Karageorghis 1980a:254, pl. 80; Karageorghis and Demas 1985:242, no. XXVIII, pl. CIV.7). It is now recognised as a gaming stone of *Mehen* type (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:242). A number of other

gaming stones of both *Mehen* and the more common *Senet* type, with three rows of ten depressions, have also been found at Kition (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:242, pl. CV.5–6). One example had been reused in a wall of Temple 3 and others in the construction of an Iron Age altar in Temple 4. Gaming stones of both types are common throughout the Bronze Age and later in Cyprus (Swiny 1980; Frankel and Webb 1996:86–87, fig. 6.13–14, pl. 26a–c). They do not otherwise appear in ritual contexts.

Reference is occasionally made to a 'pillar cult' of Aegean type, in connection with two cylindrical column drums recovered from a well or bothros in the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi (Karageorghis 1982:94). These are thought to have stood on a square stone base on the central axis of the building, surmounted by a stepped capital recovered from the same context (Karageorghis 1971d:102–106, figs. 2–2a). As both, however, were found in a pit with Hellenistic material and at least one is inscribed in Greek (Schaeffer 1971:570), they appear to be of post-Bronze Age date.

Two flat, rectangular stone blocks located on the floor of the adyton in the cult house at Ayia Irini, another with a rectangular cavity in the inner room of the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi, and two slabs with a semicircular niche corresponding to a depression in the floor in Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God may have supported cult statues or other objects regularly housed in the adyta.

Other interior furnishings in cult buildings include a circular setting of red and white pebbles located in the southeast corner of Room V of the cult house at Ayia Irini. It was surrounded by a group of objects, including a bull figurine, juglets of BR II and PWH-m and a PWW-m offering stand. Pebbles, principally red in colour, were also found throughout the deposit associated with Room XXXIV of the cult house at Idalion *Ambelleri* Period 1, and a flat red stone set in a semicircular area of red clay and covered with ash and animal bone was found in Temple 5 (Floor II) at Kition, located to the left of the doorway leading into the hall from the south (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:131, pl. XCIII.1). The colour red may thus have had particular significance. Notably, lumps of red ochre were recovered in the cult house and storehouse of Period 1 and the 'priest's house' of Period 2 at Idalion *Ambelleri*. The carved stele from Area 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke (see above) was originally coated in red pigment (Hult 1977a:150) and the adyton (Room 58A) of Temple 5 at Kition was furnished with a red clay floor (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:112).

## THE CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE (table II)

BOWLS, jugs and juglets account for the majority of ceramic vessels both overall (ca 82%) and in individual cult places, with the exception of the assemblage from Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*. Only jars (5.6%), pithoi (2.7%) and

kraters (2%) otherwise appear regularly. Skyphoi (1.3%), kylikes (0.9%), amphorae and amphoriskoi (0.9%) occur almost exclusively in LC IIC and LC III deposits and kalathoi only in those of LC IIIB. More specialised vessels, including offering stands (0.9%) and rhyta (0.5%), appear in very small numbers.

Whether individual vessels were present as votives in their own right, as containers of food or liquid offerings, or as cult equipment (ie items used in ritual practice) is in most cases impossible to determine. Miniature and full-size vases from Athienou Stratum III appear from their quantity and context to have been votives, perhaps containing food or liquid. Bowls, jugs, juglets, skyphoi, kalathoi, kylikes, rhyta and offering stands from other sites may also have served as offering vessels. In most assemblages bowl shapes are equally represented or predominate slightly over jars, jugs and juglets. In the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Enkomi, however, bowls outnumber jugs, juglets, jars, flasks and amphoriskoi by 26:1, while the opposite is the case at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, Athienou and Idalion *Ambelleri*. At *Dhima* the ratio of closed to open shapes is 24:1, at Athienou approximately 6:1 and at Idalion 12:0. This may reflect differing emphases in ritual practice, with drinking and libations more common at *Dhima*, Athienou and Idalion. Bowls, however, are not associated with organic remains and may also have been used predominantly as containers of liquids (Yon 1986:282; Åström 1987a).

## Bowls and Skyphoi

In cult assemblages of LC II Y-shaped BR II vessels with ring-bases and wishbone handles are the most frequent bowl type (Åström 1972b:175–78, Type I.F). These were the most common shallow bowls in use throughout LC IIA–IIC and are found in abundance also in tomb and settlement deposits (Åström 1972b:175–78). At Athienou they range from miniature (7cm in diameter) to full-size (22.5 cm diameter), and occur alongside lesser numbers of bowls of WS II, PWW-m I and WPW-m III, miniature variants of PW and WS and crude heavy-based miniatures with one or two handles (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: figs. 8.1–3, 11.1–18, 12.3, 13.2–3, 17–19, 42). BR II bowls of this type are also reported from Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, Myrtou *Pigadhes* CD2, CD3 and CD4 and Rooms 4, 5, 15, 16 and 20A of Periods V–VII, Kouklia Sanctuary I and Floor IV of Kition Temple 2 (Åström 1972b:175–78; Catling in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957: fig. 18; Karageorghis 1985d:90–92, pl. CLXXXVII).

Bowls of similar shape continued in use in cult assemblages of LC III (figure 44.1). Two hundred and seventy-six PWW-m II bowls with roughly Y-shaped profiles and wishbone handles were found inverted in three stacks in Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God and five in Room 26 of Level IIIC (Åström 1972b:252, Type Ca; Dikaios 1969–1971:196, 216, 616, pls. 83.30–31, 95.4)<sup>17</sup>. Ten bowls of the same type stood on the north bench in the

	bowl skyphos	kylix	kalathos	krater	offering stand	jug juglet	jar	rhyton	arm vessel	cooking pot	pithos	amphora	bottle
Athienou Stratum III	77			6	1	466	8				1		1
Ayios Iakovos <i>Dhima</i>	1			3		3	4		9			2	2
Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> Rooms CD1-CD6	33			2	2	20	11				13		1
Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> Periods V-VII	16			3	6	7	8	2-3			2		
Ayia Irini	3	1			1	3					4		
Kition Temple 2	22	4		4		5	6	2		1	frags		
Kition Temple 4	25			1		2	1				1	1	
Kition Temple 5	6			1		3	2				frags	1	1
Idalion <i>Ambelleri</i>						11							1
Enkomi Sanctuary of Horned God	287	1				4	4				1	1	1
Enkomi Sanctuary of Double Goddess	18	1				2	3					2	
Enkomi Sanctuary of Ingot God	30	2	5	3	1-2	7	15	1		3	3	3	

Table II: Ceramic vessels in residual cult assemblages



hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1971b:253–57, figs 93–95) and three were recovered on Sol III in the northeast adyton, together with the statuette of the Ingot God and a krater and jug of WPW-m III (Iacovou 1988:9; Schaeffer 1971:527, fig. 8A). Iacovou has suggested that these represent a deliberate survival of the Y-shaped BR II bowl, which ‘can only be explained as the result of its pre-established, traditional function in the cult’ (Iacovou 1988:9). At Kition fourteen such bowls were found in Temple 4, where they were associated in particular with Floor IIIA of Room 38C, which Karageorghis identifies as a temple storeroom (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:71; Karageorghis 1985d:132, 152, pls. CXCIII, CXCIX). Room 38C produced two bowls identified as wheel-made BR II (Karageorghis 1985d:116, pl. CXCIII). Several PWW-m II bowls, imitating BR types, were also found in Strata III and II at Athienou (Dothan and Misch-Brandl in Dothan and Ben Tor 1983:41, fig. 8.7–9). Dothan and Misch-Brandl note the presence of these vessels as a common link between the cult at Athienou and that at larger centers such as Enkomi (in Dothan and Ben Tor 1983:41).

These PWW-m bowls, imitating earlier BR II vessels, are the most common single bowl type in LC III cult buildings at Enkomi and Kition. Their accumulation on the north bench of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, inverted in stacks in the adyton of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (see Åström 1987b:12) and in the adyton of Temple 4 at Kition leaves little doubt that they were the principal offering vessels in LC III. Although occasionally found in tombs, they are not a common bowl type in contemporary, non-ritual contexts and may have been produced primarily for use in public and mortuary ceremonial. The predominance of this bowl shape in both LC II and LC III cult assemblages argues for continuity in ritual practice and tradition across the LC II/III transition.

Other bowl types occur far less frequently. Two deep conical bowls of imported Mycenaean IIIB from Floor IV of Temple 2 at Kition are decorated with boxers and octopi (Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:6–7, nos. 3 and 6, pls. IV.3, 6. See **figure 12.4, 6**). Such pictorial compositions are not common on bowls of this type and these and other decorated Mycenaean IIIB vases from Temple 2 may have been items of cult equipment rather than votives. Bowls of ‘Late Mycenaean IIIB’, ‘Decorated Late Cypriote III’ and ‘Mycenaean IIIC:1’, now subsumed under the umbrella term WPW-m III, were also present at Kition, where six were associated with the hearth of Temple 2, four in Rooms 38 and 38C of Temple 4, three in Rooms 58 and 58A of Temple 5 and one in Temenos A. At Enkomi a bowl ‘of Myc. IIIC:1b shape’ was found amidst the 276 bowls of PWW-m II in Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God, and fifteen bowls of ‘Mycenaean III:1c’ lay on or near the hearth in Room 12 of the adjoining Sanctuary of the Double Goddess (Dikaios 1969:196, 200, pl. 95.4). Fragmentary bowls of ‘Mycenaean IIIC:1b’ are also reported from the west court at Myrtou and three bowls of ‘Decorated LC IIIA–B’ and ‘Late

Mycenaean IIIB’ from Athienou Stratum III (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:46–49, figs. 12.3, 13.2–3).

Eight skyphoi of WPW-m III (identified as Mycenaean IIIC:1) were found in the hall of Temple 2 at Kition, including two fragmentary examples recovered from the ashes of the hearth. Another five came from Floor III of Temenos A and three in Rooms 38A and 38C of Temple 4. A PWP vessel from Sol I of the west adyton of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God is also identified by Courtois as a skyphos (1971b:315, figs. 118.N, 133). Sols III–II of the same building produced a number of fragmentary deep bowls of PWP, variously decorated with solid parallel bands, wavy lines or eye spirals, from the hall, the west and north bench, the entrance to the northeast adyton, the west adyton and the well (Courtois 1971b:167, 177, 231, 310, figs. 18.D–E, 99.C–D, 104.A, C–F, 118.A–B). A fragmentary bowl of PWP was found also on Floor II of Temple 4 at Kition (Karageorghis 1985d:167, pl. CXLV).

### Kylikes/Stemmed Cups

The kylix or stemmed cup is a vessel of Mycenaean origin which first appeared in Cyprus in imported Mycenaean fabrics and subsequently in local WPW-m III and PWP. The shape disappears by the end of LC IIIB. Kylikes are present in a number of cult buildings, where they appear to have been of some importance. Room 24 of Temple 2 (Floor IV) at Kition produced two imported Mycenaean IIIB examples (**figure 12.1–2**), both decorated with murex shells (Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:7, nos. 7–8, pls. IV, XI; Karageorghis 1985d:89, inv. 2536, 2595). One, with a restored height of 25.7cm, is particularly impressive. On Floor III of the same room fragments of several kylikes of WPW-m III and PW were found in the ashes of the hearth (Karageorghis 1985d:138, pl. CXXXVI, inv. 2589–2590). Fragmentary WPW-m III kylikes were also found in Rooms 9 and 13 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (Dikaios 1969–1971:201, 611, pls. 79.21, 95.10a, 25). Another decorated kylix in WPW-m III came from Room VI of the cult house at Ayia Irini (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:665, fig. 263; Catling 1965:6–7 and n. 4). A Mycenaean IIIB stemmed cup, found below the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi, may have been associated with an earlier cult building (Courtois 1971b:206–11, figs. 51–52.B). A faience ‘lotus chalice’ of Egyptian type from Room 24 of Temple 2 at Kition is also identified by Peltenburg as a cult vessel (1985:264–65, 276, fig. 2. See also Jacobsson 1994:81).

Kylikes with narrow, solid stems are a relatively common shape in PWP (Pieridou 1973b: pl. 5.11–12; Karageorghis 1975a:54, pl. XXXIV, 1983:359, Type XII). Two fragmentary examples were recovered in Temenos A at Kition (Karageorghis 1985d:156–57, pl. CCVIII, inv. 295.1–2). In the Sanctuary of the Ingot God a kylix was found in the northeastern entrance to the hall and another on Sol I in the west adyton (Courtois 1971b:312). Other fragments discarded

beyond the north and west walls may also have been associated with the building (Courtois 1971b:285, figs. 117a, 118.E–H. See **figure 45.5**).

The use of stemmed cups in Cypriot ritual is suggested also by the iconographic record. A cylinder seal engraved in Aegeanising style from Idalion (**figure 72.1**) shows a procession of three male figures (Karageorghis 1959). One is dressed in a kilt and holds a cup over a conical rhyton above an amphoroid krater which rests on the ground. In his other hand he holds a jug with depressed ovoid body. The two remaining figures carry stemmed cups. Karageorghis identifies the scene as a libation procession and attributes the seal to a Cretan engraver working for an immigrant Aegean master (1959:117). The use of foreign compositional elements in local pottery and glyptic may, however, reflect attempts by local elites to consolidate their authority by reference to images drawn from foreign iconographies (Sherratt 1992:323; Webb and Frankel 1994:19–20). In either case, although the vessels depicted are of Aegean types, cups with high vertical handles, conical rhyta, kraters and kylikes in both imported Mycenaean and local fabrics are found in Cypriot cult buildings. They clearly played a significant role in local cult and may constitute a ‘ritual activity set’. Similar vessels are depicted on the ‘Sunshade Krater’ from Enkomi British Tomb 67 in a scene involving libation, possibly linked with a funerary event (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982:21–22, no. III.21).

Two robed, seated male bronzes from the French excavations at Enkomi are also associated with cups (**figure 79.1, 3**). One of these, found in the vicinity of Bâtiment 18 in Quarter 5W, holds a kylix raised in his right hand and another object, now missing, in his left (Schaeffer 1952:371–77, pls. LXXIV–LXXV; Catling 1964:254, pl. 45.d). The other, from Quarter 6W, holds a cup in similar attitude, although in this instance it is not obviously stemmed (Schaeffer 1971:517, figs. 6–7; Courtois 1984:35–36, no. 308, fig. 11.2, pl. IV.3). Both bronzes are believed to have been made in Cyprus during the C12th (Schaeffer 1952:371–77, 1971:516–21; Catling 1964:255; Negbi 1976:56). They may be compared with depictions of a robed figure on a number of Cypriot Common Style cylinders already referred to above (Karageorghis 1965: pl. X.3; A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. XIV, no. 45; Porada 1986:292–94, pls. XVIII.5–6–XIX.1–2). Seated on a high-backed chair before a table on which a lion or bird appears, he holds a conical cup raised in one hand and an axe in the other, while a second seated figure holds similar objects or a bow and arrow (**figure 72.3–6**). The repetition of the motif and the presence of birds and lions suggest a ritual or mythological context.

Two four-sided bronze stands from Cyprus also show figures carrying vessels (Catling 1964:205–10, nos. 34, 36, pls. 34, 35d; Achilles 1981). On a stand in the British Museum two men approach a robed, seated figure. The latter and the first of those who approach play stringed instruments. The third, identified as a serving boy (Catling 1964:209, 1984:83), wears a kilt and carries

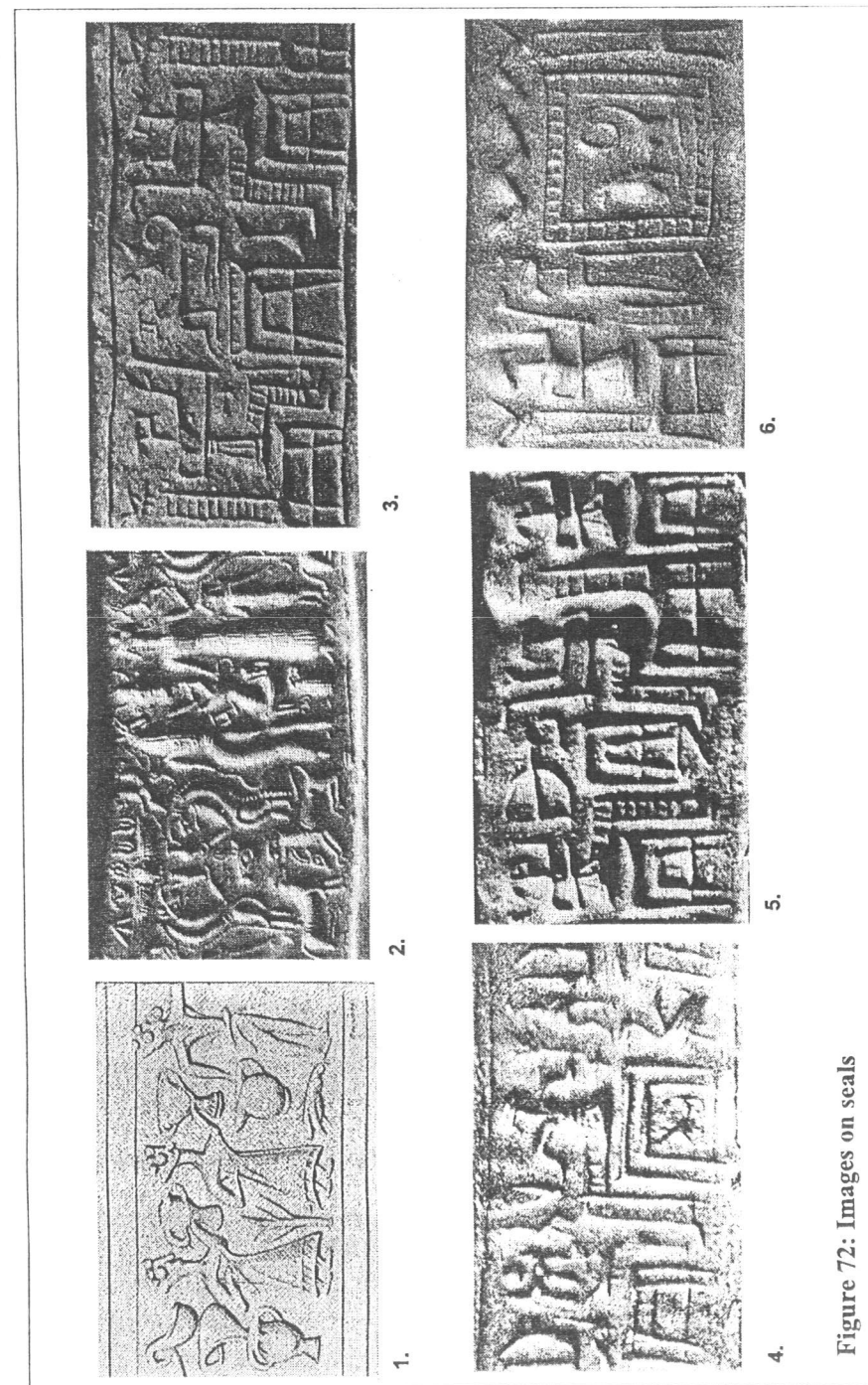


Figure 72: Images on seals

a jug and stemmed cup, the latter raised in his left hand. On three sides of a second stand in the British Museum a bare-headed figure in a long kilt and upturned shoes moves left toward a tree carrying an ingot, fish, cup and elephant tusks(?). On the fourth side the same figure sits on a stool before a tree with a harp or lyre. A PWP pyxis in the Cyprus Museum shows a human figure, horned quadruped and bird (Iacovou 1988:16, 23, 71, no. 15, figs. 34–36). The human figure holds a kylix in his right hand and is identified by Pieridou as a priest (1973b:85). Note, also, a LC II terracotta female figure holding a stemmed cup in Karageorghis 1993:8, pl. V.6.

### Kalathoi

The kalathos was introduced in the PWP repertoire of LC IIIB and is a prominent vessel type in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God. One example was recovered from the well, two from the north bench and one from Sol III in the west adyton (Courtois 1971b:167, 249, 262, 272–73, 321, figs. 16A, 17, 99.E–F, 107–108, 137, 139. See **figure 45.4**). A fifth lay on the plaster platform constructed in the west adyton for Sol II (Courtois 1971b:260, 313, 321, figs. 74, 99.A, 135). Kalathoi are not well represented in the sacred quarter at Kition until Cypro-Geometric I, when White Painted I examples (including miniatures) appear in Floor I and bothros deposits (Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pls. CLXV, CLXXII–CLXXXVII).

### Kraters

Open and/or amphoroid kraters are present in almost all excavated cult buildings. Two open kraters in PWW-m and WPW-m III are recorded from Stratum III at Athienou (Dothan and Misch-Brandl in Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:46, 49, figs. 11.19, 13.1). The shape is not, however, represented among the thousands of crudely made and miniature vessels. The Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* assemblage, comprised almost entirely of storage, mixing and pouring vessels, contained three open kraters of WS I, Mycenaean IIIA:2 and PWW-m. At Myrtou *Pigadhes* a PWH-m krater was found in a pit in Room CD2, a Mycenaean IIIB krater in the drain of the west court, a WS krater in Room 15 and a WPW-m III (Pastoral Style) krater decorated with birds in Room 23. A WPW-m III (Pastoral Style) open krater decorated with bulls from a pit in Temenos A at Kition may have been associated with Floor IV of Temple 3 (Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:8, no. 20, pls. V.20, XI.5). Floor IV of Room 24A in Temple 2 produced a fragmentary open krater of Mycenaean IIIB decorated with a female figure (**figure 12.5**) and two examples in WPW-m III came from between Floors IIIA and III (Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:6, 9–10, nos. 2, 38, 42, pls. IV.2, VI.38, VII.42, XII.14, XIV.24). Open kraters in WPW-m III (Pastoral Style and 'Pleonastic Style') were also recovered from Temenos A and Temenos B and a fine amphoroid krater decorated with birds and fish on Floor IIIA in Temple 5 (Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:8, nos. 21, 23–24, pls. V.21, VI.23–

24, XII.12, 20, XIII; Karageorghis 1977b. See **figure 73.1**). On Sol III of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God a PWP open krater decorated with an archer, birds and fish lay at the foot of the north bench (see **figure 73.2**). Another in WPW-m III was found with the Ingot God in the northeast adyton and fragments of a PWP amphoroid krater in the well (Courtois 1971b:168–70, 270–72, figs. 16.B, 105–106; Schaeffer 1971:527, fig. 8A.E).

The regular appearance of small numbers of these vessels suggests that they were items of cult equipment rather than votives. This may also be indicated by the fact that the majority are decorated with spirals, geometric motifs, birds, bulls or human figures. The imported Mycenaean IIIB krater with female figure from Kition Temple 2, the WPW-m III amphoroid krater with birds and fish from Kition Temple 5 and the PWP vessel with archer, birds and fish from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, in particular, are likely to have played an important role in cult practice and iconography. The WPW-m III krater from the northeast adyton of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God was found with a jug of the same fabric, both of which predate the construction of the Sol IV–I building (Iacovou 1988:9). Perhaps retained from an earlier cult place, these vessels were placed with the Ingot God upon the abandonment of Sol III. An amphoroid krater also appears among the set of libation vessels on the cylinder from Idalion noted above (**figure 72.1**).

### Offering Stands

Vessels with a wide shallow bowl on a hollow, conical, sometimes fenestrated foot in PWH-m, PWW-m II and WPW-m III are present in five cult assemblages of LC IIB to LC IIIB and amongst material from Kalopsidha *Koufos* (Åström 1966:76, fig. 88, 1972b:231, Type XIII.a, 259, Type IX.a, 288, Type XIV.a–b, fig. LXXI.5). These include one example from Athienou Stratum III (Dothan and Misch-Brandl in Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:46, fig. 11.20. See **figure 5.3**), two from Room CD4, one each from Rooms 8 (an intrusive example of Iron Age type), 15 and 20A and three from the doorway between Rooms 16 and 17 (one in limestone) at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:55f., fig. 23, Forms 329–35. See **figure 15.5–6**), one in Room V of the cult house at Ayia Irini (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. CLXXXVII.1, no. 2774. See **figure 18**) and two from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1971b:285, figs. 116, 118.L. See **figure 44.5**). A vessel in WPW-m III from Room II at Alassa *Pano Mandilaris*, identified as an 'incense burner', may also be of this type (Hadjisavvas 1989:38). The example from *Pigadhes* Room 20A stood on a plaster ledge, together with notched ox scapulae and a BR bowl, those from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God came from the same plaster niche in the north bench as the bicephalous 'centaurs', and the stand from Ayia Irini was found with a bull figurine and juglets beside a circle of red and white pebbles. Vessels of this type are also found in tomb and settlement deposits (Åström 1972b:231, 259, 288 with refs; Åström *et al.*



1983:59–60, 68–69, figs. 277, 284; Keswani in South *et al.* 1989:20, fig. 18; Hadjisavvas 1991:177).

Although variously identified as offering stands, chalices and incense burners (Catling in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:55–56; Åström 1972b:231; Dothan and Misch-Brandl in Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:46; Raptou 1988:78), in most instances there is no mention of burning in the bowl of these vessels. A fragmentary example, however, of more complex type in PWW-m from Floor II of Room 8 at Kition shows carbon discolouration on the interior (Karageorghis 1985d:180, 185, inv. 1319, pls. CXLV, CCXIV. See also Dikaios 1969:280, pl. 118.50). Likewise a stand on a high pedestal from Myrtou *Pigadhes* Room 15 shows traces of burning (Catling in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:56, Form 335).

### Jugs and Juglets

The vast majority of the over 10,000 intact and fragmentary vessels found in the courtyard of Athienou Stratum III are jugs or juglets. Of these the majority are miniature (4–8cm in height), crudely made vessels of PWH-m, Coarse Red and Coarse Wares, apparently fashioned by inexperienced potters at or near the cult building (Dothan and Misch-Brandl in Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:72–89, figs. 26–28, 30–41). Other vessels are full-size, small or scale miniatures of canonical fabrics (eg BR, White Shaved and Bucchero), made by ‘professional’ potters. Whether these were votives in their own right or containers of small amounts of liquid is uncertain. Their sheer number suggests a ceramic ‘industry’, located in the vicinity of the cult place and possibly linked with ritual practice. The large-scale dedication of miniatures and crude, locally made vessels is not apparent in other excavated cult deposits, with the possible exception of Kalopsidha *Koufos* (figure 48). Miniature bronze tools and weapons from the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Enkomi, however, provide a conceptual parallel. Full-size jugs, juglets, flasks and bottles are present in modest numbers in other ritual assemblages.

Some indication of the use of specific jug types in libation or other ceremonial is again provided by glyptic. An unprovenanced haematite cylinder of the Cypriot Elaborate Style (figure 72.2) shows a robed deity with a sphinx and caprid receiving a lion from a bull-man, beside a pair of Minoan genii who stand on the backs of lions and hold jugs aloft over a bucranium (Boardman 1970a:65, 106, pl. 206; Porada 1973:262–64, pl. XXXII.1). The vessels held by the genii are not the usual beaked ewers found in the parent Aegean motif, but resemble round-mouthed BR I–II jugs of Merrillees’ Type III (Porada 1973:263, n. 19 citing Merrillees; Merrillees 1968:163–65, 181–82, pls. XV.2, XXIV.2. On the Minoan motif see Gill 1964; Baurain 1985; Mellink 1987; Sambin 1989 and Weingarten 1991). These jugs are also related to RLW-m spindle bottles of Merrillees’ Type I (Merrillees 1962, 1968:163; Eriksson 1993:23, Type VIA1a, fig. 5a). A Minoan genius in procession with a bull-man

on a fragmentary Elaborate Style cylinder from Enkomi carries a jug of similar type (Kenna 1969:139–40, no. 147). This may also be the case on a cylinder with heraldic genii in the Colville Collection (Kenna 1967a; Porada 1986:296–97, pl. XIX.3). The adaptation of a foreign motif to suit local ceramic traditions is of considerable interest<sup>18</sup>. It suggests that these BR jugs, and perhaps also RLW-m spindle bottles, were viewed as equivalent in shape, contents or/and function to the beaked ewers of the Mycenaean-Minoan motif. Few vessels of either type, however, have been found in excavated cult buildings. One complete and several fragmentary RLW-m spindle bottles were recovered from Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* and several fragments from Periods III–IV at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (Eriksson 1993:221, no. 541, Type VIA1c, 225, nos. 585–87, 231, nos. 672–73, untyped). They are otherwise almost exclusively associated with tombs and may have been used in funerary ritual (see Eriksson 1993:143–44, 185–240 whose list of suggested contents includes oil, scent, resin and honey).

### Jars

Jars of various types and fabrics, including imported Mycenaean IIIB pithoid and stirrup jars, occur in most cult assemblages. The only type to appear with any frequency, however, is the so-called Canaanite jar. At least twenty examples were found in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (figure 44.6), associated with the west and north bench, the west adyton, the northeast adyton and the well (Courtois 1971b:249, figs. 89, 91, 96). Similarly, Room 13 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God produced two in Level IIIB and two in Level IIIC. A small example was recovered from inside the pithos in the hall of Sanctuary I at Kouklia and fragments were found in Temenos A, Room 58 of Temple 5, Courtyards C and D and Bothros 24 at Kition. Also known as Syrian storage jars (Catling in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957) and Syro-Palestinian jars (Dikaios 1969), petrographic and chemical analyses of similar vessels from Hala Sultan Tekke and Maa *Palaeokastro* suggest production centres in southern Cyprus, the central Levant and southern Palestine (Hadjicosti 1988; Åström 1991b). Presumably present in the sanctuaries as containers rather than votives, their contents appear to have ranged from wine, beer and oil to meat, conserved fish, honey and fruit (Raban 1980:6, 148, 167; Åström 1986:65, 88–89).

### Amphorae and Amphoriskoi

Vessels identifiable as amphorae or amphoriskoi are only occasionally found in residual cult assemblages. There is little to suggest that they played a significant role in ritual practice.

### Rhyta

Specialised vessels with separate filling and pouring holes are normally referred to as rhyta (Yon 1981 s.v. rhyton, s.v. *annulaire*). They occur in a number of forms (conical, annular and animal-shaped) and make a minor but significant

appearance in Cypriot cult assemblages. Conical rhyta occur only in imported Mycenaean fabrics<sup>19</sup>. A Mycenaean IIIA/B example decorated with palms and flowers was found in Room 15 at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (figure 15.4) and a fragmentary Mycenaean IIIB example with murex shells (figure 12.3) on Floor IV of Temple 2 at Kition (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:20, 42, fig. 20, Form 187; Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:7, no. 9, pl. V). A third, in ivory, from Stratum III at Athienou (figure 5.1) is incised with human heads, birds, gazelle(?), plants and fish (Dothan in Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:123–25, fig. 56, pl. 41). All three were in use in LC IIC. LC IIIB cult buildings, on the contrary, have produced only annular rhyta. An almost complete example in PWP with a spout in the form of a bull's head was found on the west bench of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1971b: 235–37, figs. 77, 92, identified as a ring kernos. See figure 45.6). A similar fragmentary vessel, also with a spout in the form of a horned animal head, came from Temenos A at Kition and two examples from Bothros 19 and Room 16 (Karageorghis 1985d:170, inv. 2646, 176, inv. 101, 210, inv. 4081, pls. CXLIX, CLXXV, CCXI, CCXIV, CCXXXIII)<sup>20</sup>. An annular rhyton is also reported from the street at Myrtou *Pigadhes*.

Imported Mycenaean animal-shaped rhyta are rare in all contexts in Cyprus. The only example possibly associated with a cult place is a Mycenaean IIIB hedgehog-shaped vessel found by villagers at Myrtou (Karageorghis 1965a:225, no. 3, fig. 52.2). Miniature horns of gold leaf and a lead rosette covered in gold sheet from Rooms 9 and 45 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God probably, however, belonged to one or more bull's head rhyta (figure 37.1) of silver or other perishable material (Dikaios 1969–1971:195, n. 157, 197, n. 160, 718–20, pls. 135.34–36, 39, 42, 136). A gold rosette, fragments of gold leaf and a bronze ox-horn found in and near the northeast adyton in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God may have formed part of a similar object (Webb and Courtois 1980; Courtois 1984:36, 51, nos. 313, 456–57, 460–61, fig. 16.11).

The most common zoomorphic vessels in Cyprus are the BR bull rhyta of LC I–II (Catling 1976a; Pichou-Ionas 1983; Yon 1986:269–70, 1997). Åström lists 168 examples, to which may be added at least forty-one more recently published specimens and forty-two found outside Cyprus<sup>21</sup>. All provenanced examples come from tombs with the exception of single specimens from a well at Episkopi *Bamboula*, Room 11, Level IV at Myrtou *Pigadhes* and an Iron Age sanctuary near Gypsou (Benson 1972: pl. 17.B223; du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:80, no. 119; Åström 1972b:192, no. 27)<sup>22</sup>. Several fragments also survived into LC IIIB occupation levels at Enkomi (Dikaios 1971:686, 705, pls. 131.32–33, 164.7). In LC III the range expanded to include bull-, goat-, horse-, horse-and-rider-, lion-, fish- and bird-shaped vessels in PWP and Proto Bichrome with the latter, developed from Aegean prototypes and usually identified as ducks, the most common (Åström 1972b:422–23, Type XV.a–c; Pieridou 1973b; Catling 1974; Benson 1973:33, 35, pl. 19; Karageorghis 1975a: pls. VII, X, XIII, XXXV–XXXVII, 1977d: pls. XXXVI, XLII, 1975b:67–68, pl.

XI; Yon 1971: pl. 29.107; Morris 1985: pls. 255, 257a; Desborough 1972). They are also found primarily in graves, particularly at Idalion, Alaas, Kaloriziki, *Xerolimni*, Skales, Lapithos and Salamis, where they accompany over 50% of interments (Webb 1992a:89). A number of human- and animal-headed (horse-, deer- and sheep?) vessels in faience from LC IIC tombs and (less frequently) settlement deposits at Enkomi and Kition are commonly referred to as rhyta but lack pouring holes and are better identified as cups or goblets (Murray, Smith and Walters 1900:33–34, figs. 61–62, pl. III; Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. LXXVIII.2; Courtois 1984:83–84, no. 788, fig. 27.2; Peltenburg 1985:258–59, no. 1131, pls. X, XXXIX; Lagarce and Lagarce 1986:152–55, pl. XXVII.7–8).

In the Aegean the conical rhyton appears originally and principally to have been a libation vessel (Furumark 1941:69, 71; Koehl 1981; Yon 1986:275 with refs). This is likely to have been the case also in Cyprus. A conical or so-called 'ostrich-egg' rhyton (Furumark 1941:73, Type 201, fig. 20) is depicted on the Idalion cylinder noted above (figure 72.1), where it is apparently filled with the contents of a cup or ladle and set to drain into an amphoroid krater. Both conical and annular rhyta probably played a significant role in Cypriot cult practice. Like the bull-shaped vessels they are, however, principally found in burials and there can be little doubt that all three types were used primarily in mortuary ceremonial (Yon 1986:275, n. 48). The occasional presence of conical and annular rhyta in cult assemblages may indicate a connection between funerary and public ritual or more simply the common performance of libations. The complete absence of bull-shaped vessels in excavated cult buildings suggests, on the other hand, that this type was exclusively associated with burial. Zoomorphic rhyta are in fact the only non-utilitarian vases to appear regularly in tombs through the Cypriot Bronze Age, although not until LC IIIB does their frequency indicate a widespread prescription governing their deposition (Webb 1992a:89). These zoomorphic vessels are most commonly shaped as bulls or birds with the latter increasing in popularity to become predominant in LC III.

### Kernoi

Annular rhyta are sometimes referred to as ring-kernoi (eg Courtois 1971b:235–37). Kernoi, however, are more correctly identified as composite vessels comprising multiple non-communicating receptacles mounted on a plaque, ring or foot (Yon 1981, s.v. *kernos*, 1986:281–82, fig. 7). Such kernoi are not represented in excavated cult assemblages from Cyprus, with the possible exception of a miniature PWW-m bottle from Kition Temple 2 which may have belonged to a vessel of this type (Karageorghis 1985d:136, no. 2406, pls. CXXVI, CXCIX).



## Arm Vessels

Distinctive arm-shaped vessels in RLW-m consist of a closed cylindrical wheel-made body to which a modelled terminal in the form of a right hand holding a cup was attached (Eriksson 1993:27, Type VIII, fig. 7). They could be placed upright, or tipped horizontally to allow liquid to flow through a narrow opening in the 'wrist' into the cup. At least six examples and fragments of others were found in a cluster in the southwest corner of the enclosure at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* (Eriksson 1993:258, 260. See **figure 7.11**). These account for almost half the extant vessels of this type from the island. Others have been recovered in tombs of LC IIA–IIC and unstratified deposits (possibly from looted tombs), and some fragments in settlement debris at Hala Sultan Tekke (Eriksson 1993:258–61; South 1997:167, fig. 8). Outside Cyprus RLW-m arm vessels are reported from Egypt, Palestine, Syria and particularly Anatolia (Eriksson 1993:259–68). Eriksson (1993) has recently argued, however, for its sole production in Cyprus between LC IA:2 and LC IIIA:1.

Once identified as incense burners, arm vases are now recognised as true vessels and believed to have been used for libations (Amiran 1962:173; Courtois 1979a:88–89). In Cyprus they are found primarily in mortuary contexts and their use at *Dhima* may, as already suggested, have been associated in some way with burial. Arm vessels are not recorded in other extant cult assemblages in Cyprus<sup>23</sup>.

## Ladles, Sieves and Cooking Pots

A fragmentary ladle with a high vertical handle was found on the south bench, and two on the north bench in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, the latter associated with a cooking pot (Courtois 1971b:178, 249, figs. 17, 69.C–D, 92. See **figure 44.4**). A similar small or miniature example (**figure 4.9**) and three ladles or spoons with horizontal handles (**figure 4.3**) were found amidst Stratum III ceramic deposits at Athienou (Dothan and Misch-Brandl in Dothan and Bentor 1983:95, fig. 48.19–22)<sup>24</sup>. A bowl-shaped sieve (**figure 44.3**) lay on Sol II before the entrance to the northeast adyton of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1971b:262, 310, fig. 99.H), a fragmentary strainer from the neck of a large PWP vessel on Floor II of Kition Temenos A (Karageorghis 1985d:170, pl. CCXII, inv. 3208), a fragmentary BR II vessel with strainer spout in Room 9 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (Dikaios 1971:595, pl. 76.21), a fragmentary WPW-m III jug with strainer spout in Room 12 of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess (Dikaios 1971:611, pl. 79.17) and two strainer jugs in the semi-apsidal structure associated with Locus 003 at Alassa *Pano Mandilaris* (Hadjisavvas 1991:177, fig. 17.5). Small cooking pots blackened by fire were found in Courtyard D (Floors II–I) and a closed pit in Floor IV at the eastern end of Room 24 of Temple 2 at Kition, together with ash, animal bones and a bronze ring (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:28, Karageorghis 1985d:89, 202,

pls. CVII, CLXXXVII, no. 3457, CCXXI, no. 2000), and in the well (two examples) and on Sol III in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1971b:167–68, 249, figs. 90C, 109). These vessels, although not common, may have been employed in the preparation of offerings and ritual meals, apparently on hearths located inside the cult building.

## Pithoi

Pithoi were no doubt used to store water and other liquids used in cult observance, and possibly also as receptacles for libations, blood or other substances<sup>25</sup>. Pithoi were found in Rooms CD3 (three) and CD4 (seven) of the Period III–IV complex and in Room 20A (two sunk in the floor) of the eastern unit of Periods V–VII at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Rooms V (three) and VI (one) of the cult house at Ayia Irini, Room 24, Floor IV of Temple 2 (fragments), Room 38B, Floor III of Temple 4 (fragments) and Well 6 in Room 38 (one) at Kition, the hall of Kouklia Sanctuary I (one sunk in the floor) and Room 13 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (one).

Parts of two pithoi found in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God are of particular interest. In the first instance the shoulder, neck and rim of a large vessel with five Cypro-Minoan signs incised before firing on the rim and a relief wavy line on the shoulder was found on Sol III between the *autel inférieur* and *autel supérieur* (Courtois 1971b:190–95, figs. 40–42, inv. 16.108). In the second, the intact neck of a large pithos rested on Sol III in the northwest corner of the hall surrounded by ox skulls (Courtois 1971b: figs. 23, 54, 100, top. 914. See **figure 63.1**). These are not accidentally retained fragments of whole vessels, but in both cases appear to have been employed in their modified form in the cult, perhaps as receptacles for libations or for the blood of sacrificial animals. The re-use of inv. 16.108 may in part be explained by the Cypro-Minoan inscription on the rim and the wavy line on the shoulder which Courtois identified as a snake representation (1971b:190–95). Notably, the neck and upper body of a pithos was recovered intact in Well 2 in Room 12 at Kition, together with a worked trumpet shell and pithos necks were present in Room 67 of the proposed cult place in Area 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke and in a room identified by Hadjisavvas as a domestic shrine in Square A9 at Alassa *Pano Mandilaris* (Karageorghis 1985d:235, pl. CCXXXVIII, inv. 922A; Åström and Reese 1990:6; Hadjisavvas 1989:36–37). Similar use of modified vessel parts, including neck and rim fragments, is attested in earlier Bronze Age deposits in Cyprus (Frankel and Webb 1996:212, fig. 8.8).

## Lamps, Torches and Wall Brackets

Three small, saucer-shaped lamps with pinched nozzles in CW and PW were found in Area II at Kition. These came from between Floor IIIA and bedrock in Temple 1, Room 5A Floor III and Bothros 2 (Karageorghis 1985d: inv. 2031,

4951, 1251). All three are fire blackened on both interior and exterior surfaces. Such lamps are relatively common in Levels I–IIB at Enkomi, but were gradually replaced during Level IIIA (Dikaios 1971:450, 455; Courtois 1984:96, nos. 870, 872, fig. 32.1–2). Two examples of similar type were found in the west court and on the surface of the street at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:75–76, nos. 475, 292, fig. 32.14). They appear also in tomb and settlement deposits (Åström and Åström 1972:517–18, 586).

A narrow cylindrical object of coarse blackened clay, found before the north bench in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, was identified by Courtois as a tuyère (1971b:172, fig. 18.G). Similar objects from Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, Kition Area I, Kouklia *Evreti* and elsewhere at Enkomi are now believed to have been torches (Karageorghis and Demas 1984:51, pl. XX.55; Karageorghis 1985d:11, 50, pls. XIII, XXVI; Maier and Wartburg 1985:105, pl. X.6–7; Dikaios 1969–1971:291, 737, pl. 174.20–24; Courtois 1984:70, nos. 669–74, fig. 41.9–11).

A vessel, comprising a conical bowl with pinched rim, raised flat base and downsloping horizontal handle, found next to the *autel inférieur* in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (**figure 44.2**) and a similar object from Myrtou *Pigadhes* (**figure 15.3**) were identified by their excavators as lamps (Courtois 1971b:231, figs. 30, 90.B; Seton-Williams in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:76, fig. 32.16). An identical example in PWW-m from Room 13 of the Level IIIB Sanctuary of the Horned God is described by Dikaios as a ladle (1971:595, pl. 77.15). Examples in CW, PW and PWW-m from Kition Area I Rooms 43 and 11 and Area II Room 12, Temenos A, Temple 4 Rooms 38 and 38A and Bothros 19+20 are referred to as ‘shovels’ (Karageorghis 1985d:71, 144, 193, 207–208, pls. XIV, XXXIII, CLXIV, inv. 158.1, 95.1, 5467, 5481, 3649, 3657, 3632, 5495B.6). Similar vessels from the Aegean are identified as braziers (Furumark 1941:77, types 311–12, fig. 21). Several of the more complete examples from Kition are ‘fire blackened at the bottom’ (Karageorghis 1985d:207–208, nos. 3657, 3632). Together with the downturned handle and raised rim, this argues for use as braziers, lamps or/and coal shovels rather than ladles. They are present in five cult assemblages.

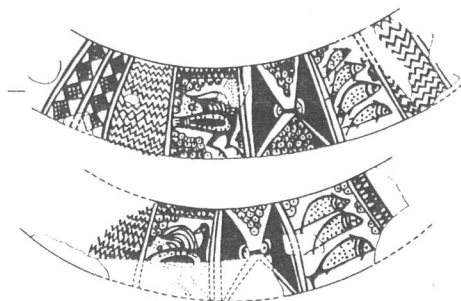
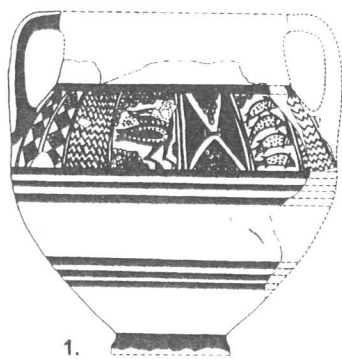
Objects conventionally referred to as ‘wall brackets’ comprise a scoop-shaped bowl attached to a tall, flat vertical handle, rounded and pierced at the top for suspension. At least thirty-five were recovered within the sacred quarter at Kition, the great majority represented by handle fragments. Several more complete examples show signs of burning in the bowl (Karageorghis 1985d:108, 224, inv. 5271 and 1258 from Courtyard D, Floor IIIA and Bothros 2). There is a notable concentration of eleven brackets in Rooms 58 and 58A of Temple 5 (**figure 31.1**)<sup>26</sup>. Other fragments were recovered from Courtyard D (three), Courtyard C (nine), Temenos A (three), Temple 2 (one), Rooms 12 (one), 14 (one), 16 (two), 114 (one) and 116 (one), Well 2 (one) and Bothros 2 (one). Four fragmentary wall brackets were found on Sol III of the Sanctuary of

the Ingot God (Courtois 1971b:178, figs. 90.D–E, 98), one in Room XXXIV and one in Room XXXIII of the Period 3 cult house at Idalion (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:543, pl. CXXXI.23, nos. 340 and 417) and one in Room 13 of the Level IIIC Sanctuary of the Horned God. At Athienou two brackets were recovered from Stratum III pits to the east of the court, together with an object identified as a rodent trap. At Myrtou *Pigadhes* (Periods V–VII) one was found in the west court, one in Room 6, fourteen in Room 7 and several on the street (Seton-Williams in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:76–77, fig. 32.17).

The function of these objects has been widely debated (Åström and Åström 1972:587; Caubet and Yon 1974; Courtois 1984:93–96). They occur also in Syria and Palestine and probably reached Cyprus from the Near East in LC II (Caubet and Yon 1974:123). Usually identified as hanging lamps, they are regularly found in settlement deposits and occasionally in tombs. At least seventy are recorded from Enkomi, principally in domestic deposits beginning in Level IIA (Courtois 1984:94–95 and n. 1). Six terracotta brackets from Enkomi and an unprovenanced example in bronze are decorated with ox-heads in relief (Courtois 1984:93, nos. 867–869, fig. 33.2, pls. XIII.1, XIV.9–10; Catling 1964:pl. 25b–c; Dikaios 1971:768, 777, nos. 1909, 1378, pls. 147.53, 149.16, 177.5, 178.27). Modelled bucrania, snakes and female figures are also found on Cypro-Geometric brackets (Caubet and Yon 1974). This may indicate a specialised ritual function for these examples, perhaps as incense burners or offering holders, although none were recovered in cult assemblages. It is equally likely that those found in cult buildings served the same purpose as those in domestic deposits with which they are identical, though whether as hanging lamps, lampholders, coal skuttles (Stais 1926), incense burners or repositories for offerings (Raptou 1988:78) remains unclear. Almost all the Kition brackets are decorated with a single lightly incised vertical wavy line on the inner face of the handle. This is a widespread feature on brackets from all contexts and unlikely to be of particular significance (Åström and Åström 1972:518).

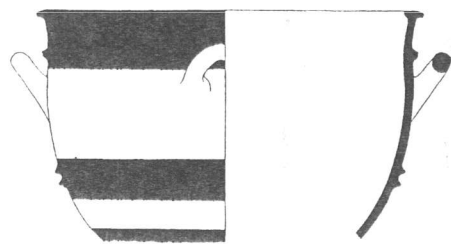
### Vessels with Figured Decoration

Vessels with figured decoration are rare in LC II and LC III and those found in cult buildings may be assumed to have held special significance. This is certainly likely to have been so in the case of eight imported Mycenaean vessels, six with figured decoration, found on Floor IV of Kition Temple 2 (Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:6–7, nos. 2–3, 6–9, pls. IV.2–3, 6–8, V.9, XI.1–3, XIV.24–25, XV.33). These include a large kylix of Mycenaean IIIB (**figure 12.1**) with diagonally arranged murex shells and flowers (identified as stylised octopi in Karageorghis 1985d:88, inv. 2536), a second kylix and a Mycenaean IIIB rhyton painted with murex shells (**figure 12.2–3**) and a Mycenaean IIIB deep bowl with an octopus (**figure 12.4**). Room 24A (the adyton) produced fragments of a Mycenaean IIIB bowl decorated with boxers? and an octopus



1.

0 10 cm



2.

0 10 cm

Figure 73: Decorated vessels from Kition Temple 5 (no. 1) and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (no. 2)

and a Mycenaean IIIA:2(?) krater with a female figure with long hair and bare breasts (figure 12.5–6). A fragmentary WPW-m III bowl with a bird and spiral came from Floor III of the same building (Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:8, no. 26, pls. VI.26, XIV.31).

Other figured vessels from Kition include a Mycenaean IIIA fragment from Courtyard E, decorated with an octopus, a Mycenaean IIIB fragment from Room 16 with quadruped? and a fragmentary Mycenaean IIIB krater with bird from Room 6 (Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:6, nos. 1, 4–5, pl. IV.1. 5. V.4. XIV.26). Temenos A produced a fragmentary krater of WPW-m III (Pastoral Style) with bulls, a similar vessel with goats? and a WPW-m III skyphos with a bird (Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:8, nos. 20–21, 27, pls. V.20–21, 27, XI.5, XII.12, XIV.29), fragments of two pictorial PWP vessels decorated with a tree and quadruped respectively and a fragmentary imported vase with fish motifs (Iacovou 1992:219–220, nos. 1–2; Karageorghis and Demas 1985:128, no. 2640). A WPW-m III amphoroid krater with a frieze of fish was found in Room 10A and another with birds and fish in Temple 5 (Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:8, no. 25, pls. V.25, XII.16; Karageorghis 1977b. See figure 73.1).

The motifs on these vessels are within the normal range of pictorial designs found on imported Mycenaean IIIB, local Mycenaean IIIC and related wares. The quantity of figured pottery associated with Temple 2, however, together with the predominance of marine motifs and the appearance of finely drawn human figures on two vessels found in the adyton, make this assemblage exceptional. Also remarkable is the concentration of eighty-four sea shells, including *Murex*, *Luria* (Cowrie), *Charonia sequenzae* (Conch) and worked *Conus*, on Floors IV–III of the same building.

Sol III of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God produced a number of PWP vessels with complex rectilinear patterns and a fragmentary bell krater with a figured motif (Courtois 1971b:270–72, figs. 105–106; Iacovou 1988:17, 24, 40–41, 71–72, no. 19, figs. 44–45). The latter copies one of the finest and most elaborate Mycenaean IIIC shapes, but is otherwise unparalleled in PWP (Iacovou 1988:9). The main pictorial elements show a hunting scene in which an archer aims a bow and arrow toward two superimposed birds (figure 73.2)<sup>27</sup>. Pictorial vases are rare in PWP. The Enkomi krater is among the earliest of only twelve extant examples (Iacovou 1988:40, 1992:219–221, nos. 1–3). Iacovou notes similarities in the panelled decoration on the krater and a kalathos from the same sanctuary (Courtois 1971:261, fig. 99.F, 272 no. 1220), suggesting that the two were made by the same potter (Iacovou 1988:46).

Hunt scenes are a frequent motif in Late Cypriot iconography. On a faience rhyton of C13th date from Kition Area I, two bearded huntsmen in kilts and conical tasselled headgear pursue bulls and a goat through a flowered landscape (Peltenburg 1974:116–35, pls. A–C, XCIV–XCV). On a faience jar from Kition *Bamboula* three bearded, robed hunters chase a lion and caprids with a bow,

boomerang and lance (Caubet in Yon and Caubet 1985:63–69, no. 143, figs. 33–35, 37–38). These scenes recall the kilted huntsman who appears in pursuit or control of wild animals on Elaborate and Derivative Style cylinders (Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:69, n. 208 with refs. See **figure 84**) and a robed, bearded and crowned bow-man depicted with a stag, bull, ibex or bird on a series of cylinders (eg **figure 88.6**) and stamps probably engraved at Enkomi (Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:83–84, no. 27 with refs). In the former instance he appears with lions and griffins and may be identified as a divine or heroic figure. This appears also to be the case on the faience vessels (Peltenburg 1974:123; Yon and Caubet 1985:68).

The straightforward pursuit of animals is also depicted on more crudely engraved seals which show a nude or kilted figure with a hound and spear pursuing a caprid or other quadrupeds (A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. XIII, nos. 27–28; Delaporte 1923: pl. 106.26; Walters 1926: no. 129; O. Masson 1957: fig. 11; Porada 1972: pl. 38.B1629; Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:63–64, 89, nos. 14, 37. See **figure 88.3–5**). Elsewhere one or two figures stand opposed with one arm raised over a caprid or biconical object (**figure 90.1–2, 5–6**), while a more frequent motif shows one or more figures with arms raised toward a spear in compositions which also include quadrupeds, hounds and a tree (A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pls. XII, nos. 10–11, XIII, nos. 20–21, 32; XIV, nos. 35–36; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893: pl. XXVIII.21–22; L.P. di Cesnola 1903: pl. CXX.1; Delaporte 1910: pl. XXXIII, fig. 500; Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. CL.16; Parker 1949: nos. 134, 141–42, 148–49, pls. XX–XXII; Buchanan 1966: no. 980; South 1980: pl. IX.6; Schaeffer 1983:65, A16. See **figure 90.3–4**). Seventeen late C14th and C13th seals show a seated figure with a spear before an attendant, tree, snake, bucranium and ingot in a motif apparently also linked with hunting (Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:68–70, no. 17 and n. 205 with refs. See **figure 89**).

Porada has suggested that these compositions combine secular and ritual activity, the primary object of the hunt being to kill or capture animals for presentation to the gods in the form of sacrificial offerings (1971:796 and n. 595). This may be indicated also by the hunt scene on the PWP krater from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, a building which produced abundant evidence for animal sacrifice. Whether the huntsman is to be identified with the divine or heroic figure who appears on finely engraved cylinders in pursuit of mythological animals or with the huntsman with bow and arrow or spear and real world animals on cylinders of the Common Style is unclear. The birds and fish depicted on the Enkomi krater and the general preference for birds, goats, stags, dogs and fish on other vessels do not suggest an obvious mythological content for pictorial PWP (Iacovou 1988:74–76).

Small amounts of pictorially decorated pottery were also present in other cult buildings. At Athienou a carinated Mycenaean IIIB jug decorated with

fighting bulls is attributed to the 'Painter of Bulls and Bull Protomes', whose work has so far only been found in Cyprus (Dothan and Misch-Brandl in Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:49, fig. 14.14, pl. 16.3; Karageorghis 1971f). At Myrtou a WPW-m III (Pastoral Style) krater decorated with birds was found in Room 23 and a Mycenaean IIIA/B rhyton with palms and flowers in Room 15 (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957: 20, 42, fig. 20, Form 187. See **figure 15.4**).

## Other

A fenestrated cylindrical vessel (preserved height 23.5cm) with two large Cypro-Minoan signs incised before firing on the body from Floor IIIA of the hall of Kition Temple 5 (**figure 31.6**) is believed by Karageorghis to have been used for the burning and inhaling of opium over a bed of charcoal (Karageorghis 1976a:238–40, fig. 9, 1976d:127, fig. 2, Karageorghis 1985d:104, 110–11, pls. CXI, CXCII, no. 4219). Unfortunately much of the base is missing and it is impossible to confirm its use as a brazier, although this seems likely in view of the fenestrations. A fragmentary inscribed and fenestrated vase from a well at Enkomi may have been of similar type (E. Masson 1979).

## TERRACOTTAS

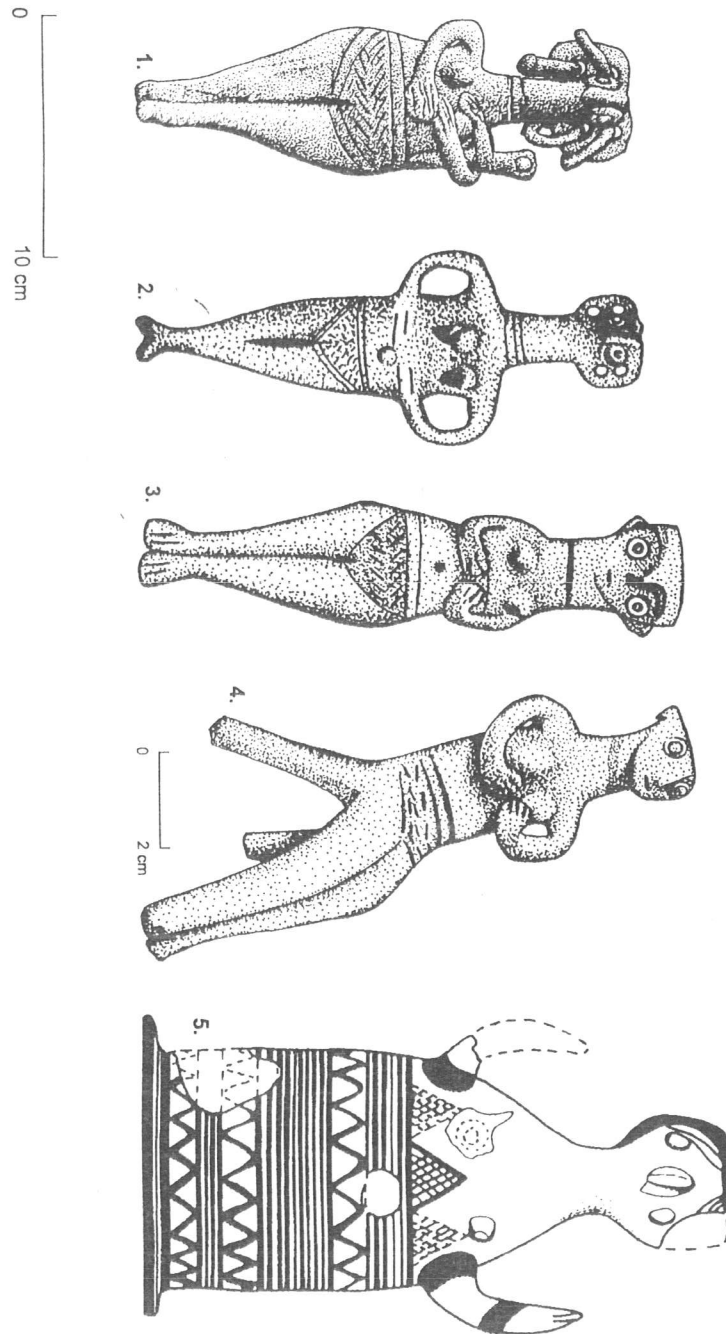
### Anthropomorphic

The majority of LC II anthropomorphs show nude female figures in a fabric similar to that used for BR ware (Catling 1976a:71–72). There are two standard types (Åström and Åström 1972:512–14; J. Karageorghis 1977:72–85; Morris 1985:166–74; Orphanides 1988:191–95; Begg 1991:62–63; Karageorghis 1993:3–14). Those of Type A (**figure 74.1–2**) appeared in the C15th, becoming common during the C14th and C13th (J. Karageorghis 1977:75–76; Catling 1976a:73; Courtois 1984:79; Merrillees 1988:56). Apparently derived from North Syrian Astarte figures of the early second millennium (but see Karageorghis 1993:21), they have enlarged hips, prominent breasts and legs tapering to pointed feet. Arms are modelled against the chest with hands on, below or between the breasts and the pubic triangle is marked by incised or punctured patterns. The face has a beaked nose and ears stretched to large flaps and pierced for the attachment of earrings. They frequently hold a child or in single instances a disk and stemmed cup (Caubet 1971:11, pl. IV.4; Merrillees 1988:43, Ill. 1; Karageorghis 1993:8, Type A(iii), no. 1, pl. V.6 with refs). L. Åström lists forty examples of the simple variant and twenty-eight with child (in Åström and Åström 1972:513–14). At least twenty-five of the former and twenty of the latter type have been published more recently<sup>28</sup>.

Type B (**figure 74.3–4**) appeared in the C13th, continuing on a smaller scale into the C12th and perhaps C11th (J. Karageorghis 1977:83–84; Courtois



Figure 74: Female images in terracotta



1984:79–80)<sup>29</sup>. It is similar to Type A but with less accentuation of hips and breasts and markedly different facial features. The head is triangular and flat-topped with the nose and ears of only slighter larger than normal proportions. The mouth is marked by incision and pupils, eyebrows, lips, hair and necklace in brown, black or red paint. This type, with a single exception, never appears as *kourotrophos* (Karageorghis 1975b, pl. VII.6, 1993:14, pl. X.7). She is, however, occasionally seated on a stool or in one instance on a high-backed chair (Karageorghis 1975b:63–64, fig. 1)<sup>30</sup>. Åström lists sixty of the standing variant and seven of the seated, to which may be added forty more recently published examples of the former, thirteen of the latter and twenty-three fragments of uncertain type<sup>31</sup>. More crudely made figures derivative of Type B make an occasional appearance in LC IIIA (Coche de la Ferté 1951:37, pl. VII.11–12; Dikaios 1971: pls. 137.5–8, 147.39–41, 149.4–5, 8–11; Courtois 1984: figs. 24.3–4, 10, 14–15, 25.7, 9, 13, 26.1, 5, 7, 9–10, 12).

Types A and B are both widely believed to represent a goddess of fertility (eg Myres 1914:336; J. Karageorghis 1977:78–80, 88; Orphanides 1983:46–47; Coldstream 1986:11). Type A may be identified with the wider family of Near Eastern goddesses worshipped as Ishtar/Inanna in Sumeria and Akkad, Hathor/Isis in Egypt and Ashtaroth, Asherah, Anat and Astarte in Syria, Phoenicia and Canaan. The identity of Type B is more problematic. Divine status, however, is suggested by the similarity of these figures to a group of C13th or C12th bronzes depicting nude females from Bairaktar, Kouklia *Teratsoudhia* and Pyla *Kokkinokremos* (Dikaios 1936; Karageorghis 1990b:29, 59–60, pls. XXI, LII; Karageorghis and Demas 1984:38, 55, 63, no. 62, pls. XXV, XLIV. See figure 80)<sup>32</sup>. Whether Types A and B, which coexisted in LC IIC, represent two deities or complementary aspects of a single goddess is uncertain. Karageorghis suggests (1993:21) that the ‘mass production’ of these figures may be due to the ‘firm establishment of an iconographic type of divinity which these figurines represent or with which they were associated, in other words to the standardisation of religious beliefs throughout the Island’.

The frequent assertion that Type A and B figures were used in mortuary ritual is not supported by the evidence (J. Karageorghis 1977:72, 78; Orphanides 1983:45–48, 1991). They accompany less than 5% of LC II burials (Webb 1992a:90). Likewise they do not appear in significant numbers in residual cult assemblages (table III), with only three examples of Type B recorded from bothroi west of Sanctuary I at Kouklia, one of Type A on the surface of the road at *Pigadhes* (Birmingham in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:82, no. 368), a seated example of Type B in the courtyard at Idalion and one of uncertain type in the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi<sup>33</sup>. This has led Begg to propose that they were used as personal charms (1991:53). Private domestic use does not, however, preclude the possibility that the deity or deities depicted were related to those worshipped in communal cult buildings.



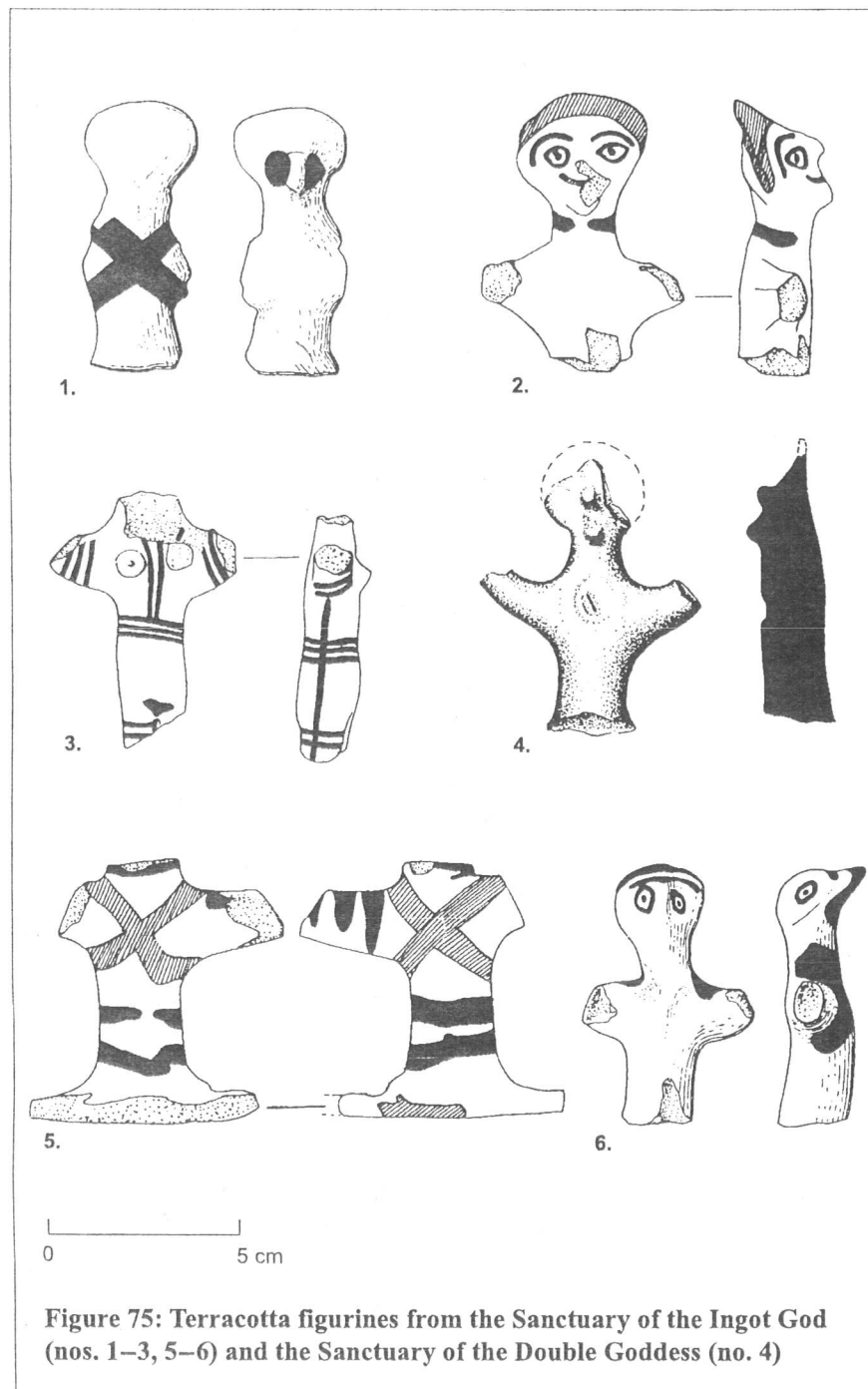
Begg argues for a distinction in both meaning and function between local anthropomorphs and freestanding imported Mycenaean examples (1991:12–13, 15, 18, 26–27). Seven fragmentary Mycenaean female figures from pit h at Kition were in use on Floor IV (Karageorghis 1985d:98, 103, pl. CIX). Another was found on Floor IIIA in Temenos A (Karageorghis 1985d:105, pl. CX). The former are among fifteen imported Aegean items associated with the initial phase of the sacred quarter at Kition. Mycenaean figures are not present in other cult assemblages. At least fifteen of *psi*, two of *phi* and one of *tau* type are recorded, however, from settlement and burial deposits.<sup>34</sup>

The situation is markedly different in LC IIIB when a new class of figure, the so-called ‘goddess with upraised arms’, was introduced from Crete (Courtois 1971b:343; Karageorghis 1977–1978, 1993:58–61, Type GA(i); J. Karageorghis 1977:127–28; Nicolaou 1979:250–51). The earliest examples in PWP have cylindrical wheel-made bodies with the arms raised to either side of the head (Karageorghis 1977–1978:8–9, 28–29, fig. 7, pls. I.2, XIV.1–6; Karageorghis 1985d:177, pl. CXLIX. See figure 74.5). Eyes, nose and breasts appear in relief and details of hair, jewelry and clothing are painted. Hand- and mould-made figures of this type make a significant appearance in cult assemblages. Over 150 fragmentary examples were found in the west courtyard, west bench and west adyton of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi (Courtois 1971b:326–56, figs. 141–54. See figure 75.1–3, 5–6)<sup>35</sup>, seven on or above Floor II in Temenos A, Courtyards C and D, Temples 2 and 5 and Room 16 at Kition (Karageorghis 1985d:169–70, 177, 189–91, 200, 203, pls. CXLIX, CLXII) and one in Room 12 of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969–1971:720, pl. 170.3. See figure 75.4). Sixteen fragments from Temples 4 and 5, Temenos A, Room 16, Courtyards A and B and associated bothroi at Kition date to Cypro-Geometric I (Karageorghis 1985d:207–208, 211, 214–17, 219–20, 222–24, 228–30, pls. CLXII, CLXVIII, CLXXI, CLXXIV–CLXXV, CLXXX). Female figures with arms at the side or on or between the breasts are also present in LC IIIB at Kition (Karageorghis 1985d:170, 192, pl. CXLIX, CLXII).

The concentration of terracottas in the western part of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God is remarkable. The majority are small (6–8cm high), solid figures with cylindrical torsos, upraised arms, indented eyes and mouth and clothing and jewelry marked in black, purple or red paint (Karageorghis 1993:64–65, Type GD). Most show females with discoid heads flattened at the top. A small number depict males with pointed bonnets. Both types were attached to circular plaques on which they were arranged, judging from complete examples of later date, in groups of three female dancers around a male musician with a flute or tambourine<sup>36</sup>. Courtois assigned the earliest of those from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God to Sol IV. J. and V. Karageorghis, however, argue that they did not become common until the mid-C11th and suggest that all of Courtois’ examples belong to Sols II–I (J. Karageorghis 1977:123; V. Karageorghis 1977–1978:7).

	MALE		FEMALE		BOVINE		OTHER
	bronze	terracotta	bronze	terracotta	bronze	terracotta	
Athienou Stratum III						1 frag	
Ayios Iakovos <i>Dhimna</i>						2	bronze lion
Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> Rooms CD1–CD6				2		4	3 terracotta?
Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> Periods V–VII					1		
Ayia Irini						2	
Kition Temple 2				1			
Kition Temple 4						1	ivory lion
Kition Temple 5				1		1	
Idalion				1		8	1 terracotta?
Enkomi Sanctuary of Horned God	1				1	1	
Enkomi Sanctuary of Double Goddess			1	1			
Enkomi Sanctuary of Ingot God	1		254 predominantly female from group compositions		1 horn	2+	2 sphinxes?; 2 birds; fish?

Table III: Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representation in residual cult assemblages



**Figure 75: Terracotta figurines from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (nos. 1–3, 5–6) and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess (no. 4)**

In favour of Courtois' dating, it should be noted that three figures of this type were found by Dikaios in Level IIIB at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969–1971:720, 726, 736, pl. 170.2–3, 5) and others from LC III strata have been published more recently (Courtois 1984:75–78, figs. 25–26). These confirm their currency, along with the wheel-made figures, at least as early as the last quarter of the C12th.

The gesture of upraised arms has been interpreted as one of mourning, benediction or invocation, a manifestation of divine presence or an evocation of horns of consecration (Dussaud 1914:377; Nilsson 1950:310; Alexiou 1958; Matz 1958:34–35; J. Karageorghis 1977:129–34). Large, elaborately decorated figures of this type from Postpalatial centres in Crete are considered to be representations of divinities (Gesell 1985:47–49). This may be true also of a large PWP figure from Limassol and a number of finely decorated fragments from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God and the sacred quarter at Kition which appear to belong to figures at least 25–30cm high (Karageorghis 1977–1978: fig. 7, pl. XIV.1–3; Courtois 1971b:330–32, 334–35, 340; Karageorghis 1985d:207, no. 3743, 211, no. 4109, 215, no. 2636, 219, no. 717, 229, no. 4855, pls. CLXVIII, CLXXV). Small, more crudely made examples may depict priests and priestesses, individual worshippers or anonymous dancers and musicians. Almost all extant examples have been recovered in cult buildings and associated areas.

In sum, it appears that female images in terracotta did not play a significant role in public cult prior to LC IIIB. Their low incidence in LC II residual assemblages suggests no more than occasional use as votives. The presence of seven Mycenaean figures in the first phase of the sacred quarter at Kition may, however, be significant. The fact that most if not all of these are of *psi* type foreshadows the predominance of upraised arms among female figures in LC IIIB and Cypro-Geometric I. The recovery of significant numbers of the latter in the western sector of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God is a clear indication that both the iconography and function of anthropomorphic representation had changed significantly by LC IIIB. Male and female figures now played an integral role in cult practice, both as divine images and in depictions of ritual performances involving music and dance. Notably, no terracottas of either male or female types were found in installations where the recipient of the cult can be identified as male (the Sanctuary of the Horned God, the northeast adyton of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God). This suggests that the use of anthropomorphic terracottas and the ritual which they depict (ring-dancing) were restricted to the worship of female deities or perhaps to that of a particular goddess.

### Horse-rider and Bull-handler Groups

Occasional male figures of similar fabric and date to female images of Type B appear as horse-riders or bull-handlers (figure 76.1–2). Five extant horse-rider

groups are hollow with one or more openings below the horse's tail or belly (Karageorghis 1993:16–17, Type F, nos. 1–5, 1975b:64, fig. 1, 1980b:128–29, 135, fig. 1, pls. XVII.1–2, XVIII; Åström 1972b:191, fig. 40.b; *BCH* XCVIII 1974:847, fig. 43). These are identified as pouring holes by Karageorghis who refers to the whole group as *rhyta* (1980b:128–32). In fabric and finish, however, they are closer to contemporary bull figurines than to bull-shaped *rhyta* (Catling 1976a:68).

Horse-and-rider and bull-handler groups are new in Late Cypriot iconography and were probably inspired by imported Mycenaean chariot and bull-and-rider groups (Niçolaou 1965:51–53, pls. V.c–d, VI, VIII.a–c; Öbrink 1979a:50, figs. 61–63; Karageorghis 1985d:13–14, inv. 792.1, pl. XV). The riders are mounted astride or sideways in an elaborate saddle. Bull-handlers stand to the side of the bull with one hand clasping a horn and the other around the animal's neck. Both riders and handlers wear belts or loincloths with hanging straps but are not otherwise provided with attributes which might help determine their identity. All horse-and-rider figures are without provenance. A bull-handler group was found in Kazaphani Tomb 2 (Karageorghis 1993:17–18, Type G, no. 1). A fragmentary torso from Hala Sultan Tekke and a number of male heads from LC IIB domestic deposits at Kourion *Bamboula* and LC II–III levels at Enkomi may belong to similar figures (Frizell in Åström *et al.* 1977:45, 56–57, fig. 34; Benson 1972:136, pl. 35; Courtois 1984:78, nos. 782–85, fig. 24, pl. IX). Neither rider nor bull-handler groups appear in cult assemblages.

### Zoomorphic

Zoomorphs are rare in LC I–IIB. Examples include a bovine head from *Toumba tou Skourou* and a White Painted II–III bull from Room CD4 at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990:54; Birmingham in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:80, no. 444). In LC IIC, however, bull figurines appear in some quantity (figure 76.3). Although related to the far more numerous bull *rhyta* of LC I–II, they differ in fabric, technique, find context and probably function (Catling 1974:101–102; 1976a:71–72; Karageorghis 1993:19). Catling (1976a) lists eighteen examples, including seven from domestic, three from tomb and three from cult assemblages and five of unknown provenance. To these may be added another nineteen, including one from the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi and two from *Pano Mandilaris* Locus 003 (Hadjisavvas 1989:37)<sup>37</sup>. None are dated before the C13th, with the possible exception of a fragment from outside the walled area of Period IV at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (Birmingham in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:80, no. 119). Thirteen horse figures of similar date and fabric include the horse-and-rider groups noted above (Catling 1976a:67–68; Karageorghis 1978, 1980b:128–32, 1993:18–19, Type H; Decaudin 1987:129, no. 26). Mycenaean figurines, predominantly bulls, were also

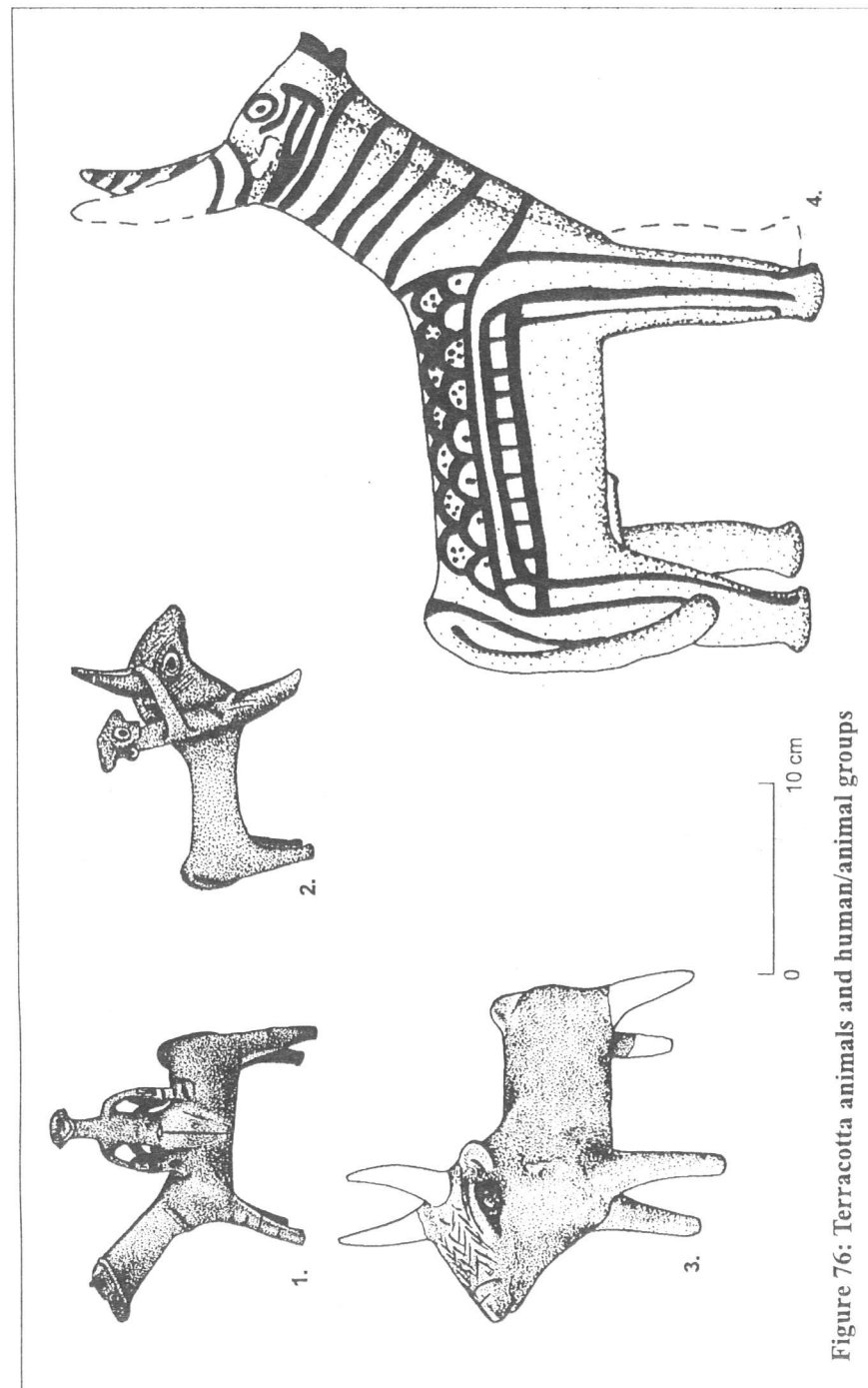


Figure 76: Terracotta animals and human/animal groups

imported in LC II and are found in habitation and tomb deposits<sup>38</sup>. Zoomorphs of other types are very rare (Åström and Åström 1972:515–16).

The situation in LC III is again more complex. Under the influence of Mycenaean figurines and late C13th–C12th wheelmade terracottas from the Aegean, the earlier tradition gave way to less finely made bulls with linear decoration in matt red or brown paint (Karageorghis 1993:35–43, Type O. See **figure 76.4**). The majority are small, solid and handmade. Larger examples were turned on the wheel. At least thirty-six have been found at Enkomi, often disposed in groups of two to six (Courtois 1971b:340, 342, 1984:84–89), and seven at Kition (Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pls. XX, XXXI, CXXIX, CXLII, CXLVIII). To these should be added eight from the cult house and surrounding area at Idalion (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pl. CLXXXII.2–3 and nos. 51, 452, 463, 968, 1161) and examples from Maa *Palaeokastro*, Sinda, Alassa *Pano Mandilaris* and Hala Sultan Tekke (Karageorghis in Karageorghis and Muhly 1984:21; Caubet *et al.* 1981: CKY 59; Hadjisavvas 1989; Hult 1978:84, figs. 111.h, 115.m, 1981:42, fig. 133). Also current in LC III were large, hollow, incised, impressed or painted bulls, examples of which have been found at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969: pl. 131.37, 42a; Courtois 1984:84–88), in the western unit at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (Birmingham in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:80–81, nos. 284, 31–32, 108, pl. VI), Ayia Irini? (Karageorghis 1985a:235, pl. XXVI) and Alassa *Pano Mandilaris* (Hadjisavvas 1986: pl. XVIII). Miniature oxen and other quadrupeds are also relatively common (Karageorghis 1993:43 with refs).

The LC III coroplasts also produced horses, birds, dogs, chariot models and horses mounted on wheels (eg Courtois 1984:84–86, 88–91). The most remarkable of the non-bovine figures, however, are the two bicephalous human/animal hybrids from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1971b:280–308, figs. 114–27; Karageorghis 1966, 1993:50–53. See **figure 46**). Although identified as centaurs, they are more probably sphinxes, their wings indicated by painted patterns on the flanks (Lagarce and Lagarce 1986:169–70. Compare Banti 1941–43: fig. 43 from a Late Minoan IIIB–C cult place at Ayia Triada). Sphinxes play a significant role in Late Cypriot iconography, while centaurs are unknown (D'Albiac 1992). In Cypriot glyptic, ivory, gold and bronze work they act as divine attendants or guardians of the tree<sup>39</sup>. Male and female animals may be distinguished, the former bearded or crowned and associated with a male deity (**figure 83.1**) and the latter long-haired, flat-capped or/and plumed and attendant on a goddess or tree (**figures 72.2, 85.2, 4, 6**). The Enkomi terracottas perhaps combine the two, in which case their bisexuality and bicephality may be seen as an appropriate manifestation of their role in a building apparently dedicated to a male and female deity.

The recovery of terracotta zoomorphs, and in particular bull figurines, is often cited in support of the identification of votive deposits and ritual assemblages (Caubet and Courtois 1986; Begg 1991; Hadjisavvas 1996).

Terracotta bulls are indeed present in all well preserved cult buildings (**table III**), with the exception of Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, Kition Temple 2 and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess. Their number, however, varies considerably. Athienou Stratum III and *Koufos* each produced only one probable example and Myrtou *Pigadhes* CD1–CD6 one complete and one fragmentary figure. Two bulls were found in Room V at Ayia Irini, eight or nine in the cult house and surrounding area at Idalion, at least seven in the west unit and street of Periods V–VII at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, seven in the sacred area at Kition (Courtyard C. Temene A and B, Temple 4 and Room 11)<sup>40</sup>, one in Room 26 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God, two in the western sector of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God and one in the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi. Another ten or more were found in areas identified by Hadjisavvas as domestic cult places at Alassa *Pano Mandilaris*. Non-bovine figurines are not present in ritual deposits, with the exception of two fragmentary birds and the bicephalous sphinxes from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God<sup>41</sup>. Horses, most numerous after bovines, come from tombs and domestic levels and Karageorghis has suggested that examples found in infant graves at Kazaphani were rattles (1975b:65–66).

Bull figurines occur primarily in floor deposits where they were probably items of cult equipment rather than votives. They are not associated in particular with assemblages which include bucrania and other body parts of oxen (Sanctuary of the Horned God, Sanctuary of the Ingot God, Kition Temple 5). On the contrary, they appear most often in those with few or no faunal remains (Ayia Irini and Idalion) or, in the case of the west unit at Myrtou, with faunal material in which oxen are conspicuously absent. Nor are they notably associated with cult buildings dedicated to horned male deities (Sanctuary of the Horned God, Sanctuary of the Ingot God). This makes it difficult to accept Begg's suggestion that terracotta bulls were 'mass-produced representations of both the Horned God and the Ingot God' (1991:50). The recovery of over thirty examples at Alassa *Pano Mandilaris*, including ten or more from installations possibly associated with household ritual, may indicate a closer association with domestic and rural cults in LC IIC–IIIA than with urban centres. Notably, two intact bulls were found in Room V of the cult building at Ayia Irini and five in Room XXXIV of the Period 1 cult house at Idalion, both of which served small regional centres.

### Masks

Fragments of nine masks were found in LC III–CG I levels at Enkomi and four at Kition (Karageorghis 1993:33–35, nos. 2–9, 70, nos. 1–2, pls. XIX.7, XX.1–7, XXXI.1, 3 with refs; Courtois 1984:77–78, nos. 773, 781, fig. 27.5–6, pl. VIII.11; Karageorghis 1985d:193, inv. 5481, pl. CLXII; Lagarce and Lagarce 1986:165–66, pl. XXIX.6–9). To these may be added an unprovenanced example in the Louvre (Caubet and Courtois 1975:43–49, fig. 1, pl. VI.3–4), two small flat plaques without eye or suspension holes from Enkomi (**figure**

77.1, 3) and a moulded human face detached from a cylindrical vessel from Kition (Karageorghis 1993:34, nos. 10–11, 70, figs. 18–19, pls. XI.2, XXXI.2; Courtois 1971b:335, no. 642, figs. 147, 149, 1984:76, no. 758, fig. 27.1, pl. XI.2)<sup>42</sup>. A second mask in the Louvre, attributed by Caubet and Courtois to the Late Bronze Age, is probably of later type (1975:43–49, fig. 2, pl. VI.1–2. See also the discussion in Nys 1995:22–23 and compare Culican 1975–1976:47–87; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. XLVI.11).

Two of the Kition masks were found in Bothros 20, which contained material derived from Floor I of Temple 5, a third in Temenos A (Floors II–I) and the fourth on Floor II in Room 12 of the Northern Workshops. Despite references to the contrary, none of those from Enkomi were found in cult places<sup>43</sup>. Two were recovered in metallurgical workshops to the north of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God in Quarter 5E, one on Street 4, two in Quarter 4E, one in a workshop in Quarter 6W, one in a disturbed layer in Dikaios' Area III and one in Room 43 (unstratified) of the Ashlar Building<sup>44</sup>. Both terracotta plaques, however, come from the open court west of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God<sup>45</sup>. They depict finely painted female faces of considerably less than life-size (7cm and 7.7cm) and are more accurately identified as protomes.

The mask from Enkomi Street 4 shows a crudely modelled grotesque countenance of uncertain sex with a small pointed nose, pierced eyes, a large open mouth and a depression on the forehead (Courtois 1984:77, no. 772, fig. 27.3. See **figure 77.2**). Only 7.1cm high it lacks suspension holes and was clearly not intended as a mask proper, although it may be related to two larger examples of 'Humbaba' type from Enkomi and a leonine mask with large circular eyes and an open mouth from Kition (Karageorghis 1993:33–34, nos. 6–8, pl. XX.4–5, 7. See **figure 77.5**). These recall the leonine-featured Egyptian god Bes (Lagarce and Lagarce 1986:166). At least eight representations of Bes are known from Late Bronze Age Cyprus. For the most part he appears in New Kingdom guise on imported Egyptian faience and alabaster vessels, finger rings and amulets of C14th–C13th date (Åström 1984a:17, no. 12; Peltenburg 1974:114, pl. LXIV.22; Dikaios 1961:154, no. 6, pl. XXXIII.5, 1969:274, pl. 131.24; Boardman 1970a:6–7, nos. xx, xxv; BCH CX 1986:870f). More significant is his appearance in an embroidered kilt, panther skin and feathered crown on an ivory plaque of local origin from the adyton of Kition Temple 4 (Karageorghis 1985d:329–31, pl. CXXIV). Karageorghis relates the presence of Bes to his role as guardian of pregnant mothers and attendant at childbirth, assuming considerable familiarity with the deity and his Egyptian associations (1976a:235, 1976d:129; Karageorghis and Demas 1985:259). From at least the C14th a nude or robed, bearded, winged or squatting demon shown *en face* with leonine features also appears on Cypriot seals (eg **figure 5.4**. See also Porada 1974:164–66, fig. 2, 1983b:120–21, fig. 54.3; Iakovides 1970: 457, pl. 65; Kenna 1971: no. 66, pl. XVI). His iconography is at least partially derived from that of Bes, although he himself may be of local origin. The 'Humbaba' masks

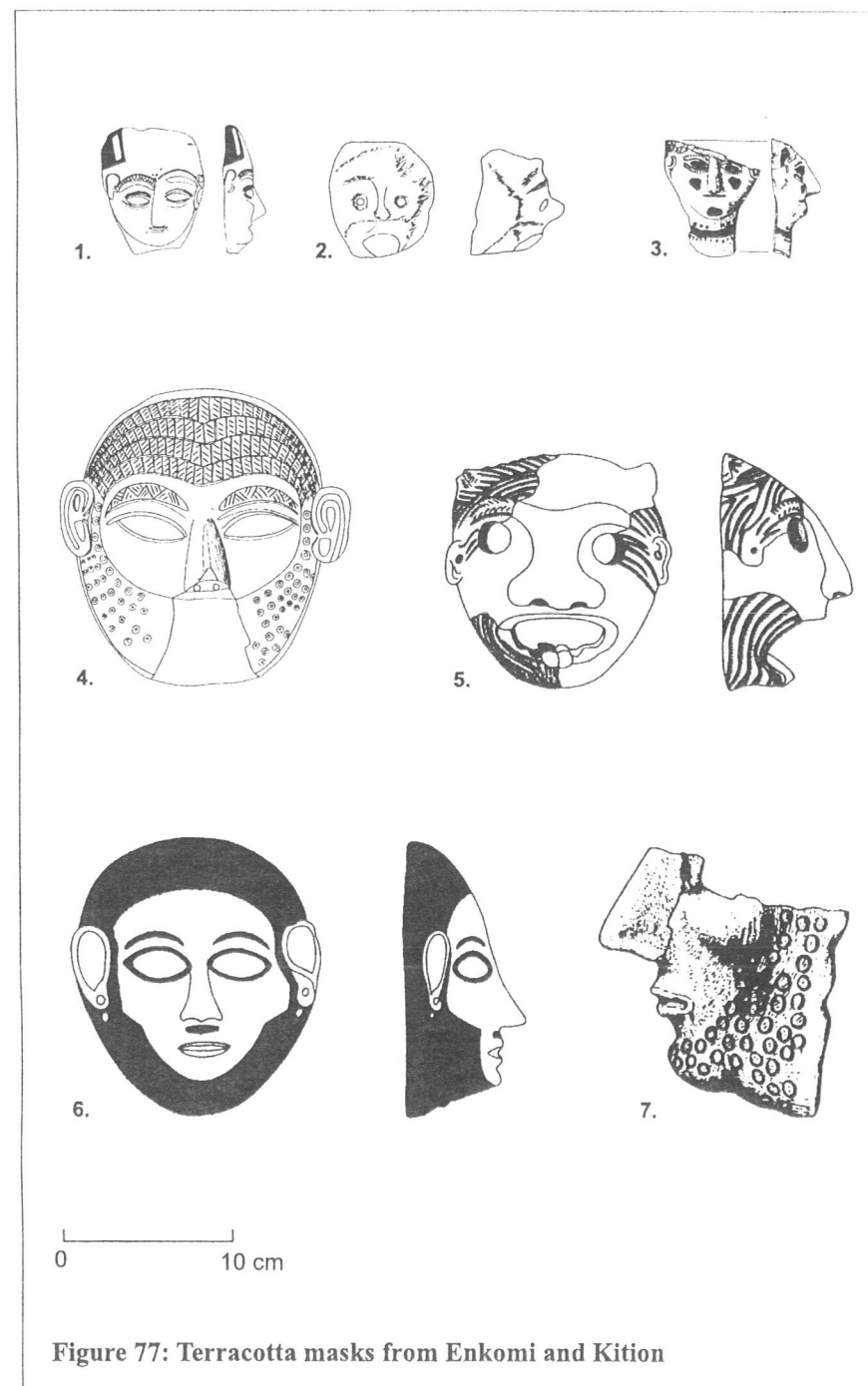


Figure 77: Terracotta masks from Enkomi and Kition



likewise suggest partial assimilation with an indigenous demon. Their purpose may have been primarily apotropaic.

The remaining ten masks show a young bearded male face of life or almost life-size with almond-shaped eyes, suspension holes in or behind the ears or/and at the top of the head and, in several cases, pierced nostrils. Hair, eyebrows, beard and in one instance a moustache are indicated by impressed, incised or painted decoration. At Enkomi masks of this type came to light primarily in Quarters 4E and 5E and at Kition in the vicinity of Temple 5 (figure 77.4, 6–7). They are widely assumed to be votive replicas of masks of perishable materials worn by priests or worshippers during ritual dramas, although it is possible that larger examples were themselves worn by adults or adolescents (Lagarce and Lagarce 1973, 1986:165–66; Courtois 1984:82–83; Yon 1986:266–68; Karageorghis 1984b:207–208, 1988a:333, 1988b, 1993:34–35; Karageorghis and Demas 1985:260–61; Nys 1995:30–31). This receives some support from the context of the Kition masks. Many of those from Enkomi, however, and the mask from Kition Room 12 were associated with metallurgical installations. This may indicate that they were used for secular purposes or that temples and workshops were closely allied and the wearing or storing of masks in the latter related to rituals performed in the former. Other indications of ritual activity in the Northern Workshops at Kition and the concentration of masks in installations located in close proximity to cult buildings suggest the latter. The predominance in this context of masks showing a young bearded male is significant. The repeated appearance of this type suggests that a specific figure is depicted, perhaps a deity or hero associated with bronzeworking whose countenance served as an attribute or disguise in mythological enactments performed by the bronzesmiths in or partially in their own workshops<sup>46</sup>.

The use of masks in Cypriot ritual may also be indicated by the faunal and iconographic record. A number of ox skulls from the sacred quarter at Kition and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi appear to have been cleaned of rear projecting bones to facilitate their use as masks (Karageorghis 1971c) or, possibly, to assist in mounting them on poles, walls or ceiling (Nys 1995:27). These recall Cypro-Achaic figurines from Ayia Irini, Kourion and Peyia which show priests or worshippers wearing bucranial masks (Myres 1914: nos. 1029–31, 2046; *BCH* 1960:275, fig. 54; Young and Young 1955:40–41, pl. 11, nos. 814, 825–39; Hermary 1979, 1986:164–66; *ARDA* 1988:65, fig. 87). Such masks may have been worn in ceremonies involving impersonation of the bull-man of Cypriot Elaborate Style glyptic (figures 72.2, 88.1, 3–5, 85.1, 3–4, 6). Both the bull-man and other animal-headed ministrants appear to wear cloth or leather neckpieces on a number of seals (Kenna 1969:139–40, no. 147; Porada 1971:789–90, no. 4, pl. 256; Lagarce and Lagarce 1986:184–85. See Nys 1995:27 for a discussion of the literature).

## BRONZES

### Freestanding Anthropomorphic Figures

The bronze figures known as the Horned God and the Ingot God were found in those cult buildings which bear their name. They are almost certainly cult statues and may be assumed to depict the deities worshipped in these buildings. Both are furnished with tenons, suggesting permanent or regular attachment to another object. A small double-sided bronze plaque depicting a nude female from the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess is unlikely to have been the central cult object, but may represent the deity worshipped in this sector of the Reconstructed Ashlar Building. Several other bronzes depicting robed seated male and nude female figures do not come from overtly ritual contexts but may also be divine images.

#### a. *The Ingot God* (figures 47, 78.2)

The Ingot God bronze was found in the northeast adyton of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi. It stands 34.5cm high and shows a young, bearded male dressed in a long kilt, transparent V-necked shirt, conical horned helmet and greaves standing on a base in the shape of an ox-hide ingot (Schaeffer 1965, 1966:59–61, pls. 1–7; 1971:506–10, 525–33, figs. 1–3, pls. I–VII)<sup>47</sup>. He holds a spear in his right hand and a small circular shield in his left. Although the technique of manufacture (casting bronze on bronze) is otherwise unknown in Cyprus, it is probable that the figure was cast on the island sometime before the mid-C12th (Buchholz 1979:84–85).

The aggressive attitude of the Ingot God recalls Near Eastern ‘smiting god’ bronzes, at least nine of which have been found in Cyprus, including two from LC IIIB levels in the vicinity of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Schaeffer 1966:63, fig. 7; Courtois 1984:35, no. 310, fig. 11.1, pl. V; Åström 1993). The latter belong to a Phoenician subgroup of Negbi’s ‘Male warriors in smiting pose’ (1976:37–40). The Ingot God, however, is not depicted in striding pose and his dress, weapons and base are atypical<sup>48</sup>. Catling (1969:86, 1971:29–31) and Guida (1973:101) consider these accoutrements to be largely Aegean, an observation true at best only of the greaves, although these had been introduced to Cyprus by the late C13th (Catling 1955). Horned headgear, on the contrary, is derived from the Near East, where horns appear as an attribute of divinity and kingship from the IIIrd millennium. More particularly, horned helmets, round shields, long kilts and diaphanous shirts are worn by the Shardana, who appear as raiders to the Nile Delta in the reign of Ramesses II and among the adversaries of Ramesses III in his battle against the Sea Peoples (Schachermeyr 1969; Sandars 1978:50, 105–108). Sandars has proposed a North Syrian homeland for the Shardana, further suggesting that settlers who reached Cyprus following the destruction of Ugarit and the expulsion of the Sea Peoples from the Nile Delta included a strong Shardana contingent (1978:107, 160–61, 199).

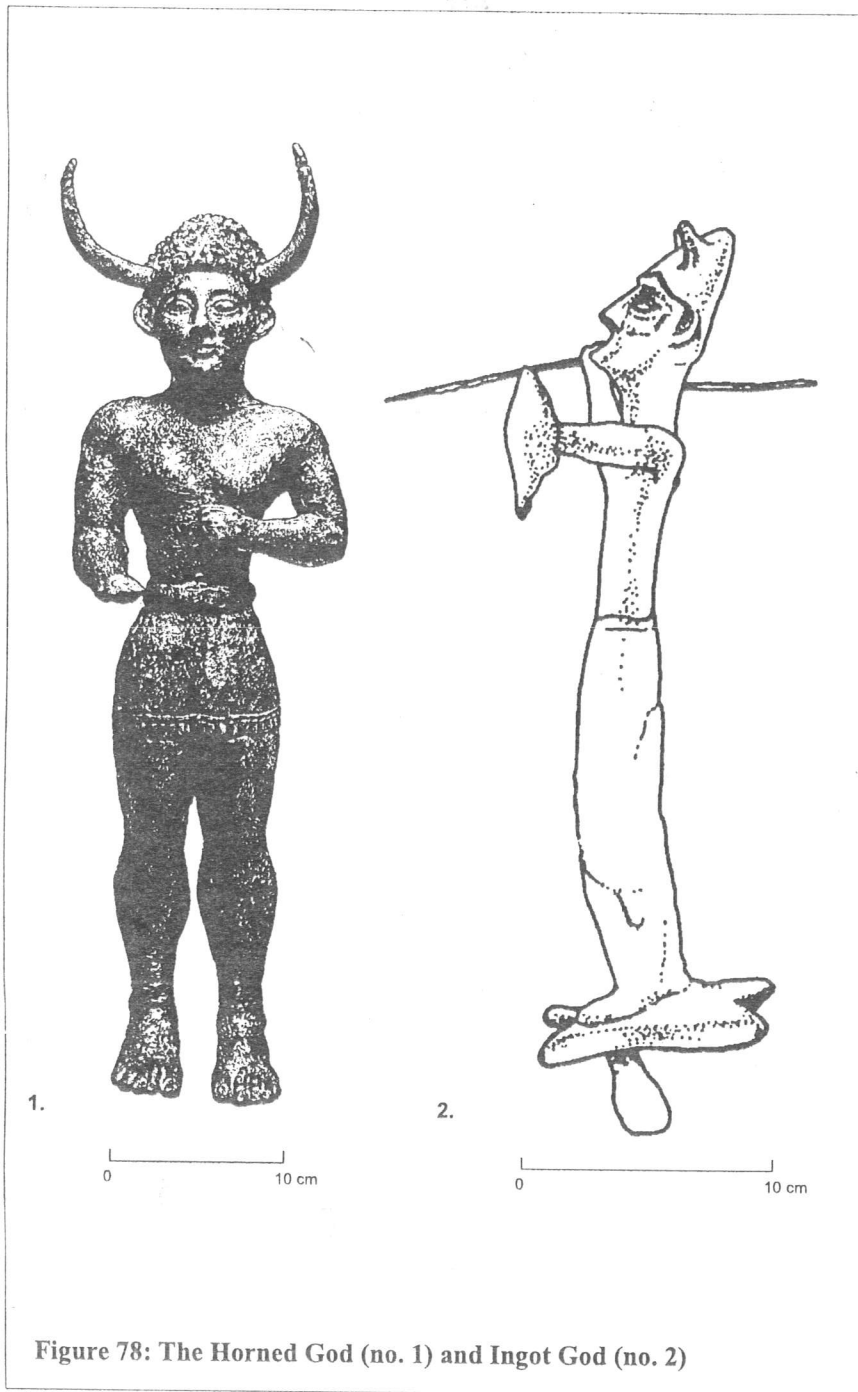


Figure 78: The Horned God (no. 1) and Ingot God (no. 2)

The identification of the deity represented by the Ingot God has been coloured by the eclectic appearance of the figure and the perceived nature of the LC IIIA period to which it is customarily dated (see Carless Hulin 1989b:129–30). Schaeffer (1965, 1966, 1971:509–10) considered him to be a warrior god similar to that of the smiting bronzes and more specifically the deity referred to as Nergal in Amarna letter 35 from the king of Alashiya to Amenophis IV. At Ugarit Nergal was revered under the name of Resheph, which may be a more correct translation of the ideogram in the Amarna letter (Schretter 1974:112; Hellbing 1979:22–23). Thus the Ingot God is identified by Schaeffer and others (Collon 1972:131–32; Dalley; O’Byhim 1996:12) as Syrian Resheph, a deity believed to have been introduced to the island by the Sea Peoples at the beginning of the C12th. Catling also recognised him as a newcomer, preferring an Aegeo-Cypriot origin and a connection with Ares-Hephaistos (1969:86, 1971:29–30). Karageorghis proposed that the Ingot God was introduced by Achaean colonists in LC IIIA, his iconography symbolising their domination over the local copper industry (1973d:108. See also Photiades 1985:165–67 and Coldstream 1986:12).

The absence, however, of specifically Aegean features in the attitude and iconography of the Ingot God precludes an immediate Aegean origin. Similarities with Near Eastern smiting bronzes, on the other hand, argue in favour of a partial identification with Resheph or at least with Near Eastern concepts of divine representation, while analogies with the dress and weaponry of the Shardana suggest that the figure was manufactured in an atmosphere influenced by people of Syrian origin. Yet while the stylistic complexity of the Ingot God may indicate that the piece was made by non-Cypriot craftsmen, this need not imply a non-Cypriot identity (Carless Hulin 1989b:132). Other considerations make it difficult to believe that he was worshipped in Cyprus as a Syrian deity or introduced only at the beginning of the C12th.

Virtually all scholars have identified the role of the Ingot God as that of guardian of the local copper industry and patron deity of miners and other metalworkers (Schaeffer 1971:509; Catling 1971:29–31; Karageorghis 1973d; O. Masson 1973:115; Sandars 1978:161; Ionas 1984a:122). Despite the misgivings of Muhly (in Wertime and Muhly 1980:42–43) and Knapp (1986b), this remains convincing. Such a role is evident also in the proximity of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God to bronze ateliers in Quarters 5E and 4E, suggesting a link between the worship of the Ingot God and elements of Cypriot cult practice apparent at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* and Kalopsidha *Koufos* as early as LC IIA. On these grounds Knapp and others have proposed a C13th or even C14th date of manufacture for the Ingot God (1986b:101–11; Muhly 1980:156–61). In this context it is of interest to note that remains of an earlier structure below the Sanctuary of the Ingot God may belong to a cult building of LC IIC–IIIA (see Part II, no. 19). A krater and jug of WPW-m III from Sol III of the northeast adyton of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God pre-date

its construction and may be hold-overs from the earlier building (Schaeffer 1971:527, fig. 8A; Iakovou 1988:9). They were associated with the statuette of the Ingot God, which may also have been in use in LC IIC.

A whole or partial assimilation of the Cypriot deity known as the Ingot God and Syrian Resheph may have taken place relatively early in the Late Bronze Age. The appearance of Nergal/Resheph as titular god of the Alasiote king in Amarna letter 35 suggests that a deity equivalent to Semitic Resheph was known and worshipped on the island in the C14th. Kilted male figures in smiting pose appear on two LC I Bichrome Wheel-made jugs (see Part IV and Karageorghis 1979a:198–203, figs. 1–2, pl. XXVIII; Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, 45, pl. IV), and occasionally in local glyptic and other media (Karageorghis and Kenna 1967:93, fig. 4; Åström, Bailey and Karageorghis 1976:1, 14, pl. VII). The concentration of smiting bronzes in the vicinity of the Sanctuary of Ingot God may also owe something to this equation. In any case there is no reason to persist in the belief that the Ingot God was a newcomer to the island, introduced in the C12th by immigrants from the Aegean or Levantine coast. More probably his origins date at least to the C14th, though whether a local deity akin to and partly assimilated with Resheph or Resheph adapted to the needs of Cypriot cult remains unclear. Aspects of his iconography and his importance at Enkomi in the C12th may owe much to the presence of Near Eastern groups. His role as protector of the copper industry, however, reflects indigenous concepts.

Focus on the origins and identity of the Ingot God bronze, without reference to the circumstances of deposition, has significantly skewed our understanding of the building which bears his name. The Ingot God was buried well prior to the abandonment of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Placed upright in a pit to the right of the entrance to the northeast adyton at the time of the construction of Sol II, it lay sealed below this floor and cannot have served as a cult image for Sols II or I (Schaeffer 1971:529, fig. 10. See **figure 47**). Notably, also, the adyton which housed the Ingot God was not part of the original building (Sol IV), but added for Sol III and out of use prior to Sol I (Schaeffer 1971:529, fig. 10). The west adyton, however, was in use from Sols IV–I and is larger and more centrally located. Hundreds of terracotta female figures found across the west sector of the building and in the western courtyard suggest that this adyton was associated with a female deity. The Sanctuary of the Ingot God thus appears to have been dedicated to both a male and female deity, of which the latter is likely to have been the prior and more important. The burial of the Ingot God during the construction of Sol II and the abandonment of the northeast adyton prior to Sol I suggest significant changes in cult practice, perhaps reflecting a decrease in his importance at this time. In any case it is unlikely that the Ingot God was the only or even the primary recipient of the cult practiced in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God.

### **b. The Horned God (figures 40, 78.1)**

The Horned God bronze, recovered in Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Enkomi, stands 54.2cm high and shows a young, broad-shouldered, narrow-waisted male dressed in a fringed kilt and conical cap from which a pair of horns protrude (Dikaios 1949, 1951, 1962, 1969–1971:197–99, 215–16, 527–30, pls. 43.1–3, 138.6, 139–44). His left foot is slightly advanced, his right forearm extended with the palm open and downward and the left arm held across the body with the fist closed on the chest. A late C13th or early C12th date of manufacture appears probable (Baurain 1980:577–78; Courtois 1982:159).

In his initial publication of the Horned God, Dikaios (1962:29) noted stylistic similarities with Aegean ivories of the C13th–C12th, but suggested an Asiatic and in particular Syrian origin for the cap, horns, kilt and attitude of the arms. Following publication of a lead statuette from Laconia (in Marinatos 1963), however, he proposed a wholly Mycenaean origin, suggesting that the Horned God was brought to Cyprus or made locally by Mycenaean immigrants (Dikaios 1971:527–30. See also Hadjioannou 1960, 1971; Catling 1964:256). There can be little doubt that the Horned God does belong to a Mycenaean stylistic tradition. The facial features resemble those of sculpted ivory warrior heads of C13th date from Mycenae, Spata and Enkomi and the narrow waist, broad shoulders and fringed kilt are found on ivories from Enkomi, Kouklia and Delos as well as on recently discovered seal impressed pithos fragments (**figure 84.5**) from *Alassa Paliotaverna* (Staïs 1909:90; Haussoullier *BCH* II 1878:185, pl. 18.2; Murray, Smith and Walters 1900:9, pl. II; Catling 1964: pl. 1c; Gallet de Santerre *BCH* LXXI/LXXII 1947/48:148, pl. 25; Kryszyszkowska 1988; Hadjisavvas 1997:146, fig. 4). The ivories, however, are identified as products of a Cypriot atelier and their stylistic affinities are attributed to local artists working in a Mycenaeanising style rather than to Mycenaean craftsmen (Poursat 1977a:159–65, 1977b; Barnett 1982:38). Pithos sealings, also, although often Aegeanising, were impressed by rollers engraved locally in LC IIC and appear exclusively on Cypriot pithoi (Webb and Frankel 1994:17–20).

The attributes and attitude of the Horned God, however, owe more to the Near East than the Aegean. The use of horns to denote divinity is a Near Eastern device and the gesture of the right arm is characteristic of seated and standing bronzes of Negbi's Types IV–V (1976:42–58, 86–94). The latter is repeated on a seated bronze from Cyprus (Schaeffer 1952: pls. LXXII, LXXIV) and found in indigenous glyptic where it serves as a gesture of both benediction and homage (eg Kenna 1971: nos. 66, 71, 77–78, 84).

The identity of the Horned God has been much debated. Picard (1955), ignoring both headgear and context, questioned his divinity on the grounds that no god would be portrayed without divine attributes. Dikaios initially identified him as Nergal in Cypriot guise, on the evidence of Amarna letter 35 (1949,

1951), then as Resheph-Apollo Alasiotas after a C4th inscription from Tamassos (1962) and finally as Apollo Keraiates, following the recovery of a Hellenistic pithos dedicated to a deity of this name at Pyla *Vikles* (1971:527–30). According to Pausanias (VIII:34.5), Apollo Keraiates had a temple in Arcadia, establishing a connection between Arcadia and Cyprus (albeit of much later date) which confirmed Dikaios' belief in the Horned God's Mycenaean origin. The equation Horned God-Apollo Keraiates was accepted by Schaeffer (1971:515) and Hadjoannou (1971). Other scholars (Catling 1964:256; O. Masson 1973:114–15; Knapp 1986b:13–14), have reviewed the evidence without adding further to the debate. Only Otten (1953), Lagarce and Lagarce (1986:75) and O'Bryhim (1996:12) offer alternatives. Otten identified the Horned God as Kinyras, an autochthonous deity/hero considered during the Iron Age to have discovered copper, invented metallurgy and founded the temple of Aphrodite at Kouklia (see also Jirku 1963:21 and Brown 1965). For Lagarce and Lagarce he is an indigenous 'Master of Bulls' and chief deity of the Cypriot Bronze Age pantheon. O'Bryhim proposes an identification with Baal.

A local origin for the Horned God is highly probable. There is no longer any reason to assume that his cult statue was made outside Cyprus or by resident Mycenaean. On the contrary, the combination of Aegean stylistic features and Near Eastern attributes is characteristic of Cypriot iconography in LC IIC–III. There is, further, abundant evidence to suggest that a deity or deities in taurine or part-taurine form existed throughout the Cypriot Bronze Age. The importance of oxen in the cult of the Horned God is obvious. Finds from his sanctuary include fifteen ox skulls and other bones of *Bos*, three ox horns in gold leaf and bull figurines in terracotta and bronze. In these circumstances the Horned God is best identified as an indigenous deity, depicted in a Mycenaeanising anthropomorphic form but retaining, as his major and only attribute, the ox horns which protrude from his head or cap.

The name by which the Horned God was known is impossible to determine. To equate him with Apollo Alasiotas or Keraiates on the basis of C4th–3rd inscriptions is anachronistic, although it is possible that an Iron Age descendant became assimilated with a Greek Apollo or that the Horned God was so identified by Mycenaean immigrants at the end of the Bronze Age. To equate him with Resheph is to ignore both the substantial differences between the iconography of the Horned God and that of Near Eastern Resheph figures and the greater claim of the Ingot God. Kinyras, the only autochthonous male deity/hero preserved in Iron Age memory, is a more likely candidate and an association with El through an assimilation of the chief Cypriot male deity and his Semitic counterpart also probable. A link with Kinyras, mythical founder of the Cypriot bronze industry, is strengthened by the recovery of at least twenty-five bronze and other metal objects and a crucible in his cult building. The bronzes include at least five miniature tools and weapons, unparalleled in other assemblages.

### c. Seated Male Figures (figure 79)

Four bronzes from Enkomi and an unprovenanced example in the Pierides Museum show young, seated, robed male figures (Schaeffer 1952:371–77, pls. LXXII–LXXVI, 1971:516–25, figs. 6–7; Courtois 1984:34–35, no. 308, fig. 11.2; Dikaios 1961:121, no. 1a; Karageorghis 1985b:130–31, no. 113). The head is flat or domeshaped and either shaven or covered with a skull cap or page-boy coiffure. Arm positions show the left hand clenched and the right open with raised palm (figure 79.2), the left clenched and pierced and the right holding a stemmed cup (figure 79.3), the left against the thigh and the right across the waist and the left at the side with the right holding a cup (figure 79.1). One of the Enkomi examples, seated on a chair, had been placed in a pit in Sol I (LC IIIB/CG I) adjacent to Bâtiment 18 in Quarter 5W (Schaeffer 1952: fig. 115). A second, apparently the original occupant of the chair, lay 3.5m away on Sol II (LC IIIB) and a third in a LC IIIB level in Quarter 6W to the south of Bâtiment 18 (Schaeffer 1952:374, 1971:524; Courtois 1984:35, no. 308). All belong to the 'Syro-Phoenician' subgroup of Negbi's 'Enthroned male deities and worshippers', together with examples from Minet-el-Beida, Hazor, Byblos, Tell Hezzine, Beth Shean, Tell Sippor and Tell e1-Madrassa (1976:54–6, nos. 1468–82). The latter date to LB II and are thus earlier than those from Enkomi which may have been in use for some time prior to deposition.

Schaeffer (1952:371–77, 1971:516–21), Karageorghis (1985b:16) and Negbi (1976:56) identify the Cypriot bronzes as local products while Catling (1964:253, 255) has proposed a Levantine origin for several of the Enkomi examples but likewise suggests the chair and its original occupant were made in Cyprus in the C12th. Aegean influence, which Catling recognises in the profile of the Sol II figure, is unlikely as face and page-boy coiffure resemble an anthropomorphic weight from Late Bronze II Ugarit (*Ugaritica I*: fig. 33, pl. XII) and an enthroned basalt statue of similar date from Hazor (Yadin *et al.* Hazor III–IV: pls. CCCXXVI–CCCXXVII). The hairstyle may also be traced to Middle Bronze Age Lebanese prototypes (Negbi 1976:17, 21–22, 56, Types I.B.d and II.A.a, figs. 20, 26–28). It is thus possible that all or most of these bronzes were made in Cyprus under Near Eastern influence and perhaps by Levantine craftsmen<sup>49</sup>.

Schaeffer (1952:371–77, 1966, 1971:516–21) identified the seated figure as El, who in iconographic and textual evidence from Ugarit regularly presides over the banquets of the gods. Accordingly, he concluded that El was introduced to Enkomi by Levantine groups in the early C12th and worshipped there during the C12th and C11th (1971:525). Such a hypothesis would explain the exclusive recovery of these bronzes at a site closely linked with Ugarit in levels post-dating the destruction of that and other Levantine centres. The fact that none came from cult places might, further, be explained by supposing that the newcomers continued to worship their own deities independently of the



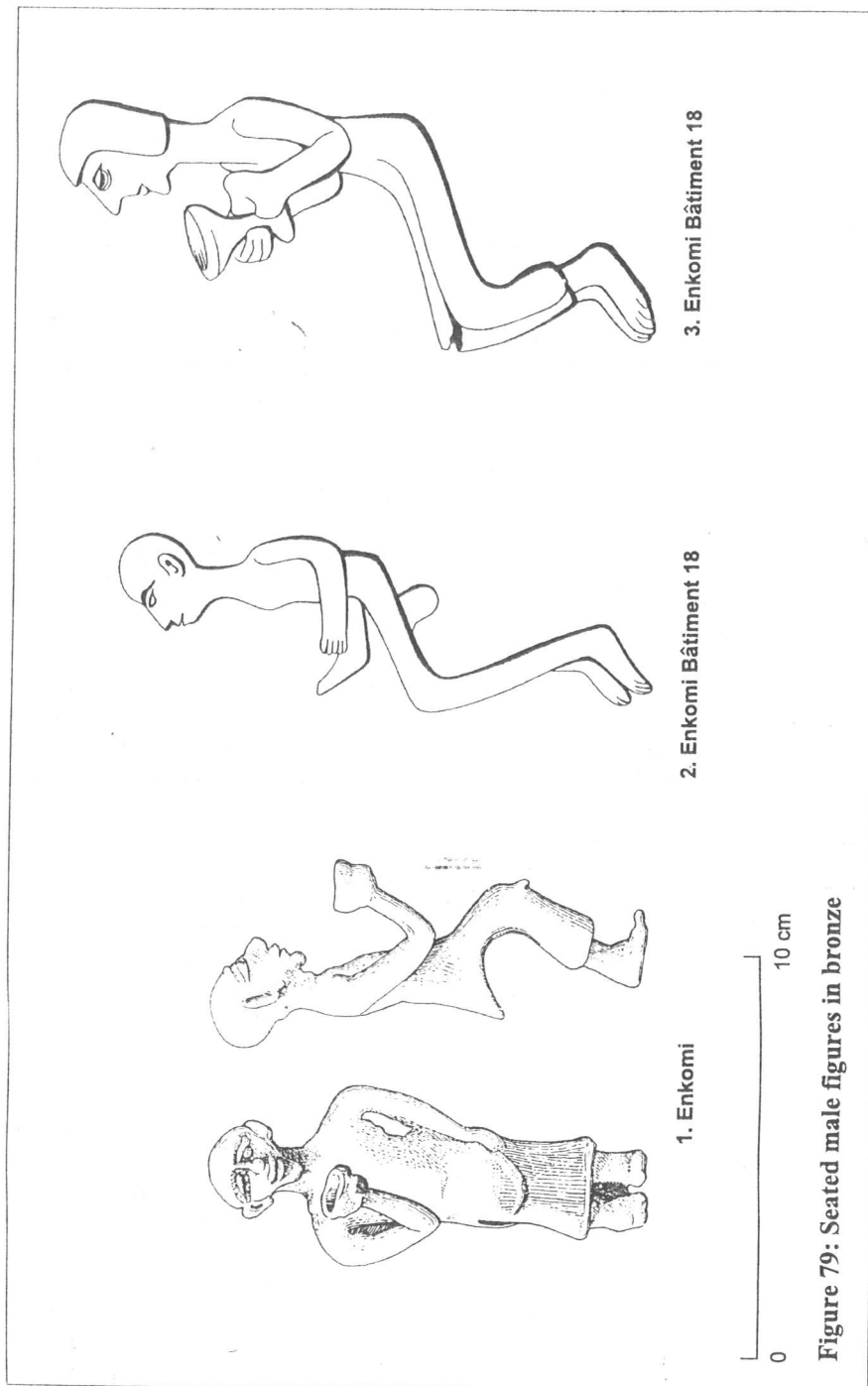


Figure 79: Seated male figures in bronze

town's major cult centres or that they were associated with domestic or ancestral cults (Ionas 1984a:120; Lagarce and Lagarce 1986:74).

The youth of the Cypriot figures, however, makes it unlikely that they are depictions of El, father of the West Semitic pantheon. Moreover, Moorey and Fleming (1984) suggest that skull-caps and shaven heads indicate mortal status, warning against an uncritical assumption of divinity for these bronzes. Seated males, it should also be noted, appear regularly in local glyptic where they both receive homage (eg Iakovides 1970:325–28, fig. 139; Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:474, no. 67, pl. CL.11; Porada 1972:143, pl. 38.B1626) and engage in repeated scenes of ritual or mythological observance (A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. XIV, no. 45; Karageorghis 1965: pl. X.3; Kenna in Nicolaou 1972:107, pls. XVII.4, XVIII.7; Porada 1948a:194, Group XII, 1986:292–94, pls. XVIII.5–6–XIX.1–2). It is thus possible that the bronzes express indigenous rather than immigrant concepts. Whether, however, they depict a deity or hero or secular rulers, priests or divinised ancestors is unclear.

#### d. The Double Goddess (figure 80.4)

A small bronze plaque (Ht 5.5cm) found in a shallow pit in the southeast corner of Room 11 of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess at Enkomi shows a nude female figure with head and torso repeated on both sides of the object (Dikaios 1969–1971:200, 295, 346, 721, pls. 138.6–8, 145.1–2, 171.52, 196.41). The hands rest on the breasts, the navel is marked by an impressed circle, the pubis by arc-shaped incisions and a deep groove, the eyes in relief and the hair is flat on the forehead and falling forward on the shoulders. The recovery of this object in a recognised cult area has led to the assumption that a deity is represented. She is identified as the consort of the Horned God, whose own statue was found in the adjoining but non-communicating Room 10 (V. Karageorghis 1982:92; J. Karageorghis 1977:104; Knapp 1986a:22; Lagarce and Lagarce 1986:77). A slightly smaller (Ht 3.5cm) but otherwise almost identical bronze plaque was found in Enkomi Cyprus Museum Tomb 2 (Catling 1964:257, no. 8).

Both objects may be compared with Syro-Palestinian Astarte plaques in gold and glass, several of which have been found at Enkomi, and two small lead plaques from the same site which show a similar but single-sided figure (Dikaios 1969–1971:638, 653, nos. 55, 2090, pls. 128.9a–b, 156.27–28). Also linked to LC II terracotta production by their nudity and the attitude of the arms, the dual representation is again unparalleled. Thus distinguished, it is unclear whether these plaques depict a separate figure or a further manifestation of the same Cypriot fertility deity. Bifrontality is occasionally associated in Cypriot glyptic with a robed and winged 'mistress of animals' (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. LXVII, no. 28 from Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*), robed and crowned deities and lion-, bull- and griffin-headed ministrants (eg Contenau 1922: no. 199; Moortgat 1940: no. 584). It is not, however, linked with a nude female figure.



Whether or not the southeastern sector of the Level IIIB Reconstructed Ashlar Building was dedicated to the 'double goddess' depicted on the plaque found in Room 11 is impossible to determine. Notably, ritual use of this sector is associated with a single level identified by Dikaios as Floor II, corresponding to the second of the two phases of Level IIIB in the Sanctuary of the Horned God. Following the destruction of Level IIIB, cult activity was discontinued in this area, whereas some effort was expended in the southwestern sector to retrieve the Horned God and other items from Floor II for use in Level IIIC. The cult practiced in the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess was, therefore, introduced some time after the founding of the Horned God ritual, remaining active for little more than a generation. If a divine couple were worshipped in the Reconstructed Ashlar Building, as seems probable, the male partner was the original and primary recipient.

*e. The Bomford, Bairaktar and Kouklia Teratsoudhia Bronzes*  
(figure 80.1–2)

An unprovenanced bronze from the Bomford Collection, now in the Ashmolean Museum (Catling 1971), another from the Bairaktar quarter of Nicosia (Dikaios 1936) and a third from Tomb 104 at Kouklia *Teratsoudhia* (Karageorghis 1990b:29, 59–60. Pls. XXI, LII) also show nude female figures. The Bomford Goddess (Ht 9.9cm) stands, like the Ingot God, on an ingot-shaped base, her arms bent at the elbow with the hands below the breasts (figure 80.1). The breasts are conoid and prominent, the pubes large and slightly swollen, the head flat with projecting ears, a large nose and circular protruding eyes and the hair is dressed in four tresses behind the ears and at the temples. Three grooves on the neck indicate neck-bands or rolls of flesh and a necklace with a sliding ring and a pendant in the shape of a cylinder or stamp seal hangs between the breasts.

The Bairaktar bronze (Preserved Ht 10.5cm), found accidentally in an area known to have been occupied during the C12th, is virtually identical. Feet, base and one arm, however, are missing, the hands are placed on the hips and the vulva is more prominently marked. Dikaios mentions an object resembling a bowl on top of the head (1936:109). This is not noted by Catling (1964:257, no. 7, pl. 44.j). The *Teratsoudhia* figure (Ht. 9.5 cm) is also similar to the Bomford bronze, with the hands on rather than below the breasts (figure 80.2) and may have stood on an ingot-shaped base, now missing. It was found with material of LC IIC–IIIA, suggesting a C13th manufacture for all three bronzes.

These bronzes have no counterparts in Near Eastern metal statuary nor do they show Aegean influence<sup>50</sup>. They are, as Catling has argued (1971:23–29), distinctively Cypriot and share a common iconographic and stylistic tradition with Type B terracottas, in particular the flat head, facial features, conical breasts, exaggerated pubes and attitude of the hands with other details modelled

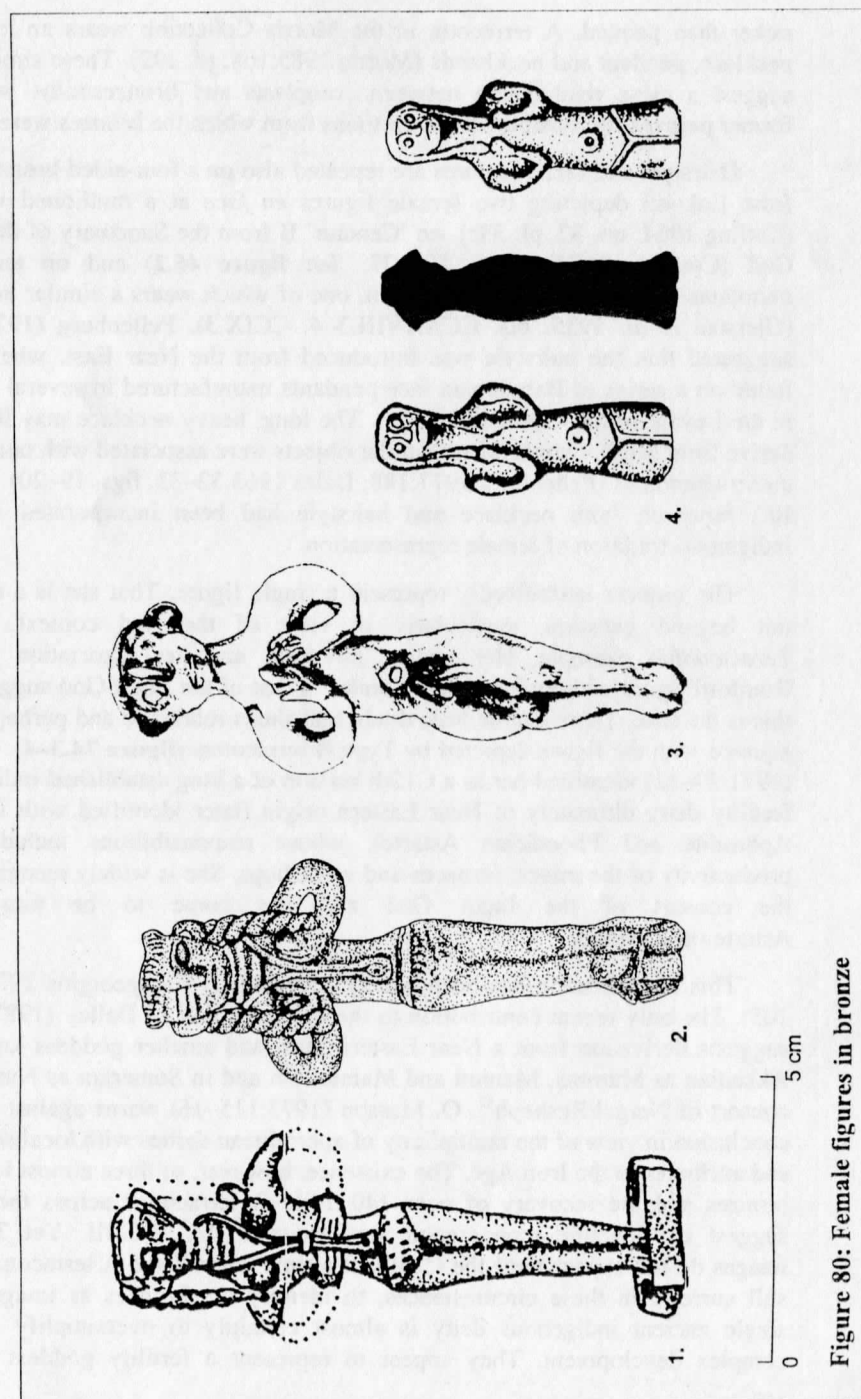


Figure 80: Female figures in bronze

rather than painted. A terracotta in the Morris Collection wears an identical necklace, pendant and neckbands (Morris 1985:168, pl. 192). These similarities suggest a close relationship between coroplasts and bronzesmiths with the former perhaps responsible for the cartoons from which the bronzes were cast.

Hairstyle and facial features are repeated also on a four-sided bronze stand from Enkomi depicting two female figures *en face* at a mullioned window (Catling 1964: no. 32, pl. 33c), on 'Centaur' B from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1971b: figs. 124–27. See **figure 46.2**) and on terracotta minotaurs of later date from Ayia Irini, one of which wears a similar necklace (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935: pls. CCXXVIII.3–4, CCIX.3). Peltenburg (1977) has suggested that the hairstyle was introduced from the Near East, where it is found on a series of Babylonian face pendants manufactured in several centres in the Levant in the C14th and C13th. The long, heavy necklace may likewise derive from Mesopotamia where similar objects were associated with talismanic *dudittu* pendants (Peltenburg 1977:188; Dales 1963:32–33, figs. 19–20). By LC IIC, however, both necklace and hairstyle had been incorporated into an indigenous tradition of female representation.

The bronzes undoubtedly represent a single figure. That she is a deity is not beyond question, particularly in view of the find context of the *Teratsoudhia* example. Her nudity, however, and her association on the Bomford figure with an ingot base similar to that of the Ingot God suggest that this is the case. There can be little doubt that she is related to and perhaps to be equated with the figure depicted by Type B terracottas (**figure 74.3–4**). Catling (1971:29–32) identified her as a C12th version of a long established indigenous fertility deity ultimately of Near Eastern origin (later identified with Paphian Aphrodite and Phoenician Astarte), whose responsibilities included the productivity of the mines, furnaces and workshops. She is widely recognised as the consort of the Ingot God and has come to be known as Astarte-on-the-Ingot<sup>51</sup>.

This identification has been widely accepted (J. Karageorghis 1977:104–105). The only recent contribution to the debate is that of Dalley (1987), who suggests derivation from a Near Eastern birth and smelter goddess known in Akkadian as Mamma, Mammi and Mammitum and in Sumerian as Ninhursag, consort of Nergal/Resheph<sup>52</sup>. O. Masson (1973:115–16) warns against a hasty conclusion in view of the multiplicity of aphroditean deities with localised titles and attributes in the Iron Age. The existence, however, of three almost identical bronzes and the recovery of over 140 Type B terracottas, across the island suggest considerable iconographic uniformity in LC IIC–III. Yet Type B images do not appear until the C13th, at a time when Type A terracottas were still current. In these circumstances, to identify the bronzes as images of a single ancient indigenous deity is almost certainly to oversimplify a more complex development. They appear to represent a fertility goddess known

across the island in LC IIC and III, whose derivation beyond the C13th cannot yet be established.

#### f. *The Pyla Kokkinokremos Bronze* (**figure 80.3**)

This relatively crude bronze (Ht 10.3cm) from a late C13th founder's hoard at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* shows a nude figure with both arms bent at the elbow and hands on the chest (Karageorghis and Demas 1984:38, 55, 63, no. 62, pls. XXV, XLIV)<sup>53</sup>. The head is flattened, with hair shown in relief on the crown and forehead, projecting ears, a prominent nose and protruding eyes marked by circular pellets. Although identified as male by Karageorghis, there is no real difficulty in seeing the image as female, with two deep vertical grooves below the navel marking the vulva (rather than an ithyphallic penis) and the breasts hidden beneath the hands. The placing of both hands on the breast is unknown among extant male figures and the few male terracottas and bronzes of LC II/III wear kilts or loincloths.

The Pyla bronze is even more closely related to terracottas of Type B than those discussed in the preceding section, particularly in the treatment of facial features, the attitude of arms, legs and feet and the slight bulging of the body at the hips. It surely belongs to the same tradition and may represent the same or a related figure.

#### Human/Animal Groups

Four Cypriot bronzes show a male figure dressed in a short tunic on a flat rectangular wheeled base with, variously, a bull, a bull, foal, dog and two birds, a bull, dog and unidentifiable animal and two bulls and a bird (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893: pl. XLIII.6–7; Schaeffer 1969). Another eight animal, wheel and axle fragments may have belonged to similar groups (Catling 1964:250–51, nos. 7–8, 252, no. 1, pls. 43.i–j, 44.f, 1984:86, pl. XI.6; Karageorghis 1973b:78, no. 10, fig. 2; Courtois 1984:36, nos. 314–16). Two of the more complete examples were recovered during uncontrolled excavations at Arsos and Athienou, a third in a well northwest of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God and an isolated wheel on Sol II of the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi (Part II, no. 18). These may each have been associated with cult deposits. With the exception of an additional three fragments from Enkomi, which perhaps belonged to wheeled stands, the remainder come from foundry hoards or are unprovenanced. They are dated by Schaeffer (1969) to LC IIIA. Sol II of the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi, however, produced ceramic material of LC IIC and early LC IIIA. Other fragments from early C12th hoards (Muhly 1982:256, 1985:34; Achilles 1981:256–57) and a similar composition in terracotta from a tomb in use no later than LC IIC at Kazaphani (Karageorghis 1972a) must also have been manufactured at least as early as the C13th. Related ceramic fragments are attributed to LC IIB, IIC and III (Åström *et al.* 1977:45, 56–57, fig. 34; Benson 1972:136, pl. 35.B1562; Courtois 1984:78, nos. 782–85, fig. 24.6, 8–9, 12).

These objects are identified by Schaeffer (1969) and others (Karageorghis 1972a; Caubet *et al.* 1981:50–52; Lagarce and Lagarce 1986:80–82) as 'cult chariots' and believed to show a priest or votary driving or leading animals to sacrifice. Alternatively, Morris (1985:169) has suggested that 'bull-jumping, bull wrestling or some other sort of dangerous sport' may be depicted or 'a farmer leading his bull' or 'the spirit of man engaging some taurine symbol of power'. Given the obvious importance of oxen and ox sacrifice in Late Cypriot cult and the probable association of at least some of these bronzes with ritual assemblages, the former appears more probable. The use of the wheeled vehicle may distinguish these processional groups from secular scenes.

### Zoomorphic

At least twelve freestanding bronze bulls are extant. They range from 5cm to 10cm in length and 3cm to 8cm in height and are crudely modelled with genitalia prominently marked. Six are unprovenanced (Catling 1964:249–51, nos. 3–5, 10–12, pls. 43.d–f, 44a–c). Others were recovered from a tomb of LC II at Katydhata (Catling 1964:249, no. 2, pl. 43b–c), the core of the altar platform in the west court at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:90, pl. Va. See **figure 16.7**), a possible cult place at Arsos (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1891:12), Room 45 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (Dikaios 1971:716, no. 60, pl. 138.3. See **figure 38.3**) and Quarter 3E at Enkomi (Courtois 1984:36, no. 312, fig. 15.37) and Period I at Maa *Palaeokastro* (Karageorghis and Demas 1988). This suggests primary but not exclusive use as votives in LC IIC–IIIA. A much larger bronze horn (13.2cm) from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God perhaps formed part of a cult object (Webb and Courtois 1980).

Freestanding animals in bronze are otherwise unknown. A bull in the Cyprus Museum appears to have been a standard terminal (Catling 1964:252, no. 2, pl. 44.g) and a bull protome covered in gold leaf and attached to a cylindrical shaft from Hala Sultan Tekke of similar purpose (*BCH CV* 1981:989–90, fig. 50). Birds, identified as doves, adorn a sceptre head from the 'trésor des bronzes' (Schaeffer 1952: pl. III.11), the enclosure at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* produced a small lion broken from a larger object (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:358, pls. LXVI.2, CXLIV.14) and Karageorghis, Demas and Kling (1982:94, no. 6) report a bird detached from a bronze stand from Maa *Palaeokastro*. A bronze wall bracket with modelled bucranium is also of Late Cypriot date and bronze weights in the form of cows, bulls and less frequently frogs, pigs, ducks and mice have been found at Maroni, Kalavassos, Enkomi and Kition (Catling 1964:251, nos. 1–2, pls. 25.b–c, 44.d–e; Johnson 1980:25, no. 151; Courtois 1983, 1984: nos. 397, 400, 407, 409; Karageorghis 1985d:179, no. 1267).

## OTHER PORTABLE FINDS

### Bronze Objects, Scrap and Metallic Waste

The most numerous non-ceramic objects found in residual cult assemblages are small items of copper or bronze, fragmentary material identified as scrap bronze, ore nodules, chunks of metallic waste and slag, crucibles and moulds. These are most notably associated with Stratum III at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, which produced over 320kg of metallic waste and 5kg of scrap and Trench 9 at Kalopsidha *Koufos*. Small quantities of slag were also found in Rooms 16 and 17 at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, bothroi associated with Sanctuary I at Kouklia, pits in the vicinity of Temple 3 at Kition, the adyton of Temple 5 (Floor III) at Kition, the central room of the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi and the courtyard and Rooms XXVI and XXXVA of the cult complex at Idalion *Ambelleri*. Scrap metal was present in the adyton of Temple 2 (Floor IV), the hall of Temple 4 (Floor III), the hall (Floors III and II) and adyton (Floor II) of Temple 5 and Temenos A and B at Kition and in the Sanctuary of the Horned God and the Quarter 6E ashlar building at Enkomi. The installation in Square  $\Gamma/\Delta$  6–7 at Alassa *Pano Mandilaris* (Hadjisavvas 1989:378, fig. 3.5) and a well in Room 61 in Area 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1998b:59) also produced slag, scrap and other products of metalworking.

Scrap metal and metallic waste can have had no practical function in a ritual context and may be presumed to have been votive or symbolic in character. Small bronze objects, on the other hand, such as nails, studs, buttons, rods, loops, handles and mountings, perhaps formed part of larger items of perishable materials. These may have been votives, temple property or cult equipment. Rings, earrings, pins, toggles, fibulae, tweezers and other personal items are likely to have been private offerings. More precious objects such as the gold rings and beads of faience, glass and carnelian stored in the adyta of Temples 2 and 4 at Kition may have been worn by cult personnel or used to adorn cult images.

A third category of metal objects, comprising apparently utilitarian tools and weapons, is of greater interest (see **table IV**). Levels IIIB and IIIC in the Sanctuary of the Horned God produced a sickle (**figure 38.6**) and arrowhead (Room 45. See **figure 38.4**), an arrowhead (Room 26), a miniature spearhead (**figure 38.5**), spear and chisel among a collection of objects on the east wall of Room 10 and a miniature sickle (**figure 38.2**) placed before the right hand of the statue of the Horned God. Arrowheads were also found in Temple 2 (Floor IV) and Temple 5 (Floor II, nos. 4155 and 4162. See **figure 31.3**) at Kition, Room V of the cult house at Ayia Irini, the Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* enclosure (**figure 7.1, 3**), the ashlar building in Enkomi Quarter 6E and at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*. Four spear butts or ferrules were set into the floor of the Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* enclosure (**figure 7.8**) and a spearhead was

also present in the adyton of Temple 5 (Floor II, no. 4088. See **figure 31.4**) and in Room 13 (Floor II, no. 548) at Kition. A related object type which, although not made of metal, also appears regularly in cult assemblages is the stone axe. Examples were found in a pit in Room CD2 and in Room CD1 at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:79, nos. 376, 480), in the Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* enclosure (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. LXVI.2. See **figure 7.9**), Kition Temple 2 (Karageorghis 1985d:136, pl. CCV, no. 2391 from Floor III)<sup>54</sup>, Room XXXIV at Idalion *Ambelleri*, (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:545, nos. 479b, 467, pl. CLXXXIII.22)<sup>55</sup>, Room V at Ayia Irini (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935: Nos. 2764, 2778, pl. CCXLII.8–9) and the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi. Stone axes are not common in other Late Cypriot contexts. Seven of eight provenanced examples listed by Lena Åström come from ritual deposits (in Åström and Åström 1972:535). They are also frequently of rare or imported materials and in some cases may have been retained from earlier periods of the Bronze Age (as suggested by Elliott 1985:301 for Kition no. 2391).

While spearheads, arrowheads, axes and sickles may have been simple votives, Common Style glyptic suggests a more complex picture. A group of cylinders of the late C14th and C13th, of which at least seventeen examples are extant (**figure 89**), show a seated figure holding a spear in a composition which includes a tree, an attendant and frequently a snake, bucranium and ingot (Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:68–70, no. 17 and n. 205 with refs). Other seal groups, already noted above, also refer to hunting, and probably to ritual hunting (see above and **figures 88.3–6 and 90**). They recall the scene depicted on the PWP krater from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, in which an archer aims a bow toward birds in the field (see above and **figure 73.2**) and another group of Common Style cylinders on which two figures sit before a wooden table on which a lion or bird appears (**figure 72.3–6**). On several of the latter one figure holds a cup and axe, while the other holds similar objects or a bow and arrow (Porada 1965:152–53, pl. X.3; 1986:292–94, pls. XVIII.5, 6–XIX.1, 2; Kenna in Nicolaou 1972:107, Pl. XVIII.7). On other examples both figures hold sickles or sickle-shaped weapons (A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. XIV, no. 45). Spears and axes are also carried in ritual processions on ‘Egyptianising linear style’ seals (Schaeffer 1952: pl. VIII.5; Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:78–83, nos. 24–26; Kenna 1971:33, no. 108, pl. XXIX. See **figure 87.2–3, 5–6**).

A link between items depicted in glyptic and those found in residual cult assemblages seems inescapable. While the identity of the figures associated with these objects on the seals is unclear, they are not shown with non-human attributes and the animals hunted are those of the real rather than mythological world. Both the seated figure with spear and the robed archer (as well as other huntsmen) are likely to be persons with ritual or/and political authority rather than deities or heroes. The motifs in which they appear may depict ritual enactments or generic scenes of politico-religious authority in which spears, axes and bows and arrows are the attributes of elite individuals and weapons of

Table IV. Knives, axes, sickles and weapons in residual cult assemblages

	arrowhead	spearhead/ferrule	axehead	macehead	knife/dagger	sling bullet	sickle
Athienou Stratum III	1						
Ayios Iakovos <i>Dhima</i>	6		1				
Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> Rooms CD1–CD6			1	2			
Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> Periods V–VII					5		
Ayia Irini	1		2				
Kition Temple 2	1		1			1	
Kition Temple 4						1	
Kition Temple 5	2	1		1			
Idalion <i>Ambelleri</i>			1	2	2	1	
Enkomi Sanctuary of Horned God	1			3 miniatures	2	1	(1 miniature)
Enkomi Sanctuary of Double Goddess							
Enkomi Sanctuary of Ingot God					2		



the hunt. In contemporary cult assemblages these objects may have been used in ritual performances, including animal sacrifice, or in the initial procurement of animals for sacrifice. In any case, they are unlikely to have been casual votives. The presence of miniatures in the Sanctuary of the Horned God confirms the symbolic significance of these objects. Likewise the use of stone rather than the more common metal axes suggests that these items were chosen for other than utilitarian reasons. Sickles acquire particular significance from the placement of a miniature example before the right hand of the cult image in the Sanctuary of the Horned God. This suggests a symbolic association, at least in this instance, with a deity. The recovery of a multiple stone mould for casting bronze sickles, the latter still present in their matrices, in the 'Sanctuaire du Dieu Lunaire' at Enkomi (Part II, no. 24) may be indicative of a similar association, although a cult function for this building is uncertain.

Knives (or daggers) also occur in a number of cult assemblages. An iron knife was found in Room 13 and a bronze knife in Room 10 (the adyton) of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (**figure 38.1**). Five examples were recovered in Rooms 6, 7 and 17 at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, one in the hall and one in Room 38C of Kition Temple 4, one near the west bench and another in a niche in the centre of the north bench of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God and one in the central room of the ashlar building in Enkomi Quarter 6E (Courtois 1984:9, no. 9, fig. 1.8). Knives were also associated with the cult house at Idalion *Ambelleri* (Room XXXVA in Period 2 and Room XXXVA+B in Period 3) and a pre-Sol III deposit possibly belonging to a cult place below the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1984:10, no. 16, fig. 1.15). Their use is also suggested by the recovery of whetstones in Room 12 of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess, Room 7 and the west court at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Kition Temple 2 (Elliott 1985:310, no. 2540) and Square A9 at Alassa *Pano Mandilaris*. Notably, in both Room 17 at *Pigadhes* and the niche in the north bench of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God knives were found with incised ox scapulae (Courtois 1971b:273–80, figs. 109–12). Their associations and placement in niches and on benches suggest that they were important items of cult equipment, perhaps used to incise scapulae and prepare sacrificial animals. Knives are held toward inverted animals by both human- and animal-headed ministrants and major deities in Cypriot glyptic (**figures 83, 85**).

A number of other types of weapon may also be noted in the present context. Stone maceheads are reported from Room XXXIV and the courtyard at Idalion and Temple 5 at Kition (no. 4197. See **figure 31.5**) and sling bullets of stone, lead and unbaked clay from Kition Temenos A (nos. 3333+3336 with Cypro-Minoan sign and 3319), Temple 2 (no. 3369) and Rooms 12 (no. 1098), 15 (nos. 974 and 1126 totalling eighty-eight examples) and 16 (nos. 5469, 888, 934 and 1102, totalling forty examples) of the Northern Workshops.

Metal items of other types occur infrequently. On the floor of Room 15 at Myrtou *Pigadhes* three bronze tripods and the rings of two ring stands (**figure 15.1–2**), one with five Cypro-Minoan signs, the other decorated with two hounds, a boar, a stag and two Cypro-Minoan signs, were found intertwined 'as if they had been together in a bag' (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:20, figs. 12, 34, pl. IVb). It has been suggested that these were thrown into a disused room during the last half of the thirteenth century BC, subsequent to the abandonment of the eastern unit at *Pigadhes* (Achilles 1981:256; Knapp 1986b:33). Other items in the room, however, include an offering stand and rhyton, suggesting that this area was used for ritual or ritual storage purposes in LC IIC. Next door, in Room 16, a bronze shovel found beneath lumps of fused copper and slag also formed part of the systemic inventory of the eastern unit (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:20–21, 87–88, pl. Vc).

A small object incised with two script signs from Floor IV in Room 24A of Temple 2 at Kition (**figure 81.2**) has been identified as a liver or kidney model (Karageorghis and Masson 1971), but may simply be a lump of melted bronze (Karageorghis 1985d:89, 93, no. 2409, pls. CVI, CLXXXVI). This object has been compared with miniature bronze ingots, at least five of which come from Enkomi (Karageorghis 1985d:93; Knapp 1986b:25–29, Table 1. See **figure 81.1, 3–5**). These have long been thought to be votives, with inscribed examples bearing dedications to specific deities (Buchholz 1958:105–107, 1959:19; Catling 1971:29; O. Masson 1971:449, 454). None, however, have been found in certain association with ritual assemblages (*contra* Karageorghis 1985d:93. See also Courtois 1982:159, fig. 1; Knapp 1986b:28–29). Of three from the vicinity of the Reconstructed Ashlar Building in Quarter 4 West at Enkomi, one came from Level IIIA and thus predates the introduction of the cult of the Horned God (Dikaios 1969–1971:691, inv. 1995, pls. 138.1, 171.14), and another from Street 3 West to the north of the building (Dikaios 1969–1971:764, inv. 774, pls. 147.35, 176.42). Inv. 885 was found in Room 44 of Level IIIB, beyond the core area of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (Dikaios 1969–1971:729, pl. 138.2). Room 44 did, however, produce a number of other objects (notably a knife, bird rhyton and bull figurine) of possible ritual use and may have been functionally related to the cult unit (Dikaios 1969:208–209). Two other miniature ingots from Enkomi were recovered from domestic installations in Quarter 6 West (O. Masson 1971; Courtois 1982:160, fig. 1) and a fragmentary example from a foundry hoard at Mathiatis (Catling 1964:269, pl. 52). More recently, a miniature ingot was found in a unit identified as a domestic cult place (Room II) at Alassa *Pano Mandilaris* (Hadjisavvas 1989:38–39, fig. 3.7). With the possible exception of this example and inv. 885 from Enkomi, the contextual associations of these small ingots do not indicate a predominantly ritual or votive function.

Two T-shaped bronze objects identified typologically as unworked castings for ploughshares (Karageorghis 1985d:115, 133, nos. 3675 and 3676,



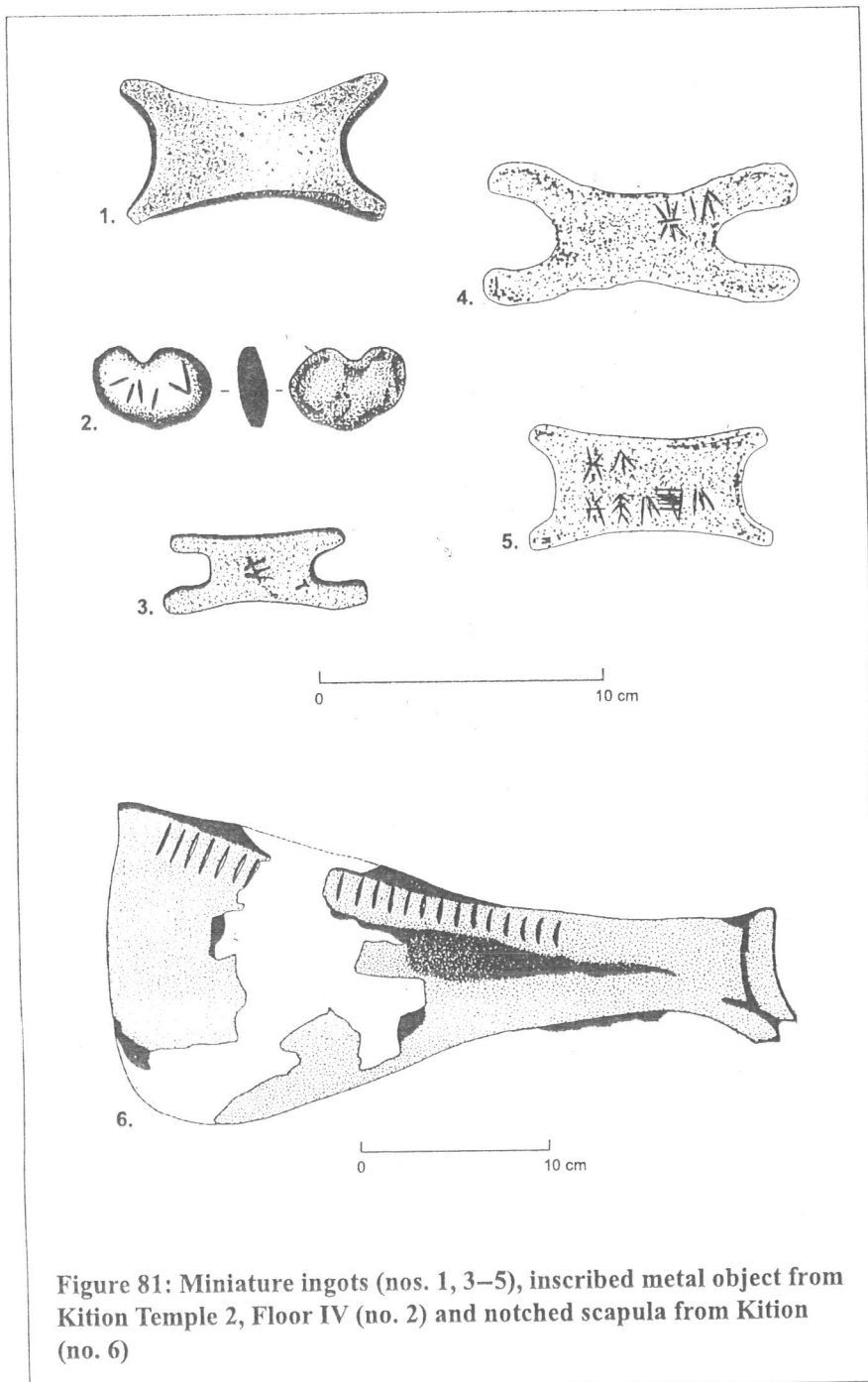


Figure 81: Miniature ingots (nos. 1, 3-5), inscribed metal object from Kition Temple 2, Floor IV (no. 2) and notched scapula from Kition (no. 6)

pls. CXIX, CXCVII, following Catling 1964:276, pl. 51g) and a unique bronze 'peg' (Karageorghis 1985d:115, 133, no. 3677, pls. CXIX, CXCVII) were found together within the make-up of Floor III in the northwest corner of the hall of Temple 4 at Kition (figure 30.1-3). They are believed to have formed a foundation deposit corresponding to the reconstruction of the cult building for Floor III (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:109).

A bronze object, shaped as an ox-horn (Ht 13.2cm), from Sol III of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi was once attached to a larger object. As suggested elsewhere (Webb and Courtois 1980), this may have been an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic statue of perishable material, a leather or bronze helmet, a bucranial mask or a bull's head rhyton. Alternatively, the detached horn might have been a votive gift in its own right.

### Ivory, Faience, Glass, Alabaster and Ostrich Eggs

Luxury vessels and other objects in ivory, faience, glass and occasionally alabaster are also present in most assemblages. Not surprisingly, these occur most frequently in urban cult buildings, where they probably served as votives and containers of oil, perfume, incense and other substances used in the cult. Ostrich eggs probably also belong in this category (see Finet 1982). They are most commonly found in tombs where, according to Caubet, they may have served as symbols of resurrection (1983:193-98. See also Conwell 1987 and Reese 1985:371-82). Exceptional objects include the ivory rhyton engraved with human heads, birds, gazelles?, plants and fish from pit 637<sup>56</sup> in Stratum III at Athienou (figure 5.1), gold and lead fragments from a bull's head rhyton from Room 9 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (figure 37.1) and a cache of ivories (a handle, rod, pipe and plaques depicting a lion and Egyptian Bes) from Room 38C in Kition Temple 4 (figure 30.4-6) which appear to have been stored in the adyton. Of interest, also, is a wing-shaped bone lid from Kition Temple 2 Floor III and a stone bird and fragmentary ivory plaque showing the wing and tail of a sphinx or griffin from the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi. Such representations, however, are surprisingly rare.

### Cylinder and Stamp Seals (figure 82)

Cylinders and stamps were found in Stratum III at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukouinninas*, the Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* enclosure, Myrtoú *Pigadhes* Periods V-VII, the cult houses at Idalion and Ayia Irini, the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi, Area II at Kition and in Room 95A in Area 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke. Given the predominantly ritual or mythological content of Cypriot glyptic (see Part IV), these are worth considering in some detail.

A haematite cylinder engraved in the Elaborate Style from Athienou shows human- and bull-headed ministrants and a winged Bes-like figure with inverted animals and an attendant sphinx (Porada 1983b:120-21, fig. 54, no. 521A. See

figure 5.4). Although the lower part of the seal is missing, it could still have been used to make an impression<sup>57</sup>. A second cylinder is engraved in the Common Style with a tree, quadruped and other elements (Porada 1983b:121, fig. 54, no. 3246. See figure 5.5). A conoid with a crude linear design (Yogev 1983, fig. 54, no. 7049) and an impressed pithos sherd with an animal frieze from Stratum II or later probably postdate ritual use of the excavated area (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:118–20, fig. 54, no. 3033.1).

The LC IIA enclosure at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* produced three haematite cylinders and a fourth unengraved example (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. LXVII). No. 3, set at the centre of an elaborate gold necklace, is fitted with gold caps (figure 82.6). Engraved in the Elaborate Style it shows two pairs of robed crowned deities, attended by lions, who hold caprids and converse, while a fifth raises a knife toward another caprid. A small nude figure with hands clasped on the chest stands behind the deities. No. 12 is also of the Elaborate Style with gold caps (figures 82.7, 83.2). A winged, crowned deity is attended by caprids and a human-headed ministrant with an inverted lion, beside a lion-headed and second human-headed ministrant. A nude human figure again appears in the scene together with a cuneiform inscription. The third cylinder is less finely carved with a double-headed, winged figure with a caprid and bird? and a stylised palm above a bucranium (figure 82.5). Nude human figures are found on only two other Cypriot seals (Kenna 1971: no. 77; Schaeffer 1983:45–47, RS 3.226. See figure 83.3). The cuneiform inscription on no. 12 is one of only three examples in Cypriot glyptic (Smith 1994:148, n. 117) and engraved in the positive, so that it may only be read on the seal itself.

At Myrtou *Pigadhes* cylinders were found in Rooms 6, 7 and 25, on the floor of the west court and in a surface deposit (Buchanan 1957:92–94, pl. V). No. 64, with gazelles, a lion, tree and winged sun-disk, is a Mitannian import. No. 86 depicts a chariot hunt crudely engraved in the Common Style (figure 16.4), no. 65 a seated figure with staff and attendant (figure 16.3), no. 328 a seated griffin, tree and bucrania in a Derivative Style motif of Porada's Group V (1948a:189–90. See figure 16.1) and no. 424 a robed figure with caprids and a tree (figure 16.2). A clay stamp from Room 15 is engraved with an animal head (no. 388).

Two Common Style cylinders and a stamp recovered from the Cypro-Archaic Period 4 courtyard at Ayia Irini are of Bronze Age types and may derive from earlier use of the area (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:773, pl. CCXLIII.11, 20–21). No. 2752 shows a seated figure, attendant, tree and bucranium (figure 82.3). Similar designs on other seals include a spear, snake or/and bird (Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:68–70, n. 205. See figure 89). No. 1550 is engraved with a tree, quadrupeds and a human figure with one arm raised toward the tree (figure 82.4). Both cylinders find close parallels at Myrtou

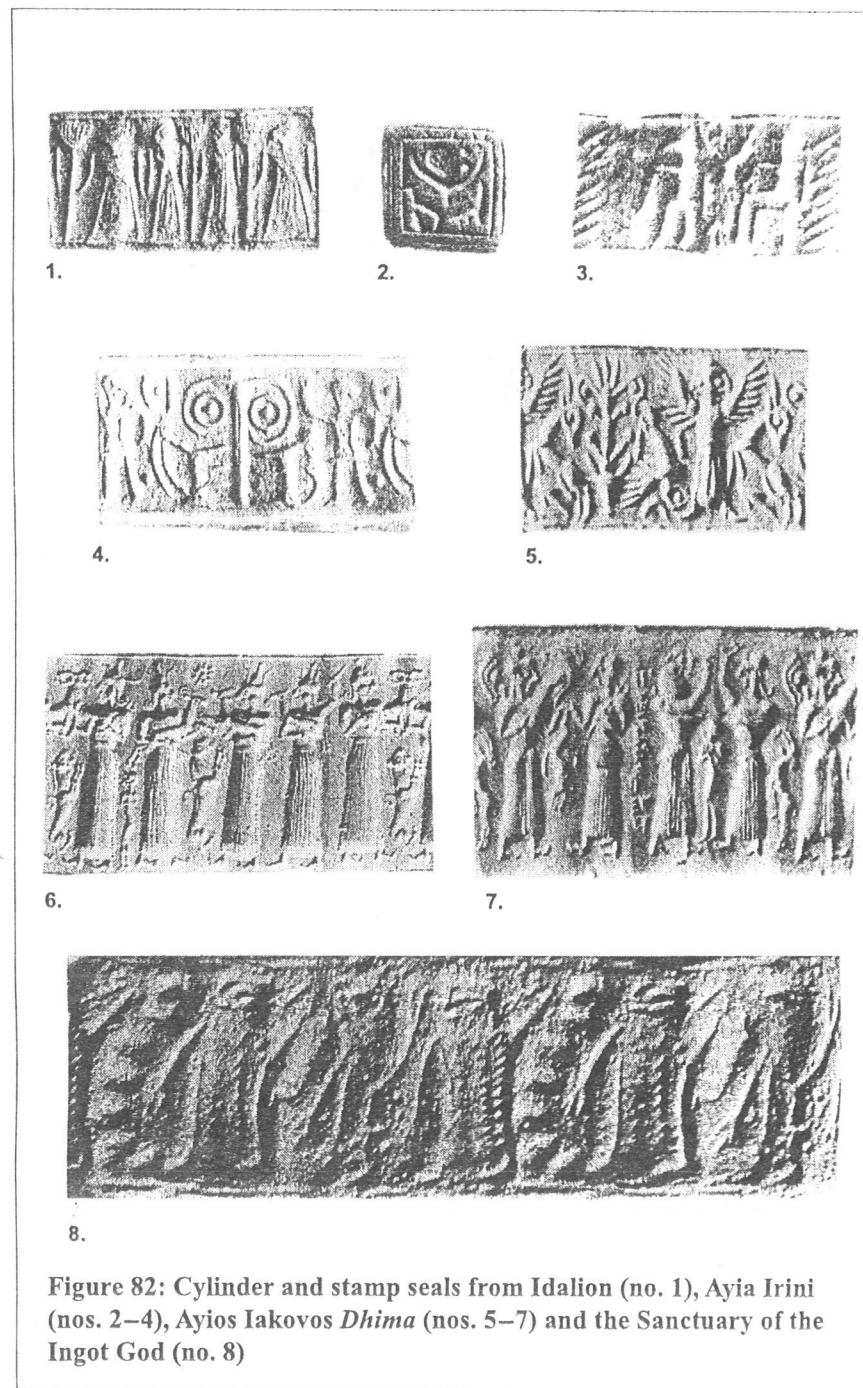


Figure 82: Cylinder and stamp seals from Idalion (no. 1), Ayia Irini (nos. 2–4), Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* (nos. 5–7) and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (no. 8)

*Pigadhes* (Buchanan 1957:93, nos. 3–4). Stamp no. 1119 is engraved with bucranium, planetary symbols and quadrupeds (figure 82.2).

Room XXXIV of the Period I cult house at Idalion *Ambelleri* produced a stamp with geometric design and a Common Style cylinder engraved with a procession of three robed bearded figures carrying palm fronds (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:545, nos. 472, 482, pls. CLXXXV.20, CLXXXVI.19. See figure 82.1). A four-sided stamp carved in similar style with a huntsman, his quarry and two bearded attendants was found beyond the city wall (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:564–65, no. 1323, pl. CLXXXV.19). Rooms XXXVA+B of Period 3 produced three conoids (nos. 909, 885 and 891) which depict, variously, a goat, a stag with tree and sun disk and a stag and a Derivative Style cylinder with a conical object, stags, bird and a sun disk (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935: nos. 877, 885, 909, pls. CLXXXVI.17, CLXXXV.17–18). A second cylinder is unengraved (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935: no. 892, pl. CLXXXVI.22).

The Kition Area II seals were not found within the cult buildings and their connection with the latter is uncertain. Two cylinders belong to the Common Style. No. 5277 from Courtyard C (Floor IIIA) shows two robed, crowned, bearded and winged figures moving left (Porada 1985:251–52, pl. A.3). No. 851, found below Floor II in Room 16 of the Northern Workshops, is a re-cut seal depicting a kilted figure with a reversed goat and lion, an ingot and a bucranium (Porada 1985:252–53, pl. A.4). Stamp no. 5325, also from Courtyard C, shows a sphinx and tree and stamp no. 754, from Floor II of Room 8, an ingot design (Porada 1985:253, pl. B.5–6). A terracotta cylinder from Sol III of the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God is similarly engraved with a crude composition of two or three robed figures moving left (Courtois 1971b:239–40, figs. 30, 80. See figure 82.8). The cylinder from Hala Sultan Tekke Room 95A, identified by Åström (1998a) as a cult place of LC IIIA, has not been fully published.

With the exception of the haematite cylinders from *Dhima* and Athienou, all seals from ritual assemblages are engraved on chlorite (steatite) or terracotta in the Common or Derivative Styles with relatively crude or standardised compositions. Seals engraved in similar style with related motifs are elsewhere found in industrial and burial contexts. Only in the case of the *Dhima* cylinders does it appear probable that seal composition, inscription and find spot are more directly related. Both nos. 3 and 12 from *Dhima* are engraved in the Elaborate Style with designs which show major deities and nude human figures with their hands clasped to the chest. The latter may represent the human dedicant(s) of the seals (Webb 1992a:95). By extension it may be suggested that these cylinders, which show little sign of wear, were commissioned for use as votives or ritual insignia. This receives some support from the inclusion of no. 3 in a necklace and the positive engraving of the cuneiform inscription on no. 12, although this was added subsequent to the original design. These and other

aspects of the material found at *Dhima* underline the exceptional nature of this assemblage.

Leaving aside the cylinders from *Dhima* and the broken example from Athienou, the majority of seals from cult assemblages show ritual processions, hunt scenes or schematically rendered human and animal figures. As these are the most frequent motifs in Cypriot Common Style glyptic as a whole, it is difficult to argue that they were deliberately engraved for use as votives or related to particular cults. Such seals may have been the property of the temple or its priesthood or used to adorn cult images. The latter is suggested in particular by the Bairaktar and Bomford bronzes and a terracotta figurine in the Morris Collection, which depict a naked female with what appears to be a cylinder or stamp suspended on a long cord around the neck (see above and Morris 1985:168, pl. 192). This suggests a link between the use of seals as jewels, talismans, votives and divine emblems. It is perhaps surprising that finely engraved haematite cylinders are not more common in cult assemblages, particularly as the iconography of the Elaborate Style is predominantly concerned with presentation scenes in which major deities receive animal offerings from divine or semi-divine ministrants. Seals, however, were functional mechanisms within Late Cypriot society and their operational role is likely to have imposed constraints on their removal from circulation. Seal ownership might also have been institutional rather than personal and the rights and privileges attached to the use of particular seals may have been hereditary. In any case, criteria governing the retention of seals in ritual assemblages are unlikely to have been the same as those that determined the offering and use of other objects.

### Grinding and Percussion Tools

Stone tools of types used for grinding, rubbing and pounding are regularly present in cult assemblages. Pestles were found at Athienou, in the west court and Rooms 9, 10–11 and 21 at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Room V of the cult building at Ayia Irini (two examples), within the hearth altar of Temple 2 and in Temenos A at Kition and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God<sup>58</sup>. Other tools include querns (*Pigadhes* west court and Room 6, Rooms 45 and 13 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God, Room 12 of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God), mortars (Kition Temples 2, 4 and 5), rubbers (*Pigadhes* Rooms 10–11, Kition Temples 2 and 4 and Temenos A), rubbing stones (Kition Temple 2), hammerstones (*Pigadhes* west court) and grinder/pounders (five examples from Kition Temple 2).

These objects do not differ from types in use in domestic and industrial contexts and may have been used in the preparation of ritual meals, offerings, ochre, incense, cosmetics etc. Their presence, like that of the cooking pots found in Kition Temple 2 and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, suggests that

organic materials were prepared for consumption within the temple precinct. Signs of burning in offering stands and carbonised olive remains from Idalion and Ayia Irini further suggest that vegetable as well as meat offerings were consumed by fire.

### Weaving Tools

Spindle whorls and loomweights are also persistent finds in residual cult assemblages, with varying numbers present in Athienou Stratum III, Kition Temples 2, 4 and 5, *Pigadhes* Rooms 10–11 and 15, Room V at Ayia Irini, Room XXXIV and the courtyard at Idalion, Room 26 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God and the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi. These may have been simple votives or used in the production of textiles required for ritual purposes. At Kition the Western Workshops produced a number of objects (clay reels, loomweights and spindle whorls) associated with weaving, leading the excavators to suggest that they housed 'a sacred industry related to the temples', akin to the evidence for metallurgical activity in the Northern Workshops (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:254).

Temple 5, the Western Workshops and Courtyard C at Kition also produced thirteen bone objects (figure 31.2) with a fine point at one end and a perforation at the other (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:104, 109, 118, 128, 142, 148, 151, 156, 159–60, 201, 209, nos. 4967, 5181, 4225, 5334, 5039, 5087, 5275, 5011–12, 5079, 5072, 5317, 3263). These are conventionally identified as styli and believed to have been used to incise signs on wet clay, wax or other soft materials (Schaeffer 1952:28). Smith (1994:56–60, fig. 6), however, argues that their contextual associations and wear patterns (parallel scratches across the point) are more in keeping with use as weaving tools and in particular as pin beaters. An object of this type was also found in the well in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi (Courtois 1971b:168).

### Weights, Clay Balls

A number of small stone, bronze and lead objects\*from Athienou, the courtyard at Idalion, Room 45 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God, the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi and Area II at Kition are identified as weights. These are likely to have had a practical use in computing and recording temple stores, produce and offerings. The recovery of at least twenty weights and sixty-five inscribed objects at Kition suggests a significant link between cult practice and literacy and numeracy (Courtois 1985:288–93; E. Masson 1985:280–84).

Six small inscribed clay balls were found in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1971b:238–39, fig. 79) and one each in Kition Temple 5 and Courtyard B (Karageorghis 1985d:104, 114, nos. 4215, 4995) and the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi. They are also found in non-ritual contexts and have been variously identified as 'identity cards', gaming, magic or

divination pieces (E. Masson 1971a, 1971b; Dikaios 1971:883–88; Rutkowski 1979:226 and n. 27; Karageorghis and Demas 1985:243–44).

### Incised Scapulae, Modified Astragali and Worked Shells

Eight fragmentary ox scapulae, incised with varying numbers of regularly spaced parallel incisions along the posterior border of the ventral face, were found in well, floor and bothros deposits linked with Courtyard C and Temples 4 and 5 at Kition and seven in Iron Age levels (Webb 1985; Karageorghis 1990c. See figure 81.6). At least five incised and nine unincised scapulae come from Rooms 16, 17, 20A and 20B at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:21, 99–100, pl. Vd) and over twenty-seven incised and an unreported number of unincised examples from the north bench of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1971b:109–11, 113–14, 277–80, figs. 97, 109–10, 113). The number of incisions on the Enkomi examples varies between twenty-six and forty. On all scapulae the incised area is polished.

Incised ox scapulae are rare in non-ritual contexts. Tomb 104 (Chamber P) in the Late Cypriot cemetery at Kouklia *Teratsoudhia* produced several fragments (Karageorghis 1990b:67, P.88A–C, pl. LX). The tomb, however, had been disturbed in later antiquity and contained material from a Cypro-Achaic settlement, possibly including a sanctuary (Karageorghis 1990b:68). Two Late Cypriot examples from Enkomi (one a sheep scapula) come from secular deposits (Dikaios 1969–71:467, pls. 135.69, inv. 1107 identified as a bone handle; Courtois 1984:59, no. 566, fig. 19.6). Another ten in the Cyprus Museum were recovered at Stylli in 1933 but are from an unknown context (Webb 1977b:75, 1985:322, pl. B6). Examples from Limassol *Komissariato* (Webb 1977b) and Kouklia *Palaepaphos* (Erdmann 1977:87, pl. XII.739) derive from cult deposits of Cypro-Achaic date.

I have argued elsewhere that incised scapulae were used in the practice of scapulomancy (also known as omoplatoscopy), a divination technique widely practiced in the ancient world during which future events were determined by reference to the natural features of the bone (Webb 1977b, 1985). If this was the case in Cyprus, the technique clearly involved more than simple observation, although the process which resulted in, or perhaps from, the cutting of the incisions remains obscure. Karageorghis (1990b:67, 1990c), however, following Dunand (1973:75) and Bietak (1985:6, fig. 4.4), believes that the scapulae were used to produce music by rubbing the notched edge with a piece of wood or bone. In either case, they were predominantly if not exclusively associated with ritual and in particular with urban cult buildings of LC IIC–LC III. The use of bovine scapulae is likely to be related to the fact that oxen were the chief sacrificial animals in these sanctuaries. By the same token their absence in a number of well preserved assemblages (eg in the Sanctuary of the Horned God) suggests that the rituals with which they were associated were not



performed in all cult places. In view of the suggestion that they were used as musical instruments, their presence in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, along with numerous terracottas broken from ring dance compositions, is significant.

Astragalomancy, in which the fall of animal knuckle bones indicates divine will, may have been practiced at Kition and Enkomi, where both bovine and ovicaprid astragali were found in some numbers (Reese 1985:382–89). These include a lead-filled and perforated cattle astragalus from Kition Courtyard C (Reese 1985:382, pl. B5) and five unmodified examples from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Ducos 1971:365). Unlike the scapulae, however, accumulations of astragali also appear in domestic and burial deposits where they were perhaps involved in similar procedures or used as gaming pieces (Reese 1985:384–87; Halstead 1977:271).

It is likewise possible, as Reese has suggested (1985:340–47, 352–53, 389), that forty-nine *Conus* shells from Kition Temple 2 (Floors IV–III), a number of which had been holed and/or ground and one lead-filled, and others from Temples 4 and 5 and Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:358, pl. LXVI.34) were used for cleromancy or divination by the casting of lots. Once again, however, worked *Conus* are found in tombs and elsewhere in settlement deposits (Reese 1985:340–44) and their use was clearly not confined to formal ritual practice. Sixteen holed *Arcularia* shells from Kition Courtyard D were probably used as beads (Reese 1985:347). Three holed *Luria* from Temple 2 and three holed *Glycymeris* from Temple 2 and Temenos A are also likely to have been ornaments (Reese 1985:353).

In addition to the above, two fragments of *Charonia sequenzae* (trumpet or conch shell) were found on Floor III of Temple 2 and an apical fragment in Courtyard B (Reese 1985:341, 354). A better preserved example of *Charonia nodifera* from Well 2 in Room 12 had been holed at the apex and may have been used as a trumpet or libation vessel, possibly in association with rituals performed in or near the Northern Workshops (Reese 1985:354, 364, pl. B4). The same may be true of a holed *Charonia sequenzae* from Room 67 at Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström and Reese 1990 and see Part II, no. 22).

## FAUNAL REMAINS

ALL CULT installations with well preserved floor assemblages produced faunal remains, with the exception of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess. Unfortunately this material has not always been given the attention it deserves. Faunal data from Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* is not included in the final report and has received only brief publication (Schwartz 1973). In other instances only skulls, horns and long bones were selected for analysis. Smaller bones were frequently heavily carbonised and associated with hearths or bothroi containing hearth debris. None, however, of the material from the west court at

Myrtou *Pigadhes* showed signs of fire and most of the skulls, scapulae and astragali from Enkomi and Kition are also unburnt.

At Kition concentrations of animal bone were found in Temple 5 and Room 12 of the Northern Workshops (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:83, 131; Nobis 1985). In both instances these were associated with stone anchors. In Room 12 a standing anchor with burnt surface and another set horizontally in Floor IIIA were surrounded by four bucrania (Nobis 1985:422–43), five isolated horns and other bones. Similarly, in the north aisle of Temple 5 three bucrania, antlers and other bones were found on and between Floors II and I, before a finely worked ashlar block set into the north wall bench and (for Floor I) an upright anchor with traces of fire on one face. Antlers and other bones also lay on the Floor II hearth at the eastern end of the central aisle. The Sanctuary of the Horned God at Enkomi produced at least fifteen skulls and other bones of *Bos*, associated primarily with Level IIIB hearths in Room 45 and Rooms 9 and 13 of Level IIIC, as well as antlers and bird bones. In the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, almost one hundred bucrania and twenty-seven incised bovine scapulae were found on or before the west and north benches. Most of the bucrania lay face upward, covered with plaster and wood charcoal. Those from the west bench showed signs of discolouration, possibly due to their proximity to the hearth. Several, also, had been cleaned of rear projecting bones (Karageorghis 1976b:102–105; Courtois 1986b:33). Remaining faunal material included five astragali, a skull and four horns of *Capra hircus*, two antlers, a moufflon skull (*Ovis orientalis*) and mandibles and long bones of sheep/goat. In the west court at Myrtou *Pigadhes* the skulls and antlers of at least forty-one individuals of *Dama mesopotamica*, the horns of two goats and a moufflon were associated with a rectangular stone block set into the floor before the northeast face of the stone altar platform. The eastern unit produced much burnt and calcined bone material (primarily of *Bos* and *Ovis*), including the forelimb of a sheep and at least twenty bovine scapulae.

Faunal debris associated with Late Cypriot cult is thus predominantly of juvenile or young adult *Bos taurus* and *Ovis aries/Capra hircus*, with a smaller amount of *Dama* and *Ovis orientalis* and some bird and fish bones<sup>59</sup>. The fact that the great majority of remains from the west court at Myrtou *Pigadhes* belong to *Dama* is therefore significant. This discrepancy in species use may be due to the fact that wild deer herds, while still relatively abundant in the heavily forested western region of the island (Halstead 1977; Croft 1988; Reese 1996:480–81), had largely moved away from eastern Cyprus by LC III, as suggested by their absence at Phlamoudhi *Melissa* (Hesse, Ogilvie and Wapnish 1975), Kalopsidha (Gejvall 1966) and Nitovikla (Larje 1992) and minor incidence at Athienou, Kalavastos, Sinda, Hala Sultan Tekke and Enkomi (Schwartz 1973; Croft 1989; Ekman 1977:168; Jonsson 1983:223; Reese 1998; Ducos 1965:5). On all sites, however, skulls, mandibles, teeth, horns and forelimbs are the most commonly recorded bones. Among *Bos* both sexes are



represented, with males or castrates predominant (Nobis 1985:422–23; Ducos 1971). In the case of deer, sheep and goats, where horns are less impressive or absent in the female, all sexed individuals are male (Nobis 1985:424–32). Other species appear rarely and possibly intrusively.

There can be little doubt that most if not all faunal remains present in ritual assemblages are the result of animal sacrifice performed within the temenos or hall, following which certain parts of the victim (fat, internal organs and major meat-bearing bones) were cooked and eaten or offered to the gods while others (skulls, horns, scapulae and astragali) were retained for other purposes. The latter may have included the use of animal skulls as masks, notched scapulae as musical instruments and worked and unworked astragali as gaming pieces or for divination. Plaster-covered bucrania from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God may also have been suspended from the north and west walls or ceiling. This suggestion receives support from several fragmentary objects tentatively identified as cult stands decorated with animal heads from Enkomi (Dikaios 1969–1971:761, pls. 147.52, 177.12; Karageorghis 1990c:157, fig. 2, 1997). The retention of this material may have served to commemorate the original sacrificial act.

A brief comparison between the exploitation of these species for cult and economic/dietary purposes is instructive. On all Late Cypriot sites cattle and sheep/goat were a major meat source as well as supplying important secondary products. In most instances, however, *Bos* remains are relatively few, their superior body weight compensating for their smaller numbers—and almost exclusively those of older beasts, their value as plough animals in a dry environment apparently outweighing their dietary potential. In cult deposits, however, juveniles (primarily castrated males) are predominant. Similarly, the large number of *Dama* at *Pigadhes* suggests specialised exploitation of a species which had by Late Cypriot times declined in population and importance as a dietary staple. Notably, where *Dama* remained a significant food source, as at Kouklia *Evreti* in LC III, it seems to have done so as the prerogative of an administrative elite (Halstead 1977:270–73). Thus it appears that in its use of both *Bos* and *Dama* Cypriot cult exploited the most highly valued members of the least dispensable species.

#### ENDNOTES

- 1 Only complete or near complete vessels, sherds from vessels of identifiable shape and other objects from cult areas or bothroi are listed. Thus the figures for Myrtou *Pigadhes* Periods V–VII include only material from the eastern unit and the court (temenos) and Rooms 6–7 of the western unit, those for Idalion *Ambelleri* include only material from the cult house (Rooms XXXIII and XXXIV), the courtyard (Room XXX) and Rooms XXXII, XXXVA and XXXVA+B, and those for the Sanctuary of the Horned God from Rooms 45, 9, 10, 1A, 13 and 26. Kouklia Sanctuary I and Kition Temples 1 and 3 produced little or no floor material *in situ*

#### Endnotes

- and are not included. In the case of Athienou, the figures are approximate only, as not all of the 10,000 or so vessels and diagnostic fragments are published. These figures are based on a count of illustrated vases from Strata III and II–III (excluding miniatures which do not conform to recognised shapes, eg Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: figs. 46–48.16, and classing figs. 43–45 as juglets). Floor I material from Kition is not listed.
- 2 Attempts to classify cult and other buildings according to their design (shape, articulation of units, location of entrances etc) have largely evolved with reference to the Near East. For a critical discussion of the terminology and its limitations see Wright 1971:17–19.
  - 3 Near Eastern and Aegean adyta are similarly designated (Stern 1984:30; Mazar 1980:70–71; French 1981a:45; Renfrew 1985:372–73; Rutkowski 1986:198).
  - 4 Note, in particular, superimposed hearths in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God and the Sanctuary of the Horned God, the reuse of the Floor IV hearth in Kition Temple 2 for both Floors IIIA and III and the construction of Area 21 (Floor IIIA) in Temenos A over the hearth of Temple 3 (Floor IV).
  - 5 Note the recovery of a bronze bowl, naiskos, stone dish, loomweight and faience vessel from the surface of the stone table in Kition Temple 5, Floor I (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:152).
  - 6 Stone no. xii. The excavators, followed by Negbi (1986:109), reconstruct this block as the base of a freestanding pillar supporting a stepped capital. Loulloupis (1973:228–31) suggests, alternatively, that it served as a low stone platform for the display of horns of consecration and other cult implements. Neither explanation accords well with the recovery of faunal material on its surface (see Catling in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Mycenaean in the Eastern Mediterranean'*, 27 March–2 April 1972, p. 393).
  - 7 The reconstruction of the altar proposed by the excavators is not without its critics. Loulloupis (1973:228–31) suggests that it stood only 0.9m high and served as a sacrificial table, with corner sockets for libations or blood, while Ionas (1985:137–42) proposes a more complex structure incorporating wooden elements.
  - 8 A limestone block identified as a structure of this type in Webb 1977a:115 (A:3) is no longer considered to belong to the Late Cypriot use of the temenos.
  - 9 Storage jars appear also to have been in use on Floor II in Temenos A (Karageorghis and Demas 1985:127).
  - 10 Hägg 1991:83, n. 47 notes similarities in fabric and motif between this krater and Minoan wares.
  - 11 Loulloupis (1973:236–37, pl. XXVIII.11) also notes a script sign incised on a pithos sherd of C13th date from Kourion *Bamboula*, suggesting that it may be derived from horns of consecration.
  - 12 Block I was identified as a capital by the excavators. Block xlix, examined later (Karageorghis 1971d:101–102, figs. 1–1a; Hult 1983:15) is almost certainly also a capital.

## Endnotes

- <sup>13</sup> The capital was originally thought to have been set on two stone column drums found in the same context (Karageorghis 1971d:102–106). These now, however, appear to be of post-Bronze Age date.
- <sup>14</sup> Reinvestigation of this pit in 1977 showed that it had been cut in post-Roman times (Maier and Karageorghis 1984:117, n. 62).
- <sup>15</sup> Note, however, that the Uluburun ship was carrying twenty-four stone anchors of this type. See Pulak 1997:252, fig. 20.
- <sup>16</sup> Two anchors, one bearing Cypro-Minoan signs, were however found in Rooms 42 and 39B of the Reconstructed Ashlar Building at Enkomi. The whole of the ground floor of this building, which housed both the Sanctuary of the Horned God and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess, may have been non-secular.
- <sup>17</sup> The bowls from Room 10 are described by Dikaios (1969:196) as 'of Base-ring shape but wheel-made' but not published in detail. They are probably erroneously classed as BRW-m rather than PWW-m II by Åström 1972b:198. The bowls from Room 26 are identified as 'Plain wheel-made bowls of Base-ring shape' (Dikaios 1969:216). This type of vessel (see Merrillees 1983:41) appears primarily in the C12th. It is identified as 'Plain White Wheel-made II' by Åström 1972b:252–53, a 'wheelmade imitation of Base-Ring II bowls' by Benson 1972:100, Type 3 and 'plain wheel made ware' by Courtois 1971b:253–57.
- <sup>18</sup> Minoan genii holding ewers of standard Aegean type appear as relief ornament on a bronze amphora of Aegean origin from Kition, assigned by Catling to the early C12th (1964:157–58, 161, pl. 23.b–c). Baurain and Darque (1985) propose a higher date, perhaps as early as the C16th. Genii, apparently holding staffs and flanking a rampant lion, appear on a damaged cylinder from Room 7, Level III of the Ashlar Building at Enkomi (Porada 1971:793–94, pl. 179/7), and a single genius with a vessel of uncertain type on Schaeffer 1936:89–90, figs. 48–49.
- <sup>19</sup> Conical rhyta decorated with modelled bull's heads in Cypriot BR have been found in cult assemblages at Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida but not as yet in Cyprus (Åström 1972b:194, Type XVIIa; Yon 1980b, 1986:277–78).
- <sup>20</sup> A small deep bowl from Room 125 of the Western Workshops at Kition may also be detached from a Mycenaean IIIB annular rhyton, perhaps once in use in the sacred quarter (Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:9, no. 30, pls. V.30, XII.15).
- <sup>21</sup> See Åström 1972b:191–94, Type XVI.b, fig. LIII.15. This list includes seven from Maroni which are figurines not rhyta (Johnson 1980: nos. 127–28, 145–46, 198–200). See also Benson 1972: pl. 17. B221–B223; Dikaios 1969–1971: pls. 131.32–33, 209.14; South 1980: pl. IX.7; Nicolaou 1972:59–90, nos. 12, 64, 79; Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pls. X, XV; *BCH* C 1976:849, fig. 15; *BCH* CII 1978:888; Lubsen-Admiraal 1978–1979:155–56, nos. 2–4; Brown and Catling 1980: nos. 49–50, fig. 42; Karageorghis, Amyx *et al.* 1974: nos. 28, 29?; Schürmann 1984: no. 34; Robertson 1986: no. 25; Morris 1985: pls. 229s–b, 231–32; Cambitoglou 1981: case 6 (70.01); Decaudin 1987:6, no. 3, 56, no. 16, 103–104, nos. 42–43, 128, no. 23, 128–29, no. 25, 190–91, nos. 10–12; Goring 1988: no. 70; Lubsen-Admiraal and Crouwel 1989: nos. 90–91; I. and K. Nicolaou 1989: pls. XII, XXXIII, XXXIV; Walberg 1992: no. 11; Webb 1997a: no. 188. Examples found outside Cyprus are listed in Åström in L. and P. Åström 1972:739–41. See also Holmes 1969:39–43;

## Endnotes

- Gittlen 1977:235–37, Type XVI; Cadogan 1972:6 and Merrillees 1968:11–12, nos. 3–4, 87, no. 115. In the case of fragmentary examples it may be difficult to distinguish rhytons from figurines.
- <sup>22</sup> Note also two head fragments from Kition Area I, identified as belonging to figurines rather than rhyta (Karageorghis 1985d:1–2, no. 671/1, 12, no. 664, pls. X, XV).
- <sup>23</sup> A fragment from an arm vessel said to have been found in the area of the 'temple' (Sanctuary of the Horned God?) at Enkomi is of very uncertain context. See Åström 1972b:205, Type VIIIb, no. 19; Eriksson 1993:260.
- <sup>24</sup> An object from Room 13 Level IIIB of the Sanctuary of the Horned God, identified by Dikaios as a ladle (1969–1971:595, pl. 77/15), is similar to items from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God and Kition which are variously recognised as lamps, 'shovels' and braziers.
- <sup>25</sup> A scene depicting the latter may be represented on a Bichrome II amphoroid krater of Cypro-Geometric II date from Kaloriziki Tomb 11, which shows a human figure holding a jug over a large pithos (Pieridou 1967:56, no. 5, pl. XIII.2; Iacovou 1988:23, fig. 82).
- <sup>26</sup> Inv. 4306 from a pit below Floor IIIA, inv. 4329 and 4297 on Floor IIIA, inv. 4217+4174 and 4218 on Floor III, inv. 4186 between Floors III and II, inv. 4201 and 4671 on Floor II, inv. 4173 in Pit B, inv. 4149 from between Floors II and I and inv. 4140 on Floor I.
- <sup>27</sup> Although said to have been found 'in the passage leading to the cella' (ie the northeast adyton) (Courtois 1973:231), the topographical point cited for the vessel (1402) lies at the foot of the north bench, beside the northeast entrance to the hall (Courtois 1971b: fig. 1).
- <sup>28</sup> These include Karageorghis 1976c: no. 161; Karageorghis, Amyx *et al.* 1974: no. 30; Åström, Bailey and Karageorghis 1976:78, no. 3; Dikaios 1971:633, pls. 127.20, 47, 217.13; Caubet 1971:11, pl. IV.3, 6; J. Karageorghis 1977:74, pl. 20.b; Lubsen-Admiraal 1978–1979:156, no. 4; Karageorghis 1985d:5 (inv. 312), pl. X; Morris 1985:170–72, pls. 194–98; Zahlhaas 1985, no. 24; Decaudin 1987:155, nos. 108–109; Goring 1988: no. 81; Åström 1989a:56, fig. 73; Karageorghis 1993:4–7, Type A(i), nos. 1, 36–7, 9, 13, 16, Type A(ii), nos. 1, 3, 8–9, 15, 19, Type A(iv), nos. 1, 3, 6, 8, Type A(v), nos. 1–2, 4, 6, 11. Examples too fragmentary to be assigned to the simple or *kourotrophos* type include Dikaios 1969: pl. 127.21; Al-Radi 1983:28–29, pl. XIa; Courtois 1984:77, 79, no. 763; Åström 1991c: 27, n. 4; South *et al.* 1989:10, fig. 15 (K-AD 524); Karageorghis 1993:5, no. 18. Orphanides 1988:191–92, 195 lists fifty-two examples of the simple type and fifty-one holding infants or other objects. See also Merrillees 1988.
- <sup>29</sup> Type B figures do not appear before 1300 BC, but survive into LC III particularly at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969: pls. 131.31, 33, 137.1; Courtois 1984:76, 78, nos. 748, 783). Enkomi Swedish Tomb 3, which produced a figure of this type, is dated to LC IIA by Sjöqvist (1940:123). The large number of BR II and PWW-m I vessels present suggest, however, that this is too high. Benson 1972:136, pl. 35.B 1562, with punched eyes, from a LC IIB level at Kourion *Bamboula* may be amongst the earliest examples of the type.

## Endnotes

- <sup>30</sup> The latter differs from the standard type and may imitate Mycenaean figures. Note also several crude figures strapped to beds (Walters 1903: A4; Karageorghis 1976c:75–76, pl. XIII, 1993:14–15, 23, Type D, nos. 1–3, pl XI).
- <sup>31</sup> Åström and Åström 1972:512–14. Additional examples include Karageorghis 1975b:62–64, fig. 1, pls. VII.6–7, VIII.3, 1976c: nos. 156, 158, 1993:11–14, Type B(i), nos. 1, 4, Type B(ii), no. 12, Type B(iii), nos. 2, 4, 6–7, 9, Type C(i), nos. 4, 7; J. Karageorghis 1977:82, pls. 18.d, 19a; O. Masson 1969:58, 71, no. 83; Dikaios 1969–1971: 253, 651, pls. 128.35–37, 131.27, 156.48–48a; Catling 1971:26–28, figs. 10–11; Johnson 1980:29, pl. XLI; Kromholz 1982:275; Lubsen-Admiraal 1982:42, no. 1; Courtois 1984:77, 79, nos. 765, 771, figs. 25.15, 26.11; Morris 1985:168, pls. 191–93; Karageorghis 1985d:5, inv. 312, 12–13, inv. 552, pls. X, XV; Symon's 1984: no. 140; Goring 1988: no. 82; *Chypre. 8000 ans de civilisations entre trois continents. Musée Royal de Mariemont 26 mars–29 août 1982*: no. 32; Laffineur 1976:46, no. 17; Decaudin 1987:155–56, no. 110; Åström 1989a:56, fig. 73. Fragments, probably of standing type, include Dikaios 1969: pls. 131.31, 33a, 137.1; Benson 1972:136, pl. 35 (B1565–B1566); Nicolaou 1972:100, pl. XVIII.11; *BCH CII* 1978: figs. 94–95; Maier 1979a:174, 1986:313; Courtois 1979c:286, fig. 31.2 (from Ugarit); Courtois 1984:75–76, 78, nos. 739, 752, 782–85, pl. IX.1, 3–7; Karageorghis and Demas 1984:40, 59, pl. XXIII.92; Baird 1985:345, fig. 2.7; South *et al.* 1989:10, fig. 15 (K-AD 202, 561–62); Karageorghis 1985d:5, inv. 365, 52, inv. 742/1, pls. X, XXXI; *Funde der Bronzezeit auf Zypern. Katalog der Ausstellung, Prahistorische Staatssammlung München Museum für Vor-und Frühgeschichte* (München 1977), pp. 42, no. 66; Vermeule and Wolsky 1990:134 (TC 78), 145 (TC 99). Morris' count (1985:167) of thirty standing and six seated figures is a gross underestimate. See also Orphanides 1988:192–94, who lists ninety-seven examples of standing and seated types.
- <sup>32</sup> On the identification of the relatively crude bronze from Pyla *Kokkinokremos* as female see below.
- <sup>33</sup> Another three fragmentary female figurines of Type B were found in Iron Age deposits at *Pigadhes*. See Birmingham in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:82, nos. 34, 438 and 252.
- <sup>34</sup> Nicolaou 1965; Åström and Åström 1972:511–12; Karageorghis 1974:44, pl. LXIII; J. Karageorghis 1977:85–88; Öbrink 1979a:46, fig. 262; Johnson 1980:25, pl. XXIX.149; Hult 1981:42, figs. 54i, 132; Åström *et al.* 1983:147, fig. 397; Maier 1985:118–19, pl. XVI.8; Karageorghis and Demas 1985: pls. XV, CIX, CX, CXLIX; Lagarce and Lagarce 1986:168; Åström 1991c:29.
- <sup>35</sup> Another five figures published in Courtois 1984:75–78 (nos. 749, 754–56, 767) were found in Quarter 5E and may also have been associated with the Sanctuary of the Ingot God.
- <sup>36</sup> Fragments of bases and instruments are present among the material from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Courtois 1971b:330, 333–34, 336–37, 342). For complete or near complete examples see Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:361ff, pl. LXVIII; Gjerstad *et al.* 1935: pl. CCXXXIII; Dikaios 1961:202, no. 21; Karageorghis 1977–1978:14, pl. II.6, 1993:65, nos. 1–6, pl. XXVIII.

## Endnotes

- <sup>37</sup> The remainder include several examples from Maroni, previously misclassified as rhyta (Johnson 1980: nos. 127–28, 145–46, 198–200), three from Hala Sultan Tekke (Hult 1978:84, figs. 113.i, 115.e; Åström *et al.* 1983:153), one from Ugarit, two from Building V at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (South *et al.* 1989:10–11, fig. 15) and three in private collections (Karageorghis, Amyx *et al.* 1974: no. 29; Karageorghis 1985b: no. 107; Decaudin 1987:128, no. 24). Both Karageorghis, Amyx *et al.* 1974: no. 29 and Karageorghis 1985b: no. 107 have handles and fill holes but unpierced muzzles and are therefore identified as figurines rather than rhyta.
- <sup>38</sup> Murray, Smith and Walters 1900:26, fig. 57; Coche de la Ferté 1951:20, pl. VII; Schaeffer 1952:22, no. 14; Nicolaou 1965:51–53, pls. V–VIII; Dikaios 1969–1971: pl. 131.42; Benson 1972: pl. 35; Öbrink 1979a:46, 51, figs. 151e, 263, 273; 1979b:50, fig. 64; Åström *et al.* 1983:150, 153, figs. 402q, 410n; Karageorghis 1974:pl. XXXVI; Karageorghis 1985d:5, inv. 366, 13–14, inv. 792/1 pls. X, XV; Hadjisavvas 1985: pl. XVII.
- <sup>39</sup> Glyptic examples include Ward 1910:304, fig. 952; Contenau 1922: no. 199; Walters 1926: nos. 116, 124; Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pls. LXVII.3, 12; Frankfort 1939: pl. XLVg; Moortgat 1940: no. 584; Buchanan 1966: no. 953; Kenna 1967b: fig. 25, 1971: no. 107; Porada 1948b:150, nos. 1072–73, pl. CLXIII, 1971:789–90, no. 4, pl. 179/4, 1983b: pl. 38.4; Boardman 1970a: pl. 206; Vollenweider 1983: no. 142; Beck 1983:fig. 1, pl. 44.1; Schaeffer 1983:45, RS 21.014.
- <sup>40</sup> This figure does not include three bovines from Floor I and two miniature bulls and five unidentifiable quadrupeds from Floors IIIA–I (Karageorghis 1985d:145, no. 5470, 183, no. 4486, 198, no. 5029, 206, no. 5493, 223, no. 1055, 228, no. 5005, 228, nos. 5010, 3261, 3395, 232, no. 3394. A horn fragment (12+cm long) in PWP from above Floor II in Kition Temple 5 belonged to a larger figure, but whether this was a bull or horned deity is uncertain (Karageorghis 1985d:191, no. 4187, pl. CLX).
- <sup>41</sup> See above and Courtois 1971b:337–38, inv. 119 and 87, fig. 151. Several fragmentary horses from Kition were associated with Floor I deposits or found outside the sacred quarter (Karageorghis 1985d:167, no. 3880 from Street A and 208, no. 4105, 226, no. 551 from Floor I).
- <sup>42</sup> A fragmentary mask from Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* was found with Iron Age material but may be of earlier date. See Vermeule and Wolsky 1990:155, TC 2, pl. 135. Also Nys 1995:22.
- <sup>43</sup> Following a preliminary report in *BCH LXXXVI* 1962:396, masks are frequently said to have been found in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (Karageorghis *BCH XCIX* 1975:835, 1976a:243, 1976b:102, 1981:85; Karageorghis 1985d:261; Vermeule and Wolsky 1979:55). Their provenance is made clear, however, in Courtois 1984:76–83.
- <sup>44</sup> See Courtois 1971b: fig. 1, pt. top. 682, 1001 and 1002 for masks from Quarter 5E. The Enkomi fragment published by Karageorghis 1988b:331, pl. XLVI.4 came from Dikaios' Area III.
- <sup>45</sup> Courtois 1971b:335, inv. 1961 no. 93 was found at pt. top. 642, several metres to the west of the west adyton, and Courtois 1984:76, no. 758 at pt. top. 477 10m to the northwest. See Courtois 1971b: fig. 1.

#### Endnotes

- <sup>46</sup> Note Knapp's suggestion (1986b:10) that the Ingot God wears a bearded mask.
- <sup>47</sup> Note, however, Balmuth's contention (1994) that the ingot base and several other details are repairs.
- <sup>48</sup> Negbi (1976:37–39, no. 1405) and Collon (1972:122, no. 3) place the Ingot God within this group. It is classed by Seeton, however, as a 'standing armed figure' (1980:123, no. 1794).
- <sup>49</sup> A possible Cypro-Minoan sign on the bronze from Enkomi Quarter 6W appears to be engraved rather than cast and thus does not necessarily indicate local manufacture (Courtois 1984: 34–35, no. 308, fig. 11.2).
- <sup>50</sup> Near Eastern female bronzes at this time depict warriors in smiting pose and standing or seated deities or worshippers in benedictory attitude (Negbi 1976: Types III–V). Two earlier types are closer (Negbi 1976: Types I–II) but predate the Cypriot bronzes by almost a millennium.
- <sup>51</sup> There is some literary evidence to suggest that a goddess associated with an ingot survived into the late Iron Age. See Roberston 1978.
- <sup>52</sup> The connection between the Mesopotamian mother goddess and metalworking has been comprehensively rejected by Lambert 1991.
- <sup>53</sup> A similar leaded bronze figure from Tegea may also be of Cypriot origin. See Voyatzis 1985:158.
- <sup>54</sup> This object is identified by Karageorghis as an adze/weight? See also Courtois in Karageorghis 1985d:289. The cutting edge, however, shows axe as opposed to adze wear. See Elliott 1985:301.
- <sup>55</sup> No. 467 from Idalion is described by the excavators as a pestle but identified by L. Åström as an axe in 1972:535.
- <sup>56</sup> Note that in Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:22 and 123 the rhyton is variously attributed to Locus 637 and Locus 552. See Peltenburg 1986b.
- <sup>57</sup> Smith 1994:113 suggests that this cylinder was scored around the circumference and deliberately cut in half in order 'to transform it from a cylinder used for sealing into a cylinder used as a votive object'. A Cypro-Minoan sign was also engraved in the positive subsequent to the completion of the original design.
- <sup>58</sup> Note that an object identified as a pestle from Room XXXIV at Idalion (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935:545, no. 467) is believed by L. Åström to be an axe (1972:535).
- <sup>59</sup> Most cattle bones from Myrtou *Pigadhes* were of young adults (Cornwall in du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1957:100). Cattle bones from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God were not aged but lengths of astragali measured by Halstead 1977:271 fall close together, suggesting a concentration on animals of a particular size, probably reflecting age or/and sex.

## IV. IMAGES OF THE SUPERNATURAL

MUCH OF the iconographic data relevant to this inquiry has been discussed in preceding sections. This chapter presents a brief summary of additional material drawn from vase painting and glyptic.

### THE EVIDENCE OF VASE PAINTING

FIGURED decoration is rare in local ceramic production through most of the Late Cypriot period. Three examples appear on Bichrome Wheelmade vessels of LC I. Two show combat scenes. On a jug from Enkomi two bearded male figures stand opposed while a third holds a mace and sword and moves menacingly toward a fourth figure (Karageorghis 1979a:200–203, fig. 2, pl. XXVIII.2–4). A second jug from Dromolaxia *Trypes* is similarly painted with two male figures, one with a spear and sword and the other holding a shield (Karageorghis 1979a:198–203, fig. 1, pl. XXVIII.1; Lubsen-Admiraal 1982, 45, 49, no. 58, pl. IV.8). Courtois has related the dominant figure on both vessels to Baal/Hadad/Teshub who is depicted in similar guise on contemporary Syro-Mitannian seals (Courtois 1986a). These vessels may, then, show the use of imported glyptic models in other media. The third vessel, a krater from Kouklia *Teratsoudhia*, depicts a man leading a bull (Karageorghis 1990b:52, 71–72, no. 52+, pl. LXXV). This composition recalls LC IIC bull-handler groups in terracotta and bronze discussed above and may already have had ritual associations perhaps connected with sacrifice, as suggested by Amiran and Eitan (1964) for a Bichrome krater with tethered bull, ibex and bird from Tell Nagila. It is clear that both the smiting attitude later adopted by the Ingot God and the man/bull motif were in use in LC I, at which time they may have exerted considerable influence on the development of indigenous representation.

Among the Mycenaean vases which became increasingly common on the island after 1400 BC are a significant number of amphorae and kraters with pictorial decoration. Clay analysis suggests that most were produced in the Argolid (Jones 1986). The majority show chariot compositions. As these come primarily from graves it has been suggested that they depict funerary corteges and a similar significance is argued by extension for scenes with boxers, wrestlers and archers (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982:22, 39, 43–44, nos. V.14, 28B–35). Fragmentary chariot kraters have also, however, been recorded



from settlement deposits (Dikaios 1969–1971:863–64, pls. 304.8, 10, 20, 29–31, 305.49–50; Karageorghis *et al.* 1981:2, no. 1, pl. I; Yon and Caubet 1985: no. 310, figs. 67–68; Karageorghis and Demas 1984:33, pl. XXXIII; Maier 1983:230 and n. 11; Cadogan 1987:83; Russell 1986:83–84, 186–87, nos. 209–13, pl. 36). This suggests that they were part of a broader complement of status symbolism.

Less conventional designs are generally considered to be derived from Mycenaean myth or epic narrative. Hence the Homage Krater from Aradippou, which shows a procession of warriors before a seated armless figure, is believed to show adoration of a goddess (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982:23–24, no. III.29). Two adults and a child before a chariot on a krater from Klavdia are identified as Hektor, Andromache and Astyanax and a tall robed figure with scale pan? before a chariot on the Zeus Krater as Zeus weighing the destiny of warriors prior to battle (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982:14–15, 30, n. 5, nos. I.2, IV.18). Likewise a fruit-picker on a krater in Stockholm is recognised as Herakles in the Garden of the Hesperides, the ‘parasol-carrier’ on the Parasol (or Sunshade) Krater as Orestes murdering Aegisthus and huge birds which pursue chariots on a krater from Enkomi as descendants of Babylonian Anzu resisting divine capture (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982:16, 21–22, 46, nos. III.6, 12, 21, V.39). Alternatively, these compositions are seen as heroic genre scenes or depictions of aristocratic life. Among those vessels for which the latter is proposed are the Zeus Krater and kraters from Enkomi British Tomb 45 and Pyla *Verghi* which show a nude figure with an hourglass-shaped object beside a chariot (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: nos. III.2, 13, IV.16 with refs). Dikaios (1971:918–25) identified the object as an ox-hide ingot and suggested that these compositions show mainland merchants purchasing Cypriot copper (see also Knapp 1986b:35–37).

Knowledge of Mycenaean mythology, epic and aristocratic lifestyle in Cyprus in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries is unlikely to have been profound. Consequently, any significance these compositions had for the Cypriots beyond their value as rank insignia must have lain in their relevance, intentional or otherwise, to local experience and indigenous concepts. A comparison, however, of the content of Mycenaean vase painting with that of local iconography reveals remarkably little in common. Toreador scenes, for example, appear only on Mycenaean vases and local chariot scenes are involved exclusively in hunt compositions which bear little similarity to the stately processions on the vases (Vandenabeele 1977; Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:47–52, no. 8 with refs).

More idiosyncratic compositions, despite some correspondence, also stand outside the indigenous tradition. Although homage and adoration of the tree are at home in Cyprus, scenes of chariots pursued by birds or fish, boxers, horse-riders, fishermen, wine-drinkers, wrestlers and tethered birds are either

unparalleled or found exclusively on Cypro-Aegean objects. Only the Kourion Window Krater is more promising (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982:18–19, no. III.12). On both sides a chariot appears before groups of women silhouetted in windows and in one instance sniffing a flower in a scene variously interpreted as a farewell to soldiers or a funerary chariot, a ceremony at a pillar shrine and a sketch of daily life (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982:19 with refs). The main elements, however, are also present on a four-sided bronze stand from Enkomi (Catling 1964:204–205, no. 32, pl. 33.c), identified by Barnett and others as the earliest extant representation of Astarte *Parakypousa*, otherwise best known from Phoenician ivories of the C9th to C7th (Barnett 1957:145f; de Mertzfeld 1954:32–33, pls. XIV, LXXVI–LXXVII etc; Fauth 1966). A similar motif appears on a limestone basin of LC III date from Enkomi (Lagarce and Lagarce 1986:89, pl. XXVIII.6) and a series of Cypro-Geometric gold plaques from *Palaepaphos*, Kourion and Amathus (Karageorghis 1983:192, 201–202, 242, pls. CXXV, CLV; Kapera 1981), where the women appear to be either priestesses of Astarte *Parakypousa* or the goddess herself and the facade from which they watch a cult building. These links with the Window Krater may not be wholly fortuitous, particularly in view of the occasional appearance of a chariot in the *Parakypousa* motif. While it may be fanciful to suggest that this aspect of the iconography of Cypriot Astarte began with the redefinition of a Mycenaean composition, it is possible that the Window Krater and similar vessels played a role in its development.

A PWP krater with archer, birds and a fish from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God has been discussed above (**figure 73.2**). Several other figured vessels in this fabric are also worth noting. A pyxis in the Cyprus Museum shows a human figure with a kylix and Aegean figure-of-eight shield, a bird and a caprid (Iacovou 1988:23, 71, no. 15, figs. 34–36). On the exterior of a Proto-Bichrome kalathos from Kouklia *Xerolimni* humanoid creatures float inverted while on the interior a bearded figure plays the lyre before a large palm, a tethered caprid and a second human figure (Iacovou 1988:26, no. 29, figs. 64–71). These C11th vessels belong to the last phase of the Cypriot Bronze Age and may make reference to specifically Aegean themes (Sherratt 1992:336; Iacovou 1997; Karageorghis 1997b). The *Xerolimni* kalathos, however, recalls lyre players depicted on two four-sided bronze stands from Cyprus in the British Museum (Catling 1964:205–207, 208–210, nos. 34, 36, pls. 34–35) and a common glyptic motif in which votaries carry stringed instruments, palm fronds, birds and/or caprids (see **figure 87.1–4**). The lyre players on both the stands and the *Xerolimni* kalathos have been identified as a deity and specifically as Kinyras (Coldstream 1986:13).



## THE EVIDENCE OF GLYPTIC

CYLINDER and stamp seals provide the richest and most complex source of Late Cypriot pictorial representation. While interpretation is hazardous without the aid of textual data, an array of deities and related beings may be identified.

The role of glyptic in the political economy of Late Bronze Age Cyprus has been discussed elsewhere (Courtois and Webb 1987; Webb 1992b, 1997b). Seals were important mechanisms in state administration, serving to authorise or validate official and private transactions, witness, guarantee, acknowledge receipt and confirm obligations. Distributed within a restricted sphere of exchange, they also appear to have served as symbolic markers of high intrinsic and ideological value and as bearers of a coercive imagery designed to promote existing socioeconomic structures by direct reference to religious authority. Well over half of all cylinders provenanced to site level and over 60% of all provenanced imported cylinders have been found at Enkomi, including examples from some of the earliest recorded contexts (Webb 1997b, Tables 1–2, figs. 1–2). Seals may thus have been important mechanisms by which Enkomi was able to establish pre-eminence and exert ideological authority in the dispersed regional systems which characterise the archaic state model. Seals and other image-bearing items are also likely to have encouraged the spread of a common symbolic system. From the C14th onward more widespread seal use and a proliferation of motifs and styles suggest an increase in the number of production units concomitant with the rise of autonomous polities across the island.

Cypriot cylinders have been classed into three broad groups on the basis of their material, iconography and quality and style of engraving (Porada 1948a, 1981–1982:9–16, 28–29). The main characteristics of each group are:

*Elaborate Style* cylinders depict complex narrative scenes drawn from mythological sequences and the supra-human realm. Formal presentation scenes, in which animal-headed ministrants offer inverted animals to robed, crowned deities, are common. Designs are formal, often heraldic and highly individualised. These seals were carved by skilled engravers probably attached to central authorities. In most cases engraving is on haematite.

*Derivative Style* seals also have a distinctive iconography. Frequent motifs show a robed bareheaded female or kilted male figure with subject animals. Other seals depict ritual performances and adoration of a tree by griffins, lions and caprids. Engraving is predominantly on chlorite with some examples in haematite. The group is derivative of the *Elaborate Style* but less skilfully carved. Restricted distribution also suggests production under elite sponsorship.

*Common Style* seals are characterised by recurrent compositions depicting schematic human figures, real world animals, ritual performances, symbols of cult observance and apotropaic or talismanic designs. Engraving is almost

exclusively on chlorite. Cylinders of this type are dispersed through the settlement hierarchy.

The following deities and related beings and generic scenes of ritual observance may be identified in the glyptic record:

### **The Robed Crowned God (figures 82.6-7, 83.1-3, 85.3-4)**

A deity dressed in a long decorated robe, skirt or trousers and a horned crown with a central sphere appears on at least eight extant *Elaborate Style* and one *Derivative Style* cylinder (Porada 1948b:150, no. 1072, pl. CLXIII, 1971:789–90, no. 4, pl. 179.4; Ward 1910:304, fig. 952; Frankfort 1939: pl. XLV.g; Kenna 1967b: fig. 25, 1969: no. 147; Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pls. LXVII.3,12, CL.8–9; Schaeffer 1983:45–47, RS 21.014). On four he is associated with a sphinx and animal-headed ministrants who hold inverted animals. The sphinx is crowned and/or bearded and may be identified as male (Dessene 1957; Demisch 1977; Vorys Canby 1975; D'Albiac 1992). The facial features and crown of deity and sphinx are identical. The latter acts as attendant, attribute and perhaps a secondary manifestation of the deity. The animal which raises a paw toward a griffin-man and bull-man on several seals may act also as an intermediary between the deity and his ministrants, perhaps illustrating a particular mythical event. On the remaining seals the deity grasps a griffin, holds a caprid in his arms or receives inverted caprids or lions. In two instances he is winged, in one double-headed and in four accompanied by a robed goddess.

### **The Master of Animals (figure 84)**

A deity or hero dressed in a kilt or trousers and depicted in combat with, or master of, mythical and other animals may be identified as a Master of Animals. Bareheaded or wearing a conical helmet and occasionally winged, he appears on over thirty *Elaborate* and *Derivative Style* seals and several of the *Common Style*<sup>1</sup>. He is associated with griffins, lions, caprids and occasionally deer. The animals are attacked or threatened with weapons, held inverted or stand erect with one paw raised while the deity and his assistant grasp them by neck, horns, wing, tail, hind-legs or forepaw. Extant seals of this type date from the C15th to the C13th (Porada 1948a:188, 190–91; Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:57).

On Early Dynastic, Akkadian, Sumerian and Old Babylonian cylinders one or often two nude or kilted heroes restrain lions and griffins from attacking domestic animals (eg Buchanan 1966: nos. 134, 138, 140, 149, 153, 156, 207–10). The motif is also found on Syrian, Syro-Hittite and Mitannian cylinders where a sword or dagger is used to dispatch the victims (eg Buchanan 1966: nos. 912, 922, 955, 958, 994A, 1010). In the Near East the Master of Animals is a king (pharaoh), hero (Gilgamesh, Enkidu) or more often a deity (Ninurta, Marduk, Baal, Horus, Teshub) whose animal combats symbolise the mastery of order over chaos and life over death (Teissier 1984:85–86; Lagarce and Lagarce

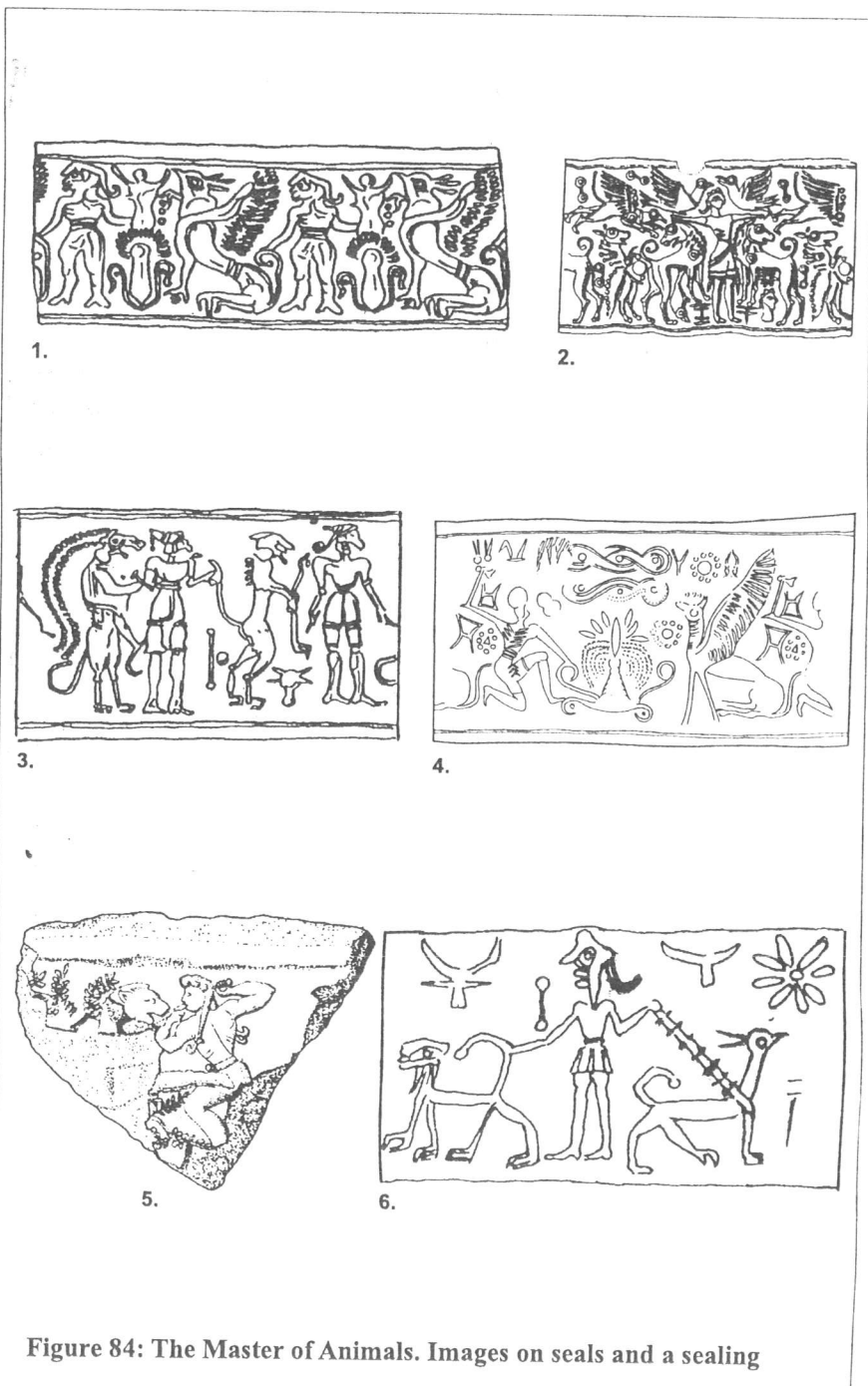
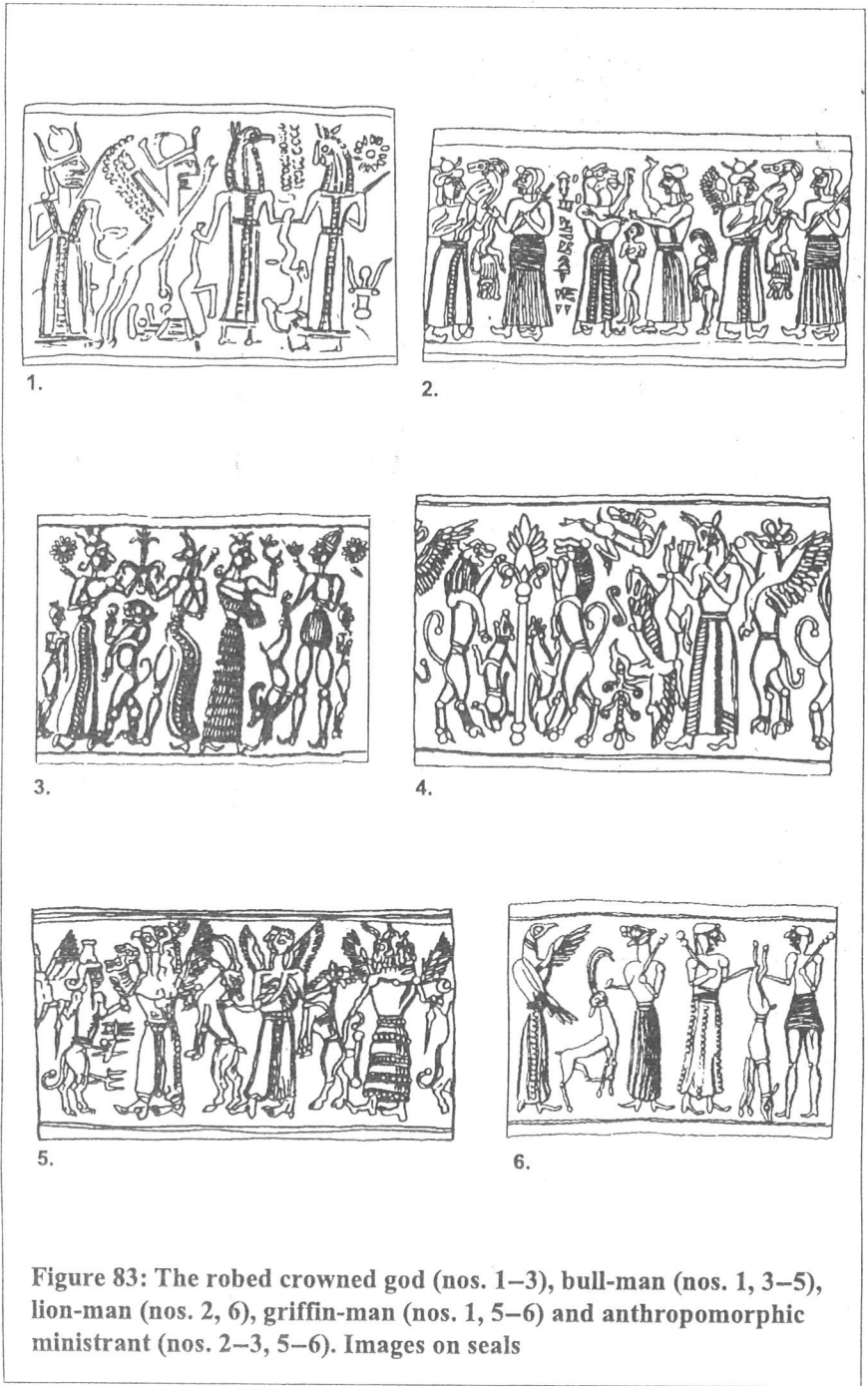


Figure 84: The Master of Animals. Images on seals and a sealing

1986:133–34, 186). In Cyprus lions, griffins and caprids appear variously as wild creatures requiring subjugation, as trusted guardians of the tree and major deities and (with the exception of griffins) as sacrificial victims. The Cypriot Master of Animals is also depicted on ivory mirror handles and pyxides of late C13th to C12th date and on a pithos sealing (**figure 84.5**) from Alassa *Paliotaverna* (Murray, Smith and Walters 1900:31–32, pl. II:872a–b, 883, 1126; Schäfer 1958; Karageorghis 1974b:73, no. 186, pls. LXXXVII, CLXX; Maier and Karageorghis 1984:68, figs. 55, 58; Karageorghis 1990b:69–70, pl. XXXVI; Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997:146, fig. 4).

### The Robed Crowned Goddess (figures 72.2, 83.3, 85.1–4)

A robed female deity wearing a horned crown appears occasionally in the Elaborate Style in formal presentation scenes, where she receives inverted animals (usually a caprid or lion) from a bull-man, lion-man or anthropomorphic ministrant (Walters 1926, no. 116; Moortgat 1940: no. 584; Boardman 1970b: pl. 206; Kenna 1967b: fig. 25; Kenna and Masson 1967; Buchanan 1966: no. 953; Porada 1948b: no. 1072; Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. LXVII.3; Schaeffer 1983:45–47, RS 21.014; Beck 1983). She is sometimes winged (**figure 83.3**) or double-headed, frequently accompanied by a robed and crowned male deity and usually attended by a flat-capped female sphinx or lion, a bird which flies toward her or is held in her hand or a rosette. A similar bareheaded figure associated with a sphinx, lion, bird or ministrants on several other seals (**figure 85.2**) may also be the goddess, while other examples show a seated bareheaded or, in one case, crowned and robed figure with bird, lion and/or sphinx (Walters 1926: no. 125; Delaporte 1923: pl. 106.22; Kenna 1969: no. 147; Gordon 1939: no. 61; Ward 1910: fig. 997; A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. XII, no. 14). Her iconography is derived from Syro-Mitannian glyptic, where bird, sphinx and rosette are also linked with a robed goddess, and ultimately from Babylonian Ishtar, whose role as goddess of love and war is expressed in her dual manifestation as both a robed and naked deity (Contenau 1914:31–50; Teissier 1984:80–81; Porada 1948b: nos. 476–89 etc).

### The Mistress of Animals (figure 86)

A bareheaded, robed and occasionally winged female figure is associated with subject animals on over fifty Derivative Style seals of the C15th to the C13th<sup>2</sup>. She stands before a seated, erect, semi-erect or inverted griffin, lion or/and caprid which she holds on a leash, grasps by the tail, neck, horn or paw or threatens with a weapon. A tree, bucranium and bird are frequently present or a second robed figure who acts as an assistant or secondary manifestation of the goddess. A smaller group of seals (eg **figure 16.1**) show tree and animal in a related motif that excludes the robed figure (A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pls. XII, nos. 5–8, 14, XIV, no. 43; Walters 1926: no. 141; Porada 1972: no. 961, pl. 59; Overbeck and Swiny 1972:8, III. 6a). The inclusion of the tree suggests that the

pacified animals were to act as its guardians and adorants. The role of the Mistress of Animals is undoubtedly linked with that of her male counterpart. Unlike the latter, however, she is not derived from the Near East where inverted or attendant animals are associated with a nude goddess. She does not appear on seals of the Elaborate Style or in non-glyptic iconography.

### The Caprid Goddess (figure 85.5–6)

A bareheaded, robed apparently female figure seated on a plain or caprid-shaped stool before an erect caprid which she grasps by the forepaws appears on nine Elaborate Style cylinders engraved in the second half of the C14th (Webb 1988). On four she sits at the head of a procession of human and animal-headed ministrants who approach with caprids. Elsewhere identical figures sit opposed over an outstretched caprid, vegetation motif, winged sun-disk or caprid head. Other elements in the composition include winged lions, a bifrons or lion-eared demons, antithetic sphinxes and crossed lions and caprids. Porada has proposed a beneficent function for the goddess, bifrons monster and lion demons which control the winged lions and caprids (1974:165–66). Lagarce and Lagarce (1986:180–82) suggest that the scene shows mastery of the cosmic order by a goddess and her acolytes while Ward (1910:217) identifies it as an underworld composition. The seated deity may be a further manifestation of the robed, crowned goddess or Mistress of Animals. Neither caprid goddess, winged lions, bifrons nor lion-eared demons appear in non-glyptic iconography.

### The Nude Goddess (figure 85.1)

A nude goddess, depicted *en face* with her hands on her breasts or holding inverted animals, appears on a number of imported cylinders found in Cyprus and occasionally on locally engraved seals dependent on Near Eastern or Aegean originals (Cesnola 1903: pls. CXVIII.9, CXX.10; Walters 1926: nos. 109, 119, 121; Kenna 1969: nos. 145, 151–52; Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987: no. 1). In indigenous glyptic, however, she appears only three times. On an Elaborate Style cylinder she is winged *en face*, wears a horned crown and stands with her hands on her breasts beside a larger, robed and crowned goddess (Walters 1926: no. 116. See **figure 85.1**). On a Derivative Style seal of C14th–C13th date from Klavdhia she is also winged, wears a horned crown, necklace and triple belt and stands with her hands on her breasts beside a griffin, caprid and planetary symbols (Walters 1926: no. 115). On a cylinder in the Louvre she appears without wings or crown beside the Mistress of Animals and holds a seated griffin by the tail (Delaporte 1923: pl. 106.19). Elsewhere nude females are occasionally depicted in childbirth scenes which may also belong to the mythological realm (Porada 1990:340–41, no. 3; Gordon 1939: no. 60; Lagarce and Lagarce 1986: pl. XXXI.23).



1.



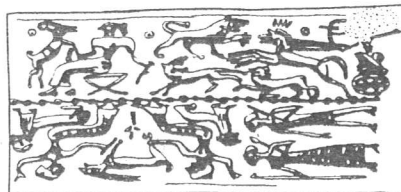
2.



3.



4.



5.



6.

Figure 85: The robed crowned goddess (nos. 1–4), nude goddess (no. 1) and caprid goddess (nos. 5–6). Images on seals



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.

Figure 86: The Mistress of Animals. Images on seals



The rarity of female nudity in glyptic, compared with the mass production of nude female forms in coroplastic art and to a lesser extent in bronze-work, may be explained by assuming a more complex iconography for the goddess on the cylinders. In glyptic she, like her Near Eastern counterparts (Barrelet 1955; Teissier 1984:80–81), appears to have had a dual personality embracing both nude and clothed manifestations. This is indicated on the Elaborate Style seal where she appears as a lesser version of the robed crowned goddess and on the Louvre example which shows robed and naked manifestations of the Mistress of Animals. A robed, crowned goddess depicted *en face* with her hands on her breasts on a cylinder from the Colville Collection appears to confuse the iconography of the nude and robed versions (Kenna and Masson 1967). The depiction of nude female figures as secondary manifestations of both a robed crowned goddess and Mistress of Animals on the seals suggests the existence of two naked goddesses in local iconography. This also appears to be indicated by Type A and B terracottas. It is impossible, however, to link the terracotta or bronze images more closely with those on the seals.

#### **The Anthropomorphic Ministrant (figures 5.4, 83.2–3, 5–6, 85.2, 6)**

A fully anthropomorphic ministrant appears on at least thirty seals of the Elaborate Style<sup>3</sup>. He is normally bareheaded and dressed in a long skirt but occasionally wears a flat cap with central sphere, a kilt, trousers or robe. He is almost invariably associated with a bull-man, griffin-man and/or lion-man with whom he stands opposed in conversation, moves in procession with inverted or erect lions and caprids or presents offerings to a deity or tree. He normally holds a weapon (a dagger, mace or sickle-shaped object) across one shoulder or dispatches a subject animal and is sometimes double-headed or winged (figures 5.4, 83.5). Two to three ministrants occasionally appear in the same composition. They appear to be divine attendants responsible for the presentation of animal offerings.

#### **The Bull-man (figures 5.4, 72.2, 83.1, 3–5, 85.1, 3–4, 6)**

The bull-man, a creature with anthropomorphic body and a horned bull's head, appears on over forty Elaborate and Derivative Style cylinders<sup>4</sup>. He wears a long decorated robe or skirt or, less frequently, a kilt or divided mantle and in four instances is winged (eg figures 5.4, 85.1), in three double-headed and in another four both winged and double-headed (eg figure 83.5). In almost all compositions the bull-man is associated with inverted animals (lions, caprids and does) which are offered to a deity or tree. He carries a mace, dagger or sickle-shaped weapon and is occasionally attended by a griffin, lion, sphinx or caprid. A seal in the Louvre, on which a bull-man and griffin-man attack a griffin-demon suggests that his role on occasion extended beyond that of ministrant (Delaporte 1926: pl. 106.20). The bull-man appears in Cypriot glyptic at least as early as the C15th and is easily distinguished from the kilted

bull demons who act as standard-bearers on Syrian and Mitannian seals and the minotaurs found occasionally on Minoan sealings (Ward 1910: figs. 858, 869; Porada 1948b: nos. 910, 981–83 etc<sup>5</sup>).

#### **The Lion-man (figures 82.7, 83.2, 6, 85.3–4)**

The lion-man, a creature with a human body and the head and mane of a lion, appears on over twenty cylinders<sup>6</sup>. He wears a long decorated robe or skirt and is occasionally double-headed and winged. His role is also that of ministrant to deities and the tree to whom he presents lions, caprids and in one instance an eagle. Like the bull-man he usually carries a mace or dagger. He is probably partly derived from a kilted, lion-headed demon which appears in Old Babylonian, Sumerian, Assyrian and Hittite glyptic (Buchanan 1966: no. 532; von der Osten 1934: nos. 157, 307, 329; Ellis 1977). *Contra* Caubet (1986:305), however, he owes little to Bes whose influence on the cylinders is visible in the depiction of the lion-demon. He may also be related to, although not derived from, the Minoan genius who acts as a divine attendant in the Aegean and occasionally on Cypriot Elaborate (figure 72.2) and Derivative Style seals.

#### **The Griffin-man (figure 83.1, 5–6)**

The griffin-man, with a human body and the head of a griffin, appears in similar guise but less frequently than either the bull-man or lion-man<sup>7</sup>. He is occasionally winged or/and double-headed, holds a mace, sickle-shaped weapon, dagger or axe and is depicted almost exclusively in offering or presentation scenes. On the Louvre seal already noted a griffin-man and bull-man attack a griffin-demon in defence of the tree (Delaporte 1926: pl. 106.20). Two cylinders from Palaepaphos *Skales* (Porada 1983c:407–409, pl. CXX) and the Pierpont Morgan Collection (Porada 1948b: no. 1073) show, respectively, a griffin-man grasping palms and antithetic sphinxes attendant on a griffin-man in the presence of the tree. Griffin-demons are common in Near Eastern iconography. On Syro-Mitannian seals, including several found in Cyprus, they appear naked or dressed in a kilt or divided skirt as attendants, ministrants or adorants of a sun-disk standard, naked goddess or tree, while on Hittite and Middle Assyrian seals they are associated with a god on a bull, tree, altar or king (Frankfort 1939: fig. 62, pls. XXXI.d, XXXII.e–g, XXXIII.a; Ward 1910: figs. 945, 948; Porada 1948b: nos. 595, 608–609, 921, 932, 941, 984; Cesnola 1903: pl. CXX.10; Walters 1926: no. 119; Kenna 1969: no. 152). The Cypriot griffin-man is no doubt derived from these Near Eastern demons with which he shares his role as attendant and ministrant as well as his association with the tree.

#### **Ritual Processions (figures 82.1, 87)**

Votive processions appear predominantly on a group of cylinders and stamps of C13th to C12th date engraved in an abbreviated linear style in a workshop or



workshops located at Enkomi (Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:74–83 with refs). Two, three or four bearded votaries in long robes or skirts and high conical caps advance with palm fronds, stringed instruments, a spear, axe, bird, flowers or/and inverted caprids. A large palm with heavy clusters of fruit is depicted on one example. The appearance of palm fronds and other vegetation in the remaining compositions suggests that a tree is likewise the focus of the ceremony. The ritual appears to have involved music, dancing, sacrifice and the presentation of offerings. Similar processions are depicted on a number of Derivative Style seals which show robed or kilted figures with bucrania, rosettes, a tree and planetary symbols (A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pls. XII, no. 9, XIV, no. 37; Buchanan 1966: no. 962; Kenna 1971: no. 93, 1972: pl. XVII.7; Porada 1971: pl. 186.4b).

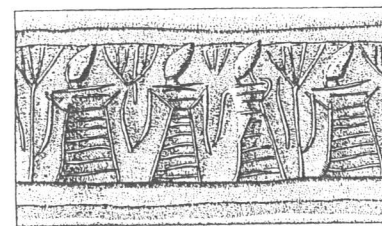
### Adoration of the Tree (figures 16.2, 82.4, 88.1–2, 90.2–4)

A number of Common Style seals show one or two figures with one or both arms raised toward or grasping a tree (figure 88.1–2)<sup>8</sup>. The tree, a palm or of unidentifiable species, is clearly an object of adoration. In some instances the inclusion of an inverted spear, quadrupeds and/or a hound suggests an association with hunting and the capture of animals for ritual purposes (figures 16.2, 82.4, 90.2–4).

### Animal Hunts (figures 16.3, 82.3, 88.3–6, 89, 90)

Hunt scenes are among the most frequent glyptic motifs. The straightforward pursuit of animals is depicted on a second group of Common Style seals engraved in abbreviated linear style (Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:74–76, 83–84, no. 27 with refs). Here the huntsman is a robed archer and his quarry a stag, bull, ibex or bird (figure 88.6). On more crudely engraved seals (figure 88.3–4) a nude or kilted figure with a hound and spear pursues a caprid or other quadrupeds (A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. XIII, nos. 27–28; Delaporte 1926: pl. 106.26; Walters 1926: no. 129; Ménant 1888: pl. II.18; O. Masson 1957: fig. 11; Porada 1972: pl. 38.B1629; Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:63–64, 89, nos. 14, 37). Another group of at least seventeen cylinders of the late C14th and C13th (figures 16.3, 82.3, 89) show a seated figure holding a spear in a composition which includes a tree, an attendant and frequently a snake, bucranium and ingot (Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:68–70, no. 17 and n. 205 with refs). A reference to hunting, and more specifically to ritual hunting, is also indicated on other Common Style seals (figure 90) which show one or more figures with arms raised over a caprid or biconical table or toward a tree in a motif which includes quadrupeds, hounds and an inverted spear (Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:69–70, ns. 211–212 with refs).

The figures depicted in these scenes do not have obvious divine attributes and the animals hunted are those of the real world. Both the seated figure with



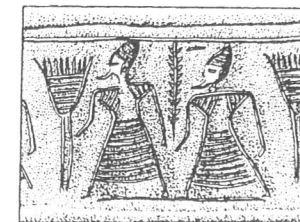
1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.

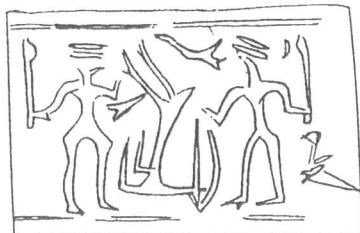
Figure 87: Ritual processions. Images on seals



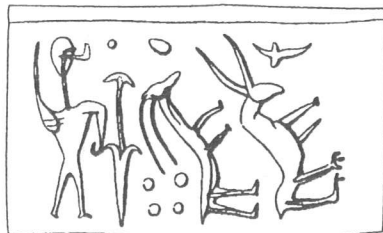
1.



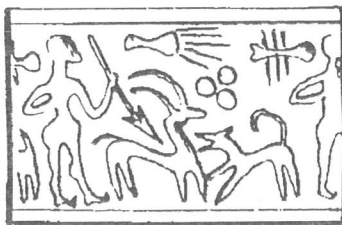
2.



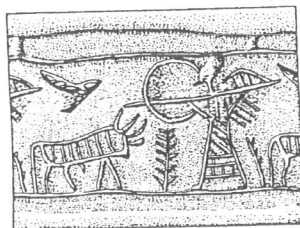
3.



4.



5.



6.

Figure 88: Adoration of the tree (nos. 1–2) and hunt-related scenes (nos. 3–6). Images on seals



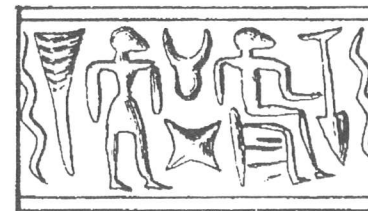
1.



2.



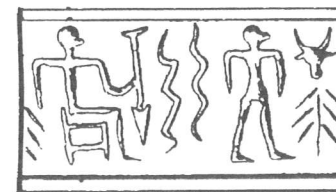
3.



4.



5.



6.

Figure 89: Seated figure with spear, attendant, bucranium, tree and ingots. Images on seals

spear and the robed archer are probably, therefore, persons of ritual or political authority rather than deities or heroes. The motifs in which they appear may be generic scenes of politico-religious authority in which the spear and bow are both attributes of elite individuals and weapons of the hunt. The object of the hunt scenes depicted may have been to kill or capture animals for presentation to the gods in the form of sacrificial offerings (Porada 1971:796 and n. 595; Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:69–70). The motif may also be related to hunt compositions in Elaborate and Derivative Style glyptic in which the huntsman is the Master of Animals, perhaps depicting mortal hunts in imitation or honour of the hero-deity.

### Male Figure with Tree, Bucranium and Ingots (figure 91)

A nude male figure with a tree (usually a palm), bucranium, an ingot or ingots and centered circles appears in a repeated motif on a large group of Common Style seals of late C14th to C13th date<sup>9</sup>. Knapp (1986b:38–39) recognises in this composition the thematic concept of an ingot-bearer before a tree, while Porada (1976:102) has identified the standing figure as a deity associated with the copper industry. More probably the motif combines elements expressive of broader ideological concepts in which the human figure is intended to evoke man's role as participant in the copper industry rather than a specific deity or narrative sequence.

The glyptic evidence suggests that Late Cypriot belief systems encompassed a complex array of deities and related beings as well as mythical animals, demons and composite creatures. Much of this iconography, along with the glyptic medium itself, is derived from foreign sources. Few if any of the principal referents in Elaborate Style glyptic are visible in Cyprus prior to the introduction of imported cylinders and other exotics in the early years of the Late Bronze Age. Ownership and use of Elaborate Style seals may have served to link newly established elites with service to the gods, legitimising their claim to divinely sanctioned authority and promoting a privileged relationship with the supernatural realm. Similarly, Derivative Style iconography appears to draw on heroic narratives or symbolic events in which order and harmony are achieved through the defeat and submission of dangerous forces. The sphinxes, lions and griffins which appear on these seals as divine subjects, ministrants or offerings are also the principal images used as status insignia on prestige objects in elite tombs. These and other points of articulation between seal iconography and status-enhancing and ceremonial objects suggest that political elites intent on establishing authority during the early years of the Late Bronze Age appropriated for themselves the responsibility for mediating between the natural and supernatural worlds.

Common Style iconography presents a different series of images, apparently directed toward non-elites and concerned with negotiating or

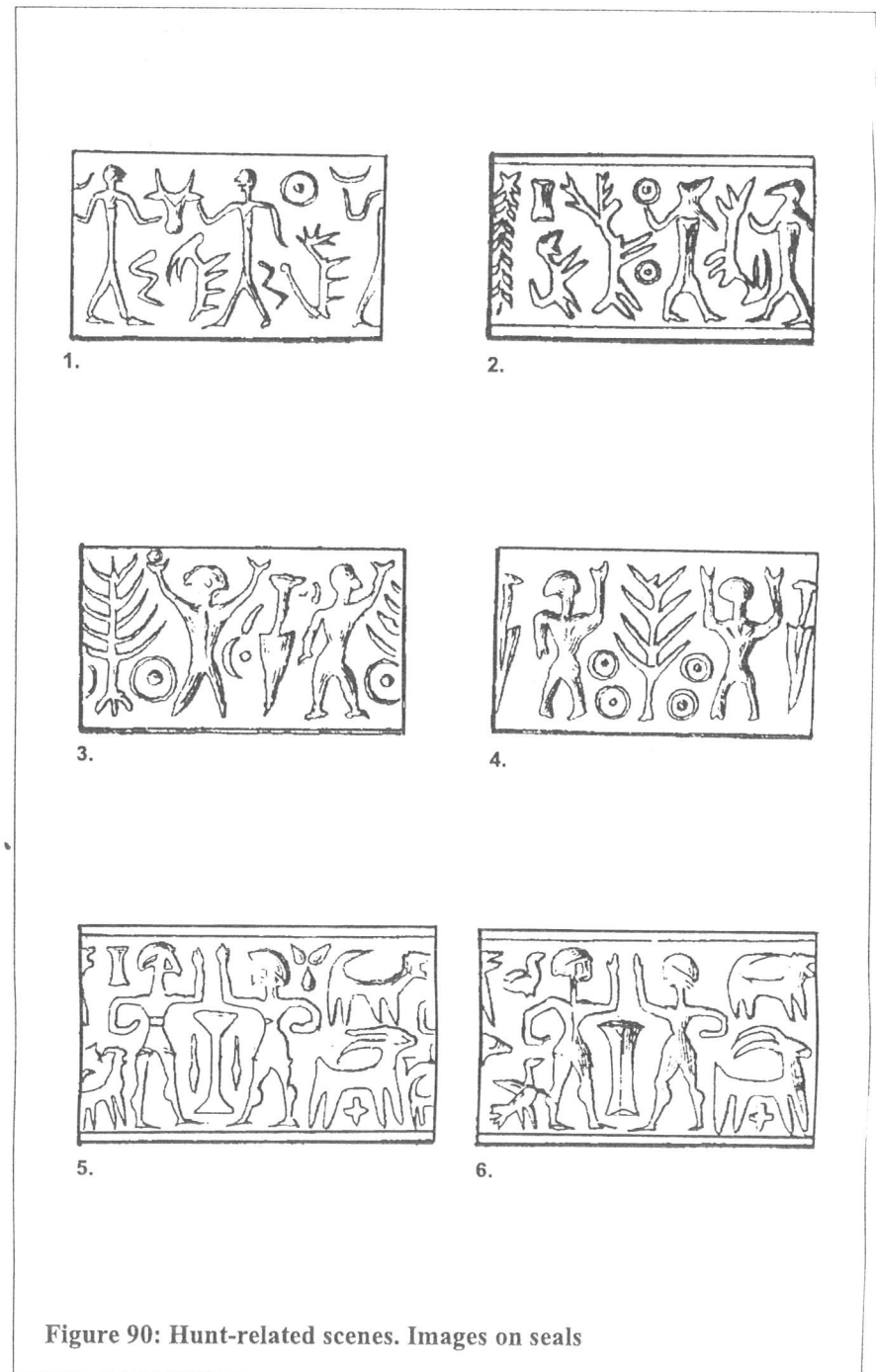


Figure 90: Hunt-related scenes. Images on seals



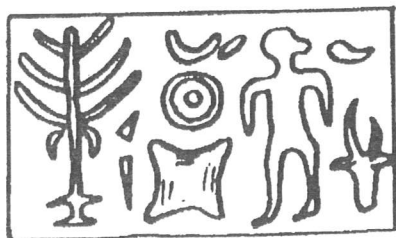
1.



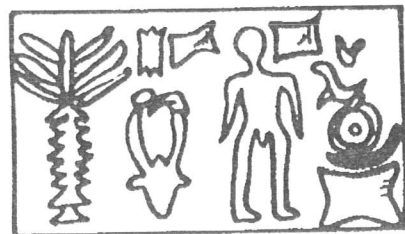
2.



3.



4.



5.



6.

Figure 91: Male figure with tree, bucranium and ingots. Images on seals

masking inequality rather than legitimising privilege. Common Style seals depict the observance of ritual, subservience to human authority and motifs which appear to be operationally related to the management of the copper industry. In the latter instance the repeated representation of generic symbols (eg man, ingot, tree, bucranium) may have been intended to sanction and promote ideological links between the labour of non-elites, divine authority and cult practice (Knapp 1986:37–42; Webb 1992:118–19).

In some cases the coercive ideology expressed in seal iconography can be closely linked with that manifest in public architecture and other media. This is particularly so in the case of the stylised ingots found in Common Style glyptic, the association between cult and metallurgy at Kition, Athienou and *Koufos* and the bronze cult statues which show deities standing on ingots. The frequent depiction on the seals of bull, caprid and stag hunts and bucrania and caprid heads likewise recalls the abundant evidence for animal sacrifice and the retention of animal skulls in cult buildings at Myrtou, Kition and Enkomi. The use of horned animals, and in particular of young oxen, stands at the end of a long tradition in which both whole animals and horned skulls appear on vessels, in modelled compositions and as rhyta and figurines. The presence of weapons in cult deposits may also be related to glyptic iconography, in which huntsmen carry spears or bows and human or divine figures sit before a table holding axes, bows or sickle-shaped weapons (figure 72.3–6). Spears and axes are also carried in ritual processions (figure 87.2–3, 5–6).

There is, however, little concordance between different forms of representational data. Coroplastic art suggests the existence of two nude female figures associated with fertility in LC II. At least one of these continued into LC III to become wholly or partly identified with the Minoan goddess with upraised arms. In bronze the largest and finest statuettes depict male deities, notably the Horned God and the Ingot God, while smaller smiting figures show Syrian Resheph or a local warrior deity partly assimilated with Resheph. Other LC IIC bronzes depict a naked female figure, similar to that of the Type B terracottas but associated with the copper industry, and a second nude female distinguished by her dual representation on C13th–12th plaques. In glyptic at least one major male deity associated with a male sphinx and a major female deity associated with a female sphinx, bird and rosette may be identified, along with a seated female figure linked with caprids and leonine demons, a kilted Master of Animals and a robed, bareheaded Mistress of Animals. Male deities equivalent to the Horned God and Ingot God are not obviously present on the seals and nude female figures appear rarely and only as secondary manifestations of the robed, crowned goddess and Mistress of Animals. This apparent restriction of motifs and images to particular media may have been determined by the function and symbolic status of the motif-bearing objects or the differing concerns of communal, domestic and funerary ideology, iconography and practice.



The multiplicity of deities and related beings depicted in Late Cypriot iconography has not been widely recognised. Instead there has been a tendency to polarise Cypriot religion around a single divine couple, usually referred to as patrons of the copper industry. Textual references to Alashiya also suggest a complex array of deities. Of particular relevance is Ugaritic tablet PRU (V.8, 4–8) which opens:

To the king, [my] lo[rd],  
 speak thus:  
 from the officer of the one hundred, [your servant]  
 at the feet of my lord, [from afar]  
 seven and seven times [I have fallen]  
 I myself have spoken to Ba'al...  
 To eternal Šapš, to 'Athtart,  
 to 'Anat, to all the gods of Alashiya... (Walls in Knapp 1996d:36)

The physical remains point to a similar variety and complexity of deities. At Kition four cult buildings were constructed in the late C13th or early C12th. Ritual observance at this time involved the simultaneous use of four cult sites dedicated to four deities, possibly in the form of two divine couples associated with paired buildings (Temples 1 and 2 and Temples 4 and 5). This may also have been the case at Enkomi where both the Level IIIB Reconstructed Ashlar Building and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God appear to have been used for the worship of male and female deities in LC III. Whether these were ancestral or lineage-based deities or members of a more broadly based pantheon is uncertain. The Horned God, Double Goddess and Ingot God are not obvious matches for the deities depicted on the cylinder seals. At Kition no cult statues were found. Temple 1, the largest and most elaborate building in the sacred quarter, may be assumed to have belonged to the principal deity. Given the connection between Temple 1 and the Northern Workshops, he or she may also be identified as the deity most closely linked with the metal industry. In the reconstructed Ashlar Building at Enkomi the Horned God was clearly predominant. In the Sanctuary of the Ingot God a female deity appears to have been the primary cult recipient. This suggests, at the very least, that the gods of Enkomi included a principal male deity and his consort and a principal female deity and her consort. While such divine couples are a recurring feature in the Cypriot record, little more can be said either about the relationship between deities depicted in different media or those worshipped in different regional polities.

Idalion and Ayia Irini appear to have supported only one cult building, although exposures at both settlements are limited. The existence of larger numbers of cult buildings (and thus deities) in the urban centres need cause no surprise. The expansion of the sacred area at Kition at the end of the C13th

involved not only the rebuilding of existing cult structures but also a two-fold increase in the number of deities resident in the sacred quarter. Additional deities were perhaps coopted to extend the economic base and further legitimise claims to power. At Enkomi the repeated destruction and refurbishment of cult buildings during LC III suggests use in a less stable environment. Many aspects of religious practice, however, are common to both sites and appear to have been broadly institutionalised (eg animal sacrifice, votive offerings and libations). The presence of particular ritual insignia in some assemblages (eg anchor stones at Kition, miniature tools and weapons in the Sanctuary of the Horned God and bull figurines at Idalion and Ayia Irini) suggests site or deity-specific associations (see Part V).

External influence on Cypriot iconography during the earlier years of the Late Bronze Age came primarily from the Near East in the form of imported image-bearing prestige goods and terracotta and glyptic models. Near Eastern mythological concepts are visible in particular in Elaborate Style glyptic. These appear to have been opportunistically adapted to conform to a rapidly expanding indigenous belief system and used both to facilitate and legitimise emerging centralised authority. The Minoan genii and horns of consecration which reached Cyprus from the Aegean in the C13th or early C12th were similarly adapted to the needs of Cypriot mythology and cult. The resulting amalgam is again distinctively Cypriot. The arrival of Achaean immigrants in LC IIIA also appears to have had little impact. Temples constructed at this time continue the architectural traditions of LC II and evidence for ritual activity and iconography is consistent with that visible in earlier assemblages and uncharacteristic of the Mycenaean world (Albers 1994, 1996; Whittaker 1997). Only in LC IIIB is a more radical break in material culture apparent with the introduction of the Minoan goddess with upraised arms, wheel-made and large scale votive terracotta production and new tomb types. Other aspects of late C12th and C11th iconography and cult practice, however, continued to reflect indigenous traditions.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Cesnola 1903: pls. CXVIII.4,11, CXIX.4,9,13; A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. XII, no. 3; Murray, Smith and Walters 1900: pl. VIII, no. 658; Walters 1910: nos. 122, 126; Schaeffer 1936: figs. 48–49; Gordon 1939: pl. VIII, no. 62; *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel V*: no. 657, VII: no. 173; Gjerstad *et al.* 1937: pl. XLVII.8; Porada 1948a: no. 19, pl. IX, 1971: nos. 10–11, pls. 179.10–11, 1975: fig. 9, 1976:98–101, figs. 75, 78, 1981–1982: no. 6, 1985:252–53, no. 851, pl. A.4, 1990:340, no. 2; Erlenmeyer and Erlenmeyer 1964: pls. II.1–2, V.24; Vollenweider 1967: no. 168, pl. 68; Kenna 1967b: fig. 30, 1969: nos. 150, 154; South 1982: pl. X.5; Courtois 1983: pl. XVII.4; Teissier 1984: no. 644; *BCH CVIII* 1984: fig. 101; Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987: nos. 10–11.

<sup>2</sup> On the style, motif and dating of seals of this type see Porada 1948a:189, pls. IX–X, nos. 25–30 and Webb 1989a. For individual seals see Cesnola 1903: pls. CXVIII.10,



## Endnotes

- CXIX.5.7, CXX.6, 11–13; A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. opposite p. 120, nos. 128, 138, XII, nos. 2, 14, XIII, no. 29, XIV, nos. 38, 40–42, 46; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893:34, fig. 24; Delaporte 1910: fig. 498, pl. XXXI, 1923: pl. 106.19; von der Osten 1934: no. 355; Lamon and Shipton 1937: pl. 66, no. 12; *Illustrated London News* 2.5.1953: fig. 2; Gjerstad *et al.* 1937: pl. XLVII.8; Buchanan 1966: nos. 957, 963–64; Vollenweider 1967: nos. 170, 173; Porada 1948b: no. 1074, 1965:152, pl. X.1, 1971:791, no. 4b, pl. 182/4b, 1972: pl. 38, B1623, B1624, 1980:69, pl. XXXIII, no. 168, 1981–1982: no. 2, 1983a:220, fig. 547; Kenna 1967b: fig. 18; *Israel Exploration Journal* XXVII 1977:167, pl. 22c; Pecorella 1977:22, 265, figs. 32, 211; *BCH* XCIV 1970:205, fig. 18; *BCH* C 1976:883, fig. 82; *BCH* CII 1978:888–93, fig. 36a; Schaeffer 1983: RS 1.002, Chypre A20; Maier and Wartburg 1985:118, pl. XVI.7; Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987: nos. 10, 12; Webb 1989a.
- <sup>3</sup> Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. CL.8; Contenau 1922: nos. 199, 206; Kantor 1957:156–58, pl. XXV.A–B; Schaeffer 1936:44–45, figs. 18–19, 1983:13, 50–51, 60, 63, 68, RS 3.226, RS 23.438, Chypre A4, A10, A22; Vollenweider 1967: nos. 166–67, pl. 67; Ward 1910: no. 953; Walters 1926: nos. 118, 124–25; Porada 1983b:120–21, fig. 54.3, pl. 38.4, 1979:118, pl. XIV.2; A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. opposite p. 120, no.131; Gordon 1939: no. 61, pl. VIII; Moortgat 1940: no. 585; Delaporte 1926: pl. 106.18, 21–24; Kenna 1969: nos. 141, 149; Webb 1988.
- <sup>4</sup> Ward 1910: figs. 951–53; Frankfort 1939: pl. XLV.g, 1 (Cypriot?); Delaporte 1926: pl. 106.18, 20, 22–23; Boardman 1970: pl. 206; Walters 1926: nos. 111, 116, 118, 124; Moortgat 1940: no. 584; Schaeffer 1936: figs. 18–19, 1983:23–24, 45–48, 50–51, 63–64, 68, RS 7.081, 21.014, 22.033, 23.438, Chypre A12, A22; Buchanan 1966: no. 953; von der Osten 1934: nos. 354, 359; Contenau 1922: nos. 199, 206; Vollenweider 1967: nos. 166–67, Vollenweider 1983: no. 142; *BCH* XCVIII 1974:836, fig. 18; Porada 1948b: no. 1072, 1971: pl. 179/4, 1979: pl. XIV.2, 1983: pl. 38.4; Kenna 1967: fig. 25, 1969: no. 147; Iakovides 1970: fig. 139; Kantor 1957: pl. XXV.A–B; Beck 1983; Webb 1988.
- <sup>5</sup> A figure recut on an Old Babylonian cylinder from *Ayia Paraskevi* is conventionally identified as a bull-man and believed to be the work of an early Cypriot engraver. It is now, however, recognised as gazelle or goat-headed and a Cypriot recutting is considered doubtful. See Merrillees 1986:120–23, 127–34.
- <sup>6</sup> Ward 1910: fig. 953; Frankfort 1939: pl. XLV.g; Walters 1926: no. 118; Contenau 1922: no. 206; Delaporte 1926: pl. 106.18, 21; Kantor 1957: pl. XXV.A–B; Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. CL.8; Kenna 1967: fig. 25; Vollenweider 1967: nos. 166–67, 1983: no. 142; Porada 1979: fig. 1, pls. XIII.1, XIV.2, 1981: no. 1; *BCH* XCVIII 1974:836, fig. 18; Beck 1983; Schaeffer 1983:48–49, 50–51, 60–61RS 22.042, 23.438, Chypre A4, A7; Webb 1988.
- <sup>7</sup> A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. opposite p. 120 no. 131; Contenau 1922: nos. 199, 206; Ward 1910: figs. 951–52; Kantor 1957: pl. XXV.A–B; von der Osten 1934: no. 359; Delaporte 1926: pl. 106.20; Porada 1948b: no. 1073, 1971: pl. 179.4, 1979: pl. XIV.2, 1983c:407–409, pl. CXX; Schaeffer 1983:60, Chypre A4.
- <sup>8</sup> Cesnola 1903: pl. CXXI.14–15; A.P. di Cesnola 1882: pl. opposite p. 120 no. 132, XIII, nos. 20–21, XIV, no. 33; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893: pls. XXVIII.17, XCIV.3, 16; Delaporte 1926: pl. 106.12, 15; Ménant 1888: no. 32; Gjerstad *et al.* 1935: pl.

## Endnotes

- CCXLI.20; Buchanan 1957: no. 424, 1966: no. 980; Kenna 1972: fig. 88, no. 58; Porada 1972: pl. 38, B1628; Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:84–85, nos. 28–29. The motif also appears occasionally on cylinders of finer quality (eg O. Masson 1957:12–13, fig. 6; Schaeffer 1983:59, Chypre A1) and imported Near Eastern examples (eg Kenna 1971: nos. 107, 112; Gjerstad *et al.* 1935: pl. CLXXXVI.21).
- <sup>9</sup> See the list devised by Knapp 1986b:38–39, Table II, nos. 1–2, 3–12, 14–18, 21, 24, to which add Delaporte 1926: pl. 105.27; Contenau 1922: no. 227; Kenna 1967:573, fig. 32. See also Porada 1948a:194, Group XII and Webb in Courtois and Webb 1987:70, n. 214.

## V. IDEOLOGY, CULT AND POLITICS

UP TO this point this volume has been principally concerned with an analysis of Late Cypriot ritual sites and their material residues, the focus being on the correct identification of individual buildings, installations and assemblages and the recognition of consistent patterns of cult observance. The data base is disappointingly small. Only sixteen sites have been classed as reliably identified. Others may be confirmed by further excavation or publication. These sites range in date from LC IIA to the end of the Bronze Age, a period of some 400 years, and include urban, village and extramural sanctuaries. The number of cult places with which any one site may be directly compared is small, making it difficult to estimate the degree of similarity or difference within and between regional, temporal and typological subsets of the data. The existing record, however, allows a number of concluding observations.

### THE STRUCTURAL EVIDENCE

THE GREATEST and most serious lacuna in the current record of Cypriot cult practice is the absence of any special purpose ritual structures of LC I (see **table I**). This is probably due to the limited exposures and poor preservation of excavated LC I strata at Enkomi, Kourion, Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, Maroni and Hala Sultan Tekke. Only the area of Trench 9 at Kalopsidha *Koufos*, which produced a ceramic assemblage but no associated architecture, may have been in use as a ritual centre at this time. Remains of cult are otherwise lacking from the whole period during which Enkomi is believed to have been engaged in the establishment of a unitary state (ca 1700–1400 BC).

The earliest reliably identified cult sites are those at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* (probably LC IIA–IIC), Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* (LC IIA) and Rooms CD1–CD6 at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (LC IIA–IIB). Like *Koufos*, Athienou and *Dhima* were extramural and located on low natural hillocks in the Enkomi hinterland. Although the distance from cult place to nearest settlement is nowhere certain, it would appear to have been approximately 500m at *Koufos* and Athienou. Ritual sites of this period might then, as Merrillees has suggested (1973:50), 'have required some topographical prominence, which may not always have been available within the immediate neighbourhood of the settlement'. Alternatively, extramural locales may have been sites of temporally limited aggregation associated with a number of villages.

The presence of over 300kg of metallic waste and 5kg of scrap amongst the votives from Stratum III at Athienou has led to the suggestion that this cult place was located on a major transportation route from one or more copper ore bodies in the Troodos foothills to refinery and transshipment points on the east coast (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983:140; Keswani 1993:77, 1996:235; Knapp 1997a:57). Metal waste and mould and crucible fragments are also present at *Koufos*. Parallels in the size, location and finds from Athienou and *Koufos* suggest that these sites were established to meet the needs of a specialised cult related to the extraction, preliminary processing and transportation of copper ore. The relative poverty of the architecture at Athienou and the longevity of Stratum III may indicate intermittent or seasonal use. Overland routes between northern Troodos ore deposits and eastern sites were established early (Peltenburg 1996:30, n. 17). Both *Koufos* and the hillock at Athienou were occupied in MC III and may have been intermediary sites in a direct procurement strategy initiated by Enkomi during the early years of the Late Bronze Age.

Keswani (1993:76–79) has proposed that Athienou also served as a focus for the collection of agricultural 'tribute' within a regional system of staple finance. Agricultural products, she suggests, were required to support local elites and sanctuary personnel as well as mining villages located 'up the line' in agriculturally less hospitable areas. In return, lower-order exotic goods, ceremonial paraphernalia, finished metal items and other products of urban workshops passed from coastal to inland centres in an exchange system dominated by the principle of wealth finance. This assumes a hierarchical relationship between coastal and inland centres and is supported by the disparity between the quantity and value of copper moving through inland centres and the limited quantity of incoming prestige goods and sacred paraphernalia. Keswani (1993:79) also suggests that sites such as Athienou provided ideological legitimation for the mobilisation of labour and agricultural products within a geographically extensive system dependent on the movement of copper from the Troodos to the east coast.

The suggestion that Athienou served as both ritual site and agricultural mobilisation centre is, however, problematic. Pithoi cited as evidence for the large scale storage of olive oil are attributed by the excavators to Stratum II, while miniature vessels and other ritual paraphernalia were associated only with Stratum III. There is no indication that ritual continued in Stratum II and no evidence to suggest storage of agricultural products prior to the end of the C13th. The apparent change in site use at Athienou at the end of the C13th (from cult to agricultural storage) is best viewed in the light of contemporary abandonments in other parts of the island. Both the Alykos Valley and the Ayios Sozomenos sites to the east of the Troodos and the Vasilikos and Maroni Valleys to the south were abandoned around 1200 BC, remaining largely uninhabited until Cypro-Geometric III (Catling 1963:145; Frankel and Webb

1995; Webb and Frankel 1994:20–21; Rowe 1995; Todd and South 1992:203; South 1995:197). Other sites which went out of use at this time include Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* and Myrtou *Pigadhes* (Karageorghis and Demas 1984:47–48, n 6, 70; Karageorghis 1990a) and mining villages at Apliki, Mathiatis, Lythrodondas and Sha (Hadjicosti 1991). Knapp (1986b:96–114, 1990:148–53, 1994b, 1997a:68) has suggested that this array of abandonments was brought about by a reduced demand for Cypriot copper in the eastern Mediterranean and a subsequent breakdown of production and exchange networks. There can be little doubt that the disruption to primary and secondary centres affected subsidiary rural and mining villages and communication and transportation networks operating in the same interdependent regional systems.

The circular enclosure at Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* is unique in the archaeological record, although frequently and anachronistically compared with the Early Cypriot III terracotta 'Vounous Model' from Bellapais *Vounous* Tomb 22 and, more recently, with a circular building model from a Middle Chalcolithic deposit at Kissonerga *Mosphilia* (Wright 1992a:60, 74–75, 1992b:269–70; Bolger and Peltenburg in Peltenburg 1991:13–14; Knapp 1996a:88, 1997a:59). While such enclosures may have been common, the number, richness and preservation of the *Dhima* finds rather suggest an atypical phenomenon, involving a single specific operation requiring a minimum of structural effort followed by deliberate concealment and immediate abandonment. A ceremony of this kind might have been associated with one or more of the nearby cemeteries, a suggestion strengthened by similarities between the installation at *Dhima* and those associated with Tumuli 1, 3 and 6 in the LC IA cemetery at Korovia *Palaeoskoutella* and the presence of objects otherwise encountered primarily in grave deposits. Such enclosures may stand outside the main tradition of cult observance or have been exclusively associated with mortuary ceremonial.

Rooms CD1–CD6 at Myrtou *Pigadhes* (LC IIA–IIB) constitute the earliest cult complex to be excavated within a settlement. All subsequent cult sites, however, are similarly located. This may reflect an extra- to intramural shift in the location of regional ritual centres coincident with the rise of fortified urban settlements during LC II. The predominance of LC IIC–III intramural cult places owes much, however, to the extensive excavation of large coastal towns. Similar investigation of inland sites may produce intramural cult sites of earlier date. Notably, ritual at Athienou did not survive into LC III, while urban cult buildings which show a similar association between cult and metalworking (eg Kition Temple 1) were established at the LC IIC/IIIA transition. The possibility of a correlation between the abandonment of cult places along inland transportation routes and the erection of new centres allied with metallurgical installations in the coastal emporia is of considerable interest.

The complex of Periods V–VII at Myrtou *Pigadhes* is often referred to as a 'rural' or 'open-air' sanctuary (Hult 1983:14; Keswani 1993:73; Knapp 1996a:77, Table 2, 1997a:58–59). Keswani (1993:81, n. 4) has further proposed that *Pigadhes*, like Athienou, was located on an ore transshipment route between the Troodos and an unidentified north coast settlement, citing finds of slag, fused copper and furnace conglomerate in the eastern unit. While the CD1–CD6 complex, however, was relatively simple in layout and furnishings, in LC IIC the cult appears to have been located in the large, multi-roomed eastern unit with the western court serving as a large enclosed temenos. In its final phase the sanctuary underwent the same transition toward monumentality visible at Kouklia and Kition. Votive material and cult equipment include imported Mycenaean vessels, inscribed bronzes and forty-one *dama mesopotamica* skulls, suggesting elite use throughout Periods V–VII. Stepped capitals, the platform altar and horns of consecration also link *Pigadhes* with cult buildings at Kition and Kouklia rather than with transshipment points such as Athienou or smaller regional sites at Idalion and Ayia Irini. Indeed *Pigadhes* may itself have been a primary centre. Although the settlement lies some 6km from the coast and is assumed by Keswani (1993:81, n. 4) and Knapp (1997a:54–55, Table 2) to have been a secondary or tertiary site, its location is not dissimilar to that of recently excavated urban centres at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* and Alassa.

At Kition Temples 2 and 3 date from the foundation of the town in the C13th (LC IIC). Karageorghis (in Karageorghis and Demas 1985:251–52) has suggested that their location alongside the city wall at the northern edge of the settlement (**figure 93**) was determined by the prevailing south winds, which were required to disperse poisonous fumes from associated copper workshops. The physical connection, however, between cult and metallurgical facilities at Kition is not demonstrably evident prior to LCIIIA, when metal workshops were first constructed in Area II. Proximity to the city wall and possibly to a gateway and harbour facilities is more likely to have been the key factor in the initial location of the sacred area.

Elsewhere the construction of substantial secular buildings has been cited as evidence for the exercise and manipulation of ritualised authority by competing power groups in LC II. Specifically, Manning (1998:51) suggests that the construction of the 'Basin Building' at Maroni *Vournes* in the late C15th or early C14th in an area previously used as a cemetery reflects the rise to power of a dominant lineage whose claim to authority was expressed by building over the tombs of other lineage groups. Intensive deposition of prestige goods in burials at *Vournes* and *Tsaroukkas* in the mid and later C14th may reflect a period of intense factional rivalry as this new political order was negotiated. This appears to have culminated in the construction in LC IIC of the Ashlar Building in an area also previously used for burial (Cadogan 1996:15–18; Manning 1998:51). This suggests that the legitimisation of political power in regional centres was closely linked with ancestral authority and that

domination and resistance at the inter-elite level were played out through the maintenance or destruction of ancestral burial plots, conspicuous consumption in funerary practice and the design and implementation of impressive architecture. The role of designated cult buildings and formal cult observance in the establishment of such 'ritualised authority' remains unclear.

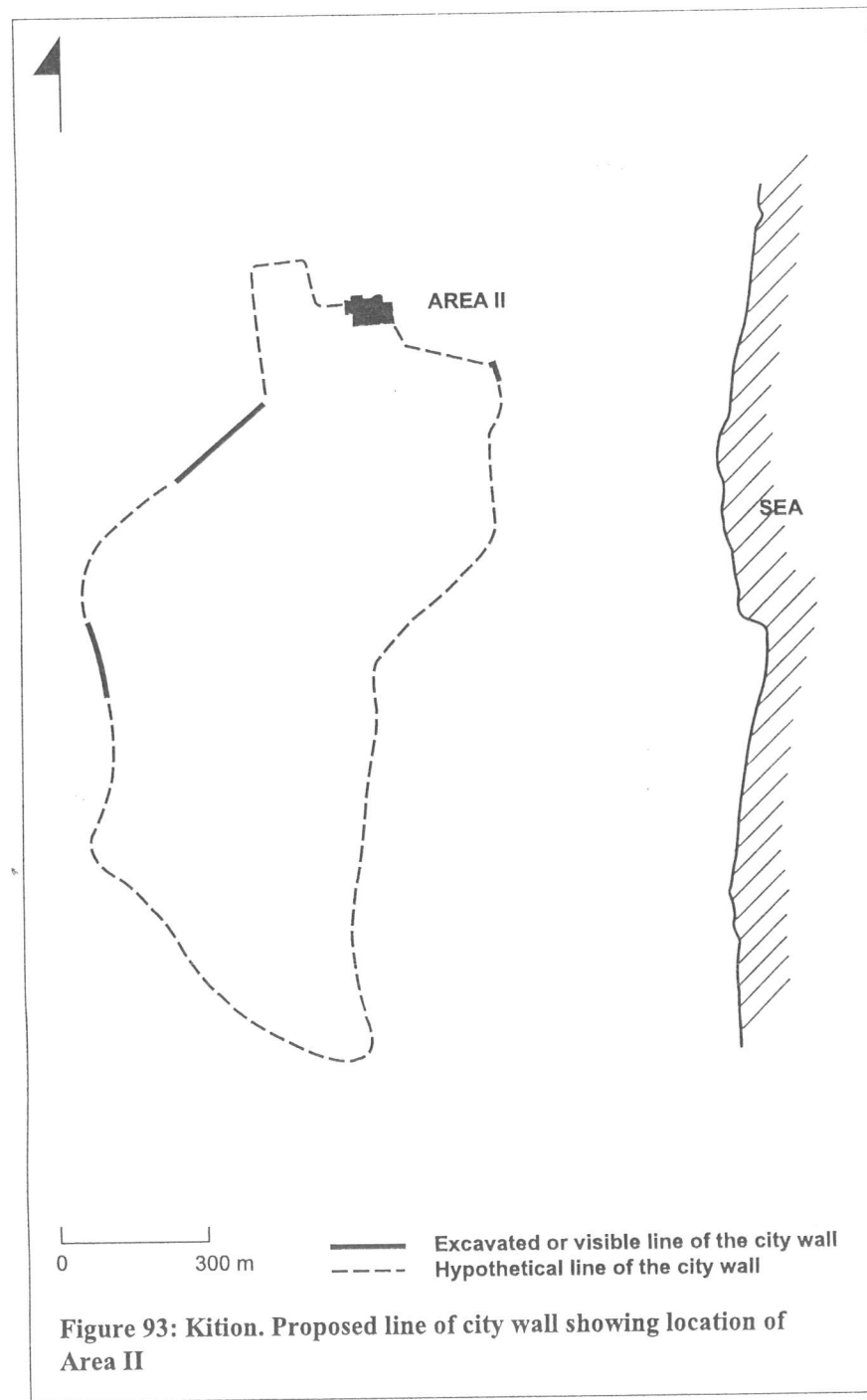
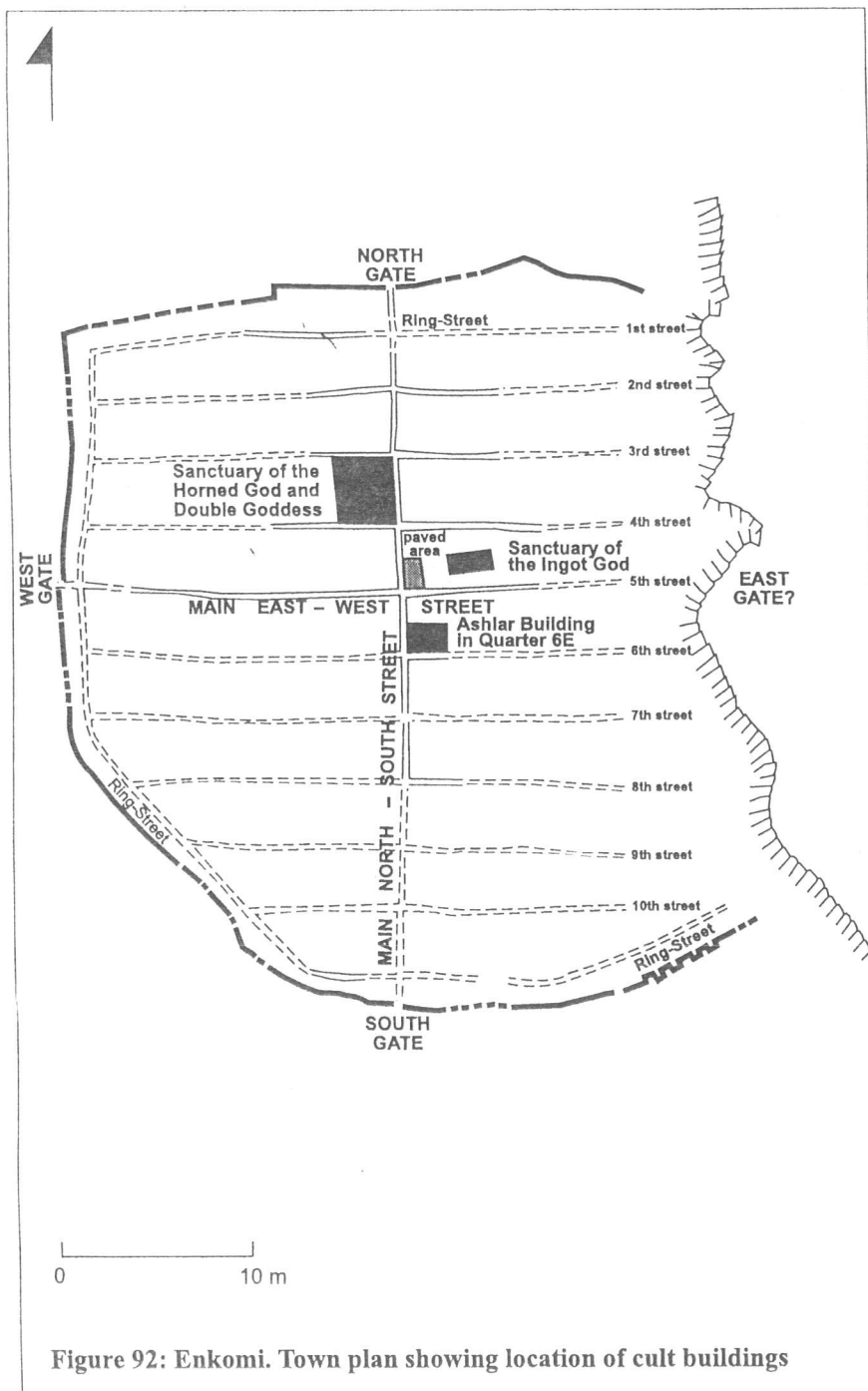
The destructions or abandonments which mark individual sites and regions at the close of LC IIC may, as already noted, have been brought about by a decrease in external demand for Cypriot copper as a result of widespread economic collapse throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean (Knapp 1997a:68–69; Ward and Joukowsky 1992). This is likely to have impacted on the entire settlement hierarchy in Cyprus, disrupting and destabilising the complex mechanisms of staple and wealth finance which served to link primary, secondary and tertiary centres and mining and agricultural communities. This, in turn, is likely to have involved a displacement of smaller administrative and ceremonial centres (Knapp 1997a:69) and the disappearance or diminution of those allied with urban centres or regional systems which did not survive into LC IIIA. This extensive restructuring of the Cypriot landscape did not, however, involve a radical break in material culture or an incursion of a dominant population from the Aegean (Kling 1989a:174–75; Karageorghis 1990a:29; Sherratt 1991, 1992). Sherratt (1992:326–28) has argued for strong cultural continuity and economic and industrial intensification in coastal towns which survived the disruptions of the end of the C13th, principally Kition, Enkomi and Kouklia. These key centres appear to have witnessed a return to, or stabilisation of centralised authority which allowed them to take advantage of new cultural and commercial links with the southern Levant, Syria, Cilicia and Egypt.

The number, size and complexity of cult buildings located in both urban and regional centres increased markedly during the LC IIC/IIIA transition. This may be in part a construct of archaeological visibility. Sites occupied across this horizon have been intensely excavated. In addition, earlier cult installations at long-lived centres such as Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke may have been rendered unrecognisable by subsequent construction. Monumental ritual architecture, introduced at the end of the C13th, is also more likely to survive and has a higher visibility than other building types (Trigger 1990:120). Nevertheless it is clear that cult buildings at Kouklia, Ayia Irini and Idalion were first constructed in the late C13th or early C12th. Myrtou *Pigadhes* also underwent a major reburbishment at this time. At Kition the two cult places of LC IIC were replaced by four cult buildings, each (with the exception of Temple 2) significantly larger than their predecessors. Greater complexity in the use and organisation of Area II at Kition is also indicated by the addition of formal access routes, walled temene and workshops for the production of metal goods and (probably) textiles.

Ashlar masonry, horns of consecration, stepped capitals and stone platforms are characteristic features of cult centres constructed in late LC IIC or early LC IIIA at Kition, Kouklia and Myrtou. This was not the case, however, at Enkomi, where only the possible cult building in Quarter 6E (the 'House of the Columns') was a purpose-built ashlar construction. The Sanctuary of the Ingot God was built of uncut stone (*contra* Knapp 1996a:77, Table 2). The Sanctuaries of the Horned God and Double Goddess, although located within an ashlar building, were secondary installations occupying only part of the structure. Notably, these cult places were introduced to a densely built urban landscape, some years after the reorganisation associated with the introduction of a grid-like street and fortification system in LC IIC. This no doubt imposed significant constraints on their size, layout and location. At Kition, on the contrary, the first phase of the sacred quarter coincided with the foundation of the town and its expansion in LC IIC/IIIA utilised additional unbuilt space. Such differences in site history may in part account for the dispersed versus centralised location of cult buildings at Enkomi (**figure 92**) and Kition (**figure 93**), but they do not explain the absence of ashlar masonry and other monumental elements in LC III ritual architecture at Enkomi.

The use of monumental architecture in early complex societies has been discussed by a number of scholars (Trigger 1990; Kolb 1994). Elsewhere such buildings are linked with the rise of endogamous ranked classes, orders or estates. In Cyprus ashlar masonry appears in LC I (Hult 1983:16, 1992). Monumental buildings are not visible, however, prior to the C13th, when administrative complexes with large-scale storage and specialised industrial and crafting facilities were constructed at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes* and Alassa *Paliotaverna*. Monumentality in ritual architecture appears only in LC IIC/IIIA and is accompanied by elements apparently exclusively associated with cult, namely stepped capitals, high platforms and horns of consecration. Funerary architecture appears to have followed a similar trajectory, although ashlar-built tombs at Enkomi were constructed as early as LC IIA or IIB and thus predate the earliest examples of monumental public architecture (Keswani 1989a:54–55).

At Kition the layout and location of the cult buildings show marked continuity from LC IIC to LC IIIA. Cult buildings erected in LC IIIA are similar in plan, orientation and interior facilities to those in use in the C13th. In the case of Temple 2, both earlier walls and the original hearth altar were reused. While change is evident, it appears to have comprised a move toward complexity, monumentality and increased intensity of use rather than a modification of ritual concepts or behaviour. At Myrtou *Pigadhes* continuity from Rooms CD1–CD6 of LC IIA–IIB to the more complex facilities of LC





IIC–IIIA is also suggested by the construction of the stone platform in the west court above the podium in Room CD3. At Enkomi the ashlar building constructed in LC IIC in Quarter 6E continued in use in LC IIIA and possibly LC IIIB. Sanctuary I at Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, established during or toward the end of LC IIC, was also in use in LC IIIA.

These site histories confirm Sherratt's arguments for cultural continuity and economic and industrial intensification in the large coastal towns that survived the disruptions of the end of the C13th. The size, scale and complexity of the cult buildings erected at Kition and Kouklia in LC IIIA suggest the existence, also, of strong centralised authority. Monumental construction requires the ability to plan on a large scale, access a high degree of engineering skill and raw materials and recruit, direct and provision a substantial labour force (Trigger 1990). As both an embodiment and manifestation of power Kition Temple I and Sanctuary I at Kouklia, in particular, leave little doubt that sociopolitical elites with effective mechanisms of coercion existed at both centres in the early C12th. At Kition the establishment of town, sacred quarter and fortifications *ex novo* in the C13th suggests stable centralised authority with integrated organisational structures and a compliant population from foundation. The increase in the size and complexity of Area II in LC IIIA and the addition of integrated crafting facilities further suggest that these authorities had successfully established a complex ideology of legitimation within several generations. In this instance cult practice appears to have played an integrative role, facilitating information flow between groups at the elite level and providing a pathway to prestige and power which complemented rather than displaced kin-based or other systems of authority (see Stone 1999).

The situation was markedly different at Enkomi. Keswani's analysis (1989a, 1989b) of mortuary data from this site has demonstrated the presence of a stratified social order with symbolically differentiated elites at least as early as LC IB/IIA (later C16th–C15th). Contemporary tomb groups differ in quantities of wealth and access to symbolic goods, with highest order burials marked by distinctive complements of prestige items and politico-religious symbolism. Redundancies of wealth in some tombs over several generations suggest descent group affiliations founded on hereditary wealth and rank, while differences in status paraphernalia and an absence of structured relationships in the locational, architectural and artefactual dimensions of mortuary variability suggest significant distinctions within the elite and ongoing competition for political dominance by the second half of LC II (Keswani 1989b:68–69). Competing interest groups may also be indicated by the diversity of communal structures and the periodic reorganisation and relocation of administrative and residential buildings (Stone and Howell 1994; Stone 1999:117). In particular, the dispersed location of excavated cult places (**figure 92**) may be linked to an increase in the intensity of local factionalism in LC III. This appears to have been accompanied

by an increase in the intensity of ritual behaviour but not in the material elaboration of ritual structures.

In Keswani's view the proliferation of sanctuaries in different areas of the city at Enkomi is an indication 'that there was no single, centralized religious authority' (1996:224, 226). Manning (1998:53) also argues for multiple competing elite groups, each controlling a range of crafting and production activities associated with a diverse array of religious practices and each asserting status through impressive architecture and conspicuous consumption in funerary practice. Both Keswani (1996) and Manning (1998) argue for significantly different trajectories to power at Enkomi, *Toumba tou Skourou* and Hala Sultan Tekke on the one hand and Maroni, Kalavastos and Alassa on the other. The key to such differing trajectories, in Manning's view, lay in the ability or inability of dominant factions in each of these centres to establish an effective monopoly on a sufficient set of power resources, including foreign trade, ritual authority, copper, agricultural production and craft production. Thus at Enkomi it is assumed that 'no single figure .. established ... permanent control' (Manning 1998:53).

Arguments for multiple rather than centralised authority at Enkomi during the earlier part of the Late Cypriot period are, however, entirely retrospective. Despite the extent of excavation, LC I exposures are extremely limited. No cult buildings of LC I–LC IIB are available and the extent to which ritual or ideological authority at this time may or may not have been centralised cannot be demonstrated. The construction of an array of new cult places in the 13th and 12th centuries suggests in fact that an earlier centralised system of ritual authority was abandoned in favour of more dispersed arrangements during LC IIC. In a re-examination of the architectural and depositional history of the Fortress in Quarter 1W Pickles and Peltenburg (1997:87–90, fig. 2) argue for a similarly complex devolution from centralised to decentralised authority. In LC I–LC IIB copper-working appears to have been almost exclusively located in the Fortress, a large ashlar building which dominated the town. At the beginning of Level IIB (LC IIC) the Fortress underwent significant organisational change, during which the earlier unified entity was rearranged to form at least four contiguous units with independent metalworking facilities. This process of industrial devolution was accompanied by a shift in the distribution of copper working residues across the site. Pickles and Peltenburg suggest that the architectural disintegration of the Fortress reflects a breakdown of centralised authority and the emergence in LC IIC and LC IIIA of competing elite groups. These appear to have been located in various quarters of the town and to have established independent metalworking and other production and mortuary facilities.

Excavated cult buildings at Enkomi postdate this proposed breakdown of centralised political authority. Their dispersed location suggests that competing

factional or lineage groups utilised different cult sites and ritual insignia and appealed to different deities in an attempt to assert ancestral authority in a destabilised environment. The installation of the Sanctuaries of the Horned God and Double Goddess in an elite residential/industrial building provides an additional argument for 'private' or restricted control. The retrieval of the Horned God from Level IIIB during re-use of the Sanctuary of the Horned God in Level IIIC shows that the affirmation of ritual authority through reference to this image remained important throughout LC III. Whether ritual continued in the hands of the original residents of the Level IIIB building or passed to a new factional grouping at this time remains uncertain. Similarly, a clustering of ashlar-built and tholos tombs in Quarters 4E and 5E suggests the presence of another residential elite in this part of the town (Keswani 1989b:54–55). The construction of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God in Quarter 5E may also have been a manifestation of localised authority, perhaps in opposition to those responsible for the introduction of the Horned God and Double Goddess to the Reconstructed Ashlar Building in Quarter 4W.

At Myrtou *Pigadhes* the LC IIC/IIIA transition had different consequences. The main use of the complex of Periods V–VII appears to have been in LC IIC when the cult was housed in the eastern unit. Sometime toward the end of the C13th a stone platform, horns of consecration and stepped capitals were introduced to the west court. While the surrounding settlement and associated burial grounds appear to have been abandoned prior to LC IIIA, the recovery of a small number of sherds of Mycenaean IIIC:1b in the west court suggests some ongoing use of the sanctuary, perhaps on a seasonal or intermittent basis. This site history suggests that Myrtou did not survive the regional restructuring of political authority in the early C12th. At Idalion and Ayia Irini, on the other hand, the earliest cult buildings were erected at the end of the C13th or in the early C12th, remaining in use with minor modifications to the end of LC IIIA.

There is at present no evidence from Bronze Age Cyprus for cult places wholly located in nature (eg on mountain peaks, beside lakes, caves or springs). On the contrary, all excavated structures, with the possible exception of Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, appear to have been established to meet the needs of a complex urban and regional infrastructure and to have been closely linked with human exploitation and occupation of the landscape. Both ritual practice and the location of cult buildings reflect sociopolitical and economic developments peculiar to the circumstances in which they were built. With regard to domestic cult places current evidence suggests little beyond the possibility of multiple locales in LC IIIA at Alassa *Pano Mandilaris*. Whether these operated or were intended to operate at the extra-household level is unclear. As in the small and relatively simple communal cult buildings at Ayia Irini and Idalion, terracotta bull figurines are the most common associated artefacts. This suggests a growing differentiation between formal cult practice in the urban centres and

regional and domestic cults. This need cause no surprise. Small-scale domestic and isolated regional sites may be expected to have maintained traditional practices long after the introduction of anthropomorphic images, monumental architecture and conspicuous consumption in the elite-controlled structures of the coastal centres.

## CONSTRUCTING A TYPOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

DIVERSITY, localised innovation, commonality and continuity of ritual concepts are all visible in the data base. The extramural cult places at Athienou and *Koufos* are distinguished from other sites by their small size, limited architecture, miniature vessels and metallurgical debris. Although operating within an integrated regional system, they do not simply replicate cult sites in primary or secondary centres. Whether this reflects a high degree of localised autonomy or deity- or cult-specific requirements is unclear. Parallels between Athienou and *Koufos*, however, suggest that cult practice at both sites was related to their location along communication and transportation routes. The *Dhima* enclosure likewise belongs to a specific site type, perhaps linked with communal or high status burial.

Urban cult buildings constructed or refurbished at the end of LC IIC or in early LC IIIA at Kouklia, Kition and Myrtou similarly belong to a common system of elite ritual architecture. Artefacts found at all three sites, notably horns of consecration, stepped stone capitals, incised ox scapulae and high-status votives, link symbol and behaviour across the island. Together with the use of ashlar masonry and similarities in design and construction, this suggests considerable uniformity in ritual architecture and some aspects of cult practice in LC III. The extent to which this represents a continuation of earlier urban cult practice or a newly introduced set of ritual associations is uncertain. Horns of consecration and stepped capitals, in particular, may have been introduced in LC IIC along with other elements of elite architecture. They indicate extensive inter-regional symbolic and information transfer, culminating in the essentially simultaneous introduction of monumentality at widely dispersed sites across the LC IIC/IIIA transition.

At Kition the incidence of foreign goods, particularly from the Aegean and Egypt, led Peltenburg to suggest 'a purposeful and successful wealth-creating policy on the part of those who conceived and carried out the establishment of the new city' (1985:271). This reorganisation and intensification of copper production and other sectors of the economy is likely to have prompted considerable investment in ceremonial activity aimed at legitimising the initiatives of new entrepreneurial elites. The establishment of a 'sacred quarter' in LC IIC and its elaboration at the beginning of LC III suggests that this occurred on a significant scale. A similar authority structure and developmental sequence may be assumed at Kouklia and perhaps at Myrtou (though here they

were short-lived). Control of sacred action appears to have been a key component of social power and monumental architecture in general, and ritual architecture in particular, an overt strategy used by newly established political orders to legitimise and extend their authority.

Cult assemblages also show an elaboration in ritual pottery and other paraphernalia through time, particularly at urban sites. In earlier cult locales the only exclusively ritual vessel is the offering stand. In C13th and C12th assemblages new forms include conical, annular and animal-shaped rhyta, stemmed cups and PWW-m II offering bowls. There was an increase, also, in the incidence of decorated and imported vessels and other status items as well as a greater investment in animal sacrifice and the manufacture of cult images. This elaboration coincides with increasing elite involvement in the management of ritual structures and the use of cult buildings as sites of conspicuous consumption. Allied developments appear to have included an increased emphasis on the differentiation of sacred and secular space and probably a rise in the number and influence of ritual specialists.

Elite control and use of facilities are indicated for all urban cult sites of the C13th and C12th. At Kition, Kouklia and Myrtou a significant investment of wealth, energy and labour was expended in the elaboration and formal differentiation of elite from non-elite observance. Open courtyards, probably originally the locus of community participation, became walled *temene* which effectively screened ritual activities from general view while monumental entrances allowed the possibility of closed or hidden use of these areas. Even in the largest cult buildings interior spaces could have accommodated only relatively small numbers of people. The scale of the innermost rooms implies that these were the domain of ritual specialists or specialised activities. This manipulation of sacred space and the establishment of offering requirements involving objects and animals of considerable material value convey the increasingly elite dimension of ritual within urban centres and suggest that participation in cult observance at these sites was not shared across boundaries of rank and class.

At Enkomi also, despite the lack of monumentality, ritual sites were clearly in the hands of elites. The Sanctuaries of the Horned God and Double Goddess were embedded spatially and conceptually in an elite domestic context. Material residues both here and in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God suggest observances involving conspicuous display and the manipulation of unique bronze images. For other sectors of the community these sites must have served as physical manifestations of ritual and political power and a legitimisation of social inequality.

Elite participation is not specifically indicated at smaller, regional cult centres or specialised ritual locations, with the notable exception of Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*. At Idalion and Ayia Irini cult buildings, although small in size,

were easily accessible, associated with open courtyards and minimally differentiated from surrounding secular structures. Residual assemblages contain few exotics and limited evidence of animal sacrifice. Massive deposits of crudely made miniature vessels at Athienou and *Koufos* likewise suggest large-scale non-elite participation in ritual observance. Within urban centres non-elite cult practice, if formally constructed, is not yet visible.

In sum, the extant record of Late Cypriot cult practice suggests the following major divisions in site type:

1. Individual or multiple household (possibly kin-based) cult locales (eg possible sites at *Alassa Pano Mandilaris*).
2. Specialised extramural cult locales, possibly used as sites of temporary aggregation, associated with the preliminary processing and transportation of copper ore within a regional infrastructure (eg Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* Stratum III and probably *Kalopsidha Koufos*).
3. Specialised extramural cult locales possibly associated with mortuary ceremonial (Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* is the only example and may be unique).
4. Relatively small-scale regional cult centres serving a broad spectrum of the local population (eg Idalion *Ambelleri*, Ayia Irini and Rooms CD1–CD6 at Myrtou *Pigadhes*).
5. Elite-controlled urban cult centres (eg Temples 1–5 at Kition, the Sanctuaries of the Horned God and Double Goddess, the Sanctuary of the Ingot God and probably the ashlar building in Quarter 6E at Enkomi, Sanctuary I at Kouklia, Periods V–VII at Myrtou *Pigadhes* and possible cult sites in Area 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke).

## ARTEFACTS AND IDEOLOGY

FEW CULT buildings or assemblages are available from LC I–IIB. Other areas of the material record, however, suggest significant homogeneity in mortuary and perhaps domestic ritual across the island at this time. Over two hundred BR bull rhyta have been found in widely dispersed burials of LC I–II (Åström 1972b:191–94; Catling 1976:71–72)<sup>1</sup>. Exclusively used for funerary purposes, they imply uniformity in mortuary behaviour and in criteria governing the production, use and deposition of special purpose vessels. Similarly, over one hundred Type A terracotta female figures have been found in habitation and burial contexts from the C15th to the C13th<sup>2</sup>. Type B terracottas are also present at numerous sites of the C13th and C12th<sup>3</sup>. Both types conform to strict morphological and production criteria and appear to have been manufactured at a few locations and widely dispersed (Karageorghis 1993:22). This conformity in the production, function and discard of rhyta and terracottas suggests

widespread standardisation across an array of symbolic behaviours (mortuary, domestic and communal) through the Late Cypriot period.

The mechanisms by which special purpose objects became standard items in the Late Cypriot iconographic and ceremonial repertoire and the timing of their spread across the island remain uncertain. The earliest examples, however, of both bull rhyta and Type A figurines (eg Gjerstad *et al.* 1934:353, 481, pls. LXV.1, LXXVIII; Dikaios 1969:411, pl. 217.13) have been found at Enkomi or related eastern sites. This suggests that the initial impetus for their introduction and dissemination occurred in this area. The derivation of Type A figurines from North Syrian Astarte-terracottas (Badre 1980) also points to the east coast as the most likely point of origin. Whilst it is not yet possible to follow the movement of these items, it is clear that both the standardised production and widespread use of bull rhyta and Type A figures were in place by the C15th. By implication, the dissemination of ideological and behavioural constructs associated with these objects must have occurred in the C16th or early C15th. This in turn suggests that considerable authority was located at Enkomi in LC I. Notably, neither rhyta nor figurines are specifically associated with high-status objects. Rather their use appears to reflect a broadly coherent, widely shared belief system across much of the island.

Citing an array of artefacts from the later years of the Bronze Age, and in particular the bronze images of the Ingot God and Bomford Goddess, Catling has argued that 'in the twelfth century B.C. the copper industry in Cyprus had intimate connections with religious practice' (1971:29). This thesis has been significantly redefined by Knapp (1986b, 1988a, 1996a, 1996b). The evidence may be summarised as follows:

1. The Ingot God, Bomford Goddess and probably the *Teratsoudhia* and *Bairaktar* bronzes stand on bases shaped as ox-hide ingots. This led Catling to suggest that the Ingot God was responsible for protecting the copper industry and the Bomford Goddess (also referred to as Astarte-on-the-ingot) for the productivity of copper mines and workshops.
2. On three sides of a four-sided bronze stand in the British Museum a male figure moves toward a tree carrying an ox-hide ingot, a fish, a cup? and elephant tusks? On the fourth panel a seated figure plays a harp before a tree. A second stand formerly in the Borowski Collection shows a procession of four male figures, one of whom carries an ox-hide ingot. Both are believed to show presentation or offering scenes connected with the metal industry (Barnett 1933:209; Achilles 1981:257–58; Catling 1964:206–207, 1971:30, 1984:83; Knapp 1986b:31).
3. Imported Mycenaean IIIA kraters from Enkomi Swedish Tomb 17 (the 'Zeus Krater'), British Museum Tomb 45 and Pyla *Verghi* Tomb 1

(Dikaios 1971:918–25, pls. 301–303; Knapp 1986b:35–37) are believed to depict ingot-bearers. They stand before a tree or between chariots.

4. Miniature bronze ingots from Enkomi, Mathiatis and Alassa *Pano Mandilaris* are identified as votives (Buchholz 1958:105–107, 1959:19; Catling 1971:29; O. Masson 1971:449, 454). Four inscribed examples may bear dedications to specific deities. Knapp (1986b:25–29) regards them as 'sacred paraphernalia, perhaps the insignia of special-interest groups'.
5. Ore, slag, scrap, small bronzes, mould and/or crucible fragments occur regularly in residual cult assemblages.
6. Cult places at Athienou and *Koufos* were located on transportation routes leading from ore deposits to coastal export centres.
7. Cult and metalworking areas were sited in close proximity in the case of Temple 1, Temenos A and the Northern Workshops at Kition and possibly in Quarter 5E at Enkomi, at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* and *Kalopsidha Koufos*.
8. Ingot designs appear on Common and Derivative Style cylinders (Knapp 1986b:38–40, Table Two). Knapp (1986b:41) suggests that Common Style seals which show an ingot, bucranium, tree and human figure are narrative compositions in which the latter brings objects to be placed before the tree (**figure 91**). Others have identified the ingot and standing figure as representing a deity of copper smelting and mining (Porada 1976:102; Dalley 1987:61).

On the basis of this evidence Catling (1971:30) concluded 'that the whole management of the copper industry may have been temple-based, carried out in the name of the gods to whom the finished products were brought ... and on whose behalf the temple property was subsequently either issued to the city's bronzeworkers for the production of manufactured articles or disposed of by internal or foreign trade'. In Knapp's view (1986b, 1996a, 1996b) the evidence cited above is to be regarded as ideological rather than 'religious' in nature. These elements of the material record were created, it is suggested, by an emerging elite dependent on the domination of copper production and distribution, who secured and perpetuated that domination by manipulating ritual ideology and its accompanying insignia. Thus culturally significant symbols, such as the Ingot God, served to sanctify and legitimise existing power groups whose economic interests were promoted by linking copper production with divine favour and whose political authority may be assumed to have extended over mining and manufacturing operations and official cult centres. For Catling theocratic domination of copper production was largely a C12th phenomenon. The bronze stands, figurines and miniature ingots, however, are attributed by Achilles (1981:256–57) and Muhly (1982:255–56, 1985:34) to the C13th and linked with the copper industry of LC IIC. Recognising ingot-bearers



on the Zeus, Pyla and Enkomi British Museum kraters, Knapp (1986b:35–37) has further pushed the evidence for a ‘copper cult’ back to the C14th.

The data cited above, however, present a number of problems. The ‘ingot-bearers’ on the three Mycenaean IIIA kraters are identified alternatively as huntsmen or archers by Vermeule and Karageorghis (1982:15, 19, 30) and the object carried as a camp stool or folding chair by Rystedt (1987) and Åkerström (1987:101–102). These vessels are in any case imports from the Greek mainland (Jones 1986:542–71, 574–609) and unlikely to depict a uniquely Cypriot motif (Rystedt 1987:52 *contra* Knapp 1986b:119–120, n 3). Full-size ingots, moreover, do not appear in ritual assemblages and are unlikely to have been stored in cult buildings prior to being issued to metalworkers or assigned for export. On the contrary, storage, processing and redistribution of metal, olive oil and other commodities were carried out in special-purpose secular buildings at Kalavassos, Maroni and Alassa. Miniature bronze ingots are also unknown in ritual assemblages (*contra* Karageorghis 1985d:93), with the possible exception of an example from Alassa *Pano Mandilaris* (Hadjisavvas 1989:38–39, fig. 3.7).

Metallic waste and scrap can have had no practical function in a ritual context and may be presumed to have been votive in character. Similarly, small metal items, jewelry, tools and weapons might have been brought to cult sites as a tangible expression of a specific symbolic association between cult and metallurgy. Material value, however, was clearly a key consideration in the choice of offerings, particularly at Kition, Kouklia, Myrtou and Enkomi. The presentation of metal, along with faience, glass, ivory and imported ceramics, may have been an expression of a wider social reality rather than ideologically or ritually prescribed behaviour.

The spatial association between metal workshops and cult buildings has been questioned by Muhly (1985:34, n 95), in whose view bronze-working installations north and northeast of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God did not continue into the C12th—*contra* Lagarce (1971) and Courtois (1973:243, 1982:161–63) for whom temple and workshops in their final phase were contemporary. Metalworking debris from Athienou also came from secondary locations and may have been brought in from elsewhere (Muhly 1985:33–34 and ns. 91–92). A similar situation exists at Idalion which produced ore and slag but no evidence of workshops. There can be no doubt, however, that metalworking was carried out in the Northern Workshops at Kition, although the scale, nature and purpose of this activity remain uncertain. Zwicker (1985) notes possible smelting and roasting as well as melting, casting and alloying. Stech, Maddin and Muhly (1985) suggest only secondary procedures, notably refining, remelting/alloying, casting and manufacture, a view also adopted for the metallurgical evidence from Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke. The Athienou remains, originally believed to represent secondary processes, were

subsequently identified as smelting debris with, less probably, some alloying and casting. Metallurgical material from *Koufos* is indicative of both smelting and manufacturing, the latter involving fine metalwork as well as utilitarian objects (Maddin, Muhly and Stech Wheeler 1983; Watkins 1966:115).

Smelting processes thus appear to have been carried out predominantly in association with cult sites located close to the mines or along transportation routes, while the refining of metallic copper, casting and manufacture are linked with ritual centres at urban sites. This reflects a more general situation in which heavy ores were crushed, washed and smelted at or near the mines and the resulting product transported to the coast for remelting, refining, production and export. Procedures reflected in metallurgical debris in votive deposits may therefore mirror those in general practice rather than specific ritual prescriptions. It should be noted, also, that only Kition has produced undisputed evidence for integrated metalworking and cult facilities and only in the vicinity of Temple 1.

A clear link between cult and metallurgy is apparent, however, in the iconography of the Ingot God, Bomford Goddess and related bronzes. Cult sites at Athienou and *Koufos* also appear to have been linked with copper mining and perhaps with personnel engaged in preliminary processing and transportation. In the case of *Koufos* this evidence dates from LC I. At Athienou metallurgical debris is associated with votive material of the C14th–C13th. Stratum III, however, extended from the late C16th to the end of the C13th without discernible subdivisions and the cult may well have begun earlier. Both sites were located in the Enkomi hinterland. Enkomi was a major metalworking centre throughout the Late Bronze Age (Muhly, Maddin and Stech 1988; Muhly 1989; Pickles and Peltenburg 1998:87–90). The wealth of exotics in LC I–IIB tombs at Enkomi, the evidence for large-scale production in a dedicated metalworking centre and the predominantly eastern character of Cypriot ceramic exports to Tell el-Dab’a, Marsa Matruh and Kom Rabia (Hulin 1989c; White 1989) leave no doubt that this site was pre-eminent in the internal production and distribution of copper and the establishment and exploitation of foreign markets in LC I–IIB.

The earliest known evidence for writing in Cyprus also comes from Enkomi and dates to the C16th (E. Masson 1973). The advent of writing is likely to have involved a significant shift from collective memory to more formal written texts as the source of both ritual and political authority (Bell 1992:130–38). Such codification must have given considerable authority to those responsible and may also have offered a means by which elite groups were able to acquire and institutionalise power, enhance their status and set in place ideological and structural dimensions of ritual behaviour. The ideology associated with copper production and trade is also likely to have helped legitimise relations between Enkomi and inland production sites, while specific



rituals expressed through local cults at Athienou and *Koufos* may have helped articulate and maintain relations between the production-oriented periphery and the consumption or distribution-oriented core (Knapp 1997a:57).

An ideological and structural connection between cult and metallurgy may thus be accepted for specialised locales such as those at Athienou and *Koufos*, for Temple 1 at Kition and for the deities represented by the statuettes of the Ingot God and Bomford Goddess. It should not, however, be assumed for other sites. Even if copper was the paramount export commodity during the early years of the Late Bronze Age, it was one element within a broader Bronze Age cultural system. The economic base of both elites and non-elites involved the exploitation of an array of other goods including timber, grain, olive oil, ceramics, textiles and perhaps opium (Knapp 1991:35–41). If religious systems are mechanisms by which socioeconomic relations are established and reinforced (Bell 1992:130), a greater diversity of ritual constructs and sites may be expected. These should exhibit significant regional and chronological variation in response to changing sociopolitical and economic conditions.

Considerable diversity is in fact visible between ritual centres located in urban polities of the C13th and C12th. These sites might be expected to produce distinctive material residues reflecting particular economic emphases and strategies of ideological legitimation. Most obvious is the use of stone anchors in ritual construction *loci* and as a focus of ritual activity at Kition. A preoccupation with seafaring and maritime trade at this site is also evident in the ship graffiti carved on the south wall of Temple 1 (figure 94) and blocks reused in the Floor I altar in Temple 4 and the recovery of marine shells and predominance of marine motifs on decorated pottery from Temple 2. This suggests a conceptual relationship between cult and maritime trade at Kition of at least equal importance to that between cult and metallurgy. The association, further, of standing anchor, hearth, bucrania and metalworking facilities in Room 12 of the Northern Workshops closely links metallurgy, seafaring and cult and may reflect the *raison d'être* for the establishment of this town in the C13th and its prominent role in the sea-borne metals trade.

The evidence from Kition suggests that long-distance trade was of paramount importance in the politico-ideological status of elite groups responsible for the wealth of this and other coastal sites in the C13th and C12th. As Helms (1988, 1992, 1993) and others (Broodbank 1993; Knapp 1998) have demonstrated, objects, knowledge and experiences obtained from distant lands are frequently imbued with latent power and have the capacity to increase the prestige of those who acquire them. At Kition the number and quality of Aegean imports among LC IIC material from Floor IV is remarkable. Such exotica appear to have been pivotal in the ritual legitimisation of authority. Long-distance trade and its material residues are also expressed symbolically in

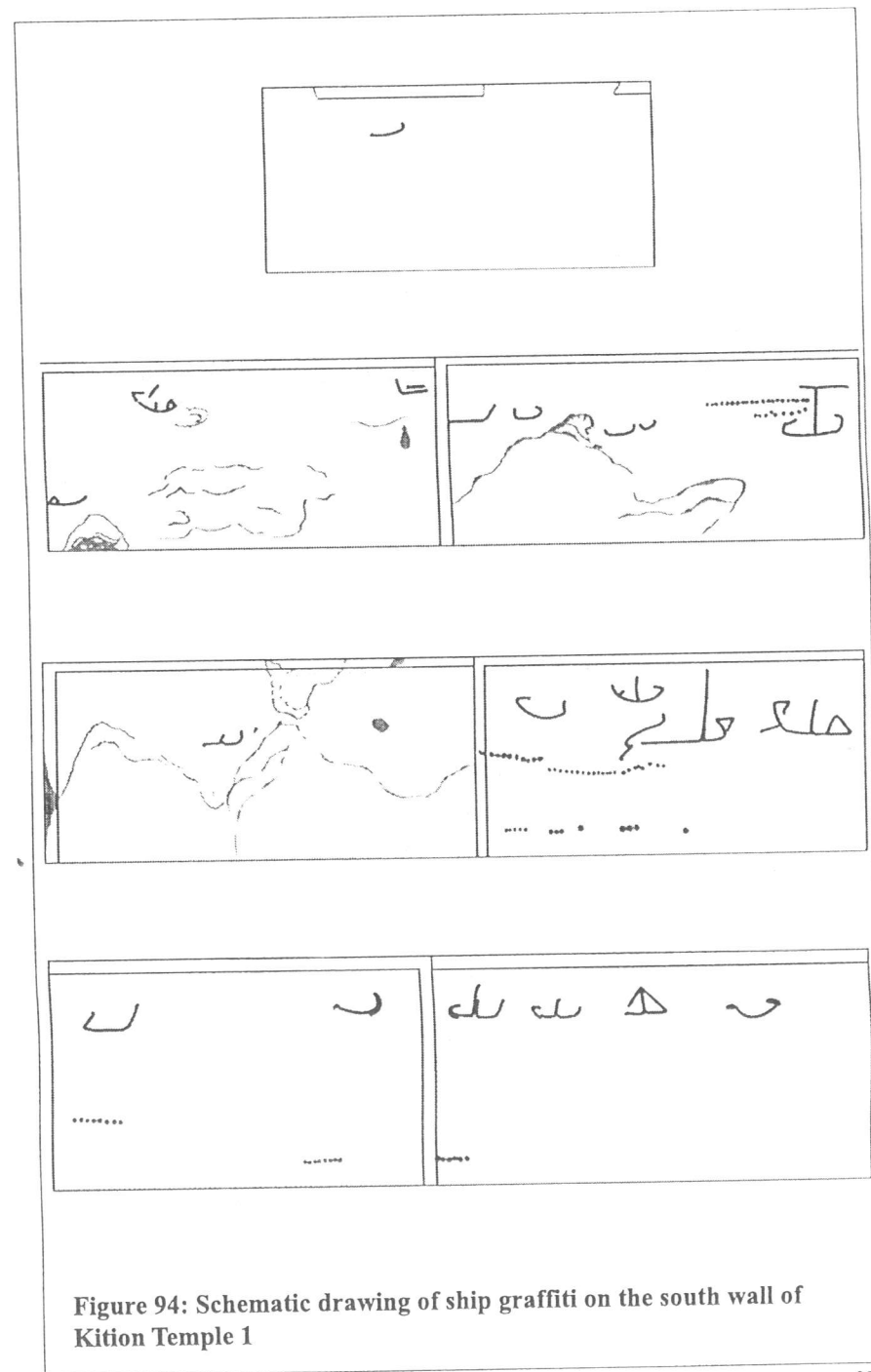


Figure 94: Schematic drawing of ship graffiti on the south wall of Kition Temple 1

the residual assemblages of LC III, suggesting that the conspicuous acquisition and discard of foreign goods remained a successful strategy of ritual consumption.

Other indications of inter-site and intra-site diversity in ritual practice are less obvious. Incised and unincised ox scapulae occur in cult assemblages at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Kition and Enkomi. At Enkomi they were recovered in substantial numbers in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God but not in the ashlar building in Quarter 6E, the Sanctuary of the Horned God or the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess. At Kition, similarly, scapulae were associated only with Temples 4 and 5. This suggests that the use of incised scapulae was specific to particular deities or types of ritual performance—an observation which may link rituals performed in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, Kition Temples 4 and 5 and the eastern unit at *Pigadhes*. Other indications of deity-specific or localised patterns in cult practice include the deposition of miniature and crudely-made vessels at Athienou and *Koufos*, the dedication of miniature bronze tools and weapons in the Sanctuary of the Horned God, evidence for opium-related rituals in Temples 4 and 5 at Kition and the importance of *dama mesopotamica* at Myrtou.

In sum a number of factors may be expected to produce significant diversity within and between ritual locations and assemblages. These may be summarised as follows:

1. *Deity-specific observances* resulting in different material residues, architecture and facilities.
2. *Regionalism*. From the late C14th newly established polities across the island are likely to have developed varying habits of observance and possibly different concepts of deity and ritual iconography. Regional centres might also be expected to have retained traditional rites while urban sites moved toward monumentality, anthropomorphism and conspicuous display.
3. *Diachronic change* in ritual observance may be particularly evident as the geopolitical structure of the island devolved from an island-wide ideological system to an array of autonomous peer polities.
4. *Sociopolitical trajectories*. Differing site histories and varied trajectories toward urbanisation are likely to have led to differences in the number, size and location of cult buildings and differing sets of ritual insignia. While peer polity interaction may explain the broad overlay of architectural conventions in LC IIC and LC III, inter-site distinctions in cult practice and iconography will reflect regional or site-based economic orientations, varying degrees of interaction with non-Cypriot belief systems and other historically contingent factors.

## THE ARCHAIC STATE MODEL

CURRENT views of the organisational development of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age differ most significantly over the issue of whether or not Enkomi served as a paramount centre with broad or island-wide authority during the period ca 1700–1400 BC. Proponents of the island-wide polity model include Muhly (1989), Knapp (most recently 1997a:65–66) and Peltenburg (1996). The most coherent counter view is provided by Keswani (1993), based on the following arguments:

1. Diversity in public buildings at Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kalavassos, Maroni, Maa and Kouklia is better accounted for in terms of independent local developments than an externally imposed administrative and ideological order.
2. There is no iconographic evidence of subordination to a common central authority nor a coherent, replicated complex of administrative technology (sealings, written records) which might have served to maintain links between a paramount and subordinate centres.
3. Estimated site areas for Enkomi (11 ha), Kition (70 ha) and Hala Sultan Tekke (27 ha) and the irregular spacing of Late Cypriot coastal centres argue against a settlement hierarchy centered on Enkomi (see also Stech 1982:113).
4. The distribution of highest-order valuables in elite tombs across the island suggests that such goods were independently acquired rather than hierarchically distributed from a common source.

These arguments reveal the strong bias in the archaeological record toward sites and residues of LC II–III. With regard to the earlier years of the Late Bronze Age they are almost entirely retrospective (see also Knapp 1997a:56). Public buildings excavated at Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kalavassos, Maroni, Maa and Kouklia date to LC IIC, LC IIC/IIIA or LC III. Their diversity suggests that localised architectural traditions had indeed developed by the C13th, in keeping with the widely accepted view that the island was divided into autonomous regional polities at this time. Similarly, estimated site areas of Enkomi, Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke are based on the maximum extent of settlement in LC IIC and LC III (Swiny 1981:78; Åström, Bailey and Karageorghis 1976: fig. 1). They tell us little or nothing of the status of Enkomi within a regional or island-wide settlement hierarchy in the C16th, C15th and early C14th. Elite tombs in coastal centres also date primarily to the C14th–C12th. Their widespread distribution of imported and prestige goods may reflect a transition from hierarchical to decentralised access to foreign markets, concomitant with the rise of regional elites during the C14th.

The second of Keswani's arguments assumes the absence of a complex of administrative technology, a coherent iconographic system and coordinated ritual or ceremonial practices across the island *at any time* in the Late Cypriot period. Manning and De Mita, similarly, point to a lack of evidence for 'unmistakable traces of palatial centres with organised bureaucrats and iconographic representations of a ruling élite and dominant ideology' (1997:108–109), suggesting that the lack of a 'coherent iconographic repertoire on Cyprus during the floruit of Mediterranean trade argues against there having been a centrally administered state in place, coordinating activities and ritual practices across the entire island' (1997:113). These arguments provide a substantial but not insurmountable challenge to the island-wide polity model.

The paucity of both written documents and sealings in Cyprus is problematic. Sealings are the correlates of seal function in virtually all ancient administrative systems. The single example found on the island was identified by Porada as an import (1971:790–91, inv. 1905/9, pl. 182.4c), but is now believed to have been made in Cyprus (Smith 1994:170–73). A second impression from Knossos, another with a cuneiform inscription from Ugarit and Cypriot seal impressions on two tablets from the archive of Rasap'abu at Ugarit tell us little about seal use in Cyprus itself (Evans 1935:598, fig. 593; Popham and Gill 1995:20, no. C68, pls. 12, 29, 42; Schaeffer 1934:118, 123, fig. 8, 1968: figs. 4–4A, 7–8A; Soldt 1989:376, no. 4, fig. 8a). The only other indication of direct object sealing in Cyprus takes the form of rolled impressions on the shoulder, rim or handle of large storage jars and basins. Over forty impressed sherds are now known, representing at least twenty-five vessels from eight coastal and inland sites of the C13th BC (Webb 1992:114–15; Webb and Frankel 1994:12–14, fig. 5; Smith 1994:238–308; Hadjisavvas 1994:111, pl. XIX; Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997: fig. 4). The majority of these, however, were produced by objects larger than extant stone cylinders, probably made of wood. They do not directly inform us of the function of stone seals, but indicate the existence of a developed sealing system using wooden rollers in LC IIC.

The significance of this evidence is difficult to assess. While the lack of unbaked clay sealings may be due to the vagaries of archaeological recovery, extensive investigations at Enkomi, *Toumba tou Skourou*, Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke and the excavation of administrative and industrial installations and storage facilities at Kalavassos, Maroni, Maa and Alassa make this explanation increasingly unlikely. Both the Kalavassos and Maa complexes were destroyed by fire, a phenomenon which led to the accidental preservation of large numbers of sealings in the Aegean. In these circumstances it is difficult to escape the conclusion that economic and administrative records in Cyprus were kept in different, non-durable materials. Smith (1994:61–65, 253) also notes evidence, albeit limited, for the use of papyrus, leather and wax-covered writing

boards and suggests that Cypro-Minoan documents were principally inscribed on wooden cylinders, similar to extant examples in baked clay.

Keswani's argument that the Late Cypriot record lacks iconographic evidence of subordination to a central authority conflicts with much of the material examined above, which provides substantial evidence for a coherent iconographic system and conformity across an array of ritual and ceremonial practices through the Late Cypriot period. For the earlier years this is suggested by the use of BR bull rhyta in mortuary ceremonial and standardised female terracotta images in habitation and burial contexts from at least the C15th. Substantial commonalities in the style and content of glyptic iconography and the repeated depiction of particular deities and motifs also assume a structured, centralised belief system and a manipulated ideology of authority, worked out through objects which were both operative tools and prestige goods symbolic of affiliation and status. As highly mobile devices probably engraved by attached specialists, seals are likely to have been powerful mechanisms of organisational control in the dispersed regional systems which characterise the archaic state model. They are also likely to have encouraged the spread of a common symbolic system, especially as this related to centralised expressions of power and prestige. The widespread distribution of seals with closely related imagery in LC IIC and LC III further suggests that the autonomous polities established during the C14th were also sustained by complex political, economic and ideological interactions.

In sum, the data examined during the course of this study supports the island-wide polity or archaic state model for the first half of the Late Bronze Age. Secondary state formation in Cyprus appears to have been a relatively abrupt transition, wherein previously weakly stratified communities were propelled into statehood through contact with existing states outside the island. The principal catalyst was undoubtedly long-distance trade, with trade defined as risk-taking, profit-motivated entrepreneurial behaviour on the part of emerging Cypriot elites based primarily at Enkomi (Adams 1974; Cobb 1993). This long-distance trade, principally in Cypriot copper and foreign exotics, had a critical disruptive impact on the local and regional political economy. Imported luxury items, architectural styles and aspects of mortuary treatment rapidly evolved into a new 'political currency' (Kipp and Schortman 1989:373) and were used to create and index status differences no longer directly dependent on ascribed position. Emerging elites had also to rapidly evolve, adapt or adopt new forms of political, economic and ritual organisation and new dominance mechanisms. Longer-term sanctions entailed the creation of a socially coercive ideology almost wholly derived, at least in its visual imagery, from external sources.

The patterned display and use of foreign goods and ideologies appears to be specific to contexts in which cultures are undergoing rapid and disorienting

change (Schortman 1989; Wells 1992:186). In Cyprus the entrepreneurial elites who initiated these changes constructed an identity based on their connections with foreign lands and legitimised their authority by means of ideological concepts drawn from the same sources. This cooption of non-Cypriot visual imagery was underpinned by an indigenous belief system derived in part from earlier periods of the Bronze Age and in part a direct response to new politico-economic orientations. The result was a conceptual and ideological framework exclusive to the island.

Thus ritual sites offer an alternative means of understanding the built environment in relation to sociopolitical structures. Small, dispersed installations may mark individual territorial units or have been given over to specialised activities closely related to their location in the landscape, while monumental cult sites provide visually impressive settings for the promulgation of rituals that continually manifest and redefine the political structure. In Late Bronze Age Cyprus, despite an array of past and current excavations, the ritual data base is limited and beset by problems of identification and interpretation. Nevertheless, existing remains and the repertoire of motifs provided in particular by glyptic iconography allow some understanding of the profound shift in material culture which marks the beginning of the period and the critical role of ideology and ritual in the development and maintenance of complex society on the island.

#### ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Bull rhyta have been found at Enkomi, Akanthou, Arpera, Akaki, Ankastina, Apliki, Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*, Ayios Iakovos, Ayios Theodoros, Hala Sultan Tekke, Idalion, Kaimakli, Kalavastos, Katydhata, Kazaphani, Kourion, Maroni, Milia, Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Sinda, Politiko, Tamassos and Kition. At least forty-two examples were recovered outside Cyprus at Tell abu Hawam, Tell el-Ajjul, Gezer, Lachish, Megiddo, Tell Zechariah, Tell Mor, Beth Shemesh, Shiqmona, Ain Shems, Ugarit, Alalakh, Tell Kazel, Tell el-Amarna, Ialysos and Heliopolis. See Part III, note 21 with references.
- <sup>2</sup> Type A figures have been found at Katydhata, Idalion, Apliki, Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*, Nikolidhes, Kythrea, Phlamoudhi *Vounari*, Dhenia, Enkomi, Kition, Ayios Iakovos, Yialoussa, Ayios Theodoros *Soleas*, Yerolakkos, Maroni, Kalavastos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Bademli Boghaz, Hala Sultan Tekke, Alambra, Kourion and Myrtou *Pigadhes* as well as at Zenjirli, Tell Ta'annek and Tell abu Hawam. See Part III, note 28 with references.
- <sup>3</sup> At least 143 examples are known, with provenanced specimens from Katydhata, Apliki, Psilatos, Chatos, Avgorou, Enkomi, Kition, Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*, Dromolaxia, Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, Angastina, Dhekelia, Idalion, Kourion, Kouklia, Maroni, Kalavastos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Klavdhia, *Toumba tou Skourou*, Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Tell abu Hawam, Tell el-Hesy, Gaza, Rifeh and Ugarit. See Part III, note 31 with references.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Achilles, D. 1981  
A fragmentary four-sided openwork bronze stand. In O. Muscarella (ed), *Ladders to Heaven: Art Treasures from the Lands of the Bible*, pp. 254–60 (Toronto).
- Adams, R.McC. 1974  
Anthropological perspectives on ancient trade. *Current Anthropology* 15:239–58.
- Åkerström, A. 1987  
*Berbat 2. The Pictorial Pottery*. Acta Atheniensia XXXVI:2 (Stockholm).
- Albers, G. 1994  
*Spätmykenische Stadtheiligtümer. Systematische Analyse und vergleichende Auswertung der archäologischen Befunde*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 596 (London).
- Albers, G. 1996  
Comparative aspects of regional cult structures of the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Ages in the East Mediterranean (Aegean, Cyprus, Levant-Palestine). In E. de Miro, L. Godart and A. Sacconi (eds), *Atti e memorie del secondo congresso internazionale di micenologia. Roma-Napoli, 14–20 ottobre 1991*, pp. 647–62 (Rome).
- Alexiou, S. 1958  
Η μινωική θεά μεθ' ὑψωμένων χειρών. *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 12:179–299.
- Ålin, P. 1978  
Idalion pottery from the excavations of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. *Opuscula Atheniensia* XII:91–109.
- Al-Radi, S.M.S. 1983  
*Phlamoudhi-Vounari: A Sanctuary Site in Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXV (Göteborg).
- Alon, D. and T.E. Levy 1989  
The archaeology of cult and the Chalcolithic sanctuary at Gilat. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 2:163–221.
- Amiran, R. 1962  
The 'arm-shaped' vessel and its family. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* XXI:161–74.
- Amiran, R. and A. Eitan 1964  
A krater of Bichrome Ware from Tel Nagila. *Israel Exploration Journal* XIV:219–31.

- Artzy, M. 1988  
Development of war/fighting boats of the II<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. in the eastern Mediterranean. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1988. Part I) 181–86.
- Åström, L. and P. Åström 1972  
*The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Volume IV:1D. The Late Cypriote Bronze Age. Other Arts and Crafts, Relative and Absolute Chronology* (Lund).
- Åström, P. 1966  
*Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology II (Göteborg).
- Åström, P. 1972a  
*The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Volume IV:1B. The Middle Cypriote Bronze Age* (Lund).
- Åström, P. 1972b  
*The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Volume IV:1C. The Late Cypriote Bronze Age. Architecture and Pottery* (Lund).
- Åström, P. 1972c  
Some aspects of the Late Cypriote I period. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 46–57.
- Åström, P. 1984a  
Aegyptiaca at Hala Sultan Tekke. *Opuscula Atheniensia* XV:17–24.
- Åström, P. 1984b  
Stepped blocks from Hala Sultan Tekke. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 66–68.
- Åström, P. 1985a  
Hala Sultan Tekke. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985*, pp. 173–81 (Nicosia).
- Åström, P. 1985b  
The Sea Peoples in the light of new excavations. *Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 3:8ff.
- Åström, P. 1986  
Hala Sultan Tekke and its foreign relations. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident', 8–14 September 1985*, pp. 63–68 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Åström, P. 1987a  
Votive deposits in the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. In *Gifts to the Gods*. Boreas 15:177–79.
- Åström, P. 1987b  
Inverted vases in Old World religion. *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* I:7–16.
- Åström, P. 1988a  
A Cypriote cult scene. *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* II:5–11.
- Åström, P. 1988b  
The hippocampus krater. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 173–76.
- Åström, P. 1989a  
*Hala Sultan Tekke 9. Trenches 1972–1987 with an Index for Volumes 1–9*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:9 (Göteborg).
- Åström, P. 1989b  
*Katydhata. A Bronze Age Site in Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXXVI (Göteborg).
- Åström, P. 1991a  
Early relations between the East Mediterranean and Italy. In A.M. Leander Touati, E. Rystedt and O. Wikander (eds), *Munuscula Romana. Papers read at a conference in Lund (October 1–2, 1988) in celebration of the re-opening of the Swedish Institute in Rome*, pp. 9–15. (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom 8° XVII).
- Åström, P. 1991b  
Problems of definition of local and imported fabrics of Late Cypriot “Canaanite” Ware. In J.A. Barlow, D.L. Bolger and B. Kling (eds), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*, pp. 67–72 (University Museum Symposium Series Volume II, University Monograph 74. Leventis Foundation and University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).
- Åström, P. 1991c  
The terracottas from Hala Sultan Tekke. In F. Vandenameele and R. Laffineur (eds), *Cypriote Terracottas. Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriote Studies, Brussels-Liège-Amsterdam, 29 May–1 June, 1989*, pp. 27–31 (Brussels-Liège).
- ✂ Åström, P. 1993  
A Syro-Palestinian bronze statuette of a warrior from Hala Sultan Tekke. *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* VII:5–7.
- ✂ Åström, P. 1998a  
An altar to an unknown god at Hala Sultan Tekke? *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* XI–XII:4–6.
- ✂ Åström, P. 1998b  
*Hala Sultan Tekke 10. The Wells*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:10 (Jonsered).
- Åström, P., D.M. Bailey and V. Karageorghis 1976  
*Hala Sultan Tekke 1. Excavations 1897–1971*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:1 (Göteborg).
- Åström, P., G. Hult, M. Strandberg Olofsson et al. 1977  
*Hala Sultan Tekke 3. Excavations 1972*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:3 (Göteborg).



- Åström, P. and E. A. Hatziantoniou, K. Niklasson and U. Öbrink 1983  
*Hala Sultan Tekke 8. Excavations 1971-79. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:8* (Göteborg).
- Åström, P. and D. Reese 1990  
 Triton shells in East Mediterranean cults. *Journal of Prehistoric Religion III-IV:5-14*.
- Babelon, E. and A. Blanchet 1895  
*Bibliothèque Nationale: Catalogue des bronzes antiques* (Paris).
- Badre, L. 1980  
*Les figurines anthropomorphes en terre cuite à l'Âge du Bronze en Syrie* (Paris).
- Baird, D. 1985  
 Survey in Peyia village territory, Paphos, 1983. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 340-49*.
- Ballod, F. 1913  
*Prolegomena zur Geschichte der zwerghaften Götter in Ägypten* (Moscow).
- Balmuth, M.S. 1994  
 Reconsideration of the bronze 'Ingot God' from Enkomi. *American Journal of Archaeology 98:289*.
- Banti, L. 1941-43  
 I culti minoici e greci di Haghia Triada (Creta). *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene 3-5:9-74*.
- Barnett, R.D. 1957  
*A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories (With Other Examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum)* (London).
- Barnett, R.D. 1982  
 Ancient Ivories in the Middle East. *Qedem 14*.
- Barrelet, M.-T. 1955  
 Les déesses armées et ailées. *Syria XXXII:222-60*.
- Basch, L. and M. Artzy 1985  
 Ship graffiti at Kition. Appendix II in V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Areas I and II. Part I*, pp. 322-36 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Bauer, B.S. 1996  
 Legitimization of the state in Inca myth and ritual. *American Anthropologist 98:327-37*.
- Baurain, C. 1980  
 Chypre et le monde égéen. A propos de deux publications récentes. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique CIV:565-80*.
- Baurain, C. 1984  
*Chypre et la Méditerranée orientale au Bronze Récent. Synthèse historique*, École française d'Athènes. Études Chypriotes VI (Athens/Paris).

- Baurain, C. 1985  
 Pour une interprétation des génies minoens. In *L'Iconographie Minoenne. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Suppl XI*, pp. 93-118 (Paris).
- Baurain, C. and P. Darcque 1985  
 Nouvelles perspectives sur "l'amphore aux génies" du Cyprus Museum. In Th. Papadopoulou and S. Hadjistelli (eds), *Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20-25 Απριλίου 1982) A*, pp. 171-74 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Beck, P. 1983  
 A Cypriote cylinder from Lachish. *Tel Aviv 10:178-81*.
- Begg, P. 1991  
*Late Cypriot Terracotta Figurines: A Study in Context. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 101* (Jonsered).
- Belgiorno, M.R. 1997  
 Limassol-Pyrgos (Cyprus) survey 1996. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici 38:135-39*.
- Bell, C. 1992  
*Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford University Press, New York).
- Bender, B. 1989  
 The roots of inequality. In D. Miller, M. Rowlands and C. Tilley (eds), *Domination and Resistance*, pp. 83-95 (Routledge, London and New York).
- Benson, J.L. 1972  
*Bamboula at Kourion. The Necropolis and the Finds* (Museum Monograph of the University Museum, Philadelphia).
- Benson, J.L. 1973  
*The Necropolis of Kaloriziki. Excavated by J.F. Daniel and G.H. McFadden for the University Museum University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XXXV* (Göteborg).
- Bietak, M. 1985  
 "Eine-Rhythmusgruppe" aus der Zeit des späten Mittleren Reiches: ein Beitrag zur Instrumentenkunde des Alten Ägypten. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien 56.6:3-18*.
- Binford, L. 1976  
 Forty-seven trips. A case study in the character of some formation processes of the archaeological record. In E.S. Hall (ed), *Contributions to Anthropology. The Interior Peoples of Northern Alaska*, pp. 299-351 (National Museum of Canada, Ottawa).
- Binford, L. 1979  
 Organization and formation processes: looking at curated technologies. *Journal of Anthropological Research 35:255-73*.
- Boardman, J. 1970a  
 Cypriot finger rings. *Annual of the British School of Archaeology 65:5-15*.

- Boardman, J. 1970b  
*Greek Gems and Finger Rings. Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London).
- Broodbank, C. 1993  
 Ulysses without sails: trade, distance, knowledge and power in the early Cyclades. *World Archaeology* 24–31.
- Brown, J. 1965  
 Kothar, Kinyras and Kytheria. *Journal of Semitic Studies* X:197–219.
- Brown, A. and H.W. Catling 1980  
 Additions to the Cypriot Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1963–77. *Opuscula Atheniensia* XIII:91–137.
- Buchanan, B. 1957  
 The seals and an amulet. In J. du Plat Taylor *et al.* *Myrtou-Pigadhes: A Late Bronze Age Sanctuary in Cyprus*, pp. 92–94 (Oxford).
- Buchanan, B. 1966  
*Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum I (Cylinder Seals)* (Oxford).
- Buchholz, H.-G. 1958  
 Der Kupferhandel des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends im Spiegel der Schriftforschung. In E. Grumach (ed), *Minoica: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von J. Sundwall*. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft 12, pp. 92–115 (Akademie Verlag, Berlin).
- Buchholz, H.-G. 1959  
 Keftiubarren und Erzhandel im zweitenvorchristlichen Jahrtausend. *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* XXXVII:1–40.
- Buchholz, H.-G. 1979  
 Beobachtungen zum Prähistorischen Bronzeguss in Zypern und der Agais. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000–500 B.C.', 16–22 April 1978*, pp. 76–86 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Burdajewicz, M. 1985  
 The Sanctuary of the Horned God reconsidered. *Archaeologia Cypria* 1:15–19.
- Burdajewicz, M. 1990  
*The Aegean Sea Peoples and Religious Architecture in the Eastern Mediterranean at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 558 (London).
- Cadogan, G. 1972  
 Cypriot objects in the Bronze Age Aegean and their importance. In *Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου Α*, pp. 5–13 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).

- Cadogan, G. 1984  
 Maroni and the Late Bronze Age of Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis and J. Muhly (eds), *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*, pp. 1–10 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Cadogan, G. 1985  
 Maroni. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985*, pp. 195–97 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Cadogan, G. 1986a  
 Maroni in Cyprus, between West and East. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident', 8–14 September 1985*, pp. 104–111 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Cadogan, G. 1986b  
 Maroni II. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 40–44.
- Cadogan, G. 1987  
 Maroni III. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 81–84.
- Cadogan, G. 1988  
 Maroni IV. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 229–31.
- Cadogan, G. 1989a  
 Maroni V. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 77–81.
- Cadogan, G. 1989b  
 Maroni and the monuments. In E. Peltenburg (ed), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 43–51 (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh).
- Cadogan, G. 1996  
 Maroni: Change in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In P. Åström and E. Herscher (eds), *Late Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus: Function and Relationship*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocket-Book 126, pp. 15–22 (Jonsered).
- Callot, O. 1985  
 Remarques sur l'architecture des Temples 1 et 2. In V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Areas I and II. Part I*, pp. 165–239 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Cambitoglou, A. 1981  
*Handlist of the Cypriot Collection of the Nicholson Museum* (Sydney).
- Cameron, C.M. and S.A. Tomka (eds) 1993  
*Abandonment of Settlements and Regions: Ethnoarchaeological and Archaeological Approaches* (New Directions in Archaeology, Cambridge and New York).
- Catling, H.W. 1955  
 A bronze grave from a thirteenth century tomb at Enkomi. *Opuscula Atheniensia* II:21–36.

- Catling, H.W. 1963  
Patterns of settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Opuscula Atheniensi* IV:129–69.
- Catling, H.W. 1964  
*Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology, Oxford).
- Catling, H.W. 1965  
A Mycenaean cup in Oxford. *Opuscula Atheniensi* V:1–7.
- Catling, H.W. 1969  
The Cypriote copper industry. *Archéologie vivante* 3:81–88.
- Catling, H.W. 1971  
A Cypriot bronze statuette in the Bomford Collection. In C.F.-A. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Alasia I*, pp. 15–32 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia IV, Paris).
- Catling, H.W. 1973a  
Observations on the archaeological survey in the area of Phlamoudhi, Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 107–115.
- Catling, H.W. 1973b  
Cyprus in the Middle Bronze Age. *Cambridge Ancient History* II.1:165–75.
- Catling, H.W. 1974  
The Bomford horse-and-rider. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 95–111.
- Catling, H.W. 1975  
A new sanctuary at Enkomi? *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 50–53.
- Catling, H.W. 1976a  
Prolegomena for a study of a class of Late Cypriote terracotta figures. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 66–74.
- Catling, H.W. 1976b  
The Phlamoudhi survey again. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 29–34.
- Catling, H.W. 1979  
Reflections upon the interpretation of the archaeological evidence for the history of Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Studies Presented in Memory of Porphyrios Dikaios*, pp. 194–205 (Lions Club, Nicosia).
- Catling, H.W. 1982  
The ancient topography of the Yalias valley. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 227–36.
- Catling, H.W. 1984  
Workshop and heirloom: prehistoric bronze stands in the East Mediterranean. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 69–91.
- Catling, H.W. 1994  
Cyprus in the 11th century B.C.—an end or a beginning? In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Proceedings of the International Symposium Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C. Organized by the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus and the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia 30–31 October, 1993*, pp. 133–42 (Nicosia).
- Catling, H.W. and V. Karageorghis 1960  
Minoika in Cyprus. *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 55:109–27.
- Caubet, A. 1971  
Terres cuites Chypriotes inédites ou peu connues de l'Âge du Bronze au Louvre. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 7–11.
- Caubet, A. 1979  
*La Religion à Chypre dans l'Antiquité*, Dossier du Musée du Louvre (Musée d'Art et d'Essai, Palais de Tokyo, Collection de la Maison de L'Orient, Hors Série No. 2, Lyon).
- Caubet, A. 1983  
Les oeufs d'autruche au Proche Orient Ancien. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 193–98.
- Caubet, A. 1986  
Le thème du lion au Chypriote Récent: à propos de trouvailles récentes à Kition-Bamboula. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident', 8–14 September 1985*, pp. 300–10 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Caubet, A. and J.-C. Courtois 1986  
Un modèle de foie d'Enkomi. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 72–77.
- Caubet, A. and M. Yon 1974  
Deux appliques murales Chypro-Géométriques au Louvre. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 112–31.
- Caubet, A., J.-C. Courtois and V. Karageorghis 1987  
Enkomi (fouilles Schaeffer 1934–1966): Inventaire complémentaire. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 23–48.
- Caubet, A., V. Karageorghis and M. Yon 1981  
*Musée du Louvre. Les antiquités de Chypre. Âge du Bronze* (Notes et Documents des musées de France 2, Paris).
- Cesnola, A.P. di 1882  
*Salamina. The History, Treasures and Antiquities of Salamis in the Island of Cyprus* (London).
- Cesnola, L.P. di 1903  
*A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York III* (New York).

- Cobb, C.R. 1993  
Archaeological approaches to the political economy of nonstratified societies. In M.B. Schiffer (ed), *Archaeological Theory and Method* 5:43–100 (University of Arizona, Tucson).
- Coche de la Ferté, E. 1951  
*Essai de Classification de la Céramique Mycénienne d'Enkomi (campagnes 1946 et 1947)* (Paris).
- Coldstream, J.N. 1986  
The originality of ancient Cypriot art. Lectures sponsored by the Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus No. 2 (Nicosia).
- Cole, S.G. 1985  
Archaeology and religion. In N.C. Wilkie and W.D.E. Coulson (eds), *Contributions to Aegean Archaeology*, pp. 49–59 (Minnesota).
- Coleman, J.E., J.A. Barlow, M.K. Mogelonsky and K.W. Schaar 1996  
*Alambra. A Middle Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus. Archaeological Investigations by Cornell University 1974–1985*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXVIII (Jonsered).
- Collon, D. 1972  
The Smiting God. A study of a bronze in the Pomerance Collection in New York. *Levant* IV:111–34.
- Cook, V. 1988  
Cyprus and the outside world during the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. *Opuscula Atheniensia* XVII:13–32.
- Cook, V. 1991  
Bronze Age ashlar construction in Cyprus. Theoretical consequences. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 93–96.
- Contenau, G. 1914  
*La Déesse nue babylonienne. Étude d'iconographie comparée* (Paris).
- Contenau, G. 1922  
*La Glyptique Syro-Hittite* (Paris).
- Conwell, D. 1987  
On ostrich eggs and Libyans. *Expedition* 29(3):29–34.
- Courtois, J.-C. 1963  
Un nouveau sanctuaire de la fin de l'Âge du Bronze et du début de l'Âge du Fer à Enkomi dans l'île de Chypre. *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 155–61.
- Courtois, J.-C. 1969  
Splendeur d'Enkomi-Alasia. Capitale de Chypre. *Archéologie vivante* 3:93–107.
- Courtois, J.-C. 1971a  
Objets en pierre et figurines de divinités en bronze provenant de Chypre conservés au Musée du Louvre. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 13–17.

- Courtois, J.-C. 1971b  
Le sanctuaire du dieu au lingot d'Enkomi-Alasia. In C.F.-A. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Alasia* I, pp. 151–362 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia IV, Paris).
- Courtois, J.-C. 1973  
Le sanctuaire du dieu au lingot d'Enkomi-Alasia (Chypre) et les lieux de culte contemporains en Méditerranée orientale. *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 223–46.
- Courtois, J.-C. 1979a  
A propos des tuyaux rituels ou bras à libation en Anatolie et à Chypre. In *Mélanges anatoliens offerts à Emmanuel Laroche à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire*, pp. 85–95 (Paris).
- Courtois, J.-C. 1979b  
Vestiges minoens à Enkomi. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000–500 B.C.'* 16–22 April 1978, pp. 158–72 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Courtois, J.-C. 1979c  
Corpus de céramique. In C.F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 191–370 (Paris).
- Courtois, J.-C. 1982  
L'activité métallurgique et les bronzes d'Enkomi au Bronze Récent (1650–1000 avant J.C.). In J.D. Muhly, R. Maddin and V. Karageorghis (eds), *Acta of the International Archaeological Symposium Early Metallurgy in Cyprus, 4000–500 B.C. 1–6 June 1981*, pp. 155–76 (Pierides Foundation and Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Courtois, J.-C. 1983  
Le trésor de poids de Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1982. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 117–30.
- Courtois, J.-C. 1984  
*Alasia III. Les objets des niveaux stratifiés d'Enkomi (Fouilles C.F.-A. Schaeffer 1947–1970)* (Mission Archéologique d'Alasia VI, Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, Mémoire No. 33, Paris).
- Courtois, J.-C. 1985  
La documentation pondérale de Kition 'Area I' et 'Area II'. Étude métrologique. In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Part II*, pp. 285–94 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Courtois, J.-C. 1986a  
À propos des apports orientaux dans la civilisation du Bronze Récent à Chypre. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident', 8–14 September 1985*, pp. 69–87 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Courtois, J.-C. 1986b  
Bref historique des recherches archéologiques à Enkomi. In J.-C. Courtois, J. Lagarce and E. Lagarce, *Enkomi et le Bronze Récent à Chypre*, pp. 1–50 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).

- Courtois, J.-C. 1992  
Une baignoire monolithe en calcaire du Bronze Récent à Enkomi. In G.C. Ioannides (ed), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, pp. 151–54 (Society of Cypriot Studies, Nicosia).
- Courtois, J.-C. and A. Caubet 1975  
Masques Chypriotes en terre cuite du XIIe s. av. J.C. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 43–49.
- Courtois, J.-C., J. Lagarce and E. Lagarce 1986  
*Enkomi et le Bronze Récent à Chypre* (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Courtois, J.-C. and J.M. Webb 1987  
*Les Cylindres-Sceaux d'Enkomi (Fouilles Françaises 1957–1970)* (Mission Archéologique Française d'Alasia, Nicosia).
- Croft, P. 1988  
Animal remains from Maa-Palaeokastro. In V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at Maa-Palaeokastro, 1979–1986*, pp. 449–57 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Croft, P. 1989  
Animal bones. In A. South, P. Russell and P. Schuster Keswani, *Vasilikos Valley Project 3: Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios II. Ceramics, Objects, Tombs, Specialist Studies*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* LXXI:3, pp. 70–72 (Göteborg).
- Culican, W. 1975–76  
Some Phoenician masks and other terracottas. *Berytus* XXIV:47–87.
- D'Agata, A. 1992  
Late Minoan Crete and horns of consecration: a symbol in action. In R. Laffineur and J. Crowley (eds), *EIKΩN. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology*. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia 6–9 April 1992, *Aegaeum* 8, pp. 247–56 (University of Liège, Liège).
- D'Albiac, C. 1992  
Some aspects of the sphinx in Cyprus: status and character. In G.C. Ioannides (ed), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, pp. 285–90 (Society of Cypriot Studies, Nicosia).
- Dales, G.F. 1963  
Necklaces, bands and belts on Mesopotamian figurines. *Revue Archéologique* LVII:21–40.
- Dalley, S. 1987  
Near Eastern patron deities of mining and smelting in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 61–66.
- D'Altroy, T.N. and T.K. Earle 1985  
Staple finance, wealth finance and storage in the Inka political economy. *Current Anthropology* 25:187–206.
- Davaras, C. 1989  
Μινωϊκά μελισσοουργικά σκεύη. In *Φιλία επι εις Γεώργιου Μυλωνάν Γ.*, pp. 1–7 (Athens).
- Davey, C. 1979  
Temples of the Levant and the buildings of Solomon. *The Tyndale Biblical Archaeology Lecture* (Cambridge).
- Decaudin, A.J. 1987  
*Les antiquités Chypriotes dans les collections publiques françaises* (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Delaporte, L. 1910  
*Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses, et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris).
- Delaporte, L. 1923  
*Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental (Musée du Louvre) II* (Paris).
- Demarest, A.A. 1989  
Ideology and evolutionism in American archaeology: looking beyond the economic base. In C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (ed), *Archaeological Thought in America*, pp. 89–102 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
- Demarest, A.A. and G.W. Conrad (eds) 1992  
*Ideology and Pre-Columbian Civilizations* (School of American Research Press, Santa Fe).
- Demetropoulos, A. 1979  
Some notes on the marine and fresh-water molluscs identified. In U. Öbrink, *Hala Sultan Tekke 5. Excavations in Area 22 1971–1973 and 1975–1978*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XLV:5, pp. 134–44 (Göteborg).
- Demisch, H. 1977  
*Die Sphinx. Geschichte ihrer Darstellung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart).
- Desborough, V. 1972  
Bird vases. *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 245–77.
- Dessene, A. 1957  
*Le Sphinx. Étude iconographique* (Paris).
- Dikaios, P. 1940  
The Excavations at Vounous-Bellapais in Cyprus. *Archaeologia* 88:1–174.
- Dikaios, P. 1949  
The oldest known representation of Apollo. *Illustrated London News* Aug. 27, 1949:316–17.
- Dikaios, P. 1951  
Evidence for the cult of Apollo Kereates at Cyprus. *Fasti Archaeologici* VI:2686.



- Dikaios, P. 1961  
*A Guide to the Cyprus Museum* (3rd ed Nicosia).
- Dikaios, P. 1962  
 The bronze statue of a horned god from Enkomi. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1–39.
- Dikaios, P. 1936  
 A bronze statuette from Nicosia. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 109–110.
- Dikaios, P. 1969–1971  
*Enkomi. Excavations 1948-1958* Volumes I-IIIb (Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz).
- Dothan, T. 1979  
 Minoan elements and influence at Athienou, Cyprus. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000–500 B.C.', 16–22 April 1978*, pp. 173–77 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Dothan, T. 1981  
 The high place of Athienou in Cyprus. In *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times. Proceedings of the Colloquium in Honor of the Centennial of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Jerusalem 14–16th March 1977*, pp. 91–95 (Jerusalem).
- Dothan, T. and A. Ben-Tor 1972  
 Excavations at Athienou, Cyprus, 1971-2. *Israel Exploration Journal* 201–209.
- Dothan, T. and A. Ben-Tor 1974  
 Excavations at Athienou 1971-1972. *The Israel Museum Catalogue* No. 116 (Jerusalem).
- Dothan, T. and A. Ben-Tor 1983  
 Excavations at Athienou, Cyprus 1971-1972. *Qedem* 16.
- Drummond, D.C. 1983  
 Mouse traps or snake houses. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 199–200.
- Ducos, P. 1965  
 Le daim à Chypre aux époques préhistoriques. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 1–8.
- Ducos, P. 1971  
 Les ossements d'animaux du sanctuaire d'Enkomi. In C.F.-A. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Alasia I*, pp. 363–66 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia IV, Paris).
- Dunand, M. 1973  
*Fouilles de Byblos V* (Paris).
- Dussaud, R. 1914  
*Les Civilisations Préhelleniques dans le bassin de la Mer Egée* (Paris).
- Eagleton, T. 1991  
*Ideology. An Introduction* (London and New York).

- Earle, T.K. (ed) 1993  
*Chieftdoms: Power, Economy and Ideology* (School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series, Cambridge).
- Ekman, J. 1977  
 Animal bones from a Late Bronze Age settlement at Hala Sultan Tekke, Cyprus. In P. Åström, *Hala Sultan Tekke 3. Excavations 1972*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XLV:3, pp. 166–76 (Göteborg).
- Elliott, C. 1985  
 Appendix V. Ground stone tools from Kition Areas I and II. In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Part II*, pp. 295–316 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Ellis, J. 1977  
 'Lion-men' in Assyria. *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* XIX:67–78.
- Erdmann, E. 1977  
*Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypem. Heft I. Nordosttor und Persische Belagerungsrampe in Alt-Paphos I. Waffen und Kleinfunde* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Konstanz).
- Eriksson, K. 1992  
 Late Cypriot I and Thera: relative chronology in the Eastern Mediterranean. In P. Åström (ed), *Acta Cypria. Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology Held in Göteborg on 22–24 August 1991. Part 3*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book* 120, pp. 152–223 (Jonsered).
- Eriksson, K. 1993  
*Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* CIII (Jonsered).
- Erlenmeyer, M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer 1964  
 Über Philister und Kreta IV. *Orientalia* XXXIII.
- Evans, A. 1935  
*Palace of Minos Volume 4. Part 2* (London).
- Fauth, W. 1966  
*Aphrodite Parakypitousa* (Mayence).
- Finet, A. 1982  
 L'oeuf d'autruche. In *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata II. Orientalia Antiqua. Orientalia Iovaniensia analecta* 13:69–77 (Leuven).
- Fortin, M. 1981  
*Military Architecture in Cyprus during the Second Millennium B.C.* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of London).
- Fortin, M. 1984  
 The Enkomi tower. *Levant* XVI:173–76.

- Frankel, D. 1974b  
*Middle Cypriot White Painted Pottery. An Analytical Study of the Decoration.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLII (Göteborg).
- Frankel, D. and A. Tamvaki, A. 1973  
 Cypriot shrine models and decorated tombs. *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* II:39-44.
- Frankel, D. and J.M. Webb 1995  
 Archaeological research in the Marki region. In S. Bourke and J.-P. Descœudres (eds), *Trade, Contact, and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of J. Basil Hennessy*, pp. 115-27 (Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 3, Sydney).
- Frankel, D. and J.M. Webb 1996  
*Marki Alonia. An Early and Middle Bronze Age Town in Cyprus. Excavations 1990-1994.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXXIII:1 (Jonsered).
- Frankfort, H. 1939  
*Cylinder Seals. A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (London).
- French, D. 1978  
 Archaeology, prehistory and religion. *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens* (Erster Band, Leiden).
- French, E. 1981a  
 Cult places at Mycenae. In R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute of Athens, 12-13 May 1980*, pp. 41-48 (Svenska Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4<sup>o</sup>, XXVIII, Stockholm).
- French, E. 1981b  
 Mycenaean figures and figurines, their typology and function. In R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute of Athens, 12-13 May 1980*, pp. 173-77 (Svenska Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4<sup>o</sup>, XXVIII, Stockholm).
- French, E. and P. Åström 1980  
 A colloquium on Late Cypriote III sites. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 267-69.
- Friedrich, P. 1989  
 Language, ideology, and political economy. *American Anthropologist* 91:295-312.
- Frost, H. 1969a  
 The stone anchors of Byblos. *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph* XLV.26:425-42.
- Frost, H. 1969b  
 The stone anchors of Ugarit. In *Ugaritica* VI, pp. 236-45 (Paris).
- Frost, H. 1985a  
 Fishing tackle: three limestone weights. In M. Yon and A. Caubet, *Le Sondage L-N 13 (Bronze Récent et Géométrique I). Kition-Bamboula III*, pp. 169-71 (Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations Mémoire No. 53, Paris).
- Frost, H. 1985b  
 The Kition anchors. In V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Areas I and II. Part I*, pp. 281-321 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Furumark, A. 1941  
*Mycenaean Pottery I. Analysis and Classification* (Stockholm).
- Furumark, A. 1965  
 The excavations at Sinda. Some historical results. *Opuscula Atheniensi* VI:99-116.
- Gachet, J. 1984  
*Ivoires et os gravés de la côte syrienne au IIe millénaire* (Mémoire de maîtrise Université Lyon 2).
- Gardin, J.-C. 198  
*Archaeological Constructs. An Aspect of Theoretical Archaeology* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).
- Gardner, E.A., D. Hogarth, M.R. James and R. Elsey Smith 1888  
 Excavations in Cyprus, 1887-8. Paphos, Leontari, Amargetti. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* IX:147-271.
- Garwood, P., D. Jennings, R. Skeates and J. Toms (eds) 1991  
*Sacred and Profane. Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion.* University Committee for Archaeology Monograph No. 32 (Oxford).
- Geertz, C. 1966  
 Religion as a cultural system. In M. Banton (ed), *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, pp. 1-46 (Association of Social Anthropologists Monograph 3, London).
- Gejvall, N.-G. 1966  
 Osteological investigation of human and animal bone fragments from Kalopsidha. In P. Åström, *Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology II, pp. 128-31 (Lund).
- Gesell, G.C. 1985  
*Town, Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXVII (Göteborg).
- Giddens, A. 1979  
*Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
- Gill, M.A. 1964  
 The Minoan 'Genius'. *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung* 79:1-21.

- Gittlen, B.M. 1977  
*Studies in the Late Cypriote Pottery Found in Palestine* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor).
- Gjerstad, E. 1926  
*Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus* (Uppsala).
- Gjerstad, E. 1933  
 A cultural centre of the Bronze Age. *Illustrated London News* July 1, 1933:29.
- Gjerstad, E. 1980  
*Ages and Days in Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocket-Book 12 (Göteborg).
- Gjerstad, E., J. Lindros, E. Sjöqvist and A. Westholm 1934, 1935 and 1937  
*The Swedish Cyprus Expedition I-III. Finds and Results of the Excavations in 1927-1931* (Stockholm).
- Goody, J. 1961  
 Religion and ritual: the definitional problem. *British Journal of Sociology* 12:143-64.
- Gordon, C. 1939  
 Western Asiatic seals in the Walters Art Gallery. *Iraq* VI:3 ff.
- Gordon, C. 1977  
 Poetic legends and myths from Ugarit. *Berytus* XXV:8-34.
- Goring E. 1988  
*A Mischievous Pastime. Digging in Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century* (National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh).
- Goring, E. 1989  
 Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age. In E. Peltenburg (ed), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 95-105 (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh).
- Guida, P.C. 1973  
*Le armi Difensive dei Micenei nelle Figurazioni* (Incunabula Graeca LVI, Rome).
- Hadjicosti, M. 1988  
 'Canaanite' jars from Maa-Palaeokastro. In V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at Maa-Palaeokastro 1979-1986*, pp. 340-85 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Hadjicosti, M. 1989  
 More evidence for a Geometric and Archaic rural shrine of a female divinity at Enkomi. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 111-20.
- Hadjicosti, M. 1991  
 The Late Bronze Age Tomb 2 from Mathiatis (new perspectives for the Mathiatis region). *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 75-91.

- Hadjioannou, K. 1960  
 Apollo Kereatas, the Horned God of Enkomi. *Festschrift C.J. Amantos*, pp. 91-99 (Athens).
- Hadjioannou, K. 1971  
 On the identification of the horned god of Enkomi-Alasia. In C.F.-A. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Alasia I*, pp. 33-42 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia IV, Paris).
- Hadjisavvas, S. 1985  
 A Late Cypriote II tomb from Dhenia. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 133-36.
- Hadjisavvas, S. 1986  
 Alassa. A new Late Cypriote site. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 62-67.
- Hadjisavvas, S. 1988  
 Olive oil production in ancient Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 111-20.
- Hadjisavvas, S. 1989  
 A Late Cypriot community at Alassa. In E. Peltenburg (ed), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 32-42 (Edinburgh University, Edinburgh).
- Hadjisavvas, S. 1991  
 LC IIC to LC IIIA without intruders: the case of Alassa-Pano Mandilaris. In J.A. Barlow, D.L. Bolger and B. Kling (eds), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*, pp. 173-80 (University Museum Symposium Series Volume II, The Leventis Foundation and The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).
- Hadjisavvas, S. 1992a  
*Olive Oil Processing in Cyprus. From the Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XCIX (Nicosia).
- Hadjisavvas, S. 1992b  
 Olive oil production and divine protection. In P. Åström (ed), *Acta Cypria. Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology Held in Göteborg on 22-24 August 1991*, pp. 233-49. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 120 (Jonsered).
- Hadjisavvas, S. 1994  
 Alassa Archaeological Project, 1991-1993. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 107-14.
- Hadjisavvas, S. 1996  
 Alassa: A regional centre of Alasia? In P. Åström and E. Herscher (eds), *Late Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus: Function and Relationship*, pp. 23-38. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 126 (Jonsered).
- Hadjisavvas, S. and I. Hadjisavva 1997  
 Aegean influence at Alassa. In *Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity. From the Prehistoric Period to*

- the 7<sup>th</sup> Century AD. Nicosia 8–10 December 1995, pp. 143–48 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Hägg, R. 1991  
Sacred horns and naiskoi. Remarks on Aegean religious symbolism in Cyprus. In *The Civilisations of the Aegean and their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of an International Symposium 18–24 September, 1989*, pp. 78–83 (Pierides Foundation, Larnaca).
- Halstead, P. 1977  
A preliminary report on the faunal remains from Late Bronze Age Kouklia, Paphos. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 261–75.
- Harden, D.B. 1981  
*Catalogue of Greek and Roman Glass in the British Museum I. Core- and Rod-Formed Vessels, Pendants and Mycenaean Cast Objects* (London).
- Hatziantoniou, A. 1983  
Area 6, southern sector. In Åström *et al.* *Hala Sultan Tekke 8. Excavations 1971–79. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:8*, pp. 106–43 (Göteborg).
- Hellbing, L. 1979  
*Alasia Problems. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LVII* (Göteborg).
- Helms, M.W. 1988  
*Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton University Press, Princeton).
- Helms, M.W. 1992  
Long-distance contacts, elite aspirations, and the age of discovery in cosmological context. In E.M. Schortman and P.A. Urban (eds), *Resources, Power, and Interregional Interaction*, pp. 157–74 (Plenum Press, New York and London).
- Helms, M.W. 1993  
*Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade and Power* (University of Texas Press, Austin).
- Hermay, A. 1979  
Statuette d'un 'prêtre' masqué. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique CIII:734–41*.
- Hermay, A. 1986  
Divinités Chypristes II. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 164–72.
- Hesse, B., A. Ogilvy and P. Wapnish 1975  
The fauna of Phlamoudhi-Melissa. An interim report. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 5–28.
- Hitchcock, L.A. 1998  
*Fabricating Signification: An Analysis of the Spatial Relationships Between Room Types in Minoan Monumental Architecture*. PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles (UMI Dissertation Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan).
- Holmes, Y.L. 1969  
*The Foreign Relations of Cyprus During the Late Bronze Age* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Brandeis University, University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor).
- Holmes, L.Y. 1975  
The foreign trade of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age. In N. Robertson (ed), *The Archaeology of Cyprus*, pp. 90–110 (Park Ridge, New Jersey).
- Horton, R. 1960  
A definition of religion and its uses. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 90:201–26.
- Hulin, L. Carless 1989a  
The diffusion of religious symbols within complex societies. In I. Hodder (ed), *The Meanings of Things. Material Culture and Symbolic Expressions*, pp. 90–96 (One World Archaeology, London).
- Hulin, L. Carless 1989b  
The identification of Cypriot cult figures through cross-cultural comparison: some problems. In E. Peltenburg (ed), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 127–39 (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh).
- Hulin, L. Carless 1989c  
Marsa Matruh 1987: preliminary ceramic report. *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt* 26:115–26.
- Hult, G. 1975  
Supplementary material from Kalopsidha Trench 9 in Cyprus. *Opuscula Atheniensi* XI:93–110.
- ~~Hult, G. 1977a~~  
A carved stone from Hala Sultan Tekke. In Åström *et al.*, *Hala Sultan Tekke 3. Excavations 1972. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:3*, pp. 150–65 (Göteborg).
- Hult, G. 1977b  
Stone anchors in Area 8. In Åström *et al.*, *Hala Sultan Tekke 3. Excavations 1972. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:3*, pp. 147–49 (Göteborg).
- Hult, G. 1978  
*Hala Sultan Tekke 4. Excavations in Area 8 in 1974 and 1975. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:4* (Göteborg).
- Hult, G. 1981  
*Hala Sultan Tekke 7. Excavations in Area 8 in 1977. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:7* (Göteborg).
- Hult, G. 1983  
*Bronze Age Ashlar Masonry in the Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus, Ugarit, and Neighbouring Regions. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXVI* (Göteborg).
- Hult, G. 1992  
*Nitovikla Reconsidered. Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 8* (Stockholm).

- Iacovou, M. 1988  
*The Pictorial Pottery of Eleventh Century B.C. Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXIX (Jonsered).
- Iacovou, M. 1989  
 Society and settlement in Late Cypriote III. In E. Peltenburg (ed), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 52–59 (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh).
- Iacovou, M. 1991  
 Proto-white Painted pottery: A classification of the ware. In J.A. Barlow, D.L. Bolger and B. Kling (eds), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*, pp. 199–205 (University Museum Symposium Series Volume II, University Monograph 74. Leventis Foundation and University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).
- Iacovou, M. 1992  
 Additions to the corpus of eleventh century B.C. pictorial pottery. In G.C. Ioannides (ed), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, pp. 217–26 (Society of Cypriot Studies, Nicosia).
- Iacovou, M. 1994  
 The topography of 11th century B.C. Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Proceedings of the International Symposium Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C. Organized by the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus and the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia 30–31 October, 1993*, pp.149–66 (Nicosia).
- Iacovou, M. 1997  
 Images in silhouette: The missing link of the figurative representations on eleventh century B.C. Cypriote pottery. In V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur and F. Vandenabeele (eds), *Four Thousand Years of Images on Cypriote Pottery. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Cypriote Studies. Nicosia, 3–4 May, 1996*, pp. 61–71 (Brussels-Liège-Nicosia).
- Iakovides, Sp. 1970  
*Perati. To Nekrotapheion B* (Athens).
- Ionas, I. 1984a  
 Religious beliefs in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age. *Kypriakai Spoudai* XLVIII:115–28.
- Ionas, I. 1984b  
 L'architecture religieuse au Chypriote Récent (Kition et Enkomi). In *Temples et Sanctuaires. Séminaire de recherche 1981–1983 sous la direction de G. Roux*, pp. 97–105 (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient No. 7, Lyon).
- Ionas, I. 1984c  
 Stratigraphies of Enkomi. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 50–65.
- Ionas, I. 1985  
 The altar at Myrtou-Pigadhes: A re-examination of its construction. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 137–42.

- Jacobsson, I. 1985  
 Stepped "bases" from Hala Sultan Tekke. In Th. Papadopoulou and S. Hadjistelli (eds), *Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Nicosia 20–25 April 1982) A, pp. 185–90 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Jacobsson, I. 1994  
*Aegyptiaka from Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXII (Lund).
- Jirku, A. 1963  
 Der Kyprische Heros Kinyras und der Syrische Gott [il.is] kināru(m). *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 37:21.
- Johnson, J. 1980  
*Maroni de Chypre*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LIX (Göteborg).
- Jones, R.E. (ed) 1986  
*Greek and Cypriot Pottery. A Review of Scientific Studies* (Oxford).
- Jonsson, L. 1983  
 Animal and human bones from the Bronze Age settlement at Hala Sultan Tekke. In P. and E. Åström, A. Hatziantoniou, K. Niklasson and U. Öbrink, *Hala Sultan Tekke 8. Excavations 1971–79*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:8, pp. 222–46 (Göteborg).
- Kantor, H. 1957  
 Oriental Institute Museum Notes No. 9. A 'Syro-Hittite' treasure in the Oriental Institute Museum. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16:145–62.
- Karageorghis, J. 1977  
*La Grande Déesse de Chypre et son Culte. A travers l'iconographie de l'époque néolithique au VI<sup>ème</sup> s. a. C.* (Collection de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen Ancien No 5 Série Archéologique 4, Lyon).
- Karageorghis, V. 1959  
 Un cylindre de Chypre. *Syria* XXXVI:111–18.
- Karageorghis, V. 1965  
*Nouveaux Documents pour l'Étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre* (École Française d'Athènes, Études Chypriotes III, Paris).
- Karageorghis, V. 1966  
 Notes on some centaurs from Cyprus. *Charisterion eis A.K. Orlandon*, pp. 160–69 (Athens).
- Karageorghis, V. 1970  
 Two religious documents of the Early Cypriote Bronze Age. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 10–13.
- Karageorghis, V. 1971a  
 The Mycenaeans at Kition: a preliminary survey. *Studi Ciprioti e rapporti di Scavo* 217–36.



- Karageorghis, V. 1971b  
Considerazioni sul sito archeologico di Aghia Irini. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* XIII:7-9.
- Karageorghis, V. 1971c  
Notes on some Cypriot priests wearing bull-masks. *Harvard Theological Review* LXIV:261-70.
- Karageorghis, V. 1971d  
Notes on some Mycenaean capitals from Cyprus. *Archeologika Analekta eks Athinon* IV:101-107.
- Karageorghis, V. 1971f  
A Mycenaean painter of bulls and bull protomes. In C.F.-A. Schaeffer, *Alasia I*, pp. 123-32 (Paris).
- Karageorghis, V. 1972a  
Notes on a terracotta group of the Late Bronze Age from Cyprus. *Archeologika Analekta eks Athinon* V:265-71.
- Karageorghis, V. 1972b  
A snake-house from Enkomi. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 109-112.
- Karageorghis, V. 1973a  
Le quartier sacrée de Kition: Campagnes de fouilles 1972-1973. *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 520-30.
- Karageorghis, V. 1973b  
A Late Cypriote hoard of bronzes from Sinda. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 72-82.
- Karageorghis, V. 1973c  
Kition: Mycenaean and Phoenician. Mortimer Wheeler Archaeological Lecture. *Proceedings of the British Academy* LIX:5-27.
- Karageorghis, V. 1973d  
Contribution to the religion of Cyprus in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Mycenaean in the Eastern Mediterranean'*, 27 March-2 April 1972, pp. 105-109 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. 1974  
*Excavations at Kition I. The Tombs* (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. 1975a  
*Alaas. A Protogeometric Necropolis in Cyprus* (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. 1975b  
Kypriaka II. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 58-68.

- Karageorghis, V. 1976a  
Le quartier sacrée de Kition: Campagnes de fouilles 1973-1975. *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 229-45.
- Karageorghis, V. 1976b  
*Kition. Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus* (London).
- Karageorghis, V. 1976c  
*The Civilisation of Prehistoric Cyprus* (Athens).
- Karageorghis, V. 1976d  
A twelfth-century BC opium pipe from Kition. *Antiquity* L:125-29.
- Karageorghis, V. 1976e  
Kypriaka III. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 75-83.
- Karageorghis, V. 1977a  
Mycenaean and Near Eastern aspects of Late Bronze Age religion at Kition. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* XXIV:135.
- Karageorghis, V. 1977b  
A Cypro-Mycenaean III C:1 amphora from Kition. In *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory. Studies Presented to Fritz Schachermeyr on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, pp. 192-97 (Berlin and New York).
- Karageorghis, V. 1977c  
*Two Cypriote Sanctuaries of the End of the Cypro-Achaic Period* (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome).
- Karageorghis, V. 1977d  
More material from the Protogeometric necropolis of "Alaas". *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 141-49.
- Karageorghis, V. 1977-1978  
The goddess with uplifted arms in Cyprus. *Scripta Minora* 1977-1978:1-45.
- Karageorghis, V. 1978  
Another Cypriote horse figurine of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 68-69.
- Karageorghis, V. 1979a  
Kypriaka IV. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 198-209.
- Karageorghis, V. (ed) 1979b  
*Studies Presented in Memory of Porphyrios Dikaios* (Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. 1980a  
Τράπεζες προσφορών η "κέρνοι" από το Κίτιο. Πραγμένα του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου Α, pp. 254-60 (Athens).
- Karageorghis, V. 1980b  
Kypriaka V. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 128-35.

- Karageorghis, V. 1981  
The sacred area of Kition. In *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times. Proceedings of the Colloquium in Honor of the Centennial of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Jerusalem 14-16th March 1977*, pp. 82-88 (Jerusalem).
- Karageorghis, V. 1982  
*Cyprus. From the Stone Age to the Romans* (London).
- Karageorghis, V. 1983  
*Palaepaphos-Skales. An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern Band 3, Konstanz).
- Karageorghis, V. 1984a  
New light on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis and J.D. Muhly (eds), *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*, pp. 19-22 (Nicosia).
- Karageorghis 1984b  
Kypriaka VII. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 207-13.
- Karageorghis, V. 1985a  
Kypriaka VIII. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 232-38.
- Karageorghis, V. 1985b  
*Ancient Cypriote Art in the Pierides Foundation Museum* (Larnaca).
- Karageorghis, V. 1985c  
Kition ivories and various bone objects. In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Part II*, pp. 329-39 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. 1985d  
*Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Part II* (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. 1986  
Kypriaka IX. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 45-54.
- Karageorghis, V. 1988a  
Kypriaka XI. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 331-35.
- Karageorghis, V. 1988b  
Some eleventh-century B.C. clay masks from Kition. In J.H. Betts, J.T. Hooker and J.R. Green (eds), *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster* Volume II, pp. 65-67 (Bristol).
- Karageorghis, V. 1989  
A Late Bronze Age mould from Hala Sultan Tekke. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* CXIII:439-46.
- Karageorghis, V. 1990a  
*The End of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus* (Pierides Foundation, Nicosia).

- Karageorghis, V. 1990b  
*Tombs at Palaepaphos 1. Teratsoudhia 2. Eliomylia* (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. 1990c  
Miscellanea from Late Bronze Age Cyprus. *Levant* XXII:157-59.
- Karageorghis, V. 1992  
Miscellanea from Late Bronze Age Cyprus. *Levant* XXIV:212-17.
- Karageorghis, V. 1993  
*The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus II. Late Cypriote II - Cypriote-Geometric III* (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. 1994  
The prehistory of an ethnogenesis. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Proceedings of the International Symposium Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C. Organized by the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus and the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia 30-31 October, 1993*, pp. 1-10 (Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. 1997a  
A second cult-stand from Enkomi? *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 147-50.
- Karageorghis, V. 1997b  
The pictorial style in vase-painting of the early Cypro-Geometric period. In V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur and F. Vandennebeele (eds), *Four Thousand Years of Images on Cypriote Pottery. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Cypriote Studies. Nicosia, 3-4 May, 1996*, pp. 73-79 (Brussels-Liège-Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. and M. Demas 1981  
Excavations at Pyla-Kokkinokremos, 1981 (First preliminary report). *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 135-41.
- Karageorghis, V. and M. Demas 1984  
*Pyla-Kokkinokremos. A Late 13th-Century B.C. Fortified Settlement in Cyprus* (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. and M. Demas 1985  
*Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Areas I and II. Part I* (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. and M. Demas 1988  
*Excavations at Maa-Palaeokastro 1979-1986* (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. and J. des Gagniers, J. 1974  
*La céramique chypriote de style figuré, Age du Fer (1050-500 av. J.C.)* (Rome).
- Karageorghis, V. and V.E.G. Kenna 1967  
Four cylinder seals from Kition. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* III:95-96.

- Karageorghis, V. and E. Masson 1971  
Un bronze votif inscrit (modèle de foie ou de rein?) trouvé à Kition en 1970. *Studi Ciprioti e rapporti di Scavo* 237–48.
- Karageorghis, V. and J.D. Muhly (eds) 1984  
*Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age* (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Karageorghis, V. and J. Webb 1975  
Excavations at Kition, Cyprus, 1975. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 2:399–404.
- Karageorghis, V., D. Amyx *et al.* 1974  
*Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 5. Cypriote Antiquities in San Francisco Bay Area Collections*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XX:5 (Göteborg).
- Karageorghis, V., M. Demas and B. Kling 1982  
Excavations at Maa-Palaeokastro, 1979–1982. A preliminary report. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 86–108.
- Karageorghis, V., J. Webb and S. Lubsen-Admiraal 1978  
Kition, Cyprus: Excavations in 1976, 1977. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 7:105–10.
- Karageorghis, V., J.N. Coldstream, P.M. Bikai, A.W. Johnston, M. Roberston and L. Jehasse 1981  
*Excavations at Kition IV. The Non-Cypriote Pottery* (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Kenna, V.E.G. 1967a  
An unpublished Cypriote cylinder. *Bulletin de Correspondance Héllenique* XCI:251–54.
- Kenna, V.E.G. 1967b  
The seal use of Cyprus in the Bronze Age II. The cylinder seals. *Bulletin de Correspondance Héllenique* XCI:552–77.
- Kenna, V.E.G. 1969  
Les sceaux de Chypre. *Archéologie vivante* 3:135–40, 144–47.
- Kenna, V.E.G. 1971  
*Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 3. Catalogue of the Cypriote Seals of the Bronze Age in the British Museum*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XX:3 (Göteborg).
- Kenna, V.E.G. 1972  
Glyptic. In L. and P. Åström, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Volume IV. Part ID. The Late Cypriote Bronze Age*, pp. 623–74 (Lund).
- Kenna, V.E.G. and O. Masson 1967  
An unpublished Cypriote cylinder. *Bulletin de Correspondance Héllenique* XCI:251–54.
- Keswani, P.S. 1989a  
*Mortuary Ritual and Social Hierarchy in Bronze Age Cyprus* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan).

- Keswani, P.S. 1989b  
Dimensions of social hierarchy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus: an analysis of the mortuary data from Enkomi. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 2:49–86.
- Keswani, P.S. 1993  
Models of local exchange in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 289:73–83.
- Keswani, P.S. 1996  
Hierarchies, heterarchies, and urbanization processes: The view from Bronze Age Cyprus. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 9:211–50.
- Kipp, R.S. and E.M. Schortman 1989  
The political impact of trade in chiefdoms. *American Anthropologist* 91:370–85.
- Kling, B. 1984  
Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery in Cyprus: Principal characteristics and historical context. In V. Karageorghis and J.D. Muhly (eds), *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*, pp. 29–38 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Kling, B. 1987  
Pottery classification and relative chronology of the LC IIC–LC IIIA periods. In D.W. Rupp (ed), *Western Cyprus: Connections. An Archaeological Symposium held at Brock University, St. Catherines, Ontario, Canada March 21–22, 1986*, pp. 97–113. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXVII (Göteborg).
- Kling, B. 1989a  
*Mycenaean IIIC:1b and Related Pottery in Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXXVII (Göteborg).
- Kling, B. 1989b  
Local Cypriot features in the ceramics of the Late Cypriot IIIA period. In E. Peltenburg (ed), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 160–70 (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh).
- Kling, B. 1991  
A terminology for the matte-painted, wheelmade pottery of Late Cypriot IIC–IIIA. In J.A. Barlow, D.L. Bolger and B. Kling (eds), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*, pp. 181–84 (University Museum Symposium Series Volume II, University Monograph 74. Leventis Foundation and University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).
- Knapp, A.B. 1986a  
Production, exchange and socio-political complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5:35–60.
- Knapp, A.B. 1986b  
*Copper Production and Divine Protection: Archaeology, Ideology and Social Complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocket-Book 42 (Göteborg).
- Knapp, A.B. 1988a  
Ideology, archaeology and polity. *Man* 23:133–63.

- Knapp, A.B. 1988b  
Copper production and eastern Mediterranean trade: The rise of complex society on Cyprus. In J. Gledhill, B. Bender and M.T. Larsen (eds), *State and Society: Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization*, pp. 149–69 (Allen and Unwin, London).
- Knapp, A.B. 1990  
Ethnicity, entrepreneurship, and exchange: Mediterranean inter-island relations in the Late Bronze Age. *The Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 85:115–53.
- Knapp, A.B. 1991  
Spice, drugs, grain and grog: organic goods in Bronze Age East Mediterranean trade. In N.H. Gale (ed), *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean. Papers Presented at the Conference held at Rawley House, Oxford in December 1989*, pp. 21–68. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XC (Jonsered).
- Knapp, A.B. 1993  
Social complexity: Incipience, emergence, and development on prehistoric Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 292:85–106.
- Knapp, A.B. 1994a  
The prehistory of Cyprus: Problems and prospects. *Journal of World Prehistory* 8:377–453.
- Knapp, A.B. 1994b  
Emergence, development and decline on Bronze Age Cyprus. In C. Mathers and S. Stoddart (eds), *Development and Decline in the Bronze Age Mediterranean*, pp. 271–304 (*Sheffield Archaeological Monographs* 8, Sheffield).
- Knapp, A.B. 1996a  
The Bronze Age economy of Cyprus: Ritual, ideology, and the sacred landscape. In V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (eds), *The Development of the Cypriot Economy From the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day*, pp. 71–106 (University of Cyprus and the Bank of Cyprus, Nicosia).
- Knapp, A.B. 1996b  
Power and ideology on prehistoric Cyprus. In *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World*, pp. 9–25. *Boreas* 24 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Uppsala).
- Knapp, A.B. 1996c  
Settlement and society on Late Bronze Age Cyprus: Dynamics and development. In P. Åström and E. Herscher (eds), *Late Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus: Function and Relationship*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-Book* 126, pp. 54–80 (Jonsered).
- Knapp, A.B. (ed) 1996d  
*Near Eastern and Aegean Texts from the Third to the First Millennia BC. Sources for the History of Cyprus 2* (Altamont, New York: Greece and Cyprus Research Centre).

- Knapp, A.B. 1997a  
*The Archaeology of Late Bronze Age Cypriot Society* (University of Glasgow, Department of Archaeology, Occasional Paper 4. Glasgow).
- Knapp, A.B. 1997b  
Mediterranean maritime landscapes. Transport, trade and society on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In S. Swiny, R.L. Hohlfelder and H.W. Swiny (eds), *Res Maritimae. Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity*. American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports. CAARI Monograph Series, Volume 1, pp. 153–62 (Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia).
- Knapp, A.B. 1998  
Mediterranean Bronze Age trade: distance, power and place. In E. Cline and D. Harris-Cline (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium*, pp. 260–78. *Aegaeum* 20 (Université de Liège, Liège).
- Knapp, A.B. and J.F. Cherry 1994  
*Provenience Studies and Bronze Age Cyprus: Production, Exchange and Politico-economic Change*. Monographs in World Archaeology no. 21 (Madison).
- Knapp, A.B. and A. Marchant 1982  
Cyprus, Cypro-Minoan and Hurrians. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 15–30.
- Koehl, R. 1981  
The function of Aegean Bronze Age rhyta. In R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute of Athens, 12–13 May 1980*, pp. 179–87 (Svenska Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4<sup>o</sup>, XXVIII, Stockholm).
- Kolb, M.J. 1994  
Monumentality and the rise of religious authority in precontact Hawai'i. *Current Anthropology* 34:521–47.
- Kristiansen, K. 1984  
Ideology and material culture. An archaeological perspective. In M. Spriggs (ed), *Marxist Perspectives in Archaeology*, pp. 72–100 (Cambridge).
- Kromholz, S.F. 1982  
*The Bronze Age Necropolis at Ayia Paraskevi (Nicosia): Unpublished Tombs in the Cyprus Museum*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocket-book* 17 (Göteborg).
- Kryzyszkowska, O. 1988  
The Enkomi warrior head reconsidered. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 83:107–20.
- Laffineur, R. 1976  
*Cyclades, Crète, Mycènes Chypre (Âge du Bronze)* (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Bruxelles).

- Lagarce, J. 1971  
La cachette de fondeur aux épées (Enkomi 1967) et l'atelier voisin. In C.F.-A. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Alasia I*, pp. 381–432 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia IV, Paris).
- Lagarce, E. and J. Lagarce 1973  
A propos du masque A71.1 d'Enkomi. *Syria* L:349–54.
- Lagarce, J. and E. Lagarce 1986  
Les découvertes d'Enkomi et leur place dans la culture internationale du Bronze Récent. In J.-C. Courtois, J. Lagarce and E. Lagarce, *Enkomi et le Bronze Récent à Chypre*, pp. 59–199 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Lambert, W.G. 1991  
Metal-working and its patron deities in the early Levant. *Levant* 23:183–86.
- Lamon, R.S. and G.M. Shipton 1937  
*Megiddo I. Seasons of 1925–34. Strata I–V* (Oriental Institute Publications 42, Chicago).
- Larje, R. 1992  
The bones from the Bronze Age fortress at Nitovikla. In G. Hult, *Nitovikla Reconsidered*, Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 8, pp. 73–75 (Stockholm).
- Leedecker, C.H. 1994  
Discard behaviour on domestic historic sites: evaluation of contexts for the interpretation of household consumption patterns. *Journal of Anthropological Theory and Method* 1:345–75.
- Leuven, J.C. van 1981  
Problems and methods of Prehellenic naology. In R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute of Athens, 12–13 May 1980*, pp. 11–25 (Svenska Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4°, XXVIII, Stockholm).
- Loulloupis, M. 1973  
Mycenaean 'horns of consecration' in Cyprus. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean'*, 27 March–2 April 1972, pp. 225–44 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Loulloupis, M. 1979  
The position of the bull in the prehistoric religions of Crete and Cyprus. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000–500 B.C.'*, 16–22 April 1978, pp. 215–22 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Lubsen-Admiraal, S. 1978–1979  
Cyprische terracotta's in Leiden. *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* LIX–LX:151–77.
- Lubsen-Admiraal, S. 1982  
Late Bronze Age tombs from Dromolaxia. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 39–59.
- Lubsen-Admiraal, S.M. and J. Crouwel 1989  
Cyprus & Aphrodite (SDU uitgeverij, 's-Gravenhage).
- Maddin, R. 1982  
Early iron technology in Cyprus. In J.D. Muhly, R. Maddin and V. Karageorghis (eds), *Acta of the International Archaeological Symposium Early Metallurgy in Cyprus, 4000–500 B.C. 1–6 June 1981*, pp. 303–12 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Maddin, R., J.D. Muhly and T. Stech Wheeler 1983  
Metal Working. In T. Dothan and A. Ben-Tor, *Excavations at Athienou, Cyprus 1971–1972*, pp. 132–38. *Qedem* 16.
- Maier, F.G. 1971  
Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos), 1970. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 43–48.
- Maier, F.G. 1974  
Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos). Seventh preliminary report: Season 1973. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 132–38.
- Maier, F.G. 1975  
The temple of Aphrodite at Old Paphos. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 69–80.
- Maier, F.G. 1976  
Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos). Eighth preliminary report: Season 1975. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 92–97.
- Maier, F.G. 1977  
Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos). Ninth preliminary report: Season 1976. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 133–40.
- Maier, F.G. 1979a  
Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos). Tenth preliminary report. Seasons 1977 and 1978. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 168–76.
- Maier, F.G. 1979b  
The Paphian shrine of Aphrodite and Crete. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000–500 B.C.'*, 16–22 April 1978, pp. 229–34 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Maier, F.G. 1983  
New evidence for the early history of Palaepaphos. *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* LXXVIII:229–32.
- Maier, F.G. 1985  
*Alt-Paphos auf Cypern. Ausgrabungen zur Geschichte von Stadt und Heiligtum 1966–1984* (Trierer Winkelmanns-programme 6/1984, Mainz).
- Maier, F.G. 1986  
Kinyras and Agapenor. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident'*, 8–14 September 1985, pp. 311–20 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).



- Maier, F.G. 1997  
The Mycenaean pottery of Palaipaphos reconsidered. In *Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity. From the Prehistoric Period to the 7<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. Nicosia 8–10 December 1995*, pp. 93–102 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Maier, F.G. and V. Karageorghis 1984  
*Paphos. History and Archaeology* (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Maier, F.G. and M.-L. v. Wartburg 1985  
Reconstructing history from the earth, c. 2800 B.C.–1600 A.D.: Excavations at Palaepaphos, 1966–1984. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985*, pp. 142–72 (Leventis Foundation, Cyprus).
- Manning, D.J. (ed) 1980  
*The Form of Ideology* (London).
- Manning, S.W. 1998  
Changing pasts and socio-political cognition in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. *World Archaeology* 30–58.
- Manning, S.W. and F.A. De Mita 1997  
Cyprus, the Aegean, and Maroni-Tsaroukkas. In *Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference 'Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity. From the Prehistoric Period to the 7<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. Nicosia 8–10 December 1995*, pp. 103–42 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Margueron, J. 1985  
Un piège à rongeurs à Emar. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 143–45.
- Marinatos, Sp. 1963  
O 'keraiatis' tis Enkomis. *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* XVIII:95–98.
- Marinatos, Sp. 1964  
Some hints about Eastern Mediterranean mythology. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 1–14.
- Marinatos, Sp. 1967  
*Κρητομυκηναϊκή θρησκεία* (Athens).
- Masson, E. 1971a  
Boules d'argile inscrites trouvées à Enkomi de 1953 à 1969. In C.F.-A. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Alasia I*, pp. 479–504 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia IV, Paris).
- Masson, E. 1971b  
Étude de vingt-six boules d'argile inscrites trouvées à Enkomi et Hala Sultan Tekke (Chypre). *Studies in the Cypro-Minoan Scripts I. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XXXI:1 (Göteborg).
- Masson, E. 1973  
La diffusion de l'écriture à Chypre à la fin de l'Âge du Bronze. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Mycenaean in the Eastern Mediterranean', 27 March–2 April 1972*, pp. 88–100 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Masson, E. 1979  
Une inscription peinte d'Enkomi en caractère Chypro-minoens. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 210–13.
- Masson, E. 1985  
Inscriptions et marques Cypro-minoennes à Kition. In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Part II*, pp. 280–84 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Masson, E. 1986  
Les écritures Chypro-Minoennes: reflet fidèle du brassage des civilisations sur l'île pendant le Bronze Récent. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident', Nicosia, 8–14 September 1985*, pp. 180–99 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Masson, E. 1992  
Le dieu guerrier d'Enkomi: est-il debout sur un lingot? In G.C. Ioannides (ed), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, pp. 155–56 (Society of Cypriot Studies, Nicosia).
- Masson, O. 1957  
Cylindres et cachets Chypriotes portant des caractères chypro-minoens. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* LXXXI:6–37.
- Masson, O. 1961  
*Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Recueil critique et commenté* (Paris).
- Masson, O. 1969  
Croyances et sanctuaires à l'époque préhistorique. *Archéologie vivante* 3:53–56.
- Masson, O. 1971  
Deux petits lingots de cuivre inscrits d'Enkomi (1953). In C.F.-A. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Alasia I*, pp. 449–55 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia IV, Paris).
- Masson, O. 1973  
Remarques sur les cultes chypriotes à l'époque du Bronze Récent. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Mycenaean in the Eastern Mediterranean', 27 March–2 April 1972*, pp. 110–21 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Matthäus, H. and G. Schumacher-Matthäus 1986  
Zyprische Hortfunde. Kult und Metal-handwerke in der späten Bronzezeit. In *Gedenkschrift für Gero von Merhart: Zum 100 Geburtstag. Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* Band 7, pp. 129–91 (Marburg).
- Matz, von F. 1958  
*Götterscheinung und Kultbild im minoischen Kreta* (Weisbaden).
- Mazar, A. 1980  
Excavations at Tell Qasile Part One. The Philistine Sanctuary: Architecture and Cult Objects. *Qedem* 12.

- Mazar, A. 1985  
Excavations at Tell Qasile Part Two. The Philistine Sanctuary: Various Finds, the Pottery, Conclusions, Appendixes. *Qedem* 20.
- McCaslin, D. 1978  
The 1977 underwater report. In G. Hult and D. McCaslin, *Hala Sultan Tekke 4*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:4, pp. 97–157 (Göteborg).
- Mellink, M. 1987  
Anatolian libation pourers and the Minoan genius. In A.E. Farkas, P.O. Harper and E.B. Harrison (eds), *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds. Papers Presented in Honor of Edith Porada*, pp. 65–72 (Mainz on Rhine).
- Ménant, J. 1888  
*Collection de Clercq: Catalogue methodique et raisonné I, Cylindres orientaux* (Paris).
- Merrillees, R.S. 1962  
Bronze Age spindle bottles from the Levant. *Opuscula Atheniensi* IV:187–96.
- Merrillees, R.S. 1968  
*The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery Found in Egypt*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XVIII (Göteborg).
- Merrillees, R.S. 1971  
The early history of Late Cypriote I. *Levant* 3:56–79.
- Merrillees, R.S. 1973  
Settlement, sanctuary and cemetery in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Australian Studies in Archaeology* I:44–57.
- Merrillees, R.S. 1980  
Representation of the human form in prehistoric Cyprus. *Opuscula Atheniensi* XIII:171–84.
- Merrillees, R.S. 1984  
Ambelikou-Aletri: a preliminary report. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 1–13.
- Merrillees, R.S. 1986  
A 16<sup>th</sup> century B.C. tomb group from central Cyprus with links with both east and west. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident', Nicosia, 8–14 September 1985*, pp. 114–48 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Merrillees, R.S. 1988  
Mother and child. A Late Cypriote variation on an eternal theme. *Mediterranean Archaeology* I:42–57.
- Merrillees, R.S. 1992  
The government of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age. In P. Åström (ed), *Acta Cypria. Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology Held in Göteborg on 22–24 August 1991. Part 3*, pp. 310–28. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 120 (Jonsered).
- Merrillees, R.S. 1994  
Review of G. Hult, *Nitovikla Reconsidered*. Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 8 (Stockholm 1992) in *Opuscula Atheniensi* XX:256–58.
- Mertzenfeld, C. decamps de 1954  
*Inventaire Commenté des Ivoires Phéniciens et apparentés dans le Proche-Orient* (Paris).
- Miller, D. and C. Tilley (eds) 1984  
*Ideology, Power and Prehistory* (Cambridge).
- Miller, D., M. Rowlands and C. Tilley (eds) 1989  
*Domination and Resistance* (London).
- Mitford, T.B. and J.H. Iliffe 1951  
Excavations at Kouklia (Old Paphos) Cyprus, 1950. *Antiquaries Journal* XXXI:51–66.
- Mitford, T.B. and J.H. Iliffe 1952  
Excavations at Aphrodite's sanctuary of Paphos. *Liverpool Bulletin* 2:55 ff.
- Moorey, P.R.S. and S. Fleming 1984  
Problems in the study of the anthropomorphic metal statuary from Syria-Palestine before 330 B.C. *Levant* 16:67–90.
- Moortgat, A. 1940  
*Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).
- Morris, D. 1985  
*The Art of Ancient Cyprus. With a check-list of the author's collection* (Oxford).
- Muhly, J.D. 1982  
The nature of trade in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean: The organization of the metals' trade and the role of Cyprus. In J.D. Muhly, R. Maddin and V. Karageorghis (eds), *Acta of the International Archaeological Symposium Early Metallurgy in Cyprus, 4000–500 B.C. 1–6 June 1981*, pp. 251–70 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Muhly, J.D. 1984  
The role of the Sea Peoples in Cyprus during the LC III period. In V. Karageorghis and J.D. Muhly (eds), *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Bronze*, pp. 39–55 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Muhly, J.D. 1985  
The Late Bronze Age in Cyprus: A 25 year retrospect. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985*, pp. 20–46 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Muhly, J.D. 1989  
The organization of the copper industry in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In E. Peltenburg (ed), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 298–314 (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh).

- Muhly, J.D., R. Maddin and V. Karageorghis (eds) 1982  
*Acta of the International Archaeological Symposium Early Metallurgy in Cyprus, 4000–500 B.C. 1–6 June 1981* (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Muhly, J.D., R. Maddin and T. Stech 1988  
 Cyprus, Crete and Sardinia: copper ox-hide ingots and the Bronze Age metal trade. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 281–98.
- Muller, S. 1989  
 Les tumuli Helladiques. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* CXIII:1–42.
- Murray, A.S., A.H. Smith and H.B. Walters 1900  
*Excavations in Cyprus* (London).
- Mylonas, G. 1972  
 Το θρησκευτικὸν κέντρον τῶν Μυκηνῶν (Athens).
- Mylonas, G. 1977  
 Μυκηναϊκὴ θρησκεία. Νάοι, βωμοὶ καὶ τεμένη (Athens).
- Myres, J.L. 1897  
 Excavations in Cyprus in 1894. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XVII:134–73.
- Myres, J.L. 1914  
*Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).
- Myres, J.L. and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899  
*Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Nicosia).
- Negbi, O. 1976  
*Canaanite Gods in Metal: An Archaeological Study of Ancient Syro-Palestinian Figurines* (Publications of the Institute of Archaeology Tel Aviv University No. 5, Tel Aviv).
- Negbi, O. 1986  
 The climax of urban development in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 97–121.
- Nicolaou, I. and K. Nicolaou 1989  
*Kazaphani. A Middle/Late Cypriot Tomb at Kazaphani-Ayios Andronikos: T.2A,B* (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Nicolaou, K. 1965  
 Mycenaean terracotta figurines in the Cyprus Museum. *Opuscula Atheniensia* V:47–57.
- Nicolaou, K. 1972  
 A Late Cypriote necropolis at Ankastina in the Mesaoria. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 58–108.
- Nicolaou, K. 1979  
 Minoan survivals in Geometric and Archaic Cyprus. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000–500 B.C.', 16–22 April 1978*, pp. 249–56 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).

- Nicolaou, K. 1983  
 A Late Cypriote necropolis at Yeroskipou, Paphos. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 142–50.
- Nilsson, M.P. 1950  
*The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in the Greek Religion* (2nd ed, Lund).
- Nobis, G. 1985  
 Tierreste aus dem Prähölonischen Kition. In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Part II*, pp. 416–33 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Nys, K. 1995  
 The use of masks in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age. *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* IX:19–34.
- Öbrink, U. 1979a  
*Hala Sultan Tekke 5. Excavations in Area 22, 1971–1973 and 1975–1978*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XLV:5 (Göteborg).
- Öbrink, U. 1979b  
*Hala Sultan Tekke 6. A Sherd Deposit in Area 22*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XLV:6 (Göteborg).
- O'Bryhim, S. 1996  
 The deities from the Kotchati sanctuary models. *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* X:7–14.
- Ohnefalsch-Richter, M. 1891  
*Ancient Places of Worship in Cyprus* (Berlin).
- Ohnefalsch-Richter, M. 1893  
*Kypros. Die Bibel und Homer, Beiträge zur Kultur-, Kunst- und Religionsgeschichte des Orients im Altertums* (Berlin).
- Orphanides, A.G. 1983  
*Bronze Age Anthropomorphic Figurines in the Cesnola Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocket-book* 20 (Göteborg).
- Orphanides, A.G. 1988  
 A classification of the Bronze Age terracotta anthropomorphic figurines from Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 187–99.
- Orphanides, A.G. 1991  
 The interpretation of the Bronze Age terracotta anthropomorphic figurines from Cyprus. In F. Vandenabeele and R. Laffineur (eds), *Cypriote Terracottas. Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriote Studies, Brussels-Liège-Amsterdam, 29 May–1 June, 1989*, pp. 39–45 (Brussels-Liège).
- Osten, H.H. von der 1934  
*Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications XXII, Chicago).

- Otten, H. 1953  
Ein kanaanäischer Mythos aus Bogazköy. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung* 1:124–50.
- Ottosson, M. 1980  
*Temples and Cult Places in Palestine* (Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 12, Uppsala).
- Overbeck, J.C. and S. Swiny 1972  
*Two Cypriot Bronze Age Sites at Kafkallia (Dhali)*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XXXIII (Göteborg).
- Papadopoulos, Th.J 1997  
Cyprus and the Aegean world: links in religion. In *Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity. From the Prehistoric Period to the 7<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. Nicosia, 8–10 December 1995*, pp. 171–84 (Nicosia).
- Papadopoulos, Th.J. and L. Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1992  
Aegean cult symbols in Cyprus. In P. Åström (ed), *Acta Cypria. Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology Held in Göteborg on 22–24 August 1991. Part 3*, pp. 330–59. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 120 (Jonsered).
- Parker, B. 1949  
Cylinder seals from Palestine. *Iraq* XI:1–43.
- Pecorella, P.E. 1977  
*Le Tombe dell'Età del Bronzo Tardo della Necropoli a mare di Ayia Irini, 'Paleokastro'* (Biblioteca di antichità cipriote 4, Rome).
- Pelon, O. 1984  
Le palais minoen en tant que lieu de culte. In *Temples et sanctuaires. Séminaire de recherche 1981–1983 sous la direction de G. Roux*, pp. 61–79 (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 7, Paris).
- Pelon, O., E. and J. Lagarce 1973  
La XXIII<sup>e</sup> campagne de fouilles à Enkomi-Alasia (Chypre). Rapport préliminaire. *Syria* L:103 ff.
- Peltenburg, E.J. 1974  
The glazed vases (including a polychrome rhyton). In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition I. The Tombs*, pp. 105–44 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Peltenburg, E.J. 1977  
A faience from Hala Sultan Tekke and second millennium B.C. Western Asiatic pendants depicting females. In P. Åström, G. Hult and M. Strandberg Olofsson, *Hala Sultan Tekke 3. Excavations 1972*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLV:3, pp. 177–200 (Göteborg).
- Peltenburg, E.J. 1985  
Glazed vessels from Bronze and Iron Age Kition. In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Part II*, pp. 255–79 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Peltenburg, E. 1986b  
Review of T. Dothan and A. Ben-Tor, *Excavations at Athienou, Cyprus 1971–72*. Qedem 16 (1983) in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 157.
- Peltenburg, E. 1991  
*Lemba Archaeological Project Volume II.2. A Ceremonial Area at Kissonerga*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXX:3 (Göteborg).
- Peltenburg, E. 1994  
Constructing authority: the Vounous enclosure model. *Opuscula Atheniensia* XX:157–62.
- Peltenburg, E. 1996  
From isolation to state formation in Cyprus, c. 3500–1500 B.C. In V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (eds), *The Development of the Cypriot Economy From the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day*, pp. 17–43 (University of Cyprus and the Bank of Cyprus, Nicosia).
- Photiades, Th. 1985  
Το τέλος της Ελλαδικής και της Κυπριακής προϊστορίας. In Th. Papadopoulou and S. Hadjistelli (eds), *Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 20–25 Απριλίου 1982) Α*, pp. 161–67 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Pichou-Ionas, D. 1983  
Traditions céramiques chypriotes du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.C. (Vases figuratifs et figurines). Unpublished Thesis, University of Lyon.
- Picard, C. 1955  
El, Kinyras ou quelque guerrier chypriote? *Revue archéologique* XLV:48–49.
- Pickles, S. and E. Peltenburg 1998  
Metallurgy, society and the Bronze/Iron transition in the East Mediterranean and the Near East. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 67–100.
- Pieridou, A. 1967  
Ο Ζοογραφικός Ρυθμός της Προϊμού Κυπρογεωμετρικής Περιόδου. *Kypriakai Spoudai* 53–64.
- Pieridou, A. 1968  
Κυπριακά ανθρωπομόρφα αγγεία. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 20–27.
- Pieridou, A. 1970  
Κυπριακά πλαστικά αγγεία. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 92–102.
- Pieridou, A. 1971  
Κυπριακά τελετουργικά αγγεία. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 18–26.

- Pieridou, A. 1973b  
*Ο Πρωτογεωμετρικός Ρυθμός εν Κύπρο* (Athens).
- Pike, K. 1954  
*Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* (Glendale Summer Institute of Linguistics).
- Popham, M.R. and M.A.V. Gill 1995  
*The Latest Sealings from the Palace and Houses at Knossos*. British School at Athens Studies I (Oxford).
- Porada, E. 1948a  
 The cylinder seals of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. *American Journal of Archaeology* LII:178-98.
- Porada, E. 1948b  
*Corpus of Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I. The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Bollingen Series XIV, Washington).
- Porada, E. 1965  
 Trois cylindres-sceaux d'Akhera. In V. Karageorghis, *Nouveaux Documents pour l'Étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre. Recueil critique et commenté*, pp. 151-53 (École française d'Athènes, Études Chypriotes III, Paris).
- Porada, E. 1971  
 Seals. In P. Dikaios, *Enkomi. Excavations 1948-1958. Volume II. Chronology, Summary and Conclusions, Catalogue, Appendices*, pp. 783-810 (Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz).
- Porada, E. 1972  
 Glyptics. In J.L. Benson, *Bamboula at Kourion. The Necropolis and the Finds. Excavated by J.F. Daniel*, pp. 141-47 (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia).
- Porada, E. 1973  
 On the complexity of style and iconography in some groups of cylinder seals from Cyprus. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean'*, 27 March-2 April 1972, pp. 260-73 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Porada, E. 1974  
 Two cylinder seals from Tomb 9 at Kition. In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition I. The Tombs*, pp. 163-66 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Porada, E. 1975  
 Appendix II. Cylinder seals, Hadjiprodomou Collection, Q6. In V. Karageorghis, *Alaas. A Protoegeometric Necropolis in Cyprus*, p. 71 (Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).
- Porada, E. 1976  
 Three cylinder seals from Tombs 1 and 2 of Hala Sultan Tekke. In P. Åström, D.M. Bailey and V. Karageorghis, *Hala Sultan Tekke I. Excavations 1897-1971*, pp. 99-103. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XLV:1 (Göteborg).
- Porada, E. 1979  
 A Theban cylinder seal in Cypriote style with Minoan elements. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000-500 B.C.'*, 16-22 April 1978, pp. 111-20 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Porada, E. 1980  
 Seals from the tombs of Maroni. In J. Johnson, *Maroni de Chypre*, pp. 68-72. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* LIX (Göteborg).
- Porada, E. 1981-1982  
 The cylinder seals found at Thebes in Boeotia. *Archiv für Orientforschung* XXVIII:1-70.
- Porada, E. 1983a  
 A seal ring and two cylinder seals from Hala Sultan Tekke. In P. and E. Åström, A. Hatziantoniou, K. Niklasson and U. Öbrink, *Hala Sultan Tekke 8. Excavations 1971-79*, pp. 541-47. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* (Göteborg).
- Porada, E. 1983b  
 Cylinder seals. In T. Dothan and A. Ben-Tor, *Excavations at Athienou, Cyprus 1971-1972*, pp. 120-21. *Qedem* 16.
- Porada, E. 1983c  
 Appendix III. Cylinder and stamp seals from Palaepaphos-Skales. In V. Karageorghis, *Palaepaphos-Skales. An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus*. *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern. Band 3*, pp. 407-10 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Universitätsverlag Konstanz).
- Porada, E. 1985  
 Cylinder and stamp seals from Kition. In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Part II*, pp. 250-54 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Porada, E. 1986  
 Late Cypriote cylinder seals between East and West. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident'*, 8-14 September 1985, pp. 289-99 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Porada, E. 1990  
 The cylinder seals in E. Vermeule and F. Wolsky, *Toumba tou Skourou. A Bronze Age Potters' Quarter on Morphou Bay in Cyprus*, pp. 338-42 (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts).
- Porada, E. 1992  
 Remarks on Cypriote cylinders. In P. Åström (ed), *Acta Cypria. Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology Held in Göteborg on 22-24 August 1991. Part 3*, pp. 360-81. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book* 120 (Jonsered).
- Poursat, J.C. 1977a  
*Les ivoires mycéniens. Essai sur la formation d'un art mycénien* (Paris).



- Poursat, J.C. 1977b  
*Catalogue des ivoires mycéniens du Musée National d'Athènes* (Paris).
- Powell, B. 1977  
 The significance of the so-called 'horns of consecration'. *Kadmos* 16:70–82.
- Price, B.J. 1978  
 Secondary state formation: an explanatory model. In R. Cohen and E.R. Service (eds), *The Origins of the State*, pp. 161–86 (Philadelphia).
- Pulak, C. 1997  
 The Uluburun shipwreck. In S. Swiny, R.L. Hohlfelder and H.W. Swiny (eds), *Res Maritimae. Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity*. American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports. CAARI Monograph Series, Volume 1, pp. 233–62 (Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia).
- Rabner, A. 1980  
*The Commercial Jar in the Ancient Near East: Its Evidence for Interconnections amongst Biblical Lands*. PhD Dissertation, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
- Rappaport, R.A. 1968  
*Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People* (Yale University Press, New Haven).
- Rappaport, R.A. 1979  
*Ecology, Meaning and Religion* (North Atlantic, California).
- Raptou, E. 1988  
 Les autels à Chypre depuis l'époque du Bronze Récent jusqu'à l'époque Hellénistique. *Bulletin de Liaison de la Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque Salomon-Reinach* 6:75–79.
- Reese, D.S. 1985  
 Shells, ostrich eggshells and other exotic faunal remains from Kition. In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Part II*, pp. 340–415 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Reese, D.S. 1996  
 Shells and animal bones. In J.E. Coleman, J.A. Barlow and K.W. Schaar, *Alambra. A Middle Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus. Archaeological Investigations by Cornell University 1974–1985*, pp. 475–514. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* CXVIII (Jonsered).
- Reese, D.S. 1998  
 Appendix II. Fauna from Late Cypriote wells and pits. In P. Åström, *Hala Sultan Tekke 10. The Wells*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XLV:10, pp. 136–39 (Jonsered).
- Reidel, W. 1934  
 Appendix. In E. Gjerstad, J. Lindros, E. Sjöqvist and A. Westholm, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition Volume I. Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931*, pp. 576–77 (Stockholm).

- Renfrew, C. 1985b  
*The Archaeology of Cult. The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (Oxford).
- Renfrew, C. 1994a  
 Towards a cognitive archaeology. In C. Renfrew and E.B.W. Zubrow (eds), *The Ancient Mind. Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*, pp. 3–12 (New Directions in Archaeology, Cambridge).
- Renfrew, C. 1994b  
 The archaeology of religion. In C. Renfrew and E.B.W. Zubrow (eds), *The Ancient Mind. Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*, pp. 47–54 (New Directions in Archaeology, Cambridge).
- Renfrew, C. and P. Bahn 1991  
*Archaeology, Theories, Methods and Practice* (Thames and Hudson, London).
- Robertson, L.F. 1986  
*Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 11. The Brock University Collection of Cypriote Antiquities*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XX:11 (Göteborg).
- Robertson, N. 1978  
 The goddess on the ingot in Greco-Roman times. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 202–205.
- Rothenberg, B. 1972  
*Timna: Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines* (Ayelsbury, Shire Egyptology Series).
- Rowe, A. 1940  
*The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth Shan* (Publications of the Palestine Section of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).
- Rowe, A.H. 1995  
*The Ayios Sozomenos Region: A Bronze Age Landscape in Cyprus*. Unpublished Masters Thesis. Department of Near Eastern Archaeology, University of Sydney.
- Rupp, D.W. 1981  
 Canadian Palaepaphos survey project: preliminary report of the 1979 season. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 251–68.
- Russell, P.J. 1986  
*The Pottery from the Late Cypriot IIC Settlement at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Cyprus: The 1979–1984 Excavation Seasons* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor).
- Rutkowski, B. 1972  
*Cult Places in the Aegean World* (Warsaw).
- Rutkowski, B. 1979  
 Religious architecture in Cyprus and Crete in the Late Bronze Age. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000–500 B.C.', 16–22 April 1978*, pp. 223–27 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).

- Rutkowski, B. 1986  
*The Cult Places of the Aegean* (New Haven and London).
- Rystedt, E. 1987  
Oxhide ingots or camp stools? Notes on a motif in Mycenaean pictorial vase-painting. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 49–55.
- Sahlins, M. 1981  
*Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* (Ann Arbor).
- Sahlins, M. 1985  
*Islands of History* (Chicago).
- Sambin, C. 1989  
Génie minoen et génie égyptien. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* CXIII:77–96.
- Sandars, N. 1978  
*The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean* (London).
- Schachermeyr, F. 1969  
Hörnerhelme und Federkronen als Kopfbedeckungen bei den Seevölkern der ägyptischen Reliefs. In C.F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica VI*, pp. 451–59 (Paris).
- Schachermeyr, F. 1982  
*Die Agäische Frühzeit V: Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen von 13. Bis Zum 11. Jahrhundert V. Chr.* (Wien).
- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. 1934  
Les fouilles de Ras Shamra. Cinquième campagne (printemps 1933): rapport sommaire. *Syria* XV:105–31.
- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. 1936  
*Missions en Chypre 1932–1935* (Paris).
- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. 1952  
*Enkomi-Alasia I, Nouvelles missions en Chypre 1946–1950* (Paris).
- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. 1965  
An ingot god from Cyprus. *Antiquity* XXXIX:56–57.
- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. 1966  
Götter des Nord-und Inselvolker in Zypern. *Archiv für Orientforschung* XXI:59–69.
- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. 1968  
Commentaires sur les lettres et documents trouvées dans les bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit. In *Ugaritica* 5:607–768.
- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. 1969  
Chars de culte à Chypre. *Syria* XLVI:267–76.

- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. 1971  
Les peuples de la mer et leurs sanctuaires à Enkomi-Alasia aux XIIe–XIe S. av. N.E. In C.F.-A. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Alasia I*, pp. 505–46 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia IV, Paris).
- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. 1972  
Dernières découvertes archéologiques à Enkomi-Alasia. In *Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου* A, pp. 157–62 (Nicosia).
- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. 1983  
*Corpus des Cylindres-Sceaux de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et d'Enkomi-Alasia* (Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, Synthèse No. 13, Paris).
- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. *et al.* 1971  
*Alasia I* (Mission archéologique d'Alasia IV, Paris).
- Schäfer, J. 1958  
Elfenbeinspiegelgriffe des zweiten Jahrtausends. *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung* LXXIII:73–87.
- Schiffer, M.B. 1972  
Archaeological context and systemic context. *American Antiquity* 37:156–65.
- Schiffer, M.B. 1976  
*Behavioural Archaeology* (Academic Press, London and New York).
- Schiffer, M.B. (ed) 1987  
*Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record* (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque).
- Schortman, E.M. 1989  
Interregional interaction in prehistory. The need for a new perspective. *American Antiquity* 54:52–65.
- Schortman, E.M. and P.A. Urban (eds) 1992  
*Resources, Power, and Interregional Interaction* (Plenum Press, New York and London).
- Schretter, M.K. 1974  
*Alter Orient und Hellas: Fragen der Beeinflussung griechischen Gedankengutes aus altorientalischen Quellen, dargestellten Göttern nergal, Rescheph, Apollo* (Innsbruck).
- Schürman, W. 1984  
*Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 9. Katalog der kyprischen Antiken im Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XX:9 (Göteborg).
- Schwartz, J.H. 1973  
The palaeozoology of Cyprus: a preliminary report on recently analysed sites. *World Archaeology* 5:215–20.

- Seeden, H. 1980  
*The Standing Armed Figurines in the Levant*. (Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Munich).
- Sherratt, E.S. 1991  
 Cypriot pottery of Aegean type in LCII–III: Problems of classification, chronology and interpretation. In J.A. Barlow, D.L. Bolger and B. Kling (eds), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*, pp. 185–98 (University Museum Symposium Series Volume II. University Museum Monograph 74. Leventis Foundation and University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).
- Sherratt, S. 1992  
 Immigration and archaeology: some indirect reflections. In P. Åström (ed), *Acta Cypria. Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology Held in Göteborg on 22–24 August 1991. Part 2*, pp. 316–47. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 120 (Jonsered).
- Sjöqvist, E. 1933  
 Die Kultgeschichte eines cyprischen Temenos. *Archiv für die Religionswissenschaft* XXX:308–59.
- Sjöqvist, E. 1940  
*Problems of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age* (Stockholm).
- Smith, J.S. 1994  
*Seals for Sealing in the Late Cypriot Period*. Unpublished Dissertation (Bryn Mawr College).
- Snodgrass, A. 1988  
*Cyprus and Early Greek History* (Fourth Bank of Cyprus Lecture on History and Archaeology. Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Nicosia).
- Snodgrass, A. 1994  
 Gains, losses and survivals: what we infer for the 11th century B.C. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Proceedings of the International Symposium Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C. Organized by the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus and the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia 30–31 October, 1993*, pp. 167–76. (Nicosia).
- Soldt, W.H. van 1989  
 Labels from Ugarit. *Ugarit Forschungen* 21:375–88.
- South, A.K. 1980  
 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1979: a summary report. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 22–53.
- South, A.K. 1982  
 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1980–1981. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 60–68.

- South, A.K. 1984  
 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios and the Late Bronze Age of Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis and J.D. Muhly (eds), *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*, pp. 11–18 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- South, A.K. 1988  
 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1987: An important ceramic group from Building X. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 223–28.
- South, A.K. 1989  
 From copper to kingship: aspects of Bronze Age society viewed from the Vasilikos Valley. In E. Peltenburg (ed), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 315–24 (University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh).
- South, A.K. 1995  
 Urbanism and trade in the Vasilikos Valley in the Late Bronze Age. In S. Bourke and J.-P. Descoeudres (eds), *Trade, Contact and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean. Studies in Honour of J. Basil Hennessy*. Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 3, pp. 187–97 (Sydney).
- South, A.K. 1997  
 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992–1996. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 151–76.
- South, A., P. Russell and P. Schuster Keswani 1989  
*Vasilikos Valley Project 3: Kalavassos Ayios Dhimitrios II. Ceramics, Objects, Tombs, Specialist Studies*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXI:3 (Göteborg).
- Spiro, M.E. 1966  
 Religion: problems of definition and explanation. In M. Banton (ed), *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, pp. 85–126 (Association of Social Anthropologists Monographs 3, London).
- Stager, L.E., A. Walker and G.E. Wright 1974  
*American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus. First Preliminary Report: Seasons of 1971 and 1972* (Cambridge, Massachusetts).
- Staïs, V. 1909  
 Collection Mycénienne—Guide Illustré du Musée National d'Athènes (Athens, 2nd edition).
- Stech, T. 1982  
 Urban metallurgy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In J.D. Muhly, R. Maddin and V. Karageorghis (eds), *Acta of the International Archaeological Symposium Early Metallurgy in Cyprus, 4000–500 B.C. 1–6 June 1981*, pp. 105–15 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Stech, T., R. Maddin and J.D. Muhly 1985  
 Copper production at Kition in the Late Bronze Age. In V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Areas I and II. Part I*, pp. 388–402 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).

- Steel, L. 1994  
Representation of a shrine on a Mycenaean chariot krater from Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Cyprus. *Annual of the British School of Archaeology* 89:201–11.
- Stern, E. 1984  
Excavations at Tel Mevorakh (1973–1976). *Qedem* 18.
- Stewart, J. 1948  
Handbook to the Nicholson Museum (2nd ed, Sydney).
- Stone, T. and T.L. Howell 1994  
Contemporary theory in the study of sociopolitical organization. In T.L. Howell and T. Stone (eds), *Exploring Social, Political and Economic Organization in the Zuni Region. Tempe (AZ)*, pp. 103–10 (Arizona State University Anthropological Research Papers 46).
- Stone, T. 1999  
The chaos of collapse: disintegration and reintegration of inter-regional systems. *Antiquity* 73:110–18.
- Van Straten, F. 1981  
Gifts for the gods. In H.S. Versnel (ed), *Faith, Hope and Worship*, pp. 64–151 (Leiden).
- Swiny, S. 1980  
Bronze Age gaming stones from Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 54–78.
- Swiny, S. 1981  
Bronze Age settlement patterns in southwest Cyprus. *Levant* 13:51–87.
- Swiny, S. 1985a  
The Cyprus-American Archaeological Research Institute excavations at Sotira-Kaminoudhia and the origin of the Philia Culture. In Th. Papadopoulou and S. Hadjistellis (eds), *Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου Α*, pp. 13–26 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Swiny, S. 1985b  
Sotira-Kaminoudhia and the Chalcolithic–Early Bronze Age transition in Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985*, pp. 115–24 (Leventis Foundation, Nicosia).
- Symeonoglou, S. 1972  
Archaeological survey in the area of Phlamoudhi, Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 189–91.
- Symeonoglou, S. 1975a  
Observations on the archaeological survey in the area of Phlamoudhi, Cyprus: a reply. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 36–40.
- Symeonoglou, S. 1975b  
Excavations at Phlamoudhi and the form of the sanctuary in Bronze Age Cyprus. In N. Roberston (ed), *The Archaeology of Cyprus. Recent Developments*, pp. 61–75 (New Jersey).

- Symons, D. 1984  
*Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 10. Cypriote Antiquities in Wolverhampton Art Gallery and Museums*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XX:10 (Göteborg).
- Taylor, J. du Plat 1952  
A Late Bronze Age settlement at Apliki, Cyprus. *The Antiquaries Journal* XXXII:133–67.
- Taylor, J. du Plat 1956  
Late Cypriot III in the light of recent excavation. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 22–37.
- Taylor, J. du Plat et al. 1957  
*Myrtou-Pigadhes: A Late Bronze Age Sanctuary in Cyprus* (Oxford).
- Teissier, B. 1984  
*Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection* (Berkeley and Los Angeles).
- Thompson, J.B. 1984  
*Studies in the Theory of Ideology* (Cambridge).
- Todd, I.A. 1993  
Kalavassos-Laroumena: test excavation of a Middle Bronze Age settlement. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 81–96.
- Todd, I. and A. South 1992  
The Late Bronze Age in the Vasilikos Valley: recent research. In G.C. Ioannides (ed), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, pp. 191–204 (Society of Cypriot Studies, Nicosia).
- Trigger, B. 1990  
Monumental architecture: a thermodynamic explanation of symbolic behaviour. *World Archaeology* 22:119–32.
- Tylecote, R.F. 1985  
Copper working at Kition. In V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at Kition. V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Area I and II. Part I*, p. 430 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Urton, G.D. 1990  
*The History of a Myth: Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas* (Austin).
- Vandiver, P.B. and W.D. Kingery 1992  
Manufacture of an Eighteenth Dynasty faience chalice. In M. Bimson and I.C. Freestone, *Early Vitreous Materials*, pp. 79–90 (Department of Scientific Research, British Museum, London).
- Vanschoonwinkel, J. 1994  
La présence grecque à Chypre au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Proceedings of the International Symposium Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C. Organized by the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus and the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia 30–31 October, 1993*, pp. 109–32 (Nicosia).

- Vermeule, E. and V. Karageorghis 1982  
*Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting* (London).
- Vermeule, E. and F. Wolsky 1979  
Small terracotta sculptures from Toumba tou Skourou. In V. Karageorghis (ed), *Studies Presented in Memory of Porphyrios Dikaios*, pp. 53–59 (Lions Club, Nicosia).
- Vermeule, E.D.T. and F.Z. Wolsky 1990  
*Toumba tou Skourou. A Bronze Age Potters' Quarter on Morphou Bay in Cyprus* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts).
- Vollenweider, M.-T. 1967  
*Catalogue raisonné des sceaux, cylindres et intailles Volume. I. Genève. Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève* (Geneva).
- Vollenweider, M.-T. 1983  
*Catalogue raisonné des sceaux, cylindres, intailles et camées, Vol. III. Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève. La collection du Révérend Dr. V.E.G. Kenna et d'autres acquisitions et dons récents* (Mainz).
- Vorys Canby, J. 1975  
The Walters Art Gallery Cappadocian tablet and the sphinx in Anatolia in the second millennium BC. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 34:225–68.
- Voyatzis, M.E. 1985  
Arcadia and Cyprus: aspects of their interrelationship between the twelfth and eighth centuries B.C. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 155–63.
- Walberg, G. 1992  
*The Nelson and Helen Glueck Collection of Cypriot Antiquities, Cincinnati. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocket-book 111* (Jonsered).
- Waldbaum, J.C.L. 1978  
*From Bronze to Iron. The Transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in the Eastern Mediterranean. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LIV* (Göteborg).
- Walters, H.B. 1903  
*Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London).
- Walters, H.B. 1926  
*Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the British Museum* (London).
- Ward, W.H. 1910  
*The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington).
- Ward, W.A. and M.S. Joukowsky (eds) 1992  
*The Crisis Years: The 12<sup>th</sup> Century BC From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (Iowa).
- Wasilewska, E. 1991  
Archaeology of religion: colors as symbolic markers dividing sacred from profane. *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* V:36–41.
- Wasilewska, E. 1994  
The search for the impossible: the archaeology of religion of prehistoric societies as an anthropological discipline. *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* VIII:62–75.
- Watkins, T. 1966  
Metal finds. In P. Åström, *Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology II*, pp. 113–15 (Lund).
- Webb, J.M. 1977a  
Late Cypriote altars and offering structures. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 113–32.
- Webb, J.M. 1977b  
A scapula from Limassol-'Komissariato' in V. Karageorghis, *Two Cypriote Sanctuaries of the End of the Cypro-Achaic Period*, pp. 74–80 (Rome).
- Webb, J.M. 1985  
The incised scapulae. In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Part II*, pp. 317–28 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Webb, J.M. 1988  
A Cypriote caprid goddess. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 275–79.
- Webb, J.M. 1989a  
A cylinder seal from Kazaphani-Ayios Andronikos. In I. and K. Nicolaou, *Kazaphani. A Middle-Late Cypriot Tomb at Kazaphani-Ayios Andronikos: T 2A,B*, pp. 113–14 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Webb, J.M. 1989b  
The island of Aphrodite. Ideology and ritual from earliest times to the Classical period. In S.M. Lubsen-Admiraal and J. Crouwel, *Cyprus & Aphrodite*, pp. 102–44 (SDU uitgeverij, 's-Gravenhage).
- Webb, J.M. 1992a  
Funerary ideology in Bronze Age Cyprus. Toward the recognition and analysis of Cypriote ritual data. In G.C. Ioannides (ed), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, pp. 87–99 (Society of Cypriot Studies, Nicosia).
- Webb, J.M. 1992b  
Cypriote Bronze Age glyptic: style, function and social context. In R. Laffineur and J. Crowley (eds), *EIKQN. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology*. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia 6–9 April 1992, *Aegaeum* 8, pp. 113–21 (University of Liège, Liège).
- Webb 1995  
Abandonment processes and curate/discard strategies at Marki-Alonia, Cyprus. *The Artefact* 18:64–70.



- , J.M. 1997a  
*Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 18. Cypriote Antiquities in Australian Collections I. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XX:18* (Jonsered).
- Webb, J.M. 1997b  
 Device, image and coercion. The role of glyptic in the political economy of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Paper delivered at the 99th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Chicago 1997. In press.
- Webb, J.M. and J.-C. Courtois 1979  
 A steatite relief mould from Enkomi. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 151–58.
- Webb, J.M. and J.-C. Courtois 1980  
 A bronze ox-horn from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, Enkomi. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 100–108.
- Webb, J.M. and D. Frankel 1994  
 Making an impression: storage and surplus finance in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 7:5–26.
- Weingarten, J. 1991  
*The Transformation of Egyptian Taweret into the Minoan Genius*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXXVIII (Göteborg).
- Wells, P.S. 1992  
 Tradition, identity, and change beyond the Roman frontier. In E.M. Schortman and P.A. Urban (eds), *Resources, Power, and Interregional Interaction*, pp. 175–91 (Plenum Press, New York and London).
- Wertime, T.A. and J.D. Muhly (eds) 1980  
*The Coming of the Age of Iron* (London).
- White, D. 1989  
 1987 excavations on Bate's Island, Marsa Matruh. Second preliminary report. *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt* 26:87–114.
- Whittaker, H. 1997  
*Mycenaean Cult Buildings. A Study of their Architecture and Function in the Context of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean*. Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens Volume I (Bergen).
- Willetts, R. 1978  
 More on the horns of consecration. *Kadmos* 17:172ff.
- Witzel, N. 1979  
 Finds from the area of Dromolaxia. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 181–97.
- Wright, G.R.H. 1971  
 Pre-Israelite temples in the land of Canaan. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 17–32.
- Wright, G.R.H. 1985  
*Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine* (Leiden, Cologne).

- Wright, G.R.H. 1992a  
*Ancient Building in Cyprus I–II* (Handbuch der Orientalistik. Siebente Abteilung. Kunst und Archäologie. Brill, Leiden, New York, Köln).
- Wright, G.R.H. 1992b  
 The Cypriot rural sanctuary. An illuminating document in comparative religion. In G.C. Ioannides (ed), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, pp. 269–83 (Society of Cypriot Studies, Nicosia).
- Wright, J.C. 1994  
 The spatial configuration of belief: the archaeology of Mycenaean religion. In S.E. Alcock and R. Osborne (eds), *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, pp. 37–78 (Oxford).
- Wright, J.C. 1995  
 The archaeological correlates of religion: case studies in the Aegean. In R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier (eds), *Politeia. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10–13 April, 1994*, pp. 341–48 (Aegaeum 12, Liège).
- Yavis, C. 1949  
*Greek Altars. Origins and Typology including the Minoan-Mycenaean Offertory Apparatus* (St. Louis).
- Yogev, O. 1983  
 Conoid stamp seal. In T. Dothan and A. Ben-Tor, *Excavations at Athienou, Cyprus 1971–1972*. Qedem 16, p. 118.
- Yon, M. 1971  
*Salamine de Chypre II. La Tombe T.I. du XIe s. av. J.-C.* (Paris).
- Yon, M. 1980a  
 La fondation de Salamine. In *Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et Archéologie. État des Recherches*, pp. 71–80 (Paris).
- Yon, M. 1980b  
 Rhytons chypriotes à Ougarit. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 79–83.
- Yon, M. 1981  
*Dictionnaire illustré multilingue de la céramique du Proche Orient ancien* (Lyon).
- Yon, M. 1986  
 Instruments de culte en Méditerranée Orientale. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident', 8–14 September 1985*, pp. 265–88 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).
- Yon, M. 1997  
 Rhytons zoomorphes et vases figuratifs au Bronze Récent. In V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur and F. Vandenberghe (eds), *Four Thousand Years of Images on Cypriote Pottery. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Cypriote Studies Nicosia, 3–4 May 1996*, pp. 49–60 (Brussels-Liège-Nicosia).

Yon, M. and A. Caubet 1985

*Kition-Bamboula III. Le Sondage L-N 13 (Bronze Récent et Géométrique I).*  
Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, Mémoire No. 56 (Paris).

Young, J.H. and S.H. Young 1955

*Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus* (The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).

Zahlhaas, G. 1985

Zypern, 57–63. In H. Dannheimer (ed), *Idole. Frühe Götterbilder und Opfergaben.*  
Prähistorische Staatsammlung München, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte (Mainz).

Zwicker, U. 1985

Investigation of samples from the metallurgical workshops at Kition. In V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Areas II and III. Part I*, pp. 403–29 (Department of Antiquities, Nicosia).

## INDEX

### A

- abandonment processes, effects of, 11–12, 14, 157  
adoration of the tree, 260, 262, 266–67, 272, 274  
Alashiya, 3, 225, 280  
Alassa *Paliotaverna*, 125–27, 162, 175, 227, 266, 289  
Alassa *Pano Mandilaris*, 52, 122–25, 132, 197, 202–203, 216, 218–219, 237, 240–241, 294, 297, 299–300  
Al-Radi, 20, 112, 134, 138–40  
Ambelia *Djirpoulos*, 140  
ancestral cults, 231, 280, 287–88, 294  
anchors, 42–44, 74, 76, 80, 83–84, 101, 107, 138–39, 156, 171, 184–87, 251, 254, 281, 302  
animal sacrifice, 57, 74, 90, 99, 163, 165, 208, 236, 240, 250–52, 272, 279, 281, 296–97  
anthropomorphic ministrant, 243–44, 264, 266, 270  
Aphrodite, 58, 64, 182, 228, 234  
Aphrodite *Parakypitousa*, 261  
Apollo Alasiotas, 228  
Apollo Keraiates, 228  
arm vessels, 31–34, 202  
arrowheads, 25, 31, 43, 54, 83, 92, 96, 119, 237–39  
Arsos, 134, 235–36  
ashlar masonry, 4, 37, 52, 58, 67, 77, 101, 116, 161, 182, 289, 295  
Astarte, 64, 76, 113, 179, 209, 211, 231, 234, 261, 298  
Astarte-on-the-Ingot, 113, 234  
astragalomancy, 250  
Åström, 29, 31, 57, 113, 115–16, 127, 130, 200  
Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, 5, 8, 12, 20–29, 113, 115–16, 139, 163–65, 174–75, 189, 192–93, 196–98, 202, 205, 208–209, 219, 225, 237, 243–44, 246, 248, 250–51, 284–87, 295, 297, 299–303

- axe/axehead, 31, 37, 54, 57, 71, 89, 118–19, 123, 138, 144, 174, 194, 238–40, 271–72, 279  
Ayia Irini *Palaeokastro*, 33  
Ayia Irini, 8, 35, 37, 53–58, 115, 158, 161, 163–66, 169, 171, 182, 188, 193, 197, 203, 218–19, 222, 234, 237, 239, 243–45, 247–48, 280, 287–88, 294, 296–97  
Ayios Iakovos *Dhima*, 8, 11, 20–21, 29–35, 37, 125, 139–40, 157, 165–66, 169–71, 175, 188–89, 196, 199, 202, 219, 231, 236–39, 243–47, 250, 284, 286, 294, 296–97

### B

- Baal, 228, 259, 263, 280  
baetyls/stelae, 69, 106–107, 163, 182–85, 188  
the Bairaktar bronze, 113, 211, 232–35, 247, 298, 301  
basins/larnakes, 13, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 42–43, 48, 51, 58, 61, 63, 90, 125, 134, 165, 175–76, 187, 261, 306  
Begg, 11, 143, 211, 213, 219  
benches, 11, 13–14, 22, 42–44, 47, 54, 71, 76–77, 80, 83, 101, 106–107, 112–13, 118, 122–23, 130, 134, 141, 154–55, 163–64, 166–67, 171, 184, 189, 192–93, 196–97, 199–200, 202, 204, 213, 240, 249, 251, 255  
Bes, 9, 77, 220, 243, 271  
the Bomford Goddess, 113, 232–35, 247, 298, 301–302  
bronze stands, 149, 153, 183, 194, 234, 236, 261, 298–99  
bronze knives/daggers, 48, 51, 77, 90, 96, 101, 107, 119, 122, 166, 238, 240–41, 270–71  
bronze liver or kidney model?, 43, 241–42  
bronze ox horn, 107, 113, 236, 243  
bronze tripods, 48, 144–45, 241  
bucrania/ox skulls, 25, 74, 83, 92, 96, 99, 101, 106–107, 122, 132, 145, 163, 175–76, 179, 184, 198, 203, 205, 219, 222,

236, 244, 246, 251–52, 266, 272, 276,  
278–79, 302  
bull figurines in terracotta, 25, 28, 37, 47,  
51–54, 57–58, 69, 73, 76, 80, 83, 89–90,  
96, 99, 101, 106, 113, 119, 123, 125, 132,  
149, 162, 164, 169, 188, 197, 216–19,  
228, 241, 281, 294  
bull figurines in bronze, 47, 96, 134, 228,  
236  
bull figurines in ivory, 90  
bull-handlers, 215–17, 259  
bull-man, 198, 222, 231, 243, 263–64, 266,  
270–71  
Burdajewicz, 62, 116, 119, 146

## C

Callot, 65, 69, 73, 76, 181  
caprid goddess, 267–68  
Catling, 7, 54, 96, 146, 148, 216, 223, 225,  
229, 232, 234, 298–99  
centaurs, 107, 110, 197, 218, 234  
centralised authority, 3–5, 281, 288, 292–  
94, 305–308  
*Charonia sequenzae* and *nodifera*, 71, 74,  
129, 203, 207, 250  
Chatos, 149, 308  
clay balls, 83–84, 106–107, 119, 183, 248–  
49  
cleromancy, 250  
communal/public cult, 20, 161–62, 201,  
211, 219, 279, 294–95  
Courtois, 116, 119–20, 130, 132, 146, 148,  
183, 193, 203–204, 213, 215, 220, 259,  
300  
cult and metallurgy, 21, 28–29, 76, 113,  
116, 130, 187, 225–26, 279, 285–87,  
297–302  
cult and seafaring, 187, 302–303  
cult chariots, 25, 134, 235–36  
cult stands, 252  
cult statues, 9, 12, 112, 153, 163, 188, 223,  
228, 237, 279–80, 296, 298  
cylinder and stamp seals, 243–47, 262–79,  
306–307

## D

Demas, 20, 69, 144, 146  
Dikaios, 91–92, 96, 99–102, 140–41, 143–  
44, 146, 148, 204, 215, 220, 227–28, 232  
discard strategies, 11–14, 157  
divination, 64, 71, 132, 163, 249–50, 252

divine couples, 280  
domestic/household cult, 14, 123, 125, 132,  
203, 211, 219, 231, 279, 294–95, 297  
the Double Goddess, 100, 174, 223, 231–  
33, 280, 294  
Dromolaxia *Trypes*, 33, 259

## E

EI, 228–29, 231  
elite ritual practice, 287–297  
Enkomi. Area I. Sanctuary of the Horned  
God, 8, 12, 91–101, 129, 157–58, 161,  
163, 165–66, 169, 171, 173–75, 188–89,  
192–93, 198–99, 200, 202–205, 215, 219,  
227, 232, 236–37, 240–41, 243, 247–49,  
251, 253–55, 281, 289–90, 293–94, 296–  
97, 304  
Enkomi. Area I. Sanctuary of the Double  
Goddess, 8, 91–93, 99–101, 129, 157,  
161, 165–66, 169, 192, 202, 213–14, 219,  
223, 231–33, 240, 247, 250, 289–90,  
293–94, 296–97, 304  
Enkomi. Area III. 'The Tower Sanctuary',  
146–49  
Enkomi. Fortress Room 113. Level IB,  
140–42  
Enkomi. Fortress Rooms 13 and 13A. Level  
IIA, 142–43  
Enkomi. Quarter 5E. Sanctuary of the Ingot  
God. Sols VI–V, 119–22, 225–26, 240  
Enkomi. Quarter 5E. Sanctuary of the Ingot  
God. Sols IV–I, 7, 8, 20, 92, 102–13, 116,  
129, 148, 158, 160, 163, 165–69, 171,  
173–74, 182, 192–93, 196–97, 199–200,  
202–208, 213–15, 218–220, 222–23,  
225–26, 234–36, 239–40, 243, 245–52,  
261, 280, 289–90, 293–94, 296–97, 300,  
304  
Enkomi. Quarter 6E. Ashlar building  
(formerly 'The House of the Columns'),  
20, 52, 116–19, 122, 158, 161, 181, 188,  
211, 216, 219, 235, 237, 239–40, 243,  
248, 289–90, 292–93, 297  
Enkomi. Quarter 6W. Possible cult places,  
132–34  
Enkomi. Quarter 5E. The 'Sanctuaire du  
Dieu Lunaire', 20, 130, 132, 240  
extramural cult locales, 21, 29, 116, 284–  
86, 295, 297

## F

factional rivalry, 287, 292–94  
faunal remains, 47, 53, 99, 163–64, 171,  
219, 250–52  
foundation deposits, 80, 96, 143, 151, 155,  
243  
funerary cult/mortuary ritual, 10, 20, 34,  
199, 201–202, 211, 279, 286, 294–95,  
297

## G

garden, 42, 44, 164  
goddess with upraised arms, 69, 83, 100,  
146, 148, 213–15, 279, 281  
griffins, 118, 208, 231, 243–44, 262–64,  
266–67, 270–71, 276  
griffin-demon, 270–71  
griffin-man, 263–64, 231, 270–71

## H

Hala Sultan Tekke. Area 8. Rooms 61, 67,  
67A, 71 and 79, 127–30, 161, 173, 175,  
182, 203, 237, 250, 297  
Hala Sultan Tekke. Area 8. Room 95  
complex, 130–31, 161, 173, 175, 182,  
243, 246, 297  
Hala Sultan Tekke, carved stelae, 183–85,  
188  
Homage Krater, 260  
the Horned God, 12, 96, 98–101, 163, 174,  
223–24, 227–28, 231–32, 237, 241, 279–  
80, 294  
horns of consecration, 6, 11, 14, 47, 52–53,  
61, 64, 73, 146, 164–65, 171–73, 175–79,  
183, 187, 215, 253, 281, 287, 289, 294–  
95  
horse-riders, 215–17  
House of the Columns. See Enkomi.  
Quarter 6E. Ashlar building  
Hult, 134–35, 146, 148, 183  
hunt/hunting/hunstmnen, 207–208, 239–40,  
244, 247, 260, 272, 274, 276, 279

## I

Iacovou, 7, 91, 102, 192, 207  
Idalion *Ambelleri* Periods 1–3, 8, 37, 84–91,  
132, 140, 146, 158, 161, 164, 166, 169,  
174–75, 188–89, 194, 197, 201, 205, 211,

218–19, 237, 239, 240, 243, 245–46, 248,  
252, 258, 280, 287–88, 294, 296–97, 300,  
308  
incense burners, 123, 125, 197  
the Ingot God, 107, 111–13, 122, 163, 174,  
219, 223–26, 279–80, 298–302  
ingot-bearers, 276, 299–300  
Ionas, 112, 132, 148, 174  
iron knives, 90, 96, 106, 238, 240  
island-wide polity/archaic state, 3–5, 262,  
284, 298, 305–308

## K

Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, 33–34, 52, 62,  
127, 149, 162, 176, 182, 257, 287, 289,  
308–309  
Kalopsidha *Koufos*, 20, 113–16, 174, 197–  
98, 219, 225, 237, 279, 284–85, 295, 297,  
299, 301–302, 304  
Karageorghis, 6–7, 33, 37, 42, 44, 52, 65,  
69, 91, 113, 118, 144, 146, 163, 175,  
181–82, 192, 194, 209, 213, 216, 219,  
220, 225, 229, 235–36, 249, 287, 300  
Katydhata, 236, 308  
Kazaphani, 216, 219, 235, 308  
kernos/kernois, 83, 149, 187, 200–201  
Keswani, 3–5, 285, 287, 292–93, 305–307  
Kinyras, 64, 228, 261  
Kition. Area II. Temenos A, 71–74, 76,  
164–65, 169, 171, 173–74, 176, 192–93,  
196, 199–200, 202, 204, 207, 213, 220,  
237, 240, 247, 250, 253, 299  
Kition. Area II. Temenos B, 65, 68–71, 73,  
76, 164–65, 173, 176, 179, 181, 196  
Kition. Area II. Temple 1, 13, 64–69, 71,  
73–74, 76, 152, 157–58, 161–62, 179–82,  
187, 203, 280, 286, 292, 297, 299, 301–  
303  
Kition. Area II. Temple 2, 37–38, 40–44,  
64–65, 68–71, 73, 76, 152, 158, 163, 166,  
168–69, 174, 181, 184, 187, 189, 192–93,  
196–97, 200–205, 207, 219, 237, 239,  
240–43, 247, 250, 253, 287–89, 297, 302  
Kition. Area II. Temple 3, 37–39, 42–44,  
65, 73, 76, 151, 157–58, 161, 166, 169–  
70, 187–88, 196, 237, 253, 287, 297  
Kition. Area II. Temple 4, 9, 77–80, 83,  
158, 161, 163–64, 166, 168–69, 171,  
173–74, 184, 187, 192–93, 203–204,  
219–20, 237, 240, 243, 297, 302  
Kition. Area II. Temple 5, 77, 80–84, 158,  
161, 163–64, 166, 170–71, 173–75, 184,  
187–88, 192, 196–97, 199, 204, 206–207,

209, 219–20, 222, 237, 239–40, 248, 251, 253, 257, 297  
 Kition. Area II. The Northern Workshops, 65, 71, 74–76, 158, 184–85, 187, 220, 222, 240, 246, 248, 250–51, 280, 299, 300, 302  
 Kition. Area II. The Western Workshops, 64–65, 74, 76, 158, 248, 254  
 Kling, 6–7, 42, 52, 92, 102, 119, 144, 236  
 Knapp, 5, 112, 225, 276, 286–87, 298–300, 305  
 Korovia *Nitovikla*, 135–36, 138, 251  
 Korovia *Palaeokoutella*, 34, 175, 286  
 Kouklia *Palaeophos*. Sanctuary I, 8, 13, 58–64, 125, 157–58, 161–62, 164–65, 173–77, 179, 181–82, 187, 189, 199, 203, 211, 237, 288–89, 292, 295–297, 305  
 Kouklia *Teratsoudhia*, 113, 211, 232, 234, 249, 259, 298  
 Kouklia *Xerolimni*, 201, 261  
 Kourion *Bamboula*, 149, 216, 222, 253, 256, 261, 284, 308  
*kourotrophos* figures, 143, 209–10  
 kylix/stemmed cup 43, 57, 71, 96, 100, 107, 182, 193, 194, 196, 205, 229, 261, 296

## L

lions, 31, 33, 61, 77, 125, 150, 183, 194, 198, 200, 207–208, 231, 236, 239, 243–44, 246, 254, 262–64, 266–67, 270–71, 276  
 lion-eared demons, 267, 271  
 lion-man, 231, 244, 264, 266, 270–71

## M

Maa *Palaeokastro*, 33, 52, 54, 149, 199, 218, 236  
 male figure with tree, bucranium and ingots, 276–78  
 Manning, 287, 293, 306  
 marine motifs, 43, 71, 76, 187, 207, 302  
 Maroni *Tsaroukkas*, 287  
 Maroni *Vournes*, 52, 149, 162, 287, 289  
 masks, 73, 74, 76, 83–84, 91, 101, 113, 164, 219–22, 243, 252, 257–58  
 Master of Animals, 263, 265–66, 276, 279  
 Merrillees, 3, 135, 284  
 miniature ingots, 101, 123, 125, 241–42, 299–300  
 miniature oxen, 101, 218  
 miniature tools and weapons, 95–96, 99, 198, 228, 237, 240, 281, 304

miniature vessels, 12, 20, 22, 26, 28, 37, 83, 114–16, 150, 189, 196, 285, 295, 297, 304  
 Minoan genius/genii, 198, 254, 271, 281  
 Mistress of Animals, 266–67, 269, 270, 279  
 monumental architecture/monumentality, 5, 162, 165, 287–89, 292, 295–96  
 Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, 4, 216, 257, 284, 286, 293, 306, 309  
 Muhly, 51, 113, 225, 299–300, 305  
 Mycenaean female figurines, 42, 44, 73, 213  
 Mycenaean pictorial vessels, 259–61  
 Mycenaean zoomorphic figurines, 216, 218  
 Myrtou *Pigadhes*. Rooms CD1–CD6. Periods III–IV, 21, 35–37, 115, 157, 161–62, 164, 174, 189, 196–97, 199, 216, 219, 239, 284, 286, 289, 292, 297  
 Myrtou *Pigadhes*. Periods V–VII, 8, 21, 44–53, 62, 115, 127, 146, 162, 164–66, 169, 171–77, 179, 181, 183, 192, 196–98, 200, 203–205, 209, 211, 218–19, 236–37, 240–41, 243–44, 247–52, 287–89, 294–97, 304

## N

Nergal, 225–27, 234  
 the nude goddess, 267–68

## O

offering stands, 25, 27, 37, 47–51, 53, 56–57, 107–108, 115, 125, 164, 166, 188–89, 197–98, 241, 248, 296  
 opium, 83–84, 209, 302, 304  
 ox horns, 25, 29, 74, 118, 250–52

## P

pebble settings, 57, 89, 188, 197  
 Peltenburg, 3, 5, 28, 193, 234, 293, 295, 305  
 Phlamoudhi *Melissa*, 52, 125, 134–35, 138–39, 175, 251  
 Phlamoudhi *Vounari*, 15, 20, 134–35, 137–40, 308  
 pillar cult, 188  
 Psilatos, 149, 308  
 public cult/communal cult, 20, 161–62, 201, 211, 219  
 Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, 144–46, 154, 176, 204, 211, 235, 256, 308

## R

regional cult centres, 15, 165, 219, 287, 294–97  
 Renfrew, 10–11, 13–15  
 Resheph, 58, 225–26, 228, 234, 279  
 rhyton/rhyta, 25, 27, 41, 43, 48, 51, 73, 92, 101, 106, 113, 134, 143, 149, 176, 189, 194, 199–201, 205, 207, 209, 216, 241, 243, 279, 296–98, 307–308  
 rhyta (conical), 25, 27, 43, 48, 194, 199, 201, 243, 296  
 rhyta (annular), 51, 73, 106, 134, 199–201, 296  
 rhyta (zoomorphic), 51, 92, 101, 143, 199–201, 216, 241–43, 296–97, 307  
 ring dance, 112, 213–15, 250  
 ritual processions, 194–95, 239, 246–47, 267, 271–73, 279  
 robed crowned god, 263–64  
 robed crowned goddess, 266, 268, 270, 279

## S

scapula/scapulae, incised and unincised, 48, 51, 69, 77, 83, 107, 113, 166, 197, 240, 242, 249–52, 295, 304  
 Schaeffer, 107, 112, 118, 132, 225, 229, 235–36  
 scrap metal, 25, 43, 71, 73, 80, 83–84, 96, 115–16, 119, 163, 237  
 scapulomancy/omoplatoscopy, 249  
 seated figure with spear, bucranium and ingots, 239, 244–45, 272, 275–76  
 seated male bronzes, 194, 229–31  
 Sinda *Harman Tepe*, 134  
 Sinda *Siratas*, 134, 143–44  
 Sherratt, 6, 288, 292  
 ship graffiti, 69, 187, 302–303  
 sickles, 96, 99, 130, 132, 237–40, 270–71, 279  
 slag, 42, 48, 51, 64, 74, 83–84, 90–91, 115, 116, 118–19, 123, 129, 174, 237, 241  
 slaughtering blocks, 73, 106, 164, 167, 171, 173  
 smiting bronzes, 134, 223, 225–26, 279  
 sphinxes, 61, 107, 112, 118, 198, 218–19, 243, 246, 263, 266–67, 270–71, 276, 279  
 staple and wealth finance, 5, 285, 288  
 stele/stelae. See *baetyls*  
 stemmed cup. See *kylix*  
 stepped bases, 182  
 stepped capitals, 47, 52, 61, 65, 69, 73, 118, 162, 179–82, 188, 253, 289, 294–95

stone platforms, 44, 47, 52, 64, 73, 164, 171–73, 176, 253, 289, 292, 294  
 stone tables/podia, 11, 30–31, 54, 71, 80, 84, 100, 163, 169–71, 253  
 strategies of ideological legitimation, 2, 5, 17, 262, 276, 279, 281, 285, 292–93, 295–96, 299, 301–302, 307–308  
 Sunshade (Parasol) Krater, 194, 260

## T

terracotta female figurines of Type A, 209–12, 215, 234, 255, 270, 297–98, 308  
 terracotta female figurines of Type B, 209–212, 215, 232, 234–35, 255–56, 270, 279, 297  
 terracotta liver model, 132  
 terminology, 8–9, 253  
 triton shell. See *Charonia sequenzae* and *nodifera*

## U

urban cult buildings/sites, 15, 219, 243, 249, 286, 294–97  
 use of the colour red, 57, 74, 80, 89–90, 188

## V

vessels with figured decoration, 48, 73, 107, 123, 129, 192–93, 196–97, 200, 205–209, 259–61  
 Vounous Model, 20, 286

## W

Window Krater, 261  
 Wright, 116

## Z

Zeus Krater, 260, 298, 300

Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature  
Pocket-books

1. Åström, *Cypern - motsättningarnas ö.*
2. Murray, *The Protogeometric Style.*
3. Holmberg, *Aten.*
4. Laffineur, *Les vases en métal précieux à l'époque mycénienne.*
6. Pomerance, *The Phaistos Disc.*
7. Wistrand, *Politik och litteratur i antikens Rom.*
9. Merrillees, *Introduction to the Bronze Age Archaeology of Cyprus.*
10. Holmberg, *Delphi and Olympiä.*
11. Åström, *Arkeologiskt detektivarbete.*
12. Gjerstad, *Ages and Days in Cyprus.*
13. Andrén, *Capri - From the Stone Age to the Tourist Age.*
14. Andrén, *Vår vän Horatius.*
15. Alden, *Bronze Age Fluctuations in the Argolid.*
16. Peltenburg, *Recent Developments in the Later Prehistory of Cyprus.*
17. Kromholz, *The Bronze Age Necropolis at Ayia Paraskevi (Nicosia).*
18. Kapera, *Kinyras. Bibliography of Ancient Cyprus for the Year 1979.*
20. Orphanides, *Bronze Age Anthropomorphic Figurines.*
21. Skupinska-Lövset, *Funerary Portraiture of Roman Palestine.*
22. Westerberg, *Cypriote Ships From the Bronze Age to c. 500 B.C.*
23. Barletta, *Ionic Influence in Archaic Sicily.*
24. Pohl, *Ostia.*
25. Åström, Palmer & Pomerance, *Studies in Aegean Chronology.*
26. Weingarten, *The Zakro Master and His Place in Prehistory.*
27. Andrén, *Orvieto.*
28. Kapera, *Kinyras. Bibliography of Ancient Cyprus for the Year 1978.*
31. Sjöqvist & Åström, *Pylos: Palmprints & Palmleaves.*
32. Säflund, *Att tyda antika bildverk.*
33. Sophocleous, *Atlas des représentations chypro-archaïques des divinités.*
34. Shelmerdine, *The Perfume Industry at Mycenaean Pylos.*
35. Vessberg, *Romersk porträttkonst.*
36. Andrén, *Deeds and Misdeeds in Classical Art and Antiquities.*
37. Hankey, *Archaeology: Artifacts and Artificion.*
38. Ollfors, *Hjalmar Söderberg och antiken och andra essayer.*
39. Algulin, *Klassicism som nylitterär tradition.*
40. Culican, *Opera Selecta.*
42. Knapp, *Copper Production and Divine Protection.*
43. Coulson, *The Dark Age Pottery of Messenia.*
44. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece.*
45. Didoff, *Fragment av tid och rum. Antiken i konstnärligt ljus.*
46. Åström (ed), *Rilke, Briefe an Ernst Norlind.*
47. Bien, *Tre generationer av grekiska författare. 1. Konstantin Kavafis.*
48. Shams, *Some Minor Textiles in Antiquity.*

49. Walberg, *Kamares.*
50. Lólos, *The Late Helladic I Pottery of the Southwestern Peloponnesos and its Local Characteristics.*
51. Crowley, *The Aegean and the East. An Investigation into the Transference of Artistic Motifs between the Aegean, Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age.*
52. Grunewald, *Modern grekisk poesi. En antologi.*
53. Kurtén-Lindberg, *Women's Lib i Aristophanes' Athen?*
54. Stuart Leach, *Subgeometric Pottery from Southern Etruria.*
55. Schöne, *Der Thiasos.*
- 56-57. Åström (ed), *High, Middle or Low? Parts 1-2. Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held in Göteborg 20<sup>th</sup> -22<sup>nd</sup> August 1986.*
58. Bliquez, *Roman Surgical Instruments and Minor Objects in the University of Mississippi.*
59. Horatius, *Satirer och epistlar i urval.*
60. Kazantzakis, *Nikos Kazantzakis' filosofiska testamente.*
61. Rilke, *Ett urval tolkningar av Patrik Reuterswärd.*
62. Psychoyos, *Déplacements de la ligne de rivage et sites archéologiques dans les régions côtières de la mer Egée, au Néolithique et à l'Age du Bronze.*
63. Sartre, *Barjona eller åskans son.*
65. von Rosen, *Lapis Lazuli in Geological Contexts.*
66. Åström & Rausing (eds), *Rilke, Briefe an Tora Vega Holmström.*
67. Czernohaus, *Delphindarstellungen von der minoischen bis zur geometrischen Zeit.*
68. Rombos, *The Iconography of Attic Late Geometric II Pottery.*
69. Tripathi, *Bronzework of Mainland Greece from c. 2600 BC to 1450 BC.*
70. Mattsson, *The Asciasymbol on Latin Epitaphs.*
72. Warren, *Minoan Religion as Ritual Action.*
73. Astour, *Hittite History and Absolute Chronology of the Bronze Age.*
74. Säflund, *Etrusker - vad menade ni egentligen?*
75. Webb, *Ritual Architecture, Iconography and Practice in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age.*
76. Tsipopoulou, *Archaeological Survey at Aghia Photia, Siteia.*
77. Stavrianopoulos, *Untersuchungen zur Struktur des Reiches von Pylos.*
78. Overbeck, *The Bronze Age Pottery from Kastro at Paros.*
79. Åström et al., *The Fantastic Years on Cyprus.*
80. Åström (ed), *High, Middle or Low? Part 3.*
81. Lindegård & Åström, *Hippokrates och vår tid.*
82. Sjöqvist & Åström, *Knossos, Keepers and Kneaders.*
83. Ovidius, *Tristia. Klagosånger.*
84. Weinstein Balthazar, *Copper and Bronze Working in Early Through Middle Bronze Age.*
85. Gifford, *The Geo-Archaeology of Hala Sultan Tekke.* In preparation.
86. Hjelmqvist, *A Cereal Find from Old Etruria.*
87. Holmberg, *The Red-line Painter and the Workshop of the Acheloos Painter.*
88. Kelly Cooper, *The Development of Roof Revetment in the Peloponnese.*
89. Åström, *Johannes Edfelt och antiken.*



90. Åström (ed), *Gunnar Ekelöf och Gottfrid Walldén. En brevväxling.*
91. Åström, *Gunnar Ekelöf och antiken.*
92. Åström (ed), *Jeno Platthy and Antiquity.*
93. von Rosen, *Lapis Lazuli in Archaeological Contexts.*
94. Andrén, *Minnen från min forntid.*
95. Lambrou-Phillipson, *Hellenorientalia. The Near Eastern Presence in the Bronze Age Aegean ca. 3000-1100 B.C.*
96. Papagiannopoulou, *The Influence of Middle Minoan Pottery on the Cyclades.*
97. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia.*
98. Kazantzakis *ODYSSSEIA I. Sång 1-10.*
99. Tagalidou, *Weihreliefs aus klassischer Zeit.*
100. Misch, *Die frühbronzezeitlichen Askoi Griechenlands. Eine typologische Studie zur Entwicklung askoider Gefäßformen in der Bronze- und Eisenzeit.*
101. Begg, *Late Cypriot Terracotta Figurines - a Study in Context.*
102. Åström (ed), *Brev från Gunnar Ekelöf.*
103. Andersson, *Antik ekonomi.*
104. Hitzl, *Die griechischen Sarkophage der archaischen und klassischen Zeit.*
105. Reber, *Untersuchungen zur handgemachten Keramik Griechenlands in der submykenischen, protogeometrischen und der geometrischen Zeit.*
106. Platon & Pararas, *Pedestalled Offering Tables in the Aegean World.*
107. Åström (ed), *Acta Cypria. Part 1. Acts of an International Congress.*
108. Kehrberg, *Northern Cyprus in the Transition from the Early to the Middle Cypriot Period. Typology, Relative and Absolute Chronology of Some Early Cypriot III to Middle Cypriot I Tombs.*
109. Laetitia a Campo, *Anthropomorphic Representations in Prehistoric Cyprus.*
110. Belli, *Romerska bilder. Sonetti romaneschi di G.G. Belli.*
111. Walberg & Bullard, *The Nelson and Helen Glueck Collection of Cypriot Vases in Cincinnati.*
112. Kazantzakis, *ODYSSSEIA II. Sång 11-24.*
113. Fehrman & Åström (eds), *Gullberg, Resedagbok i Grekland.*
114. Gualtieri (ed), *Fourth Century Magna Graecia: A Case Study.*
115. Holmberg, *On the Rycroft Painter and Other Athenian Black-Figure Painters with a Feeling for Nature.*
116. Forsén, *The Twilight of Early Helladics. A Study of the Disturbances in East-Central and S. Greece towards the End of the Early Bronze Age.*
117. Åström (ed), *Acta Cypria. Part 2.*
118. Säflund, *Etruscan Imagery. Symbol and Meaning.*
119. Ruegg, *Underwater Investigations at Roman Minturnae.*
120. Åström (ed), *Acta Cypria. Part 3.*
121. Samuelson, *Bronze Age White Painted I Ware in Cyprus. A Reinvestigation.*
122. Liritzis, *The Role and Development of Metallurgy in the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Greece.*
123. Strömberg, *Male or Female?*
124. Konstantin Kavafis' samlade publicerade dikter.
125. Michelson, *Vattenvård och rätt till vatten i forntidens Grekland.*
126. Åström & Herscher (eds), *Late Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus.*
127. Mountjoy, *Mycenaeen Athens.*
128. Åström (ed), *Karin Boye, Resedagbok i Grekland.*
129. Uddholm, *Kort sagt.*
130. Labud, *Ricerche archeologico-ambientale dell' Istria.*
131. Åström, *Östen Sjöstrand och antiken.*
132. Stolt, *Sökandet efter Lycksalighetens ö.*
133. Andrén, *Tuscanica. An Etruscan Picture-book.*
134. Gillis, Risberg & Sjöberg, *Trade and Production in Premonetary Greece: Aspects of Trade.*
135. Ellegård & Åkerström-Hougen (ed), *Rome and the North..*
136. Buchholz & Untiedt, *Tamassos. Ein antikes Königreich auf Zypern.*
137. Powell, *Fishing in the Prehistoric Aegean.*
138. Shelton, *The Late Helladic Pottery from Prosymna.*
139. Hankey, *Archaeology: More Artifacts and Artificion..*
141. Ruud, *Minoan Religion. A Bibliography.*
142. Karali-Yannacopoulou, *Ta ostrea sten proistoria tou Aigaiou.* In preparation.
143. Gillis, Risberg & Sjöberg, *Trade and Production in Premonetary Greece: Production and the Craftsman.*
144. Younger, *Music in the Aegean Bronze Age.*
145. Säve-Söderbergh, *Vid vägs ände.*
146. Linge (ed), *Cypern i historiens spegel.*
147. Piltz & Åström, (eds), *Kairos.*
148. Loader, *Building in Cyclopean Masonry With Special Reference to the Mycenaean Fortifications on Mainland Greece.*
149. Crewe, *Spindle Whorls. A Study of Form, Function and Decoration in Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus.*
150. Fisher, *The Mycenaean and Apulia.* In preparation.
151. Styrenius, *Asine. A Swedish Excavation Site in Greece.*
152. Säflund, *Myter i marmor.*
153. Larsson & Strömberg (eds), *Aspects of Women in Antiquity.*
154. Gillis, Risberg & Sjöberg, *Trade and Production in Premonetary Greece.* In preparation
155. Hitchcock, *Minoan Architecture.* In preparation.
156. Jones, *Peak Sanctuaries and Sacred Caves in Minoan Crete.*
157. Niklasson (ed.), *Cypriote Archaeology in Göteborg.*

ACTA INSTITUTI ATHENIENSIS REGNI SUECIAE  
ACTA INSTITUTI ROMANI REGNI SUECIAE  
ARCHAEOLOGY AND NATURAL SCIENCE  
DOCUMENTA MUNDI  
JOURNAL OF PREHISTORIC RELIGION  
KLASSIKER  
MONOGRAPHS FROM THE NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE AT ATHENS  
OPUSCULA ATHENIENSIA  
OPUSCULA ROMANA  
PAPERS FROM THE NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE AT ATHENS  
THE SCANDINAVIAN JOINT EXPEDITION TO SUDANESE NUBIA  
STUDIES IN MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY. MONOGRAPHS  
STUDIES IN MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND LITERATURE.  
POCKET-BOOKS

OBTAINABLE FROM  
PAUL ÅSTRÖMS FÖRLAG,  
WILLIAM GIBSONS VÄG 11,  
JONSEREDS HERRGÅRD,  
SE-433 76 JONSERED,  
SWEDEN

Email: [paul.astrom@swipnet.se](mailto:paul.astrom@swipnet.se)

Fax +46-31-7956710

<http://www.astromeditions.com>