

# THE FOUNDATION OF ENKOMI: A NEW ANALYSIS OF THE STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCE AND REGIONAL CERAMIC CONNECTIONS

Lindy Crewe

## INTRODUCTION

The beginning of the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus sees a range of dramatic changes in the settlement patterns and material culture of the island. These include the move from small inland to larger nucleated coastal settlements; the construction of a series of inland and coastal fortifications (Fig. 1); an increase in social stratification attested in the mortuary record; the first evidence for literacy; and Cyprus beginning to take an active role in the exchange networks of the eastern Mediterranean. Central to interpretations of the early Late Cypriot (LC) is the coastal settlement of Enkomi, both for the wealth of finds recovered and, importantly, the greater extent of excavation compared to other sites of the period. Due to incomplete publication and limited excavation of the earliest occupation levels, debate has cen-

tred on the date of foundation of the site (MCIII or LCI), the extent of control Enkomi may have exercised over external trade relations and the role of the settlement in the development of polities on Cyprus. LCI Enkomi has been interpreted as either the first state-like entity on the island (PELTENBURG 1996; WEBB 1999) and identified with Alashiya (*cf.* MUHLY 1989; KNAPP 1996) referred to in contemporary external textual sources, or as one of a series of independent regional polities (KESWANI 1993, 1996; MANNING and DE MITA 1997). Problematically, the majority of evidence for the Late Cypriot period – including that from Enkomi – derives from LCIIC (c. 1340–1200 BCE). Architectural remains underlying LCIIC occupation are poorly preserved and we have little understanding of the processes of change which culminated in what may be broadly called urban centres during LCIIC (NEGBI 1986). The focus of this

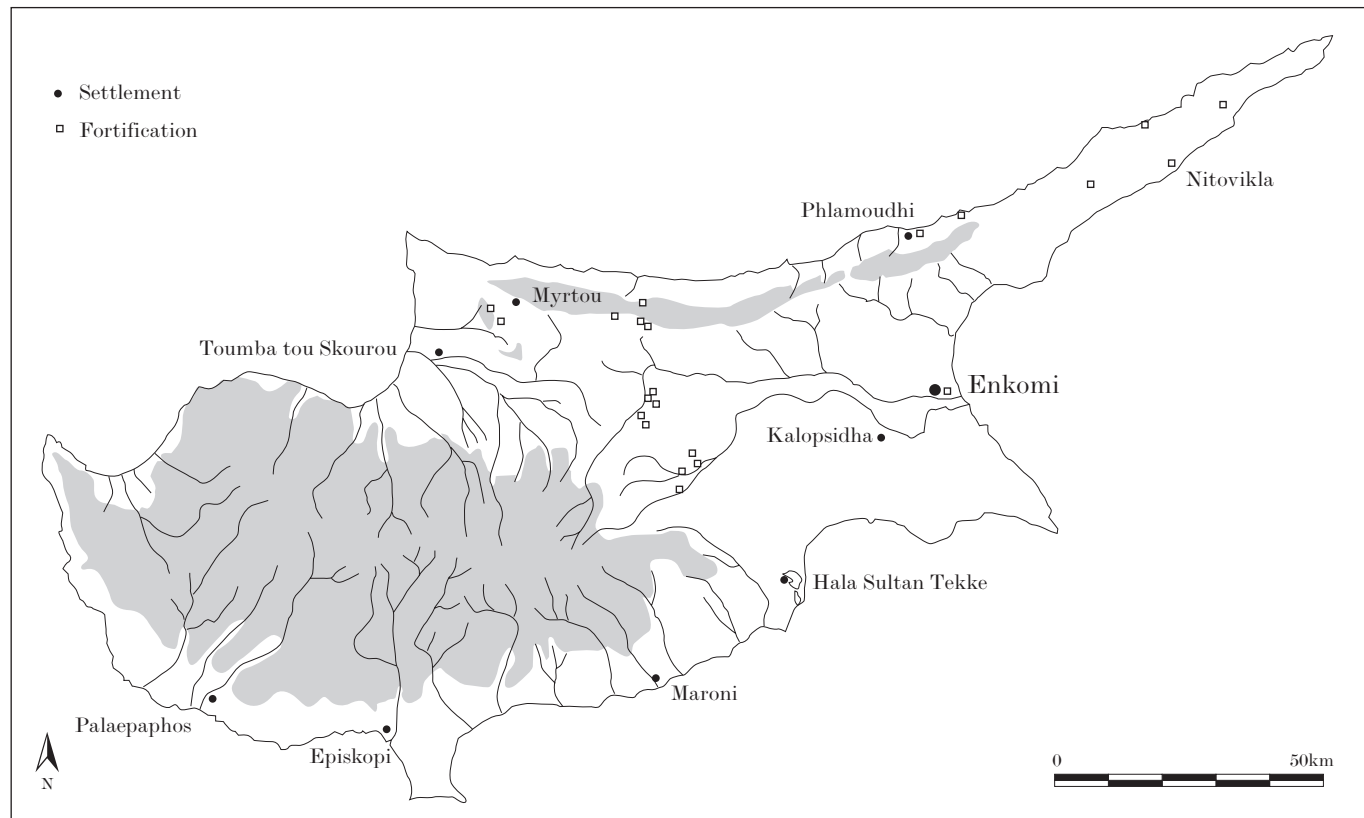


Fig. 1 Plan of Cyprus showing Late Cypriot I sites mentioned in the text

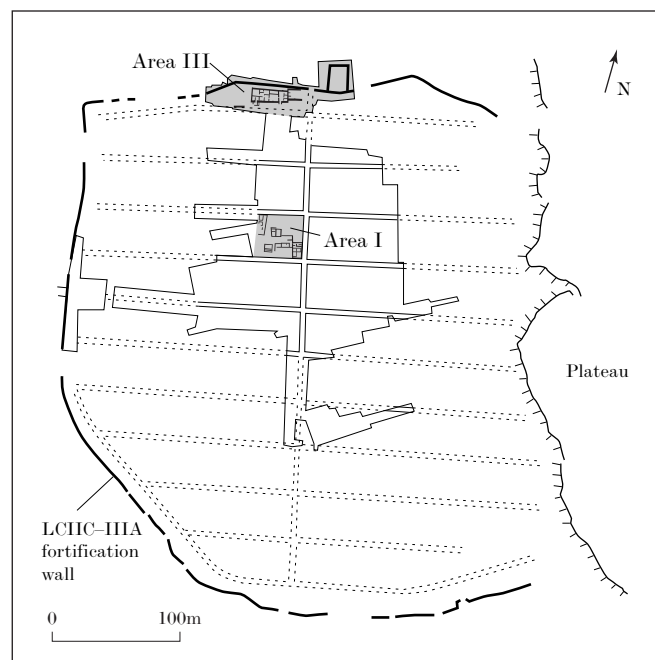


Fig. 2 Plan of Enkomi showing main excavation areas (after COURTOIS *et al.* 1986: 3, fig. 1; DIKAIOS 1969–71: pls. 243, 267)

paper is on the period from which the evidence for interregional contacts increases dramatically (MCIII, commencing c. 1750 BCE) to the period immediately prior to the urban phase (LCIIA–B).

Although it is widely recognised that LCIA ceramics display pronounced regionalism, manifested in the appearance of new wares and developments from the preceding MC traditions, this regionalism is held to disappear by LCIB, when Cyprus is understood to have developed an island-wide material culture (*cf.* MERRILLEES 1971; MANNING 2001). Central to this thesis is the widespread belief that ceramic wares developed in the northwestern and central regions became common at eastern Cypriot sites, including Enkomi, by this phase. The wares that ceramically define the beginning of the LC period, or LCIA1 (PWS, PBR and also Proto-Monochrome), developing into the mature versions of WS I, BR I and Monochrome by LCIA2 are all central and northwestern innovations and this has led to considerable ambiguity and confusion in the application of relative chronological phases to eastern Cypriot assemblages (MERRILLEES 1971; MANNING 2001). Certain eastern wares, such as Bichrome Wheelmade and some of the later White Painted Handmade varieties, were initially dated to MCIII on the basis of their lack of association with the LC marker wares (*cf.* DIKAIOS 1969–71). It is now agreed that Bichrome dates to LCIA (*cf.* papers in ÅSTRÖM 2001), and that

White Painted V (WP V), White Painted Pendant Line Style (WP PLS) and White Painted Cross Line Style (WP CLS) were manufactured in the east of Cyprus in both MCIII and LCI (ÅSTRÖM 1966; MERRILLEES 2002). The eastern Cypriot ceramic developments are no less striking (for example the Painted Wheelmade wares) but the majority of innovations are attested in the Plain wares (Plain White and Red/Black Slip), which have received little attention in the literature to date. My research suggests that the degree of cultural homogeneity on Cyprus during LCIB has been overestimated, primarily due to an early archaeological focus on mortuary rather than settlement material. LCIB is best viewed as a time of increasing intra-island contacts, with the different areas largely retaining their regional traits until the greater uniformity of the LCII period. This will be addressed below in relation to the Base Ring (BR) and White Slip (WS) wares in the stratified deposits at Enkomi. These two wares have been considered of paramount importance to researchers investigating cross-cultural interactions in the eastern Mediterranean, and have formed the focus of recent conferences and publications in association with the SCIEM project (ÅSTRÖM 2001a; KARAGEORGHIS 2001).

The basis for this paper is research undertaken for my PhD dissertation (CREWE 2004), the aim of which was primarily to investigate the introduction of wheelmade pottery on Cyprus within the context of the broader social and technological changes occurring during the early LC. Although a full stylistic analysis of the entire ceramic repertoire was beyond the scope of my study, one of the goals of my research was to provide a full publication of the ceramics at the site as this has not been undertaken to date. Before addressing the ceramics, I wish to briefly comment on the deposits relating to the earliest occupation at Enkomi and the sequences of occupation at the site.

#### ENKOMI – DIKAIOS' EXCAVATION AREAS

My study is concerned with the component of the site excavated by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities from 1948–58, under the direction of Porphyrios Dikaios (DIKAIOS 1969–71). Dikaios' excavation was concentrated in two areas, Area I and Area III (see Fig. 2), and was part of a joint excavation with a French team under the directorship of Claude Schaeffer (SCHAEFFER 1936, 1952, 1971). The French Mission provided funding and dictated the extent of the excavation to be undertaken by Dikaios in order to facilitate their own research aims. DIKAIOS (1969–71:5) states that these limitations had the

| Level | Relative chronological phase<br>(Dikaios 1969–71) | Relative chronological phase<br>(Crewe 2004)                                               |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A     | MCIH                                              | LCIA1 in Area I, LCIA in Area III                                                          |
| IA    | LCIA                                              | LCIA1 in Area I, LCIA2 in Area III                                                         |
| IB    | LCIB                                              | LCIA2/LCIB extending to mid LCIB in Area I,<br>LCIB extending into early LCIIA in Area III |
| IIA   | LCIIA–B                                           | LCIIA:2–IIB                                                                                |
| IIB   | LCIIC                                             | LCIIC                                                                                      |

Table 1 Relative chronological phases of occupation Levels at Enkomi

advantage of allowing him to excavate a small area of the site in greater detail but certain research goals – such as extending trenches to define the extent of buildings and solving certain stratigraphic problems – could not be pursued. The French Mission exposed earlier remains only in soundings and the excavation remains incompletely published and the material dispersed. It is thanks to the highly professional and extremely thorough excavation and recording undertaken by Dikaios, and the later care taken by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities to ensure preservation of the material, that this study has been possible. All the sherds, including non-diagnostic pieces, has been retained in the Larnaca and Nicosia Museums and detailed information concerning provenance is recorded within the trays, enabling a detailed reanalysis of the stratified deposits, greatly illuminating the sequences of construction, occupation and abandonment at the site.

The two areas, Area III and Area I, are not linked stratigraphically and my discussion below follows Dikaios' strategy in treating them as separate entities, dividing the description into phasing by the 'Levels' assigned in each Area (see Table 1). 'Level' is the term used by Dikaios to signify an occupation phase and is based upon his interpretation of the sequences of construction, occupation and abandonment/destruction identified during excavation. 'Level' is also a designation that applies site-wide, as DIKAIOS (1969–71: 500–509) considered the broader occupation phases of the two areas to be contemporaneous. During the Levels relevant to my analysis (Levels A–IIA), each Area contained what Dikaios defined as a single 'building', comprising a series of rooms and courtyards forming a coherent architectural unit, surrounded by unoccupied space into which contemporary chamber tombs were dug. In Area I, Levels A–IB are linked stratigraphically and the Level IIA building was located in a previously unoccupied area of the trench. In Area III, the Level A building is not stratigraphically linked

to the Level IA–IIA building. Both Areas were completely built over by LCIIC–IIIA architecture, which extends beyond the limits of the trenches and is associated with the gridded town plan and fortification wall seen in Fig. 2.

#### THE INTEGRITY OF THE ENKOMI DEPOSITS

Fine-scale phasing of DIKAIOS' Levels was delineated by 'floors', both within the defined architectural boundaries of rooms and also the external spaces that formed part of the activity areas of the site. Therefore, a Level may comprise one or more episodes of floor construction, rebuilding and subsequent deposition of layers of cultural material. During Level A to Level IIA, built floors were rare and the term 'floor' usually signifies a surface on which either occupation was evidenced (in the form of built structures such as hearths or negative features such as postholes) or a levelling and compacting of the underlying deposit (not necessarily exhibiting evidence of occupation). On occasion a built floor was present (usually a layer of crushed limestone or mud plaster of up to 10cm thick) and these were isolated and excavated as discrete units, where recognised (although this often seems only to have occurred during later removal of baulks). Given the excavation technique of removing floor deposits as part of the underlying fill, it is important to remain aware that any analysis should be considered only to be of broad-scale chronological resolution. During Levels A and IA only a single 'floor' is assigned to each Level in each area. During Level IB, the Area III building exhibits a complex series of refurbishing and rebuilding episodes of up to six floors, whereas the majority of the Area I rooms contain only a single floor construction episode. Level IIA in Area I is more complex than Area III, where only single occupation floors are evidenced and a large proportion of the Level I building was in use as a central courtyard (DIKAIOS 1969–71:35–43).

Prior to undertaking the analysis of the ceramics, it was necessary to examine the integrity of the published deposits in order to be able to slot the unpublished material into the occupation sequence. The only contexts to be published by DIKAIOS were those relating to select sherds or small finds. By isolating the deposits relating to intentional floor construction episodes from those relating to the later deposition of material due to the collapse of the mudbrick superstructure within each level I have constructed a fine-scale phasing of the site which has helped to illuminate the internal sequences to a greater extent. This has also resulted in the exclusion of some of the deposits due to irresolvable conflicts between the published data and the material stored in the museums. Therefore, it should be stressed that although my study does not include all the material from DIKAIOS' excavation areas, it does include all the material deemed to be from reliable contexts. The majority of material which was not included originated from areas extensively disturbed by pit digging (by earlier excavations, tomb looters or by the occupants of the site) or from external areas which were not fully investigated by DIKAIOS due to the imposed excavation limits discussed above.

#### THE DATE OF THE FOUNDATION OF ENKOMI (LEVEL A)

The Level A architectural remains in Area III consist of a single wall remnant, immediately underlying, and extensively disturbed by, LCIIIC architecture. There is no stratigraphic relationship attested between the Level A and the Level IA buildings and the ceramic repertoire, including the presence of WP PLS, WP CLS, WP VI, Canaanite jar sherds and local wheelmade wares argues for an early LCI date for construction. The Level A material in Area I consisted of two contexts, one the fill of a foundation trench (Inv. 2191) dug for the Level IA building, and the other below a floor remnant preserved beneath the foundation trench cutting (Inv. 2192). As the foundation trench dates to construction of the Level I building it should be dated to LCIA. This deposit also contains WP VI and a Canaanite jar sherd. This unfortunately leaves only 19 poorly preserved sherds dating to Level A in Area I, none of which may be considered diagnostic of MCIII or LCIA occupation (including Red and Black Slip Handmade, White Painted, Composite Ware, Plain White Handmade and Red on Black). It should be noted however, that no wheelmade wares occur in this deposit. Whether MCIII occupation may be present in other areas of the site remains unknown but it would appear that the evidence from Dikaïos'

excavation areas indicates that the site was not founded until early LCI.

#### Level I–IIA

Although space constraints here do not allow full exposition of my thesis, it is my contention that the Area I building was constructed earlier (LCIA1) than the Area III building (LCIA2) and that the occupation sequences differ in the two areas, with probable continuous occupation in Area III from LCIA2 but a mid LCIB abandonment in Area I (see CREWE 2004 for full discussion). Contrary to the situation indicated by Dikaïos' publication of the ceramics, the initial Area I construction deposits contain only PWS, no WS I, a few sherds of Bichrome and no White Painted Wheelmade wares or Monochrome. There is very little wheelmade pottery in Area I but Area III has substantial amounts from the earliest deposits, along with WS I, BR I, Monochrome and White Painted Wheelmade II. Both Areas show substantial amounts of Canaanite jars from the earliest Level I construction, suggesting that trade links were established from the very beginning of the site's occupation. The extent of damage to the buildings at the end of Level IA supports Dikaïos' interpretation of destruction at this time (1969–71:20, 155–156), but the evidence for the end of Level IB is more indicative of gradual disuse and abandonment, prior to rebuilding during Level IIA. At this time, the Area III building was built over and extended the limits of the earlier building and the Area I building was erected in a previously unoccupied part of the site. All Area I, Level IIA material utilised in my study originates from a single room (Room 142) as the other Level IIA room (Room 102) was extensively disturbed by later occupants of the site. The Room 142 deposit appears to be of a special nature, containing far higher numbers of WS, BR and imported LH IIIA:2 ceramics than other areas of the site (primarily pouring and serving vessels, suggesting an elite assemblage), inflating the percentages of these wares.

#### The Enkomi ceramics

Although detailed publication of the architecture and discussion of the stratigraphy was undertaken by DIKAIOS, the publication of the ceramics has remained incomplete. At the time during which DIKAIOS published the Enkomi volumes, the comparative material available was extremely limited and almost entirely based upon ceramics excavated from tombs, (GJERSTAD 1926; SJÖQVIST 1940; ÅSTRÖM 1957). Essentially, he dated the earliest deposits to MCIII based upon the *absence* of certain wares: the

|       | Area III              |     |                       |     |                       |      | Area I            |     |                   |     |                    |      |
|-------|-----------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|-----------------------|------|-------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|--------------------|------|
|       | Level IA              |     | Level IB              |     | Level IIA             |      | Level IA          |     | Level IB          |     | Level IIA          |      |
| BR I  | <b><i>0.3</i></b>     | 1.0 | <b><i>1.0</i></b>     | 1.8 | <b><i>0.7</i></b>     | 2.4  | <b><i>0.1</i></b> | 1.2 | <b><i>0.6</i></b> | 2.3 | <b><i>0.6</i></b>  | 7.0  |
| BR II | —                     | —   | <b><i>0.1</i></b>     | —   | <b><i>1.0</i></b>     | 7.0  | —                 | —   | <b><i>0.1</i></b> | 1.9 | <b><i>4.6</i></b>  | 8.2  |
| PWS   | <b><i>&lt;0.1</i></b> | —   | <b><i>&lt;0.1</i></b> | —   | <b><i>&lt;0.1</i></b> | —    | <b><i>0.3</i></b> | —   | <b><i>0.2</i></b> | —   | —                  | —    |
| WS I  | <b><i>0.8</i></b>     | 3.0 | <b><i>4.0</i></b>     | 7.0 | <b><i>2.0</i></b>     | 5.4  | —                 | 4.9 | <b><i>0.8</i></b> | 3.7 | <b><i>0.1</i></b>  | 0.6  |
| WS II | —                     | —   | <b><i>0.4</i></b>     | —   | <b><i>2.7</i></b>     | 17.0 | —                 | —   | <b><i>0.6</i></b> | 3.6 | <b><i>22.5</i></b> | 17.4 |

Table 2 Base Ring and White Slip as a percentage of the Enkomi ceramic assemblage by Level showing the significant differences apparent when plain wares are included in the statistics. Percentages calculated for the present study shown in the first columns in bold italic script and those by DIKAIOS (1969–71:442, 444, 447) in the second columns in Roman type

White Slip and Base Ring and also Monochrome, which as discussed in the introduction, are now understood to be rare in eastern Cyprus at the beginning of the LC. Dikaios published statistics of the percentages of the fine and decorated wares within the assemblage, focussing on the imported wares, especially the Mycenaean pottery, in an effort to tie in the sequences of occupation at Enkomi with known historical events (DIKAIOS 1969–71:442, 444, 447). Statistics for the plain wares were not published, resulting in the omission of over 50% of the assemblage and creating a vastly inflated picture of the importance of certain wares at the site, including the Base Ring and White Slip wares (see Table 2). Generally, the percentages published by DIKAIOS are at least double those calculated for my study. The exception is the WS II in Level IIA of Area I, where my statistics exceed Dikaios' due to the special nature of the Room 142 assemblage.

#### *Base Ring Ware (BR)*

The ware is subdivided into Proto Base Ring (PBR), BR I and BR II on the basis of fabric, shape, decoration and surface treatment, with chronological relationship between the divisions implied (ÅSTRÖM 1972a:126–198, 1972b:700–701). PBR is thought to have evolved from a number of different MCIII regional ceramic traditions. These include the south coast region around the area of Episkopi-Phaneromeni (from Drab Polished Ware) and in the northwestern region around *Toumba tou Skourou* and the Myrtou group of sites (from Black Slip ware) (HERSCHER 2001). A comprehensive program of petrographic and macroscopic characterisation of the fabrics undertaken by VAUGHAN (1987), in order to define the ware subsets and provide provenience and chronological data, identified four fabric groups, three of which occur in both BR I and BR II, and

established that superficial appearance or fabric type is not a reliable indicator of chronology (VAUGHAN 1994:89). Therefore, although I have retained the traditional terminology of BR I and BR II, in order to facilitate comparison with the statistics calculated by Dikaios, the divisions are based upon the superficial appearance of the material (as defined by ÅSTRÖM 1972a) and should not be considered to have chronological significance.

Figure 3 shows BR I and BR II amalgamated and illustrates the ware's occurrence as a percentage of the assemblage by fine phasing from Levels A–IIA. BR occurs only in small quantities in the stratified deposits at Enkomi but may have increased in popularity as a funerary offering during LCIB (from tomb contents listed in DIKAIOS 1969–71:348–418). Although a detailed stylistic analysis of the BR ware was beyond the scope of my research, a few comments on the assemblage are relevant. No flat bases or features diagnostic of PBR were found but as the majority of the sherds are very small and mainly non-diagnostic, identification remains unlikely. One example of PBR is known from French Tomb 5 at Enkomi (ÅSTRÖM 1972a:131). Shapes represented most commonly at Enkomi are small bowls, with very few sherds from larger closed vessels or juglets. A horn from a BR II bull rhyton occurs in a Level IIA end deposit from Area III (within Inv. 2798 in Room 5).

Table 2 retains the traditional typological divisions and shows the occurrences by coarse phasing, alongside the statistics calculated by DIKAIOS (1969–71:444, 447). It is obvious (as discussed in the preceding section) that DIKAIOS' statistics greatly exceed those calculated for my study. Fine-scale phasing further illuminates the occurrences of the ware (see Fig. 3). BR does not occur in Area I, Level IA or Level IB construction deposits and only a single sherd is present in

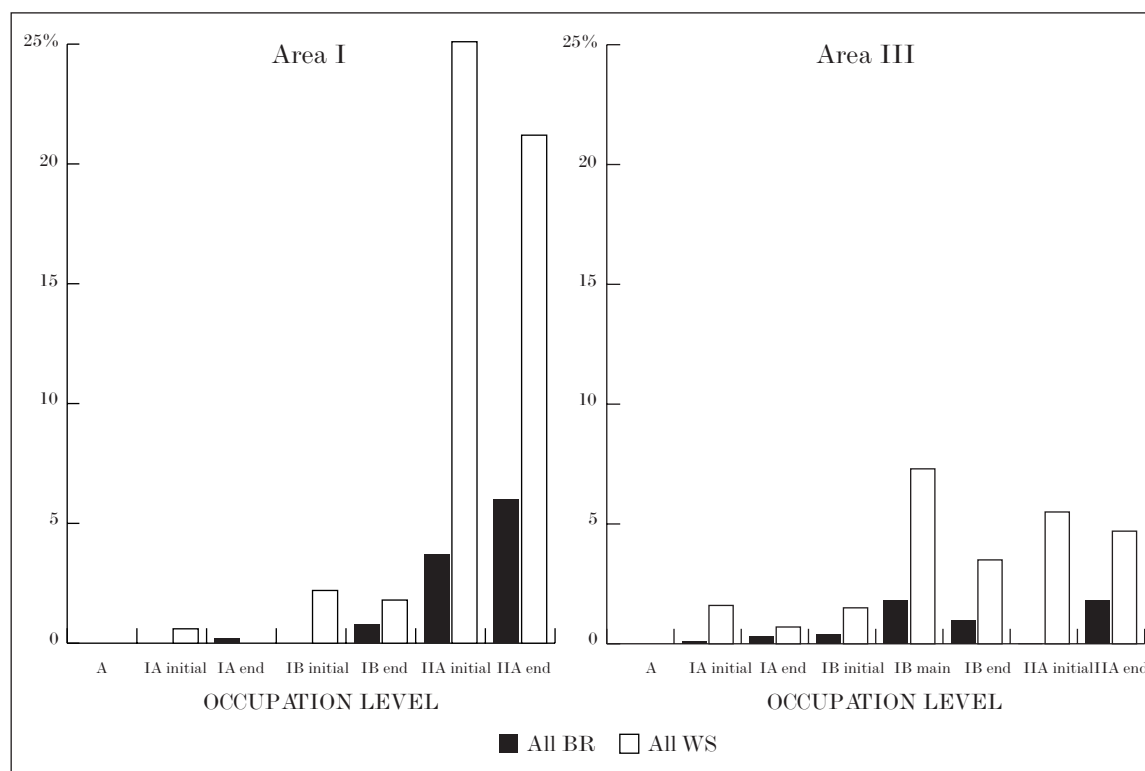


Fig. 3 Base Ring and White Slip as a percentage of the Enkomi assemblage by occupation Levels

Level IA end deposits. In contrast, BR (albeit only a single sherd) is present in a Level IA construction context from Area III (contained in Inv. 2300 from Room 101) and figure rises to 0.3% of the assemblage (sixteen sherds) in Level IA end deposits. Figure 3 illustrates that there is a slight increase in the amount of BR during Level IB in Area III, decreasing during Level IB end, most probably due to the deposition of material relating to collapse of the mudbrick superstructure of the building, erected prior to the greater occurrence of BR at the site. This pattern is mirrored for the WS (discussed below).

Material with the appearance of BR II first occurs during Level IB late in Area III (two sherds which have been included in the Level IB main category) and in Level IB end deposits in Area I. Distribution of BR sherds in the Level I deposits in both areas appears to be random and it is not until the appearance of BR II at the site that the ware appears in larger numbers, and then only in Area I. Again, it should be noted that the higher numbers in Area I during Level IIA are from a single room (Room 142), and may reflect the special nature of this deposit.

#### *White Slip Ware (WS)*

The ware was codified by POPHAM (1972a, 1972b) who divided it into three main variants, PWS, WS I and

WS II, based upon fabric, slip and decorative techniques, forming a chronological sequence. The ware has figured extensively in chronological debates due to its widespread distribution throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean (*cf.* MANNING 1999, papers in: KARAGEORGHIS 2001). PWS first appears in LCIA1 and WS I in LCIA2 (ÅSTRÖM 2001b:50). WS II first appears at the end of LCIB or the beginning of LCIIA (ÅSTRÖM 1972b: Table pp. 700–701). Although considered partially to have developed out of northwestern Cypriot WP traditions (with *Toumba tou Skourou* considered to be integral to this development), the technological innovations present in WS manufacture have also been linked with pyrological advances in the copper industry and exposure to Syro-Palestinian slipping techniques (ERIKSSON 2001:52–53). The distinctive clays used for the manufacture of WS are different from all other Cypriot fabrics and comprise several compositional subgroups (ARTZY *et. al* 1981:45). Changes in fabric, slip and pigment usage have been shown to correspond with the typological and chronological divisions of the ware (ALOUPI *et al.* 2001).

The majority of sherds in Area III (99.4%) comes from small bowls. Only two sherds are from large bowls and a single large closed sherd is present. In Area I, all sherds are from small bowls. Although,

| Level    | A     | IA initial | IA end   | IB initial | IB main   | IB end   | IIA initial | IIA end  |
|----------|-------|------------|----------|------------|-----------|----------|-------------|----------|
| Area I   | (19)  | (335)      | (419)    | (179)      | —         | (1851)   | (271)       | (448)    |
| PWS      | 0     | 0.6 (2)    | 0        | 0.6 (1)    | —         | 0.2 (4)  | 0           | 0        |
| WS I     | 0     | 0          | 0        | 1.7 (3)    | —         | 0.8 (14) | 0.4 (1)     | 0        |
| WS II    | 0     | 0          | 0        | 0          | —         | 0.7 (13) | 24.7 (67)   | 21 (94)  |
| WS Gen.  | 0     | 0          | 0        | 0          | —         | 0.1 (2)  | 0           | 0.2 (1)  |
| Area III | (261) | (695)      | (4732)   | (1683)     | (2662)    | (3078)   | (90)        | (2506)   |
| PWS      | 0     | 0.1 (1)    | <0.1 (2) | 0          | <0.1 (1)  | <0.1 (1) | 0           | <0.1 (1) |
| WS I     | 0     | 1.3 (9)    | 0.7 (33) | 1.5 (25)   | 7.2 (192) | 2.7 (82) | 2.2 (2)     | 2 (51)   |
| WS II    | 0     | 0          | 0        | 0          | <0.1 (1)  | 0.8 (26) | 3.3 (3)     | 2.6 (66) |
| WS Gen.  | 0     | 0.1 (1)    | 0        | <0.1 (1)   | <0.1 (1)  | 0        | 0           | <0.1 (1) |

Table 3 White Slip wares as a percentage of the total Enkomi assemblage by fine phasing.  
Numbers in brackets indicate sherd count

a detailed stylistic analysis was again beyond the scope of my research, this would be a useful avenue for future investigation, in order to identify connections with other LC sites and to delineate where in the WS I and II sequences the material from the different levels is placed. As PWS was not recorded separately by DIKAIOS (1969–71:444, 447), I have assumed that PWS and WS I have been lumped together in his statistics.

In Area I, two sherds of PWS occur in Level IA construction deposits (both from Room 121) and no PWS or WS I is present in Level IA end deposits. Due to the nature of Dikaios' publication of the site, previous researchers have been under the impression that PWS and WS I appeared simultaneously at Enkomi but the separation of the Level IA construction and end deposits would appear to indicate that there is a chronological horizon between the appearance of the wares at the site. As discussed in the preceding section, it is my contention that the Area I building was constructed prior to the Area III building. The only WS I sherd included in Dikaios' catalogue from Level IA of Area I was from Room 112 (Inv. 5830/1, DIKAIOS 1969–71:553, pl. 56.14). Room 112 has not been included in my analysis due to severe disturbance by the Level IIB occupants at the site and the presence of LCHC sherds in the supposedly early contexts. The only other relevant material listed in the catalogue of Level I pottery (DIKAIOS 1969–71:543–553) and not included in my study, is an additional PWS sherd from a Level IA context in Room 117 (Inv. 2288/1, DIKAIOS 1969–71:546, pl. 56.10, not located in the museum stores). The dramatic discrepancy between Dikaios' Level IA figures

and my study is best explained by his inclusion of Room 112 and deposits relating to poorly defined external areas.

In Area III, six sherds of PWS occur, in contexts ranging from Level IA to Level IIA end, and it first appears alongside WS I in a Level IA construction deposit (within Inv. 2296 and Inv. 2297–8 both equaling Floor X-bedrock in Room 101). WS I is not present in significant numbers until mid Level IB in Area III. During this phase 82% of all WS I sherds (157 of a total of 192 sherds) are found in Room 103 and WS I as a percentage of the Room 103 Level IB main assemblage is 11.7% (drastically raising the average amount for this level to 7.2%). The remainder of the WS I sherdage for Level IB main is dispersed evenly throughout the building. This should not be considered of overmuch much significance as Room 103 material comprises 50% of the sherdage for this Level but there does seem to be some concentration of the ware. Interestingly, Room 103 is the room that exhibits the most intensive copper working evidence during this phase and is also where the fragmentary Cypro-Minoan tablet was found (DIKAIOS 1969–71:22–23, pl. 248).

In Area III, one sherd of WS II is present in a Level IB late context (from Inv. 3789 in Room 108 and included in the Level IB main category) and by Level IB end deposits is increasing in quantity (to 26 sherds). During Level IB end in Area I, both WS I and WS II are almost equally represented (see Table 1). In Area III during Level IIA, WS II (3.3%) outpaces WS I (2.2%) but the most dramatic contrast is seen in the Level IIA, Area I deposits where WS II is second only to Plain White ware during this phase.

These figures must be taken within the context of the single room to which they belong but it is a striking difference with both the earlier phases of Area I and the Level IIA building in Area III. As noted above, the presence of LH IIIA:2 ceramics require a date of LCIIA2 at the earliest for the Level IIA building in Area I.

*White Slip, Base Ring and LC ceramic regionalism*

The only other settlement with LCI material published to an extent where statistical comparisons can be drawn is the south coast site of Episkopi-Bamboula, located within the BR and WS production zone. Deposits dated to LCIIA2 or LCIB show around 18% BR and 26% WS, and LCIB deposits show up to 25% BR and up to 14% WS (BENSON 1970:42–73; ÅSTRÖM 1972b:675–686). Other sites located in the eastern or Karpas regions exhibit only insignificant amounts of the wares. Trench 9 at Kalopsidha has total WS at around 0.5% of the assemblage and BR at 1.8% (ÅSTRÖM 1966:49). Kalopsidha Trench 9 is considered here to date primarily to LCI, with limited use extending into LCIIA (see CREWE 2004:104–109 for further discussion of the relative dating of deposits at Kalopsidha). The other two eastern LCI–IIA sites with published ceramic statistics, Phlamoudhi-Vounari (AL RADI 1983) and Nitovikla (HULT 1992), show BR at a maximum of 0.8% and WS at a maximum of 1.7% for the former site and BR at 0.4%, WS at 0.3% for the latter. Although material from the majority of the coastal centre excavations has been incompletely published, the overwhelming impression from the ceramic repertoire of all early LC sites is the strong regional identity and extremely infrequent deposition of ceramics from areas outside the immediate hinterland of the coastal settlements. The exceptions to this may be the south coastal centres at Hala Sultan Tekke and Maroni, which, located at the junction between the regional zones, appear to display a mixture of eastern and northwestern ceramic types (MANNING *et al.* 2002).

Perceptions that an island-wide material culture was adopted by LCIB are largely coloured by the greater extent of cemetery excavations and incomplete publication of settlements. This issue has been explored by MERRILLEES (1971:60–62, 72), who concluded that for whatever reasons of ritual or cultural preference, there were very few MC-style vessels buried with the inhabitants of the early LC tombs at Myrtou-Stephania (HENNESSY 1963) contrasted with the assemblage at the nearby settlement at Myrtou-Pigadhes (CATLING 1957) and that ceramic innova-

tions in mortuary assemblages do not accurately reflect contemporary settlement use of these wares. Further investigation into the discrepancies between the deposition of mortuary and settlement ceramic types is required. For example, juglets are an important component of mortuary assemblages at LC sites (KESWANI 1989:576; MAGUIRE 1995), including Enkomi, but are poorly represented in settlement strata. WP is the only ware occurring in the occupation deposits at Enkomi from which high proportions of sherds originating from juglets and small closed vessels occur (CREWE 2004:231) and I believe that this may be viewed as a by-product of trade in these vessels passing through the site.

MERRILLEES (1971) suggested a disruption in Enkomi's control over external trading contacts at the end of LCIA due to the effects of the expulsion of the Hyksos. A combination of the occupation and ceramic evidence indicates that the disruptions caused to Enkomi's trading links may be more severe than previously supposed. Close links between Hyksos-ruled Egypt and eastern Cyprus are attested in the amount of eastern Cypriot ceramics at Tell el-D'aba (MAGUIRE 1990, 1995) and, although the specific mechanisms are unknown, a breakdown of the regular trading channels may have occurred, causing some disruption to Enkomi's fortunes during LCIB. Given the small amounts of WS and BR, particularly closed vessels or juglets, in the Enkomi deposits, it seems difficult to argue that Enkomi played a role in the redistribution of these wares abroad. Based upon the dramatic decline in imports of Canaanite jars in Level IB deposits (CREWE 2004:275–278), along with the increased activity relating to metallurgical production occurring in the Area III building during Level IB, it seems that the occupants of Enkomi may have sought to restructure their role in external trade and that during this crucial phase, regions which were already producing the BR and WS wares exploited their own trade networks (MANNING and DE MITA 1997), supplanting the trade in goods contained in ceramic commodity containers reflected in the transition from WP to BR juglets for export during this period. A hiatus in eastern exports, whilst the western exports increased may also have seen a change in fashions on the mainland and the earlier WP-style ceramics may no longer have been in demand. Although it remains a possibility that Enkomi was serving as a transshipment point for WS and BR wares without adopting them for their own consumption, it would appear more likely that sites where these wares were common at this time served as the trading partners of the merchants from the

mainland. Although WS I begins to occur in significant proportions during Level IB main (7.2% of the assemblage) at no time does BR become common before Level IIA (remaining at less than 1% of the assemblage).

I also argue against any 'resistance' by the eastern Cypriots to central and western innovations in ceramics during LCIA or the abrupt adoption of wares of these styles in LCIB (*cf.* MERRILLEES 1971:70; MANNING 2001). As outlined above, comparison of mortuary and settlement data indicates that different processes were operating in relation to the usage of the wares. It would appear far more likely that the reason BR and WS wares were not an important feature of settlement assemblages is that the eastern region developed their own set of innovations, more relevant to their specific cultural responses to increased external contacts. These combinations of tradition and innovation are manifested in wares such as the Bichrome, Plain White and White Painted Wheelmade wares. The close association of WS with the copper producing regions and pyro-technological advances (JONES and CATLING 1986:526; KNAPP and CHERRY 1994:160 with references) suggests that this ware was more likely to accompany copper exports than eastern wares. My thesis regarding the later date for construction of the Area III building effectively removes MUHLY's (1986:200) dilemma that the copper industry was apparently already established at the time of the initial foundation of the site. Increase in WS during Level IB in Area III, particularly in Room 103, the room most closely associated with copper working evidence, may indicate that

the ware was being transported to Enkomi along with primary smelting debris.

Despite the fact that residual sherddage from earlier levels has undoubtedly caused the incidence of the non-local wares to be underestimated, the presentation of the above data from Enkomi, and the limited information available from other excavated sites of the period must call into question the widely held assumption that regionalism in ceramics ceased at the beginning of LCIB. It is my contention that LC regionalism persisted until LCIIA-B, when other features, such as the widespread appearance of imported LHIIIA:2 pottery (SHERRATT 1999) and the introduction of an island-wide complex of ritual paraphernalia, such as BR bull rhyta and Astarte-type figurines appear (WEBB 1999; NYS 2001). It is not until this time that the remainder of the ceramic wares which had their roots in MC stylistic traditions, such as the previously ubiquitous Red and Black Slip wares ceased to be produced and the adoption of Plain White ware became island-wide (CREWE 2004:273-275). It is possible to see the incorporation of the WS and BR wares into the ceramic repertoire at Enkomi during LCIIA as a combination of economic factors, related to the wares' evident popularity as an export, and a greater sense of island-wide identity.

### Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to the SCIEM project for providing financial support during my dissertation research and for the opportunity to attend the SCIEM 2000 2<sup>nd</sup> EuroConference. I would also like to thank Kathryn Eriksson and Ellen Herscher for encouragement and comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

## Bibliography

- ALOUPI, E., PERDIKATIS, V. and LEKKA, A.  
 2001 *Assessment of the White Slip Classification Scheme based on Physico-chemical Aspects of the Technique*, 15–26, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (ed.), 2001.
- AL-RADI, S.M.S.  
 1983 *Phlamoudhi Vounari: A Sanctuary Site in Cyprus*, SIMA 65, Göteborg.
- ARTZY, M., PERLMAN, I. and ASARO, F.  
 1981 Cypriote Pottery Imports at Ras Shamra, *IEJ* 31:37–47.
- ÅSTRÖM, P.  
 1957 *The Middle Cypriot Bronze Age*, PhD Dissertation, Lund.  
 1966 *Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus*, SIMA 2, Lund.  
 1972a *The Late Cypriot Bronze Age. Architecture and Pottery*, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV, Part 1C, Lund.  
 1972b *The Late Cypriot Bronze Age. Relative and Absolute Chronology, Foreign Relations, Historical Conclusions*, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, vol. IV, Part 1D, Lund.
- ÅSTRÖM, P. (ed.)  
 2001a *The Chronology of Base-Ring and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware. Proceedings of a Colloquium held in the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm, May 18–19 2000*. Konferenser 54, Kungl. Vitterhets. Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.  
 2001b The Relative and Absolute Chronology of Proto White Slip Ware, 49–50, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (ed.), 2001.
- BENSON, J.L.  
 1970 Bamboula at Kourion. The Stratification of the Settlement, *RDAC*, 25–74.
- CATLING, H.W.  
 1957 The Bronze Age Pottery, 26–59, in: J. DU PLAT TAYLOR, *Myrtou Pigadhes. A Late Bronze Age Sanctuary in Cyprus*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- COURTOIS, J.-C., LARGACE, J. and LARGACE, E.  
 1986 *Enkomi et le Bronze Récent à Chypre*, Nicosia.
- CREWE, L.  
 2004 *Social complexity and ceramic technology on Late Bronze Age Cyprus: the new evidence from Enkomi*, PhD Dissertation. University of Edinburgh.
- DIKAIOS, P.  
 1969–71 *Enkomi. Excavations 1948–1958, Volumes I–IIIB*, Mainz am Rhein.
- ERIKSSON, K.O.  
 2001 Cypriote Proto White Slip and White Slip I: Chronological Beacons on Relations between Late Cypriote I Cyprus and Contemporary Societies of the Eastern Mediterranean, 51–64, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (ed.), 2001.
- GJERSTAD, E.  
 1926 *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, Uppsala.
- HENNESSY, J.B.  
 1963 *Stephania, A Middle and Late Bronze Age Cemetery in Cyprus*, London.
- HERSCHER, E.  
 2001 Early Base Ring Ware from Phaneromeni and Maroni, 11–22, in: P. ÅSTRÖM (ed.), 2001a.
- HULT, G.  
 1992 *Nitovikla Reconsidered*, Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 8, Stockholm.
- JONES, R.E. and CATLING, H.W.  
 1986 Chapter 7. Cyprus, 2500–500 BC; the Aegean and the near East, 1500–1050 BC, 523–625, in: R.E. JONES, *Greek and Cypriot pottery: a review of scientific studies*, Fitch Laboratory Occasional Paper 1, British School at Athens.
- KARAGEORGHIS, V. (ed.)  
 2001 *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. Proceedings of an International Conference Organized by the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia in Honour of Malcolm Wiener, CChEM 2, Wien.
- KESWANI, P.S.  
 1989 *Mortuary Ritual and Social Hierarchy in Bronze Age Cyprus*, PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan.  
 1993 Models of local exchange in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, *BASOR* 289:73–83.  
 1996 Hierarchies, heterarchies and urbanisation processes: the view from Bronze Age Cyprus, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 9:211–250.
- KNAPP, A.B.  
 1996 Settlement and Society on Late Bronze Age Cyprus: Dynamics and Development, 54–80, in: P. ÅSTRÖM and E. HERSCHER (eds.) *Late Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus: Function and Relationship*, SIMA Pocket-Book 126, Jonsered.
- KNAPP, A.B. and CHERRY, J.F.  
 1994 *Provenience Studies and Bronze Age Cyprus. Production, Exchange and Politico-Economic Change*, Monographs in World Archaeology No. 21, Madison, Wisconsin.
- MAGUIRE, L.  
 1990 *The Circulation of Cypriot Pottery in the Middle Bronze Age*, PhD Dissertation, University of Edinburgh.  
 1995 Tell el-Dʿaba: the Cypriot Connection, 54–65, in: W.V. DAVIES and L. SCHOFIELD (eds.), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant. Interconnections in the second Millennium BC*, London.
- MANNING, S.W.  
 1999 *A Test of Time. The Volcano of Thera and the chronology and history of the Aegean and east Mediterranean in the second millennium BC*, Oxford and Oakville.

- 2001 *The Chronology and Foreign Connections of the Late Cypriot I Period: Times They are A-Changin*, 69–94, in: P. ÅSTRÖM (ed.), 2001a.
- MANNING, S.W. and DE MITA, F.A.
- 1997 Cyprus, the Aegean, and Maroni-Tsaroukkas, 103–141, in: *Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference 'Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity'*, Nicosia.
- MANNING, S.W., SEWELL, D.A. and HERSCHER, E.
- 2002 Late Cypriot IA maritime trade in action: underwater survey at Maroni-Tsaroukkas and the contemporary east Mediterranean trading system, *ABSA* 97: 97–162.
- MERRILLEES, R.S.
- 1971 The Early History of LCI, *Levant* 3, 56–79.
- 2001 *Some Cypriote White Slip pottery from the Aegean*, 89–100, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (ed.), 2001.
- 2002 The Relative and Absolute Chronology of the Cypriote White Painted Pendant Line Style, *BASOR* 326, 1–9.
- MUHLY, J.D.
- 1986 The Role of Cyprus in the Economy of the Eastern Mediterranean During the Second Millenium B.C., 45–60, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident'*, Nicosia, 8–14 September 1985, Nicosia.
- 1989 The organisation of the copper industry in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, 298–314, in: E.J. PELTENBURG (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, Edinburgh.
- NEGBI, O.
- 1986 The Climax of Urban Development in Bronze Age Cyprus, *RDAC*, 97–121.
- NYS, K.
- 2001 Base-ring Bull-shaped Vases in Context, 95–99, in: P. ÅSTRÖM (ed.), 2001a.
- PELTENBURG, E.J.
- 1996 From Isolation to State Formation in Cyprus, c. 3500–1500 BC, 17–43, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS and D. MICHAELIDES (eds.), *The Development of the Cypriot Economy from the Prehistoric Period to the Present*, Nicosia.
- POPHAM, M.R.
- 1972a White Slip Ware, 431–471, in: P. ÅSTRÖM 1972a.
- 1972b A Note on the Relative Chronology of White Slip Ware, 699–705, in: P. ÅSTRÖM 1972b.
- SCHAEFFER, C.F.A.
- 1936 *Missions en Chypre 1932–1935*, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Foundation Marius Fontane, Voyages Archéologiques, Paris.
- 1952 *Enkomi-Alasia. Nouvelles Missions en Chypre 1946–1950*, Paris.
- SCHAEFFER, C.F.A. (ed.)
- 1971 *Alasia I, Mission archéologique d'Alasia IV*, Paris.
- SHERRATT, A. and E.S. SHERRATT
- 1991 From Luxuries to Commodities: The Nature of Mediterranean Bronze Age Trading Systems, 351–385, in: N.H. GALE (ed.), *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*, SIMA 90, Jonsered.
- SHERRATT, E.S.
- 1999 E pur si muove: pots, markets and values in the second millenium Mediterranean, 163–211, in: J.P. CRIELAARD, V. STISSI and G.J. VAN WIJNGAARDEN (eds.), *The Complex Past of Pottery. Production, Circulation and consumption of Mycenaean and Greek Pottery (sixteenth to early fifth centuries BC). Proceedings of the ARCHON international conference, held in Amsterdam, 8–9 November 1996*, Amsterdam,.
- SJOQVIST, E.
- 1940 *Problems of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age*, Stockholm.
- VAUGHAN, S.J.
- 1987 *A Fabric analysis of Late Cypriot Base Ring Ware: studies in ceramic technology, petrology, geochemistry and mineralogy*. PhD Dissertation, University College, London.
- 1994 Base Ring Ware: A Regional Study in Cyprus, 86–92, in: A.B. KNAPP and J.F. CHERRY 1994.
- WEBB, J.M.
- 1999 *Ritual Architecture, Iconography and Practice in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age*, SIMA Pocket-Book 75, Jonsered.

