

VIEWS FROM PHLAMOUDHI, CYPRUS

EDITED BY JOANNA S. SMITH



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Joanna S. Smith

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Chapter 1

From Expedition to Exhibition

by Joanna S. Smith

A team from Columbia University conducted a survey and excavation in and around the village of Phlamoudhi, Cyprus, from 1970 to 1973. The Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project, begun in 2000 under the direction of this author, has sought to study and analyze the full range of discoveries in Phlamoudhi and to make the results public through exhibition and publication. This chapter serves to introduce not only the papers in this volume, but also the work carried out in Phlamoudhi by the original expedition, the study project and exhibition carried out in New York, the history of archaeological work in the Phlamoudhi region in the northern part of Cyprus, and the history of settlement in the area.

As Cyprus emerged as an island recorded in history from the second into the first millennium BCE, it was a network of rural as well as increasingly urban settlements. With each study, we know more about settlement patterns, ritualized activities, the technological and artistic innovations of the island's population, and the significance of Cyprus for the eastern Mediterranean. Many attribute much of the growth of the island's urban spaces and long-distance contacts to copper; that metal is also the primary link among most archaeologi-

cal sites that contribute to our narrative of Cyprus during this important period. The copper-rich Troodos Mountain range, its foothills, and the sites found along river routes that flowed down from its heights dominate our studies of the place.

Evidence from survey of the region around Phlamoudhi village, together with excavations at the settlement of Phlamoudhi-*Melissa* and the neighboring hilltop site of *Vounari*, fill a geographical gap in our knowledge about the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, as well as the Hellenistic through Medieval periods of the island (fig. 1). Because this area was geographically separate from the Troodos Mountains, along the thin coastal strip on the north side of the Kyrenia Mountains (fig. 2), it allows for a view into the development of communities where pyrotechnology was important for artistic and economic development but not primarily for the bronze-working that is synonymous with Cyprus. Instead, the area was important for the making of ceramics, such as the red slipped ceramics of the Bronze Age (see Chapters 5 and 6) and moldmade lamps in the Roman period (see Chapter 7). The Phlamoudhi region was distinct from the rest of the island throughout its history, with varying degrees of interaction with places to the south, particularly

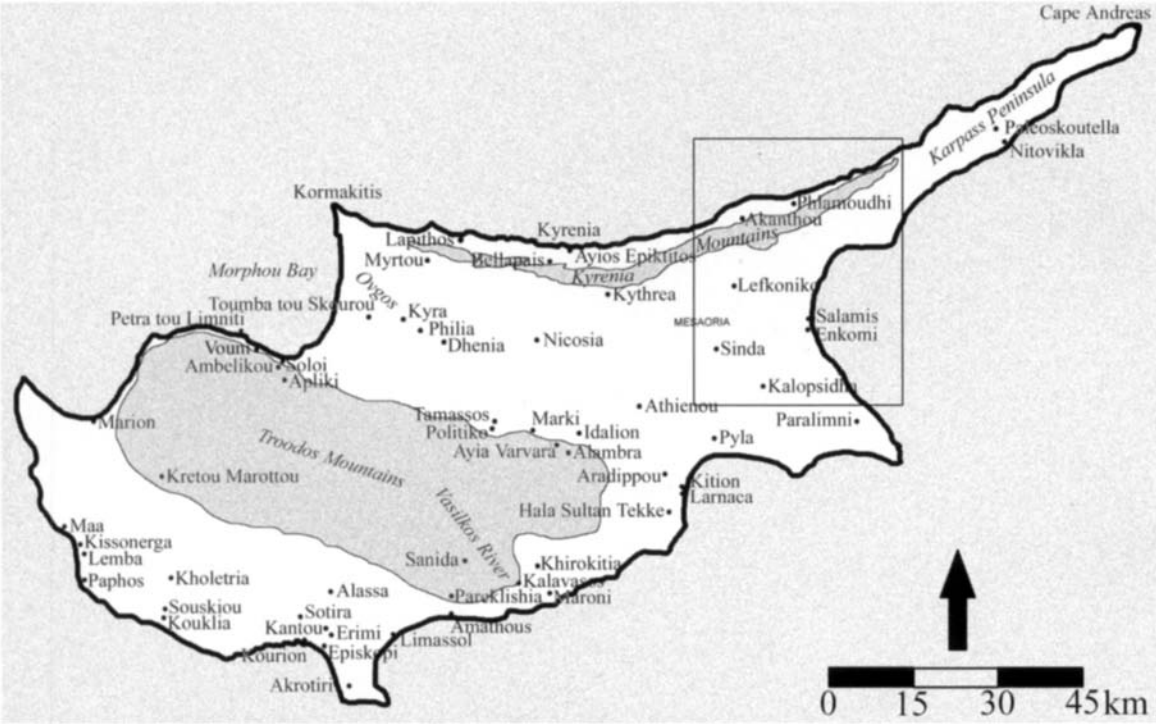


FIG. 1 Map of Cyprus with all cities, towns, and villages mentioned in the text, except for several in the area of the insert, which appear in figs. 7–8. Map by J. S. Smith.



FIG. 2 Kyrenia Mountain range south of Phlamoudhi village looking west. June 2003. Photo by J. S. Smith. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive.

with Enkomi and its successor, Salamis, and across the Mediterranean.

THE EXPEDITION TO PHLAMOUDHI

The Phlamoudhi area first formed part of an archaeological study when David Hogarth included a rock cut tomb at *Spilios tou Tsali* in his 1889 book, *Devia Cypria: Notes of an Archaeological Journey in Cyprus in 1888* (99–101). Documentation of finds in the area continued with Porphyrios Dikaïos (Symeonoglou 1972: 190) and later Nicholas Stanley-Price (1979: 119, F2), both of whom recorded chipped stone tools in the area, attributed to the Neolithic period. A survey in Phlamoudhi, first undertaken by Hector Catling in 1952 (1962; 1973), sampled surface finds from several sites in the area, including the mound of *Vounari*, first located in 1945 by Dikaïos and later the subject of excavation by the Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi. Catling also located sites such as *Sapilou* and *Davlos-Pyrgos*. It was not until the expedition team's work that the large Late Bronze Age and Iron Age settlement of *Melissa* was found and that the wider spread of Hellenistic and later period sites was made available through publication (Symeonoglou 1972). At the same time that the expedition team was engaged in fieldwork, the Bureau for the Establishment of the Inventory of the Cultural Property of Cyprus was documenting sites in the area (Hadjisavvas 1991).

The original expedition to Phlamoudhi was directed by Edith Porada (b. 1912, d. 1994; Pittman 1995), a prominent scholar of ancient Near Eastern art history, whose research on Cyprus is best known through her life-long study of the iconography of cylinder seal designs. Her team had fieldwork seasons from 1970 to 1973. After the war of 1974, their work continued in New York City, where most finds had been brought back for study prior to 1974, including nearly all the ceramics and some of the small finds in addition to their field records and photographs. While the export of material was highly unusual, it was fortunate that the then director of the Department of Antiquities, Vassos Karageorghis, had granted Porada a permit; otherwise nearly all of the material from these

excavations would have been lost. Selected objects, particularly precious material, such as gold and ivory, and figural terracotta and limestone sculpture were housed in the Cyprus Museum. Most large stone objects, such as grinding stones, architectural details, such as capitals, and large ceramic material, such as storage pithoi, were left in the schoolhouse in Phlamoudhi or on site and subsequently have been lost.

The results of the expedition's work were documented in annual summaries by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus (Karageorghis 1971: 406–7; 1972a: 1045–47; 1973: 638–41; 1974: 864–65), articles about the survey (Symeonoglou 1972; 1975b; Catling 1973; 1976), and preliminary accounts of the finds from the excavations (Merrillees 1974; Symeonoglou 1975a). Team members also wrote short studies about the animal bones from *Melissa* (Hesse et al. 1975), the single cylinder seal from that same site (Porada 1986), and compositional analysis of selected Mycenaean or Mycenaean-style ceramics (Anson 1980a; 1980b). The most comprehensive report on the excavations was a book by Selma Al-Radi about *Vounari* (1983), which included a report on faunal remains from that site (Hesse et al. 1983). Other compositional studies including data about ceramics from Phlamoudhi have also appeared (Bieber et al. 1976; Jones 1986; Vaughan 1991a; 1991b; Knapp and Cherry 1994).

A project to complete the publications began in 2000 under the direction of this author. The *Guide to Phlamoudhi* (Smith 2005) was written to accompany an exhibition about the discoveries in Phlamoudhi in the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery at Columbia University in 2005. The *Guide* is modeled on the standard Bank of Cyprus guidebooks to archaeological sites in Cyprus and is intended to provide an introduction to the discoveries. A restudy of *Vounari*, correcting errors in the plans of the site and presenting more complete evidence for stratigraphy and ceramics, formed the subject of a dissertation by Mara Horowitz (2007).

An account by this author of how the Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project aimed to develop a model for involving inexperienced as well as experienced students in a study project forms part of a double-issue of *Near Eastern Archaeology* in 2008

about the history of archaeologists in Cyprus. In addition, this author and Horowitz have written two articles about the difficulties of mapping the Phlamoudhi sites and the uncertainties of working with older excavation data within today's computer media environment. These form part of a CD-Rom publication, *Internationales Kulturelles Erbe und Neue Technologien*, based on papers delivered at the 12th International Congress on Cultural Heritage and New Technologies in Vienna in November 2007.

The complete publications of the excavations at Phlamoudhi-*Melissa* by Smith and *Vounari* by Horowitz are being submitted to the *Archaeological Reports Series* of the American Schools of Oriental Research. The discussions of geological, palaeobotanical, and Hellenistic and later period material in the present volume are more extensive than they will be in the single-site-focused excavation publications, even though those volumes will include additional data related to those subjects by context. While it is anticipated that there will be a volume of photographs devoted to Phlamoudhi village and its residents at the time of the expedition, based on work by the team's photographers (see Chapter 4), a more narrative, personal approach to the original team's perspectives is a feature of this volume that differentiates it from the site-specific excavation volumes. A final volume of specialist studies, including thin-section analysis of ceramics, x-ray-based chemical composition studies of Red-on-Black ware and other slipped pottery, Carbon-14 analysis of selected seeds and wood from the *Melissa* site, metallurgical compositional analyses, and a restudy of the surviving animal bone material is planned for submission to the American Schools of Oriental Research at a future date.

VIEWS FROM PHLAMOUDHI, CYPRUS

The present volume derives from papers at a symposium that was held together with the exhibition in 2005. The papers presented were expanded and updated to reflect ideas generated by the symposium. After editing, they were submitted for publication in the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* in January of 2006, one year after the date of the symposium. The final

reader review was not available to this editor until December of 2007.

The aims of this volume are to provide summaries of what the discoveries in Phlamoudhi add to our understanding of ancient Cyprus and its place in the Mediterranean world (Chapters 3 and 5–8) and to offer historical perspectives on the work in Phlamoudhi (Chapters 2, 4, and 9). After this introduction, the chapters begin by placing Phlamoudhi in an island-wide context with an account of how archaeological work in the north before and after the war of 1974 has contributed to our understanding of ancient culture on Cyprus (Chapter 2). The next chapters are written by those who have conducted fieldwork and field study at the Phlamoudhi sites. The first concerns the geological foundations of the area based on a study in 2003–2004 (Chapter 3). Although geological study is permitted, no further archaeological work has been carried out since 1974, thus the archaeological perspective derives from an account about the original expedition (Chapter 4). These chapters set the stage for understanding the site-specific chapters by Smith and Horowitz. Because the chapters about the settlement at *Melissa* (Chapter 5) and the hilltop site of *Vounari* (Chapter 6) focus on the stratified Bronze and Iron Age discoveries at those sites, the chapter that follows concerns the Hellenistic and later periods of the region, study of which derives largely from survey data (Chapter 7). While most of the palaeobotanical remains date to the Late Bronze Age, the recreation of the area's landscape history (Chapter 8) concerns all periods and, thus, appears after the three period-specific chapters. Because Robert Merrillees was asked to craft his paper based not only on his experience working with the original team, but also in response to the work by the study team and the papers at the symposium, his chapter remains as the last in the volume.

The chapters in this volume demonstrate that discoveries in the Phlamoudhi region (fig. 3) add particularly to existing scholarship about Cyprus in the second millennium BCE. Chapters about the two main areas of excavation, *Melissa* (Chapter 5) and *Vounari* (Chapter 6), as well as the geomorphology (Chapter 3) and palaeobotany (Chapter 8) of the

area, reveal the settlement history of Phlamoudhi and enlarge upon what has previously been known from the fortification at Korovia-*Nitovikla* (Hult 1992), cemeteries such as Korovia-*Paleoskoutella* (Gjerstad et al. 1934: 416–38), and survey remains (Catling 1962; Symeonoglou 1972; Hadjisavvas 1991) along the Karpass Peninsula and the coastal region north of the Kyrenia Mountains. The remains from Phlamoudhi also expand our understanding of large urban sites north of the Troodos Mountains. In particular, Phlamoudhi-*Melissa* is similar in having evidence for ceramic manufacture and large-scale storage to *Morphou-Toumba tou Skourou* (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990), located to the west and south of the Kyrenia Mountains.

Regardless of the changes in access to sites in that area caused by the invasion of 1974 (Pilides, this volume), there was a shift in settlement density to places east, south, and west focused on the Troodos Mountain range as the centuries passed during the second millennium BCE (Knapp 1997: 46–47). The nature and relationship among sites in the Phlamoudhi region illustrate how people adapted not only to life along the north coast, but also to periods of socio-political and economic change in other parts of the Mediterranean region. For example, it was during the Hyksos period in Egypt that Phlamoudhi area settlement was established. Even as its material culture retained a strong regional profile, there is evidence for contact with the developing center at Enkomi to the south (cf. Peltenburg 1996: 29–35). During the Amarna Period in Egypt, the region witnessed an expansion in Mediterranean-wide exchanges.

After the second millennium BCE, there has been less scholarly emphasis on this north-coast region of Cyprus. For that reason, the reuse of both *Melissa* and *Vounari* in the Iron Age, as presented in this volume, is of particular importance. These sites provide information about settlement and cult areas in the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods. Patterns in the survey information begin to provide shape for how the landscape was used and configured during these and the later Roman and Medieval periods. With the exception of the tomb found by Hogarth and one Archaic-Classical period chamber tomb excavated by Edith Porada



FIG. 3 Topographic map of the Phlamoudhi region in relationship to the pass through the Kyrenia Mountains. Map by J. S. Smith, based on Hadjisavvas 1991.

and Happy Scully at *Pallouri*, there is little evidence for the funerary landscape beyond finds from survey, in contrast to most other parts of the island.

Historical perspectives on the expedition's discoveries presented in this volume are important because the original team's work is separated from the current effort toward publication by a generation – a generation that has not had access to conducting archaeological field research in the northern part of Cyprus. A long view of the way in which the excavations fit into the history of archaeology on Cyprus shows how the island's division in 1974 and the cessation of archaeological work in the north has shifted the scholarly view of the island to the south (Pilides, this volume).

Two more personal accounts of the excavation illustrate the preparation, techniques, and research perspectives (Chapter 4 and 9) of the original team. These are particularly important for the publication of the Phlamoudhi material because the original director, Edith Porada, died in 1994. One of her students, Daphne Achilles, kept the collection of objects together at Columbia University. She and many original team members have provided their oral accounts and opinions on the original



FIG. 4 View from the Kyrenia Mountains down over the village of Phlamoudhi to the Mediterranean Sea. Arrow marks location of Phlamoudhi-Vounari. June 2003. Photo by J. S. Smith. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive.

fieldwork and have supplied useful background, particularly photographs and copies of documents, for the publication project. Only one member of the original team, Allan Gilbert, is contributing to the final publication of material found in the excavations, with a study of ceramic composition through the analysis of thin sections. All other contributors to the volumes did not participate in the original excavations.

Personal accounts, such as those offered by Gilbert and Merrillees, often do not form the subjects of academic publications. They are essential here as background and historical perspective in this first volume of the final publication about the fieldwork in Phlamoudhi, because its north coast region has remained inaccessible for further excavation or other form of archaeological study since the war of 1974. As mentioned above, only geological study is permitted, which is how Jay Noller was able to return for his study that shows that the mound of *Vounari* was built up by humans

and is not a natural formation. For both the current study team and for readers of this book and the final publications, these personalized views form vital links to the dynamics of the area during the original project's work from 1970 to 1973.

Returning to the area at the time of writing this book (fig. 4), one finds a landscape that appears, at least on the surface, to be much as it had been in 1974. Both *Melissa* and *Vounari* can be seen today, but they are overgrown and untended. The population of the area is entirely different; no one living there today has any links with the area's pre-1974 past. The schoolhouse, where objects had been stored, appears now to be empty of archaeological finds. The personalized accounts by Gilbert and Merrillees provide a sense of the village's life and structure prior to the war. Both then and now the area is isolated, as it had been for centuries.

Also, these chapters show how information during survey and excavation came to be recorded by the team, some of whom, including Porada, had no



FIG. 5 View from Phlamoudhi-Vounari hilltop west to Phlamoudhi-Melissa, showing the fields, orchards, and the proximity of the sites to the mountains and the sea. The arrow points out the hillside of Phlamoudhi-Melissa. June 2003. Photo by J. S. Smith. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive.

experience with running a field project. For example, an interest in the Bronze Age on her part accounts for the choice of excavation areas. The coursework taken by the students in the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University made them aware of the importance of soil samples, without which the current study of the ancient plant life of the area would have been impossible. Changes in photographers are the reasons why there are differences in photographic style for the same subjects from year to year. The academic interests and prior fieldwork experience of each original team member have contributed to the nature of the record keeping during the original project. Together with the research interests and perspectives of the study team, these ideas shape how the evidence from Phlamoudhi was recorded and is presented in the form of publication and exhibition.

ANCIENT SETTLEMENT IN THE PHLAMOUDHI REGION

Both *Melissa* and its neighbor, *Vounari*, lie in the narrow coastal strip north of the Kyrenia Mountains at the westernmost extent of the Karpas Peninsula. Each was established at the end

of the Middle Cypriot period and continued in use into the Late Cypriot period. A third Late Bronze Age site, *Sapilou*, appears, based on survey evidence (Catling 1962: 168; Symeonoglou 1972: 195; Catling 1973: 107–9; 1976), to be a settlement and cemetery that, from its ceramics, was at least partly contemporary with the later Late Cypriot II phases of Bronze Age *Melissa* after *Vounari* was abandoned. In another part of that same site, there is evidence for Cypro-Archaic and later activity (Symeonoglou 1972: 191). A cemetery at Phlamoudhi-*Gouppes*, identified by Catling (1962: 168), was not relocated by the Columbia survey (Symeonoglou 1972: 194–95). The expedition identified Middle–Late Bronze Age cemeteries at *Lithosourka* (Symeonoglou 1975b: 389; Al-Radi 1983: 6) and possibly *Ayios Ioannis* (Al-Radi 1983: 7).

Isolated from the south by the Kyrenia Mountains, *Melissa* and *Vounari* were visible one from the other (figs. 5–6). They shared a common Late Bronze Age administration, and were most likely parts of a common route of trade that led over the mountains, through and possibly including *Sapilou*, toward the closest large settlement at Enkomi near the east coast. That close connection continued in the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods, with



FIG. 6 View from Phlamoudhi-Melissa looking east to Phlamoudhi-Vounari, the small white conical hill in the middle distance. 1972. The arrow points out the hill of Phlamoudhi-Vounari. Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi photo archive.

the addition of several other sites, particularly at *Lithosourka*, *Trachonas*, and *Varkes*. As in the Bronze Age, the strongest cultural ties across the mountains seem to have been with Salamis, the coastal center that replaced Enkomi.

While there is little that has been excavated outside of Phlamoudhi in the region under study, several sites are known from survey evidence that help to recreate the context of settlement in Phlamoudhi in the second and first millennia BCE. Prior to the original expedition's work (Symeonoglou 1972), Catling had compiled the results of his survey work (1962). Furthermore, before the area became inaccessible in 1974, Sophocles Hadjisavvas had conducted survey work in the Famagusta District of Cyprus in 1973 (1991).

Unlike other parts of the north coast (Pilides, this volume), there is little evidence for settlement prior to the Middle Bronze Age in the Phlamoudhi area. Discoveries at Akanthou (Şevketoglu 2002) add to the early work on the Neolithic period by Dikaïos and Stanley-Price already mentioned. For the Early Bronze Age, surveys have documented only cemeteries, both to the west at Akanthou (Catling 1962: 148) and south of the Kyrenia Mountains in Komi and Livadia (Catling 1962: 151–52; Hadjisavvas 1991: 38–39). The earliest Bronze Age settlement in the Phlamoudhi area is toward the end of the Middle Bronze Age in the



FIG. 7 Map of the Phlamoudhi region in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Map by J. S. Smith, combining survey data from Catling 1962, Symeonoglou 1972, and Hadjisavvas 1991.

Middle Cypriot III period, when structures at both *Melissa* and *Vounari* were first built.

Survey evidence (fig. 7) suggests that settlement in the Middle Bronze Age in the vicinity of

Phlamoudhi was more closely tied to the Karpass Peninsula than to regions further south, where Kalopsidha-*Taoutis* (trenches excavated south of *Yastrika* and north of *Koufos*; Åström 1966) and Enkomi-*Ayios Iakovos* (Dikaios 1969a–c; 1971a; Courtois et al. 1986) are located. Of note are settlements found through survey at Ovgoros-*Kionia*, Komi-*Parouzos*, and Ayios Ilias-*Gypsaros* (Catling 1962: 159; Hadjisavvas 1991: 42–43, 60, 70–71), located to the east of Phlamoudhi across the Kyrenia Mountains. One small site excavated at Ayios Iakovos-*Dhima* has a Middle Cypriot III deposit containing 54 Red-on-Black and Red-on-Red decorated vessels (Gjerstad et al. 1934: 360–61), a Karpass ceramic made at Phlamoudhi-*Melissa* (Smith, this volume) and possibly elsewhere in the area. Being on the south side of the Kyrenia Mountains just west of the pass over the mountains from Phlamoudhi, Ayios Iakovos-*Dhima* may point to early connections between the Karpass and places further south, especially if it was already a cult place and common point of ceremony at this time. The twenty cemeteries at Akhyritou, Ayios Iakovos, Ayios Ilias, Ayios Theodoros, Enkomi, Kalopsidha, Komi, Lapathos, Livadia, Milea, Ovgoros, Psilatos, Sinda, Stylos, and Trikomo (Catling 1962: 154–60; Hadjisavvas 1991: 33, 60, 70–71, 99, 100) suggest the extent of the wider settlement pattern.

In the Late Bronze Age, a stronger connection developed between places in Phlamoudhi and their neighbors south of the Kyrenia range. Of note is the shift toward settlement along the route from Phlamoudhi, over the pass from the village through the Kyrenia Mountains, along which *Vounari* and *Sapilou* lie, and south toward Enkomi, Kalopsidha-*Koufos*, and another large settlement at Sinda-*Sira Dash* (Furumark and Adelman 2003). Two settlements in Trikomo, at *Krines* and *Mersineri* (Catling 1962: 169; Hadjisavvas 1991: 86, 89), seem to replace their more eastern neighbors. The cult place at Ayios Iakovos continues into this period (Gjerstad et al. 1934: 356–61) and there are sixteen cemeteries recorded at Ayios Iakovos, Ayios Theodoros, Enkomi, Gastria, Kantara, Milea, Monarga, Psilatos, Sinda, and Trikomo (Catling 1962: 161–64, 167–69; Karageorghis 1975;

4; Hadjisavvas 1991: 68, 86, 89, 100). Additionally, settlement increased along the coastal strip on either side of Phlamoudhi village. *Davlos-Pyrgos*, to the east, may be similar to *Vounari* in that it is an elevated site that has been identified as fortified (Catling 1962: 162; Hadjisavvas 1991: 24). Both a settlement and a cemetery have been located at Akanthou to the west (Catling 1962: 160).

Phlamoudhi-*Vounari* was abandoned some time in the Late Cypriot IIA period (Horowitz, this volume), while Phlamoudhi-*Melissa* continued to thrive for about another two hundred years (Smith, this volume). If the limited evidence from Phlamoudhi-*Sapilou* is accurate, it may have replaced *Vounari* along the route across the Kyrenia Mountains. *Melissa* was destroyed by earthquake and fire at the end of the Late Cypriot IIC period in the 13th century BCE. After that time, there was no known settlement in the region until the Cypro-Archaic period of the eighth century BCE.

Geometric period settlement (fig. 8) instead was located mainly in a cluster of sites at Ayios Ilias-*Matsoukovouno*, Ardana-*Pente Spitia*, and Trikomo-*Koufopetra* (Hadjisavvas 1991: 71–72, 76, 88). Also south of the Kyrenia Mountains were Gastria-*Mouti tou Marathou*, Ayios Iakovos-*Melia*, and Platani-*Rantousia* (Hadjisavvas 1991: 55, 99, 110). The sanctuary at Ayios Iakovos-*Dhima* was in use once again (Gjerstad et al. 1934: 361–70). Twenty-one cemeteries at Ardana, Ayios Iakovos, Ayios Ilias, Gastria, Komi, Lapathos, Patriki, Platani, and Trikomo have also been recorded (Karageorghis 1975; Hadjisavvas 1991: 35, 41–42, 50, 54–55, 71–72, 75–76, 85, 88, 90, 92, 100–101, 110, 112). The Protogeometric necropolis at Gastria-*Alaas* (Karageorghis 1975) stands out among them as a signal of continued life and even prosperity in the area during a time when there is, as of yet, no sign of occupation documented among settlement sites.

In the Archaic period, settlement resumed in the Phlamoudhi area, possibly as an expansion from places to the south. At both *Melissa* and *Vounari*, parts of their Bronze Age structures were reused for the construction of new buildings (Smith, this volume; Horowitz, this volume). Evidence for cult activity and settlement surround them.

Additional cult places have been located through survey at Phlamoudhi-*Trachonas* (Symeonoglou 1972: 190–91; Hadjisavvas 1991: 19) and *Davlos-Geroschinia* (Hadjisavvas 1991: 22–23). There may have been a settlement at *Sapilou*. Possible remains have also been reported from *Ayios Ioannis* and *Chochlakas* (Symeonoglou 1972: 192, 194–95). The cemetery at *Pallouri* (Symeonoglou 1972: 195; Hadjisavvas 1991: 11; Gilbert, this volume) was used toward the end of this period and continued into the Classical period. At Akanthou to the west, three additional cemeteries have been located (Hadjisavvas 1991: 4–5, 9).

South of the Kyrenia Mountains, settlement continued in the Archaic period at Ardana, Gastria, Platani, and Triкомо, with a new cluster of settlements in Komi at *Ayios Georgios Parouzos*, *Perikremmos*, and *Vouppes* (Hadjisavvas 1991: 34, 36, 45). Mandres-*Vounari tou Koutsoullou* appears to replace *Ayios Iakovos-Melia* to the west (Hadjisavvas 1991: 106–7). The sanctuary at *Ayios Iakovos* remained active. Sixteen of the previous twenty Geometric cemeteries continued in use, with eleven new ones recorded (Karageorghis 1975: 4; Hadjisavvas 1991: 4–5, 9–11, 36–37, 43, 45, 50, 73, 76, 106–7) for a total of twenty-seven cemeteries recorded at Ardana, *Ayios Iakovos*, *Ayios Ilias*, Gastria, Komi, Mandres, Patriki, Platani, and Triкомо. Two elite built tombs at Patriki-*Fragkoavgolies* from the Cypro-Archaic II period of the sixth century BCE (Karageorghis 1972b) recall contemporary royal burials at Salamis (Karageorghis 1967), the Iron Age urban equivalent to Enkomi on the east coast to the south.

Settlement in the Phlamoudhi area expanded in the Cypro-Classical period, with settlements at *Lithosourka* (Symeonoglou 1972: 190; Hadjisavvas 1991: 16–17) and *Varkes* (Hadjisavvas 1991: 19) adding to the areas around *Melissa*, *Vounari*, and possibly *Sapilou*. Cult activity continued at *Melissa*, *Vounari*, and *Trachonas*, as well as *Davlos-Geroschinia*. In addition to the cemetery at *Pallouri*, one at *Lithosourka*

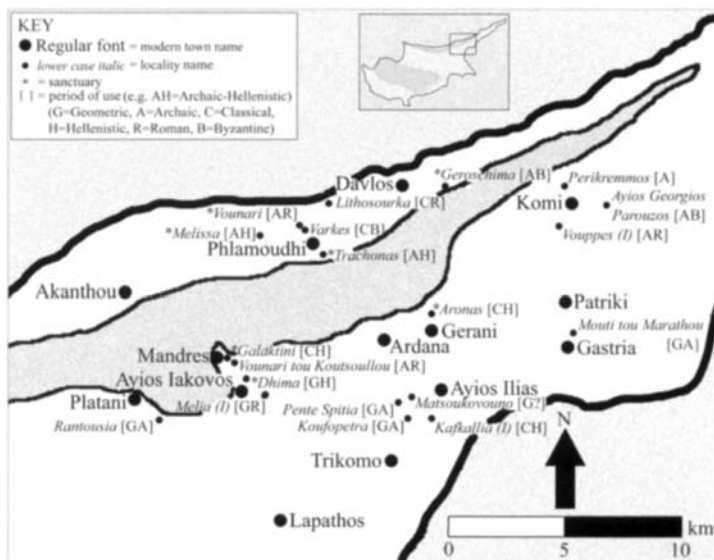


FIG. 8 Map of the Phlamoudhi region in the Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic, and Cypro-Classical periods. All known Phlamoudhi area sites of later periods appear in figs. 55, 59, and 61. Map by J. S. Smith combining survey data from Symeonoglou 1972 and Hadjisavvas 1991.

was now used. Again, there are also possible remains from *Ayios Ioannis* and *Chochlakas*.

Interestingly, the cemeteries at Akanthou went out of use and the number of settlements and cemeteries south of the Kyrenia Mountains decreased significantly in the Classical period. Settlements at Komi-*Ayios Georgios*, Komi-*Parouzos*, Komi-*Vouppes*, and Mandres-*Vounari tou Koutsoullou* are accompanied by one new settlement at Triкомо-*Kafkallia* (Hadjisavvas 1991: 86–87). In addition to the sanctuary at *Ayios Iakovos*, other cult places are now recorded for this region, with two at Gerani-*Aronas* and Mandres-*Galaktini* (Hadjisavvas 1991: 62, 104). There are only three cemeteries recorded for the Classical period, at Triкомо and Mandres (Hadjisavvas 1991: 86–87, 92, 106–7). Whether the population decreased, people settled in fewer but larger urban places, or the evidence just has not yet been uncovered is unknown from the survey information. Whatever the case, settlement in the immediate Phlamoudhi area seems to have continued to flourish into the Hellenistic and later periods. The patterns of settlement during these periods is the subject of a separate chapter in this volume (Chapter 7).



FIG. 9 Settlement and Sanctuary exhibition in the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University, January–March 2005. Room featuring the Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi survey and excavations at Phlamoudhi-Vounari. Photo by J. S. Smith. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive.



FIG. 10 Settlement and Sanctuary exhibition in the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University, January–March 2005. Room featuring the Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi excavations at Phlamoudhi-Melissa. Photo by J. S. Smith. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive.

REVISITING PHLAMOUDHI THROUGH EXHIBITION

Today the sites in and around Phlamoudhi are overgrown and not open formally to the public. It is possible to travel to the area, but no archaeological work is permitted. As mentioned above, the symposium at which the papers in this book were first presented accompanied an exhibition, which sought to recreate the experience of visiting the sites and the settlement area of Phlamoudhi. The exhibit, *Settlement and Sanctuary: Views from the Columbia University Excavations at Phlamoudhi, Cyprus*, took place in the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery at Columbia University from January 20 through March 19, 2005.

The history, survey, excavation, and study of the places in and around Phlamoudhi were brought to life using large-scale floor maps, enlarged color photographs, original letters, excavation records, ceramic vessels, sculptures, metals, plant and animal remains, and comparative objects from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and Columbia University Art Properties collections. A similar exhibition from May 15 to August 15 of 2009 in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, Cyprus, follows the repatriation in April of 2009 of the thousands of ceramics and other objects from the excavations that were brought to New York in the 1970s.

In the entrance hall of the gallery, the visitor viewed a large-scale photograph of the Kyrenia Mountain range (fig. 2), taken just south of the village of Phlamoudhi. The visitor then walked toward another large-scale photograph showing a view from the mountains down into the village of Phlamoudhi (fig. 4). Upon “entering” the village, the first room featured floor maps of the survey area and the site of Phlamoudhi-Vounari (fig. 9). Cases documenting the history of the project, Edith Porada’s career, survey discoveries, the original team, and notebooks from the Vounari excavations lined the sides of the room. A second large room featured a floor map of Phlamoudhi-Melissa (fig. 10). Cases around the room documented the discoveries from Melissa and the publication team. Thematic cases about pottery production and trade,

feasting and food, craft and industry, and large scale storage stood on the sides of the room and on either side of the Melissa plan.

An emphasis on archaeological practice as well as the artistic and historical significance of the discoveries linked these two large rooms to three smaller rooms. These spaces contained objects from each of the three major time periods of occupation in the region, the Middle to Late Bronze Age of the second millennium BCE, the Cypro-Archaic through Hellenistic periods of the first millennium BCE, and the Roman through Modern periods of the first and second millennia CE. The *Guide to Phlamoudhi* (Smith 2005) led the visitor through the show.

The exhibition symposium featured the work of several scholars (fig. 11), including the work of three graduate students, all of whom now hold PhDs, Nancy M. Dammann, Mara T. Horowitz, and Kyle L. Killian, whose work has contributed to the publication of the Phlamoudhi material. Other graduate students from the Department of Art History and Archaeology and the Department of Classics who had also contributed significantly to the study of material in Phlamoudhi introduced and monitored the sessions. The chapters in this volume are the first major contribution to the art, archaeology, geology, and history of the Late Bronze Age and following periods in the northern part of Cyprus since the early 1990s. They comprise the first volume in a series concerning the only scientifically excavated evidence for Late Bronze Age and Iron Age settlement north of the Kyrenia Mountains.

A NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY

While most dates for the chronological periods used in this volume as listed below are standard, it is important here to reference sources about recent adjustments to and discussions of the earliest periods of human activity on the island, as well as the period from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age. Dates for the Akrotiri Phase through the Neolithic period derive from the calibrated dates used by Alan Simmons (2007: 234). In his calibration of dates BP (before present), he used the year 2000 rather than the standard date of 1950, which generated the date of 10000 BCE

as listed below. The chronology for the Middle to Late Cypriot periods is based on the strong argument made by Sturt Manning (2007) for the high chronology. While the standard relative and absolute dates for the Cypro-Geometric period are also contested

(e.g., Gilboa and Sharon 2003; Levy and Higham 2005), the detailed argument for their revision is not included here because the discussion of discoveries from survey and excavation in Phlamoudhi does not relate significantly to that period.

Akrotiri Phase	/10000–9500/ BCE	Geometric Period (Cypro-Geometric [CG])	1050–750 BCE
Aceramic Neolithic	/9500–5800/5500 BCE	Archaic Period (Cypro-Archaic [CA])	
Ceramic Neolithic	4900/4500–3900/3700 BCE	I	750–600 BCE
Chalcolithic	3900/3700–2500/2300 BCE	II	600–475 BCE
Early Bronze Age (Early Cypriot [EC])	2500/2300–1950 BCE	Classical Period (Cypro-Classical [CC])	
Middle Bronze Age (Middle Cypriot [MC])		I	475–400 BCE
I	1950–1850 BCE	II	400–310 BCE
II	1850–1750 BCE	Hellenistic Period	310–100 BCE
III	1750–1650 BCE	Early Roman Period	100 BCE–CE 300
Late Bronze Age (Late Cypriot [LC])		Late Roman Period	CE 300–750
IA	1650–1550 BCE	Byzantine Period	CE 750–1191
IB	1550–1450 BCE	Medieval Period	CE 1191–1571
IIA	1450–1375 BCE	Ottoman Period	CE 1571–1878
IIB	1375–1300 BCE	British Period	CE 1878–1960
IIC	1300–1200 BCE	Republic of Cyprus	from CE 1960
IIIA	1200–1125 BCE		
IIIB	1125–1050 BCE		



FIG. 11 Participants in the Settlement and Sanctuary symposium, January 21, 2005. From left to right: Allan S. Gilbert, Robert S. Merrillees, Joanna S. Smith, Nancy M. Dammann, Despo Pilides, Jay Stratton Noller, Kyle L. Killian, Mara T. Horowitz, Lee Z. Ullmann, Roberta Casagrande-Kim, Sandrine Larrivé-Bass, and Todd A. Davis. Photo by B. A. Porter. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive.

Chapter 5

Settlement to Sanctuary at Phlamoudhi-Melissa

by Joanna S. Smith

Phlamoudhi-Melissa preserves the first excavated evidence for a Late Bronze Age settlement north of the Kyrenia Mountains. From the Middle Cypriot III period into the Late Cypriot I period, potters making red-slipped ceramics shared a kiln there. Throughout more than half a millennium, the community also stored food and drink in a central building. By the time of *Melissa*'s destruction by earthquake and fire in the 13th century BCE, its monumental building was comparable in size with contemporary Cypriot ashlar buildings. As people did all over the island, the inhabitants made increasingly long-distance contacts, on Cyprus and across the Mediterranean, and added new technologies. Also, as elsewhere on Cyprus, complex pyrotechnology was important for the artistry and economy of this settlement, but it was for ceramics more often than bronze. Starting in the sixth century BCE, people reused old buildings at *Melissa* within a sanctuary, suggesting that memories survived about an important place of their past.

Of all the archaeological sites documented in and around Phlamoudhi, *Melissa* is the only excavated settlement (fig. 24–27). Its stratified remains represent thirteen phases (0–12). This large

settlement was first built in the Middle Cypriot III period; whether that was during the 18th or 17th century BCE can not yet be determined, because the only evidence for dating the early phases of the site relies on relative pottery chronology. Deposits prior to the first building contain only Middle Cypriot III ceramics. After the earliest deposits, one tiny fragment shows that Proto White Slip ware was present (see fig. 35a); this ware is linked with the Middle Cypriot III to Late Cypriot IA transition, contemporary with the end of the Hyksos period and before the 18th dynasty in Egypt (Eriksson 2001: 63). The site was occupied continuously for at least half a millennium to the end of the Late Cypriot IIC period in the 13th century BCE (figs. 28–31, 33–34). It was reoccupied in the Cypro-Achaic period and continued to be used in the Cypro-Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Medieval periods (figs. 40–41, 43; see Chapter 7 on the Hellenistic and later periods). The small church of Panagia Melissa still stands there today (fig. 27, right background).

The locality of *Melissa*, while excavated as part of the expedition to Phlamoudhi, is technically within the boundaries of the village of Akanthou to the west of Phlamoudhi village (Hadjisavvas 1991: 10).

It is on a low rise (35° 24.021' N, 33° 49.716' E, as measured from GoogleEarth), 1.25 km from the north sea coast on the east side of a north–south dirt road that branches off the main coastal east–west road (35° 24.676' N, 33° 49.887' E, as measured from GoogleEarth). It is the larger of the two sites excavated by the expedition to Phlamoudhi and has remained unpublished until now, with the exception of a few brief preliminary notes (Karageorghis 1972a: 1046–47; Symeonoglou 1972: 189–90; Karageorghis 1973: 640–41; 1974: 865; Merrillees 1974: 54–56; Hesse et al. 1975; Symeonoglou 1975a: 67–71; Porada 1986: 294–96) and what appeared in the *Guide to Phlamoudhi* (Smith 2005).

The expedition to Phlamoudhi kept detailed records of their excavations at *Melissa*, including sixteen narrative notebooks with sketch plans, over

750 black-and-white site photographs, about 250 color slides of trenches, twenty section drawings, and a partial architectural plan. The original estimation of Bronze Age building phases by the team was two, which has appeared in earlier publications about the site (e.g., Hesse et al. 1975). Using the existing architectural plan, the sketch plans, sections, photographs, and the thousands of sherds and hundreds of other objects from the excavations, I have been able to reconstruct seven different Bronze Age building phases as well as a pre-architectural phase. Furthermore, I have identified at least five post-Bronze Age building phases. In addition, I have completed the full architectural plan (fig. 24) as well as phase plans (figs. 28–31, 33–34, 40–41, 43) using all available information.

The thirteen construction phases are as follows:

Phase 0	Preconstruction. Pit (kiln)	Middle Cypriot III	fig. 28
Phase 1	Corridor building	Middle Cypriot III–Late Cypriot IA	fig. 28
Phase 2	Corridor building, first modification	Late Cypriot IA	fig. 28
Phase 3	Corridor building, second modification	Late Cypriot IB	fig. 28
Phase 4	Corridor building partly filled in. Expanded to south	Late Cypriot IIA	fig. 29
Phase 5	Courtyard building	Late Cypriot IIB	fig. 30
Phase 6	Courtyard building, first modification	Late Cypriot IIC	fig. 31
Phase 7	Courtyard building, second modification	Late Cypriot IIC	fig. 33
	Earthquake and fire destruction		fig. 34
	Abandonment		
Phase 8	Construction over Bronze Age remains	Cypro-Archaic?	fig. 40
Phase 9	Reuse of Bronze Age walls for a building with a porch. Walls to the north	Cypro-Archaic–Classical. Continued use of the site into the Hellenistic period	fig. 41
Phase 10	Square building	Roman period. Use of the site into the Byzantine and Medieval periods	fig. 43
Phase 11	Panagia Melissa church		fig. 27, right background
Phase 12	Agricultural terrace walls	Modern	
	Excavation	1971–73	
	Abandonment	1974–present	

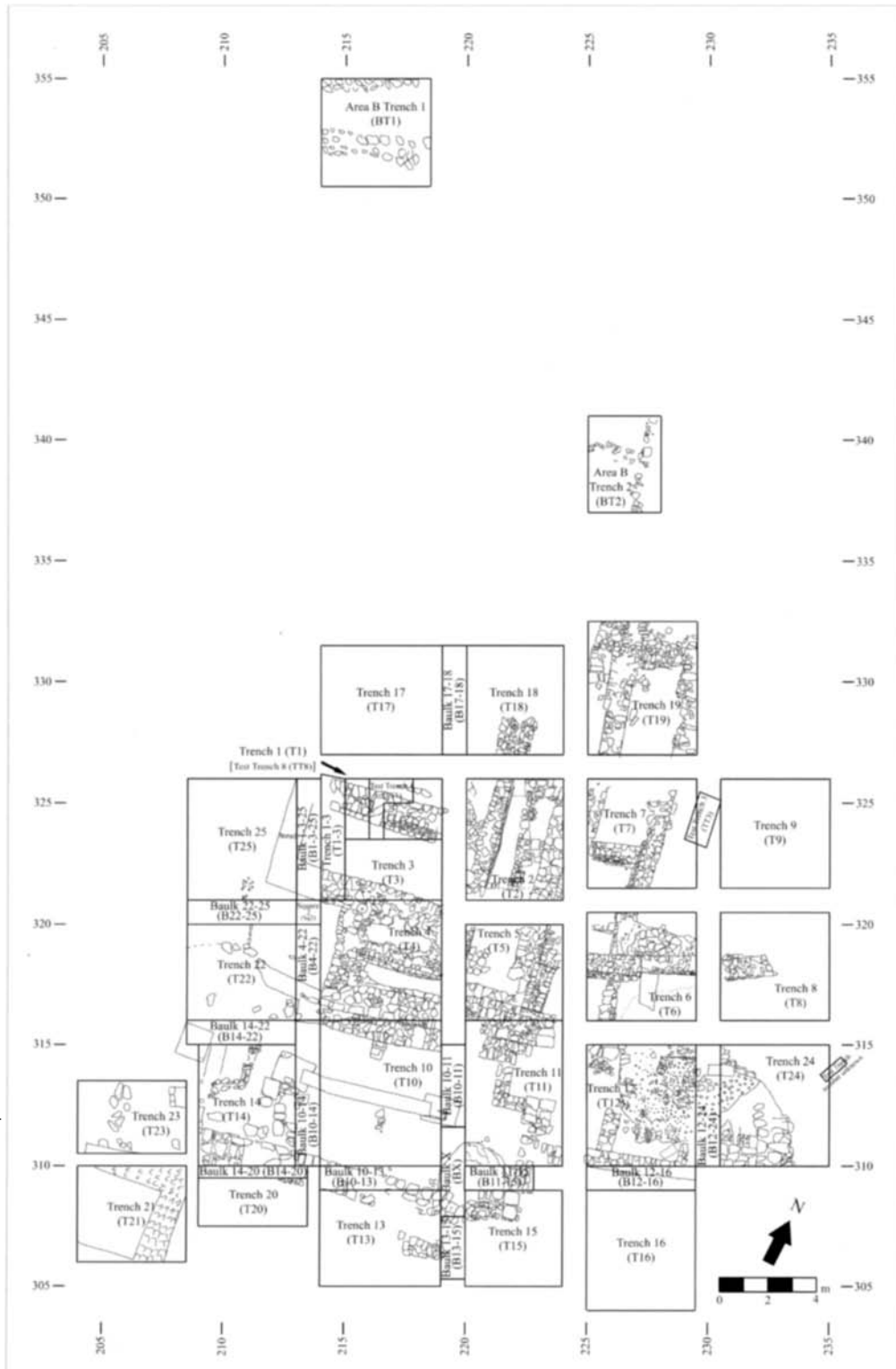


FIG. 24 Complete plan of walls and major features uncovered at Phlamoudhi-Melissa by the Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi, 1971–1973. Plan by J. S. Smith combining partial site plan by A. Coronado with photographic evidence and sketch plans from notebooks by D. Achilles, D. Anson, S. Dunham, A. Gilbert, J. Harward, H. Pittman, and S. Symeonoglou.

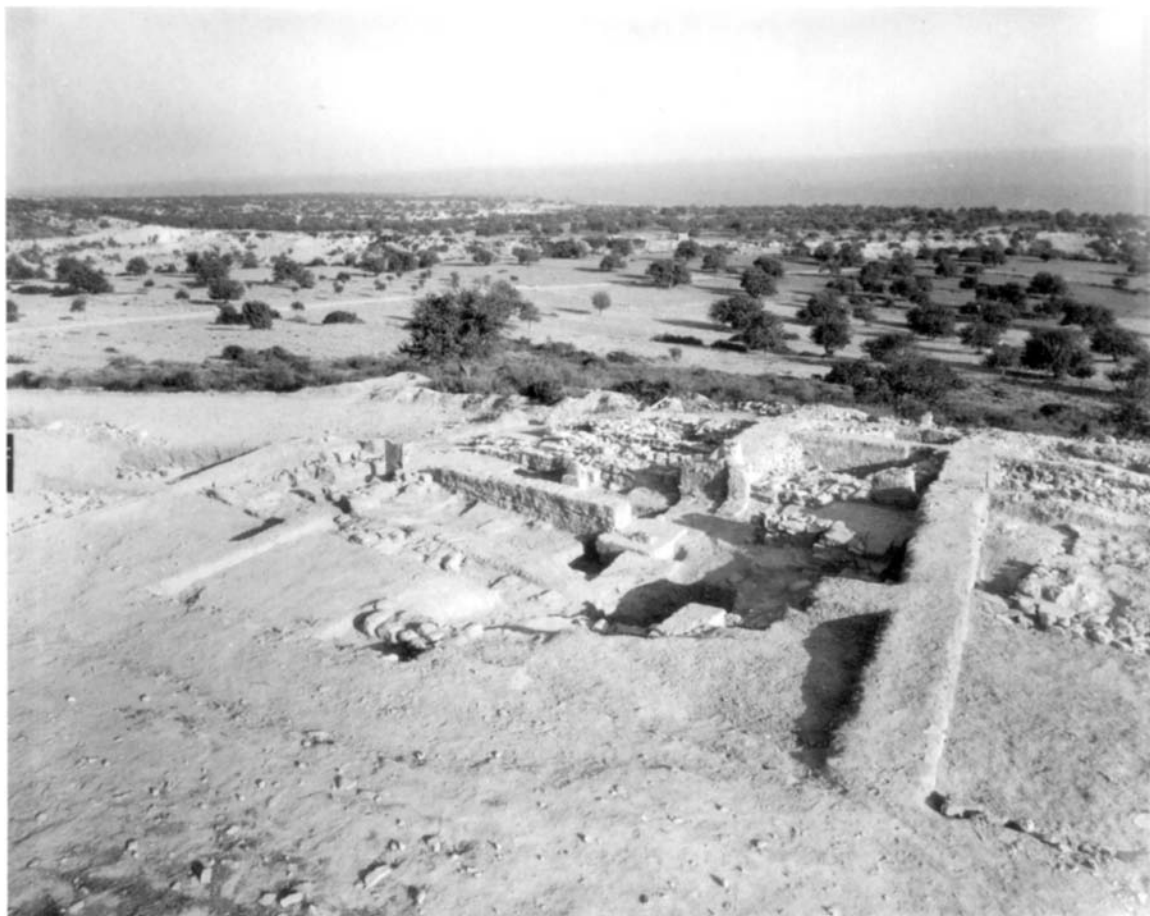


FIG. 25 View of Phlamoudhi-Melissa looking north. Trenches 13, 10, 15, and 11 in the foreground. 1973. Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi photo archive.



FIG. 26 Panorama of Phlamoudhi-Melissa looking east. Trenches 17, 25, and 22 in the foreground. 1973. Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi photo archive.

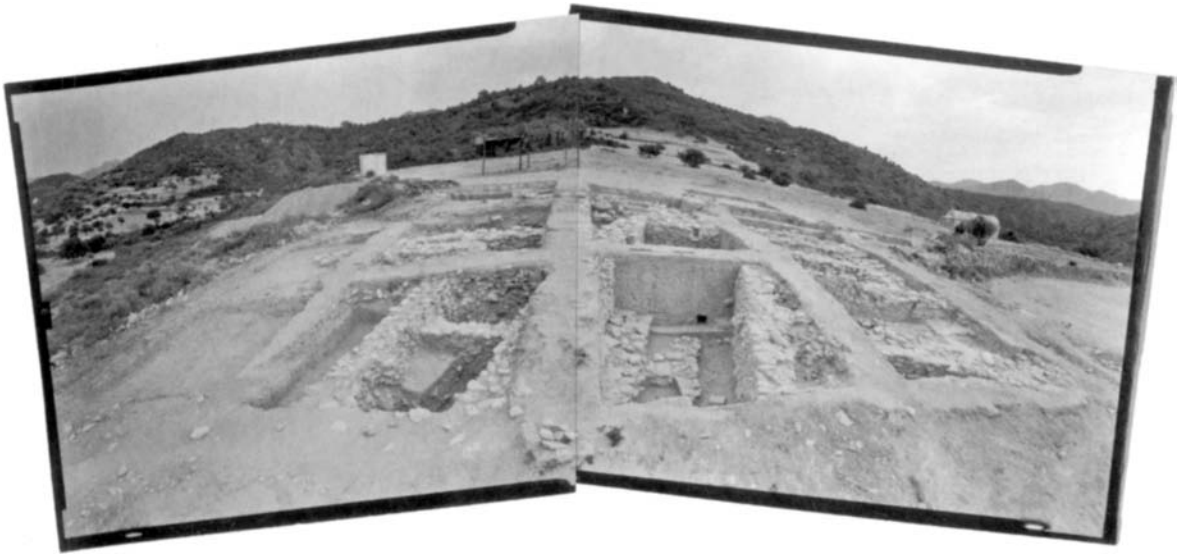


FIG. 27 Panorama of Phlamoudhi-Melissa looking south. Trenches 9, 7, 2, and 1, 3, and 1-3 in the foreground. 1972. Photographs by I. J. Cohn. Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi photo archive.

MELISSA IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM BCE

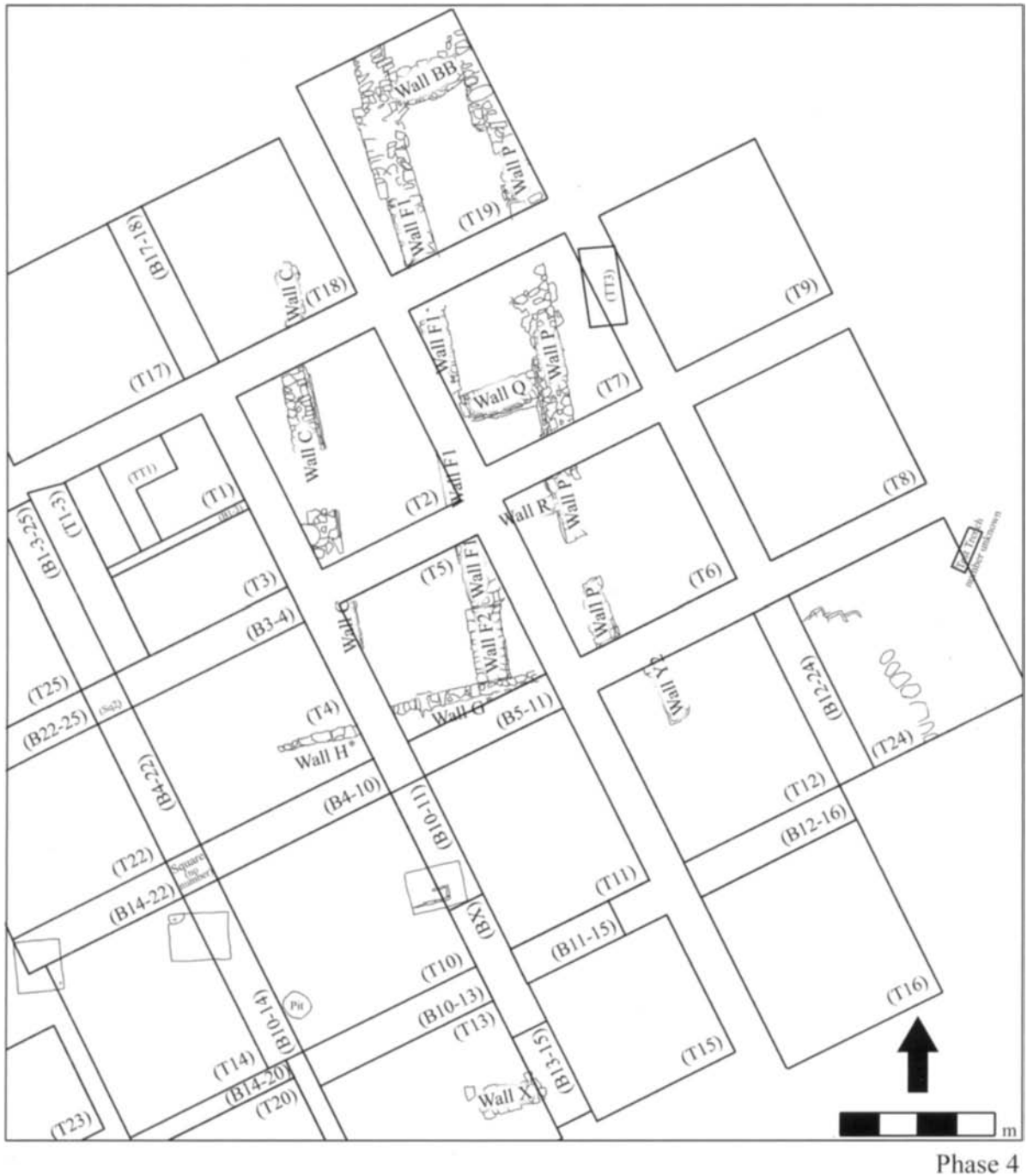
Habitation at *Melissa* was continuous for at least 500 years in the second millennium BCE. The buildings preserved do not appear to represent the average dwellings of *Melissa* residents. Instead, they are storage and work areas that formed part of a single central building that was modified and expanded over time. The earliest deposits preserve debris from ceramic manufacture and large-scale storage. Potters working in the red-slipped ceramic tradition continued to form part of the community at *Melissa* throughout its lifetime. They were joined by those adept at textile manufacture and, in the latest periods, by those skilled in metallurgy. Early evidence for the large-scale storage of food and drink preserves containers made and probably owned by many individuals. In the later periods, the containers are larger and more uniform. This change in storage appears to represent a socio-economic shift at the site that is contemporary with a change in the design of the main building to include not only storage and work space, but also a small, paved central hall or even a courtyard. A building that once represented the joint efforts of a larger community later became a place that was probably controlled by a single individual or fam-

ily. That change in control was also accompanied by wider-ranging trade contacts throughout the Mediterranean.

Site Size

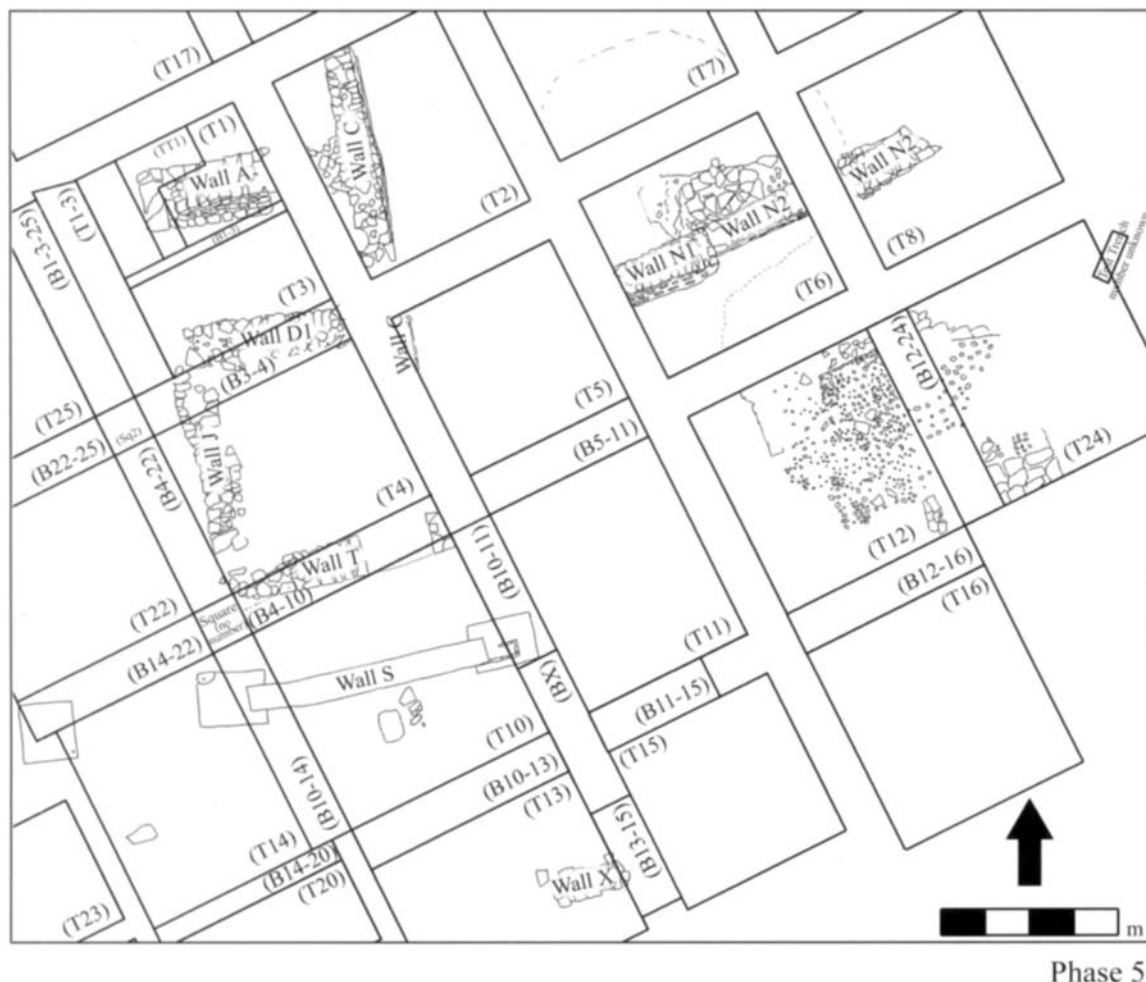
Exactly how large *Melissa* was at any point in time is unknown, for survey records do not record the extent of the surface remains, no subsurface survey was undertaken, and the areas excavated were too close together to give a sense of the extent of the settlement. Erosion and terracing have also removed some of the stratified remains. Nevertheless, two pieces of evidence are suggestive of the site's extent, at least in the Late Cypriot IIC period. First, a visit to *Melissa* in 2004 revealed a vast area beyond the excavated trenches and the Panagia Melissa church to be covered with sherds of Late Bronze Age date (L. Z. Ullmann, personal communication, 2004), confirming ideas based on photographs of the area's surface and accounts of the site by original team members (Gilbert, this volume). Recording and collection is not currently permitted in the northern parts of Cyprus, so no specifics beyond that are available.

The extent of the settlement, however, also can be hypothesized based on the size of the large storage



Phase 4

FIG. 29 Phase 4 at Phlamoudhi-Melissa. Plan by J. S. Smith based on complete plan in figure 24 and stratigraphic analysis by J. S. Smith.

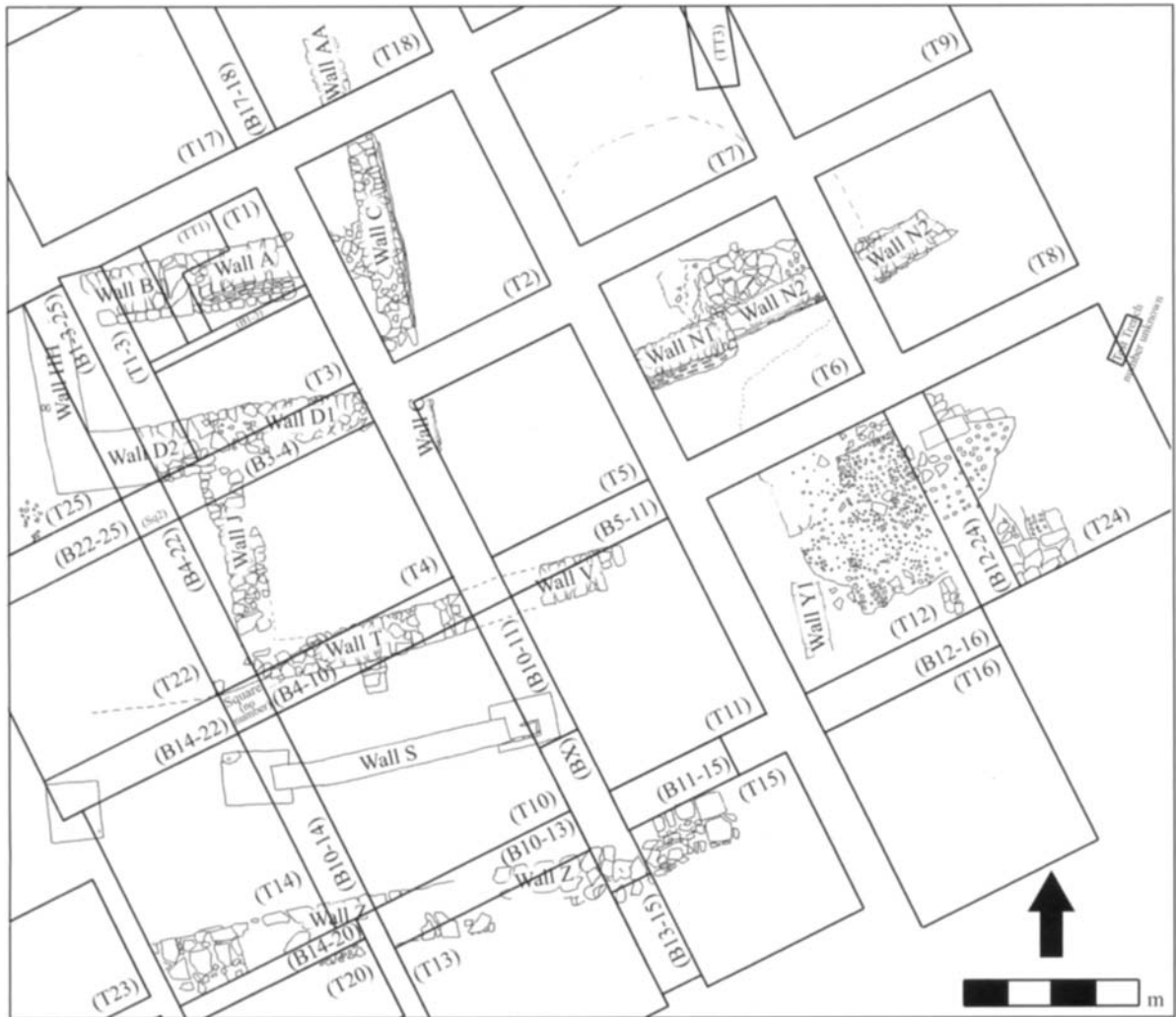


Phase 5

FIG. 30 Phase 5 at Phlamoudhi-Melissa. Plan by J. S. Smith based on complete plan in figure 24 and stratigraphic analysis by J. S. Smith.

building that stood on the site in the Late Cypriot IIC period (figs. 31, 33), when the place was rocked by an earthquake and subjected to an extensive fire that led to its abandonment (fig. 34). That building fills much of the 620-m² area uncovered in the excavations. As preserved, it measures over 500 m². In design it appears to have a small paved courtyard in the northeastern part of its preserved area that was surrounded by storage areas in the west and southwest and a pebbled work surface to the south. If reconstructed as a roughly square building with the paved area in the middle, it would measure approximately 900 m², which is equivalent to the size of the roughly square, contemporary, similarly designed, and well-known Building X at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios (South 1989a: 320), as

well as the equally well-known and also roughly square Ashlar Building in Area I at Enkomi-Ayios Iakovos (Dikaios 1969a: 171; 1969c: plans 273, 276). The *Melissa* structure also appears to be similar in function to Building X at Kalavassos in having the large-scale storage of olives and probably olive oil (see Chapter 8). From this comparison, it is possible that the *Melissa* site would have been similar in scale to the estimates for Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, at 11.5 ha (South 1989a: 319), or Enkomi-Ayios Iakovos, at 14 ha (Negbi 1986: 101) to 16 ha (Iacovou 2007: 8). Other urban places of the period are estimated to have been similar in size (Merrillees 1992; Knapp 1997: 53–55; but now see Iacovou 2007), and there is every reason to suspect that *Melissa* was comparable. The land on



Phase 6

FIG. 31 Phase 6 at Phlamoudhi-Melissa. Plan by J. S. Smith based on complete plan in figure 24 and stratigraphic analysis by J. S. Smith.

which *Melissa* is located at the base of the Kyrenia Mountain foothills and between two river gulches would easily allow for a settlement of that size and up to at least as large as 28 ha. Of course, it might alternatively have been smaller. Whether *Melissa* had an orthogonal plan of streets comparable to those at Kalavassos and Enkomi is unknown. No evidence for a perimeter wall was recorded. From the scatters of ceramics and evidence for oil pressing and metal recycling, it is likely that the monumental building sat among residences and workshop areas.

SITE LOCATION

The ground-level siting of *Melissa* is interesting in that its hillside is hidden from many points of view (Noller, this volume). Its location may have been selected purposely to put it out of sight, protecting it from land and sea raids and making the safekeeping of food supplies and industries easier in the Bronze Age. Its companion site, *Vounari*, located 2 km to the east, but a 3–3.5 km journey via the foothills or the shore away, was, by contrast, elevated on a man-made hilltop (Noller, this volume). Its construction elevated it about 10 m

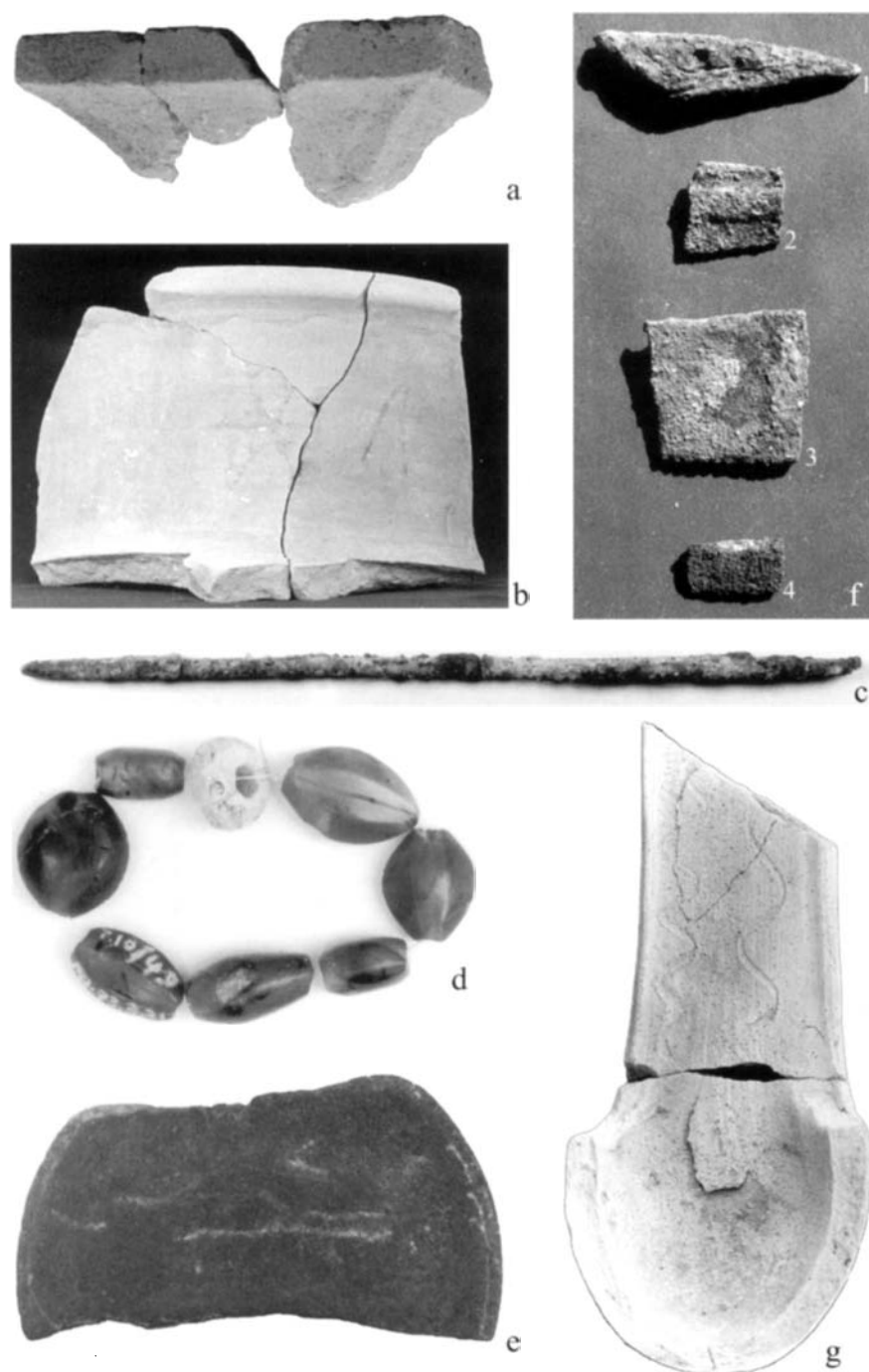


FIG. 32 Objects from the Phases 5-7 courtyard building at Phlamoudhi-Melissa: (a) limestone pillar capital (72.3.28+73.3.69), length of longest fragment 60 cm, now lost, Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi photo archive; (b) pithos neck with a Cypro-Minoan inscription (inv. no. 71.3.39), width ca. 25 cm, now lost, Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi photo archive; (c) bronze stylus (inv. no. 73.3.48), 13.3 cm; (d) one glass paste and seven carnelian amygdaloid, lentoid, and barrel-shaped beads (73.3.1+73.3.31), length 1.45-2.13 cm; (e) Levantine vesicular basalt mortar (inv. no. 73.3.7), maximum diameter 44.5 cm; (f) fragments of bronze tools: (1) spear point (inv. no. 73.3.16), length 4.12 cm, (2) dagger blade (T10.27), length 1.48 cm, (3) saw blade (inv. no. 73.3.3), length 2.48 cm, (4) axe blade (inv. no. 73.3.61), length 0.85 cm; (g) terracotta wall bracket (inv. no. 72.3.43+72.3.51), ca. 19 cm in height, now lost, Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi photo archive. Photos by J. S. Smith. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive except where noted.

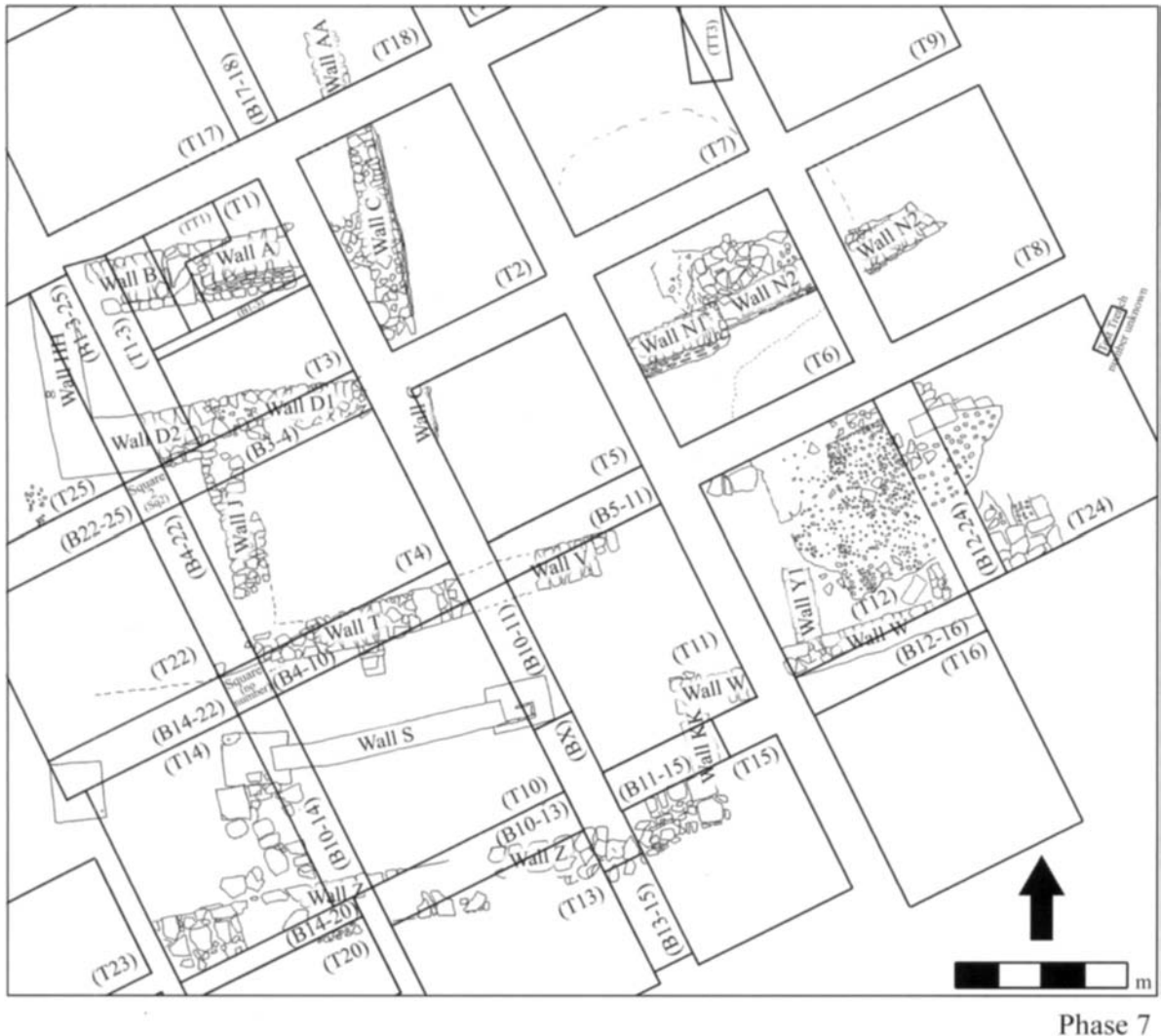


FIG. 33 Phase 7 at Phlamoudhi-Melissa. Plan by J. S. Smith based on complete plan in figure 24 and stratigraphic analysis by J. S. Smith.

from the surrounding landscape and made it visible from the plain, the Kyrenia Mountains, and the sea. Once *Vounari* was abandoned in the Late Cypriot IIA period (Horowitz, this volume), the large building at *Melissa* expanded horizontally and vertically, which would have increased its visibility. Possibly, *Melissa* then became a place that needed to be seen from a distance, especially if it became a primary contact for people traveling by sea and if *Vounari*'s role along a trade route over the Kyrenia Mountains was replaced by *Sapilou*, which was located 3 km away from the sea, in the foothills of the mountains. Interestingly, all three

of these places edged on natural springs. That at *Melissa* and one near the location of Late Bronze Age *Sapilou* were recognized by the expedition team (Symeonoglou 1972: 196, fig. 3). The spring at *Melissa* was confirmed and one at *Vounari* was recognized by Jay Noller.

Building Design

While there are parts of the building missing from each phase, figures 28–31 and 33 demonstrate how the preserved parts of the building found at *Melissa* change in design from a corridor building to a



FIG. 34 Phase 7 with Late Cypriot IIC destruction debris on the floors of the structure at Phlamoudhi-Melissa. Plan by J. S. Smith based on complete plan in figure 24 and stratigraphic analysis by J. S. Smith.

courtyard structure. Walls and floors document the first four phases of building and remodeling clearly (figs. 28–29). Information from Trenches 2, 5, 6, 7, and 19 (fig. 24) preserve the most detailed evidence. The surviving structures included long, narrow corridors measuring 2 and 2.7 m in width and up to 15 m in length. Floors for Phases 2 through 4 preserved some objects *in situ*, such as a Black Slip II (Reserved Slip) amphora found on the floor of the Phase 2 building (fig. 35g), which

offers a Late Cypriot IA date for that structure (compare Manning et al. 2002: 132–33). For the most part, however, the floors were covered by fill deposits and the debris from collapsed mudbrick walls. The presence of a wide variety of fragments of large and decorated storage vessels, or pithoi (fig. 36), suggests strongly that these corridors were used as storage halls.

Phase 4 is characterized by the placement of short sections of walls that either block the passage

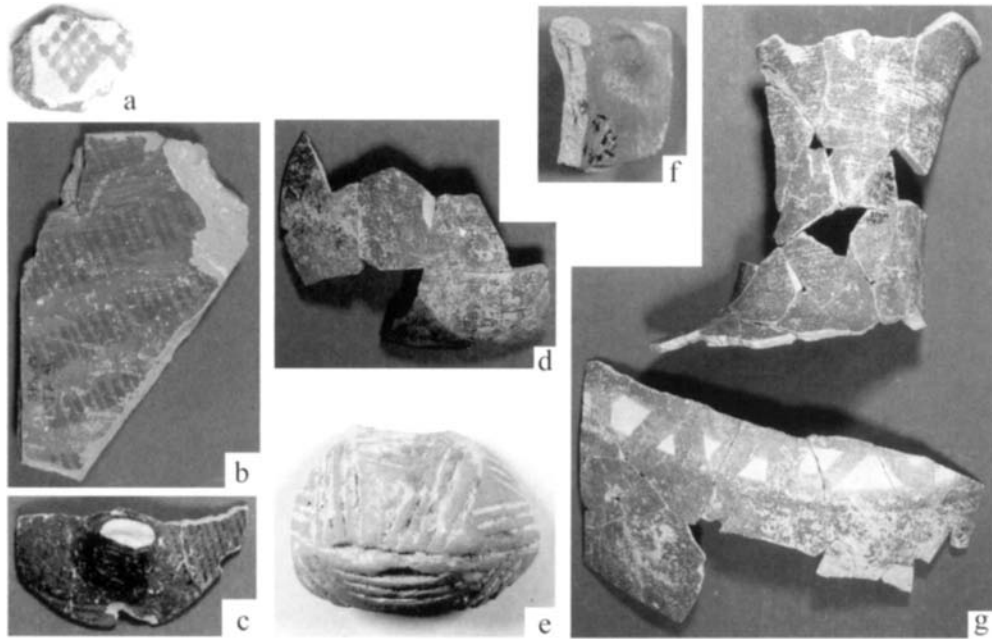


FIG. 35 Objects from the early phases of Phlamoudhi-Melissa and a Red-on-Black vessel from the courtyard building: (a) Proto White Slip fragment from an open shape, T739.14, Phase 1, scale 1:1; (b) Red-on-Black bowl fragment, T741.1, Phase 0, scale 1:2; (c) Red-on-Black jug fragment (T5.14.1), Phase 2, scale 1:4; (d) Red-on-Black jug bottom (Pit.23.2), Phase 7, scale 1:4; (e) fragmentary incised biconical spindle whorl (inv. no. 73.3.29), Phase 0, scale 1:1; (f) ceramic waster (T19.44.2), Phase 0, scale 1:2; (g) Black Slip II (Reserved Slip) amphora rim, neck, and body (made up from fragments from T2.18, T2.20, T5.11, T5.12, T5.13, and T5.18), Phase 2, scale 1:4. Photographs by J. S. Smith. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive.

between corridors, as with a small section at the southern end of the central wall, or divide the long corridors into smaller sections. At this time, the easternmost wall had collapsed in several places. Possibly only parts of the corridor spaces were used at this time. Also during this period, there is evidence for building to the south, with the placement of three thick, rectangular, ashlar blocks into the ground, which were probably pillar supports for a long room.

The changes in design seen in Phase 4 are realized more fully in Phases 5–7 (figs. 30–31, 33), when the old corridors were filled in. Part of the area, measuring at least 6 m in width, was surfaced with rubble topped by paving stones, seeming to form a small courtyard. The paving stones were found in Trench 6 and traces of the rubble below continued into Trenches 7 and 8 (figs. 31, 33). South of the paved area is a room with a partly pebbled surface. The pebbles were well-worn and smooth, as if they had been walked on frequently or polished. Parts of

the pebbled surface were covered by paving stones and areas of plaster in Phase 6. Evidence for the storage of large numbers of olives in the building (Dammann, this volume) suggests that this pebbled surface might have been part of an olive pressing area, similar to that found at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios in Building XI, to the west of Building X (South 1992: 135–39). While there was no pressing bed preserved at *Melissa* similar to those from other contemporary pressing areas (Hadjisavvas 1992: 21–26), features such as two long ashlar and a quern along with the pebbled floor are consistent with an olive pressing area.

To the southwest and west of the paved area, storage spaces were built beginning in Phase 4, replacing the earlier corridors. The largest preserved storage hall, to the southwest, runs roughly east-west, measuring at least 15 m in length and 5.5 m in width. It is divided by a low mudbrick wall (Wall S), which connects the two easternmost rectangular pillar supports (figs. 25, 31, 33–34). This hall, as well

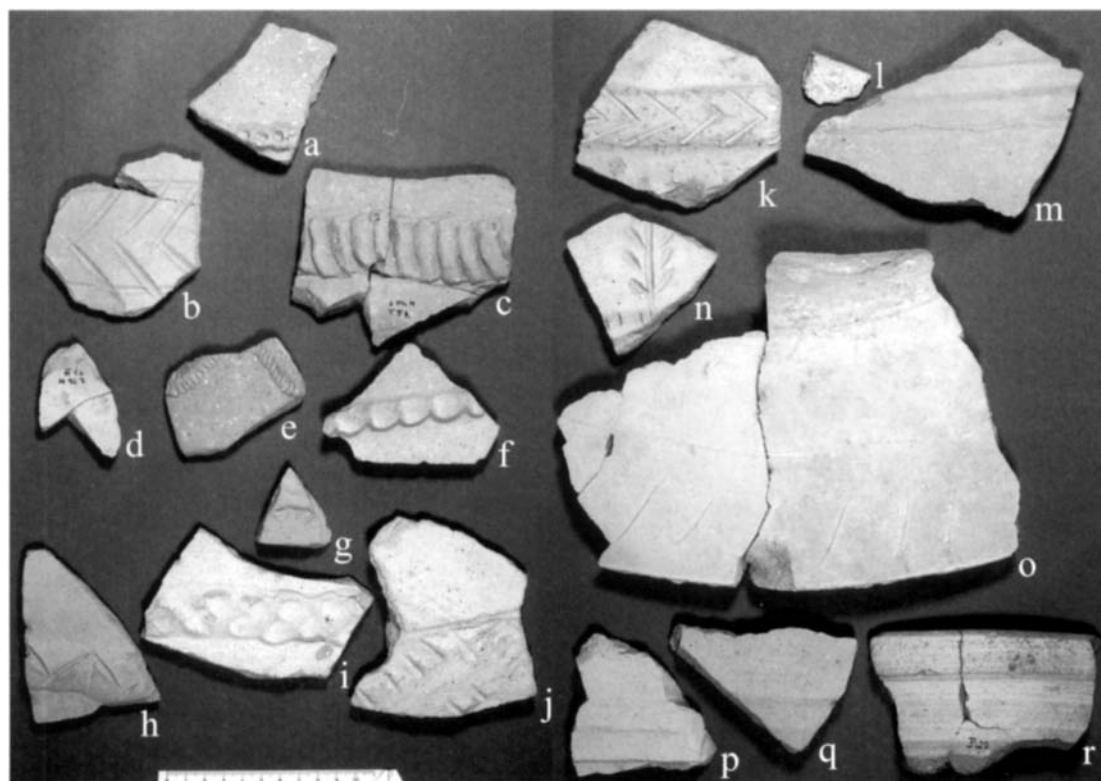


FIG. 36 Decorated pithoi from Phlamoudhi-Melissa. Phase 1 deposit: (a) T19.31.2; Phase 2 deposits: (b) T5.6.8, (c) T5.6; Phase 3 deposits: (d) T2.16.67+T4.21.41, (e) T19.40.4, (f) T7.48.18; Phase 4 deposits: (g) T18.7.19, (h) T5.5.121, (i) T4.2.34, (j) T7.3.1; Phase 5 deposits: (k) T7.5.14, (l) T1.19.35, (m) T3.13.19; Phase 5–7 deposits: (n) T1.19.1+T1.12.1; Phase 6–7 deposits: (o) B22-25.3.4, (p–q) T1-3.3.1, (r) T1.15.1. Scale: 1:4. Photographs by J. S. Smith. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive.

as rooms to its north contained large storage pithoi measuring at least 80 cm to 1 m in diameter.

What survives for Phases 5–7 is only one corner of a larger square or rectangular building. The walls added to the north and south in Phase 6, which measure 1.3 m in thickness, indicate that the structure expanded not only horizontally but also vertically to include at least two stories by the 13th century BCE. Like the earlier structures, its walls were built with stone and mudbrick. From the Late Cypriot IIC destruction layer, there is evidence that the building had long beams cut from pine and shorter supports cut from olive and other local hardwood trees (Dammann, this volume). The last four structures used finely hewn, or ashlar, stone masonry in a few areas, such as for rectilinear wooden pillar supports, part of a threshold, or the end of a wall (figs. 29–31, 33). Parts of a carved capital were found in the southern area of the Phase

6–7 building (fig. 32a). Different in the details of its profile and modeling, it is similar in scale to capitals found at sites such as Kition-Kathari, where wooden pillars have been reconstructed (Callot 1985). As the building was built and rebuilt, some floors and walls were covered with lime plaster.

Phase 7 (fig. 34) represents a modification, but not a full reflooring of the southeastern part of the structure. Additional walls were added, possibly to provide greater support for the eastern end of the long hall in the south. Instability in the building was caused by an earlier large feature, called the “Pit” by the excavators, measuring 2.7 m in diameter. This Pit, probably originally cut for a kiln in Phase o (fig. 28), went out of use by Phase 3 or 4 and was covered over by a plastered surface. That surface caved in periodically, as can be seen in a section through the Pit (fig. 37). A series of four floors were laid in this area. The wall that was placed partly over



FIG. 37 View of the feature called the “Pit” from north, looking at the collapse of the wall and successive plaster floors. 1973. Columbia University Expedition to Phlamoudhi photo archive.

this pit, as well as pithos vessels placed directly over it, collapsed through the surface in the destruction of the last phase of this building (fig. 34).

Marking and Communication

Prominent throughout the building history of the *Melissa* site is the function of the structure for large-scale storage. Burnt layers spanning Phases 5 through 7 of the building show that the pithos storage vessels held orchard fruits, including olives, figs, and almonds, and possibly also oils and other foodstuffs (Dammann, this volume). Cured meats and fish may also have been stored (Smith 2005: 45). The pebbled area from Phases 5–7 may have been part of an oil pressing workspace.

In size, the lower bodies of the pithoi were at least 80 cm to 1 m in diameter, based on measurements taken from trench drawings. Their widest body diameters remain unknown, as do their heights. The exact number of pithoi from the Late Cypriot

IIC destruction layer is uncertain, because most were left on site or at the Columbia team’s storage area at the schoolhouse in the village. In a letter written by Edith Porada to Robert Merrillees, she counted twenty-three large pithoi (Merrillees, this volume: note 2). She was referring only to pithoi associated with the feature called the Pit, probably including Trench 11 and the associated baulks in which that feature was found, so this number does not account for the at least twelve vessels located on plans for Trenches 1, 1–3, 3, 10, 14, 17, 18, 22, 25, and related baulks.

From what was recorded, however, it is clear that the capacity for storage at *Melissa* was considerable, although it was not as large as that found in the pithos hall and adjacent storage area in Building X at Kalavassos, where there were more than fifty pithoi measuring up to 2 m in height (Keswani 1992: 141). Although yield figures for olives pressed for olive oil from single trees are available for comparison (e.g., Blitzer 2004: 154) and one could

potentially begin to propose figures for the numbers of trees in orchard areas around *Melissa*, their olive yields and the volume of oil potentially stored in the building, the specifics of the pithoi and the surrounding landscape at Phlamoudhi are too slim to justify such a calculation at the present time.

The pithoi associated with floor deposits in Phases 5–7 at *Melissa* are large, similar in fabric, and have finger-impressed wavy bands of decoration (figs. 34, 36m, o–q). One pithos neck from Trench 3 was marked with two signs in the undeciphered Cypro-Minoan script (fig. 32b). The vessel itself is lost, but the surviving photograph shows that its neck was 18 cm in height and the surviving width of the piece was 25 cm, making it probable that it is from a wide-necked pithos similar to those grouped by Priscilla Keswani into her Group IA (1989: 13–14), for which there is no standard height. The inscription is on the side of the neck, which would indicate that the neck should have been at least at eye level, because pithos markings were normally placed where they would have been most visible (Smith 1994: 258–59). The photograph does not make it clear whether the inscription was incised into the clay pre- or post-firing, or even painted onto its surface.

Five bronze styli (fig. 32c) for writing on wax-filled wooden tablets were found in the southern storage hall and provide further evidence for administering, recording, or labeling the contents of the pithoi from the Phase 5–7 storage spaces. Whole examples measure 13.3, 13.4, and 15.1 cm. They have one pointed end and one flattened end. Similar tools were found at Enkomi and Kalavassos, where they have also been identified as styli by George Papasavvas (2003). Waxed tablets were used commonly in the Hittite world (Symington 1991), and one example (Payton 1991) was preserved on the ca. 1300-BCE ship found wrecked off the coast of Turkey at Ulu Burun (Yalçın et al. 2005).

Storage before the courtyard building's design was established was focused on the corridors of Phases 1–4. There are even fragments of storage vessels below the earliest floor deposits associated with Phase 1. Unlike the later pithoi, these vessels vary widely in vessel color, fabric inclusions, and firing hardness. These pithos vessels also differ

from the later pithoi in that they are decorated with a variety of raised bands, incised patterns, finger impressed designs, and stamped decorations (fig. 36a–j). One design on a fragment found in debris from Phases 5–6 resembles a branch (fig. 36n), possibly referencing the orchard crop, probably olives, stored inside the vessels.

The expedition team saved mainly the decorated body fragments of the vessels, so it is not possible to reconstruct their diameters, heights, or volumes. Wall thickness is generally not a useful tool for determining pithos size; even some of the relatively thin-walled vessels with chaff or gravel used to strengthen them could have stood over 1 m in height. While it is thus likely that these vessels were smaller than their later counterparts, judging from comparisons with other early pithoi (Åström 1966: 193–206; Pilides 2000: 1–5), the placement of the decorations on the vessel bodies suggests that those markings would have been visible and were not placed at too low a height.

Notable among the decorations are a possible Cypro-Minoan inscription (fig. 36h) and the marks of a multi-lobed petal (figs. 36d, g, l), probably made with a relief-carved wooden stamp. A similar stamp with a lobed pattern was also used at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969b: pl. 60.23). Closer to *Melissa*, *Vounari* preserves several decorated pithoi; among them, again, are similar stamped designs, one of which (Smith 2005: fig. 24c) matches the size and shape of one of the *Melissa* impressions (fig. 36l), strongly suggesting that the same seal was used to mark vessels at both sites, thus demonstrating their connection by a common administration. The precise significance of the marks on the pithoi is uncertain. They are most likely linked to their makers, owners, or intended contents, because the bands of decoration were applied before the vessels were fired. One study of seal-impressed oil containers from Ebla in Syria suggests that marks might be related to the quality of the contents of the vessels (Mazzoni 1984).

Seal impressed figural designs on pithoi have been identified at several Late Bronze Age Cypriot sites (Webb and Frankel 1994), but until recently there was no evidence that the same seal was used to label vessels at more than one site, thus

demonstrating an administrative connection and possibly a regional hierarchy among multiple sites in a region (Smith 1994: 315–16). The pair from Phlamoudhi, not later than Late Cypriot IIA in date, links *Melissa*, a large settlement, with *Vounari*, a smaller site and possibly a point along a route of trade in the Phlamoudhi region and beyond to places across the Kyrenia Mountains, such as Enkomi. I have also noticed a similar connection in the Kouris River Valley between the larger sites of Episkopi-Bamboula and Alassa-Palaeotaverna in the southern part of the island; there, the same wooden cylindrical roller, representing a series of griffins, was used to mark pithoi at both sites in the 12th century BCE (Benson 1956: fig. 6, no. Sh580; Hadjisavvas 2001b: fig. 8, no. 1995/10).

Artistry and Exchange

In addition to large-scale storage and the administration of agricultural produce, the *Melissa* building was also a center of ceramic manufacture, some spinning, and, by the end of the building's use, also metallurgy. Pre-firing potmarks from the pre-construction and early building phases (Smith 2005: fig. 15d) must have been added by the potters before firing. Their variety may attest to the presence of several potters if the marks were intended, for example, to differentiate among the works by different potters during the manufacturing process (Hirschfeld 2002: 93). Wasters, or failed pots (fig. 35f), from the same strata demonstrate that ceramic firing took place nearby. *Melissa* joins Morphou-Toumba tou Skourou (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990) and Sanida-Moutti tou Ayiou Serkou (Todd and Pilides 2001) among Late Cypriot sites with evidence for pottery production. The wasters from *Melissa* represent Black Slip vessels similar to the one found on the floor of Phase 2 (fig. 35g), as well as Red-on-Black and Red-on-Red vessels (figs. 35a–b), a style of pottery found mainly along the Karpas Peninsula and north of the Kyrenia Mountains (Åström 1964), for which a specific production site was not known until now.

The Pit, with its original cut dating back to the earliest occupation of *Melissa*, would have been an appropriate size for a kiln. Its diameter of 2.7

m would have been wide enough to allow for a three-stage firing process similar to that reconstructed for later Greek Black- and Red-Figure vessels (Noble 1988: 155–56), which would also have been necessary to create the Red-on-Black vessels. These handmade vessels were made from the iron-rich red clay of the region, over which an iron-rich red clay slip was applied. An iron-rich red clay slip paint was then used to create the geometric patterns.

There seem to be two ways in which the two-tone decorations with a polished background were created. On some vessels fragments, I have identified clear traces of burnishing, demonstrating that the slipped surfaces of the vessels were highly polished before the painted pattern was applied. The density of that surface could have retained all or much of its reduced black color after the second stage of firing, while the less dense painted decoration turned red again. One fragment (fig. 35b) shows how one potter burnished both the slipped surface and the painted decoration, creating the opposite effect because the painted areas were more dense than their background. The many varieties of coloring on the sherds from *Melissa* show the range of success the potters had in trying to create the two-tone effect. It is interesting that vessels at *Vounari*, most likely made at *Melissa*, are consistently Red-on-Black, providing a view into what was considered a successful product for export.

A second method for creating the two-tone decoration was identified during initial tests using a scanning electron microscope and an EDX microprobe to obtain x-ray-based chemical compositions specific to the fabric, slip, and paint (A. S. Gilbert, personal communication, 2008). The tests were done at Fordham University by Allan Gilbert, Mara Horowitz, and Polly Tessler (Horowitz 2007: 321–24, 521–36). Their study suggests that the chemistry of the slips used for the surface slip and the painted designs are different. The paint has a higher iron content, while the slip contains more potassium and calcium, possibly from added potash or burnt shell. This chemical profile would have allowed for the surface to sinter, much in the same way that the later Greek vessels did. Whether the two methods for achieving the Red-on-Black

coloration are a matter of chronology or artistic license, or even whether they were used in combination, has not yet been determined.

Red-on-Black and the similar Red-on-Red ceramics were significant products made at *Melissa*. With their lustrous black or red surfaces and red painted geometric patterns, they were eye catching objects that reached customers in other parts of Cyprus, especially at Enkomi, as well as in southeastern Anatolia, Syria, and the Levant at places such as Alalakh, Tell el-'Ajjul, and Hazor (Åström 1964). The vessels were valued as objects themselves, because open platters were exchanged as frequently as closed shapes that might have contained desirable oils or other liquids. Red-on-Black and Red-on-Red vessels are found throughout the Bronze Age occupation of *Melissa*. Nearly complete vessels on the floors and in debris fallen into the Pit in the final destruction of the building show that some were still in use at that time (fig. 35d). It is unknown how long the vessels continued to be made at *Melissa*. That they continued to be a product, probably meant to be shipped out of *Vounari* even during the latest use periods of that site, suggests that manufacture continued into the early part of the Late Cypriot II period. Lumps of unfired clay, a waster, and vitrified sherds of Base Ring II vessels, another form of red slipped ceramic, suggest that potters working in the red slipped ceramic tradition remained part of the Bronze Age *Melissa* community throughout its existence.

Whether the red and black colors and patterns of the ceramics made at *Melissa* are reflective of textiles is unknown but possible, given the prevalence of bright red textiles from the Karpas in historical periods (Papademitriou 1993: 9). Elizabeth Barber has shown that ceramics and textiles in the Bronze Age often carry similar patterns (1991: 365–72). The only possible dye found in the building was a red pigment contained in a mortar on the floor of the last phase of the building.

No weaving tools were found at *Melissa*, but ten spindle whorls were found in stratified deposits. The earliest comes from the pre-architectural phase. It is a broken biconical whorl with incised decoration weighing 5 gm (fig. 35e). When whole, it would have weighed closer to 15 gm. Whorls come from all

phases of the Bronze Age site. None weighs more than 29 gm, suggesting that they were all used for spinning wool. The many sheep/goat bones found at *Melissa* (Hesse et al. 1975; D. S. Reese, personal communication, 2004) show that wool would have been easily obtained from their flocks.

It is possible that the correspondence between spinning tools and pottery production from the earliest phases of the *Melissa* site suggests that women were the artisans whose vessels were found. Certainly where spinning is concerned, women are the most likely actors (Smith 2002: 287). However, the centralized storage area, the seemingly non-household context of the kiln and waster finds, and the experimental nature of the fabric, formation, and pyrotechnology of the production may instead indicate that there were male potters (cf. e.g., van der Leeuw 1977; Peacock 1982: 7–8; Brumfiel and Earle 1987; Arnold 1991: 92–95; Sinopoli 1991: 99). The discovery of spinning tools in the absence of weaving tools in this centralized facility could, in fact, support the idea of male activity, because men are known to spin in order to make string and cord rather than thread (Smith 2002: 287–88). String and cord have many uses in pottery manufacture, including their uses for cutting slabs of clay and supporting clay vessels during the building process. Whether the spinning was done by men or not, the whorls might have come from spindles with whorls that served as spools of available spun fiber for use in the activities in the building.

Only with a greater sample of the site excavated would it be possible to examine the gendered nature of activities and their interrelationship in detail. Even with the expansion of pyrotechnology at *Melissa* to include metallurgy in the courtyard building in Phase 5, it is not certain who was active in melting bronze. Although named references to smiths in the Late Bronze Age in the Mediterranean are male (e.g., Smith 1992/3), it has been cautioned that one should not assume that only men were engaged in metallurgical activities (Lawrence 1998). Studies of the social context of Late Bronze Age metallurgy on Cyprus neither support nor deny gender-specific actions (e.g., Kassianidou and Knapp 2005).

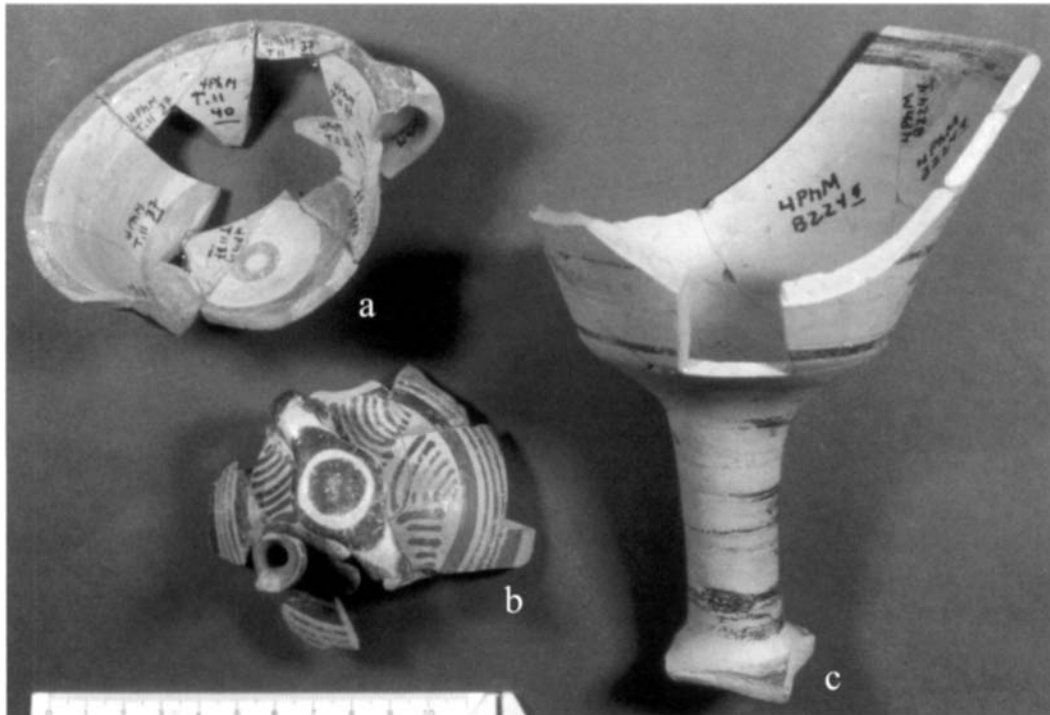


FIG. 38 Mycenaean and Mycenaean-style ceramics from Phlamoudhi-Melissa: (a) Mycenaean-style cup (T11.37.31), (b) Mycenaean IIIA2 small stirrup jar (B10-14.10.4), (c) Mycenaean-style chalice (inv. no. 73.3.65). Scale 1:2. Photo by J. S. Smith. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive.

The only fragment of metal prior to Phase 5 at *Melissa* is a lump of indeterminate purpose. All bronze objects and metal slag come from the last three Bronze Age building phases. Among the objects are fragments of a spear, dagger, saw, and axe (fig. 32f), each of which was deliberately cut into fragments rather than broken. A crucible, now lost, a small bellows, slag with bits of metal and wood, and bronze objects cut into small pieces all suggest that smiths engaged only in bronze melting and recycling, a practice found at several Late Cypriot coastal centers (Karageorghis and Kassianidou 1999). Two flat lead pieces found in the vicinity of the bronze fragments suggest that lead may have been added to the bronze. At the time of writing, the compositional study of the metal finds from Phlamoudhi has not yet been undertaken.

At the same time that metallurgy was introduced at *Melissa*, the inhabitants also began to import ceramics from the Mycenaean world (fig. 38), along with traditions of feasting that were common throughout the coastal Mediterranean (Steel 2004).

Mycenaean IIIA2 vessels, such as a small stirrup jar from the mainland (fig. 38b) would have contained perfumed oil. A Minoan coarseware stirrup jar also probably contained oil (Shelmerdine 1985: 51, 141–48). These and other imported cups and jugs, along with quantities of Cypriot-made vessels from various points in time, were still in use at the time of the destruction of the *Melissa* building. Cypriot-made Mycenaean-style vessels, some seeming to have been made at Enkomi (Anson 1980a), such as a cup (fig. 38a), a chalice (fig. 38c), craters, and other shapes attest to the continued importance of the appearance of these vessels for the traditions of hospitality they signified. The chalice adds to the small number of these vessels known, most of which come from Cyprus and Syria (Yon et al. 2000: 61–62).

The *Melissa* residents had previously had access to some white ground ceramics, such as the White Painted wares of Cyprus and the dark on light wares of the Levant. However, until the establishment of the courtyard building, people at *Melissa* seem to

have adopted little from other regions into their daily lives. Now they acquired vessels not only from the west, but also an increasing number of vessels characteristic of other parts of Cyprus, such as White Slip bowls (fig. 39). A grinding stone made of Levantine vesicular basalt was also acquired (fig. 32e). Its material and general shape compares with vessels from Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios (South 1989b: 31, nos. K-AD 16, 29), but it lacks the ring base of those examples. Objects called wall brackets found at several contemporary sites were used in the building, one of which was found inside a pithos (Smith 2005: 45, figs. 17, 20) and another next to a wall in Trench 12 (fig. 35g). Someone also had access to a limited number of intrinsically valuable items, such as carnelian beads (fig. 35d), a finely carved hematite cylinder seal (Porada 1986: 294–96, pl. XX.1; Smith 2005: 18, fig. 4; Merrillees, this volume; volume cover), a mace head, and a piece of fine furniture, of which only fragments of gold leaf and carved ivory survive.

Social Change in the Late Bronze Age

It is evident from the coincidence of *Melissa*'s courtyard building with changes in storage, technology, wealth, and long-distance exchange that one person, family, or group seems to have taken control of what was once a central place run by an entire community. There was no violent destruction preceding this shift. In fact, the change in the building's design seems to be a gradual expansion from the original corridor design to the plan centered on a courtyard with surrounding storage and work spaces. Pithoi, once representative of many manufacturers and owners, became larger and more uniform. Symbols of personal elite status, such as a cylinder seal and a mace head suggest that there was an individual of some prominence at the site. Use of the Cypro-Minoan script and customs of hospitality that would have been understood by other Cypriots and people from across the Mediterranean demonstrate how the cultural outlook of *Melissa* inhabitants had expanded. It is worth noting, however, that most imports and



FIG. 39 White Slip II bowl (B10-11.3.1). Scale 1:2. Photo by J. S. Smith. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive.

luxury items, while found on the floors of the 13th century BCE destruction, were actually made in the 14th century BCE. Just as the origins of *Melissa* may be found in the disruptions of the Hyksos period of the Levant and Egypt, the expansion of *Melissa* can be associated with the lively international exchanges of the Amarna period of Egypt. Some of these luxury items, such as the seal and beads, were lost or discarded prior to the last building phases, and there is little evidence for the acquisition of luxury items from outside Cyprus during the 13th century BCE.

Exactly who initiated the changes, and whether we are witnessing differentiation based on individual wealth and social hierarchy, or one in which different centers of control in a community were established in a form of heterarchy, is unclear because, in the end, there is only part of one building preserved at *Melissa*. So far, this reconstruction of *Melissa* in the Bronze Age does more to lay out questions in light of the many studies of Late Cypriot social complexity (e.g., Keswani 1993; Smith 1994; Keswani 1996; Peltenburg 1996; Knapp 1997) than it does to answer them. That *Melissa*'s neighbor and administrative partner, *Vounari*, is abandoned just when these changes at *Melissa* take place shows that the structural changes were not limited to the one building at *Melissa*. Without a

finer chronological understanding of other sites north and just south of the Kyrenia Mountains, the full extent and relationship of those changes with the urban centers of Enkomi and Sinda in the south is uncertain. It is worth noting, however, that Enkomi, once a fortified site, grew into a larger urban place with a grid of streets and several well-constructed buildings around the same time that *Melissa's* building was expanded in the early part of the Late Cypriot II period.

MELISSA IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM BCE

Understanding *Melissa's* community in the first millennium BCE is made difficult not only by the limited number of built structures, but also by the lack of stratified floor deposits. Pottery, terracotta figurines, and a few stone and metal objects date, based on style, to the Cypro-Archaic, Cypro-Classical, Hellenistic, and Early Roman periods. The Hellenistic and Early Roman material is discussed elsewhere in this volume (Chapter 7), so this section pertains only to the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical structures and related finds.

Most important among the Archaic and Classical discoveries is the way in which inhabitants reused parts of the Late Bronze Age architecture to form a building. Part of the earlier structures must have been visible on the surface, for they followed the footprint of the walls in Trench 4 and parts of Trenches 3, 5, 25 and related baulks (figs. 26, 41) to construct a building with a porch. In Trench 22, they cut through Bronze Age floors to add a wall parallel to that from Trench 25. The preserved structure is 12.5 m in length and 5.5 m in width. The porch, facing west, was separated from the longer interior by a door, of which one pivot stone survived in the northwestern part of Trench 4. The central hall is divided by a wall, suggesting that there were once pillars running down its center.

The structure may have been decorated, which is unusual for Cypro-Archaic buildings. A terracotta fragment (fig. 42f.4) may be part of a molding. Also found in and around this building in Trenches 4, 10, and 14 were pithos fragments (fig. 42f.7), part of a bronze bowl (fig. 42f.5), a large terracotta lamp (fig. 42f.1), and fragments of Cypro-Archaic II and

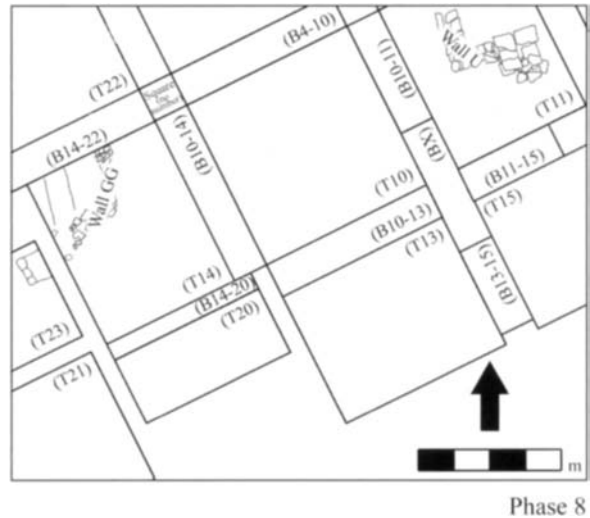


FIG. 40 Phase 8 at Phlamoudhi-Melissa. Plan by J. S. Smith based on complete plan in figure 24 and stratigraphic analysis by J. S. Smith.

Cypro-Classical I bowls and an amphora (fig. 42f.2–3, 6). Interestingly, while terracotta figurines were found to the north and south, none were found in direct association with this building. It is unknown whether this building had a cultic function.

Two bent walls, which might have formed parts of stairways (fig. 40), just south of the main building were constructed over the destruction debris of the Bronze Age and may precede the porch building. No artifacts found with them shed light on their function. One Cypro-Archaic II handmade terracotta figurine of a man with a pointed cap and one arm bent across his chest (fig. 42a) is possibly a musician or a figure carrying an offering. It is unlikely that he was part of a horse-and-rider or similar group because riders normally extend both arms out toward the animal (Karageorghis 1995: 61–96). The figure was found to the south amid some metallurgical debris; possibly there were workshops south of the porch building.

Most figurines were found to the north in Area B, Trench 1. A single Cypro-Archaic limestone male Egyptianizing figure's head (fig. 42b) was found along with a terracotta tree, part of a handmade figure, a terracotta pig snout, and eleven fragments of Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical moldmade female figurines (figs. 42c–d) and statuettes (fig. 42e). Several of the moldmade figures lack detail

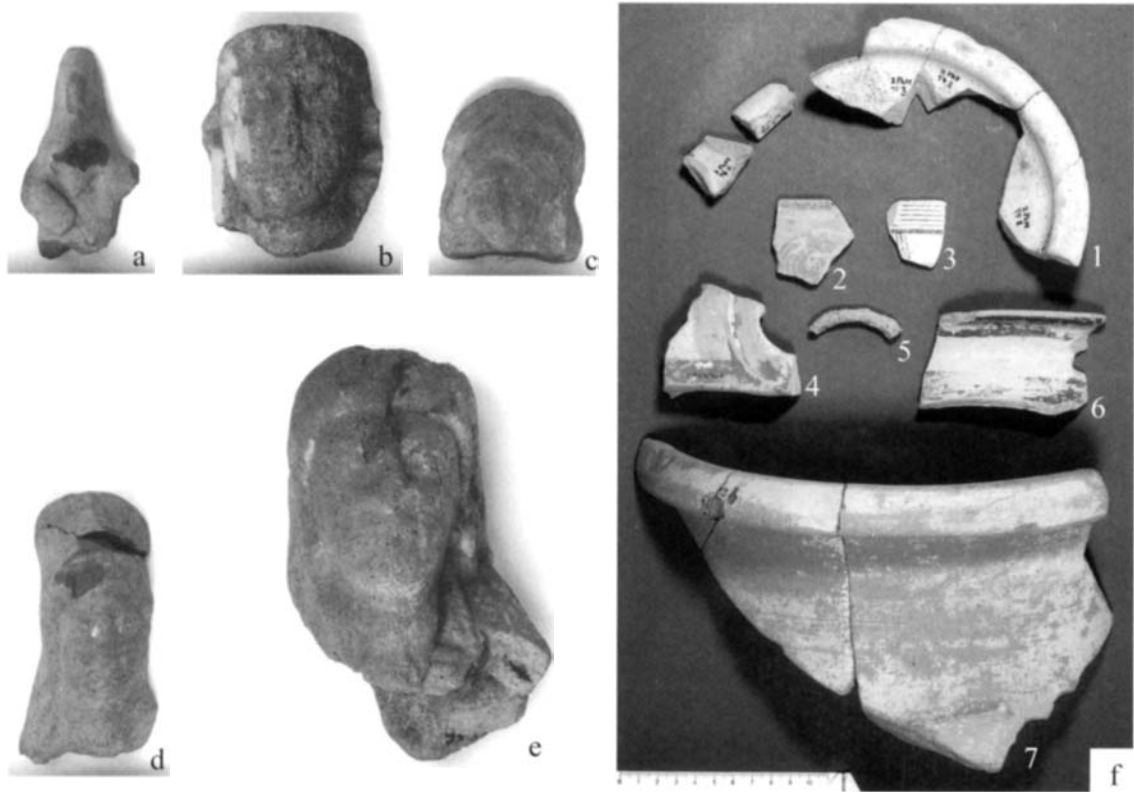


FIG. 42 Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical objects from Phlamoudhi-Melissa: (a) terracotta, handmade male figure with pointed head and arm across chest (inv. no. 73.3.24); (b) limestone Egyptianizing male statuette head (inv. no. 72.3.17); (c) terracotta, moldmade, solid female figurine head (inv. no. 72.3.25); (d) terracotta, moldmade, solid female figurine head (inv. no. 72.3.11); (e) terracotta, moldmade, hollow female statuette (inv. no. 72.3.19); (f) (1) lamp (T4.2.10), (2) Black-on-Red hemispherical bowl rim (T4.2.18), (3) Bichrome stemmed bowl (T4.1.11), (4) painted architectural terracotta (T10.1.46), (5) bronze handle (T4.2), (6) White Painted amphora neck and rim (T14.1.37), (7) pithos (T4.2). Scale: 1:2 (a-e) and 1:4 (f). Photos by J. S. Smith. Phlamoudhi Archaeological Project photo archive.

in their molded faces, suggesting that they were formed in secondary molds, themselves created from earlier, more sharply detailed figures. Possibly some *Melissa* votives, as well as similar pieces found in the Phlamoudhi survey, were based on figures obtained at other sanctuaries to the south. The similarity in the style and range of figures from *Melissa* with Archaic and Classical terracottas from Salamis (Monloup 1984; 1994) and to some figures from Ayios Iakovos-Dhima (Gjerstad et al. 1934: esp. pl. LXVIII: 37) closer-by, make this a plausible scenario. A single wall from Area B Trench 1 was stratigraphically associated with these figures. What cult these votives were for is unclear. All would have been appropriate for the goddess of Cyprus, who had a cult place in

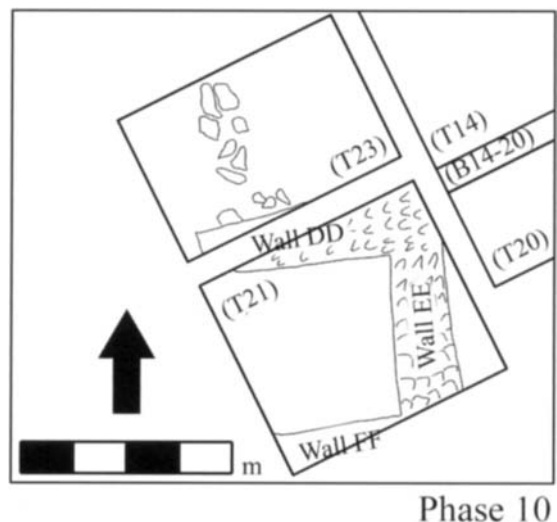


FIG. 43 Phase 10 at Phlamoudhi-Melissa. Plan by J. S. Smith based on complete plan in figure 24 and stratigraphic analysis by J. S. Smith.

Salamis (Monloup 1994) and whose main temple was in Kouklia (Maier 1975).

CONCLUSIONS

While we are limited to the existing excavated evidence for *Melissa* and other sites in the Phlamoudhi area until the day when political change might allow for resumed excavations, what survives tells a rich story about the growth of a hitherto unknown settlement and its surrounding region in the second millennium BCE. *Melissa's* ancient name remains unknown, but the care with which a building was laid precisely over ruins of the large courtyard building some six centuries after the place was destroyed by earthquake and fire suggests that the place did not remain unknown or unimportant for its residents in the intervening centuries, as was the case elsewhere in the Mediterranean (e.g., Mazarakis Ainian 1997). The presence of votive dedications in deposits north and south of that new building highlights the

importance of the place, part of which was made sacred with the addition of sanctuary to settlement at Phlamoudhi-*Melissa*.

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