



# The Great Islands

EDITORS: Colin F. Macdonald, Eleni Hatzaki and Stelios Andreou

Studies of Crete and Cyprus  
presented to Gerald Cadogan



KAPON EDITIONS

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CONTENTS

|                                             |                                                                                                                                                               |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9                                           | PREFACE                                                                                                                                                       |
| 11                                          | ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS                                                                                                                                              |
| 11                                          | ABBREVIATIONS                                                                                                                                                 |
| 12                                          | Poem by MIRIAM CASKEY<br>The seventies may come and go, a major landmark with all the show                                                                    |
| 13                                          | Mantinada by PAUL HALSTEAD<br>Το παράπονο των Τζεραλντισμένων                                                                                                 |
| 14                                          | SOME REMINISCENCES<br>SINCLAIR HOOD, VASSOS KARAGEORGHIS, HUGH SACKETT, STELIOS ANDREOU,<br>MARIA IACOVOU, NICOLETTA MOMIGLIANO, ANJA ULBRICH, SILVIA FERRARA |
| PART I: MYRTOS–PYRGOS, CRETE AND THE AEGEAN |                                                                                                                                                               |
| 30                                          | PAUL HALSTEAD and VALASIA ISAAKIDOU<br>Good people of Eastern Crete                                                                                           |
| 34                                          | PETER WARREN<br>In divino veritas. Remarks on the conceptualization and representation of divinity in<br>Bronze Age Crete                                     |
| 41                                          | TODD WHITELAW<br>The divergence of civilisation: Fournou Korifi and Pyrgos                                                                                    |
| 49                                          | ELENI HATZAKI<br>Ceramic production and consumption at the Neopalatial settlement of Myrtos–Pyrgos:<br>the case of ‘in-and-out’ bowls                         |
| 58                                          | EMILIA ODDO<br>Cross-joins and archaeological sections. The Myrtos–Pyrgos cistern: reconstructing a<br>Neopalatial stratigraphy                               |
| 63                                          | CARL KNAPPETT<br>Palatial and provincial pottery revisited                                                                                                    |
| 67                                          | JOHN YOUNGER<br>The Myrtos–Pyrgos and Gournia roundels inscribed in Linea A: Suffixes, prefixes, and a<br>journey to Syme                                     |
| 71                                          | JUDITH WEINGARTEN<br>Old, worn, and obscured: Stamped pot handles at Pyrgos                                                                                   |
| 76                                          | BORJA LEGARRA HERRERO<br>A square tomb with a round soul. The Myrtos–Pyrgos tomb in the funerary context of<br>Middle Bronze Age Crete                        |
| 82                                          | JONATHAN H. MUSGRAVE<br>Myrtos–Pyrgos: A snapshot of dental and skeletal health in Bronze Age Crete                                                           |
| 90                                          | ARGYRO NAFPLIOTI<br>Evidence for residential mobility at Myrtos–Pyrgos                                                                                        |
| 94                                          | ALEXANDRA KARETSOU and ANNA MARGHERITA JASINK<br>A Hieroglyphic seal from the Juktas Peak Sanctuary                                                           |
| 100                                         | OLGA KRZYSZKOWSKA<br>Why were cats different? Script and imagery in Middle Minoan II glyptic                                                                  |

|                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 107                                | MARINA PANAGIOTAKI<br>Egyptian Blue: The substance of eternity                                                                                                                    |
| 114                                | JAMES D. MUHLY AND PHILIP P. BETANCOURT<br>Lapis lazuli in the Greek Bronze Age                                                                                                   |
| 120                                | COLIN F. MACDONALD<br>‘Things are seldom what they seem’. Some Middle Minoan rooms with gypsum pillars at Knossos                                                                 |
| 131                                | MALCOLM H. WIENER<br>The Mycenaean conquest of Minoan Crete                                                                                                                       |
| 143                                | KATERINA KOPAKA<br>Minos Kalokairinos and his early excavations at Knossos. An overview, a portrait, and a return to the<br>Kephala pithoi                                        |
| 152                                | †STYLIANOS ALEXIOU<br>The naval wall-painting of Thera                                                                                                                            |
| 159                                | HARRIET BLITZER<br>On goat hair                                                                                                                                                   |
| 168                                | DAVID WILSON<br>The Early Bronze II seal impressions from Ayia Irini, Kea: Their context, pan-Aegean links, and meaning                                                           |
| 175                                | JACK L. DAVIS AND SHARON R. STOCKER<br>Crete, Messenia, and the date of Tholos IV at Pylos                                                                                        |
| 179                                | L. VANCE WATROUS<br>Bronze Age past and present in Classical Greece                                                                                                               |
| PART II: MARONI–VOURNES AND CYPRUS |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 186                                | DAVID A. SEWELL<br>The seafarers of Maroni                                                                                                                                        |
| 192                                | JAN DRIESSEN<br>A power building at Maroni–Vournes                                                                                                                                |
| 198                                | STURT MANNING<br>Two notes on Myrtos–Pyrgos and Maroni–Vournes. 1. The date of the destruction of the country house<br>at Myrtos–Pyrgos. 2. The spatial setting of Maroni–Vournes |
| 206                                | CAROL BELL<br>Maroni–Vournes Mycenaean wares: a very pictorial assemblage                                                                                                         |
| 211                                | SILVIA FERRARA<br>Cypriot inscriptions, pot-marks, and all things unreadable: Maroni–Vournes and beyond                                                                           |
| 214                                | ANJA ULBRICH<br>Maroni–Vournes beyond the Bronze Age: Investigating an Archaic to Hellenistic shrine                                                                              |
| 219                                | ALISON SOUTH<br>Neighbours or rivals: Buildings and people at Kalavastos and Maroni                                                                                               |
| 224                                | DIANE BOLGER<br>Were they all women? Gender and pottery production in prehistoric Cyprus                                                                                          |
| 230                                | GEORGE PAPASAVVAS AND VASILIKI KASSIANIDOU<br>The new status of copper and bronze on Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age                                                     |
| 237                                | MURRAY C. MCCLELLAN AND PAMELA J. RUSSELL<br>Regifting, Cesnola-style: The case of a Cypriot votive head at Amherst College                                                       |
| 241                                | Gerald Cadogan—Bibliography                                                                                                                                                       |
| 247                                | Index                                                                                                                                                                             |



## PREFACE

This volume of papers in honour of Gerald Cadogan concentrates on the two islands, Crete and Cyprus, that have been the focus of his archaeological research over the last fifty-four years, with a few papers more loosely connected to the central themes. The contributors are mostly scholars who have worked with Gerald and are contributing to the publication of his two excavations; others are friends and colleagues.

Gerald Cadogan has had a long association with Crete and Cyprus, beginning from his school days at Harrow—also attended by Sir Arthur Evans, Sinclair Hood and Constantine Leventis—when in 1960 he was sent out to Knossos to assist Sinclair Hood in his excavations either side of the Royal Road and at the Early Houses. Half way through his undergraduate career at Merton College, Oxford (*Literae Humaniores*, 1960–1964), Hood took him under his wing. Along with Peter Warren, they conducted a survey in Crete during which two sites were located that were soon to be excavated by the two young men: Myrtos–Fournou Koryfi by Warren, and Myrtos–Pyrgos by Cadogan.

Gerald's close association with the British School at Athens began in 1964 where he became Macmillan Student (1965–7). He married Lucy Ramberg in 1968. Lucy has taken part in or generally supported all Gerald's fieldwork since his first excavation beginning in 1970. Later, at Maroni, she finished her first novel, "Digging" (Chatto & Windus, London: 1987) which is set on a 'fictional' excavation in Crete during the military dictatorship of Greece. While a research lecturer at Christ Church, Oxford, and not yet 30, Gerald began excavating Myrtos–Pyrgos, the prehistoric hilltop village with its 'Country House' overlooking the Libyan Sea, which continues to be a focus of his work in Crete and is a major theme of this volume.

At 32, Gerald was appointed Associate Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cincinnati where he began to supervise PhD students not much younger than himself. Stelios Andreou, one of the editors of this volume, was his first PhD student. Andreou's thesis on Early and Middle Minoan pottery groups benefitted from Gerald's early experience at Knossos under Hood and integrated Gerald's familiarity with Cretan provincial pottery acquired from the excavation of Myrtos–Pyrgos. In 1976 Cadogan published the *Palaces of Crete*, a very accessible work on many of the major sites of Minoan Crete. Later, he edited the volume on the Early Bronze Age Aegean in honour of J. L. Caskey (Cadogan 1986) and wrote or edited the archaeological contributions for the pioneering volume, *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete* (Myers, Myers and Cadogan 1992).

While at Cincinnati, Gerald was asked by Vassos Karageorghis to excavate a site investigated many years earlier by the British Museum at Maroni–Vournes. Several

contributors to this volume took part in Gerald’s dig at one time or another and will contribute to its final publication. The excavation uncovered a monumental, administrative building (the Ashlar Building) which, together with the larger and slightly later Kalavassos–Ayios Dhimitrios, has helped to change the archaeological landscape of 13th century BC Cyprus.

After a decade at Cincinnati, Gerald and family (now with the children, Leo and Nancy) moved back to England and Oxfordshire. He became the archaeology correspondent for the Financial Times, later covering heritage and finally property over a twenty year period until 2004. He often reported too from the Mediterranean on subjects as diverse as his excavation at Maroni and exceptional tavernas in Crete. More and more involved in the British School at Athens, he eventually became Chairman for the seven years from 1995–2002. Gerald is now a Vice-President and remains active on Council and several other committees. He is or has been involved in numerous bodies that support Hellenic studies and heritage including the Anglo-Hellenic League.

For 50 years now, Gerald has had a thriving career as a field archaeologist, excavating, analysing and explaining the past of Crete and Cyprus to specialists, and the general public. He has also had an inspiring career as teacher and mentor during which he produced many students, who are now mature professionals themselves. Some were taught by him at the Department of Classics of the University of Cincinnati, but several think of themselves as Gerald’s students because they have been fortunate enough to learn from him through his knowledgeable, precise and fair comments on their dissertations, through their collaboration in the trench or pottery shed, or through long discussions over several bottles of wine and glasses of raki at Knossos or elsewhere in Crete, Cyprus or the UK. There is no doubt that many have profited from his broad and profound knowledge of Aegean and East Mediterranean prehistory, which he combines with a deep and reflective understanding of the later history and contemporary life of these lands and of the world in general. Not least, we have all profited from his caring, humane and spirited personality.

The last fifteen years have been spent moving towards the final publications of Myrtos–Pyrgos and Maroni–Vournes while at the same time collaborating with Sinclair Hood on Early Bronze Age Knossos (Hood and Cadogan 2011). In addition, he organized two major conferences and edited the proceedings: *Knossos: Palace, City, State* (Cadogan, Hatzaki and Vasilakis 2004), and *Parallel Lives* about society on Crete and Cyprus (Cadogan, Iacovou, Kopaka and Whitley 2012). The best, the final publications of Myrtos and Maroni, is yet to come and we all wish Gerald well with his continuing contributions to the archaeology of the two Great Islands, Crete and Cyprus.

COLIN MACDONALD, ELENI HATZAKI, STELIOS ANDREOU

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This idea for this volume was announced at a gathering to mark Gerald Cadogan’s birthday held at the T. S. Eliot theatre of Merton College, Oxford, an event kindly facilitated by Irene Lemos and attended by almost fifty people including Gerald’s family (particularly Lucy, his wife, and Leo Cadogan and Nancy Guinness, their two children). Anastasios Leventis was also present, the Leventis Foundation being one of two generous sponsors of the volume. The editors are grateful to the A. G. Leventis Foundation and the Insititute for Aegean Prehistory for funding the entire publication. Rachel and Moses Capon of Kapon Editions, and their staff, particularly Eleni Valma, Mina Manta and Michalis Tzanetakis, have patiently put the volume together despite the uneven flow of manuscripts and illustrations. We are very grateful to the British School at Athens for blanket permission to publish material from its excavations, notably Myrtos–Pyrgos. We acknowledge the following Museums for permission to publish a selection of objects and pots: Heraklion Archaeological Museum, National Archaeological Museum, the Louvre, the British Museum. We particularly thank Maria Andreadaki-Vlasaki for providing images for Wiener’s paper, and Georgia Flouda and Katerina Athanasaki for help at Heraklion Museum. Others are acknowledged in the course of the volume.

We thank Nancy Guinness for allowing her portrait of her father to be used in the book (FIG. 1, p. 14), and Benita Stoney for her painting of Myrtos pots. The editors are particularly grateful to Gerald Cadogan himself for his help in producing this volume. Although it is unusual for the honorand to be asked to do so much, he was called upon to do a large amount of work where his own excavations at Myrtos and Maroni were concerned. We hope that the rest of the papers, at least, are a refreshing and pleasant surprise.

ABBREVIATIONS

Apart from the abbreviations below, the abbreviations listed by the American Journal of Archaeology will usually be followed. <http://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/abbreviations#S>

CHIC = Olivier J.-P. and L. Godart, 1996. *Corpus Hieroglyphicarum Inscriptionum Cretae*. Études Crétoises 31. Athens and Rome.

CMS = *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*. Berlin 1964–2000; Mainz 2002 –

GORILA = Godart L. and J.-P. Olivier, 1976–1985. *Recueil des inscriptions en Linéaire A*, (*Etudes Crétoises* 21), Vols. 1–5. Paris.

PM I = Evans, A. J., 1921. *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*. Vol.I. London.

PM II = Evans, A. J., 1928. *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*. Vol.II.1–2. London.

PM III = Evans, A. J., 1930. *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*. Vol.III. London.

PM IV = Evans, A. J., 1935. *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*. Vol.IV.1–2. London.

PM Index = Evans, J. and A. Evans, 1936. *Index to The Palace of Minos*. London.

Maroni I = Cadogan, G., 1983. ‘Maroni I’, *RDAC*: 153–162.

Maroni II = Cadogan, G., 1986. ‘Maroni II’, *RDAC*: 40–44.

Maroni III = Cadogan, G., 1987. ‘Maroni III’, *RDAC*: 81–84.

Maroni IV = Cadogan, G., 1988. ‘Maroni IV’, *RDAC*: 229–231.

Maroni V = Cadogan, G. and M. R. Domurad, 1989. ‘Maroni V’, *RDAC*: 77–82.

Maroni VI = Cadogan, G., 1992. ‘Maroni VI’, *RDAC*: 51–58.

Palace of Nestor I = Blegen, C. W., and M. Rawson, 1966. *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia, I: The Buildings and Their Contents*. Princeton.

Palace of Nestor III = Blegen, C. W., M. Rawson, Lord W. Taylour, and W. P. Donovan (eds), 1973. *The Palace of Nestor, III: Acropolis and Lower Town. Tholoi and Grave Circle. Chamber Tombs. Discoveries outside the Citadel*. Princeton.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

|    |                  |
|----|------------------|
| BM | British Museum   |
| HM | Heraklion Museum |
| FM | Furumark Motif   |
| FS | Furumark Shape   |
| MP | Myrtos–Pyrgos    |
| MV | Maroni–Vournes   |

# MARONI–VOURNES AND CYPRUS



The British Museum was the first to investigate Maroni–Vournes, searching for tombs in 1897. The site, a few hundred metres inland from the south coast of Cyprus, was excavated methodically by Gerald Cadogan and the University of Cincinnati from 1982 onwards. These recent excavations uncovered two large buildings (the Ashlar Building—opposite—and the West Building) of the late 14th to early 13th centuries BC (Vournes III) with evidence for a predecessor of the Ashlar Building, contemporary with a sunken structure called the Basin Building (p. 195, FIG. 4), a structure unique in Cyprus. Evidence for small-scale metallurgy, including slag, spillage and ingot fragments, was recovered from Vournes Phases II and III. With its fine ashlar masonry and beautiful, white mud brick, the Ashlar Building was the most imposing of the settlement and, with the West Building, comparable to Building X at nearby Kalavassos–Ayios Dhimitrios. The Maroni buildings, probably belonging to a major settlement stretching south to the sea, seem to have worked in tandem providing storage and working areas for olive oil and cloth production, as well as areas for copper smelting which may be related to industrial performance as opposed to large-scale production.

# A POWER BUILDING AT MARONI-VOURNES

JAN DRIESSEN

As the explicit manifestation of a specific self-representation, architecture is an ideal means for propagating and sustaining ideological beliefs (e.g. Fisher 2007). Although the type of social power expressed by an architectural form is not always understandable, the presence of an architectural code allows certain buildings to be identified as *power buildings*. This code combines a series of external features such as exaggerated investment of energy, special setting, extraordinary size, complex plan and specially conceived circulation pattern, as well as architectural elaboration or monumentality, the presence of value-laden spaces (including courts), and

specific contextual associations (such as storage, administrative documents or special finds). Thus encoded buildings must have represented some kind of authority which is why they are labelled e.g. ‘palaces’, chieftain houses’, ‘temples’, ‘elite residences’ or ‘villas’. In Bronze Age Mediterranean societies, a public/semi-public/semi-private/private interpretation is often intrinsically connected to the presence or absence of elements of the architectural code and the more features present, the more public the building may have been. In addition, attempts are sometimes made to attribute social power and additional symbolism to certain rooms or sequences of rooms, again by elaborating on their size, accessibility, interrelationships, investment (including decoration) and plan, hence creating *power rooms*. One of the most

common types of *power room* is that represented by an axially organized sequence of spaces such as those present in the core of the Corridor Houses of the Early Helladic Greek Mainland, the *megaron* structures of different areas and periods or the Minoan Hall systems on Crete. It seems useful to keep the distinction between *power buildings* and *power rooms* since one does not presuppose the other but their combination is a strong signal that large social power is represented at different levels: the *power building* sends messages to society at large, while the *power room* communicates at a more personal, individual level. Both messages can be repeated at smaller scale and level but the aim is identical, getting certain aspects of social authority transmitted.

The ‘Ashlar Building’ at Maroni-Vournes and the ‘Country-House’ at Myrtos-Pyrgos excavated by Gerald Cadogan were both the most important buildings at their respective sites and, because of

1. Maroni-Vournes: East Wing (right) of the Ashlar Building divided from the original west core by ashlar wall BB.



2. Maroni-Vournes: NE Rooms 1–3 of the Ashlar Building.

3. The Ashlar Building at Maroni-Vournes. Orange indicates ashlar, yellow mudbrick, brown freestone (after Maroni VI: 56, fig. 3).



their monumentality—despite extensive ashlar robbing—both represented some specific social power. The present contribution concentrates on a few elements of phasing and reconstruction for the Ashlar and West Buildings at Vournes and highlights certain particularities of Late Cypriot (LC) IIC Cypriot architecture especially since the *power building* at Maroni–Vournes seems, on present evidence, to be one of the earliest encountered on Cyprus (LC IIB–C) and also has the earliest ashlar attested (Philokyprou 2011). Moreover, the island seems only to have developed its own type of *power room* at an even later stage, in LC IIIA. This late development may have an impact on the reconstruction of the political geography on the island since it suggests other types of authority than those in use either in the Aegean or in the Near East (Peltenburg 2012).

#### THE ASHLAR BUILDING (FIGS. 1–3)

Located about 500 m from the s coast of the island, the low hill site of Maroni–Vournes was excavated principally between 1982 and 1989 (*Maroni* I–V). Settled from the beginning of the Late Cypriot period, it stayed in use—not continuously—during several phases of the Bronze and Iron Ages (*Maroni* III), but its most remarkable architecture dates to the late 14th and early 13th centuries BC, the LC IIC phase or, in site terms, Vournes III. At the end of LC IIB, some tombs and existing constructions (including the Basin Building (FIG. 4) and a predecessor of the Ashlar Building) were sealed by a dense layer of plaster and stone chips, probably originating from the in situ trimming of stone blocks for the Ashlar Building (*Maroni* IV: 230). This is also suggested by the presence of cut blocks showing tool marks going from one block to another implying that they were finished once put in place. There is no obvious evidence for the reuse of *spolia* from the predecessor of the Ashlar Building although cutting waste was recycled in the wall cores. Most of the ashlar had been robbed by the time of excavation but the typical stone socle shows where it originally stood. As noted by Cadogan (*Maroni* II: 42) and as is suggested by the different building materials used, it is likely that the core of the Ashlar Building existed on its own

before its North and East Wings (FIG. 2) and the West Building were added, since its core was built entirely in ashlar, meant to be seen from all sides<sup>2</sup>. This is also clear from the preserved ashlar wall (BB) which formed the original E facade of the building (FIG. 1). The LC IIIA Kition and Kouklia shrines may be mentioned as examples of similar, later, ashlar buildings (Philokyprou 2011). Since the West Building repeats the core of the Ashlar Building, it is conceivable that the former was constructed before the North and East Wings were added to the Ashlar Building, doubling its size from an original structure measuring c.12 by 21.50 or 258 m<sup>2</sup>, to c.21 by 29.70 m or 623 m<sup>2</sup>. The open area between the West Building and the Ashlar Building could have functioned as a court or street, as Cadogan calls it, and, once the Basin Building was covered over, a large court was also created in front of the Ashlar Building.

In its initial phase, the Maroni–Vournes Ashlar Building shows the typical tripartite Cypriot pi-plan, similar to buildings at Kalavassos and Alassa–Palio-taverna (Wright 1992: 211–12). The Ashlar Building consists of three separate units that differ in construction techniques although they also mix them. In the Ashlar Building proper, calcareous sandstone (*pouropetra*) ashlar was used profusely for both outside and inside walls. There is only one mudbrick wall (CG) which is probably a later modification built to support a double staircase (16–17) leading to the upper floor of the building at the moment when a hypothetical original staircase in corridor 19 was dismantled when the East Wing was added. This latter uses mudbricks made of the local clay (*havara*) whereas the North Wing is made of freestone.

The frontal view of the Ashlar Building proper may have been impressive: a two-storeyed building, gleaming white from the ashlar, its entrance perhaps a pillared porch 21 (possibly a balcony above) facing site s—really s–e—an axis which may have had practical as well as symbolic connotations. It cannot be excluded, however, that the large square base (1.54 × 1.43 × 0.38 m), which is less carefully cut (unfinished?) than the other ashlar of the building, was not a giant pillar base but an altar stone, both in the Bronze Age and later (*Maroni* IV: 231). In any case,

the main entrance leads to an internal court (20), about 7.30 by 7 m, quite similar to that in Kalavassos Building X, where an internal balustrade may again have been supported by a large, finely finished pillar base (1.12 × 0.97 × 0.45 m). This block shows a series of holes and perforations that remain unexplained; but they occur also in some of the orthostats at Kouklia. This court 20 is the hub of the building with wide doorways or bays leading s, w and n. In its final phase, spaces 16–17 probably served as a *sottoscala* for a staircase<sup>3</sup> and space 18 perhaps as a storage room. Space 19 may originally have comprised a staircase to the upper floor which was dismantled and paved with gypsum slabs when an access was needed to the later industrial East Wing.

Despite not being entirely excavated, the size and disposition of the West Building are almost identical to the main Ashlar Building. It seems to have been internally organised in four bays by ashlar pillars and was probably a storehouse (*Maroni* IV: 231; V: 79 for

pithos sherds), an immediate predecessor to the slightly later LC IIC pithos-hall at Kalavassos and the LC III Public Storage Building (III) at Maa–Palaikastro, similar to the later *Pfeilerhauser* or Solomonic stables in Palestine (Wright 1992: 322–323; already Cadogan 1998: 8). Ashlar hence serves a more specific function than in the Ashlar Building, being used as wall endings and within walls as structural supports to carry ceiling beams, although most of the ashlar pillars were subsequently robbed. The rest of the building and its superstructure were of mudbricks on stone socles, some of which were found during the excavation. The E facade of the West Building is odd, with some kind of gutter within the wall. One may wonder whether this held some kind of wooden planks or a palisade, as Cadogan suggested, or perhaps orthostats. The hall may have had a staircase along its s wall, either leading up to a second story or to an attic. This building was also modified at some stage, increasing its size from an original 16 by 27 m

4. Maroni–Vournes: The Basin Building.



building to a 36 m long building. The addition to the West Building may have served to hold animals. It is likely that this happened when the Ashlar building received its final form by the addition of its North and East Wings. Since the wall which connects the two new wings is very well bonded, the two additions must have happened at the same time. It may be noted that the N-E corner of the East Wing preserves an ashlar plinth against a freestone backing wall, whereas the rest of the facade uses mudbrick on a free-stone socle. As suggested by Cadogan (*Maroni* II: 42), this may imply that an orthostat facade existed here hiding the mudbrick, as is the case in Kition. This orthostat facade stops at a point where the ashlar facade of the main Ashlar Building would have started. It is not impossible that the odd gutter within the mudbrick wall more to the E in the same facade also carried orthostats.

Certain features of the stone architecture at Maroni are paralleled elsewhere on Cyprus or in the Levant, illustrating the remarkable sense of adaptation of Cypriot society (Fisher 2007). The East Wing remains to this day the best example of mudbrick architecture w of the Levant and indeed in this aspect it resembles more closely examples in the Syrian Gezireh plain than in the more proximate coastal zones.

Both the Ashlar Building and the West Building were abandoned before the end of LC IIC and most of the objects were probably removed then. What was left—some sunken pithoi, a few fragmentary faience vessels as well as a bone implement (perhaps used in weaving), a cylinder seal, a complete Canaanite jar and fragments from quite a few others, Mycenaean chariot-crater fragments (probably from the tombs below), some bronze knives, tools and slag, an inscribed jar—is probably a pale reflection of its original contents. This is why the precise interpretation of its architecture remains difficult. Olive oil and textile production and the practice or performance of smelting may have been primary concerns (most recently Cadogan et al. 2009; Doonan et al. 2012). Loomweights were concentrated in rooms 10–11 (*Maroni* III: 83). If these did not fall from the upper floor they may be connected to the presence of channelled stones in rooms 8 and 10, set a high level in the walls, which Cadogan linked to

textile dyeing or fulling. The organisation of the North and East Wings suggests respectively a domestic and industrial function since the first has a symmetrical system with two very similar units, each with a main room (14, 15), a corridor (12, 13) and two subsidiary rooms (8–9, 10–11). This kind of organisation suggests a more domestic occupation with perhaps living rooms in 14–15: both rooms are highly integrated and easily controlled both physically and visually. The East Wing with its series of semi-base-ment spaces, has a sequential organisation and an interpretation as an artisanal/industrial unit is confirmed by the finds (press, pithoi). In contrast, the organisation of the main Ashlar Building is very asymmetrical and sequential, a system which allows easy separation of activities and categorisation of users, suggesting that area 20 represents the space of convergence of the building where both visitors and residents interacted.

## DISCUSSION

The spatial and functional organisation at Maroni–Vournes would soon be repeated by Kalavassos Building X. Their resemblance is such that it makes one wonder whether it was not the same people who simply left Maroni and constructed a new centre in the next valley. The function of the Maroni–Vournes building is therefore very likely to be similar to that at Kalavassos and Alassa–Paliotaverna. As stressed by Cadogan (*Maroni* IV: 230) and Hadjisavvas (2009), these are special buildings with considerable storage facilities and probably also involved in the production of olive oil, and perhaps wine and copper. Whether or not they also had cult functions is not clear but may be assumed (and would be implied by Doonan’s performance interpretation of the slag). The explicit architectural code employed thus leaves no doubt as to their interpretation as *power buildings*. However, neither at Maroni, nor at the two other sites can a *power room* be identified. Since all three originally carried upper stories, it cannot be excluded that these were situated on the upper floor although the relatively scant importance given to staircases and their location within the complex may speak against this. Later, however, the presence of

large halls with central hearths within buildings is attested (e.g. at LC IIIA Enkomi, cf. Fisher 2007). Their absence during LC II may then suggest a different form of authority in which only corporate forms of social power were used. Rather than the occupants, it was the Ashlar Building itself (as well as those at Kalavassos and Alassa) that occupied an important symbolic place within the respective communities, a space in which performance and practice played an important role to such an extent that even when not in actual use, its mere presence was a sign or message that specific social practices were intimately connected with the encoded space and that a specific place in a constructed social landscape was intended (Walker and Schiffer 2006: 70).

## NOTES

1. This paper is offered as a small token to Gerald who invited me to do the architectural studies of both the buildings at Maroni–Vournes (1989) and Myrtos–Pyrgos (1993). Its title is inspired by Cadogan 2011. Due to the strict word limit imposed by the editors of this volume, I decided to concentrate only on Maroni although the conclusions are also valid for Myrtos–Pyrgos. Within the paper, observations made during on-site study, the Maroni workshop at the British Museum in December 2008 and a paper on Late Bronze Age *power buildings* presented in Munster in 2010 are combined but references have been kept to the strict minimum. I thank E. Peltenburg and Q. Letesson for sharing forthcoming papers with me.
2. Orientations at Maroni have been conventionalised with N at the top rather than to the N-E.
3. *Maroni* VI: 54 mentions the discovery of stone bases, said to be for pithoi. I wonder if these were not the remains of the steps or from the phase before a staircase was made.

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