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Dimensions of Social Hierarchy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus: an Analysis of the Mortuary Data from Enkomi

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Abstract

This paper examines the evidence for developments in social complexity accompanying the urbanization process at the Late Bronze Age site of Enkomi in Cyprus. The extent of variability in tomb architecture and assemblages of grave goods suggests that considerable differentiation in wealth and status had developed among the various groups residing at Enkomi at an early date. It is possible to document the presence of elite groups employing distinctive complements of prestige goods and politico-religious symbolism by the Late Cypriote IIA period if not sooner. Changes in mortuary practice and elite symbolism towards the end of the Late Cypriote period may reflect a redefinition of the basis of status and political legitimacy as an increasingly complex framework of political and religious institutions emerged.

Introduction

The Late Bronze Age in Cyprus (ca. 1650-1050 BC) was a period of major cultural development, characterized by the emergence of numerous small urban centers, many with official or religious architecture and areas of specialized industrial or craft activities (e.g. Dikaios 1969; Courtois 1986a; Karageorghis and Demas 1985; Åström 1986; Cadogan 1986; South 1984; Maier and Wartburg 1985; Karageorghis, Demas and Kling 1982;

Vernmeule 1974). At some Late Cypriote centers such as Enkomi and Kition, extensive copper refining facilities have been discovered (cf. Stech 1982; Tylecote 1982; Courtois 1982; Stech, Maddin, and Muhly 1985), and most other Late Cypriote centers known to date have yielded evidence for trade, suggesting that the island's rich copper resources were being widely exploited. The process of urbanization and the intensification of copper production may have been closely linked to the growing involvement of Cyprus in trade and other forms of cultural interaction with neighboring polities of the Eastern Mediterranean, beginning early in the second millennium BC, and increasing considerably thereafter (cf. Courtois 1986b; Knapp 1986a; Peltenburg 1986). It is widely agreed that Cyprus, or at least some portion of the island, should be equated with the kingdom of Alashiya, known from Syro-Babylonian and Egyptian texts of Middle and Late Bronze Age date as an important supplier of copper (e.g. Holmes 1971, 1973; Muhly 1972, 1982; Georgiou 1979; Knapp 1979, 1985).

In the context of the transformations in settlement and economy attested in the archaeological record, it might be expected that major developments in socio-political organization and hierarchy were also underway during the Late Cypriote period, if not earlier. Many archaeologically and historically documented pre-state societies are known to have undergone significant increases in social stratification, sometimes accompanied by 'secondary state formation', in the course of trade relations with more complex, state-organized polities (cf. Childe 1936, 1957; Wheatley 1975; Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Price 1978). A central phenomenon of the process of political change would seem to be the rise of elite groups which are able to achieve some measure of centralized control over the production of goods used in exchange and over the flow and distribution of valuables acquired from long-distance trade contacts. Knapp (1986a, 1986b, 1988) has argued that the urbanization of Late Bronze Age Cyprus was likewise promoted by the activities of such elites seeking to establish their political positions and control. To date, however, the development of social hierarchy in Bronze Age Cyprus has not been the subject of detailed empirical investigation.

One way in which developments in social organization and social hierarchy may be monitored in the archaeological record is through the treatment accorded to an individual in death may be frequently observed that the social position which that person enjoyed in life (e.g. Hertz 1960: 82; Van Gennep 1960: 146; Radcliffe-Brown 1922: 148; Bendann 1930: 280; Goody

1962: 61-62), and over the last twenty years, many important insights into the social organization of past societies have been derived from analyses of mortuary data (e.g. Brown 1971; Chapman, Kinnes and Randsborg 1981; O'Shea 1984). To the extent that a given society expresses status distinctions in material form in the context of mortuary ritual, and insofar as those material correlates of status are preserved archaeologically, many aspects of social differentiation may be discernible in the mortuary record. Moreover, to the extent that a society uses mortuary ritual not only to honour and dispose of the dead in accordance with custom, but also to affirm and negotiate the status of related survivors, mortuary observances may also afford a material expression of broader trends of competition, display, and hierarchy within the society at large (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 139; Pearson 1982). This paper is concerned with the evidence for social hierarchy in the mortuary record of Enkomi, a site which extensive archaeological investigation has revealed to be one of the foremost centers of metalworking and long-distance trade in Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

The Mortuary Sample from Enkomi

The site of Enkomi, located on the east coast of Cyprus (Figure 1)*, offers the largest sample of published mortuary data available from any Late Cypriote center to date. More than 180 tombs, found in the open areas adjacent to buildings and sometimes beneath them, were investigated during the last century, first by the British Museum expedition of 1896 (Murray, Smith, and Walters 1900), then by the Swedish Cyprus expedition in 1930 (Gjerstad et al. 1934), and later by French and Cypriote excavators (Schaeffer 1936, 1952; Johnstone 1971; Courtois 1981; Lagarde and Lagarde 1985; Dikaios 1969, 1971). Although members of the two earlier expeditions failed to realize that the tombs which they were excavating were located in the very midst of an important town site, more than twenty-five years of excavations by the French and Cypriote expeditions subsequently established the presence of major defensive, administrative, religious, metallurgical, and residential complexes dating to various phases of the Late Cypriote period (conveniently summarized in Courtois 1986a). Figure 2 presents a schematic plan of the settlement and major building complexes dating to the LCIIIC (1325-1200 BC) and LCIII periods (1200-1050 BC).

Ostensibly, the many tombs excavated at Enkomi over the years should constitute a considerable database with which to investigate the development

*Figures and tables appear on pp. 74ff.

of social hierarchy in LBA Cyprus. However, there are some serious problems which must be confronted in dealing with the data. One hundred of the tombs in the Enkomi mortuary sample were excavated by the British Museum expedition, which was mainly concerned with recovering Mycenaean pottery and other valuable antiquities. For the majority of these tombs we lack the most basic information about architecture, stratification, and the disposition of the burials. Even from the later, more scientific excavations, important architectural and stratigraphic information is often lacking, and only limited osteological analyses were ever undertaken (e.g. Fürst 1933; Hjörtsjö 1946-47; Fischer 1986).

The limits imposed upon mortuary analysis by the deficiencies of past excavation and recording techniques are compounded by the difficulties created by the practice of collective burial. It will come as no surprise to Mediterranean archaeologists that the repeated re-use of tombs for successive interments has often led to the disturbance or even destruction of previous burials, the mixing of individual complements of goods, and the removal of valuable objects from earlier periods of use. These problems are exacerbated by other post-depositional disturbances such as flooding and outright looting of tomb deposits. Consequently, much information about the treatment of individuals and the depositional histories of tomb use has been lost.

Still, it is possible to work with the tombs as collectivities, and to assess the range of variability in the treatments of groups, if not of individuals (cf. Chapman 1980). For such studies, the definition of architectural variability, in terms of the energy expenditure and cost of tomb construction, along with the qualitative and quantitative differences in assemblages of grave goods, may prove most valuable. In the following discussion, aspects of architectural and assemblage variability will each be examined in turn, after which the interrelationships between the various dimensions of mortuary variation and ongoing socio-political developments will be considered.

Variability in Tomb Architecture at Enkomi

Several different types of mortuary features dating from MCIII/LCII-LCIII (see below, Fig. 3) have been found within the bounds of the Enkomi settlement and in the crags along the eastern portion of the site. These features include rock-cut chamber tombs, tholos tombs, ashlar tombs, shaft graves, and infant burials placed in pots. The rock-cut chamber tomb

would seem to have been by far the most common type of mortuary facility prior to the LCIII period, at which time a significant number of shaft graves came into use. The built tombs were relatively few in number, and those examples which are known to date appear to have been constructed during LCI or LCII only. In terms of the materials and labor expended in tomb construction, the ashlar tombs would undoubtedly have been the most costly, followed by the tholoi, the rock-cut tombs, and the shaft graves.

Rock-cut chamber tombs were found in virtually every part of the site and were constructed throughout the Late Cypriote period, albeit perhaps in decreasing numbers during LCIII. Most of these tombs were provided with a single chamber which was entered via a small, shaft-like entrance tunnel or dromos; occasionally two chambers might open out from the opposite ends of a shared dromos. Small 'cupboards' were sometimes cut in the walls of the dromoi to accommodate the remains of infants, or less frequently of adults (e.g. Swedish Tomb 6, Gjerstad et al. 1934). The principal chambers accommodated an observed range of 1-55 burials, with a mean of 12 interments per tomb. These burials had often accumulated over a period of several generations, with some tombs remaining in use for 300 years or more. The tombs were extremely variable in both size (floor areas ranging from 1-10 square meters) and form (circular, bilobate, rectangular, etc.). However, there would seem to be no distinctive correlations between chamber tomb form or size and the overall wealth of the associated tomb assemblage, nor is there any indication that certain chamber tomb forms were exclusively associated with particular neighborhoods or residence groups (for more detailed discussion, see Keswani 1989).

At least four tholos tombs have been discovered to date at Enkomi. Swedish Tomb 21, which was probably located somewhere in the western portion of the site, may have been one of the earliest of these, apparently having been constructed in LCIA and continuing in use until the beginning of LCIIA (Gjerstad et al. 1934: 570-573). The dating of British Tomb 71, which is known only from a brief description in BM field notes (Williamson and Christian n.d.), is problematic, but the enumeration of the finds, including some relatively early gold jewellery types (see below) and a Red Lustrous Wheelmade ceremonial vessel, suggests that it may have been used in the later part of LCI and/or the earlier half of LCII. The location of this tomb was not marked on the BM field plan (Murray, Smith, and Walters 1900:30), but if it was near British Tombs 70, 72, and 73, then it too may have lain in the western area of the settlement. Two

tholos tombs found by the French expedition at topographic points 1336 and 1432, both located in Q5E (see Figure 2), are thought to have been constructed in the 15th century BC (early LCII); Tomb 1336 may have remained in use through the end of LCIIc, ca. 1200 BC (Courtois 1986a: 49-50; Johnstone 1971: 114-15).

The tholos tombs were founded in oval or circular cuttings, from which corbelled superstructures of mudbrick and rough stones were built up and capped with large stone slabs. The maximum diameters recorded for the tholoi ranged between 2.3-3.3m, so that in terms of floor area they were not notably larger than most of the Enkomi chamber tombs. Both Johnstone (1971) and Pelon (1973) have noted that the Enkomi tholos tombs have little in common with the monumental Aegean tholoi after which they were named. Pelon cites in particular the plans of the Cypriote tholoi (which seem to have been variants of the local chamber tomb type), the use of mudbrick construction, and the intramural location of the tombs as evidence against the suggestion that these were the tombs of Aegean immigrants (1973: 249-53). It is possible nonetheless that the Enkomi tholoi were constructed in imitation of Aegean or near Eastern prototypes (cf. Sjöqvist 1940: 149-50) which may have been deemed especially prestigious by members of the local Cypriote élite.

Pelon has expressed some doubt concerning the possibility that the tholos tombs were used by high status groups, inasmuch as rock-cut tombs of seemingly greater wealth – e.g. French Tomb 2 (Schaeffer 1952) – are known to have been more or less contemporaneous. He concludes that the tholoi represent an adaptation to crumbling subsoil at the sites on which they were constructed (1973: 253). Nevertheless, it is notable that Swedish Tomb 21 contained fragments of gold leaf (Gjerstad et al. 1934: 571), which was comparatively scarce in LCI. Finds of gold jewellery associated with British Tomb 71, which reportedly included two twisted gold earrings, four narrow gold bands, a gold pin, and other fragments of gold and faience, also seem to have been quite impressive. The original assemblages of these tombs, and of those discovered by the French, may well have been extremely rich prior to looting. It is indeed probable, therefore, that the tholos tombs were used by kin groups of significant rank and wealth. But it is interesting that the tholos tombs were found in more than one area of the site, suggesting that they were not associated exclusively with a particular residence group or neighborhood.

Five rectangular, partially corbelled tombs built of finely worked ashlar masonry were investigated by the British and French expeditions at Enkomi, including British Tomb 1 (= French Tomb 1409), British Tomb 66

(= French Tomb 1322), British Tombs 11 and 12, and French Tomb 1394 (Westholm 1939; Courtois 1986a: 24-26). All of these, except for British Tomb 66, seem to have been badly looted, but the remaining finds and the stratigraphic position of some of the tombs tend to suggest that they were constructed in LCIIA or LCIIb. At least three of the ashlar tombs (British Tombs 12 and 66, French Tomb 1394) remained in use through LCIIc. The largest dimensions recorded for an ashlar tomb at Enkomi were those of British Tomb 66, which measured 2.9m x 2.5m; the original height of this tomb is unknown but two of the other tombs had heights of approximately two meters. The Enkomi ashlar tombs were similar to the 'pre-Mycenaean' tombs found by Schaeffer beneath élite residences at Ras Shamra, but they lacked the elaborately vaulted roofs of the later 14th-13th century BC Syrian tombs (cf. Schaeffer 1939: 91; Karageorghis 1966: 344). Schaeffer once suggested that the ashlar tombs were the burial chambers of Syrians in residence at Enkomi (Courtois 1969: 97), but the finds recorded in these tombs are not notably dissimilar from those observed in other contemporaneous chamber tombs with rich assemblages, and it is possible that the phenomenon represented is once again one of emulation rather than of immigration or ethnicity.

The finds from British Tombs 66 and 12 were exceptionally rich and diverse, and the fragmentary finds from British Tombs 1 and 11 as well as from French Tomb 1394 hint at a comparable quality of assemblages. It is probably significant that four of the tombs were concentrated in Q4E, and the fifth lay nearby in the adjacent Q3E. Q4E (Figure 2) is noted for its substantial, well-constructed architecture dating to the LCII period (Courtois 1986a: fig. 4; Karageorghis 1966: 344-345); British Tomb 19, an extremely rich rock-cut chamber tomb of LCIIA-LCIIA/B date was also located in this area (Courtois 1986a: 41-42). The clustering of these elaborate, long-lived tombs with their impressive arrays of status goods in a restricted spatial area is suggestive of the establishment of important élite groups. However, we should be hesitant to call these the exclusive 'royal' tombs of Alashiya, as rock-cut tombs of comparable and greater wealth (e.g. British Tomb 93, Swedish Tomb 18) were found in several other areas of the site.

Shaft graves containing no more than one to three burials each were the most commonly observed mortuary features attributable to LCIII, although it is apparent that some older chamber tombs continued in use and others may have been constructed (cf. French Tomb 5 in Schaeffer 1952; French Tomb 6 in Schaeffer 1936). The shaft graves were generally small, shallow cuttings, sometimes lined with loose stones. Although their

construction would have entailed a minimal amount of labor, their use was not necessarily restricted to low status individuals alone; some shaft graves such as French Tombs 13, 15, and 16 (Schaeffer 1936) might be considered quite rich for the LCIII period. The significance of these relatively smaller units of burial, which are known from several different areas of the site, will be considered further in the last section of this study.

Variability in Tomb Assemblages at Enkomi

In order to assess the variability in collections of grave goods as it pertains to differences in status and wealth between tomb groups, and to monitor changes in the expression of social hierarchy through time, it is obviously necessary to establish certain chronological divisions among the tombs under consideration. This is a problematic task for the analyst, however, inasmuch as the Enkomi tombs were used over extremely variable and often very long periods of time which did not always coincide neatly with the subdivisions of LCI, LCII, and LCIII commonly employed by Cypriote archaeologists. For the purposes of this study, I have divided the tombs into three groups whose primary components of use can be bracketed as follows: (1) LCIA/B-LCIA/B; (2) LCIA/B-LCII/LCIII; (3) LCII/LCIA-LCIII (see Figure 3 for a consideration of absolute chronology). The first and second groups overlap chronologically, but most of those in the first group have their primary components of use later in LCI and earlier in LCII, and they lack a strong component of LCIIIC artifact types and Mycenaean IIIB ceramics. Tombs in the second group were either used over very lengthy periods of time from LCI through LCIIIC (French Tomb 5 actually continued in use through LCIII), or were used primarily in the second half of LCII. The separation of Groups 1 and 2 is particularly important because there seems to have been an expansion of metal-working during LCIIIC at Enkomi, resulting in a larger and more diversified array of bronzes in tombs with LCIIIC or later components. The dominant components of use in the tombs of the third group generally post-date the LCIIIC components of the second group, as attested by the predominance of Plain White and Bucchero ceramics in their assemblages. The discussion of assemblage variability is centered around Tables 1-3, one for each chronological group, in which the presence or absence of a standard range of types and materials is recorded. Type frequencies or counts are noted in the tables or mentioned in the text where they seem to be of particular importance. In each table the tombs are arranged from left

to right according to the estimated total weight of gold present in the assemblage. It should be noted that while I was able to weigh most of the gold objects myself, in some cases I had to estimate their weights based on mean weights for those types overall. Any inaccuracies in the estimated totals are unlikely to affect the overall interpretation of assemblage variability, however. The estimated number of burials in each tomb is recorded at the bottom of each table to allow judgment on the impact of this variable on the range of artifact types and quantities of gold present in each tomb. Time lines showing the approximate duration of use of the tombs under consideration have been appended to the bottom of each table.

Because the number of tombs from Enkomi which are reliably documented as having been intact is small, tombs of uncertain condition containing substantial arrays of gold jewellery or other valuables were also included in the study. The latter description applies to many of the richest tombs excavated by the BM expedition. One danger of this approach is that a number of tombs which were actually intact but were relatively poor in valuables will sometimes have been excluded from the analysis. Consequently, it should be borne in mind that the majority of the tombs considered may derive from the upper echelons of the social hierarchy, and the variations observed among tomb assemblages may relate particularly to variations within that tier of society, with lower status groups being somewhat underrepresented.

LCIA/B-LCIA/B Tombs

Table 1 is concerned with tombs used in LCI and the earlier part of LCII, or mainly prior to the 13th century BC. Perhaps the most striking contrast to be observed among these tomb groups is the pronounced division between those having a considerable quantity of gold overall and those having none or very little. Less well-endowed tombs sometimes yielded items of silver or bronze jewellery, but contained few objects of gold, and those present were of the lighter and less ornate types.

The 'rich' tombs yielded a wide representation of jewellery types, among the most elaborate being gold or gilded toggle pins, necklaces, and finger rings with engraved bezels. British Tombs 19, 67 and 92 all contained several examples of very ornate toggle pins.¹ British Tomb 19 also contained at least four different necklaces and a gold signet ring inscribed in hieroglyphics 'Ma' at the golden one, empress of the two lands'.² British Tomb 67 contained two gold signet rings, one with a double bezel depicting calves and palm branches, another with a crudely engraved human figure.³

One of the two burials on the left bench of French Tomb 2 was provided with a gold signet ring engraved with a sphinx and two large gold frontlets stamped with opposed sphinxes.⁴ These items were all exceptional in both workmanship and weight.

Three of the richest tombs also contained vessels made of precious metals. The burial with the sphinx-stamped frontlets and engraved ring in French Tomb 2 was equipped with two silver bowls, one decorated with gold bulls' heads in niello inlay, paralleled by a find from the Tomb of the Queen at Dendra in Greece (Lagarce and Lagarde 1986: 101-102). British Tomb 92 reportedly contained three silver vessels, one a so-called 'Vaphio' cup (Davis 1977: 318-319, Merrillees 1982: 236-238), and Swedish Tomb 17 contained a plain hemispherical gold bowl weighing 176 grams.⁵ Vessels of gold and silver were extremely rare in Cyprus, and occurred almost exclusively in tombs which are exceptional by many other criteria as well.

It is interesting to note that bronze knives and daggers, which were fairly common in tombs of MC and LCIA date at a number of Cypriot sites (cf. Åström 1972a; Karageorghis 1965a, 1965b), occurred quite infrequently in this group of relatively later tombs from Enkomi, and the examples which are reported derive once again from the tombs which are most exceptional overall. It is difficult to believe that copper production had actually declined in this period when Cyprus was being drawn more and more into the broader exchange and political networks of the Eastern Mediterranean. It is possible, however, that the distribution of copper and bronze was being much more tightly controlled in this period by members of an emergent élite, whose tombs contain the only copper/bronze objects of notable weight.

It also appears that tomb groups disposing of significant quantities of gold had disproportionate access to exotic, imported materials such as semi-precious stones, alabaster, faience, and ivory, which occurred in fairly small quantities during this period. French Tomb 11 (Schaffler 1952) is a notable exception in this regard; although it contained a relatively unimpressive array of plain, narrow gold bands, exotic goods were well-represented.⁶ This may reflect the increasing availability of such goods in the LCIIA2 period to which this tomb has been dated (Åström 1972b: 684), in addition to the social or economic success of the tomb group itself.

Although Mycenaean pottery only occurred infrequently in Cyprus prior to LCII, its distribution in this group of tombs was less restricted than objects of metal or exotic materials. Containers or small open vessels were found in over half of the tombs shown in Table 1. But Mycenaean

craters, which have high iconographic and symbolic value in comparison to other forms, occurred in only three of the 'richer' tombs - Swedish Tomb 17, French Tomb 2, and British Tomb 67. The absence of craters from French Tomb 11, which yielded 21 Mycenaean containers and cups, an exceptional quantity for the time period, is noteworthy. The disparities in the distribution of craters and other Mycenaean forms will be even more apparent in the group of tombs considered in Table 2.

The preceding discussion has focused on the differences between tomb groups mainly in terms of their 'wealth' in precious metals and exotic goods. However, inscribed rings, frontlets decorated with sphinxes, and lavish ornamentation in general have symbolic, rank-related connotations beyond mere crude wealth. Such symbolic distinctions are also expressed in some of the non-metallic objects found in the 'rich' tombs, including ceremonial vessels, balance weights, and pictorial craters.

Three of the richest tombs shown in Table 1 contained objects which fall into the category of ceremonial vessels. A faience goblet shaped like a woman's head was recovered from British Tomb 19, a Red Lustrous arm-shaped vessel from French Tomb 2, and a Mycenaean bull's head rhyton from British Tomb 67.⁷ Such objects were presumably part of the paraphernalia of cult and ceremonial activities (cf. Karageorghis 1965c; Yon 1986; Lagarde and Lagarde 1986: 152-156, 163-164). Zaccagnini (1987: 58) has noted textual references to the exchange of rhytons made of precious metals among Eastern Mediterranean rulers, and finds from the Late Bronze Age shipwreck near Ulu Burun, Turkey attest to the transport of faience rhytons (Bass 1986: 290; Pulak 1988: 32-33; Bass et al. 1989: 7-8).

It should be noted that Karageorghis (1968: 194) dates the aforementioned Mycenaean bull's head rhyton BM C607 to the 13th century BC, whereas many of the other objects from this tomb including the ceramics, jewellery types such as pins and twisted earrings, and the bird-faced terracotta figurines, could be more comfortably assigned to the 14th century BC or even somewhat earlier. Both Karageorghis (1965c: 224-30) and Yon (1986: 272-74) have discussed zoomorphic rhytons at length, but neither has proposed a chronology of such items. According to Peltenburg (1972: 135), the Qatna inventories of the early 14th century mention a silver bull's head rhyton, and it is not inconceivable that BM C607 could have been a ceramic imitation of a similar object. If, however, the 13th century date assigned by Karageorghis is correct, it is all the more interesting that this rhyton should have been deposited in the same tomb with BM C339, a chariot crater fragment with depictions of ceremonial vessels in the field.

BM C399 is decorated with a procession of individuals, three of whom are garbed in long spotted robes, probably to be identified as members of the élite, according to Karageorghis (1959). One of these personages, shown walking, is followed by a nude attendant carrying a parasol, which is another probable indicator of the robed figure's rank (Karageorghis and Vermeule 1982: 21-22). Two other robed individuals ride in a chariot, a mode of transport which seems to have been an important component of prestige symbolism for Aegean and Syro-Mesopotamian rulers and élites during the second millennium BC (cf. Sasson 1966: 175-176; Crowell 1981: 150). Among the filling ornaments shown in the field, Karageorghis and Vermeule have identified a striped sacral ewer of Mycenaean IIIA1 type, a striped chalice, a small cup with a high-swung handle, and a conical rhyton. They observe that the chalice, ewer, and rhyton often have ceremonial functions, and in conjunction with the other two drinking vessels they may represent some type of ceremonial libation (Karageorghis and Vermeule 1982: 22). The presence of an actual ceremonial vessel, BM C607, in British Tomb 67, is a redundant expression of the same complex of prestige symbolism depicted in the crater fragment, and regardless of whether or not the two items belonged to the same individual, it is significant that they belonged to members of the same tomb group. It might be noted that Mycenaean chariot craters and conical rhytons identical in shape with the one depicted on BM C339 co-occurred in the looted British Tomb 12 (a very rich ashlar tomb) and British Tomb 70, both tombs apparently dating to LCII.⁸

The deposition of hematite balance weights in several of the tombs included in this group may also be related to a facet of the prevailing complex of prestige symbolism. Two intact tombs (French Tomb 11 and French Tomb 1851), and at least one other tomb which may have been intact (French Tomb 126), all of which had relatively undistinguished assemblages of goods, contained one single weight each, while two or perhaps three of the 'rich' tombs (British Tombs 67, 92 and possibly also 19) contained sets of 5 or more. In one of the tombs with a single weight, French Tomb 1851, a tiny pair of bronze balance pans was also recovered.⁹ The symbolic or token value of the single weights found in Enkomi French Tombs 1851 and 11 (1949) is underlined by their respective weights of 9.415 g (=1 Egyptian qedet/Syrian shekel) and 92 g (=10 Egyptian qedets or 1 deben) (Petruso 1984: 296, 302; Courtois 1984: 114-115). The weight from Enkomi French Tomb 126 was 25 g, which would equal approximately 3 Mesopotamian shekels. The sets of weights from Enkomi British Tombs 67 and 92 range between fractions of a qedet/shekel (minimum 1.96 g in

British Tomb 67) to approximately 2 qedet/shekels (maximum 18.99 g in Tomb 67). These small weights would more likely have been used in measuring weights of gold and silver than copper (Courtois 1986b: 85-86), but we cannot rule out the possibility that the weights were symbolic of metals in general in the mortuary context, regardless of the specific uses to which they were put elsewhere.

One possible explanation for the presence of these weights might be that they were symbolic of the occupation of the deceased, with single weights pertaining to minor bronze-workers, and larger sets to major agents or functionaries of the metals trade. However, there is other evidence to suggest that the access to and control over metal, whether gold, silver, or bronze, was both a source and a requisite of high prestige in Late Cypriote society. The presence of single 'token' weights in poorer tombs may thus be an expression, not only of the role or occupation of the deceased, but also an assertion of status, and an emulation of those whose position was correspondingly greater (cf. Pollock 1983 on the issue of emulation in general).

Further insight into the links between status and the paraphernalia of the metals trade may be gained from a consideration of the iconography of the very early chariot crater from Swedish Tomb 17, another of the 'rich' tombs. This crater was associated with an adult, probably male, who was also interred with an elaborate pin at his shoulder, a gold diadem and mouthpiece, and the very heavy and impressive gold bowl already mentioned.¹⁰ The crater depicts three individuals dressed in elaborate patterned robes, suggestive of their exalted status. One of these personages holds a pair of scales, and he confronts two similarly dressed individuals riding in a chariot. Below the chariot is another person, whose lesser importance is indicated in both stature and dress, carrying what Dikaios has identified as a schematically rendered copper oxide ingot (for conflicting opinions, see Åkeström 1987: 101-102; Knapp 1986b: 30-37; Rystedt 1987). Of the various explanations proposed for this scene over the years, it is Dikaios' interpretation centering on élite persons in pursuit of the metals trade (Dikaios 1969: 918-25), rather than explanations relating it to episodes from later Greek mythology (e.g. 'Zeus with the scales of destiny' exhorting the Achaeans to battle—cf. Nilsson 1933; Karageorghis 1958) which seems most applicable in the context of Late Cypriote society. However, as Karageorghis (1959) has observed, and contrary to Dikaios, it is likely that the individuals depicted represent members of the Cypriote, rather than the Mycenaean élite.

The disparities in the amounts of gold and the distribution of other

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crater

exotic and symbolic goods in the tombs included in Table 1 are strong evidence for the emergence of a stratified élite at Enkomi by early in the LCII period, if not sooner. The iconography of the Mycenaean chariot craters, which first appear in some of the most exceptional tomb assemblages, suggests that this élite defined itself in terms of distinctive dress, participation in elaborate ceremonial (in a Near Eastern mode), and control over the distribution of metals. However, it is interesting to note the absence of chariot craters in French Tomb 2, which contains the silver bowl with gold inlaid bulls' heads, a Mycenaean crater also depicting bulls, and gold sphinx-stamped frontlets. The complex of symbolism in this tomb identifies the deceased individuals with the cosmic order rather than merely distinguishing them from other persons; perhaps, as Schaeffer suggested, this was the tomb of a 'priest', or perhaps it represents a group with pretensions to a status even more exalted than that of the robed personages of the chariot craters. It may then be possible to draw distinctions not only between the upper and the lower, or the richer and the poorer, tiers of the Late Cypriote social hierarchy, but also within the upper social stratum, in which variable complements of status symbolism were in use.

LCIA/B-LCIIIC/LCIII Tombs

Table 2 shows the distribution of types in tombs used over variable timespans between LCI and LCIII; most seem to have been used with greatest intensity during the 14th and 13th centuries BC. All of the tombs show some evidence of LCIIIC use, and those whose dominant components date primarily to the 13th century have been grouped separately at the far right side of the table.

The first point to observe is that most of these tombs have at least some gold. British Tomb 93, which may have been used most intensively in LCIIA-B, has the highest total overall, with more than 800 g, British Tomb 66 (PLCIIB-C) and Swedish Tomb 18 (LCIIIC) have lesser but nonetheless impressive totals between 300-400 g. The total amount of gold incorporated in Swedish Tomb 3, which appeared to have been partially looted after or during a late phase of its use (Gjerstad et al. 1934: 475-87), may originally have been much higher.

In terms of crude metal wealth Tomb 93 has no rival; at least half of its total metal weight derives from non-jewellery items including a smashed gold cup and assorted lumps and bits of gold which are extremely heavy.¹¹ British Tomb 66 contained a silver bowl and a smashed gold object, identified in the BM catalogue as a mask, but which may have been a bowl

instead.¹² Swedish Tomb 18 contained a fragmentary, poorly preserved silver bowl, and Swedish Tomb 3 also contained fragments of a silver bowl.¹³

As was the case in the preceding group of tombs, not only gold and silver bowls but signet rings as well seem to have been restricted to those tombs with the highest gold weights overall. Once again, these tombs also had the widest representation and most elaborate types of jewellery. The highly ornate and intricate character of the jewellery from the richest tombs in comparison to the jewellery from less well-endowed tombs cannot be overstressed. British Tomb 93 contained two exceptionally ornate necklaces including one that the Lagarces have identified as an Egyptian *ousekh* collar;¹⁴ it has a close parallel in the tomb of one of the three wives of Tutmosis III and in the tomb of Smenkhare, son of Amenophis IV (Lagarce and Lagarce 1986: 109-110). The same tomb also produced a gold finger ring with soldered lions' heads, a silver finger ring engraved with the name of Amenophis IV and a scarab with the name of Queen Ti'y, wife of Amenophis III.¹⁵ Also recovered from Tomb 93 were several other finger-rings of very intricate workmanship, 37 gold earrings, 16 hair spirals, and an array of plain and stamped gold bands, the latter displaying an unusually rich and diverse array of motifs (e.g. sphinxes, lions, and goats in addition to the more common spirals, rosettes, and palmettes).¹⁶ Similar *encomia* apply to the jewellery assemblages from British Tomb 66 and Swedish Tomb 18.

Bronze objects, particularly bowls, jewellery, daggers and spearheads became increasingly common in a wide range of tombs from LCIIIC onwards. But here once again, as was the case with gold jewellery, a few tombs had truly exceptional arrays of objects. British Tomb 66, one of the ashlar tombs, contained two spearheads and five daggers, several whole or fragmentary bronze bowls, including two probable imports (Catling 1964: 153), and a bronze mirror of Aegean type (Catling 1964: 224-26).¹⁷ Swedish Tomb 18 contained 12 bronze bowls, a bronze jug (note that jugs are considerably more intricate in their workmanship than hammered bowls), some extremely rare bronze greaves (Catling 1955), and a Naue II type sword, possibly an import from the west (Catling 1956), along with other weapons, jewellery, and mirrors.¹⁸ It might also be noted that French Tomb 1394, a looted ashlar tomb, contained fragments of the most diverse array of bronze vessels yet found in the LCIIIC tombs at Enkomi: Courtois (1981: 279) lists fragments of several different bronze jugs and bowls, a fragmentary strainer, and bits of other bronze objects among its contents.

The distribution of exotics appears less restricted in this group of tombs;

items such as faience, glass, and ivory seem to have been more widely available. Some of the less distinguished tomb groups had nice arrays of glass bottles (e.g. French Tomb 5),¹⁹ plain and incised ivory box fittings and other small objects (e.g. Swedish Tomb 11, French Tomb 5),²⁰ faience containers and simple faience bowls (e.g. French Tomb 5, Cypriote Tomb 10).²¹ But again one of the most diverse and elaborate arrays of faience and glazed pottery comes from British Tomb 66,²² and perhaps the richest array of ivories was recovered from Swedish Tomb 18, which yielded an ivory comb engraved with a roebuck and a diverse collection of other toilet articles and miscellaneous fittings.²³

'Ceremonial vessels' such as Mycenaean rhytons and faience goblets were being deposited in some of the less distinguished tomb groups such as Swedish Tomb 11 and Cypriote Tomb 10 by mid-to-late LCII;²⁴ interestingly, however, they are absent from the very richest tombs such as Swedish Tomb 18 and British Tombs 66 and 93. These items may have become the paraphernalia of a wider range of functionaries as the Late Cypriote political and cult hierarchy expanded.

Cylinder seals are also widely distributed in this group of tombs, but it is notable that the cylinder seals from British Tombs 93 and 66 are exceptional compared to those from many other tombs. Tomb 93 contained two hematite seals carved in Syro-Mitannian style as well as a lapis lazuli prism head engraved with a bird and a plant (possibly Cretan LMB, according to Kenna), while Tomb 66 contained one faience seal carved in the Mitannian style and a lapis lazuli cylinder decorated with an appliqué of gold wire spirals, possibly of Aegean origin (cf. Porada 1948; Kenna 1971).²⁵ While it cannot be concluded that imported seals or copies thereof were present only in the very richest tombs (cf. British Tomb 84A), it is nonetheless significant that these seals, rather than the cruder Cypriote variants, were present in Tombs 66 and 93.

Finally we come to the categories of Mycenaean pottery. While containers and small open forms were very common even in tombs with otherwise undistinguished assemblages, the craters, once again, are a different matter. They were completely absent in some tombs, while others had only one or two; for example, Cypriote Tomb 10 had just two craters in comparison to 57 other Mycenaean vessels; there were also only two craters in Swedish Tomb 11, which had 63 other Mycenaean vessels.²⁶ Most of these tombs with no or very few Mycenaean craters were, however, well provided with local Cypriote Plain White craters,²⁷ suggesting that this vessel shape was in general use among the different tomb groups.

Tombs such as Swedish Tomb 3, British Tomb 12 (a looted ashlar tomb), and Swedish Tomb 18, with their large collections of Mycenaean craters, form a significant contrast to the preceding tombs. Enkomi Swedish Tomb 3 contained as many as 21 pictorial craters, among which there were at least ten chariot craters. According to Karageorghis and Vermeule's (1982) classification, the chariot craters from Swedish Tomb 3 include one Middle I vase, two Middle II, three Middle III, and three Ripe I.²⁸ Assuming this classification is chronologically as well as stylistically valid, it would appear that two or three such craters were being deposited every generation. British Tomb 12, although thoroughly looted, yielded fragments of approximately 18 pictorial craters, among which six or seven featured chariot scenes, again from several stylistic phases; one chariot crater is assigned to Early III, two to Middle II, and three to Middle III.²⁹ The disproportionately large number of pictorial craters in these tombs reflects the repeated use of similar symbols from one generation to the next, redundancies which in turn suggest a close connection between status and descent group, or at least tomb group, affiliation.

The side-chamber of Swedish Tomb 18 yielded several craters on which depictions of bulls, birds, goats, and fishes predominated,³⁰ by the LCIIIC period in which this tomb was used, chariot scenes seem to have become passé (Karageorghis and Vermeule 1982: 35). It is interesting to note that Swedish Tomb 11, a tomb group of LCIIA/B-LCIIIC date which seems to have accumulated most of its valuables during the later phases of tomb use, finally acquired its one and only chariot crater (of Mycenaean IIIB style) (see note 26) during the LCIIIC period, when the prestige value of such items was already on the decline among higher status groups.

As a final note on Table 2, it may be observed that British Tomb 66 yielded only one Mycenaean crater; only one fragmentary and two whole craters are attributed to Tomb 93, and no craters were associated with the latest burials in the main chamber of Swedish Tomb 18.³¹ Perhaps mere ceramic vessels were not very important for the exalted individuals buried in these chambers. As noted earlier, British Tomb 66 and Swedish Tomb 18 both contained impressive arrays of bronze vessels, and the production of still more diverse forms is attested in French Tomb 1394. Metal vessels, therefore, may have taken on greater importance as symbols of status and wealth late in LCII. Even in the uppermost ranks of society, however, the high cost in terms of material and workmanship of forms other than the simple hemispherical bowl may often have precluded their disposal in the mortuary context.

Within the group of tombs included in Table 2, the variability among

assemblages of goods is perhaps less striking than in those shown in Table 1. Gold jewellery, exotics, and various items of sociotechnic symbolic paraphernalia are more widely distributed. Nevertheless, it is apparent that there are both qualitative and quantitative differences between tomb groups. The redundant concentrations of jewellery and other valuables in British Tombs 66 and 93 and in Swedish Tombs 3 and 18 bespeak the multiplicity of high status individuals belonging to these particular tomb groups in comparison to others. However, it is important to stress that these assemblages reflect the presence not merely of a greater number of high status burials in comparison to other tombs, but also the presence of individuals of still greater status/wealth in relation to all others. This is attested by the occurrence of the highest order status goods—signet rings, gold and silver bowls, objects of the highest craftsmanship, and items of the highest iconographic/informational value—in the richest tombs overall.

LCIIC/LCIIIA-LCIIIB Tombs

The primary components of use in the tombs shown in Table 3 date mainly from the very end of the LCIIC period through LCIIIB1, spanning the 12th century BC. It is not certain how many of these were chamber tombs or shaft graves; certainly most of them seem to have been used for a smaller number of interments than the tombs of earlier date, based on their smaller numbers of finds. Some clearly had multiple burials.

One of the first points to be noted is the great fall-off in the quantity of gold interred within each unit, some having none at all. This can be explained in part by the inclusion of a decreasing number of burials per unit, but even the wealthiest tombs such as British Tomb 61, British Tomb 75, and French Tomb 6, all of which seem to have had multiple burials, had low totals in comparison to the richest tombs of earlier periods. The range of jewellery types present also decreased in all tombs.

It is possible that this decline may have been related to a decrease in the total amount of gold in circulation; according to Vercoutter (1959), there seems to have been a significant fall-off in Egyptian production from the 19th Dynasty onwards (beginning ca. 1320 BC, the onset of LCIIC) until the Napatan (Sudan) Dynasty (751–538 BC), perhaps due to a weakening of Pharaonic control in the south. Assuming that much of the gold circulating in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age derived from Egypt (cf. Holmes 1973; Heltzer 1977), it is not unlikely that the decrease in Egyptian levels of production was felt strongly in Cyprus by LCIII.

In conjunction with the fall-off in gold, the number of artifact types deposited overall also decreased considerably, and exotic materials such as

faience and glass were becoming rare. Pelenburg (1986) has recently assessed the evidence for the continuing trade in these and other items of probable Egyptian origin between LCIIC and LCIIIB, and concludes, on the basis of stratified finds, that a cessation of trade during this period is highly unlikely. However, much of the LCIII material which has been recovered to date derives from settlement rather than mortuary contexts, and Pelenburg has suggested that many of the faience objects from LCIII temple contexts at Kiton were holdovers from LCIIC (1983, 1986: 170). This suggests that such valuables were being 'curated' during the LCIII period rather than being permanently disposed of in the mortuary context. Possibly the decreasing availability of such goods promoted a change in mortuary practice, and a decreasing emphasis on the disposal of wealth.

Some new types of grave goods were on the increase during this period, however. Stone mortars and pestles, thought to have been used for cosmetic preparation, became common in a wide range of tombs, and stone vases have also been recovered from some tombs. Some of these items may have been the products of local stone-working industries. Bronze weapons also became increasingly common, and bronze bowls occurred in a majority of tombs. It is tempting to view the bronze bowls, whose manufacture would have been comparatively simple, as currency in a newly emerging system of 'wealth-finance' (D'Altroy and Earle 1985; Earle 1987), in which institutional functionaries and dependents, along with members of the political élite, were reimbursed in objects that were at the same time prestigious and convertible because of the value of the metal from which they were made.

The most valuable grave goods found in the tombs of this period are likely to have included bronze tripods and four-sided stands, renowned for their craftsmanship and cult associations (cf. Catling 1964, 1984; Lagarde and Lagarde 1986: 84–100). Examples of these are known from British Tombs 58, 97 and possibly 15.³² Iron knives were also found in three of the Enkomi tombs (French Tomb 108, British Tomb 58, and French Tomb 6;³³ these were probably among the earliest products of the Cypriote iron-working industry (Waldhaun 1982; Snodgrass 1982). The other prominent luxury goods with high iconographic value found in late LCIIC and LCIIIA tombs are the elaborate carved ivory pyxides from British Tombs 24 and 75, mirror standards from British Tombs 16, 17, and 73, and the gilding box from British Tomb 58.³⁴ These objects may also have been produced by craftsmen on the island itself; scraps and partially worked fragments of ivory which may represent the discards of nearby workshops have been encountered at both Enkomi and Kouklia (Dikaios 1969: 99–

100, Maier and Warburg 1985). The ivories depict subjects such as struggles between lions and bulls, hunting, warriors in combat with griffins, man leading sphinx, etc., scenes which symbolize the controlling or regulating influence exerted by the heroes depicted and the natural or cosmic order (Lagarce and Lagarde 1986: 137). Both the well-executed, naturalistic art style and the iconography of these ivories set them apart from other status/luxury goods heretofore found in Cyprus.

Although the tombs shown in Table 3 show an overall decrease in wealth, pronounced disparities in the distribution of valuables are nonetheless apparent. Some graves contained no goods, or only ceramic items, or a few ceramic items and one bronze bowl, while others were provided with gold jewellery, bronzes, ivory, etc. It is notable, moreover, that the new classes of status/symbolic items—carved ivory, bronze stands, and iron knives—tended to occur in tombs also containing some amount of gold. Bronze weapons, mirrors, semi-precious stones, stone vases, and glyptics were also concentrated in these tombs. However, the overall level of mortuary display appears to have decreased considerably, probably due not only to the decreasing availability of certain types of luxury goods, but also to changes in the symbolism of prestige, and perhaps a shift away from the use of mortuary ritual as the primary arena for social display.

Overview and Conclusion

The rise of a stratified social order with a symbolically differentiated élite is attested in the mortuary sample from Enkomi at least by the LCIB-LCIA period (later 16th-15th centuries BC). Contemporaneous tomb groups differed markedly both in the quantities of wealth which they could afford to remove from circulation and in the types of sociotechnic or symbolic goods to which they had access. The richest tombs tended to have not only elaborate and redundant arrays of gold jewellery (implying that multiple high status burials were present), but also the highest-order sociotechnic objects and items of high iconographic content—signet rings with engraved natural or cosmic symbols, hieroglyphs, or Cyprio-Minoan inscriptions; ceremonial vessels; balance weights and Mycenaean pictorial craters. During the second half of the LCII period, the élite may have increased considerably in size and diversity, and it is possible that a majority of the groups resident within the walls of Enkomi had some pretensions to élite status, especially in relation to residents of outlying communities whose mortuary complexes are poorly represented to date.

Yet even though most of the tombs within the Enkomi mortuary sample eventually came to include at least some gold and diverse types of imported luxury goods, certain tombs groups may be continually singled out for their exceptionally high concentrations of jewellery, status paraphernalia, and highly elaborate arrays of faience, ivory, bronzes, etc. Consequently, we may postulate not only a distinction between 'élite' and 'non-élite' groups, but also a significant hierarchical differentiation within the élite itself.

While the redundancies in wealth and prestige goods observed in some tombs over periods of several generations suggest that social status was closely associated with tomb group or descent group affiliation, and hence was to some extent hereditary, the long term stability of the hierarchical relations between groups should not be overestimated. The spatial distribution of the richest tomb groups was quite widespread overall,³⁵ possibly indicating that there was no single, permanent élite or royal residential precinct. Moreover, as noted earlier, the assemblages of those tombs having the most costly and elaborate construction—i.e. the ashlar built tombs—appear to have been rivalled and sometimes surpassed in wealth and status paraphernalia by the assemblages of some rock-cut tombs such as British Tomb 93. The absence of highly structured relationships among these dimensions of mortuary variability—locational, architectural, and artifactual—may reflect not only the complexity of the socio-political hierarchy at any given time, but also the ongoing competition and fluctuating political dominance among the diverse élite groups resident at Enkomi. This in turn is consistent with the evidence for periodic destructions, rebuildings, reorganizations, and relocations of administrative and élite residential complexes observed in the settlement excavations (cf. Dikaios 1969 and Courtois 1986a: *passim*).

During the later part of the LCIIIC period and thereafter, considerable changes in mortuary practice and élite symbolism seem to have taken place. In part because the units of burial were smaller, the accumulations of wealth were smaller, but it is also apparent that the amount of gold and the diversity of luxury items being disposed of in the mortuary context had decreased overall. Nonetheless, considerable hierarchical differentiation is still apparent, and the foremost symbols of rank—the carved ivories—depict themes which suggest an important development in official symbolism. Previously the Cypriote élite seems to have distinguished itself most overtly through the elaboration of its jewellery and dress, and through the display of luxury goods and ceremonial rhytons, i.e. with all the trappings of prestige which it could acquire from or imitate from its

longer established neighbors. These goods, some of which were decorated with animal motifs, sphinxes, hieroglyphic inscriptions, etc. were by no means devoid of 'cosmic' symbolism. But the relatively more complex iconography of the ivories suggests a closer identification with, or a more sophisticated manipulation of, the Near Eastern ideology of kingship and political legitimacy.

Such artistic developments have long been associated with the presence of Mycenaean and Near Eastern craftsmen, the 'Sea Peoples', and other assorted wanderers, but it is not unlikely that more fundamental political and ideological transformations were also involved. It may be significant that the use of these Near Eastern portrayals of royal power, elevated to cosmic dimensions, became prevalent during the later LCIIIC and LCIIIC periods, at the same time that we observe major changes in the organizational plan of the Enkomi settlement. The establishment of the grid-like street system, the fortification of the town, and the construction of ashlar 'palaces' and temples (see Figure 2 for Schaeffer's Building 18 and Dikaios' ashlar building, which later became the locus of the Sanctuary of the Horned God; the Sanctuary of the Column; the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, etc.), along with a great expansion in the scale of metal-working, and the proliferation of other specialized crafts (predominance of wheel-made pottery, ivory-carving, stone-working etc.) are all developments attributable to the LCIIIC period or later. These phenomena are likely to have been associated with the emergence of politico-religious institutions of greater complexity than those which had existed in the past.

The proliferation of shaft graves in LCIIIC may also have been related to political transformations. As a more state-like society with both court and temple institutions developed, we might expect to find an increasing number of functionaries, specialists, and foreigners, some of whom may have been detached from their original communities inside or outside Cyprus (see Liverani 1975 for similar developments in Syria), and thus belonged to no local tomb groups. Even among local residents, political changes may have resulted in a decreasing emphasis on descent as a means of achieving status, making the practice of collective mortuary ritual relatively less important.

The florescence of urban civilization which took place in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age was brought to an untimely end during the 12th and 11th centuries BC, probably by a combination of external disruptions and internal instabilities (Karageorghis 1984; Muhly 1984; Liverani 1987; Knapp 1988). Nevertheless, the level of socio-political and institutional

complexity achieved towards the end of the Late Cypriote period should not be underestimated, however short-lived it may have been.

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Notes

1. British Tomb 19: Marshall 1911 nos. 550, 553, 556, 559, 560, 562, 565-569, 573-575. British Tomb 67: Marshall 1911 nos. 555, 563-564, 576-577. British Tomb 92: Marshall 1911 nos. 546-549, 552.
2. British Tomb 19: Marshall 1911 nos. 663, 665, 666, 670; Marshall 1907 no. 1.
3. British Tomb 67: Marshall 1911 nos. 8 and 11.
4. French Tomb 2: Schaeffer 1952 nos. 8/4.200, 4/4.201, 5/4.202.
5. French Tomb 2: Schaeffer 1952 nos. 6/4.206, 7/4.207. British Tomb 92: British Museum (BM) reg. nos. 1897.4-1.506-508. Swedish Tomb 17: Gjerstad *et al.* 1934 no. 17.61.
6. French Tomb 11: Schaeffer 1952 nos. 81/4.676-4.678, 176/4.679, 177/4.680; 169/4.828-4.831.
7. British Tomb 19: BM reg. no. 1897.4-1.875. French Tomb 2: Schaeffer 1952

(4E/5E), British Tomb 16 (eastern scarp), British Tomb 58 (3W/4W), British Tomb 22 (eastern scarp), British Tomb 24 (eastern scarp), French Tomb 6 (7E/8E?), British Tomb 61 (3E), British Tomb 75 (6W).

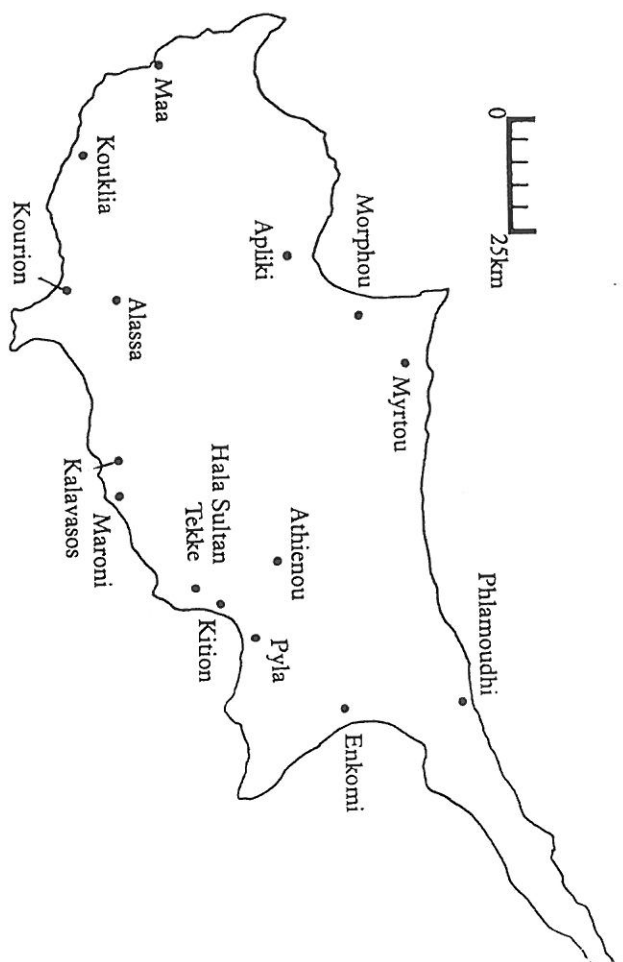


Figure 1. Map of Cyprus showing the location of the principal coastal centers and important inland sites.



Figure 2: Schematic field plan of Enkomi showing the fortification walls and major building complexes of the LCIIIC-LCIII periods. The north-south and east-west streets define 'quarters' referred to by the French Excavators as QIW-QI2W and QIE-QI2E. a. Northern industrial zone, locus of major metallurgical facilities until the end of LCIIIC. b. House of the bronze treasure discovered in 1947. c. Dikaio's Ashlar building, constructed in LCIIIA, subsequently the locus of the Sanctuary of the Horned God. d. Schaeffer's Ashlar Building 18. e. Paved area at the center of the town. f. Sanctuary of the Ingot God. g. Sanctuary of the Column. h. House of Bronzes discovered in 1934. (After Courtois 1982: fig. 1 and Courtois 1986a: fig. 1).

MCIII:	1725-1650	1700-1575
LCIA:	1650-1575	1575-1525
LCIB:	1575-1475	1525-1425
LCIIA:	1475-1400	1425/1400-1375
LCIIB:	1400-1325	1375-1300
LCIIC:	1325-1225	1300-1230
LCIIIA:	1225-1190	1220/10-1150
LCIIIB:	1190-1150	1150-1050
LCIIIC:	1150-1050	

after Karageorghis
(1982: 9)

after Dikaios
(1969: 438)

Figure 3. Absolute chronologies of the Cypriote Bronze Age. The emerging consensus among scholars (cf. Manning 1988; Aström (ed), 1987; Muhly 1985: 22-26; Merrillees 1971) would seem to favor the higher 17th century BC date for the beginning of LCIA.

TOMB #	F 1 8 5 1	F 1 5 (49)	F 3 (34)	S 2	C 1 9	F 1 2 6	F 1 1 (49)	B 9 2	S 8	F 2 (49)	D 6 7	S 1 7	H 1 9
MATERIAL/TYFE	0	0	0	0	0	<10?	<30?	67	70+	100+	154	235+	385
GOLD/SILVER VESSEL								X		X		X	X
GOLD/SILVER SIGNET RING										X			X
OTHER GOLD RING										X			X
GOLD NECKLACE						X		X	X	X	X	X	X
GOLD/SILVER TOGGLE PIN						X		X	X	X	X	X	X
GOLD EARRING						X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
GOLD DIADEM/MOUTHPIECE							X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SILVER ORNAMENT		X						X	X	X	X	X	X
BRONZE KNIFE/DAGGER							X	X	X		X	X	
BRONZE ORNAMENT		X						X	X		X		
SEMI-PRECIOUS STONE							X		X		X		
ALABASTER							X			X			
OSTRICH EGG	X							X	X		X	X	X
FAIENCE							X		X				
GLASS							X				X	X	X
IVORY													
CEREMONIAL VESSEL						1	1	5		X	X		X
BALANCE WEIGHT	1			X							X	X	X
CYLINDER SEAL					X						X	X	X
TERRACOTTA FIGURINE										2	X	1	?
MYCENAEAN CRATER				X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
OTHER MYCENAEAN													
EST. # BURIALS	7	2+?	6?	10-12	5	?	4+?	?	5-6	3	?	12	?

LCIA						*							?
LCIB	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
LCIIA			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
LCIIB			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
LCIIC													
LCIIIA													
LCIIIB													

Table 1. Distribution of types and materials in Enkomi tombs of LCIA/B-LCIIA/B date

TOMB #	S 1 3	F 5 (49)	B 8 6	B 84/ 84A	S 1 1	B 7 9	B 6 9	C 1 0	S 3	B 6 6	B 9 3	S 2 2	S 6	S 1 0	S 1 9	S 1 8
MATERIAL/TYPE																
EST. TOT. WT. GOLD(g)	<4	<20	57	59	65+	66	97	145+	150+?	384	800+	0	5+	9	45	300+
GOLD/SILVER VESSEL									X	X	X					X
GOLD/SILVER SIGNET RING									X	X	X					X
OTHER GOLD RING				X			X	X	X	X	X					X
GOLD NECKLACE						X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X
GOLD SPIRAL			X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X				X	X
GOLD EARRING	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X
GOLD DIADEM/MOUTHPIECE			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X
SILVER ORNAMENT							X		X		X		X		X	X
BRONZE WEAPON/ARMOR		X				X			X	X	X					X
BRONZE VESSEL		X			X			X	X	X	X					X
BRONZE MIRROR		X		X						X	X			X	X	X
BRONZE ORNAMENT		X	X	X			X	X					X		X	X
SEMI-PRECIOUS STONE		X	X			X			X	X	X					X
ALABASTER		X								X	X					X
OSTRICH EGG					X					X	X					X
FAIENCE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X
GLASS		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X
IVORY					X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X
CEREMONIAL VESSEL			X		X		X	X	X		X					X
CYLINDER SEAL	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X					X
TERRACOTTA FIGURINE			X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X					X
MYCEN. OR RUDE ST. CRATER	1		1		2	1		2	21?	1	3?				X	10
OTHER MYCENAEAN	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X
EST. # BURIALS	?	55+?	?	?	21+	?	?	21?	15+	?	?	2	13-15	9+	17	10-12

LCIA	?	?	X	?												
LCIB	X	X	X	X				X	X	X						X
LCIIA	X	X	X	X				X	X	X						X
LCIIB	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					X
LCIIC	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
LCIIIA	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
LCIIIB	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Table 2. Distribution of types and materials in Enkomi tombs of LCIA/B-LCIIC/LCIII date

TOMB #	S 1 3 C	C 4 A	C 4	C 2 4	C 2 3	S 1 A	S 1 9 A	S 7 A	F 1 (47)	S 1 5	S 1 6	F 1 0 8	S 1 4	F 1 5 (34)	F 1 6 (34)	F 1 3 (34)	B 4 7	B 1 5	B 1 6	B 5 8	B 2 2	B 2 4	F 6 (34)	B 6 1	B 7 5	
MATERIAL/TYPE																										
EST. TOT. WT. GOLD(g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<5	<10	<10	<10	15	17	17	18	29	54	75+	107	137	
GOLD/SILVER SIGNET RING																X							X	X	X	
OTHER GOLD RING																X							X	X	X	
GOLD EARRING																X				X	X		X	X	X	
GOLD DIADEM/MOUTHPIECE																X				X	X		X	X	X	
BRONZE STAND																										
CARVED/PICTORIAL IVORY																										
IRON KNIFE																										
BRONZE WEAPON/ARMOR																										
BRONZE VESSEL																										
BRONZE MIRROR																										
BRONZE ORNAMENT																										
SEMI-PRECIOUS STONE																										
ALABAST./OTH. STONE VASE																										
FAIENCE																										
GLASS																										
IVORY (MINOR OBJECTS)																										
STONE MORTAR/PESTLE																										
GLYPHTIC																										
EST. # BURIALS	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	2	1?	1	2	MULT	3	3	2	1	MULT	?	?	?	?	?	10	MULT	MULT	

LCIA																										
LCIB																										
LCIIA																										
LCIIB																										
LCIIC																										
LCIIIA	?																									
LCIIIB	?																									

Table 3. Distribution of types and materials in Enkomi tombs of LCIIC/LCIIIA-LCIIIB date

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Archaeology and Imperialism: Roman Expansion and the Greek City

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Abstract

The study of imperial systems has been an important growth area in archaeological research in recent years. One aspect that has received attention in a variety of settings is the territorial reorganization frequently associated with political incorporation. The paper reviews a number of general archaeological and historical patterns of imperial consolidation and outlines some underlying factors, before moving on to consider their applicability in a well-documented case study, that of Achaia (the Roman province of Greece). Direct Roman intervention in the distribution of central places and the location of political boundaries is examined, together with local-level adaptations to incorporation within a larger and more demanding imperial system. Despite the long history of archaeological research in Greece, data appropriate to the investigation of these issues are generally found to be lacking. Several approaches which could profitably structure future research are suggested, and it is argued that the adoption of such a framework could allow archaeological data from Greece (and indeed the eastern Roman empire as a whole) to make a more significant contribution to the cross-cultural study of the processes of expansion and control in empires.

Introduction

Of all the types of past political units that archaeologists have explored, empires are preeminent: yet in many ways archaeology is only now beginning to make a contribution to the understanding of imperial systems. This apparent paradox is easily explained. The empires of Egypt,