

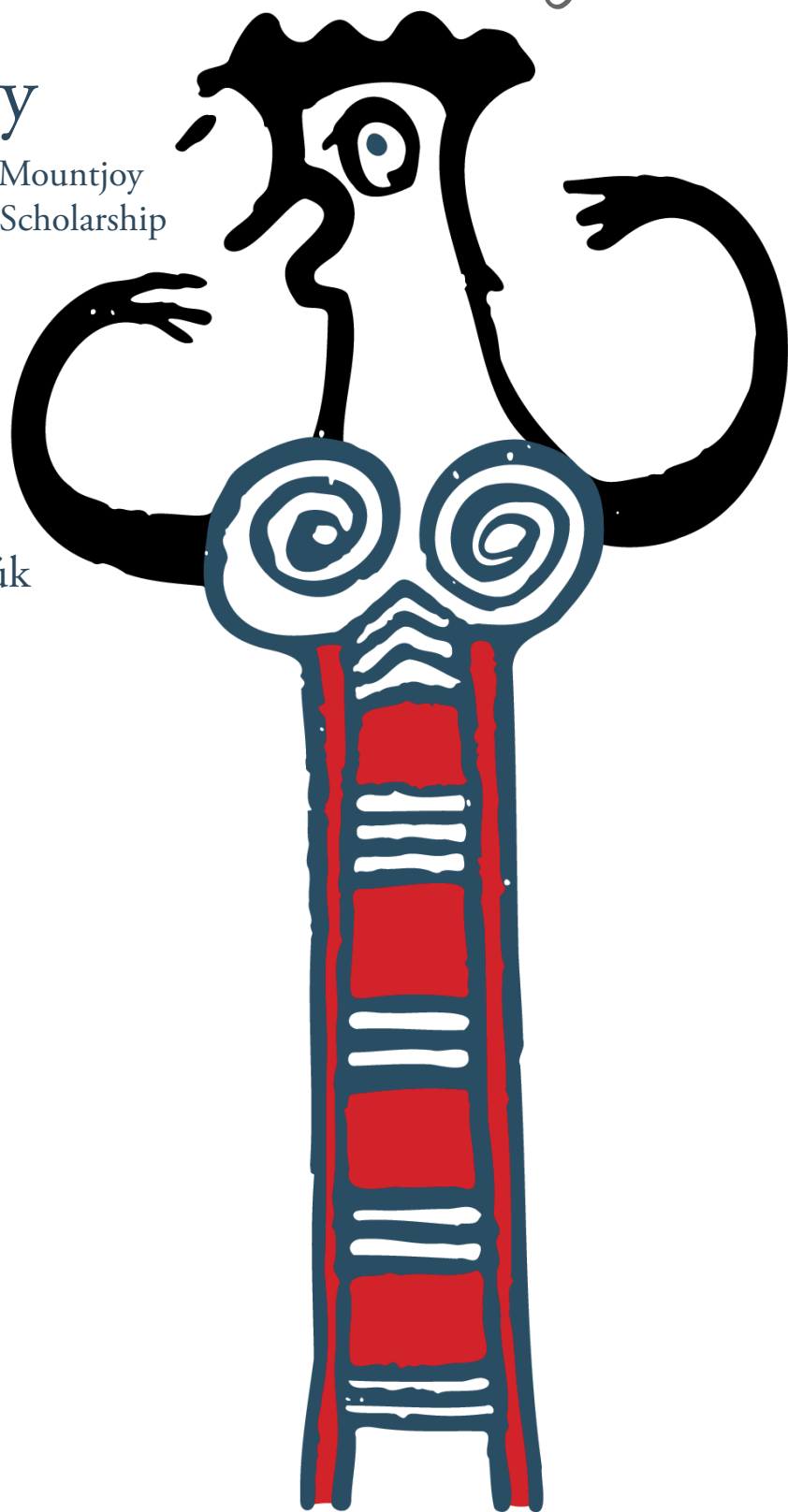
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Estratto

The Lady of Pottery

Ceramic Studies Presented to Penelope A. Mountjoy
in Acknowledgement of Her Outstanding Scholarship

edited by
Anna Lucia D'Agata and Peter Pavúk



Edizioni Quasar

Estratto



A glorious day in Athens: Penelope A. Mountjoy (first on the right), together with Oliver Dickinson, Katie Demakopoulou and Lena Papazoglou (from left to right) at the Swedish Institute in 1982 (courtesy Lena Papazoglou).

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PENELOPE A. MOUNTJOY. BUILDING HISTORY THROUGH POTTERY

Anna Lucia D'Agata, Peter Pavúk

It was during a conference dinner in Rome, a few years ago, that we started talking about a collective volume in honour of Penelope Mountjoy that now we can hold in our hands. Being a scholar of an indisputable quality, which transcends time and space, this volume does not intend to celebrate a special anniversary, but rather our honouree's extraordinary and enduring contribution to Aegean archaeology.

Penelope is a talented and dedicated scholar, with a keen eye, skilled fingers, and distinct sense of humour. Whoever has worked with her knows that, except early in the morning, she is a gift that keeps on giving, and we have all learned from her over the years. Be it Mycenaean pottery, a great passion of her life, or any other decorated pottery for that matter, but also more complex questions about pottery technology, local imitations, depositional processes, colonisation, or how to drink ouzo right!

Penelope does not have students in the traditional sense of the word. But there is a whole sea of researchers in Aegean prehistory who can be considered her pupils, having learned to deal with Mycenaean pottery thanks to her masterpieces: the *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery* volume, later on expanded into *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery* (RMDP), or the more condensed *Mycenaean Pottery: An Introduction*. Her knowledge of Late Helladic painted tableware with its innumerable regional, or even local variants, is both unmatched and legendary. On top of that, she is known for her superb art of line drawing of archaeological finds (including good old-fashioned inking), a field where she counts hundreds of apprentices, especially at the College Year in Athens, also including one of the authors of this brief introduction.

Affiliated for most of her life with the British School at Athens, Penelope's scientific profile is variegated and multiform. Her early interests lay with LM IB Marine style (1972 through 1985), and she has continued, even if sporadically, to work on Crete with her influential paper on Minoanisation of the Cyclades (2000, with M. Ponting), the volume on the material from the South House at Knossos (2003) and the article in the conference volume on LM IB published by the Danish Institute at Athens (2011). While systematically working and learning at Mycenae (1976), under the guarding eye of Lisa French, her first major monographic publication (1981) concerned the early Mycenaean wells on the southern slopes of the Acropolis in Athens, excavated by Nicolaos Platon. This important LH IIIA1 settlement material encompassed not only Mycenaean decorated pottery but also the late occurrence of Aeginetan Matt Painted hydriai, as well as the Acropolis Burnished Ware, which she first defined here. From there she moved to Central Greece, a journey that resulted in *Orchomenos V*, also including material from Drachmani, Dramesi, Eutresis, and Scimatari (1983) with a corollary on Early and Middle Helladic Pottery from Boeotia (1980). The following years found her working on Mycenaean pottery from Colin Renfrew's excavations at Phylakopi on Melos (1984; 2007), and William Taylor's at Ayios Stephanos in Laconia (1987; 1988; 2008). The Alexander von Humboldt fellowship at Mannheim and Heidelberg enabled her to complete another major task, a comprehensive overview of Mycenaean pottery (1986), with an apt subtitle: *A Guide to Identification*. This is an agile reference book thought to be easily consulted on the field to recognize Mycenaean pottery, which moves a step forward in respect to the massive, to say the least, Arne Furumark's *opus magnum*. Soon after, further lines of interest emerged: the LH IIIC period in general (1988, with W. Hankey; 2007; 2009) and the transitional LH IIIB/IIIC phase in particular (1995 on Thorikos; 1997 on Pylos; 1999) as well as an accurate definition of the regional Mycenaean fine painted pottery (1990), the latter resulting in a new, majestic work (1999). The RMDP volume, with its 1233 pages, and hundreds of line drawings, painted a new and regionally diverse picture of Mycenaean ceramic landscape.

The year 1993 marks the start of her involvement with Western Anatolia, when Manfred Korfmann invited her to join his international team at the major site of Troy. This collaboration gave rise to a number of important articles, with Penelope working tirelessly almost every summer on the newly excavated pottery at Troy, trying also to make sense of the various and complex local sequences in the individual disconnected trenches (an inherent problem at Troy). The initial lack of broader stratigraphic information for the Korfmann finds, but also a need for better correlation with the already known Blegen material and his detailed phasing, pushed her to work on the material stored at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (1997, 1999, 1999) and on the Schliemann collection in Berlin (2001, with H. Mommsen and D. Hertel; 2008), with the main purpose of shaping a clear and articulated vision of the Trojan finds and their development. Her paper on local production of Mycenaean pottery at Troy (1997) attracted a lot of attention, as did the pictorial krater depicting a lion (1997, revisited in 2005), and was soon followed by the influential article on the East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface (1998), which opened a whole new era in the study of Western Anatolia and is honoured in this volume too.

Penelope's work on Troy, now crowned by a monographic volume in the *Studia Troica Monographien* series (2017), led her to focus also on the Mycenaean material from the excavations of Bademgediği Tepe, directed by Recep Meriç, in the Kaystros valley. The mainly LH IIIC period ceramics from the site was a stimulus to examine the cultural dynamics that had developed in the Interface during the 12th century BC (2015) and its connections with contemporary cultural processes in the Eastern Mediterranean (2009; 2021, with H. Mommsen and P. Pavúk). Most spectacular was possibly the krater depicting two ships with warriors, which contributed to Penelope's interest in pictorial style and ships in particular (2005, 2006, 2007, 2011, 2015). The Aegean style pottery from Bademgediği Tepe has now been fully published in the final publication on the site (2022).

Two further major topics in Penelope's field of action are represented by the frequent resort to Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA), and the study of Mycenaean or Mycenaean-style pottery from the Eastern Mediterranean, one and the other to a large degree interconnected. She precociously understood the tremendous power of chemical analyses, both ICP and NAA, to detect pottery provenance, as the many collaborations indicate, first with Richard Jones (1978) and Matthew Ponting (2000), afterwards especially with Hans Mommsen (2001; 2006; 2010; 2011; 2015; 2018; 2019; 2020; 2021; 2022). Most of the articles co-authored with Mommsen denote Penelope's interest in 'Philistine matters' but they also show an interest in reconstructing local dynamics in the LH IIIC period in Cyprus and the Levant. The research line that possibly started with the study of material from Qantir-Piramesse in Egypt (2001, with H. Mommsen) and from Tarsus (2005; 2011; 2018, with H. Mommsen and A. Özyar) was continued through the enquiry on the dating of the LH IIIC Phases at Enkomi (2007; 2011-2012), and Mycenaean or Mycenaean style-pottery's studies from various sites in Israel, to culminate in her most recent, invaluable monographic work on *Decorated Pottery in Cyprus and Philistia in the 12th Century BC* (2018).

If we wanted to briefly summarize Penelope's major scientific contribution to Aegean archaeology, it would not be bold to state that even without a declared methodological framework she has founded anew the study of Mycenaean painted tableware in the Aegean and beyond, applying a rigorous, only apparently empirical, approach. In her perspective, shapes, types and variants within ceramic assemblages become, almost instinctively, distinguishable units, easily classified according to neat line drawings, clearly datable also on the basis of their context associations, plainly attributable to newly identified regional styles. The enormous ceramic ensemble, whose detailed study we owe to her, has come to form the wide regionally- and chronologically-defined canvas on which a multitude of Aegean scholars, Mountjoy included, have been able to delineate a new, more detailed historical framework for the Greek Late Bronze Age, from LH I to Submycenaean.

Further on, heir to some of the valorous last century archaeologists, who marked the beginning of modern field research in the pre-Classical Mediterranean – such as Hector Catling, Nicolas Coldstream, or Mervin Popham – Penelope places herself within the British tradition whose interest for the Aegean world extends well beyond the boundaries of the *madre patria*. Her admirable analyses to detect the origin of imported Aegean pottery, and to identify its impact on local ceramic traditions, are of outstanding importance to investigate the

final Late Bronze Age societies of the Eastern Mediterranean and can undoubtedly be acknowledged among the greatest contributions to the study of the many entangled cultures rooted in this vast region in the 12th century BC.

Some of the essays collected in this volume pay tribute to Penelope by tackling topics whose first thorough investigation we owe to her. As a whole they act as a significant testimony of her seminal work on the Bronze Age Aegean and surrounding areas.

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PENELOPE A. MOUNTJOY. PUBLICATIONS*

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Estratto

CHAPTER 10

MYCENAEAN POTTERY FROM THE CYPRIOT HINTERLAND:
LUXURIES, COMMODITIES OR ODDITIES?*Louise Steel**Summary*

Mycenaean decorated pottery has been found in significant quantities on Cyprus and was clearly the focus of a sustained trading endeavour between the island and the Aegean, particularly during the 14th and 13th centuries BC (LH IIIA2-LH IIIB). The bulk of these imports have been found at the urban centres that fringe the island's coastline, these being the primary mediators of maritime trade; rather less has been found in the hinterland, at the primary production centres – farming, mining and pottery production – although there are concentrations at some of the specialised religious or ceremonial centres such as Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Athienou. I have previously argued that this apparent disjuncture in the distribution of Mycenaean pottery in part reflects the greater emphasis of excavation at the coastal sites, rather than necessarily a Late Bronze Age reality. Certainly, recent excavations at the inland settlement of Aredhiou have demonstrated that the smaller inland production sites did have sustained access to imported pottery from the Aegean, Egypt and the Levant. This paper reviews the consumption of Mycenaean imported pottery in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, focusing specifically on the hinterland. It provides a comparison between the better-known religious sites of Athienou and Myrtou *Pigadhes* and the small farming community at Aredhiou *Vouppes* to allow for a better understanding of the integration of the imported commodities within ritualised practice in the smaller communities situated away from the hustle bustle of international mercantile trade.

INTRODUCTION

The second millennium BCE in the eastern Mediterranean is characterised by cosmopolitan mercantile trading communities (Kristiansen, Suchowska-Ducke 2015; Millek 2019; Steel 2021a) that exchanged raw materials, in particular metals (Vankilde 2015), alongside prized finished artefacts (textiles, luxury crafted goods, perfumed oils: Sherratt, Sherratt 1992; Feldman 2006) and pottery – both as commodity containers, perhaps for foodstuffs (Ben-Shlomo *et al.* 2011; Day *et al.* 2011; Kardamaki *et al.* 2016; Pratt 2016), as well as decorative objects traded in their own right. Notably, there has been a focus on the circulation of Mycenaean pottery as a key marker of commodity trade. This is found in large quantities throughout the eastern Mediterranean (Hankey 1967; Hankey 1993a; 1993b; Sherratt 1980; 1999; Leonard Jr. 1981; Killebrew 1998, 159-161; Steel 2002, 29-31; 2013, 127-138; van Wijngaarden 2002; Balensi *et al.* 2004; Papadimitriou 2013; 2015; Millek 2019), where it is readily identifiable being technologically and stylistically distinct from locally produced ceramics, and as a corollary it has tended to dominate discussions of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) pottery trade. The distinctiveness of the Mycenaean style might be considered a form of commodity branding, which served to advertise the contents of the closed vessels (Steel 2013, 128; see also Wengrow 2008 on commodity branding in antiquity).

This paper examines Mycenaean decorated pottery from Cyprus, significant quantities of which were imported to the island during the 14th-13th centuries BC (LH IIIA2-B) (Cadogan 1973; 1993; Steel 1996; 2004c; van Wijngaarden 2002; Knapp 2022, 72-75). Indeed, more Mycenaean pottery has been recorded in Cyprus than anywhere else in the eastern Mediterranean; moreover, Hankey (1967, 146) noted that in the Levant it tends to be accompanied by larger quantities of Cypriot pottery, concluding that traders on the island acted as middlemen for the exchange and distribution of Mycenaean pottery in the region, creaming off the better pieces for home consumption and shipping the remainder to the Levant. On Cyprus, it is predominantly found in the coastal urban trading centres, whereas rather less Mycenaean pottery has been identified in the production sites located in the island's hinterland (see discussion in Steel 2004c; see also Graziadio 2017, 158-159); nonetheless, occasional

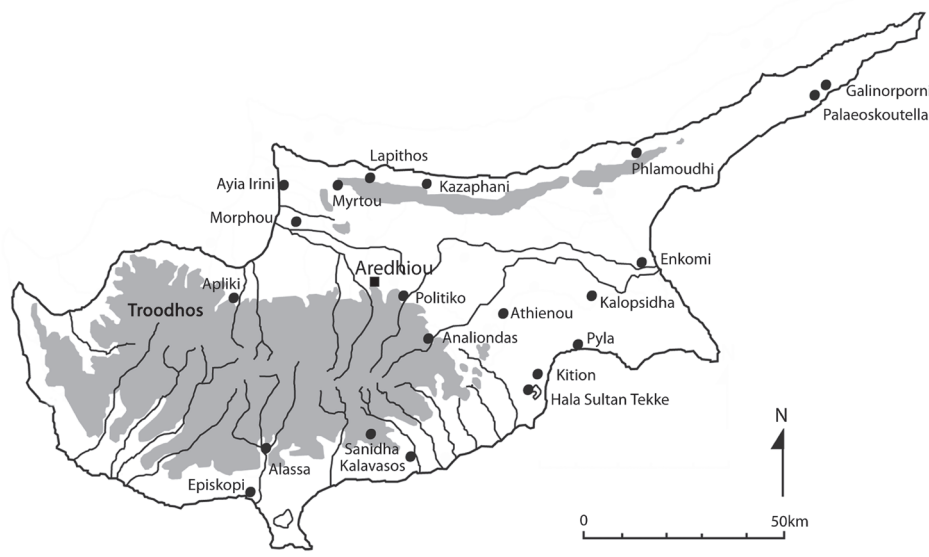


Fig. 1. Map of Cyprus (drawing Louise Steel).

Relative Chronological Period	Approximate Date (Calibrated) BCE
Middle Cypriot (MC) III	1750-1650
Late Cypriot (LC) IA	1650-1550
Late Cypriot (LC) IB	1550-1400
Late Cypriot (LC) IIA-B	1400-1340/1315
Late Cypriot (LC) IIC	1340/1315-1200
Late Cypriot (LC) IIIA	1200-1100
Late Cypriot (LC) IIIB	1100-1050

Table 1. Late Cypriot relative chronology (after Crewe 2007, table 1).

Mycenaean imports did reach some of the specialised religious or ceremonial centres, such as Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*. This paper explores whether the apparent disjuncture in the distribution of Mycenaean pottery is a result of greater emphasis of archaeological activity at the major coastal sites, or in fact reflects a LBA social and economic reality. Certainly, fieldwork at Aredhiou demonstrates that some small inland production sites might indeed have had access to imported pottery, not only from the Aegean, but equally from Egypt and the Levant (Steel, McCartney 2008; Steel 2021a). It also investigates how Mycenaean pottery was consumed in the LBA Cypriot hinterland, in particular how it was incorporated within ritualised praxis at these sites. It seeks to provide a comparison between the consumption of these imports at Aredhiou *Vouppes* with the religious centres at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* and Myrtou *Pigadhes*, drawing attention to diverse patterns of consumption within different communities and cultural contexts. Moreover, it will highlight the importance of a detailed analysis of sherd material for developing a narrative of the integration and consumption of imported wares at these sites, rather than focusing simply on (near-)complete vessels and likewise draws attention to the apparent absence of Mycenaean imports at other inland centres such as Aya Irini. This, it is argued will allow us to better understand the integration of these imported commodities within smaller communities not directly involved in international mercantile trade.

Estatto

BACKGROUND TO LATE BRONZE AGE CYPRUS

During the later second millennium BC Cyprus (Table 1; Fig. 1) was increasingly incorporated within the hustle bustle of international maritime trade and exchange in the eastern Mediterranean, a process which undoubtedly impacted the islanders’ way of life. The transitional Middle-Late Cypriot (MC-LC) period appears to have been unsettled and characterised by a dramatic upheaval to the traditional village-based communities, a significant shift in settlement pattern, the introduction of new technologies and a distinctive new material habitus, most notably in the range of household ceramics. These changes formed the basis of LC society. There is an ongoing debate surrounding the island’s socio-political organisation in the LBA (Peltenburg 1996; 2012; Knapp 2013b; Fisher 2014). It is unclear whether the newly established coastal settlements might be considered to have been urbanised in LC I; nonetheless, by LC IIA an urban lifestyle had been introduced to the island from the Levant, along with monumental architecture, systems of water management, writing and sealing systems, and wheelmade pottery (Crewe 2007; Knapp 2013a, 348). By LC IIB-C the island settlement was characterised by an increasingly diversified and complex settlement hierarchy, discussion of which has focused on its economic organisation. Originally, Catling (1962, 142-143) proposed a tripartite settlement hierarchy, comprising a network of urban centres around coastal plains, smaller farming settlements in the hinterland and mining sites located in the cupriferous hilly flank zones. Keswani (1993, 1996) and Knapp (2003) have both refined this model, suggesting a more complex pattern of settlement use, comprising substantial primary urban centres located in the coastal plain, such as Enkomi and Kalavassos, some of which were dominated by imposing ashlar buildings, and smaller secondary and tertiary centres in the hinterland. These in turn were supported by numerous smaller specialist sites in the hinterland, of which only a handful have been excavated. Some, such as Aredhiou *Vouppes* (Steel 2016a) and Analiondas *Palioklichia* (Webb, Frankel 1994) were associated with arable farming, while others, such as Apliki *Karamallos* (du Plat Taylor 1952; Kling, Muhly 2007) and Politiko *Phoradhes* (Knapp, Kassianidou 2008), have been identified as primary copper production sites. There is also a rare example of a pottery production site at Sanidha *Moutti tou Ayiou Serkou* (Todd, Pilides 2001) in the hilly flanks of the southern Troodhos. Keswani (1993, 78) proposes a staple-wealth finance model, with “a complex web of tributary and exchange relations linking coastal centres, inland centres, mining and agricultural villages.”

Phase	Aegean Chronology	Cypriot Chronology	Distribution of Mycenaean Pottery
Early Phase	LH I-IIA	LC IA-B	Small quantities of Aegean (Minoan and Mycenaean) imports in northwest Cyprus (e.g. Ayia Irini, Morphou)
Middle Phase	LH IIB-III A1	LC IB-IIA	Increase in Mycenaean imports found throughout island
Late Phase	LH IIIA2-IIIB	LC IIB-IIC	Flood of Mycenaean imports found throughout island; first local production in later LC IIC (WPWM III, Pastoral Style)
Final Phase	LH IIIC	LC IIIA-IIIB	Only rare Mycenaean imports; locally made Mycenaean pottery (WPWM III) supersedes and gradually replaces local Cypriot wares

Table 2. Chronological distribution of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus.

Current understanding of the distribution of Mycenaean imports to Cyprus (Cadogan 1973; 1993; van Wijngaarden 2002, 183-202; Steel 2004c) marries seamlessly into this settlement framework, both chronologically (Table 2) and geographically. Only small quantities of Mycenaean pottery are found on Cyprus prior to the 14th century BC, largely from sites around Morphou Bay in the northwest. The main horizon of Mycenaean imports to the island dates to LC IIB-IIC (LH IIIA2-IIIB) and is found primarily in the large towns around the southeastern coastal plain, most notably at Enkomi, but with a clear concentration in the sites around Larnaca Bay (Steel 2004c, 71; see also Mazzotta, Recht 2015). There are of course caveats; we should note that the hinterland is less well known archaeologically than the coastal towns and, moreover, that much of the hinterland evidence derives from survey rather than excavation, potentially skewing the data. Nonetheless, present evidence suggests that Mycenaean

an pottery in the hinterland largely derives from the secondary and tertiary centres, in particular the specialised religious sites at Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Athienou, though not apparently at Ayia Irini, the identification of which as a farming and/or religious settlement we will explore further. Certainly, the absence of imported pottery at Ayia Irini reflects the picture identified at other primary production sites (farming and pottery), such as Analiondas *Palioklichia* and Sanidha (Webb, Frankel 1994; Todd, Pilides 2001). We should note however, the presence of LH IIIB pottery at Apliki *Karamallos* (du Plat Taylor 1952; van Wijngaarden 2002, 169-181, 377-378; Kling 2007, 151-167), identified as a copper production site but which also appears to fit within the category of tertiary distribution centre. Within the staple-wealth finance model, Mycenaean imports in the hinterland have been interpreted – along with other rare prestige goods, such as scarabs, cylinder seals and bronze stands – as markers of wealth and status, the dissemination of which was closely controlled by the mercantile, urban Cypriot elites (Keswani 1993; Manning, de Mita Jr. 1997; Steel 2004c).

HINTERLAND SITES

Before examining how Mycenaean pottery was integrated within social practices in the Cypriot hinterland and comparing its consumption in the agricultural and metallurgical villages with that at the larger religious centres, we should first outline the archaeological evidence for the inland centres included in this analysis. Although the Mycenaean pottery from Apliki is excluded from the contextual analysis (below), as there is no evidence to support ritual practice at the site, it is included here as it provides a useful counterpoint to the other sites and is necessary to fully understand the nature of hinterland settlement. This overview will draw attention to some of the problems with the typologies and models outlined above (see Steel 2009, 134-135; 2016a, 512-513), highlighting how distinctions between the different sites are somewhat fluid and blurred. Particularly noteworthy is the importance of agricultural production and/or storage at every site.

1. Agricultural production: Aredhiou *Vouppes*;
2. Possible religious site with evidence for agricultural production: Ayia Irini;
3. Metallurgical production (and possible agricultural redistribution centre): Apliki *Karamallos*;
4. Religious site with metallurgical and agricultural redistribution facilities: Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*;
5. Religious site (within a larger settlement): Myrtou *Pigadhes*.

Aredhiou Vouppes

Aredhiou (Fig. 2; Steel, McCartney 2008; Steel 2009; 2016) is located at the interface of the northern Troodhos mountains and Mesaoria plain. The site, which dates to LC IIC, has been identified as a farming settlement on the basis of substantial quantities of pithos sherds and ground stone tools, and is believed to have supported copper extraction in the nearby Troodhos foothills. Certainly, it has been suggested that the range of foodstuffs identified at the copper working site of Apliki (see below) could not have been grown locally and needed to be supplied from outside, indicating the existence of agricultural support settlements elsewhere in the hinterland (Keswani 1993, 77), such as Aredhiou. Three buildings have been identified at Aredhiou (Buildings 1, 2 and Room 103) and there was a chamber tomb, associated with robbed-out walls, at the northeastern edge of the site, which contained a LH IIIA2 stirrup jar (Fig. 7). Building 2 comprised two long, open-ended rooms (around 9 m in length) and a smaller room to the south enclosing a well. Immediately to the east of the structure was a large open courtyard area. This building has been identified as a storage facility. Some 25 m to the south, and screened off by a long curtain wall, was Building 1: a substantially constructed L-shaped or courtyard building with two store-rooms to the north and an external rubble bench along the building's western façade, adjacent to the main entrance. Finds from the building included various ground stone tools and a group of Plain ware vessels – a pithos and pairs of basins, jugs and bowls.

To the west of Building 1 was Room 103, a large sunken room, measuring 7.5 x 5 m and entered from the southwest corner. This room had been more-or-less emptied when the site was abandoned, but fragmentary finds hint as to its original contents and moreover distinguish it from the rest of the site in terms of function. These included wall brackets, Base Ring bulls and juglets, a Plain ware horse figurine, a bronze ring and imported pottery – Minoan, Mycenaean and Levantine (Steel 2021b, 110-112, figs. 9.3-4). Although not identified as a sanctuary, Room 103 has been interpreted as a performative esoteric space for rituals, ceremonies and feasting. In many respects it recalls the *Temple aux Rhytons* at Ugarit, which was embedded within a residential quarter, in close proximity to an open area with an olive press (Yon 1996, 412, fig. 2). Like Room 103, the *Temple aux Rhytons* did not conform to the norms of domestic architecture and stood out for its ceramic cult furniture; its architecture – a rectangular room measuring 7 x 6 m furnished with benches, the entrance of which was screened from the road by a bent access through a vestibule and corridor (Yon 1984, 48-50; 1996, 407-412, fig. 2) – recalls the configuration of space at both Aredhiou Room 103 and the cult building at Ayia Irini (below).

Ayia Irini

The site of Ayia Irini (Fig. 3; Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 642-824; Webb 1999, 53-58) is located on a low rock plateau in northwest Cyprus, around 1 km from the coast. The excavators identified six periods of use, of which they assigned Period 1 to LC IIIA; on the basis of the pottery this has now been re-assigned to LC IIC (Webb 1999, 57).

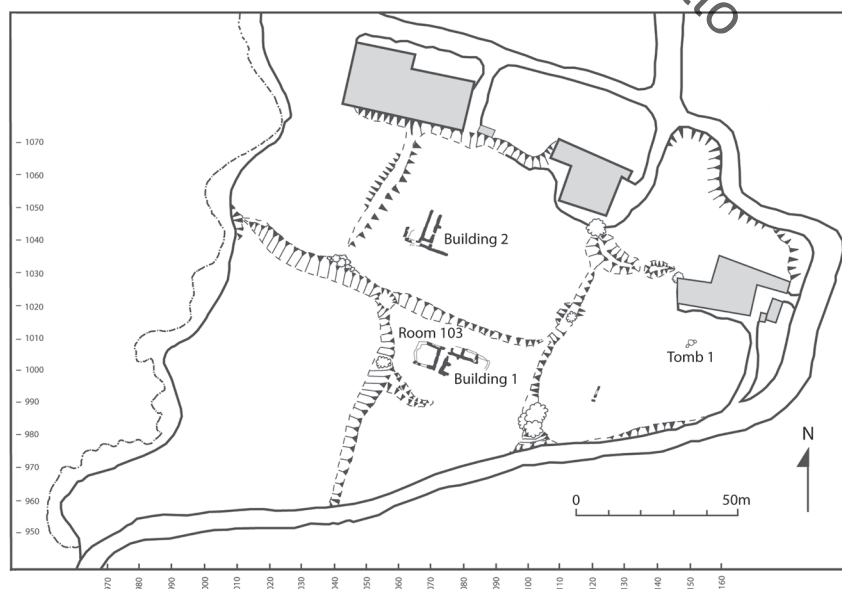


Fig. 2. Plan of Aredhiou *Vouppes* (drawing Louise Steel).

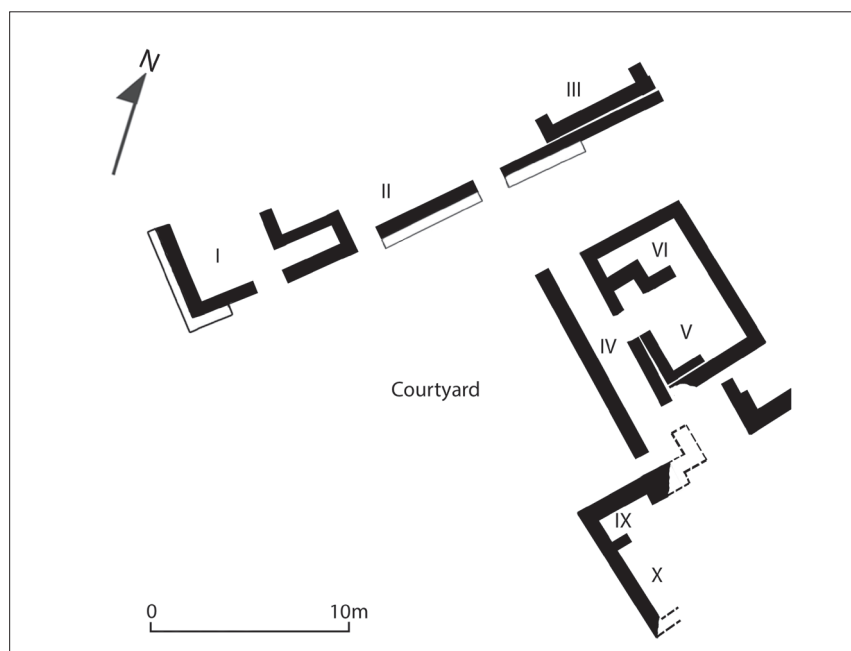


Fig. 3. Plan of Ayia Irini (after Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, fig. 263).

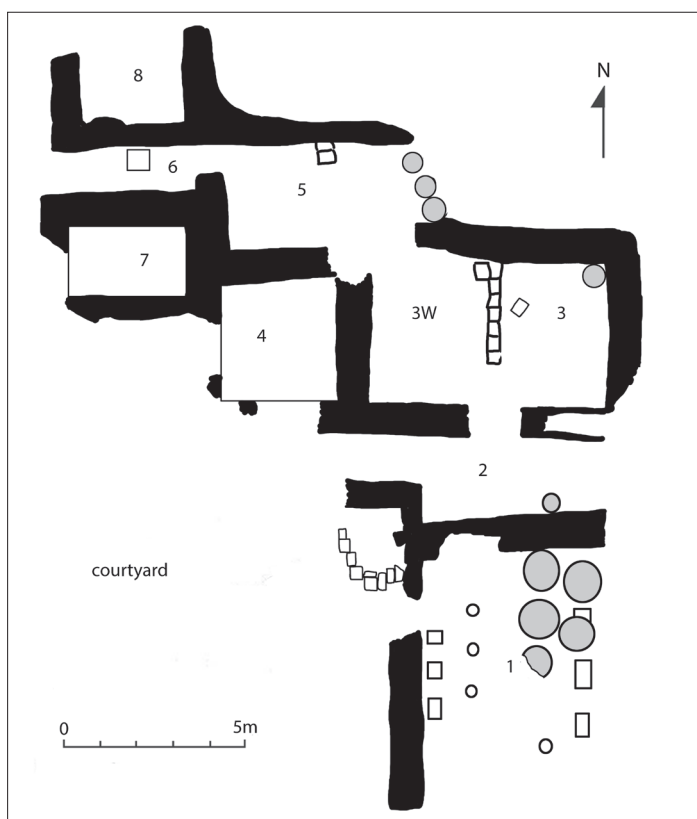


Fig. 4. Plan of Apliki *Karamallos* (after du Plat Taylor 1952, fig. 3).

(Fig. 12), Base Ring juglets, two axe-heads, a stone pestle, a bronze arrowhead, and a group of coloured pebbles. There was also a WPWM III kylix (Fig. 13; Catling 1965, 6-7).

Gjerstad identified Ayia Irini as a religious site with a central cult building and subsidiary rooms for cult storage. While there is clear evidence for an Iron Age sanctuary at Ayia Irini (Papantoniou, Bourogiannis 2018) it is not clear to what extent these later remains informed Gjerstad's interpretation of the LC levels, or whether there had indeed been some memory of earlier religious activity at the site in the Iron Age. I have previously questioned the identification of the LC buildings as a sanctuary (Steel 2004a, 158 n. 39; 2004c, 73) due to the preponderance of ground stone tools and pithoi, alongside the absence of prestige goods which might otherwise be expected in a LC sanctuary. In the light of evidence from Aredhiou – which is more extensively excavated and thus gives us a better understanding of the footprint of an inland settlement – a reassessment of activities at Ayia Irini is now possible. Both sites (and also the *Temple aux Rhytons* at Ugarit) share certain similarities in the configuration of space and in the range of objects recovered, indicating an interesting relationship between utilitarian agricultural production areas and esoteric spaces where ritualised (although not necessarily religious) practices were performed (Steel 2021b). Of particular note is the similar arrangement of benches and altar in both building V-VI at Ayia Irini and the *Temple aux Rhytons*, Ugarit. Rather than one of the island's religious centres, Ayia Irini appears better to fit the category of an agro-industrial production site, but with some provision for gathering and ceremonial performance analogous to that identified at Aredhiou (Steel 2021b).

Apliki Karamallos

The LC IIC-IIIa mining village of Apliki *Karamallos* (Fig. 4; du Plat Taylor 1952, fig. 3; Keswani 1993, 77; Kling, Muhly 2007) is located in the copper producing region of the northern foothills of the Troodhos mountains

The Period 1 settlement was only partially excavated. There was a row of incompletely excavated rectilinear rooms (I-III) to the north of the settlement; rooms I and II opened out onto a large courtyard area to the south and had external rubble benches. A two-roomed building measuring 8 x 5.8 m, the so-called cult-house (V and VI), delimited the eastern side of the excavated area and was separated from the large open courtyard to the southwest by a curtain wall; an entrance led into the larger southern room V. In this room there were benches along the south and west walls and a shallow hearth in the southwest corner. A flat stone slab with a dark glossy surface stood against the north wall. To the south of this building was another rectilinear building (IX-X), only partially uncovered. Webb (1999, 57) suggests that most of these buildings were secular, part of the LC settlement, but accepts the ritual identification of the central unit. Finds from the northern and southern buildings comprised fragmentary pithoi and ground stone tools. In the central unit, however, finds from Room V included a Plain ware offering stand, two Base Ring bulls

on a plateau overlooking the Marathasa river. LBA remains were uncovered in two areas of excavation (sites A and B). The main focus of excavation was site A where a substantial L-shaped structure (House A) was uncovered; this had 8 extant rooms, gypsum floors and walls up to 75 cm thick. There was a large storeroom (Room 1) in the southern part of the building, with six pithoi in situ on limestone blocks, and room for an estimated 15 pithoi in total. Keswani (1993, 77) has estimated the total storage capacity to be around 7,500 litres. There is considerable evidence for primary metallurgical production associated with House A and other finds included a range of Cypriot ceramics, spindle whorls and loomweights, ground stone tools, bronze objects and a steatite stamp seal. There was also a considerable quantity of imported Mycenaean pottery, primarily tableware – various cups, bowls, kraters and jugs – and occasional flask and stirrup jar sherds (van Wijngaarden 2002, 169-181, 377-378; Kling 2007, 151-167, pls. 53-59); the tableware was largely complete or well preserved suggesting it was carefully curated, whereas the perfume containers showed signs of being more regularly used and broken. This building has been identified as an official residence controlling metallurgical production and distributing foodstuffs supplied to Apliki from external farming villages. Soundings at Site B revealed traces of three less substantial houses furnished with ground stone tools, local pottery and some imported Mycenaean pottery, but otherwise devoid of prestige goods.

Athienou Bamboulari tis Koukounninas

The sanctuary at Athienou (Fig. 5; Dothan, Ben Tor 1983; Webb 1999, 21-29) is located on a low hillock in the central Mesaoria plain; although no settlement was identified, there were two nearby cemeteries indicating some habitation in the area. The site was in use throughout the LC period and four occupation phases have been identified: Stratum IV (MC III-LC I), represented by shallow pits, Stratum III (LC I-IIIC), Stratum II (LC IIIA-B) and Stratum I (Iron Age). A courtyard sanctuary was first constructed at the site in LC I (Stratum III): this comprised a large open area, measuring 16 x 20 m and providing a space for open air gathering, and a series of small rooms to the north. An accumulation of large quantities of ceramic (full-size and miniature) vessels, largely Cypriot but also some Mycenaean (Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a; van Wijngaarden 2002, 161-168, 376), was found piled in heaps on the courtyard floor, deposited in pits in the courtyard, as well as in the northwest room. These presumably represent the debris of repeated ritual practices (commensality and libations) over generations of use of the sanctuary and also indicate carefully structured patterns of deposition. Other finds include a miniature conical ivory rhyton (Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, pl. 41), two cylinder seals, a scarab and an Egyptian bronze ring (Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, pl. 38), all of which might be considered prestige goods. In Stratum II the sanctuary was modified with the addition of a group of small rooms and platforms to the east. Finds include Plain ware and WPWM III pottery, identified as Mycenaean IIIC1b by the excavators (Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983b); this phase is characterised by metallurgical activity and large-scale storage, represented by 11 pithoi on the eastern plastered platforms with a capacity of around 5,500-11,000 litres (Keswani 1993, 78).

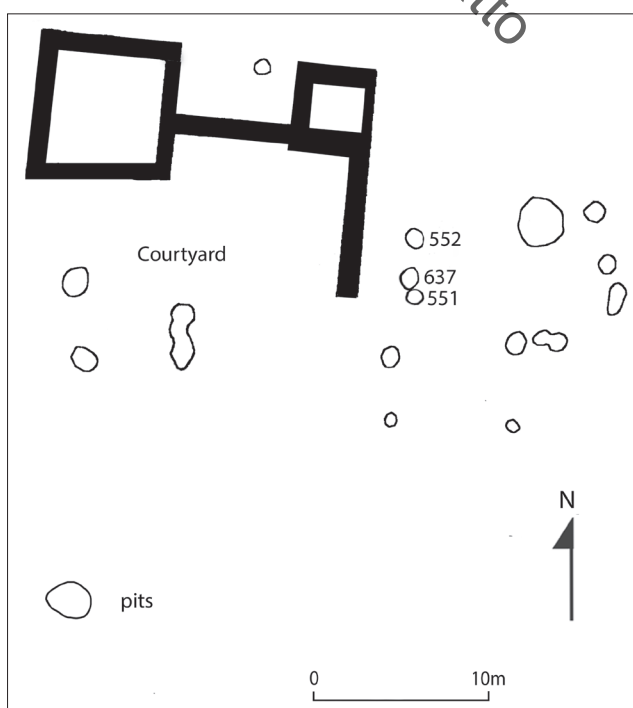


Fig. 5. Plan of Athienou Stratum III showing distribution of Mycenaean pottery (after Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, plan D).

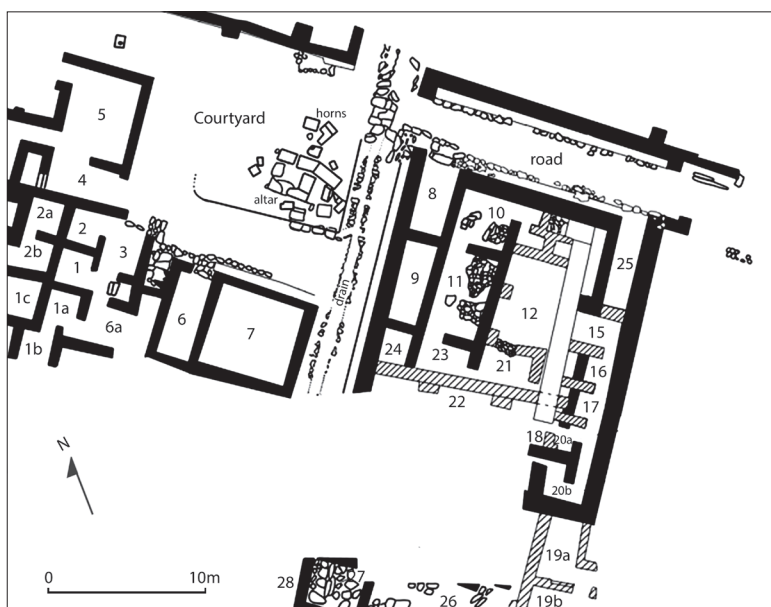


Fig. 6. Plan of Myrtou *Pigadhes* Periods V-VII showing distribution of Mycenaean pottery (after du Plat Taylor 1957, fig. 4).

stands, and a small number of other objects – two mace-heads, several ground stone tools, a bull figurine, a bronze pin and a pair of goat horns. Some Mycenaean sherds and two cups are found in association with rooms CD1-3 (associated with Periods V-VI).

In LC IIC the earlier structure was levelled and a new complex was built (Fig. 6), which remained in use, with a number of architectural modifications, until its destruction in LC IIIA (Period VII). Three main architectural units have been identified: the western unit, which appears to have been the primary location of cult activity, the eastern unit, apparently a series of store rooms for cult equipment, and an agro-industrial installation to the south, identified by Hadjisavvas as an oil press (1988, 112; 1992, 21-23), where a number of stone basins, jars and ground stone tools were found. The eastern unit comprised a freestanding rectangular complex of subsidiary cult rooms built around a courtyard. Finds included bronze tripods, a Mycenaean rhyton and other Mycenaean pottery, local ceramics and plentiful animal bones, including ox scapulae. The western unit was built directly over the earlier structures and comprised a large courtyard (14 x 16.5 m) accessed at the northeast by a wide street and a series of rectangular rooms (1-6a) around the south and west sides of the court. The court was bounded on the east side by the subsidiary cult rooms and there was a long rubble bench along its eastern façade. A monumental ashlar altar, built immediately over the earlier podium (perhaps suggesting some continuity of activity), dominated the courtyard space. There was a large accumulation of animal bones, including antler and goat horns, and Mycenaean pottery around the altar (Steel 2004b, 296-297). Other finds from the western unit include plentiful Cypriot pottery, two terracotta bulls, two bronze daggers, a cylinder seal and several wall brackets.

CONSUMING MYCENAEAN POTTERY

Mycenaean decorated pottery found in the eastern Mediterranean appears to have been circulated in commodity trade. Closed vessels (stirrup jars, flasks, alabastra and piriform jars) predominate and were primarily exchanged for their contents; these have been identified as containers for high-value liquids and viscous unguents (Fig. 7; Leonard Jr. 1981; Leonard Jr., Cline 1998, 16; Bushnell 2012), their distinctive form and decoration, effectively acting as highly recognisable packaging that advertised their contents, which we might identify as a form of commodity branding (Steel 2021a, 88; cf. Wengrow 2008). Large stirrup jars (both Minoan and Mycenaean) document bulk trade of liquid

Myrtou *Pigadhes*

Myrtou *Pigadhes* (du Plat Taylor 1957, fig. 6; Webb 1999, 35-37, 44-53) is located in a small inland plain overlooking the Bay of Morphou; this was part of a larger settlement, the rest of which remains unexcavated. There are two nearby contemporary cemeteries at Myrtos *Stephania* (Hennessy 1964) and Myrtos *Kafkalla*, indicating substantial occupation in the area. Activity has been identified at *Pigadhes* throughout LC II: Periods III-IV (LCIIA-B) and Periods V-VII (LC IIC-III A). In LCIIA-B a small group of rectilinear rooms (CD1-CD5) was built around a rubble podium; these were approached from an open courtyard (CD6) to the west. Associated finds included a range of local wares, including two offering



Fig. 7. Stirrup jar from Aredhiou *Voupes* Tomb 1 (photo Steve Thomas).



Fig. 8. Mycenaean conical rhyton from Myrtou *Pigadhes*, h. to handle 48.0 cm; h. to rim 43.7 cm (after Megaw 1952, fig. 2).

commodities (Ben-Shlomo *et al.* 2011; Day *et al.* 2011; Pratt 2016). These were frequently marked with incised Cypro-Minoan signs, which Hirschfeld (1993) identifies as a Cypriot administrative practice. More recently Ferrara and Bell (2016) have suggested that similar such short inscriptions on miniature copper ingots (comprising two or more signs) might be an indicator of quality and a form of commodity branding. The Mycenaean vessels therefore, might be viewed as alienable objects of economic and “self-contained value, capable of being owned and circulated as property without reference to the social sources of production” (Strathern 1990, 152) and, to paraphrase Appadurai (1986, 13), their socially defining feature was their very exchangeability. The appeal of these Mycenaean containers in the eastern Mediterranean, is illustrated by local production, such as the three-handled jars made on Cyprus from the 14th century BC (Graziadio 2017; 2019) and the Simple Style stirrup jars manufactured in the Levant in the 13th century BC (Killebrew 1998, 161-162, 165-166; Steel 2013, 136-138, fig. 5.4). The tableware (kraters and drinking vessels in various forms) and rare examples of rhyta (Fig. 8) are more difficult to define as commodities; these were traded as objects in their own right and their desirability was embedded within their distinctiveness, associations with exotic cultural practices and connotations of faraway places (cf. Helms 1988). Their limited distribution suggests they were highly valued objects that were (for most inhabitants of the region) difficult to procure and/or own (Simmel 1990), although they might have begun their journey east as commodities – objects manufactured purely for exchange. Their value was socially ascribed, not innate to the vessel itself (cf. Appadurai 1986; Simmel 1990), and this would be negotiated separately in different cultural contexts throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Most notable are the pictorial kraters, in particular those with chariot decoration, which appear to have been targeted at the Cypro-Ugaritic market (Steel 2013). Once embedded within new lifeways in the eastern Mediterranean however, these vessels moved into a new phase of existence (see Appadurai 1986, 16), frequently being transformed from an alienable commodity into a socially desirable object that was embedded in new cultural traditions and forms of material habitus. Some might be used and discarded relatively rapidly, while others might become inalienable as valued heirlooms or coveted items circulating in gift exchanges, perhaps over several generations. These re-imaginings of Mycenaean imports illustrate the “extraordinary capacity [of people] either to consider objects as having attributes which may not appear evident to outsiders or else to ignore attributes which would have appeared to those same outsiders as being inextricably part of that object” (Miller 1987, 109).

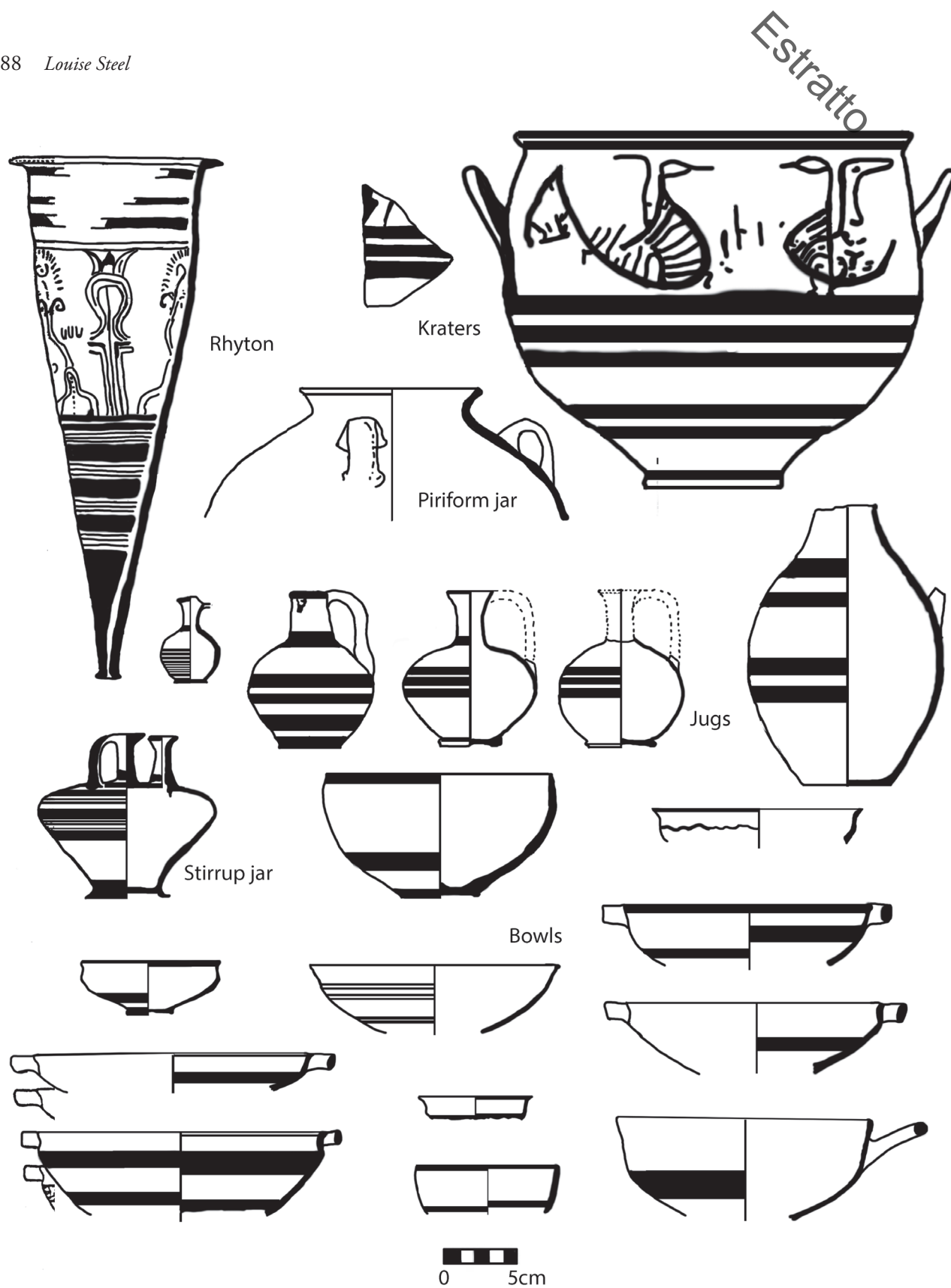


Fig. 9. Mycenaean pottery from Myrtou *Pigadhes* (after Catling 1957a, fig. 20).

Several studies have examined how Mycenaean pottery was assimilated within local patterns of consumption in the eastern Mediterranean, applying various levels of contextual analysis and examining the association of specific Mycenaean shapes with other objects (Leonard Jr., Cline 1998; Steel 1998; 2002, Stockhammer 2012a; 2012b; van Wijngaarden 1999; 2002; 2012; see also Bürge 2017; 2021). Leonard and Cline's study illustrates the elite consumption of Mycenaean drinking wares at Megiddo, while perfume containers were more widely available and typically used in funerary contexts. Intriguingly, in contrast to the use of these imports in Cyprus (see discussion below) and at Hazor (Zuckerman 2007), at Megiddo it did not appear to have any religious function (Leonard Jr., Cline 1998, 16). Steel focuses on the social impact of Mycenaean pottery at 'Ajjul and draws attention to significant differences in patterns of consumption between funerary and domestic contexts at the site. Bürge's recent study of excavated pits and wells from Hala Sultan Tekke (2017; 2021) has demonstrated how Mycenaean juglets and flasks were embedded within ceremonial performance associated with funerary rituals, namely the collective consumption of liquids. Van Wijngaarden focuses on how social worlds are affected by the movement of objects into new cultural situations, noting how "[f]oreign and exotic objects are particularly able to upset existing material relations and create new ones" (2012, 61), while Stockhammer draws particular attention to the adoption of social practices alongside material exchanges, an approach that is further developed here in the Cypriot context.

These studies reiterate the value of Mycenaean pottery once it became embedded in Cypro-Levantine life-ways; there was clearly some control over the distribution of this ware, with its connotations of exotic, distant practices (see Helms 1988). Here it is argued that a detailed analysis of context and varying distribution patterns of the myriad Mycenaean vessel types, should reveal differing patterns of curation, consumption and discard, thus revealing how these objects were embedded within meaningfully constituted assemblages and were variously appropriated within local praxis in the Cypriot hinterland (see also Stockhammer 2012a, 2012b). "What is significant about the adoption of alien objects – as of alien ideas – is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way that they are *culturally redefined and put to use*" (Kopytoff 1986, 67 my emphasis). It highlights how these imports were effectively domesticated in the Cypriot context to reflect local practices and material values and in particular how they were integrated within ritualised practices in the hinterland.

Context	Vessel	Publication	Associations
<i>Myrtou Pigadhes</i>			
Court, Stratum VI	Stirrup jar, FS182	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/193	Bull statuette (fragments), faience bowl fragments, 17 wall brackets (?), saddle querns, monochrome jug, Plain ware krater, pithoi, deer antler, goat horns
	Deep bowl, incomplete FS 284-5	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/203	
	Shallow bowl, FS296	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/211	
	Deep bowl	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/214	
	Bowl	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/216	
	j) sherd from open vessel	Catling 1957a, 46	
Court, drain, Stratum VI	Kylix, FS256-9	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/200	Plain ware krater
	Various sherds: c) 8 sherds (FS 281?), e) 3 sherds (stirrup jar), h) piriform or stirrup jar, i) closed vessel, k) krater (FS 281?)	Catling 1957a, 45-6	
Court, Stratum VII	Piriform jar?	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/209	Bronze bull figurine, 6 wall brackets (?), Base Ring cup and jug, Canaanite jar, pithoi
	Sherds: b) deep bowl (FS284-5), m) deep bowl handle (FS284-5)	Catling 1957a, 46	
Court, ash pit, Stratum VII	Sherd: n) deep bowl (FS284-5)	Catling 1957a, 46	
Court, Stratum VIII	Cup/bowl	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/206	
	Shallow bowl (FS296)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/217	
Road, Stratum VI	Cup (FS220)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/207	Broken cylinder seal, Cypriot pottery various wares
Room 1a, Stratum VI	Piriform jar (FS45)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/192	Saddle querns, Plain ware bowl
	Deep bowl (FS284/5) - WPWM III?	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/202	

Room 1a, Stratum VII	Sherd: l) unidentified closed vessel	Catling 1957a, 46	Bull statuette (fragments)
Room 6, pit, Stratum VI	Shallow bowl (FS296) Small cup (FS220?)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/210 Catling 1957a, fig. 20/215	Monochrome jar, pithos, Plain ware jugs
Room 6, pit, Stratum VII	Shallow bowl (FS296)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/213	
Room 7, Stratum VI	Small cup (FS220?)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/201	Cylinder seal, Base Ring, Plain ware bowl
Room 7, Stratum VII	Shallow bowl (FS296)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/204	Bronze adze, cooking ware, Plain ware bowls
Room 12, Stratum VI	Amphoroid krater (FS53-55)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/188	Cooking ware, Base Ring cups, Plain ware bowls
Room 15, Stratum VI	Conical rhyton (FS199)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/188	3 bronze rings stands and 3 bronze tripod stands, spindle whorls, 2 White Slip kraters, Plain ware offering stand
Room 16, Stratum VI	Globular jug FS 114 Globular jug FS 114	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/194 Catling 1957a, fig. 20/195	Limestone offering stand, Plain ware offering stands, Plain ware jug and cylindrical jars, Base Ring cups, animal bones
Room 17, Stratum VI	Jug - WPWM III?	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/198	Pithos, Plain ware offering stands, Plain ware bowl, White Slip bowl, animal bones
Room 17, Stratum VI-VII	Shallow bowl (FS296)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/212	Bronze knife, animal bones
Room 18, Stratum VI	Jug	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/199	
Room 20, Stratum VI	Juglet with cutaway spout (FS134)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/197	Plain ware offering stands, Base Ring cups, pithoi
Room 23, Stratum VI-VII	Bell krater (FS282)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/191	
Room 26, Stratum VI	Amphoroid krater (FS53-55) Amphoroid krater (FS53-55)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/189 Catling 1957a, fig. 20/190	
CD1, Stratum V	Sherd: a) cup (FS220),	Catling 1957a, 45-6	Plain ware bowl
CD1, Stratum VI	Cup (FS220) Sherds: d) piriform jar? f) amphoroid krater (FS53-55)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/208 Catling 1957a, 45-6	
CD2, Stratum V	Cup Sherd: g) piriform jar (in floor)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/205 Catling 1957a, 46	
CD3, Stratum VI	Globular jug (FS114) (in floor)	Catling 1957a, fig. 20/196	Cooking and Plain ware
Athienou			
Pit 551	Shallow bowl (LH IIIB) FS292 Shallow bowl (LH IIIB) FS292 Globular jug (LH IIIB) FS114 Fragments of large transport stirrup jar (LH IIIB): FS164 Pieces also found in pit 552 (no. 3042/1) Incomplete pictorial cylindrical jug FS139 Fragments of bell krater (WPWM III?) FS282 Pieces also found in pit 637 (nos. 2130, 2185)	 Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 13.3, no. 2135 Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 14.8, no. 3078 Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 13.4, no. 2134 Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 14.14, no. 2151 Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 13.1, nos. 3130, 2130, 2185	Loomweights, local ceramics, miniature juglets
Pit 552	Fragments of large transport stirrup jar; Minoan Pieces also found in pit 637 (no. 3112) and pit 543 (no. 2180) Fragments of large transport stirrup jar; Minoan Pieces also found in pit 637 (no. 3112) Fragments of large transport stirrup jar FS164 Pieces also found in pit 551 (no. 2134)	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 15.1, nos. 2156, 3112, 2180 Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 15.2, nos. 2156, 3112 Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 13.4, no. 3042/1	Miniature ivory conical rhyton with incised decoration, wall bracket, Cypriot pottery

Pit 637	Fragments of cylindrical pictorial jug (fragments also found in pit 551 (no. 2151)	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 13.4	Stone weights, wall bracket, Cypriot pottery, terracotta "snake house"
	Fragments of large transport stirrup jar (LH IIIB)	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 15.1, nos. 2156, 3112, 2180	
	Pieces also found in pit 552 (no. 3112) and pit 543 (no. 2180)		
	Fragments of large transport stirrup jar FS164	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 15.2, nos. 2156, 3112	
	Pieces also found in pit 552 (no. 3112)		
	Fragments of bell krater (WPWM III?) FS282	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 13.1, nos. 3130, 2130, 2185	
	Pieces also found in pit 551 (no. 3130)		
	Pieces of shallow cup (WPWM III) FS220	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 12.3, nos. 3111, 3131, 3120	
Courtyard pit complex: 503 Upper fill	Shoulder fragments of closed vessel	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 14.13, pl. 16.2, nos. 3131, 3120	
Courtyard pit complex: 503 Upper fill	Miniature jug (LH IIIB) FS114	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983, fig. 14.1, no. 976	Cypriot pottery, stone beads, spindle whorls
	Miniature jug (LH IIIB) FS114	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983, fig. 14.2, no. 992	
Courtyard pit complex: 531 Lower fill	Miniature jug (LH IIIB) handmade FS114	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983, fig. 14.3, no. 319	Cypriot pottery, spindle whorls
Courtyard pit complex: 563 Lower fill (probably same pit as 531)	Miniature jug (LH IIIB) handmade FS114	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983, fig. 14.4, no. 1367	A large number of votive juglets in various wares, faience bead, metal scrap
	Miniature jug (LH IIIB handmade FS114	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983, fig. 14.5, no. 1530/10	
	Miniature jug (LH IIIB) handmade FS114	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983, fig. 14.6, no. 1790	
Pit 620 (Stratum II: cut through heap of votives on courtyard floor)	Shallow cup FS220	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 12.1, no. 3039/2	
	Shallow cup FS220	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 12.2, no. 3039/1	
Votive heap 527 (in courtyard)	Stemmed bowl (incomplete) FS305?	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 14.9, no. 826	Large number of votive Cypriot pottery, especially White Shaved juglets
Locus 657 (plaster floor in northern rooms)	Shoulder fragment of closed vessel (piriform jar?)	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 14.12, no. 7256/18	Votive juglets
Locus 511 (+ 541, 517)	Beaked jug (incomplete) FS145	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 14.10, no. 283	Large number of votive Cypriot pottery, stone weight
Locus 617	Shoulder fragment of closed vessel (piriform jar?)	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 14.11, no. 7156/4	Spindle whorl and White Painted V sherd
Locus 655	WPWM III? Globular jug FS114	Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, fig. 14.7, no. 5109/1	Base Ring cup and votive juglets, carnelian bead, spindle whorl, stone weight
Ayia Irini			
Room V	WPWM III kylix	MM Acc 0715, Cataloging 1965, 6-7; https://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/3206389	Base Ring bulls, Base Ring juglets, Plain ware offering stand, pithos fragment,

?	Amphoroid krater fragment (FS53-5)	Sherd box 555, https://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/4020922
	Piriform jar fragment (FS48?)	Sherd box 568 https://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/4037879

Table 3. Contextual analysis of Mycenaean pottery from the hinterland.

CONSUMPTION IN THE CYPRIOT HINTERLAND

Religious consumption: Myrtou Pigadhes and Athienou

Small quantities of Mycenaean pottery were found at the two securely identified inland sanctuaries (above): Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Athienou. At *Pigadhes* there was great variety in form, in particular drinking sets comprising kraters and a variety of bowls, cups and jugs (Fig. 9; Table 3; Catling 1957a; Steel 2004c, 76). Piriform and stirrup jars are also represented and there is a single conical rhyton. Much of the pottery is complete or largely restorable – notably the rhyton, several of the jugs, one stirrup jar, the bell kraters and the bowls – suggesting these vessels were carefully curated; some forms, however, are only represented by sherd material – for example the amphoroid kraters and piriform jars – suggesting these were regularly handled and used and thus more liable to be broken. Some sherds were found scattered in the drain running through the court and in the road to the northeast of the site.

The distribution of the Mycenaean pottery is informative for our understanding of how it was embedded in ritual action at *Pigadhes*. For the most part it was found in the area of the court and in the rooms to the south and west, comprising a variety of cups, kylikes and bowls, with occasional sherds from piriform and stirrup jars. These were found with a fragmentary bull statuette, large numbers of wall brackets, a Monochrome jug, a Plain ware krater and quantities of deer antler and goat horns. The courtyard was probably a place where worshippers gathered to view and participate in ceremonies performed around the ashlar-built altar and commensality, with an apparent emphasis on Mycenaean drinking vessels, appears to have been a key element of ritual observance (see Steel 2004b, 296-297). The stirrup jars (mostly fragmentary) and piriform jars are usually accepted as perfume containers (Bushnell 2012), which might indicate that the bodies of some participants were anointed in the rituals performed in the court.

More Mycenaean pottery was found in the eastern unit and comprise shapes largely associated with presenting and serving liquids: fragments of an amphoroid krater in the central court (Room 12), a variety of jugs and juglets in rooms 16-18, one bell krater in room 23 and two amphoroid kraters in room 26. It is tempting to think about more secluded consumption on the part of the cult officials in the courtyard area of the eastern unit, but most probably the objects found in this building were being carefully stored and would be taken out for ceremonies in the western court. The complete conical rhyton (Catling 1957a, 42, fig. 20/187; Koehl 2006, 159, cat. no. 607, 349) was found in Room 15, together with three bronze tripod stands and three bronze ring stands (Catling 1957b, 88-90, fig. 34) as well as two White Slip kraters and a Plain ware offering stand; this suggests the rhyton was highly valued, particularly as an example of a vase type rarely imported to the island, and was incorporated within very specific libation ceremonies presumably being handled by the main officiants of cult. A second conical rhyton was found near the sanctuary (Megaw 1952, 114, fig. 2; Koehl 2006, 171, cat. no. 697, table 26) as was a fragmentary animal rhyton (Koehl 2006, 81, cat. no. 61).

Only a small number of Mycenaean vessels have been identified at Athienou (Fig. 10; Table 3; Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, figs. 12-14), all associated with the storage, serving and consumption of liquids. These comprise a transport stirrup jar with incised handle (Masson 1983, 123, fig. 55.7-8), several jugs – six miniature and one full-sized globular jug, a fragment of a beaked jug, a pictorial cylindrical jug – three shallow cups, two shallow bowls and

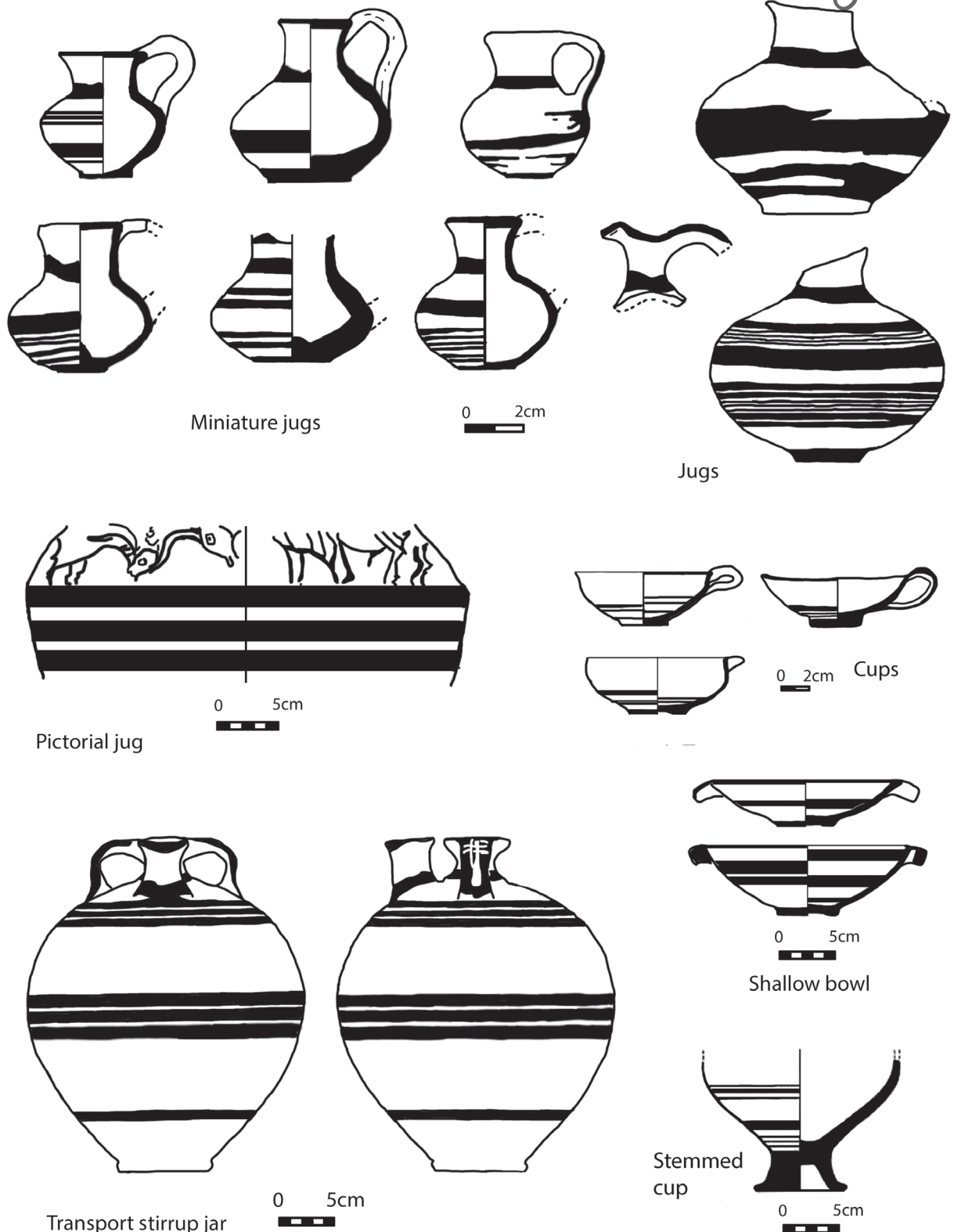


Fig. 10. Mycenaean pottery from Athienou (after Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, figs. 12-14)

one stemmed bowl (van Wijngarden 2002, 376, Catalogue VI.18). There were also a few fragments from unidentified closed vessels, possibly piriform jars. In addition, there were a few local imitations in the WPWM III ware – a bell krater, a globular jug, one shallow cup – and two Minoan transport stirrup jars, one with an incised handle (Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a, 57, fig. 15.2; Masson 1983, 123, fig. 55.6). A small number of surface finds have also been identified at Athienou, which add significantly to the range of vessels used at the site: these include a straight-sided alabastron (FS 94), a stirrup jar of undetermined type and a one-handled kylix (FS 267) (Åström 1972, 325, 348, 366).

The Mycenaean vessels from Athienou were largely found in pits in the area of the courtyard, sometimes in a fragmentary state and with pieces distributed between several pits; these were associated with large quantities of votive ceramics in local wares and small quantities of prestige goods. We might conclude that these vessels were embedded in ritual performance at the sanctuary; the size of the courtyard (*supra*) and the sheer numbers of votive vessels (Dothan, Misch-Brandl 1983a) indicate the gathering of a large number of participants in the rituals performed at the site. These vessels appear to have been used within embodied praxis in the area of the courtyard at the site, presumably for the dispensing of valued imported liquids from the stirrup jars into smaller pouring vessels, which were then probably poured into drinking vessels to be consumed. There was a marked preference for Cypriot cups and bowls (especially Base Ring cups) for ingesting liquids, a pattern that is replicated at other sanctuaries (see Steel 2004b, 293-296), while the very small number of Mycenaean cups and bowls reflects their limited adoption within Cypriot commensal practices across the island. It is also interesting to note that only a single krater for mixing wine was identified – a local copy rather than a Mycenaean import – despite the widespread impact of this form on local drinking practices across the island (Steel 1998). Liquids might also be poured as libations and Cypriot wares were more usually chosen for this practice – most notably the White Shaved dipper juglet. In contrast to *Pigadhes* (*supra*), no ceramic rhyta have been identified, but there is a Cypro-Levantine miniature conical rhyton, apparently found with an ivory plug (Dothan, Ben-Tor 1983, 123-125, fig. 56; Koehl 2006, 245, cat. no. C9). Koehl (2006, 67) suggests that the small holes around its rim originally held a metal band in place, suggesting this to be a more luxurious item. The rarity of rhyta at both Athienou and Myrtou *Pigadhes* reflects common Cypriot usage: Mycenaean conical and animal head rhyta were more typically deposited in high status tombs rather than being used in sanctuary deposits (Steel 2004c, 74). Koehl's detailed study of Aegean Bronze Age rhyta enhances our understanding of how the conical rhyta might have been embedded within ritual praxis at both Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Athienou. He suggests (2006, 270-271) that these vessels functioned as strainers used to channel liquids into pouring vessels at the same time straining and purifying them. Koehl also notes the frequent association of rhyta with cups, ladles (and at Athienou we might add dipper jugs), which we might envisage being used to transfer liquids from containers into the rhyta and from there to a variety of pouring vessels. At both sanctuaries therefore, we can see the adoption of Aegean practices of liquid consumption being assimilated into local religious performance. Intriguingly, given the predominance of Mycenaean unguent containers in LC funerary practices (Steel 1998), it appears that the bodies of the participants at Athienou were not anointed using Mycenaean perfumes – instead there was a preference for precious substances contained in Base Ring juglets.

A key characteristic of the ceramic votives from Athienou, including six of the Mycenaean jugs and the ivory rhyton, is miniaturisation. Examples of miniature vessels in religious contexts abound in the ancient Mediterranean – see for example Knappett's (2012) discussion of Minoan miniature pottery – and are frequently interpreted as votive offerings. Foxhall (2015) draws our attention to how this diminution in scale serves to make the ordinary object extraordinary and moreover necessitates a different embodied engagement with the material world. Furthermore, Bailey (2014, 30) notes how people's observation of the visual illusion of the miniature affects their perception of time, which he suggests gives access to alternative realities, and thus might plausibly affect the observer-participant in a liminal ritual context. In the case of pottery, the change in scale inevitably modifies a vessel's functionality (Knappett 2012, 99; Foxhall 2015, 2-3), both in terms of what it might hold and more evidently in how it will be handled. The miniature Mycenaean jugs found at Athienou still functioned as pouring vessels for liquids, but in smaller quantities and plausibly holding different substances from that of their larger counterparts; likewise, their miniaturisation would affect how these liquids might be dispensed and consumed.

The range of Mycenaean imports from Athienou contrasts dramatically with that identified at *Pigadhes*, illustrating very different forms of ritual action and the consumption of the exotic at the two sanctuaries. Although the quantities of Mycenaean pottery are relatively small at both sites, there was greater access to this ware at *Pigadhes*, including the more illustrious forms more typically found in high status burials – kraters and the rhyton – and it was embedded within a range of ritual practices at the site. Moreover, there appear to have been very different attitudes to imports at the two sites: while it was carefully curated at *Pigadhes*, at Athienou it was used, frequently broken and disposed of alongside local wares. There was a significant contrast in terms of display and consumption of liquids at both sites. At *Pigadhes* the ceremonies appear to have been more theatrically performative, no doubt centred around the ashlar altar, whereas from the range of pottery recovered at Athienou we might expect more communal interaction between practitioners of cult and other participants. The centrepiece of these activities at *Pigadhes* was undoubtedly the conical rhyton, which might have been displayed and handled in libation ceremonies in the area of the court. Certainly, when not in use this vessel was carefully stored in Room 15 along with other important religious paraphernalia, namely the six bronze stands, reiterating its intrinsic value as an item of cult equipment. At *Pigadhes* the Mycenaean krater was used to serve liquids, which were consumed from a variety of full-sized bowls, both local wares and in particular Base Ring cups, and a variety of imported Cypriot cups, kylikes and bowls. This reflected elite dining practices elsewhere on the island, in particular in funerary contexts (Steel 1998; 2004b; see also Bürge 2017; 2021). At Athienou however, an important element of the religious spectacle was the consumption of small quantities of liquids apparently by large numbers of participants; these substances were either ingested or were poured as libations from a range of miniature vessels and after the event the pottery might be deliberately broken and was disposed of in pits. There is evidence therefore for the reinvention of Mycenaean pottery at both *Pigadhes* and Athienou within the incorporated practices enacted in the sanctuaries; at Athienou however, it had only a limited impact on these performances, whereas it seems to have been more fully embedded within ritual at *Pigadhes*, where it appears to have been valued as an exotic luxury.

Consuming the exotic at Aredhiou and Ayia Irini

In contrast to the sanctuaries discussed above, at Aredhiou the only intact floor deposits were in Building 1, where a group of Plain ware vessels and stone tools were recovered in situ from the northern rooms. Elsewhere throughout the site it appears that the buildings had been carefully emptied when Aredhiou was abandoned and analysis of activity areas is dependent on an understanding of how the sherd assemblages resulted from different taphonomic processes. Nonetheless, Aredhiou stands out for the degree of resolution with which the pottery from all contexts was recorded, taking into consideration not only ware, form and component of vessels but equally the degree of post-depositional wear; moreover, the pottery analysis distinguishes between imported Aegean wares and local WPWM III imitations. This detailed record allows us to make some sense of social praxis and how Mycenaean pottery was embedded at the site.

The Mycenaean imports (Fig. 11; Table 4) comprise sherds from various settlement deposits, typically found in a very fragmented and worn state: some 284 sherds have been identified as Mycenaean (Table 4), representing only a tiny proportion of the pottery recovered and indicating that this was relatively rare at Aredhiou. For the most part it has not been possible to identify specific forms, but the sherds largely derive from closed vessels. Where shapes can be identified, these are usually kraters or shallow bowls, with a small number of stirrup jars and some possible jugs. WPWM III was carefully distinguished from the imported Mycenaean pottery and 135 sherds were identified. As with the Mycenaean sherds, the form is not always clear, but there was a clear preference for shallow bowls and kraters; a couple of deep bowls were also identified. These sherds represent debris from continued use, belonging to vessels that were repeatedly used, handled and broken in daily practice, albeit in small quantities. For the most part, the Mycenaean sherds were not in situ, associated with their primary place of use: many were found in the soil overlying the site or in the upper fill and some were mixed in with rubble tumble from walls. These were very worn and had clearly been moved around considerably, for example in more recent ploughing activity. What they do tell us is that Mycenaean imports were available to (some of?) the community at Aredhiou, in particular vessels for serving and consuming liquids, but also unguent containers. Transport vessels also reached the inland com-

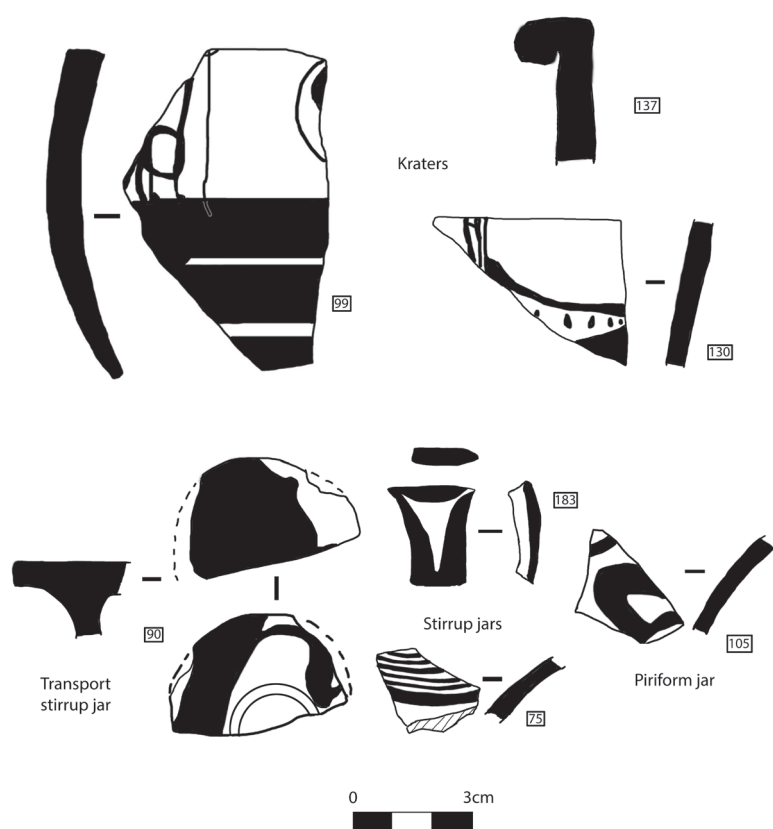


Fig. 11. Mycenaean sherds from Aredhiou (drawing Louise Steel).

munity, including part of an inscribed Minoan stirrup jar (Steel 2021a, 89-90, fig. 4.4/2), several fragments of Canaanite jars and occasional Egyptian amphorae (Steel 2021a, 90-93, fig. 4.5), but no Mycenaean stirrup jars. Intriguingly, there does not appear to be the same degree of care with the tableware as is evident at Apliki, where the tableware appears to have been carefully curated (see above). Plausibly, some valued objects might well have been removed when the last inhabitants left the site, but this is of course conjecture. In fact, only one complete Mycenaean vessel has been found at Aredhiou; a stirrup jar from Tomb 1 (Fig. 7). This reflects common usage of Mycenaean pottery at other LC sites, where stirrup jars and other perfume containers were frequently placed in LC tomb groups. These do not appear to be an indicator of wealth and status, at least in the urban context, although Keswani's (1993)

wealth-staple finance model would suggest that in the rural hinterland such pieces might be more difficult to procure and thus imbued with greater value (cf. Simmel 1990).

There is evidence that Mycenaean pottery was incorporated in ritual practice within the settlement at Aredhiou reiterating its value at the site. Around 13% of the Mycenaean sherds were associated with Room 103, comprising bowls and a possible pictorial krater (Steel 2009, 139, fig. 5.1) – and a number of other sherds were found in the deposits sealing this structure. The sherds from Room 103 were securely sealed and appear to be the fragmentary remnants of what had originally been a meaningfully constituted assemblage associated with communal consumption. Related finds included pieces from a Minoan vessel (Steel 2009, 139, fig. 5.2), two Levantine platter bowls (Steel 2021a, 90-91, fig. 4.5/1-2), Base Ring juglets and bull vases, a White Shaved dipper juglet and a Red Lustrous flask and wall brackets, including a complete scoop (Steel 2016a, 526-527, fig. 12). The juglets might have contained substances used to anoint the body and it is interesting to note that as at Athienou the preference was for a local rather than imported product. The repeated combination of wall brackets and kraters identified in Room 103 has parallels in other ritual contexts throughout the eastern Mediterranean (Stockhammer 2012b, 22), most notably the *Temple aux Rhytons* at Ugarit, which has been identified as a place for the performance of popular, community cult (Lewis 2008, 79) or as a meeting place for the *marzihu* (Yon 1996, 416). Finds included 11 conical rhyta, five kraters, two stirrup jars, an alabastron and a globular jug, along with an offering stand and numerous pieces of Cypriot and local pottery (Yon 1996, 415, 422, fig. 4b; van Wijngaarden 2002, 60-62). Certainly, the urban inhabitants at Ugarit had easy access to the more luxurious Mycenaean imports, which were fully embedded in their practices, but the overall character of the ceramic cult equipment from the *Temple aux Rhytons* resembles the more modest assemblage from Aredhiou Room 103.

Grid Reference	Context Number and Description	Mycenaean Pottery	Associated Finds and Pottery
<i>Tomb 1 (and associated structures)</i>			
1147/1006	83: Tomb 1, burial level	AV06-01-06; Mycenaean stirrup Jar (FS171; FM19) Complete, restored	Black Slip jug (AV06-01-05); copper (alloy) spear (AV06-08-02)
	90: Tomb 1, dromos fill	Sherd: stirrup jar false disc	Disturbed deposit. Seven Iron Age sherds; LBA sherds: Red Lustrous (spindle bottle); Plain ware, pithos; Red Slip handmade; MBA Red Polished;
1146/1005.8	179: fill south of possible wall adjacent to Tomb 1	Two body sherds and base of shallow bowl	One Iron Age Plain ware sherd. Plain ware, pithos, Cooking ware, White Slip, Black and Red Slip, Base Ring, Monochrome, WPWM III, White Shaved ware
<i>Building 1</i>			
1069/998	75: Area 75: work surface	Four body sherds (?) and one stirrup jar body fragment	Slag; incomplete Plain ware jug (AV13-01-09); copper (alloy) spiral ring (AV06-08-02) Cooking ware, Plain ware, pithos, White Slip II bowls, Monochrome, Base Ring II
	116: Area south of Building 1 (possibly courtyard ?)	One body sherd	Three Iron Age sherds (Plain ware); LBA: Plain ware, pithos, cooking ware, WPWM III, White Slip, Canaanite jar, Red and Black Slip
1073.5/1000	36: North wall	Two sherds: amphoroid krater rim; and one body sherd (?)	Multiple worn and abraded sherds: White Slip, Monochrome, Plain ware, pithos, WPWM III, Canaanite jar, cooking ware
	49: Fill above west wall of Building 1	Three sherds: Mycenaean jug, stirrup jar and amphoroid krater	Multiple sherds: Plain ware jugs, pithos, White Slip bowls, cooking ware and Canaanite jar
	21: Building 1, room north of 57	One body sherd	Monochrome, pithos, Plain ware, cooking ware, WPWM III, Canaanite jar, 1 White Shaved sherd
1083/1000	184: Building 1, deposit sealing room 225	One body sherd	Plain ware, pithos, cooking ware, Black and Red Slip, White Slip, Base Ring, Monochrome, one Minoan sherd
	180: east wall of room 161	One body sherd	Plain ware, White Slip, pithos
<i>Room 103</i>			
1069/998 1066.8/1001	103: Floor deposit	Ten sherds (good condition): five shallow bowl rims, five body sherds	Copper (alloy) ring (AV08-08-01), Base Ring bull fragment, inscribed Canaanite jar handle (AV06-01-03) Sherds: Levantine platter bowl (AV06-01-08), two lamp fragments, cooking ware, Plain ware, pithos, Base Ring juglets, White Slip bowls, Monochrome, WPWM III, Red Lustrous flask, White Slip dipper
	93 (=183): Fill sealing floor deposit	25 sherds (good condition): three amphoroid krater, three shallow bowl rims, four stirrup / piriform jar handles, fifteen body sherds	Wall bracket fragment (AV06-01-02) and scoop (AV08-02-07) LBA sherds (largely worn and accreted): Plain ware, pithos, Monochrome, cooking ware, Base Ring, WPWM III, Canaanite jar, White Slip; Black and Red Slip, Minoan, White Shaved; MBA Red Polished
	97 (=159): Upper deposit sealing Room 103	Five worn sherds: one jug handle and two body sherds	Pithos, Plain ware, cooking ware, WPWM III, Canaanite jar, White Slip hemispherical bowls, Base Ring, Monochrome, Black and Red Slip, White Shaved ware, Minoan; MBA Red Polished (largely worn and accreted)
1066.3/1001	224: Rubble tumble of north and west walls of Room 103	Four sherds (including one from small jar)	Plain ware, pithos, cooking ware, Monochrome, WPWM III, White Slip, Canaanite jar, Black and Red Slip, wall bracket fragment
	232: fill of pit 233	One body sherd	Cooking ware, Monochrome, Plain ware, pithos, WPWM III

<i>Building 2</i>			
1069/1035	92: Courtyard east of Building 2	Eleven worn and abraded sherds	Pithos, Plain Ware, Red Slip hand and wheelmade, Base Ring II, cooking ware; MBA Red Polished sherds (worn and accreted)
	96: Long room of Building 2	Four closed body sherds	Mixed deposit: Roman and modern sherds; LBA sherds (worn): pithos, Plain ware, White Slip II, Black and Red Slip, cooking ware; MBA Red Polished sherds
	105: Fill of well in room 95	Two worn and accreted body sherds	White Slip I and II, Bichrome, Red Slip wheelmade, pithos; MBA: Red Polished sherds
	93: Rubble tumble from south wall of Building 2	Sixteen worn and accreted body sherds	Gaming stone (AV06-06-01) Plain ware, pithos, Black and Red Slip, Cooking ware, White Slip II, Base Ring II, Monochrome, WPWM III, and 1 Minoan sherd; MBA Red Polished sherds LBA sherds (good condition, but many accreted)
1064/1035	208: Long room to west of room 96	Five sherds from piriform jar	Plain ware, pithos, cooking ware, Red and Black Slip, White Slip tankard and hemispherical bowl, WPWM III, Monochrome
	214: Deposit immediately west of Building 2	One sherd (jug)	Loomweight (AV08-02-05) Plain ware, pithos, Monochrome, White Slip, cooking ware, Base Ring, Black and Red Slip, Canaanite jar
1063/1035	222: Rubble mixed with pottery to west of Building 2	One body sherd	Plain ware, Monochrome, cooking ware, Base Ring and White Slip
<i>Curtain walls and open (courtyard) areas</i>			
1089.5/1044.5	137: East-West curtain wall (robbed out) associated with open courtyard (?) area	Five sherds: one bowl rim and four body sherds	Plain ware, Monochrome, pithos, cooking ware White Slip, WPWM III, Black and Red Slip, Egyptian amphora
1089.5/1044.5	138: Stone and mortar feature north of 137	Five sherds: one bell krater rim and four jug sherds	Plain ware, pithos, White Slip, White Shaved
1120/992.5	198: Rubble tumble east of curtain wall to east of Building 1	Two body sherds	Plain ware, pithos, Black Slip, cooking ware, Monochrome
	199: Rubble tumble west of curtain wall to east of building 1	Four body sherds	Plain ware, pithos, Monochrome, White Slip, Base Ring
	223: Extension to rubble tumble (198)	One sherd (jug)	Mixed: 1 medieval sherd and three unidentified; LBA: Plain ware, pithos, Cooking ware, Base Ring, White Slip, Black and Red Slip, Canaanite jar, rim of Minoan amphoroid krater, White Painted II, one MBA Red Polished.
<i>Mixed deposits</i>			
1069/1035	111: Fill of pit 112 in courtyard 92 (Building 2)	One worn body sherd	Mixed deposit: Roman and post Bronze Age sherds; LBA sherds: one Base Ring and three Plain ware
1091.2/1000	141: Fill of pit 148, in open area (courtyard?) to east of Building 1	One body sherd	Mixed deposit: Roman, unidentified and White Slip, cooking ware, Red Slip wheelmade, MBA Red Polished
1091.2/1000	163: Fill of pit 164, in open courtyard area east of Building 1	One body sherd	One Iron Age Plain ware sherd. Plain ware, pithos, WPWM III
1146/1005.8	162: Fill of pit 158, near Tomb 1	Six sherds including two krater rims	Mixed deposit: Classical, modern unidentified; LBA sherds: Plain ware, pithos, White Slip, Base Ring, WPWM III, Black and Red Slip, MBA Red Polished
	178: Fill of posthole (?) 191, near Tomb 1	One body sherd	One unidentified sherd, possibly Roman (very worn)
1070.5/1011.7	228: Fill of pit 229 in open courtyard area north of Building 1.	One body sherd	Mixed deposit: Iron Age Plain ware, White Painted ware and Levantine Red Burnished; LBA sherds: pithos, Plain ware and cooking ware

<i>Subsoil (interface with sealed archaeological deposits)</i>			
1069/998	85: Building 1: deposit overlying wall 36	Three sherds from amphoroid krater	Sherds: worn and abraded (small number unidentified and possibly post Bronze Age); LBA sherds: Plain ware, pithos, Base Ring, White Slip I and II, WPWM III, cooking ware, Black and Red Slip.
	82: Building 1: deposit over east side of building	Eleven body sherds (worn and accreted)	Very worn and accreted (several unidentified); White Slip, Plain ware, pithos, Base Ring, Red and Black Slip, cooking ware, Canaanite Jar, WPWM III
1078.5/1002.7	135: Building 1, overlying wall 110 and room 161	One body sherd	Mixed deposit: (small number unidentified and possibly post Bronze Age, one Medieval); LBA sherds: Plain ware, pithos, cooking ware, White Slip, Canaanite jar, Red Slip
1070/1005	34: Overlying Room 103	Two body sherds including one bowl	Sherds: worn and abraded (small number unidentified and possibly post Bronze Age, one Roman); LBA sherds: Plain ware, pithos, Base Ring, WPWM III, White Slip, Red Slip
1069/998	84 (=130): Overlying fill (97, 99) of Room 103	Three amphoroid krater rims, two shallow bowl rims; nine body sherds	Base Ring bull figurine fragment (AV08-01-01), Plain ware horse figurine fragment (AV08-01-04); ¹ Mixed deposit: modern, Roman and Iron Age sherds; LBA sherds (worn): Plain ware, pithos, Monochrome, WPWM III, Black and Red Slip, cooking ware; Canaanite jar, White Slip, Base Ring
1070.5/1011.7	218: Overlying open area (courtyard) between curtain wall and Building 1	Two body sherds	Mixed deposit: Medieval Roman and modern sherds; LBA sherds
1069/1035	79: Deposit overlying Building 2 floor deposits (92, 93, 96)	Eight worn and abraded sherds	Mixed deposit: Medieval and modern sherds; LBA sherds: Plain ware, pithos, White Slip, Base Ring II, WPWM III, Black and Red Slip wheelmade, cooking ware
1064/1033	174: Deposit overlying western part of Building 2	One body sherd	Grotty mixed deposit: modern, Medieval, Roman, Iron Age and LBA (worn to fair condition)
1095/998	142: Deep sounding southeast of Building 1	Seventeen body sherds	Mixed deposit: unidentified, Roman; largely LBA sherds (worn to fair condition)
<i>Topsoil and surface</i>			
960/970	0: Surface find southern part of site	Body sherd	
1143/1004	23: Overlying structures associated with Tomb 1	Four body sherds including one bowl	Mixed deposit: unidentified, Hellenistic and LBA sherds (worn to fair condition)
1147/1006	76: Overlying Tomb1	Three body sherds	Mixed deposit: some Medieval and Iron Age; largely LBA sherds (fair to good condition)
1146/1005	144: Overlying Tomb 1 and associated structures	Twelve sherds including four shallow bowls and three krater sherds	Mixed deposit: modern, Medieval, Iron Age, Roman, LBA (worn to fair condition)
1075/1000	0: surface find over Building 1	Base sherd of FS94	
1073.5/1000	35: Overlying Building 1	One rim sherd of open krater	Mixed deposit (worn to fair): some Medieval and Roman; LBA
1069/998	72: Overlying Building 1 and Room 103	Seven sherds, including two shallow bowls, three kraters, one piriform jar rim	Mixed deposit: Medieval, modern and LBA sherds (largely worn condition)
1083/1000	168: Overlying eastern part of Building 1	One body sherd	Mixed deposit: Medieval, modern, Roman and LBA sherds (largely worn condition)
1091.2/1000	127: Overlying open area and pits to east of Building 1	Five body sherds	Mixed deposit: Medieval, modern, Roman; largely LBA sherds (worn to fair condition)

¹ Mislabelled as AV08-01-07 in Steel 2021, fig. 9.4.

1070.5/1011.7	157: Overlying open area (court-yard) between curtain wall and Building 1	Four body sherds	Mixed deposit: unidentified, Medieval, modern and a couple of LBA sherds.
1057/1022	194: Overlying curtain wall north of Building 1 and Room 103	1 body sherd (open vessel)	Mixed deposit: Hellenistic, Classical, Roman, Medieval, modern; LBA sherds (very grotty and worn)
1150/1040	Sounding in Northeast part of site	One body sherd	Very worn sherds, mostly (Late) Bronze Age
1069/1035	74: Overlying Building 2	Six body sherds (worn)	Mixed deposit: Medieval, modern and LBA sherds (worn to fair condition)
1064/1033	169: Overlying western part of building 2	Severn sherds including two krater handles	Mixed deposit: modern, Medieval, Roman and LBA (worn to fair condition)
1095/998	128: Deep sounding SE of Building 1	One body sherd	Mixed deposit: modern, Roman and LBA (worn to fair condition)
1121/997 1121/995	27 = 32: Overlying wall 59	Five body sherds	Mixed deposit: unidentified, Roman and LBA sherds (worn to fair condition)
1120/992.5	192: Overlying curtain wall east of Building 1	Two sherds: one handle and one body	Mixed deposit: unidentified and Medieval; Largely LBA (worn)

Table 4. Mycenaean pottery from Aredhiou.

Ayia Irini is unusual amongst the sites under discussion in that no Mycenaean pottery was recorded in the publication (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935), nor were there any prestige goods; moreover, the lack of any clear evidence for repeated ritual action calls into question the identification of rooms V-VI as a sanctuary. Instead, the so-called cult building is better paralleled by Room 103 at Aredhiou, which has been identified as a special performative space for gatherings and shared consumption of food and drink (Steel 2021b), and the *Temple aux Rhytons* at Ugarit. These structures are all similar in size and concealed from nearby work areas for processing agricultural produce. Furthermore, the accumulation of special objects found in Room V, including pairs of Base Ring bulls (Fig. 12) and juglets, a Plain ware offering table and a group of coloured pebbles, resembles the fragmentary assemblage from Room 103 and implies similar performances within a concealed space. According to the published finds, Room V was not provided with drinking equipment; however, Catling (1965) has drawn attention to a possible WPWM III kylix apparently found in Room V (Fig. 13). This local imitation of a Mycenaean type drinking vessel mimics the most popular drinking vessel in the Mycenaean world, suggesting some knowledge of exotic commensal practices and perhaps handling of this equipment (see Stockhammer 2012b). It might indicate that some liquid consumption took place in Room V. There is also an incomplete piriform jar and a sherd from an amphoroid krater on the Medlehavsmuseet website (Table 3), which possibly might be attributed to the LC IIC sanctuary. The limited range of objects from the cult building is curious. It is possible that, like Aredhiou Room 103, the cult building had been largely emptied prior to abandonment and that the few finds recorded do not reflect the full range of objects originally used there. Equally, we might question whether the lack of Mycenaean pottery reflects social customs, local taste and possibly even a lack of desire for this material or equally an economic inability on the part of the inhabitants to access the imports.

CONCLUSIONS

The consumption of Mycenaean pottery in the Cypriot hinterland is as variable as the sites themselves. There is no single picture reflecting shared cultural practices, but instead different communities incorporated the exotic according to their own needs and preferences. To a certain extent this was also determined by access to objects that were deemed to be more desirable and have more value (see Simmel 1990), which were more closely controlled by the urban elites. It is not by chance, for example, that only a single imported rhyton found its way to *Pigadhes*; likewise, we should note the relative absence of amphoroid kraters at all the sites discussed: the rare examples from *Pigadhes*, Aredhiou and possibly Ayia Irini were extremely fragmentary suggesting repeated use.



Fig. 12. Base Ring bull figure from Ayia Irini, A.I. 2770, courtesy of the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.



Fig. 13. WPWM III kylix from Ayia Irini, MM Acc 0715, courtesy of the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.

In the light of the very real access to Mycenaean imports at the other inland sites, the seeming absence of Mycenaean imports at Ayia Irini continues to perplex. Other absences are similarly intriguing. Despite the popularity of the smaller perfume bottles around the eastern Mediterranean, these forms were rarely found in the interior sites and tend to be fragmentary. In ceremonial contexts the preference for anointing the body tended to be for substances contained in local wares. Within funerary display however, the Mycenaean import was sought-after. Perhaps most revealing is the apparent preference for tableware; this was used within the settlement at Apliki and Aredhiou, seemingly incorporated within daily household practices, but equally it played an important role in ceremonial performances, most particularly at *Pigadhes* and also in communal feasting at Aredhiou. Mycenaean pottery, therefore can be seen to have had a very real impact on the inland communities of Cyprus although each community negotiated the exotic in different ways. It shaped how food and drink was consumed in daily practice at Apliki and Aredhiou, alongside local wares and was also embedded within rituals and ceremonies performed in the sanctuaries and at Aredhiou, Room 103. Particularly fascinating is the picture beginning to emerge of places that were distinct from official cult and more closely linked to the local community. These places appear to be the venue for social gatherings and embodied practices involving liquids and commensality. The similarities identified between Ayia Irini, Aredhiou and the *Temple aux Rhytons* merits further discussion, focusing on the character of popular domestic cult in LBA communities.

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