

Architecture and General Functioning of the Cult Units at Late Bronze Age Enkomi on Cyprus



presented by
DE HAES Liesje

Thesis submitted to obtain the
degree of Master of Arts in
Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology

Supervisor: Prof. J. Bretschneider

2003 - 2004
Leuven

Acknowledgments

Several persons have permitted the existence and achievement of this study.

I would like to thank here the initiator of this paper, Prof. J. Bretschneider. I'm also grateful to Pierre Dormal and Kristina Juvonen who have corrected the spelling and grammar of the text. Last but not least, I'm indebted of course to my family and friends who supported me during the whole work.

Contents

Contents	1
Introduction	3
<i>Geography of Cyprus</i>	3
<i>Chronology: the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus</i>	6
<i>History of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age</i>	7
I. Cult Places at Enkomi	10
<i>Introduction</i>	10
Geographical and Topographical Localisation	10
Discovery and Excavations	11
• Remark: Pottery Correspondences	14
History of the City.....	16
Cult Places.....	20
<i>Quarter 4 West</i>	22
Sanctuary of the Horned God	25
• Architecture of Level IIIB	25
• Finds of Level IIIB	27
• Architecture of Level IIIC	31
• Finds of Level IIIC	32
• Discussion	33
Sanctuary of the Double Goddess	35
• Architecture	35
• Finds	36
Discussion	38
<i>Quarter 5 East</i>	39
Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sols VI-V	40
• Architecture	41
• Finds	42
• Discussion	43
Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sols IV-I	43
• Architecture	44
• Finds	50
• Discussion	58
“Sanctuaire du Dieu Lunaire”	62
• Architecture	62
• Finds	62
• Discussion	63
<i>Quarter 6 West</i>	64
Freestanding Two-Roomed Complex	64
• Architecture	64
• Finds	65
• Discussion	65
Complex Bordering Street 5	66
<i>Quarter 6 East</i>	67
Ashlar Building (“House of the Columns”)	67
• Architecture	67
• Finds	69
• Discussion	70
<i>Conclusion</i>	71

II. Discussion	74
<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>74</i>
<i>Architectural features</i>	<i>75</i>
Introduction.....	75
Layout	75
Building Materials.....	81
Internal Furniture	82
• Introduction.....	82
• Wells	82
• Drainage systems.....	84
• Hearths	84
• Offering structures.....	86
• Benches.....	88
• Pits.....	88
• Others	90
• Conclusion.....	91
Conclusion	92
<i>Functioning of the Cult Places.....</i>	<i>93</i>
Introduction	93
Function of the Adyton	93
General Functioning of the Cult Units	97
Conclusion	101
<i>Conclusion.....</i>	<i>103</i>
Conclusion.....	104
List of Figures.....	107
Bibliography	111

Introduction

In all civilizations, religion played an important role in the daily life of people, especially in times of crisis, and even in larger historical and political events. History is full of examples where the force of believing gathered people, separated them, created peace as well as conflicts. Religion also gives a certain vision of life and of the functioning of the world.

Because it can affect all dimensions of a civilization, the traces of religion are hard to identify and understand when one doesn't know this religion with its cult recipient(s), rituals and vision of the world. It is even more difficult when no textual evidence is available to explain the symbols used, as in the case of Late Bronze Age Cyprus; indeed, writing was introduced at this period in the largest island of the Eastern Mediterranean, but the language has not yet been deciphered. Nevertheless, there is some archaeological evidence in the form of cult buildings and finds which can be used to try to understand at least the rituals practised and even some of the symbols used.

One of the best known sites on Cyprus is the town of Enkomi near the eastern coast, probably provided with a fluvial harbour. The situation of Cyprus and Enkomi in the Eastern Mediterranean as well as the production of copper on the island made Enkomi to a trading and prosperous city. Its excavators identified some buildings and units in the regular grid plan of the city as being sanctuaries or cult places. Of course, the attribution of a religious function to these buildings and the finds contained within have been questioned and debated afterwards. Studies have been made to try to arrive at a standardization of the features of religious buildings and so be sure of their identification.

However, each religion is different and even if the same religion or cult recipient, the rituals performed can differ from one region to another. Different divinities may even be worshipped in one region, especially if we consider the international culture of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. Moreover, in addition to the material culture that can be found back, religion and rituals are composed of a series of symbols and behaviours lost together with the people. The material culture itself includes as well specific religious as daily-life objects. Finally, the remains recovered in archaeological excavations rarely represent the entire original assemblage of objects used on a specific spot, due to the conditions of the abandonment and the different post-depositional processes.

Nevertheless, repeated rituals performed in cult buildings certainly left traces in the archaeological material. If evident enough, these traces can reveal at least some of the

religious practices of people in ancient times, through the examination of the architecture as well as the finds and their iconography, if well excavated and published. Because it would take too long to study in detail these two aspects of the cult units in Enkomi, we will limit ourselves to the detailed discussion of their architectural features to determine how the cult was practised and organised in each of the sanctuaries.

Through the analysis of these features, such as the arrangement of different rooms one in relation to the other, their relative size and their orientation, one can have an idea about the general functioning of the building. It is of course necessary to include in the study the internal furniture mainly found as immovable stone or built structures, the furniture in perishable materials being only rarely preserved. By including in the discussion a general overview of the objects discovered in the cult units, it is possible to reach some conclusions about the rituals practised in each of them. To compare briefly the architectural features of the cult units in Enkomi with the ones elsewhere on Cyprus allow us to investigate to which degree they followed the local architectural standards of the island or were influenced by other civilizations through their trading activities.

A detailed examination of the sanctuaries on the whole island has already been done by Webb in its book about *Ritual Architecture, Iconography and Practice in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age* published in 1999. Burdajewicz on the other hand compared them mainly with the Syro-Palestinian coast, but also with mainland Greece. His study, *The Aegean Sea Peoples and Religious Architecture in the Eastern Mediterranean at the Close of the Late Bronze Age* published in 1990, however only examined the architectural features of the cult units.

Webb's book being the most complete and recent publication about Late Bronze Age sanctuaries on Cyprus, the description of the cult units as well as some elements of the discussion will be based mainly on her study, completed of course by the excavation reports.

Before beginning the presentation of the different cult units identified at Enkomi, it is useful to describe the general geographical, chronological and historical framework of the whole island of Cyprus. The location of Enkomi, the history of its discovery and excavations and the history of the city will complete the context of the cult buildings. These will be described first through their architecture and then through the objects discovered within them, the whole being commented a little in preparation to the general discussion. The second part of the study will deal with the examination of different architectural features of the cult buildings at Enkomi in order to investigate the general functioning of the best preserved of them.

Geography of Cyprus

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean, and the largest in the Eastern Mediterranean, measuring some 200 km by 100 km¹. It is at some 70 km off the Cilician coast in Anatolia, modern Turkey, to the north and at 120 km off the coast of northern Syria to the east (fig. 1).

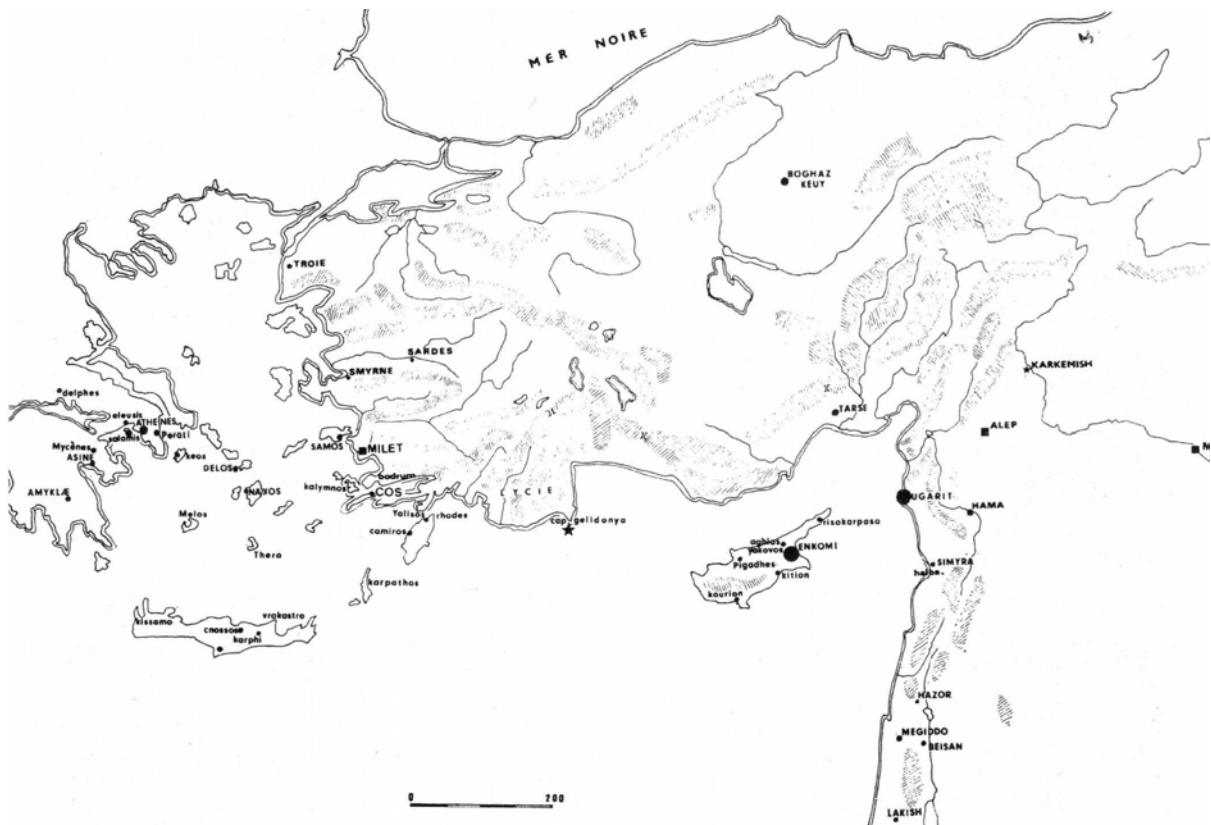


Figure 1: Map of the Eastern Mediterranean in the XIIth century BC indicating the position of Cyprus (COURTOIS 1973: fig. 16).

The core and main part of the island is formed by the Troodos mountainous massif to the southwest, composed in part of limestone and metaliferous igneous rocks (fig. 2). The presence of metals in its soil, particularly of copper, gave the island its importance, and even its name. Another but less important mountainous range, the Kyrenia Range, is situated to the north. This range extends to the east and ends in the Cape Andreas. Between the two massifs, lowlands of alluvial and other sediments extend from west to east. These are called the Mesaoria plain in general, and the Plain of Morphou to the west. The lowlands extend along the bay of Famagusta to the east.

¹ WRIGHT 1992: 5.

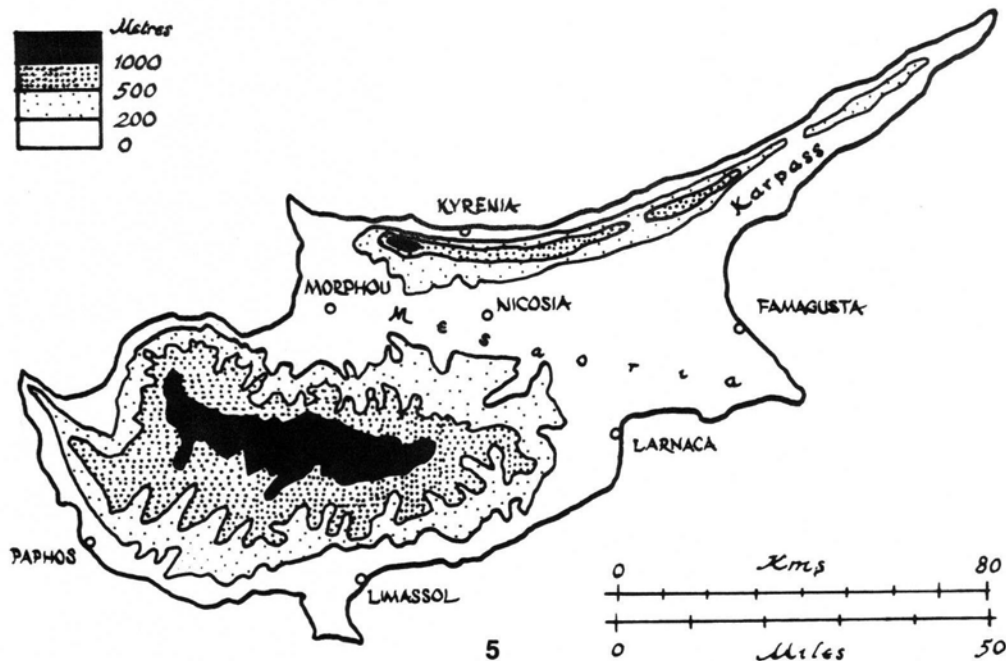


Figure 2: Topographical map of Cyprus (WRIGHT 1992: fig. 5).

Chronology: the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus

The relative chronology on Cyprus, as elsewhere, is based on pottery styles. It was believed at first that the differences in pottery styles corresponded with “cultural” differences or reflected the evolution through time². However, pottery styles did not always change only with the arrival of immigrants and different pottery styles could be used together for a more or less long time. The styles of the different «minor arts» depend on other factors than “cultural” or technical change, e.g. socio-political change, tendencies or changes in lifestyle. That’s why the different chronological periods and their subdivisions can’t be defined only by pottery styles, and that there is a discrepancy between the use of the styles and the chronological division.

Even the correspondence between the relative and absolute chronology is still a matter of debate. In the Eastern Mediterranean, the correspondence is based on the Egyptian relative chronology, being the most precise one because of the lists and mentions of the different Pharaohs. The subdivision of the Bronze Age into Early Bronze Age, Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age is based on the division of Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and New

² WRIGHT 1992: 12.

Kingdom in Egypt, each of these separated by periods of loss of central power and division of the area. That means that this subdivision doesn't always correspond with a significant change in the other regions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Nevertheless, even the Egyptian correspondence is questioned, and the different authors position themselves between a "high chronology" and a "low chronology". It is mainly accepted that the absolute dates are situated somewhere in between these two limits.

Concerning the chronology of Cyprus, the Late Bronze Age is naturally called the Late Cypriote (LC), and is subdivided into three main periods, Late Cypriote I, II and III, each of them lasting about 200 years and again subdivided (LC IA, LC IB, LC IIA,...). This system was first used on Cyprus by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in the beginning of the 19th century AD. The Late Cypriote extends from about 1650 BC to 1050 BC. Speaking about the end of the Late Bronze Age, the beginning of the Iron Age, the Cypro-Geometric I on Cyprus, can also be mentioned. This period is dated approximately in between 1050 BC to 950 BC.

As far as I know, there seems to be some uncertainty and discrepancies mainly about the periods preceding the LC IIIA and B, the end of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus³. The main periods discussed in this study being the LC IIC and following, the whole discussion about Cypriote chronology is of little importance in this study.

History of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age

The historical context presented here is a convenient one, mainly based on the French monograph of Karageorghis about published in 1990. Even if it is important to know in which conditions people lived at the time of the use of the cult places in Enkomi, it is not the place here to discuss the accuracy of this historical account, which would take us too long.

The Late Bronze Age is, in the whole Eastern Mediterranean, a period of important events and rapid development, notably of the international relations between the different great powers of the moment, the Kingdom in Egypt, the Hittite state in Anatolia, Mitanni in Eastern Anatolia, the Minoans on Crete and finally the Mycenaeans on the Greek mainland and islands.

Cyprus occupied a central position in the Eastern Mediterranean, on the trade routes linking the different powers. Moreover, the island yielded an important natural resource, the

³ See e.g. LUBSEN & CROUWEL 1989, BURDAJEWICZ 1990: IX, KARAGEORGHIS 1990: 217-218.

copper of which to make bronze. The island therefore was always coveted, as well as the ideal place to receive refugees, settlers and other expatriates.

The first two centuries of the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus, the LC I, saw the continuation and evolution of the previous periods without any break in its civilisation. Internal quarrels, troubles without great importance still happened, while the copper production and trade continued. Important centres developed, provided with harbours used in trading relations with the Syro-Palestinian coast and the Aegean, as well as with Egypt. In the large urban centres, there are indications of the presence of small groups of strangers (Hurrians?), maybe just traders settled down on the island⁴.

To the end of the 16th century BC, a writing system appeared on the island, known as the syllabic Cypro-Minoan, linked to the Linear A writing from Crete. It was used to write down the original language of the Cypriots, the Eteo-Cypriot. The phonetic values of the different signs are known, but the general sense has not yet being deciphered and the nature of the language not identified. The tablets written in this language are similar to the Near-Eastern ones in that they are baked and support not only inventory texts. Signs of the writing system are also present on vases, clay balls, cylinders, tools and other metallic objects.

Around 1400 BC, the beginning of the LC II, the Mycenaeans on the Greek mainland took then some importance on the international scene. They were present on the Aegean islands, the Anatolian coast and even Crete where the Minoan civilization declined. Mycenaean traders went to Cyprus and some settled in the important centres of the island along the eastern and southern coasts. From then on, some Aegean elements are encountered in the local artistic production of the island. In this period also, Cyprus developed its urban centres and began its real urbanization⁵.

The trading relations with Egypt and the Near-East continued more intensively. If the name Alashiya encountered on the Tell el-Amarna tablets designates Cyprus, the island would even have had to pay a kind of tribute to the King of Egypt mainly in the form of copper ingots⁶. For the beginning of the 14th century BC, the same tablets as well as those discovered in Boghazköy, the Hittite capital in Anatolia, mention armed raids against Cyprus, coming from Asia Minor. These would then have destroyed several coastal cities, like Enkomi, 1375

⁴ KARAGEORGHIS 1990: 76.

⁵ WRIGHT 1992: 18, 84.

⁶ KARAGEORGHIS 1990: 82.

and 1300 BC. According to the tablets of Boghazköy, Cyprus would have been under Hittite control, at least for a while, but the possible indications of it on the island are very small.

Despite all this, the island lived a prosperous period.

To the end of the 13th century BC, the beginning of the LC III, the Mycenaean urban centres saw their decline, maybe due to natural disasters. The people of the Greek mainland abandoned their homeland and went eastwards. Some of them established themselves on Cyprus, e.g. at Enkomi, Kition, Kouklia-*Palaeopaphos*, Maa-*Palaeokastro* and Sinda. They also built some fortifications on these sites. The Mycenaean immigration was not very abrupt but lasted about one century, and brought the Mycenaean pottery and styles with it⁷.

The latest period of the Late Bronze Age is one of trouble and confusion in the whole Eastern Mediterranean with movements of populations, tensions between the different great powers and their decline, except of Egypt.

On Cyprus, one general destruction took place⁸. Mycenaean IIIC: 1b pottery was found back in the reconstruction levels after it, which is thought to be the origin of the Proto-White Painted Pottery⁹. The settlers, the influence of which was only progressive and visible in the 11th century BC, probably established themselves as the aristocratic elite.

Some years before the end of the 12th century BC, a new wave of settlers arrived at Cyprus bringing with them the pottery of the Granary Style, called after the “Granary” in Mycenae. At the same period, the island received refugees from the Syro-Palestinian coast. Cretan refugees arrived on Cyprus at about 1100 BC.

Around 1075 BC, a natural disaster or interior troubles on the island marked the end of the civilization of the Late Bronze Age. Large cities such as Enkomi were destroyed and abandoned, except Kition and Kouklia-*Palaeopaphos*.

⁷ KARAGEORGHIS 1990: 87.

⁸ KARAGEORGHIS 1990: 104.

⁹ BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 16.

I. Cult Places at Enkomi

Introduction

Geographical and Topographical Localisation

The village of Enkomi is situated near the eastern coast of Cyprus, some 7 – 8 km to the north of Famagusta (fig. 3). South of the village flows the non-perennial longest river of Cyprus the Pedhieos to the south. At the mouth of this river was a navigable inlet of the sea that is now filled by silt from the river¹⁰.

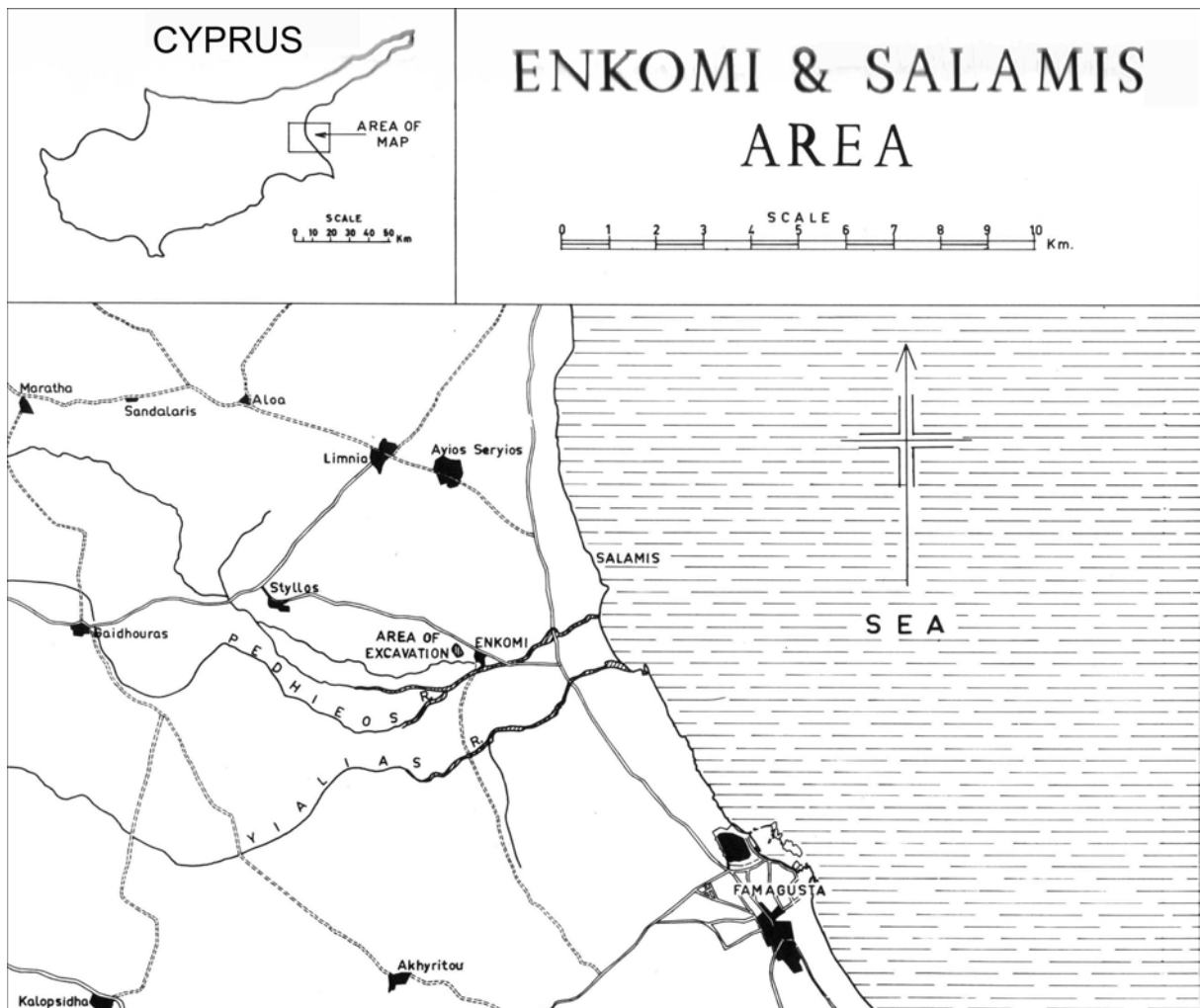


Figure 3: Situation of Enkomi (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 240).

¹⁰ DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 10.

The Bronze Age site of Enkomi was discovered on a gentle slope along the river, to the west of the modern village. It was bordered to the east by the steep edge some 10 m high of a low rocky plateau of limestone about 800 m long. This plateau where the modern village is built on was mainly used as pasture¹¹. Below the crag is situated a necropolis, at Ayios Jakovos named after a Byzantine chapel nearby¹². The unusual setting of the town from a defensive point of view may be explained by the advantage of concealment¹³.

Nowadays, there are no perennial springs in the neighbourhood of the site; therefore, the inhabitants dug many wells in the town¹⁴.

Discovery and Excavations

The site at Enkomi was first known through its necropolis. This was extensively investigated in 1896 by the British Museum's "Cyprus Exploration Fund", who found tombs of Mycenaean or Late Bronze Age¹⁵. Once the site being discovered and interesting archaeologists, people from the surroundings became interested too in the rich tombs and made clandestine excavations for more than 30 years. They made pits through the occupational deposit to the bedrock, even on the site of the town, and so disturbed the stratigraphy of the site at many places.

In 1913, the Cyprus Museum made a trial excavation, but without finding any tombs. A small experimental search by R. Gunnis in 1927 was equally negative.

Shortly after, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated mainly the northwestern part of the burial ground. These excavations lasted from 1927 to 1931¹⁶. They cleared twenty odd rock-cut tombs immediately below the crag west of the modern village, at Ayios Jakovos. These tombs ranged in date from the MC III to the LC III. They already noticed the remains of walls in the vicinity, but these were supposed to be sporadic Byzantine vestiges.

The town of Enkomi itself, the supposed Byzantine vestiges, was discovered only in 1934 by the French Archaeological Mission, *Mission archéologique française*, under the direction of C.F.-A. Schaeffer, working also at Ras Shamra – Ugarit on the opposite Syrian coast. They were looking for trading contacts between the Syrian coast and Cyprus. Some soundings and excavations were made on the site of the town in 1933 and 1934.

¹¹ SJÖQVIST 1934: 467.

¹² WRIGHT 1992: 85.

¹³ WRIGHT 1992: 86.

¹⁴ DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 10.

¹⁵ MURRAY *et alii* 1970.

The excavations however could only be continued in 1946 because of the work of the Mission in Syria and the Second World War. For a faster exploration of the site, a second mission was associated in 1947, a Cypro-English one of the Cyprus Department of the Antiquities conducted by P. Dikaïos. They would operate in separate areas at different times of the year, from 1948 onwards. However, the Joint Expedition finished in 1958, because of differences in chronology. The French then continued alone for the French *Commission des fouilles* and the *CNRS* until all work in the region was blocked by the division of the island in 1974, Enkomi being in the area of the island now occupied by Turkey¹⁷.

The results of the Cypriot Mission were published in a complete final report by Dikaïos in 1969 and 1971. Those of the French were partly published in the series called *Mission archéologique d'Alasia*¹⁸ as well as in several papers. However, there is still much of their excavations to be published, and still even a large part of the town to be excavated.

The Cyprus Department of Antiquities has excavated on the site twelve seasons long spread over ten years, from 1948 to 1958¹⁹. Each excavation season took between six and eight weeks in summer or late autumn, sometimes ending as late as the end of December. This coincided with the French Expedition working in October and November.

The Cyprus Expedition worked mainly in two areas (fig. 4). A trial trench by Dikaïos in the western part of the central city became later Area I where an ashlar building notably housed the so-called sanctuaries of the Horned God and of the Double Goddess. From the summer 1950 on, they made a series of trenches perpendicular to the suspected course of the Fortification wall in the northern part of the city. To establish a chronological relationship with Area I, some dwellings against the wall were also excavated, extending the digging to the south. This area was mentioned as Area III. Area II was only a small sounding to the east of Area I.

Because two missions were working on the same site and the Cyprus Expedition was working only in a limited area, they kept the walls of the successive layouts so that the stratigraphy and other features could be compared. Therefore, the earlier remains could not be studied as thoroughly as the later and less deeper ones.

¹⁶ SJÖQVIST 1934.

¹⁷ SCHAEFFER *et alii* 1971, X; KARAGEORGHIS 1990: 5; WRIGHT 1992: 85.

¹⁸ E.g. SCHAEFFER *et alii* 1971; COURTOIS 1984.

¹⁹ DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 1.

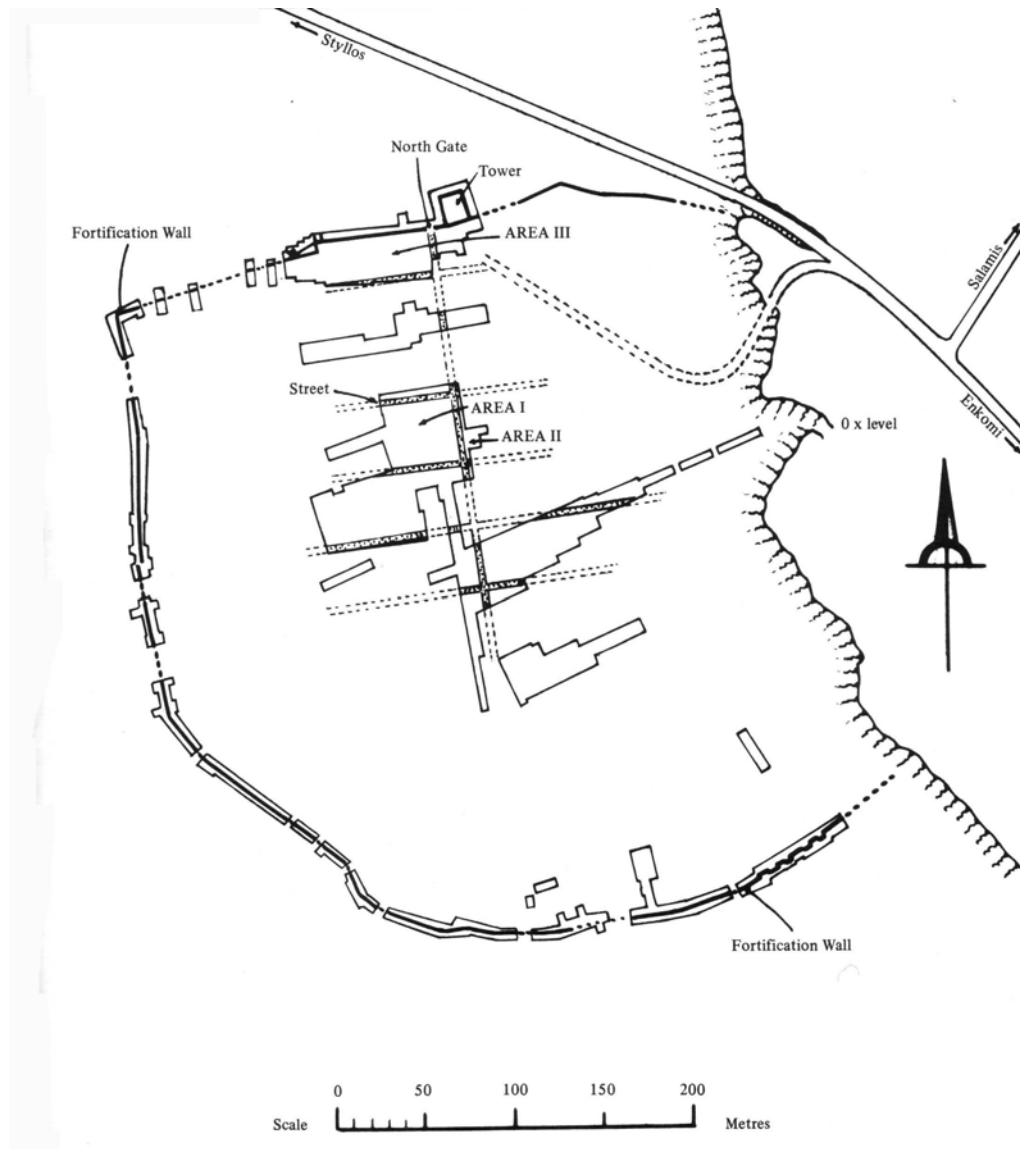


Figure 4: Plan of the excavated parts of the city of Enkomi indicating the areas investigated by the Cypriot Expedition (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 241).

In Area I as well as Area III, the excavators first dug perpendicular trenches after which the whole was divided into squares of two meters side. Each one of these squares received a Greek letter and a numeral as well as the mention of its situation north or south to the original trial trench.

Different Levels were identified on the site during the excavations, each Level being considered as a new structural phase. Level A is the level of the MC III period²⁰. Level I was dated to the LC I. This Level as well as the others, Level II and Level III, were subdivided into A, B and C. The letter designates a sub-phase usually identified through an event such as general rebuilding, for the most of them after a destruction.

The different Floors encountered within each Level were given a number from the top onwards, beginning with I, and so in reverse order of the archaeological levels.

The rooms were given numbers in the order of their discovery.

The finds or groups of finds were labelled with the square in which they were found, their absolute level below the zero point and the room and Floor to which they belonged. Each group of sherds was equally given a number, as well as the sherds within the group.

In addition, different section balks were made to compare the vertical stratigraphy with the horizontal examination.

The methodology of the French Mission at Enkomi is not as clearly explained as Dikaïos' one. I didn't find a description of it in the publications consulted, even if they probably didn't use a very different system from the one used in Ras Shamra and Ugarit.

The French Mission excavated the centre of the town in the northern half, as well as some parts of the southern half, the southern fortification wall and the east wall gate (fig. 4). They recognised different layers all of them called floors, Sols.

In the publications of the results of these excavations, most of the finds were given with a topographical point in the form of a number that most of the time can be found back on the plans. These topographical points will be included in the description.

- Remark: Pottery Correspondences

Different missions can use different systems of ceramic terminology and even chronological divisions. In the case of Enkomi, Schaeffer used his own system, based on the one used at the site of Ugarit and other sites along the Syro-Palestinian coast. This system differs from the one already used on the site and the island by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Dikaïos made still a different typology of the pottery found on the same site. To facilitate the understanding of the pottery described below, it's therefore useful to mention here some correspondences that can be made between the pottery designations and chronological divisions of Dikaïos and Schaeffer, and where necessary of the Swedes (see also fig. 5).

Schaeffer's period of the *Chypriote Récent III* includes the LC II B–C of the Swedish terminology²¹. *Chypriote Fer I* corresponds to LC IIIA and IIIB²².

²⁰ DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 8.

²¹ KLING 1989: 23.

C.F.A. SCHAEFFER'S STRATIGRAPHY				P. DIKAIOS'S STRATIGRAPHY			
Abs. chr.	Periods	Floors (soils)	Pottery	Pottery	Levels	Periods	Abs. chr.
1900 BC	<u>MC</u>						1900 BC
1800							1800
1700		abandonment					1700
1600	<u>LC I</u>				A	<u>MC III</u>	1600
1550					destr. aband. 1575		1550
1500		tombs			I A -1525	<u>LC I</u>	1500
1450	<u>LC II</u>	and			I B	A	1450
		soundings			destr. 1425/1400	B	
1400					II A 1		1400
	<u>LC III</u>				A 2 -1375	<u>LC II A</u>	
1350					A 3 -1350	B	1350
		sol VI	Late Cypriote	Myc. IIIA:2 style			
	A	destruction	III pottery				
1300		sol V					1300
1250	B	abandonment		Myc. III B style	II B 1	C	1250
		sol V reoccupation			B 2 -1250		
		+++ destruction					
1200	<u>Iron Age I</u>		Close Style	time Myc. IIIC:1a	destr. 1230		
				Myc. IIIC:1b style	aband. 10-20 years	<u>LC III</u>	1200
					III A Ash. Buil.	A 1	
	A	sol IV	Decorated LC	with Close Style patterns	+++ destr. 1190	A 2	
1150			III ware				1150
		sol II					
	B	flooding					
		sol I	Granary Style	Granary Style	B 2		
		seism					
1100	C		Prevalence of Granary Style		seism? 1125/1100	B 1	1100
					III C		
		abandonment			abandonment	B 2	
1050 BC							1050 BC

Figure 5: Stratigraphies of Schaeffer and Dikaïos compared by Ionas (IONAS 1984b: 63 Table 1).

²² IONAS 1984b: 50.

For the pottery, the style called Mycenaean IIIC occurs in *Chypriote Fer I*. Close Style and Granary Style pieces are classified in the same Mycenaean IIIC²³. The *Submycénien Inférieur* pottery included pieces with wavy line decoration, which continued the style of the former period. The *Submycénien Supérieur* includes large amounts of Plain White and Bucchero wares.

Dikaïos used for his pottery the terms Late Mycenaean IIIB, Rude Style, Decorated Late Cypriot III and Mycenaean IIIC:1b and c, which all shared essentially the same technical features²⁴.

At his Level IIIB, Mycenaean IIIC:1c, which can be associated with the Granary Style or the Wavy Line Style, became predominant.

Level IIIC is characterized by the predominance of Mycenaean IIIC:1c pottery and Plain Wheel made.

In addition, some pottery decorated with wavy lines and some types of elaborated geometric designs designated as Mycenaean IIIC:1c can be identified as Proto-White Painted ware²⁵. According to Webb, Mycenaean IIIC:1c pottery with wavy line decoration corresponds to White Painted Wheel-made III ware²⁶.

To summarize, the different systems of pottery typology used at Enkomi are difficult to match and each of the authors seems to have something to add on how it has to be done. Therefore, in the description, I will only mention the pottery designations used by the excavators and Webb.

History of the City

The city of Enkomi was founded at the end of the Middle Cypriot (MC III), dated to ca 1700 BC (fig. 6)²⁷. The remains of this period have been examined only in very limited soundings, and seem to have been destroyed towards 1600 BC²⁸.

From the LC I on to the LC IIC, the reoccupied site had the appearance of different independent units with open spaces between for sectional graveyards²⁹. One or more

²³ KLING 1989: 25.

²⁴ KLING 1989: 28, 30, 31, 33.

²⁵ KLING 1989: 33.

²⁶ WEBB 1999: 100, 153 note 47.

²⁷ IONAS 1984a: 98; WRIGHT 1992: 86.

²⁸ IONAS 1984b: 51.

²⁹ DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 7.

- Bibliography -

Enkomi Levels described in this Report	Cypriote Periods to which the Levels correspond	Absolute dates suggested in this Report B. C.	Sjöqvist ¹ 1940 B. C.	Schaeffer ² 1948 B. C.	Furumark and Dikaios ³ 1957 B. C.	Åström ⁴ 1967 B. C.
Level A	MCIII	c. 1700-1600		1750-1600		1700-1575
		1600-1575				
Level IA	LCIA	1575-1525	LCIA 1550-1450	LCI		LCIA 1575-1550/1525
Level IB	LCIB	1525-1425	LCIB 1450-1400	1600-1450		LCIB 1550/25-1450/25
Level II A	Phases: 1st } LCIIA 2nd } 3rd } LCIIB	1425/1400-1375 1375-1350 1350-1300	LCIIA 1400-1350 LCIIB 1350-1275	LCII 1450-1350	LCIIA 1400-1360 LCIIB 1360-1300	LCIIA 1450/25-1375 LCIIB 1375-1320/1300
Level II B	Phases: 1st } 2nd = Fortific. Wall } LCIIC	1300-1250 1275-1200 1250-1230	LCIIC 1275-1200	LCIII 1350-1300	LCIIC 1300-1230	LCIIC 1320/1300-1225
Level III A	Phases: 1st } LCIIIA (1) 2nd } LCIIIA (2)	1220/10-1190 1190-1150	LCIIIA 1200-1150		LCIIIA (1) 1230-1190 LCIIIA (2) 1190-1150	LCIIIA 1225-1150 LCIIB 1150-1050
Level III B	1st } 2nd }	1150-1125/1100 1125/1100-1075	LCIIB 1150-1075	Chypriote Fer I 1200-1050	LCIIB (1) 1150-1075	
Level III C	LCIIB (1)					
Not represented	LCIIB (2)	1075-1050				
Partial reoccupation (superficial layers)	CGI	1050-950				
Not represented	CGII	950-850				
Partial reoccupation and tomb at Kaminia	CGIII-CAI	850-600				

¹ *Problems* p. 197 ² *Stratigraphie* p. 403 ³ *Op. Athen.* VI (1965) p. 115 ⁴ *Arts and Crafts* p. X.

Figure 6: Chronological table for Enkomi by Dikaios comparing different dates proposed by different authors (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 438, 496).

strongholds protected the ensemble³⁰. To the north, in Dikaïos' Area III was a fortress at Level I, at the LC I period³¹. In Level IIA were dwellings, and in Level IIB a large independent residence. Some years before the destruction of this level, a fortification wall was built to the north of it³².

At the end of the LC II, the city was abandoned for a decade³³. The new breath after the abandonment in the LC III period was attributed to the Achaeans, being either immigrants or merchants. Enkomi is then entirely reorganised following a square grid plan, enclosed with

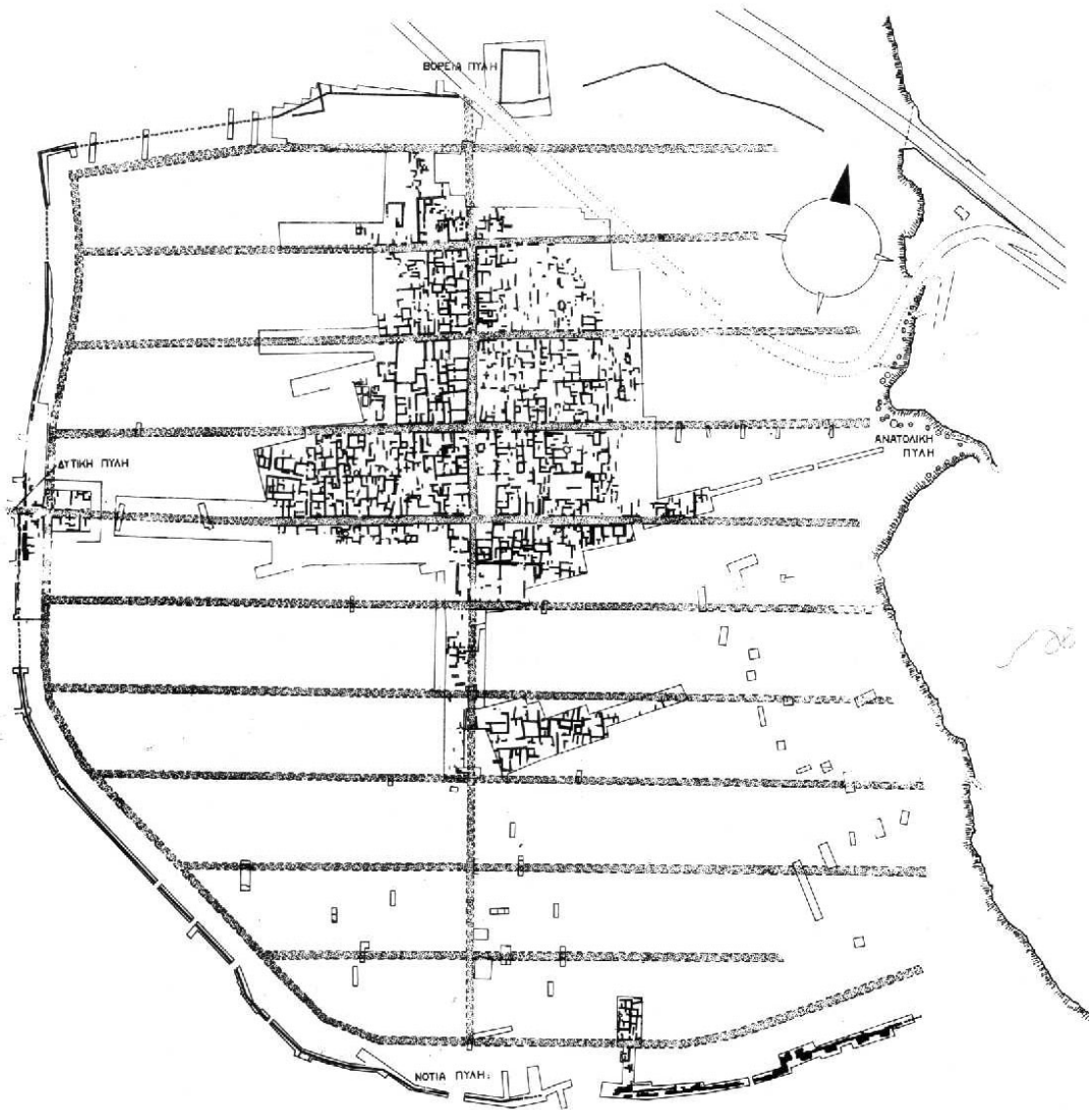


Figure 7: Town plan of Enkomi (KARAGEORGHIS 1990: 90).

³⁰ DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 499; WRIGHT 1992: 86-87.

³¹ WRIGHT 1992: 90.

³² IONAS 1984b: 53.

³³ IONAS 1984a: 98.

a non-geometric fortification wall (fig. 7)³⁴. This wall measured some 400 m north/south by 350 m east/west³⁵. The orientation of the street pattern is close to the cardinal points. Two main thoroughfares intersect at right angles in the middle of the town possibly ending into four city gates³⁶. A series of parallel east-west streets formed the grid with ten narrow long insulae, four of them to the north and six to the south of the main east-west street. No other north-south streets but some dead ends between the buildings in each quarter have been discovered. The different quarters were numbered from the north on and added with the indication East or West in relation to the main street. By now, a ring road ran around the inside of the city wall some 20 m away of it. Ashlar makes his entrance in the city where monumental constructions were being built. The most monumental or important public buildings were situated near the centre of the city, where a paved place marked the crossing of the two main streets³⁷. There were also indications of industrial activities such as the processing of metals, e.g. along the ring road to the north³⁸. However, only a part of the city has been excavated. Therefore, we cannot yet have a clear idea of the possible zoning of the different activities. There seems to be no or only little and not well reliably identified indications of cult places in this period. The development of the city would not have taken more than half a century³⁹.

At the end of the LC IIIA, the city was violently destroyed, according to the excavators by the Sea People⁴⁰. Thereafter, while the same overall plan was reused, no further construction took place in monumental ashlar masonry. The remains of the former buildings were reused, but within a new construction of rubble⁴¹. In the reconstruction of the city, the excavators could recognise the first reliably identified traces of cult at Enkomi.

Around 1125/1100, the end of the LC IIIB, the city was again destroyed but by an earthquake. According to Schaeffer, the Sea People then became masters of the island. Dikaïos and Karageorghis believed that Achaeans associated to the Sea People reconstructed the city as well as the town of Kition⁴². The cult activity continued in this period, but with some modifications.

³⁴ WRIGHT 1992: 90-92.

³⁵ KARAGEORGHIS 1990: 87.

³⁶ WRIGHT 1992: 88, 91.

³⁷ SCHAEFFER 1971b: 569; WRIGHT 1992: 88.

³⁸ SCHAEFFER 1971b: 568.

³⁹ WRIGHT 1992: 87.

⁴⁰ SCHAEFFER 1971a: 356; SCHAEFFER 1971b: 369; DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 196, 316, 488, 801-802.

⁴¹ WRIGHT 1992: 89.

⁴² IONAS 1984a: 105.

The city was abandoned definitely around 1075–1050 BC, corresponding to the end of the Cypro-Geometric I of Schaeffer and the end of the LC III according to Dikaios. Squatters may have continued to live in the ruins or people may have come back to deposit some offerings even after the abandonment of most of the town⁴³.

Cult Places

Among the excavated structures at Enkomi, the excavators have attributed a ritual

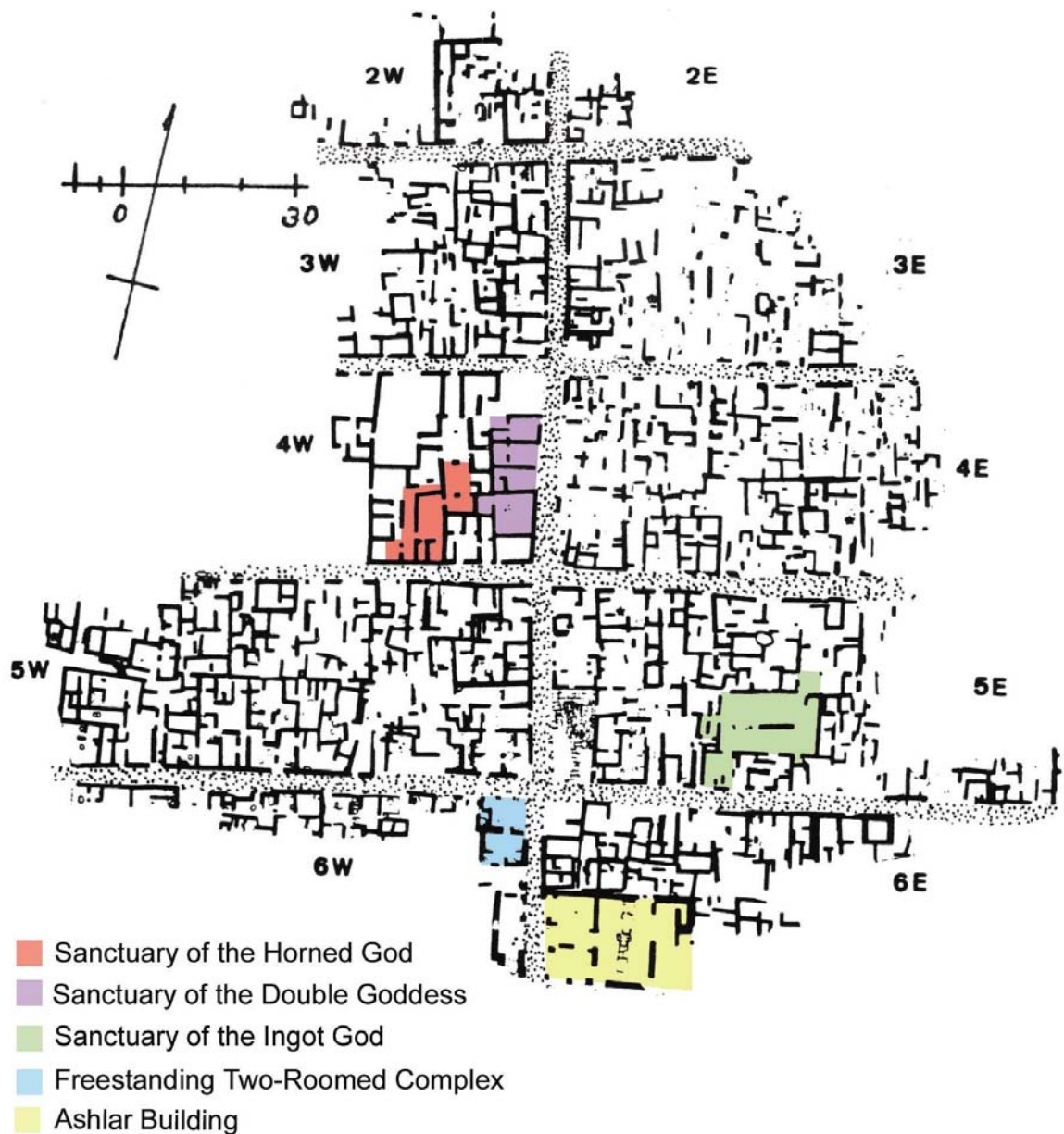


Figure 7: Plan of the central part of the city of Enkomi indicating the situation of all cult places the plan of which has been published (after WRIGHT 1992: fig. 49).

⁴³ IONAS 1984b: 60.

function to some rooms or even complexes of rooms linked with each other. There naturally has been some discussion on the attributions, and the structures and publications are continuously reassessed. For lack of time and knowledge in architecture, I will not discuss all this again, but mainly base the choice and description of the “cultic” remains at Enkomi on the recent study of Webb published in 1999⁴⁴. She grouped all ritual architecture of Cyprus into three classes: reliably identified sites, less reliably sites and misidentified sites. Her assessment was based on a combination of factors involving the location, the plan, the architecture, the furniture and the finds⁴⁵. Here, I will naturally only discuss architectural remains at Enkomi from the first two groups.

Being a town, the ritual evidence in Enkomi is found within the town structure, perhaps even intermingled with the habitations. The town is divided into rectangular quarters, made by straight streets crossing regularly (fig. 8). Each of the reliably or less reliably identified cult places at Enkomi will therefore be presented following the order of the quarters, from the north to the south and the west to the east. After being situated in the quarter itself and the chronology of the remains being mentioned, the description will be divided into the architecture including the interior furniture such as benches, stone bases and hearths, and the finds. A short discussion will then follow each description, dealing with the immediate interpretation of the specific remains of a cult place necessary to a more general study.

⁴⁴ WEBB 1999.

⁴⁵ WEBB 1999: 157.

Quarter 4 West

In 1948 and 1949, the Cyprus Department of Antiquities under the direction of P. Dikaios excavated a building constructed for a considerable part in ashlar masonry in Quarter 4 West (Area I) of the town (fig. 8). Level IIIA was the first habitation level of the ashlar building as such. From Level IIIB onwards, some parts of it were used for ritual activities.

The building has been published as a preliminary report in 1962 in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* and was discussed again in the final publication of the Cypriot excavations⁴⁶.

At Level IIIA (LC IIIA:1), the excavated ashlar building measured 32.5 m north/south by 28.5m east/west, and was centred on a large pillared room, a megaron. It appears to have been used for domestic purposes although its size and monumental character suggest at least an official residence.

After a first destruction in ca. 1190 BC, the building was reconstructed shortly after in Level IIIB (LC III A:2 – III B:1), mainly with rubble, but also with dressed reused blocks and mudbricks (occupation Floors III and II) (fig. 9). At this stage, the pillared megaron was divided and so lost its official character. The residential and domestic use was restricted to the northwestern, north-central and western sectors, whereas cult activity was introduced in the south-central and southeastern sectors, the southern part being better preserved after the destruction. These areas are identified respectively as the “Sanctuary of the Horned God”, after a bronze statue found in the level above, Level IIIC, and the “Sanctuary of the Double Goddess”. The change in use at this level was accompanied by a change in the orientation of the building, the main entrance now being situated to the south, instead of the north as before⁴⁷. This central doorway to the south replaced an impressive doorway to the east, and was provided with steps built of stone slabs and flanked by one slab. It led to Room 3, to the east of Room 1. Two megara were established, one to the east (Room 12), and the other one more to the west (Room 45) which communicated directly with the street to a second southern entrance.

A second general destruction of the building took place during the last quarter of the 12th century BC (1125/1100), after which it was only partially rebuilt in Level III C (Floor I) (LC III B:1) (fig. 10). It then appears to consist of some courts surrounded by rooms, in this period. Part of the rooms formerly used for ritual activities, the Sanctuary of the Horned God

⁴⁶ DIKAIOS 1962; DIKAIOS 1969/1971:171-200, 514-16, 523-24, 527-30.

⁴⁷ For the detailed argumentation about the entrances, see DIKAIOS 1969/1971:191.

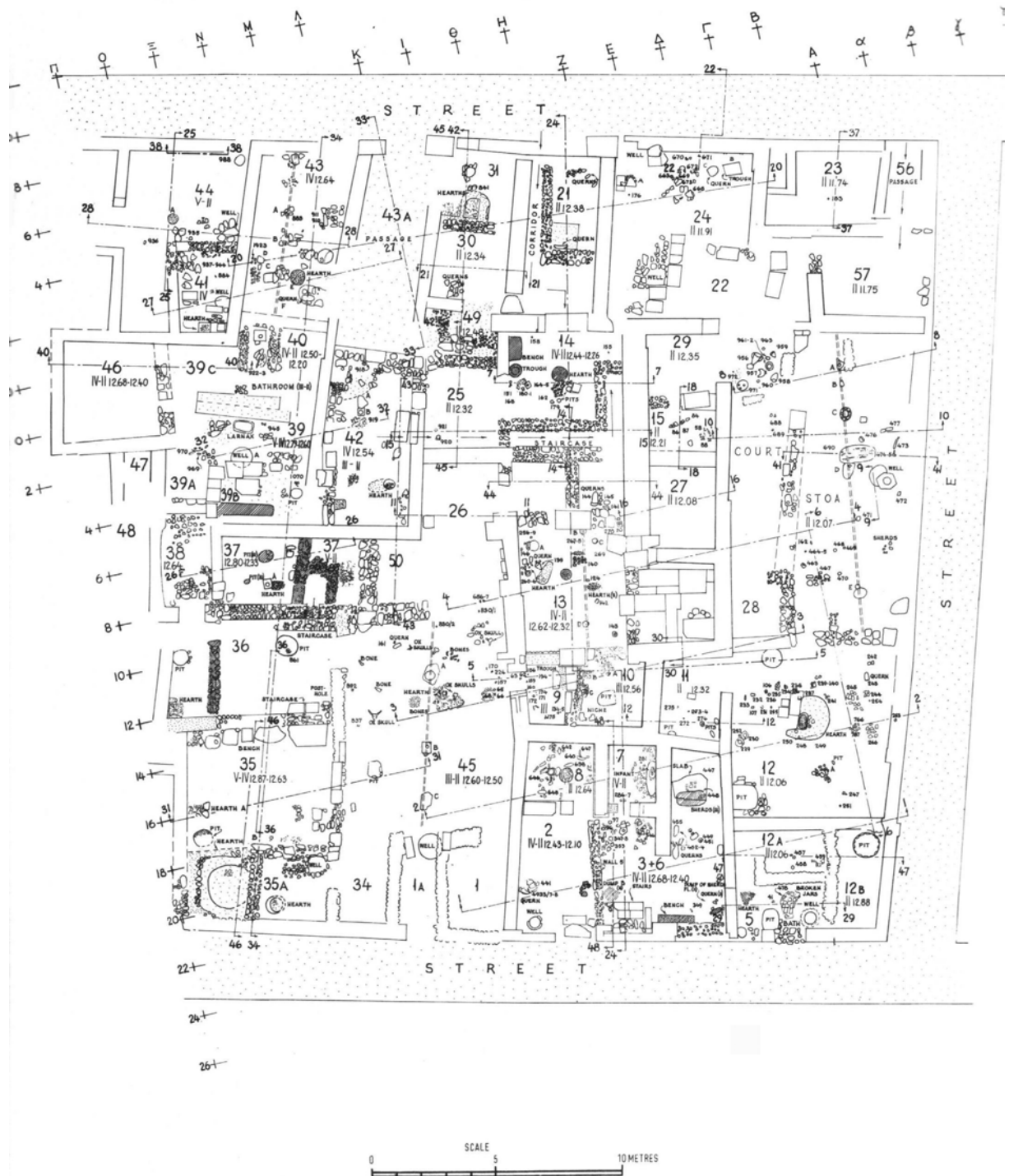


Figure 9: Ground plan at Level IIIB of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 4 West (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 276).

was rebuilt with only some slight changes and reused as a sanctuary. There is no suggestion that the other cult unit, the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess, continued to be used for ritual purposes in this Level⁴⁸. The building remained in use until the abandonment of the town in

⁴⁸ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:212-218.

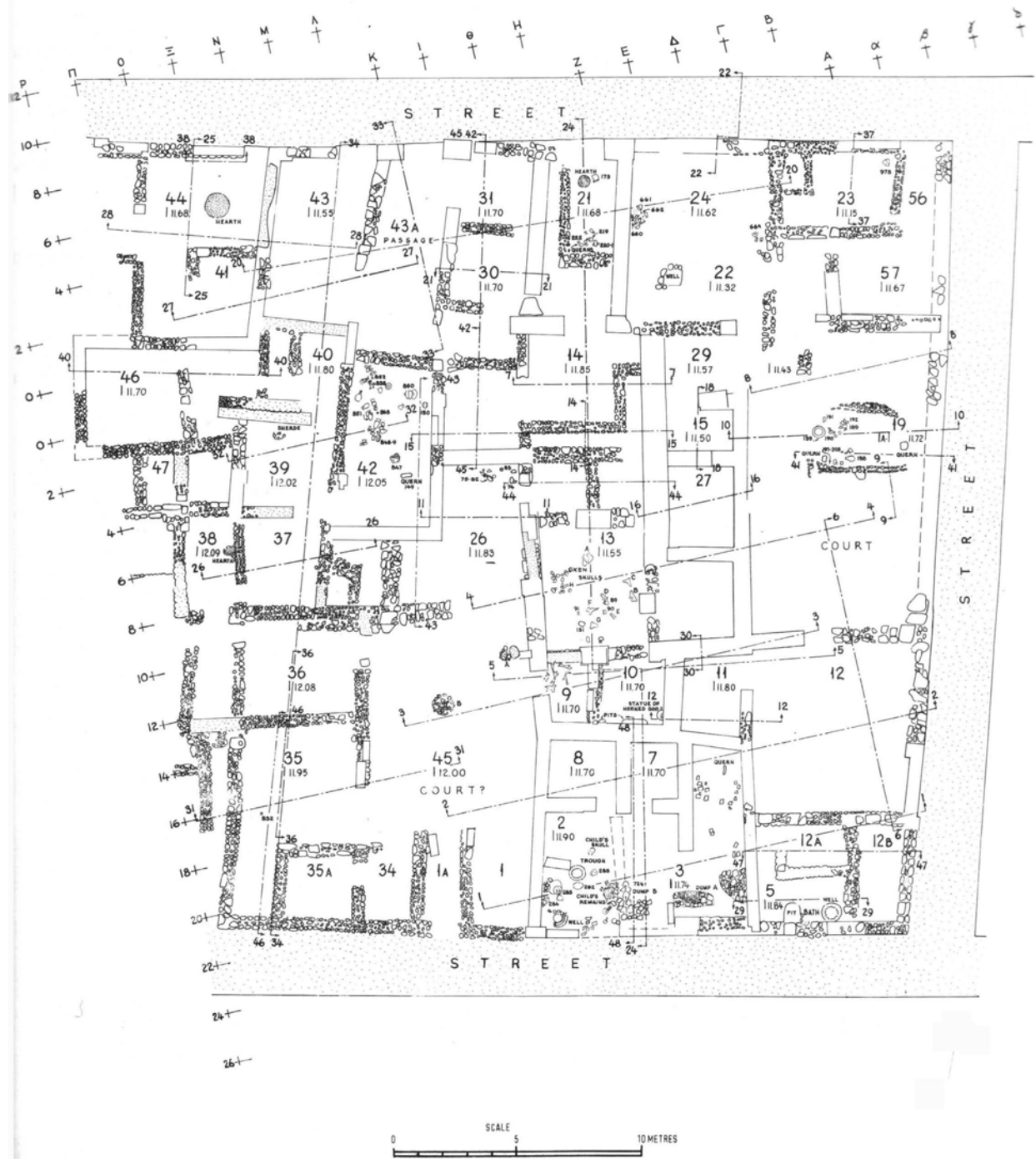


Figure 10: Ground plan at Level IIIC of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 4 West (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 278).

about 1075 BC, possibly after another violent destruction. The study of this latest Floor or Level has been obscured by intense cultivation and other interference, disturbing the stratigraphical evidence. Indeed, these remains were lying immediately under the surface soil.

The absolute dates proposed by Dikaïos and mentioned above (fig. 6) have to be lowered somewhat, according to Webb, since an initial date for LC III A in ca. 1190 BC, rather than 1220 BC, is now widely accepted⁴⁹.

Sanctuary of the Horned God

- Architecture of Level IIIB

The rooms comprising the so-called Sanctuary of the Horned God were arranged and used for ritual activities in Level IIIB (fig. 11). The principal component of the complex is a large pillared hall oriented north/south, **Room 45**, entered from the street to the south, Street 4 West, by Room 1A. At Level IIIB, it measured 8.75 m north/south by 6.75 m east/west and led at least to two small rooms to the northeast, Rooms 9 and 10, created at this stage in the former central megaron (10, 13, 14). Three columns, presumably in wood, on stone bases embedded in the floor along the more or less central north/south axis supported the roof of the hall⁵⁰. A rudimentary hearth (0.50 m across) was situated west of the two northernmost columns on the original floor of Level IIIB, Floor III. It was superseded on the subsequent Floor II by a larger hearth (1.2 m across) west of the doorway to Room 9. To the west of the two southernmost columns was dug a shallow rectangular pit (0.65 m by 0.55 m) lined with a few stones.

Room 9 (2.45 m north/south by 1.55 m east/west) was, as mentioned above, entered from the hall, Room 45, and led to Room 10 by a doorway (1.65 m large) provided with a threshold.

Room 10 (2.50 m square) contained two stone slabs in its southwest

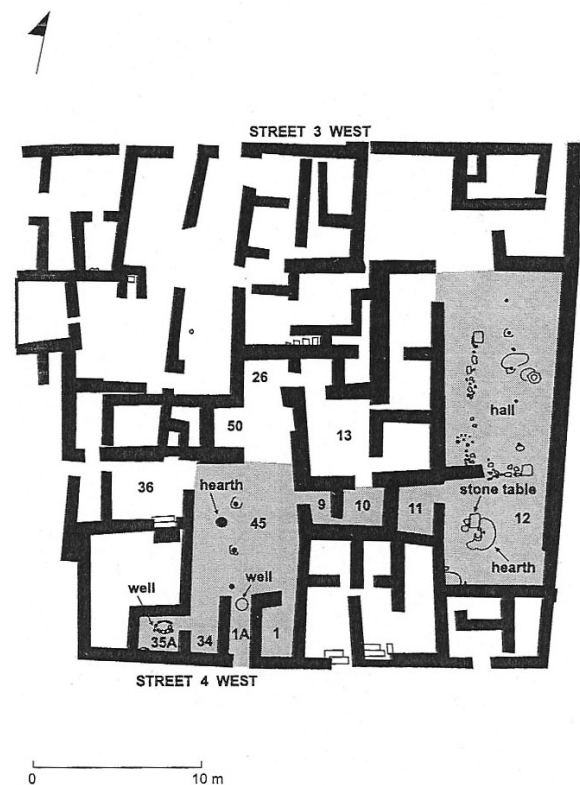


Figure 11: Plan of the Ashlar Building at Level IIIB indicating the situation of the Sanctuary of the Horned God and of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess (WEBB 1999: 93 fig. 36).

⁴⁹ For a discussion on the chronology, see WEBB 1999:7, 91-92.

⁵⁰ For further description and dimensions of the stone bases, see DIKAIOS 1969/1971, 194-195.

corner, whose northern edges were cut to form a semi-circular niche corresponding with a slight depression in the floor (fig. 12: indicated with a single arrow). To the centre of the room was a pit (0.64 m across) of which the eastern end and the lower part had been destroyed by tomb searchers (by a pit and a tunnel).



Figure 12: View of Room 10 at Level IIIB (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 35A.1).

Regarding the specific stratigraphy in this room, Schaeffer considers that the numbering by Dikaïos of the floors in Room 10 is erroneous⁵¹. Floor IV was the surface of the dismantling of Floor V and not a real habitation surface. Therefore, Floor III by Dikaïos would have to be numbered Floor IV, and Floor II Floor III (fig. 19 p. 34).

Several other rooms, by their location, have probably to be associated with the cult unit. **Room 1A** (4.5 m by 1.5 m) formed the narrow entrance into the hall coming from Street 4 West. At the northern end of this Room, there was a well flanked by two dressed stone slabs⁵². The well was 5.60 m depth, its lower part cut in the bedrock and the upper part shaped with stones in corbelled fashion.

On either side of Room 1A were situated **Rooms 1 and 34**, only accessible from the hall.

⁵¹ SCHAEFFER 1971a:539-541.

⁵² A large pit dug by tomb-searchers disturbed the evidence concerning the stratigraphical connection between the stone slabs and the well and floor around. Therefore, it is not known at which stage in the building the slabs were erected. DIKAIOS 1969/1971:183.

Room 34 was linked by a doorway to **Room 35A**, the eastern part of the former Room 35, incorporated in this level in the unit formed around Room 45. This room contained another well and a hearth (0.80 m across) later reduced in size (0.40 m across) by mudbricks on its side.

Rooms 50 and 26 (5.50 north/south by 5 m east/west, 3 m at the north) formed direct extensions of the hall to the north.

The southwest corner of part **14** of the former central megaron was isolated to be included in the south unit and to be a link between Room 26 and Room 13.

Room 13 (4.75 m by 4 m), the southernmost part of the former megaron, communicated directly with Room 10, and there were probably more accesses to the room⁵³. However, Burdajewicz doesn't agree that there was a connection between Room 10 and 13⁵⁴. East of its centre was the area of a hearth (0.60 m by 0.40 m) covered with carbonised matter. To the north was situated an area (0.50 m by 0.33 m) covered with stones, according to the excavators probably the base of a wooden post⁵⁵; nearby, the floor was covered with ashes and carbonised matter, probably the result of the burning of the post.

Room 36 (3.75 north/south by 6.50 east/west) gave access to the hall from the west, later reduced in size by a new west wall⁵⁶. In the northeastern part was made a circular depression (0.86 m across, 0.15 m deep), its sides plastered with mud mortar. A second depression (0.65 m across, 0.20 m deep) was found near the western wall. A staircase was constructed in the southeast corner during the use of Floor III, which must have led to an upper storey⁵⁷. Floor II of the same room was provided with a hearth (0.30 m across) in the southwestern corner. A semi-circular niche was in the same corner, being the lowest part of a chimney according to Dikaios⁵⁸.

- **Finds of Level IIIB**

The finds reported in the Sanctuary of the Horned God were mainly concentrated in Rooms 45, 9 and 10, which led to their identification as the core area of the ritual activity.

⁵³ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:200-201.

⁵⁴ BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 40-41.

⁵⁵ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:201.

⁵⁶ The stratigraphic relation of the new wall to the different floors is not mentioned in the final publication. DIKAIOS 1969/1971:206.

⁵⁷ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:206; WEBB 1999:92.

⁵⁸ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:206.

At Level IIIB, attributed to Floor III of **Room 45**, an ox skull was laying face up west of the hearth, while a stone mould for gold ornaments (fig. 13) and a haematite weight were found near the western wall. Near the entrance to Room 9 were a fragment of a faience bowl and an ivory lid (fig. 13) together with a bronze arrowhead or miniature spearhead⁵⁹, two miniature horn models of gold leaf possibly from a bull's-head rhyton (fig. 14)⁶⁰, parts of gold leaf, and unidentified animal bones. The same Room 45 contained on the level of Floor II two fragmentary ox skulls near the hearth and partly on the ashes. Three more skulls

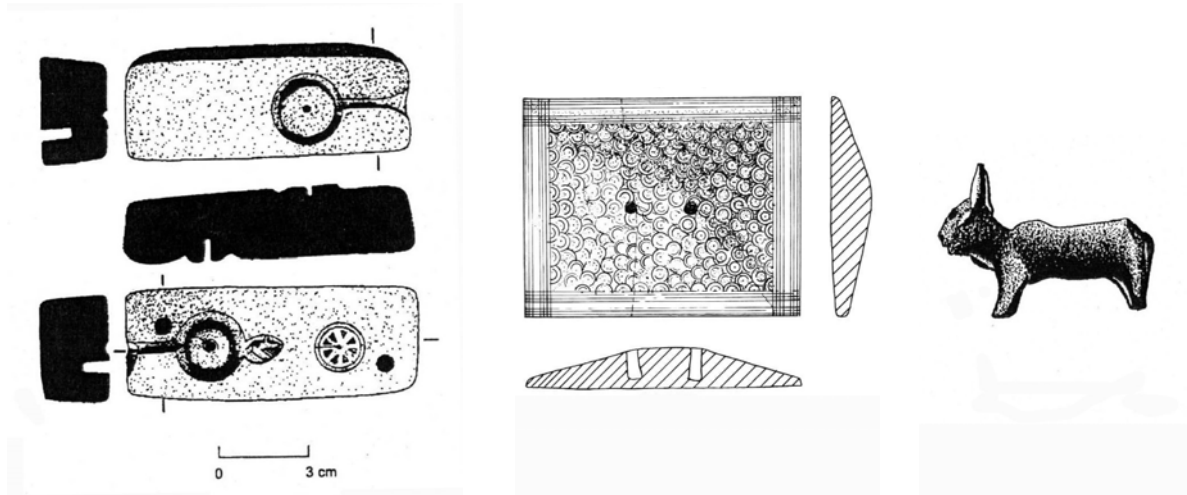


Figure 13: Stone mould, ivory lid and bronze bull from Room 45 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Level IIIB (WEBB 1999: 94 fig. 37.2; DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 168.36; pl. 171.51).

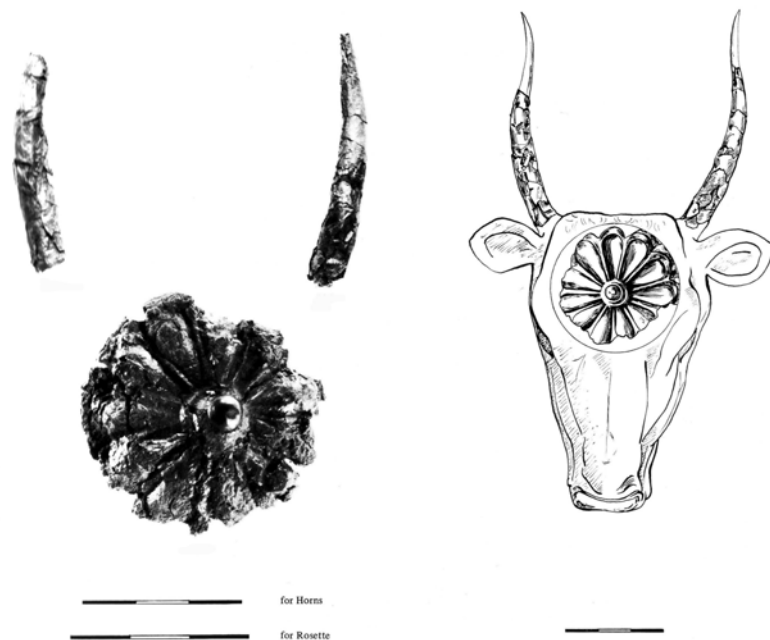


Figure 14: Gold leaf horns from Room 45 and lead rosette from Room 9 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Level IIIB and reconstruction of the rhyton (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 136).

⁵⁹ Miniature bronze spearhead: DIKAIOS 1969/1971:195. Arrowhead: WEBB 1999: 92.

together with other animal bones were found farther to the north. In the northwestern part of the floor were lying a fragmentary vessel of WPW-m III (Myc. IIIC:1b) and a quern. A small bronze bull was discovered near the doorway to Room 9 (fig. 13) as well as two fragments of a bronze sickle.

In the northeast corner of **Room 9**, a stone trough (0.70 m by 0.32 m) laid inverted on Floor III, a channel along one of its narrow sides connecting with a hole through the centre of the base. Underneath it, a few bones of animals and birds were collected. Two gold pendants and animal bones also belonged to Floor III. Floor II of the same room produced a Plain White Wheel-made juglet, a gold pendant of similar type as the ones on Floor III, a gold nail, a lead rosette covered with gold sheet (fig. 14) and a miniature ox horn of gold leaf possibly from a bull's head rhyton⁶¹. In addition, there were two bronze pins and a bronze concave head of a nail, the strainer spout of a Base-Ring jug and animal bones. In the debris overlying Floor II were found antlers, an ox skull and horn, and articulated leg bones.

In the northwest corner and along the western wall of **Room 10** were a total of 276 Plain White Wheel-made II bowls overlying a small round pit (0.42 m across, 0.14 m deep)

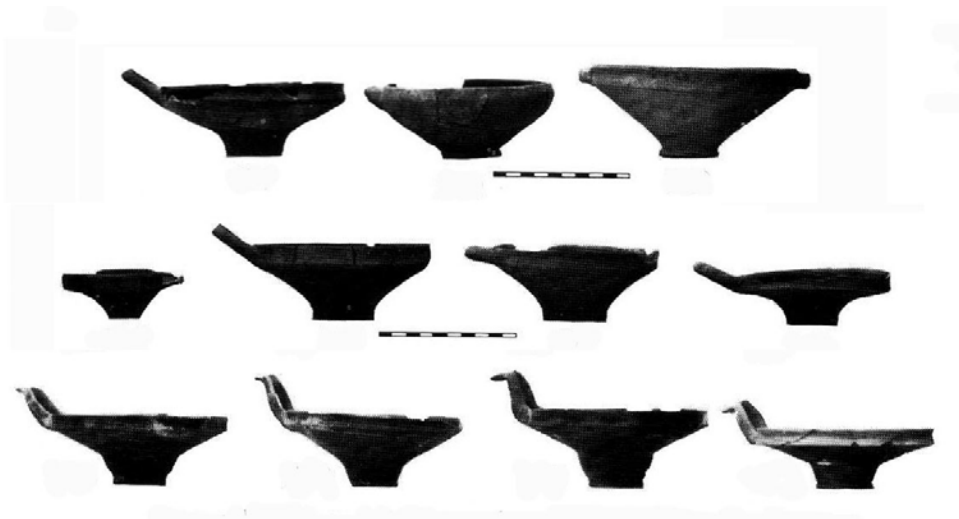


Figure 15: Bowls and pottery from the deposits in Room 10 at Level IIIB (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 95.4).

(fig. 15). These bowls imitate Base-Ring Ware shapes and were lying upside down one upon the other originally in three separate deposits, A to C (fig. 12). Among them were also a bowl of White Painted Wheel-made III shape (Myc. IIIC:1b) (fig. 15: third bowl on the first line), fragments of at least three bowls of White Painted Wheel-made III⁶², a few sherds of White

⁶⁰ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:195, note 157. See also 197, note 160.

⁶¹ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:197, note 160.

⁶² According to Webb (1999: 96). There can be a correspondance between these bowls and the following mentioned by Dikaaios.

Slip II, Myc. IIIB, IIIC: 1b and IIIC: 1c. In addition, the deposits contained an alabaster jug and its limestone lid (fig. 16) that may be Egyptian⁶³. Under deposit B was a conical stone bead and under the northeastern wall, a bronze knife was discovered (fig. 16). A few animal bones were found between deposits A and B. A stone trough presenting grooves along both narrow sides ending in a perforated base was upside down amid the destruction debris. On top of the lower, ashlar course of the eastern wall, being the ground level at the time of the destruction of Level IIIB, 58 small fragmentary objects were discovered (fig. 12: double

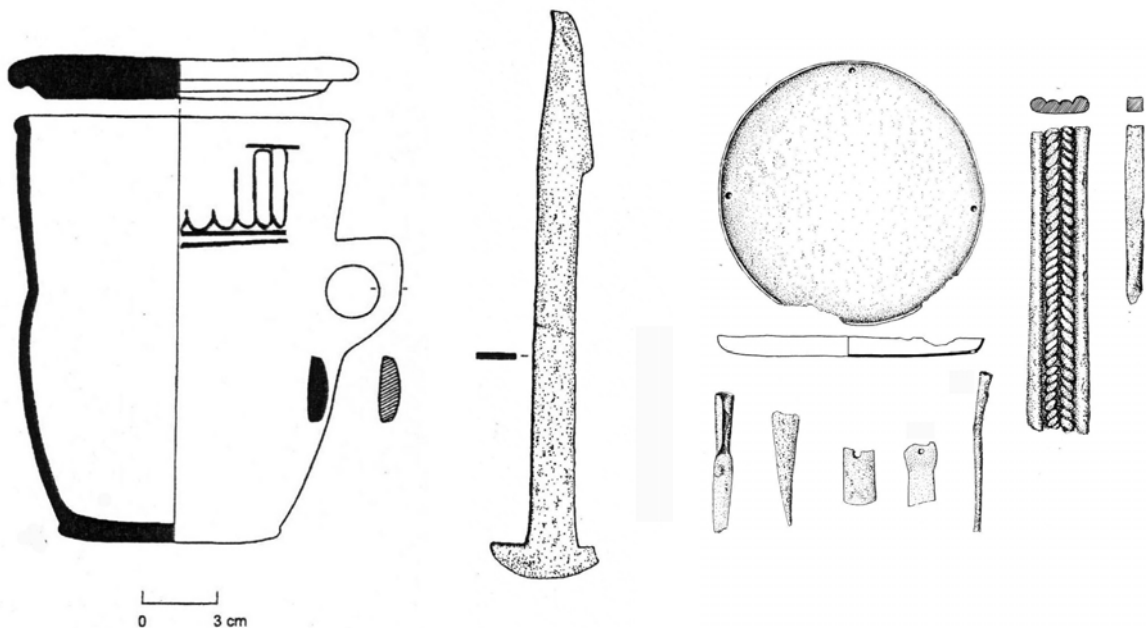


Figure 16: Alabaster jug with limestone lid, bronze knife and bronze objects of foundation deposit from Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Level IIIB (WEBB 1999: 94 fig. 37.3; DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 171.53; pl. 172.2-11).

arrow). As Dikaïos suggested, these may be the remains of the offerings retrieved from Room 10 of Level IIIB and placed on the wall as a foundation deposit prior to the reconstruction of the wall in mudbrick for Level IIIC⁶⁴. This group of objects contained a silver ribbon and a paste bead, which support Dikaïos' identification as votives rather than scrap metal gathered for remelting as Catling suggests⁶⁵. A bronze scale pan, cup, tripod leg, drill, tool and tube were also included in the deposit, together with a miniature spearhead, miniature spear and miniature chisel of bronze (fig. 16). The latter recalls the miniature sickle found before the hand of the Horned God statue found in the subsequent stage of the building.

⁶³ WEBB 1999: 96.

⁶⁴ DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 295-296, 815, pl. 35.1, 36.41, 146.21, 172.2-11.

⁶⁵ CATLING 1964: 288-289.

Outside the “core area” formed by Rooms 45, 9 and 10, the other rooms linked to it also revealed some objects in Level IIIB.

In **Room 13** were discovered, near the area of the wooden post covered with stones, a Plain Ware amphora and jug as well as part of a Canaanite jar. Another Canaanite jar was found not far from the west wall, together with part of an antler covering a bronze fishhook west of the jar. Another Plain Wheel-Made vessel was discovered in the southeastern corner and on either side of the hearth were a fish bone and a fragmentary ladle of Plain Ware. According to Webb, Room 13 contained also a fragmentary pithos, a White Painted Wheel-made III kylix, a terracotta crucible, and several fish bones and an iron knife⁶⁶. In the destruction debris were an iron knife, gold sheet, a second bronze fishhook and a bronze pin.

In the small room northeast of Room 13 were two querns, a large (0.52 m by 0.32 m) and a small one as well as fragments of plain vessels⁶⁷.

Room 26 produced, in the layer covering Floor II, two terracotta loomweights, a fragmentary terracotta bull figurine, a pilgrim flask and a bronze arrowhead.

In the plastered depression in **Room 36** were fragments of Myc. III C:1 and plain pottery.

The filling of the well in **Room 1A** contained Late IIIB, Myc. IIIC: 1b, Decorated LC III and Bucchero wheel-made wares, as well as an ox skull (0.80 m above the bottom)⁶⁸.

Finally, between Floors III and II in **Room 35 A** was a cup of Decorated LC III ware. Floor II of the same room has yielded a stone stopper, a few fragments of pottery including Decorated LC III ware, and a terracotta loomweight.

- **Architecture of Level IIIC**

At Level IIIC, the Sanctuary of the Horned God was reconstructed with some minor alterations compared to the previous level (fig. 17). **Room 9** and 10 continued to be the focus of the ritual activity.

In the southeast corner of **Room 10** a pit was dug (0.45 m by 0.25 m, 0.55 avg. depth) in the destruction debris of the former period, Level IIIB. The lower part of the pit was divided by a narrow partition, the undug part of the debris. Near the south wall were two more pits (one of them: 1.05 m long, 0.40 m wide, 0.60 m deep), suggested by Dikaios to be the

⁶⁶ WEBB 1999:96.

⁶⁷ It is not clear which room is designated here, and if really the northeastern one (part of former megaron 14), if this is part of the unit of the Horned God. DIKAIOS 1969/1971:201.

⁶⁸ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:183.

result of the search for the bronze statue found in the southeast corner and other valuable objects after the destruction of the Level IIIB building⁶⁹. A similar pit was found along the north wall of the room.

In **Room 45**, two circular stone hearth platforms suggest that this room was still used at the time of Level IIIC, possibly for the ritual. One of the platforms (A: 0.90 m across), to the eastern wall just north of the doorway to Room 9, consisted of a sandstone slab and smaller stones, the upper surface of which showed traces of fire. The second platform (B: 0.85 m across, 0.36-0.50 m high) was built of two or three courses of stones, two of which bore traces of fire.

Room 13 became a more important one with its access from Room 26 via a small antechamber. The opening leading to Room 10 was then blocked, and a new doorway was built to Room 9.

Room 26 also showed evidence of reuse, according to the excavators, but the evidence is not mentioned in the final publication.

Access to the unit from Street 4 West remained, as well as the lack of communication with the rest of the building.

- Finds of Level IIIC

Room 9 produced ox horns, antlers and animal bones.

The pit dug in the southeast corner of **Room 10** revealed in one of its compartments the bronze statue of the so-called Horned God (54.2 cm high) (fig. 18) in a standing position. It was facing the doorway to Room 9, his feet resting on Floor II of Level IIIB. A miniature bronze sickle (fig. 18) was found before his right, extended hand. It has a cap with horns on

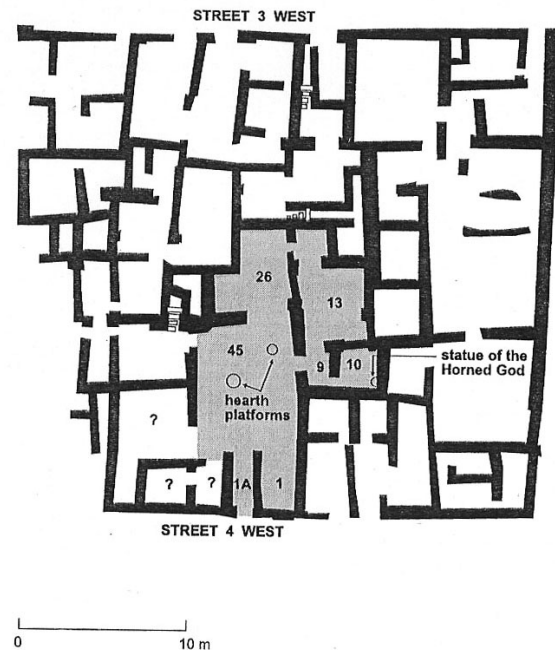


Figure 17: Plan of the Ashlar Building at Level IIIC indicating the situation of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (WEBB 1999: 97 fig. 39).

⁶⁹ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:197-198, 216.



Figure 18: Bronze statue of the Horned God and miniature bronze sickle from Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Level IIIC (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 140; pl. 142; pl. 147.45a).

his head. The other compartment of the pit contained a jaw of an unidentified animal. In the filling were also a bronze pin and a bronze ribbon.

Room 45 contained no finds at this Level.

Room 13 produced eight ox skulls, two Canaanite jars, a wall bracket, a jug of Cretan origin, a stone quern, and, according to Webb, at least one antler⁷⁰.

In **Room 26** were discovered four Base-Ring Wheel-made bowls and three Plain White Wheel-made I bowls imitating Base-Ring II Ware.

- Discussion

The excavators assumed that the Sanctuary of the Horned God was built only in Level IIIB, no specific religious objects and indications being found in the levels below. However, Wright argues that the remains of Level IIIA may have been cleaned out before beginning the new construction⁷¹. Therefore, he doesn't think it impossible that the cult place dated already

⁷⁰ Webb claims that the antler is not mentioned in the published reports, but visible on the plan. WEBB 1999:99.

⁷¹ WRIGHT 1992: 94.

to the Level IIIA. As there is no indication of it in the remains, it is consistent not to take this argument into account and to consider only the well-identified Levels of cult.

The most important and discussed object of the Sanctuary is the bronze statue of the Horned God. Its context of use and deposition is not very clear. According to Dikaïos, this statue originally belonged to Floor III of Level IIIB where it rested on a pedestal in a semi-circular niche in Room 10⁷². Several pits and the general stratigraphic indications would suggest that the earlier deposits have been disturbed. Therefore, the occupants of Floor I could have searched for and retrieved some items, in particular the statue, from the earlier building following the destruction of Floor II.

What were then the circumstances of the final deposition? Webb assumes that the pit in which the statue was found was dug either from or through Floor I, the final floor of the

sanctuary, to the level preceding Floor II⁷³. Indeed, as can be seen on the section drawing (fig. 19), the pit was filled by the general post-abandonment fill overlying Floor I. That means that the pit was not closed or made during the use of this Floor I or immediately upon the final abandonment. It also suggests that the statue was not either ritually buried or hidden, but placed in an open pit and protruding some 0.05 m above Floor I.

It was suggested by Dikaïos that, immediately after the destruction of Floor I, the inhabitants dug in the debris in order to unearth the Statue of

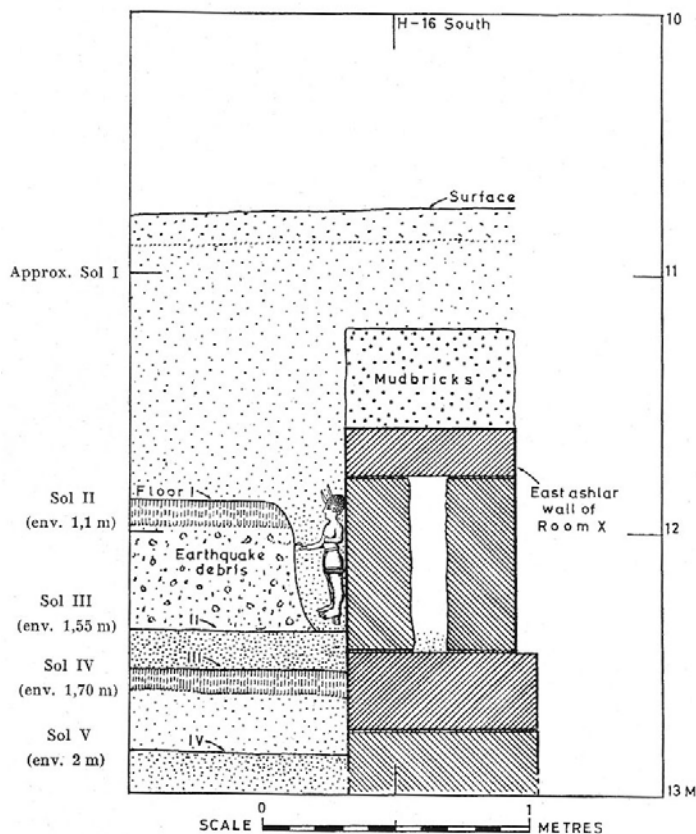


Figure 19: West-east section through Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God with the indication of the modified numbering by Schaeffer (SCHAEFFER 1971a: 535 fig. 13).

⁷² DIKAIOS 1969/1971:198.

⁷³ WEBB 1999:99.

their God⁷⁴. Floor I of Room 10 contained a second pit along the south wall and another smaller one almost above the suggested position of the statue on Floor III. The statue, once unearthed, would be installed in the same room in a pit to provide a temporary residence, while the rites would continue on Floor I in Room 13. A similar pit containing a bronze statue is present also in Alalakh, in the temple of Level I phase B (1220 – 1190 BC)⁷⁵. However, this statue represents a king, and seems to be preserved as an heirloom.

Sanctuary of the Double Goddess

As mentioned above, ritual activity was introduced during Level IIIB in the ashlar building of Quarter 4 West. Apart from the so-called Sanctuary of the Horned God, another cult unit was found in the southeast of the building, occupying a similar area and concentrating around Rooms 11 and 12 (fig. 20)⁷⁶. This eastern unit is associated with a single level identified as Floor II, corresponding to the second of the two phases of Level IIIB in the Horned God unit⁷⁷. The ritual activity is thus introduced here some years after the cult of the Horned God. There is no suggestion that Rooms 11 and 12 continued to be used for ritual purposes in Level IIIC⁷⁸.

- Architecture

Room 12 (7 m north/south by 6.20 m east/west), one of the core rooms, presented on its east/west axis two post-holes, used at least during Floor III, and probably supporting the roof. To the northwest, a rectangle of three stone slabs (1 m by 0.8 m) may have served either as other supports for roof columns according

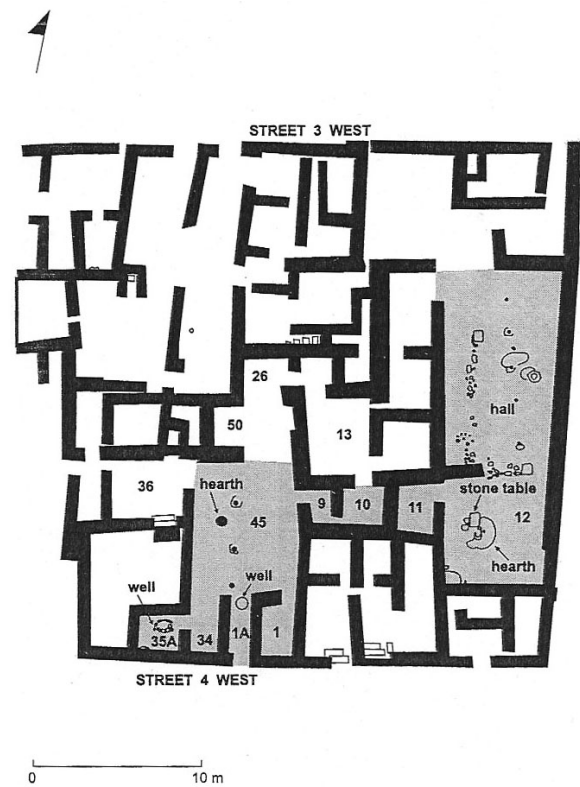


Figure 20: Plan of the Ashlar Building at Level IIIB indicating the situation of the Sanctuary of the Horned God and of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess (WEBB 1999: 93 fig. 36).

⁷⁴ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:198, 216, 219.

⁷⁵ WOOLEY 1955: 89, 240, 391-395, 384-388.

⁷⁶ DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 199-200, 207-208. WEBB 1999:99-101.

⁷⁷ WEBB 1999:100.

⁷⁸ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:212-218.

to Dikaïos, or as a low table of offerings according to Burdajewicz and Webb⁷⁹. Belonging to Floor II, a central area A (0.80 m across) was paved with stones which could have been served as a column base. At a small distance to the northwest, a circular hearth platform (1.70 m across, 0.10 m high) was built of a layer of Coarse Ware sherds plastered over with a thick coat of mud mortar. It overlapped the Floor III rectangle of stone slabs to the west. The fire itself was restricted to a central roughly rectangular enclosure (0.7 m by 0.4 m) built of mud enclosed by a rectangular low wall containing ashes and charcoal.

Room 12 led into the smaller **Room 11** through an opening in its western wall.

North of Room 12 and separated from it by a short wall, another **pillared hall** or court (12 m north/south by 7.75 east/west) linked the unit to an access from Street 3 West. A rough north/south wall was to the west of the Room, possibly supporting a roof. To the east of this wall, an almost parallel row (A-E) composed of triangular, cylindrical and rectangular post bases and a post-hole, gave intermediary support. On the same axis to the north was a piece of wall, also found to the opposite south side. The western part of the hall could thus have been an open-air corridor. East of the posts row, to the centre of the room, was built a well (5.60 m deep), its lower part cut into the bedrock with hand- and footholds on either side. Northeast of the well, near the row of posthole and – bases, was a pit grave (1.56 m long, 0.60 m wide, 0.26 m deep) containing the remains of an adult and an infant⁸⁰.

- Finds

On the platform of the hearth in **Room 12** were discovered two White Painted Wheel-made III (Myc. IIIC: 1c) bowls, a Plain amphoriskos, a fragmentary vase and a whetstone. The surrounding area and the stone slabs produced thirteen deep bowls (fig. 21), an amphora, a jar and other White Painted Wheel-made III (Myc. IIIC:1c) vessels, a jar and four other Plain Ware



Figure 21: Deep bowls and terracotta figurine from Room 12 of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 79. 24, 36; WEBB 1999: 214 fig. 75.4).

⁷⁹ DIKAIOS 1969/1971:200; BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 92; WEBB 1977:116 no. 7, 120-121.

⁸⁰ The stratigraphy and dating of this tomb are not mentioned in the final publication. DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 208.

vessels. It also contained a quern or grinder and a clay sling bullet to the northwest of the hearth. To the eastern wall lay a terracotta female figurine with upraised arms and a disc-shaped head (fig. 21). Finally, between the Levels IIIB and IIIC were discovered three bowls, a plate and a kylix of White Painted Wheel-made III Ware.

A shallow pit in the southeast corner of **Room 11** contained a small double-sided bronze statuette (5.5 cm high) representing a nude female figure with her hands on her breasts (fig. 22). At a small distance to the northwest were a paste bead and a piece of golden leaf as well as a bronze nail of mushroom shape, a bronze pin, and studs, rods and other small objects in bronze.

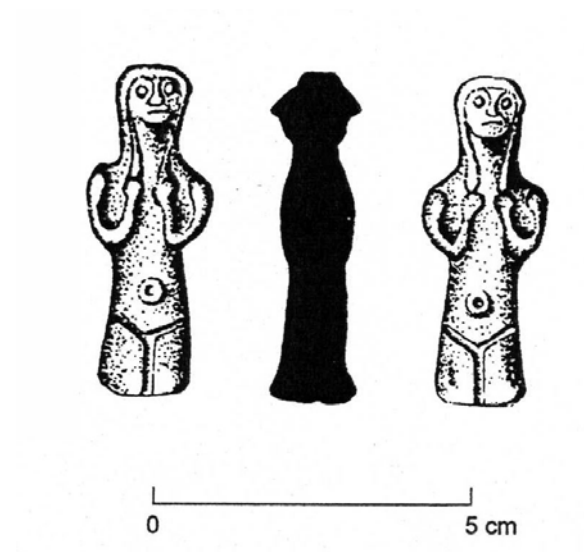


Figure 22: Bronze statue of the Double Goddess
(WEBB 1999: 233 fig. 80.4).

The well in the **hall north of Room 12** contained large quantities of broken pots including four Myc. III C:1 hydrias. The floor east of the rough north/south wall yielded fragments of plain wheel-made vessels, a Late Myc. IIIB bowl, fragments of Myc. III C:1 vessels, a Decorated LC III vase, a juglet of shaved ware, fragments of a clay bath-tub, stone grinders, a stone pestle, a stone spindle-whorl, a terracotta loomweight, and a bronze bracelet. To the north of the presumed corridor were Canaanite amphorae, a pithos, a Coarse ware cup, a funnel of Decorated LC III ware and a stone grinder. Nearby, a pit (0.45 m across) contained a plain jar and a bronze arrowhead.

Discussion

The two different Sanctuaries of the Horned God and of the Double Goddess are, according to Webb, however closely related in surface and even in plan, being arranged with some attention to symmetry, one being almost the reverse image of the other⁸¹. This observation gives the impression of a well-organized reuse of the existing structure.

The size of both cult units, half of the ground floor, together with the possible implication in the cult of other areas in the same building, and principal access from public streets to the north and south also point towards a public rather than a private use. The remains associated with a ritual activity, particularly the large number of upturned bowls in Room 10 and the statue of the Horned God, suggest that the cult was of some importance and unlikely to have been a wholly private concern.

In Dikaïos' view, it were Mycenaeans that constructed the Ashlar building and introduced the cult units in it, by respectively two different groups of immigrants⁸². This interpretation was based on the ashlar masonry and parallels with Mycenaean palace architecture. However, it is now clear that ashlar masonry existed in Cyprus already before the arrival of the Mycenaeans in early LC IIIA⁸³, and according to Webb the parallels with Mycenaean palaces are unconvincing⁸⁴.

⁸¹ WEBB 1999:100.

⁸² DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 187, 210.

⁸³ HULT 1983: 62, 64.

⁸⁴ WEBB 1999:101.

Quarter 5 East

The unit of the so-called Sanctuary of the Ingot God, built in rubble stones, in the central Quarter 5 East of the town of Enkomi was investigated by the French Mission under the direction of Schaeffer between 1961 and 1965. It has been fully published by Courtois in 1971 in the first volume of a series about the French excavations at Enkomi, *Alasia*⁸⁵. The unit is situated in Quarter 5 East, some 25 m east of the main north/south street, the south wall neighbouring the Street 5 East and the paved place marking the crossing of the two main

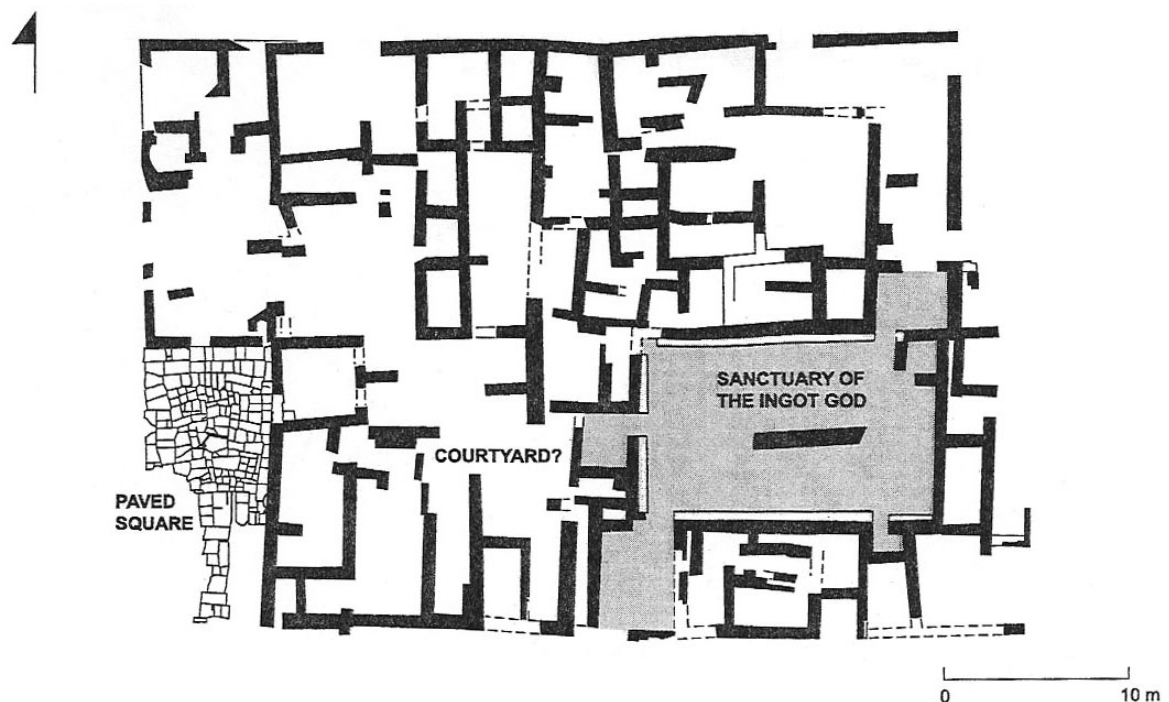


Figure 23: Plan of Quarter 5 East indicating the situation of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (WEBB 1999: 103 fig. 41).

streets (fig. 23). Different periods and floors or Sols have been identified, as well as indications of several restorations in the walls throughout their use. There is, however, general uncertainty about the chronology of the different phases of the building and especially over whether Sols III to I were in use before or after the abandonment of the town⁸⁶. This uncertainty originates from the questioned dating of ceramic material from Sol IV.

⁸⁵ COURTOIS 1971. Preliminary reports were published in BCH and CRAI; see KARAGEORGHIS 1962: 395-396; *Id.* 1963: 370-373; *Id.* 1964: 354-355; *Id.* 1966: 345; COURTOIS 1963.

⁸⁶ WEBB 1999: 102, 113.

The traces of ritual activity could be recognised in the centre of the quarter (fig. 23), especially in Sols IV to I. The excavators believed that the so-called Sanctuary of the Ingot God was constructed for the period concerned by these Sols, but soundings below Sol IV revealed architectural remains of two earlier floors, Sols VI and V, which bear traces that also can be identified as ritual⁸⁷.

The Sanctuary of the Ingot God is not so well published, with many inconsistencies and a not well-indicated stratigraphy for the finds. Therefore, I will only mention here the objects surely belonging to a certain Sol as well as the most important finds, basing the description mainly on the ones made by Courtois and Webb⁸⁸. The finds will be associated with their topographical number used on the published plans, wherever possible.

Besides the important Sanctuary of the Ingot God, a second cult unit was identified in the northeast corner of the same quarter, in the western aisle of the building there, during the anterior French excavations in 1958 and 1959. This C12th BC ashlar building contained in the western sector what was considered to be dedicated to a lunar deity on the basis of the erroneous identification of a saddle quern as a lunar crescent of limestone⁸⁹. However, Webb classified this unit as a less reliably identified site. It was only published in some preliminary reports⁹⁰.

Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sols VI-V

Sols VI and V of the so-called Sanctuary of the Ingot God are grouped by Webb in the less reliably identified sites⁹¹. Actually, the identification as a cult place can be put into question, being based mainly on the Sanctuary existing on the place from Sol IV on. However, some elements at least can support such an identification.

These lower Sols have only been revealed by some soundings and are not fully investigated. In addition, they were noted only briefly in the preliminary and excavation reports⁹². However, it can be partly reconstructed by means of the plans, the sections and the photos available.

⁸⁷ COURTOIS 1971, 190, 198-211, dépl. II, nos. 18-29, IV; KARAGEORGHIS 1964: 355; KARAGEORGHIS 1966: 345; WEBB & COURTOIS 1980: 102.

⁸⁸ COURTOIS 1971; WEBB 1999: 102-113, 119-122.

⁸⁹ WEBB 1999: 130.

⁹⁰ PICARD 1958; SCHAEFFER 1958; SCHAEFFER 1959-1960: 237; KARAGEORGHIS 1960, 283.

⁹¹ WEBB 1999: 119-122.

⁹² KARAGEORGHIS 1964: 355; KARAGEORGHIS 1966: 345; WEBB & COURTOIS 1980: 102; COURTOIS 1971: 198-211, dépl. II, nos. 18-29, IV.

This sequence of Sols is dated to the LC IIC – IIIA, between 1325 and 1125 BC⁹³. They belonged to the original ashlar building on the site⁹⁴.

- Architecture

Based upon the remains visible on the plans, photos and sections, Webb has proposed a reconstruction of the building at the time of Sols VI and V (fig. 24)⁹⁵. This has to be considered with care, but the major outlines of the structure can be derived from it.

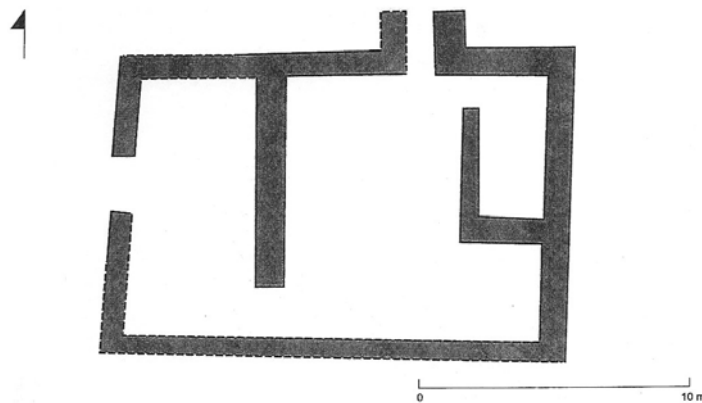


Figure 24: Reconstructed plan by Webb of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Sols VI and V (WEBB 1999: 121 fig. 50).

The unit was oriented east/west, with an internal measurement of about 15 m by 10 m. It comprises a large hall to the east (9.5 m by 10 m) with a small inner hall in its northeast corner (2.5 m east/west by 4 m north/south) and an outer room or court to the west (4.5 m by 10 m) entered through a central doorway of some 2 m wide in its western wall. There are indications that the northern wall of the large hall presented a narrow doorway (± 1 m wide) flanked by one or more, probably a pair of walls (± 1.20 m long) forming a small antechamber.

To the north and the west of the unit were discovered a series of workshops with furnaces, washing installations, wells, benches, channels, slag, tuyeres and metal scrap, an area certainly given over to metallurgical activity⁹⁶. This area may have communicated directly with the possible cult unit, via one or both of the north and west entrances to the Sol VI-V building, but their precise relationship is obscured by later structures and pits.

⁹³ COURTOIS 1971: 211: LC IIC, the very end of the C14th BC or early C13th BC. KLING 1989: 37-38, 83 : LC IIIA.

⁹⁴ WRIGHT 1992: 95.

⁹⁵ WEBB 1999:120. For a detailed description of the remains, see COURTOIS 1971: 152, 198-211, 220-21 figs. 1, 8, 9B, 10-11, 35, 37, 39, 46bis-54, 60, 63, 82, 117a. For the major outlines, see WEBB 1999:122.

Sols VI and V were also identified below the southern court, the northwest angle of the northern court and in the western annex of the Sol IV building, all areas within the original structure⁹⁷.

- Finds

Sols VI and V were thin layers of grey clay covered with ash and charcoal.

Sol VI was above a fill laid directly over the bedrock. It contained a fragmentary stemmed cup and a shallow bowl of Cypro-Mycenaean types (topographical point 1424) (fig. 25), a fragmentary pithos with wavy relief decoration on the body and the shoulder and other ceramic material dated by Courtois to the mid-C13th (CRII (LC IIC))⁹⁸.

Within the ash layer of **Sol V** were discovered sherds described as “Mycénien IIIB évolué”, Close Style or “Mycénien final” (IIIB/IIC 1)” and “*Rude Style* finissant”⁹⁹. Among these were a painted sherd (1318) and other sherds (1325, 1331, 1418) between the hearths (911) and the *Autel Supérieur* comprising fragments of a stirrup jar decorated with painted scales and lines of points. This Sol also revealed the skull (1331) and horns of a bovid¹⁰⁰.

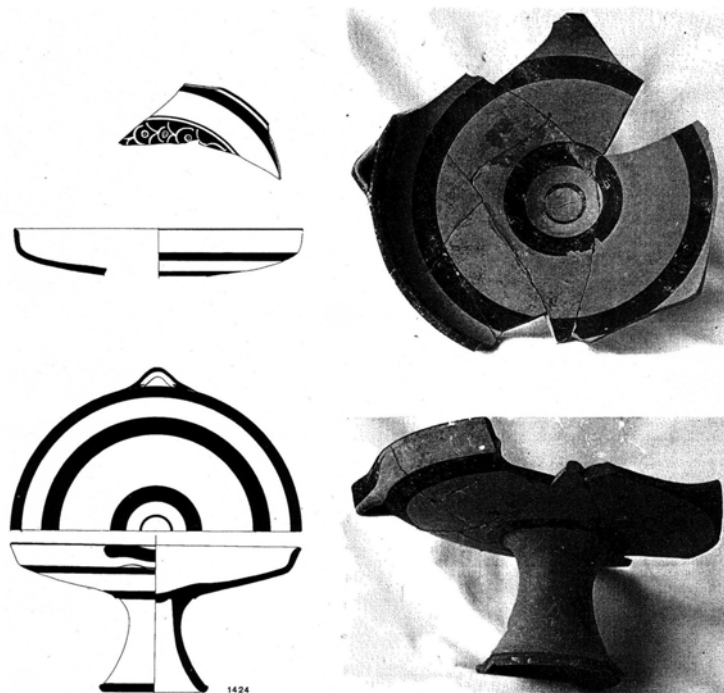


Figure 25: Decorated bowl and cup from Sol VI in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 208 fig. 52).

⁹⁶ KARAGEORGHIS 1971: 375; KARAGEORGHIS 1972: 1056-1058; LAGARCE 1971: 381-400.

⁹⁷ COURTOIS 1971: 162, 209, 312.

⁹⁸ COURTOIS 1971: 198-211, figs. 44-53.

⁹⁹ COURTOIS 1971: 199, 202, 210, figs. 24, 45, 49.

¹⁰⁰ There is some confusion as to whether the skull was associated with Sol VI or Sol V. COURTOIS 1971b, 204, fig. 43, 49, 53.

Below Sol III of the later sanctuary, a bronze dagger was found which also may belong to this structure¹⁰¹. In the same way, a small burning area without structure, below the hearth F. 4 belonging to Sol IV, may indicate an earlier hearth for Sol V (fig. 28 layer U)¹⁰². A krater and a jug of White Painted Wheel-made III from Sol III in the northeast adyton or inner room of the later sanctuary are of a pre-LC IIIB date and may thus have originated in the earlier building¹⁰³.

- Discussion

The identification of Sols VI and V of the building in Quarter 5 East as cult complex is uncertain and only based on the subsequent construction of the so-called Sanctuary of the Ingot God and the recovery of a bucranium, large numbers of which were associated with the later building.

However, following Webb, the structure in itself is not unlike more reliably identified Cypriot cult buildings notably in the provision of a rectangular hall and a small inner room¹⁰⁴. The inner room occupied a similar position to the one that later housed the statue of the Ingot God. Similarly to this arrangement, the hall of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East at Enkomi described below is divided along the shorter axis and entered through a central doorway in the western wall. The ritual function of this hall is, however, also uncertain.

Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Sols IV-I

After a destruction of the Sol V building, it was reconstructed in the first half of middle of the 12th century BC (LC IIIB) in rubble stones notably to include or continue a ritual function. The Sanctuary remained in use till the final abandonment of the city, ca. 1050 BC. According to Iavocou, it remained in use even some years after it¹⁰⁵.

The amount of material preserved in Sols IV to I of the so-called Sanctuary of the Ingot God is remarkable. Webb claims that the assemblage of objects is one of the most varied from any excavated cult building in Cyprus, and the closest we have to a systemic inventory¹⁰⁶. The identification as a cult unit is therefore convincing. However, as is usually the case in archaeological assemblages, many items are preserved only in an incomplete state that prevents from thinking that the assemblage was left intact in its entirety.

¹⁰¹ COURTOIS 1984: 10, no. 16, fig. 1.15.

¹⁰² COURTOIS 1971:220.

¹⁰³ SCHAEFFER 1971a, 527, fig. 8A; IACOVOU 1988: 9; WEBB 1999, 122.

¹⁰⁴ WEBB 1999:122.

¹⁰⁵ IACOVOU 1988: 8.

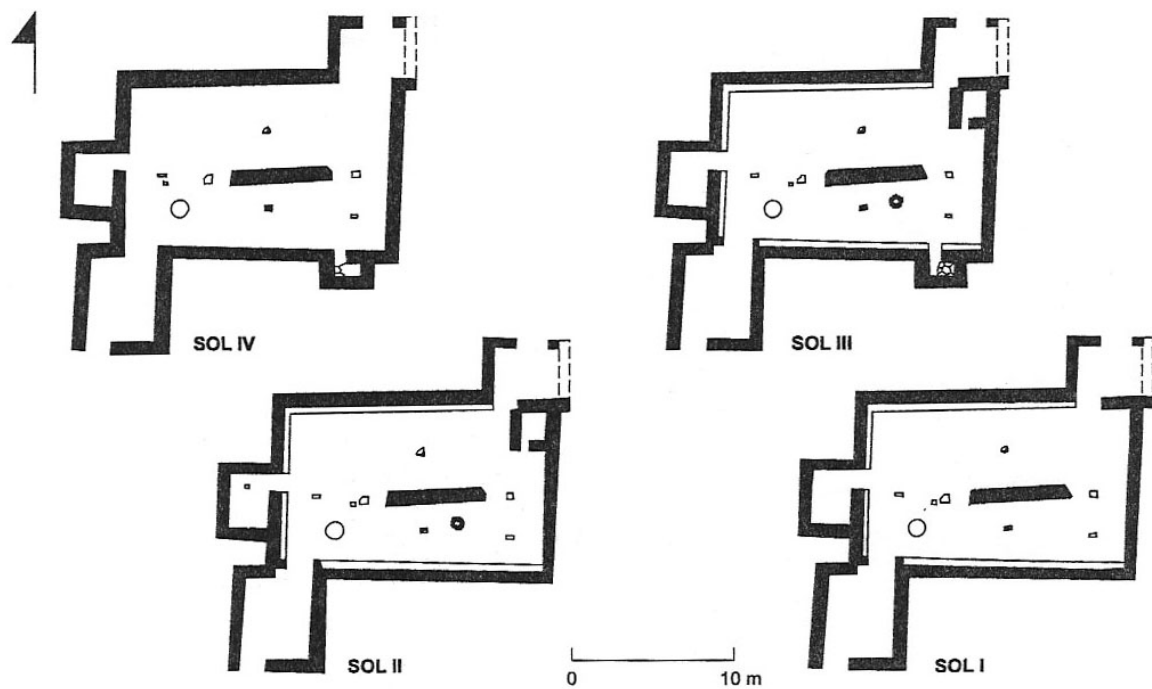


Figure 26: Plans at the different Sols IV to I of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (WEBB 1999: 104 fig. 42).

The chronology of Sols IV to I of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God is the subject of a considerable debate. The excavators assigned Sol IV, apparently a short-lived and poorly preserved phase, to the LC IIIB (*Chypriote Fer I*), being the phase of reconstruction of the building¹⁰⁷.

- Architecture

The unit of the Sanctuary on **Sol IV** presented itself primarily as a rectangular hall (16.4 m by 9.6 m inside) oriented east/west, annexed by some other rooms (fig. 26). The north wall of this hall was built over or slightly to the south of the northern wall of the previous stage of the building, Sols VI and V¹⁰⁸. The eastern wall was rebuilt well outside the earlier eastern wall¹⁰⁹. The south wall probably followed the line of the earlier¹¹⁰. The west wall probably followed the westernmost limit of the earlier unit¹¹¹. The hall was thus enlarged to the east. In addition, an internal wall (6 m long, 1 m wide) was constructed on the central long

¹⁰⁶ WEBB 1999:102.

¹⁰⁷ COURTOIS 1971: 151, 223.

¹⁰⁸ COURTOIS 1971: 152, figs. 1, 9B, 117a. WEBB 1999: 120.

¹⁰⁹ COURTOIS 1971: figs. 1, 8, 10-11.

¹¹⁰ COURTOIS 1971: fig. 39. WEBB 1999:120.

¹¹¹ COURTOIS 1971: figs. 1, 37, 46bis-54, 82.

axis of this room, possibly for support of the roof above one part of the room or the entire hall¹¹². It ends at 3.50 m from the east wall, and 6 m from the western wall. Two stone bases were found to the east of the room, perhaps the remains of a portico according to Courtois¹¹³. Another stone base (0.5 m by 0.33 m), presenting a circular hole on top (0.2 m average across), laid some 1.50 m to the south of the central wall and 7 m from the eastern wall¹¹⁴. To the right of the southwest entrance was a circular hearth made of clay covered with white plaster, F. (Foyer) 4 (0.20 m across), above the west wall of the previous large hall of Sols VI and V (figs. 27, 28)¹¹⁵. The hearth was surrounded by debris of combustion and cooking,

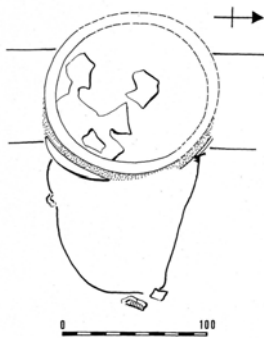


Figure 27: Foyer 4 in the hall in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 219 fig. 64.A).

especially to the east, including charcoal and ashes. To the northwest of the hall was found an upright block with a slightly concave surface, *Autel Inférieur* (ca. 0.47 m by 0.32 m, 0.80 m high) (fig. 29). Its base rested on Sol V and was blocked by some stones. It was identified as a ritual slaughtering table¹¹⁶. A second block (0.80 m by 0.38 m; 0.50 m high above Sol III), pierced through the upper half, was found to the north in the same area and identified as being a tethering block for sacrificial animals (fig. 30, 33)¹¹⁷.

A broad doorway (1.5 m wide) in the centre of the

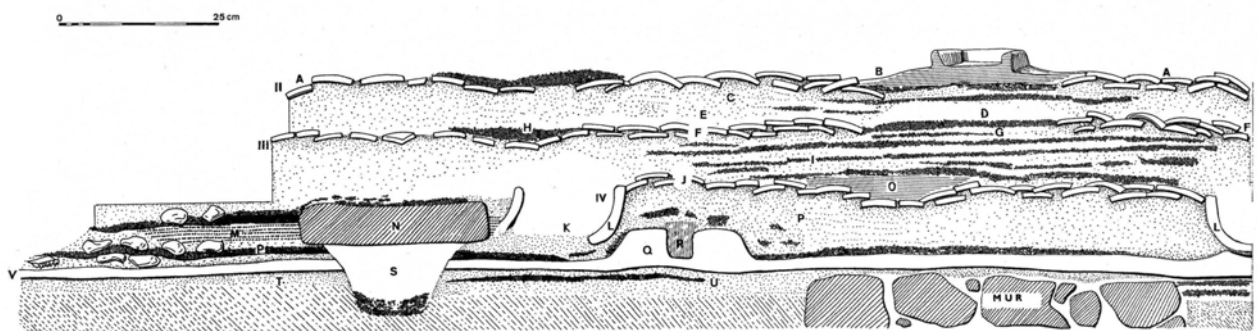


Figure 28: East-west section of the four superimposed hearths in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: fig. 60).

¹¹² According to Courtois, only the northern part of the room was roofed over, so creating a hall or gallery to the north and a courtyard to the south. COURTOIS 1971:159.

¹¹³ COURTOIS 1971:162, fig. 2.

¹¹⁴ It was not mentioned in the excavation report to which Sol these three stone bases belong. Webb included these in her description of Sol III, being the first to be described, and listed six bases. WEBB 1999: 106. Moreover, it is only on fig. 3 in COURTOIS 1973 that some bases appear, to the north of the central wall.

¹¹⁵ COURTOIS 1971:221, fig. 60.

¹¹⁶ KARAGEORGHIS 1963: 354; COURTOIS 1971:221.

¹¹⁷ COURTOIS 1971: 204.

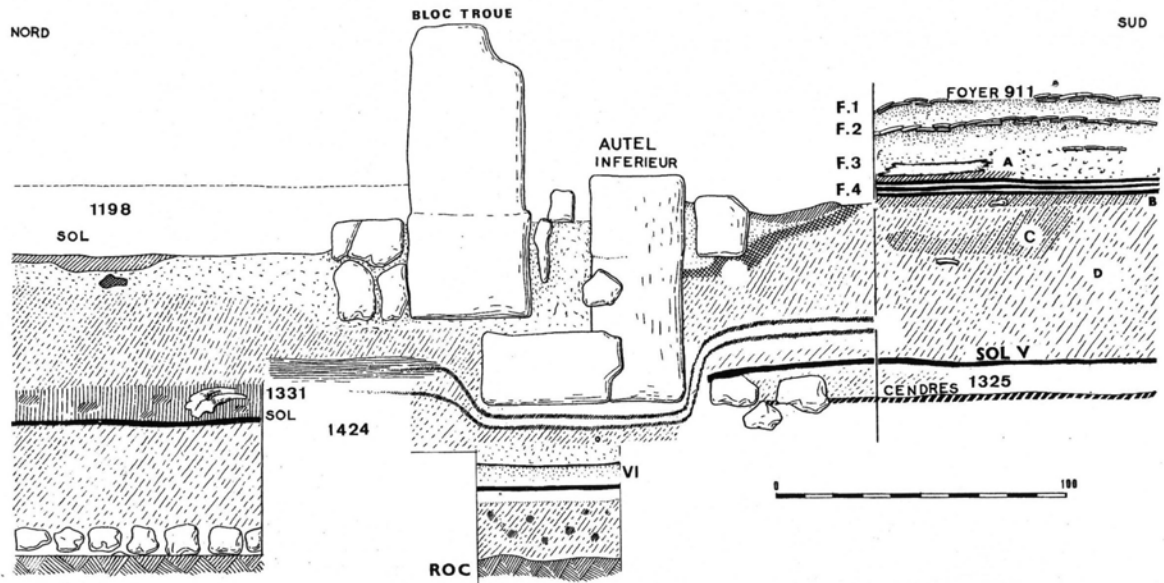


Figure 29: North-south section of the *Autel Inferieur* and the pierced block in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: fig. 37).

western wall of the hall gave entrance to a second room to the west, provided with a central mudbrick construction of unclear purpose and a plaster facing on the western wall (fig. 30 (enduit) – 31 (Feature A))¹¹⁸.

An annex (1.75 m by 1 m) containing a built stone well (0.51 m internal diameter) was linked to the hall at the southeast.

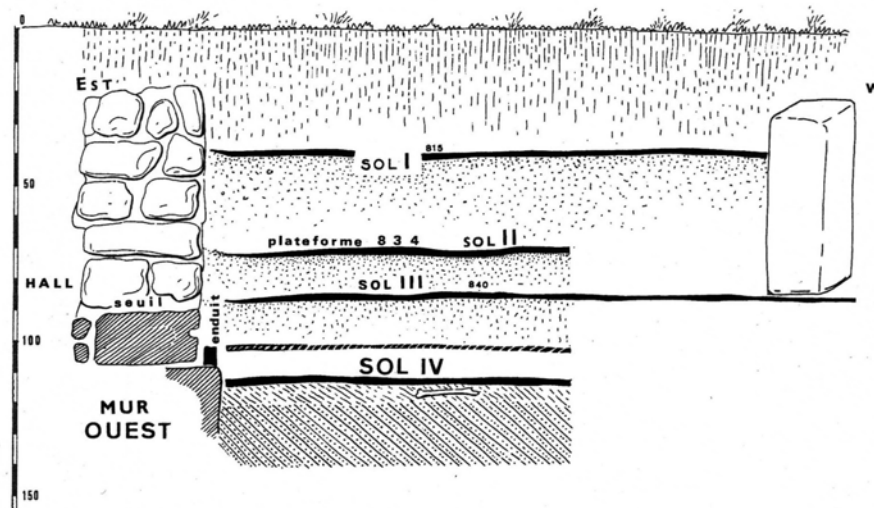


Figure 30: East-west section in the western room of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 313 fig. 131).

¹¹⁸ These features are only visible on drawings of the sections in this room, but their identification was confirmed by Courtois to Webb. WEBB 1999: 154 note 56.

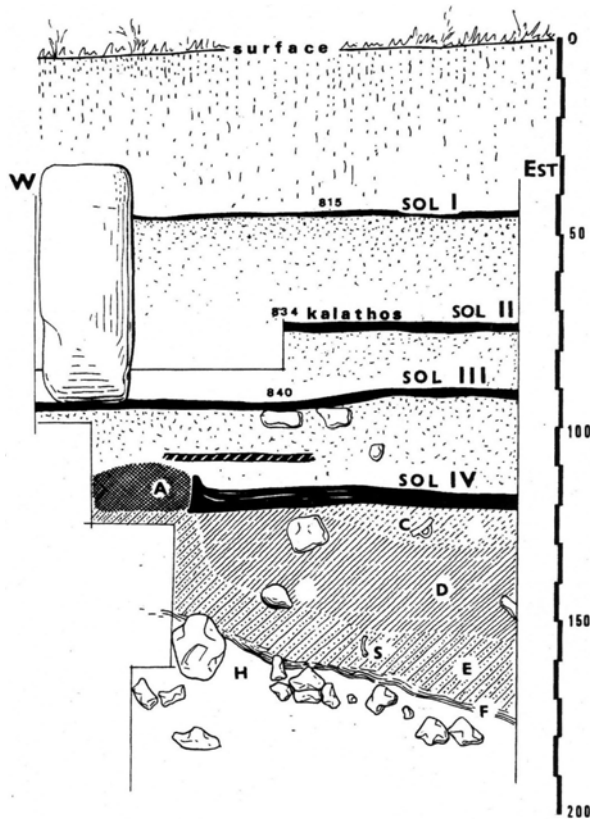


Figure 31: West-east section in the western room of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 314 fig. 132).

The major access to the complex was situated to the southwest (2 m wide) and passed through an entrance porch (6 m wide by 4 m), nearby Street 5 East. A possible second opening was built to the northeast (1.75 m wide) also preceded by a porch or a simple room (ca. 4 m by 3.2 m)¹¹⁹.

A courtyard west of the building stretched to the paved square at the junction of Street 5 East and the main north/south artery (fig. 23)¹²⁰.

The principal phase of the Sanctuary was situated on **Sol III** (fig. 26), a beaten-earth floor with a more or less burnt surface, because this is the Sol associated with the statue of the so-called Ingot God. In this stage, a small

room (2 m by 1.9 m) was built in the northeastern corner of the hall.

The walls to the south, the north and the west of the hall were lined with rubble benches covered with white lime (0.45 m avg. width, 0.40 m avg. height). The northern bench was provided with a niche (\pm 0.60 m deep, 0.65 m wide, some 0.40 m high) to the centre of the wall, enclosed by two low walls in mudbrick covered with a thick white coat. A second niche was discovered to the west of the first one, built in pisé and covered with plaster. This last niche contained some fragments of the bicephalous figurines attributed to Sol II and described below¹²¹. It is therefore not very clear at which stage the niches have been built.

The previous hearth, F. 4, was destroyed and covered with clay mixed with charcoal and sherds to make a new hearth. This new one, Foyer 3 (1.5 m by 1 m) was rectangular in shape (fig. 28, 32). It was covered with sherds and supported by a low plastered earth wall, forming a kind of platform 10 cm above the contemporary soil. To the east of the hearth was a

¹¹⁹ This area is unclear because of the disturbance caused by tomb looters. See WEBB 1999:154, note 55.

¹²⁰ COURTOIS 1963: 156; COURTOIS 1971:326. The architectural remains indicated on the plans are dated by the excavators to the anterior phases of the Late Bronze Age.

¹²¹ COURTOIS 1971:280-281.

zone of finely stratificated and alternated sand and ashes, the whole deposit being 2 cm thick. This zone contained also numerous irregular stones. To the east of the hall, a stone triangular slab bordering the plastered wall closed off a pit in the form of an overturned trunk (0.20 m across). It was filled with fine blackish ashes.

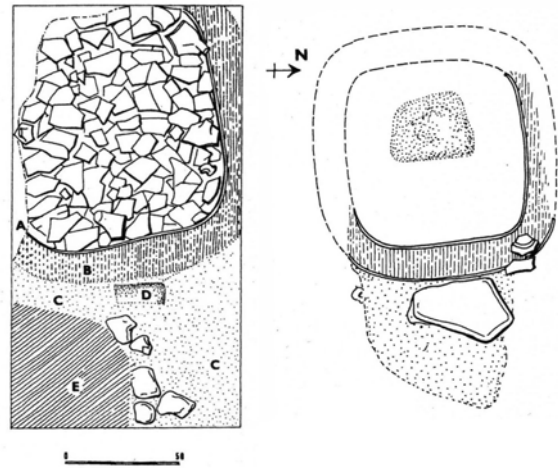


Figure 32: Foyer 3 in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 214 fig. 59; fig. 62).

A stone block, similar in shape and dimensions to the *Autel Inférieur* and found to the west of it, was called the *Autel Supérieur* (0.47 m by 0.29 m, 0.72 m high, 0.30 m above Sol III) (fig. 33). Its setting blocked with stones, done more carefully than the former one, was correlated to Sol III. It probably damaged the north and northeastern part of F. 4, mainly by the fixing blocks. As for the *Autel Inférieur*, it was identified as a slaughtering table¹²². The pierced tethering block was still in use at the time of Sol III. An oval stone-lined drainage sump (0.65 by 0.60 m) laid some 2 m to the south of the central wall and 5 m from the eastern wall of the hall. It is not

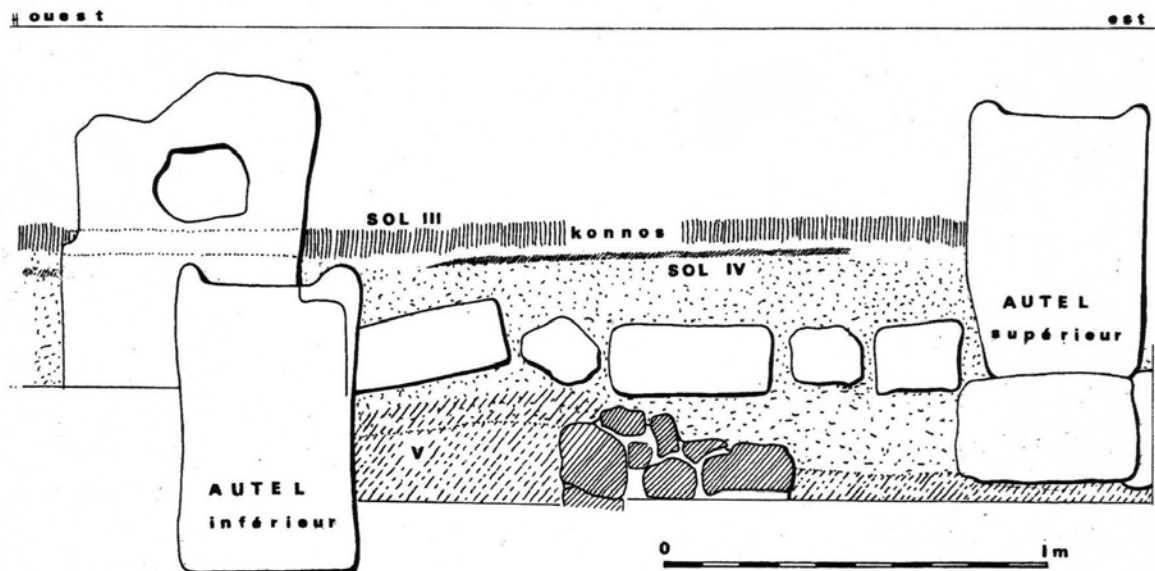


Figure 33: West-east section of the *Autels* and the pierced block in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 200 fig. 46 bis).

¹²² COURTOIS 1963: 157; COURTOIS 1971: 221.

clear to which Sol it first belonged; Webb mentioned it while describing Sol III¹²³. A terracotta tube (0.57 m long) in the shape of a bottle could have formed the remains of the channel, as Courtois claims¹²⁴. It would have been used for wastewater or libations, or even rainwater if one accepts the hypothesis of the excavators that the southern part of the hall was not roofed over¹²⁵.

In the northeast corner of the principal room, a nearly square room (2 m by 1.9 m) was built, closing half of the northeastern entrance to the hall.

On the level of **Sol II** (fig. 26), the well annex was blocked with a low mudbrick wall (ca 0.6 m high) surmounted by half of a well edge.

In the hall, a double rectangular hearth, F. 2 (1 m east/west by 0.85 m north/south), was established above hearth F. 3 and extending to the east (fig. 28, 34). It was built of earth and paved by coarse potsherds, their concave side turned towards the soil. The fireplace to the east was less covered with sherds than the western one, but well carbonised. The *Autel Supérieur* and the pierced block remained in use during the period of Sol II.

At the same time, in the centre of the west room a small stone pillar or baetyl (ca. 0.6 m high), the base of which resting on Sol III, as well as a rectangular plaster platform were put in place (figs. 30, 31)¹²⁶.

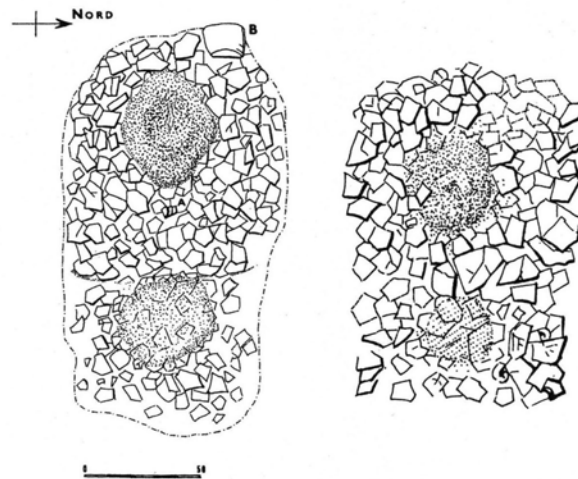


Figure 34: Foyer 2 and Foyer 1 in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 214 fig. 58, 57).

¹²³ WEBB 1999: 106.

¹²⁴ COURTOIS 1971:162, fig. 12, 36.

¹²⁵ COURTOIS 1971: 162: waste or rain water. IONAS 1984a: 103: rain or libations.

¹²⁶ WEBB 1999:106, 154 note 57.

In **Sol I** in the hall, a fourth hearth, F. 1 (1.50 m east/west by 0.95 m north/south) (fig. 28, 34), was built on F. 2 and similar in construction to it but less well preserved especially to the east. All sherds in the hearth were split by the action of the fire or altered by the ashes. They were present on an average thickness of 0.03 m. The *Autel Supérieur* and the pierced block probably remained in use also during this period.

The northeast room in the corner of the hall fell into disrepair prior to Sol I.

- Finds

In hearth F. 4 of **Sol IV** in the hall were found carbonised animal bones, including sheep or goat mandibles (1185, 1191, 1194, 1199), and fragment gold leaf (1199).

The western courtyard produced scattered sherds of Proto White Painted and Plain Ware, as well as at least sixteen anthropomorphic figurine fragments and one bovine¹²⁷.

On **Sol III**, the area of the western bench in the hall produced a wall brackets, a pithos fragment with inscribed rim, two deep bowls (1177) and an annular rhyton with bucranial spout (1030) (fig. 35) of Proto White Painted ware, a Bucchero juglet (1030) fragments of a Canaanite jar with inscribed handle (1217) and a ladle (996?). In addition, there were five clay balls inscribed with 3, 4 or 5 cypro-minoan signs (0.02 m average diameter) (1134, 1146, 1198A, 1198B, 1330), a terracotta cylinder seal representing a procession of two or three persons (1147) (fig. 36) and a lamp (1173) near the *Autel Inférieur*. In the same area were discovered a bronze ring (1148; -1.15 m), a bronze stamp, an iron knife (1190) near the central wall, gold leaf (1210), as well as a large number of ox skulls (1040, 1041, 1091, 1109, 1146), horns, small animal bones and teeth.

On and before the northern bench were found a kalathos (1120) laying upside down, two bowls, a deepbowl (1258), a “Granary Style” jug (1132), a tripod

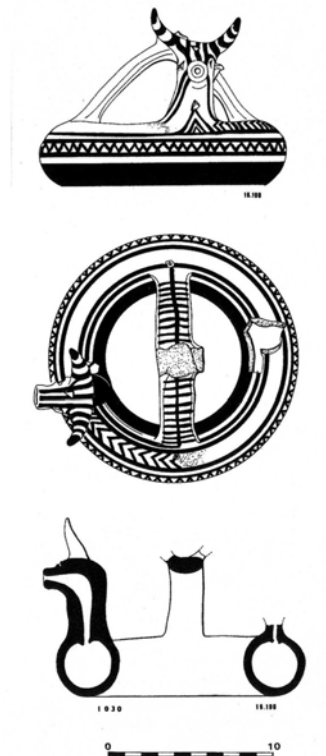


Figure 35: Rhyton with bucranial spout from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 234 fig. 77).

¹²⁷ For the human figurines, see a catalogue in COURTOIS 1971:328-343.

vessel (1219) and krater decorated with an archer, birds and fish (1042) (fig. 37) of Proto White Painted Ware. There were also at least six Plain White Wheel-made II bowls imitating Y-shaped Base-Ring II bowls and laying upside down (1025, 1063, 1065, 1066, 1174), two jars (1218), two ladles (1137, 1328), an apodal cooking pot (1328), the neck of a pithos (914) in the NW corner of the hall, two Canaanite jars (1175, 1211), two wall brackets and a handtorch. Gold leaf (1199, 1210), as well as partly calcinated animal bones (1199), mainly sheep and/or goat, and at least 27 incised as well as some unincised ox scapulae (1211, 1117, 1063, 1065, 1260,...)¹²⁸ (fig. 38), ox skulls (1218, 1260) and horns complete the inventory of the area. The eastern niche contained a bronze blade (0.153 m long) (1321) (fig. 39) as well as other incised scapulae (1326, 1327 a, b, c, d) (fig. 40). To the northeast doorway were fragments of two deep bowls and a kylix and large jar of Proto White Painted Ware. Before the entrance to the northeast room were discovered a Coarse Ware jar, a Plain White Wheel-made II bowl, and a bronze ox horn and an ox skull.



Figure 36: Impression of the cylinder seal from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 239 fig. 80).

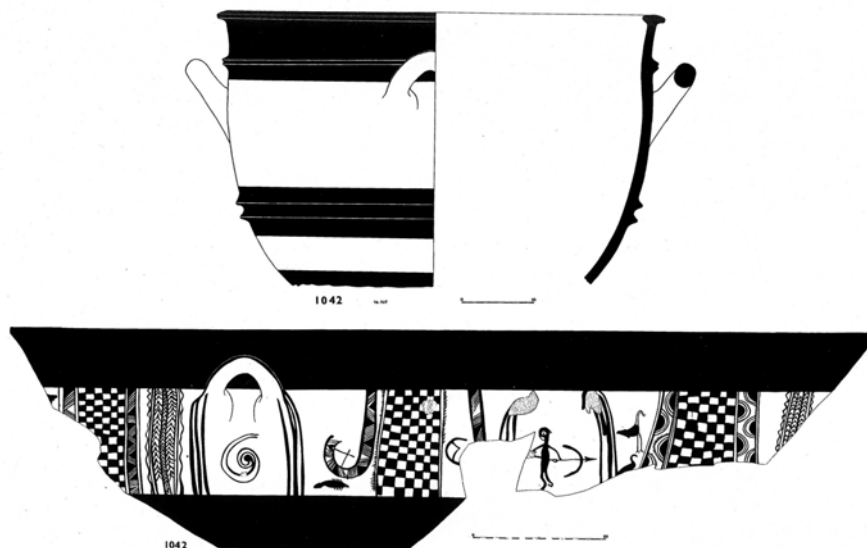


Figure 37: Decorated krater from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 269 fig. 106).

¹²⁸ For a list of all topographical points of the scapulae, see COURTOIS 1971:277, 279.



Figure 38: Incised ox scapula from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 258 fig. 97).

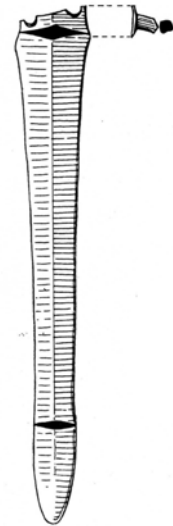


Figure 39: Bronze blade from the eastern niche in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 277 fig. 122).

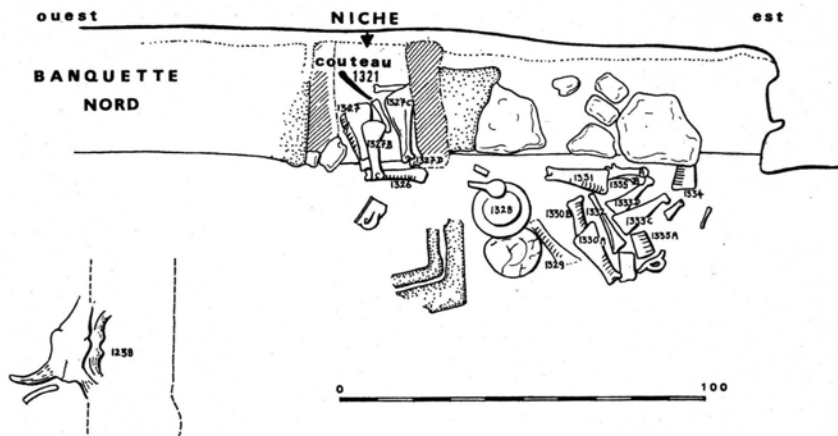


Figure 40: Plan of the central part of the north bench showing the eastern niche of the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 274 fig. 109).

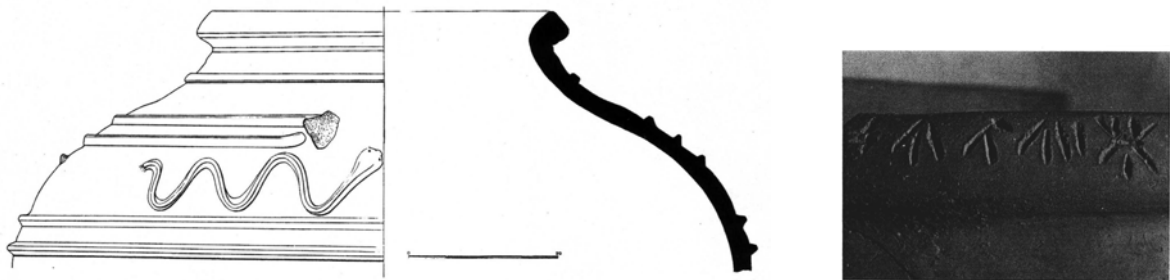


Figure 41: Pithos decorated with a snake in relief and with inscribed rim from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 194 fig. 42; 193 fig. 41).

Several ox skulls were discovered to the north and the south of the central wall of the hall. Tens of ox skulls and horns came from the northern part of the room, particularly at the base of the central part of the northern bench (fig. 42).

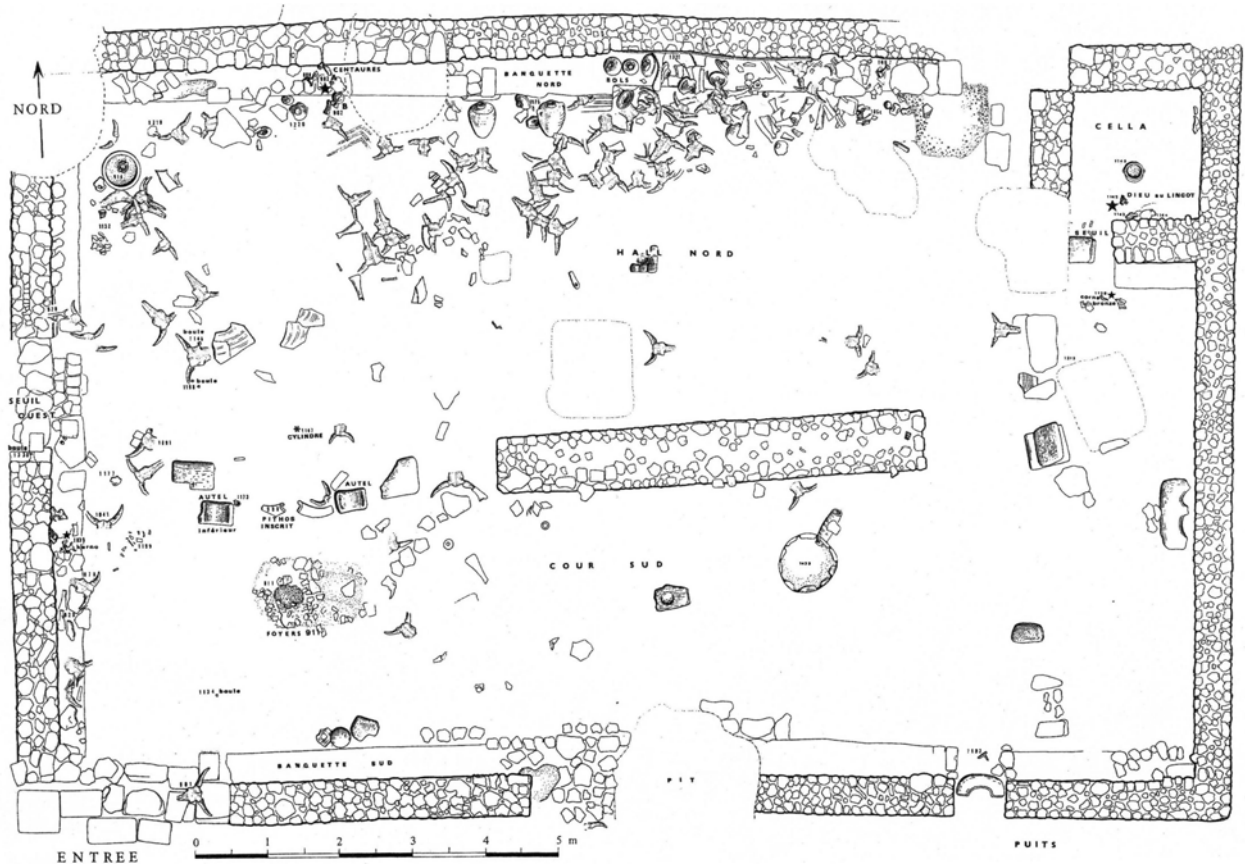


Figure 42: Plan of the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God representing the ox skulls and some other important objects (COURTOIS 1971: fig. 2).

Around the *Autel supérieur* and in the western half of the rectangular hall, were found fragments of a large pithos (0.43 m current height, 1.05 m largest diameter) (909, 918, 940, 941). The rim of the pithos (0.50 m across) bears an inscription made of five cypro-minoan signs. Its shoulder is decorated with a snake in relief between two series of parallel horizontal lines (fig. 41). The fragments of the pithos were mixed with numerous ox skulls and horns most of which were covered with plaster and little pieces of charcoal¹²⁹. Some parts of these skulls bear blackish burning traces.

The sherds used to level the place of hearth F. 3 came from deepbowls of the Granary type, *wavy-line* decorated¹³⁰. The sherds used in the construction of the hearth itself included the neck and the thick base of a jar as well as four handles, one of them originating from a

¹²⁹ COURTOIS 1971, 178, 183, 186, fig. 27, 40-42.

¹³⁰ COURTOIS 1971:220.

carinated jar. None of these sherds were painted. To the east of the hearth, and probably still belonging to it, were found some fine sherds including a fragment of a bowl with *wavy-line* decoration of the Granary style, as well as remains of a human or animal figurine of good quality, a hedgehog according to the excavators, and a shell of the muricines family (6.3 by 4.7 cm)¹³¹.

To the southwest of the doorway to the northeastern room were found a two-handled jar (1127), a deep bowl with two oblique handles (1136), an ox horn (1128) and an ox skull (1140).

The northeast room itself produced a Plain White Wheel-made III krater and jug and two Plain White Wheel-made II bowls imitating Y-shaped bowls of Base-Ring II (fig. 43). To the right of the entrance was a bronze statuette (0.35 m high) of a man in warrior position standing on something probably representing an ingot, the so-called Ingot God (fig. 44). It rested in an upright position on Sol III (fig. 47). The man is wearing what seems to be a linen thorax, a kilt that is rather full and a horned helmet. His legs are protected by greaves. In his left hand, he holds a small oval shield, while there is a spear in his right hand¹³².

In the well annex was discovered an antler (1102), still in Sol III. In the well itself were a *kalathos*, jar, krater (0.21 m high) and fragmentary bowls of Proto White Painted ware.



Figure 43: Pottery found in the northeastern room of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (SCHAEFFER 1971a: 527 fig. 8A.A-B, D-E).

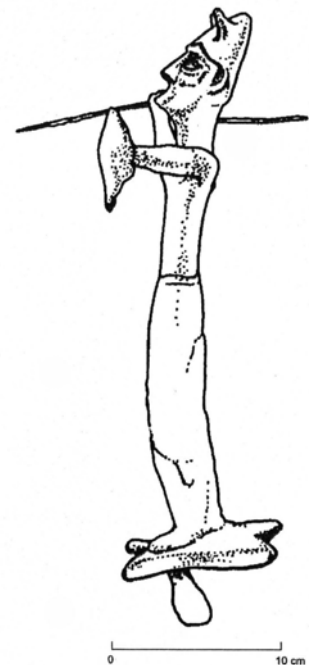


Figure 44: Bronze statue of the Ingot God (WEBB 1999: 224 fig. 78.2).

¹³¹ COURTOIS 1971:216.

It yielded also cooking pots, a Canaanite jar, a pithos, a stylus or weaving tool, a basalt quern, and an ox skull, antlers and other bones.

A *kalathos* (825), and three bowls (840) of Proto White Painted ware come from the western room, together with a Canaanite jar (840, under 834), a stirrup jar (954) and a set of pierced stones identified by Courtois as miniature votive anchors, but possibly set-long-line weights¹³³. There were also at least nine human figurines in terracotta (827, 840, 841).

Finally, the courtyard produced a stone scarab (668) representing a procession of three figures turned to the left, as well as at least 28 fragmentary human and several animal figurines¹³⁴.

Assigned to **Sols II and I**, two jugs (882) among which a trefoil one (887) (Sol I), a bowl and two amphoriskoi (945) of Proto White Painted ware were found near the western bench in the hall. These were associated with an inscribed handle, a steatite pestle, a bronze fibula with a semi-circular arch (3.4 cm long) (Sol II), a wall bracket (1013 or 1111) and two figurines as well as bovine horns, incised scapulae (e.g. 929), and skulls (878). The westernmost plaster niche on the northern bench revealed the fragments lying upside down of two bicephalous figurines of Proto White Painted ware (888 *A*: 0.51 m high, 0.35 m wide, 888 *B*: 0.31 m high, 0.255 m wide) (fig. 45). Two sherds of it were found in the well annex. The figurines were attributed to Sol II and identified as centaurs or sphinxes¹³⁵. Originally, they were probably standing next to each other, the largest to the east¹³⁶. Together with the fragments of the bicephalous figurines were found two Plain White Wheel-made chalices (888)¹³⁷, two Proto White Painted deep bowls (902), and the remains of bucrania and ox horns.

The western courtyard revealed, also associated with Sols II and I, at least 120 fragmentary figurines, the majority of these appearing to the excavators as deliberately broken (fig. 46)¹³⁸. There were at least 42 figurines associated with Sol II and 17 with Sol I.

Near the western bench of the hall, **Sol II** contained a clay ball inscribed with 5 cypro-minoan signs (0.02 m across) (829) near the western bench, as well as a painted kalathos

¹³² For a more detailed description of the statue, see CATLING 1971:15-16.

¹³³ COURTOIS 1971:321: miniature votive anchors. WEBB 1999: 107: set-long –line weights.

¹³⁴ For the human figurines, see a catalogue in COURTOIS 1971:328-343.

¹³⁵ Centaurs: COURTOIS 1971: 280-308, IONAS 1984a:104. Sphinxes: WEBB 1999:107.

¹³⁶ COURTOIS 1971:281.

¹³⁷ These chalices are called « offering stands » by Webb. WEBB 1999:107, fig. 44.5.

¹³⁸ COURTOIS 1971:326. For the human figurines, see a catalogue in COURTOIS 1971:328-343.

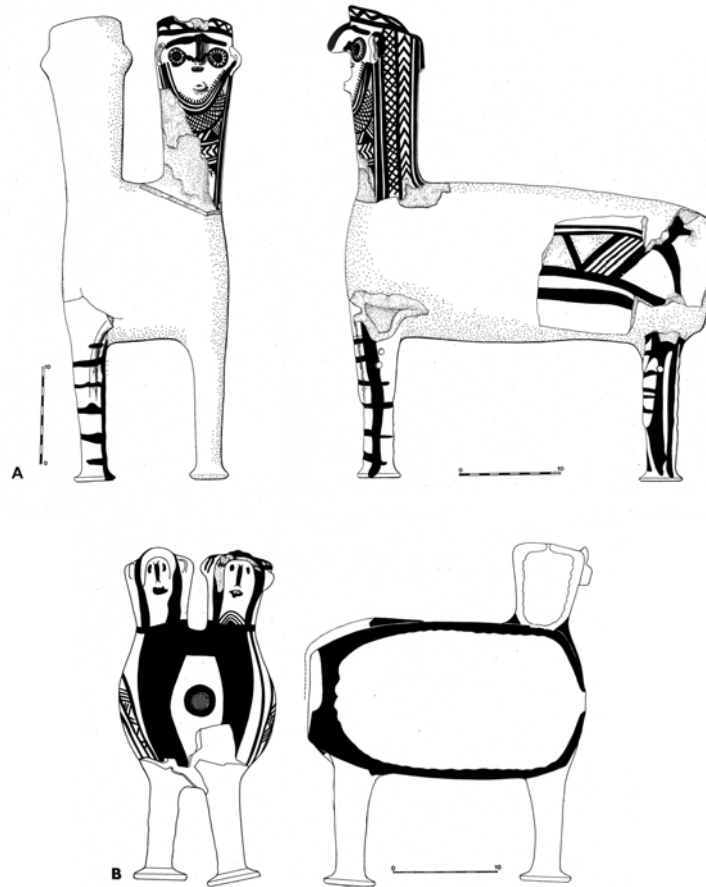
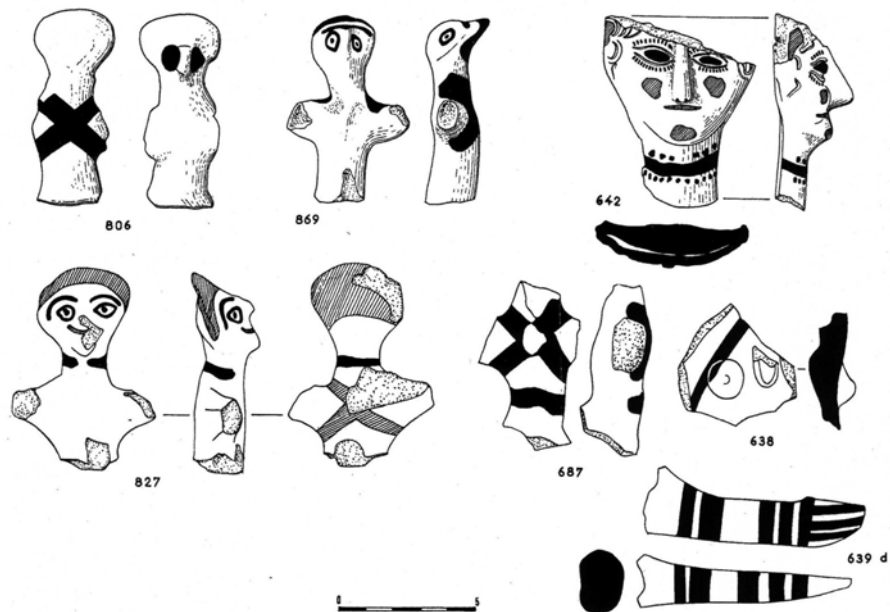


Figure 45: Bicephalous figurines from the western niche in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 291 fig. 121; 293 fig. 123; 295 fig. 124).



(1108) near the northern bench and another kalathos. The sherds of hearth F. 2 included one painted sherd and coarse fragments of jars or large bowls. To the south of the northeast corner room were a sieve (1073) and a jug turned upside down (1074) on the eastern bench.

Associated with Sol II in the northeast room were a Base-Ring Wheel-made bowl (1069), a painted sherd (1069), gold leaf (1068), a Proto-White Painted gourd vessel and three Canaanite jars (1075, 1229).

In the western room, Sol II provided a Proto White Painted kalathos (834) (fig. 47) on the plaster platform. The rest of the room yielded a Proto White Painted amphora (826) (fig. 47)¹³⁹ as well as numerous other vases and at least 4 human figurines in terracotta (812, 826, 836)¹⁴⁰.

At the foot of the southern bench in the hall, **Sol I** produced a jar, a chisel, a quern and a round stone. Among the sherds from F. 1, the excavators could identify some fragments of a coarse Canaanite jar and of a bowl of the Granary type, with *wavy-line* decoration¹⁴¹. The other sherds are probably fragments of large jars. To the excavators, the sherds of this hearth F. 1 seem in general much like those from the previous hearth, F. 2¹⁴².

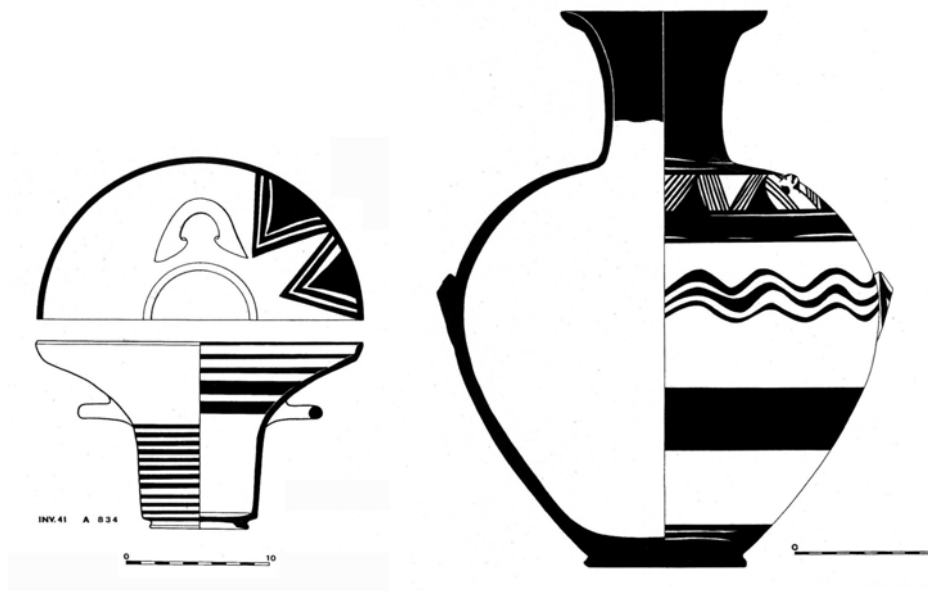


Figure 47: Kalathos and amphora from the western room of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 261 fig. 99; 323 fig. 140).

¹³⁹ In the text of the final publication of the sanctuary, this amphora is mentioned as belonging to Sol III. However, the legend of its drawing associates it to Sol II and it was found at a depth of 0.70 m, corresponding to Sol II. COURTOIS 1971, 314, 321, fig. 140 p. 323.

¹⁴⁰ COURTOIS 1971:312, 313.

¹⁴¹ COURTOIS 1971:214.

¹⁴² COURTOIS 1971:220.

At the time of Sol I, when the northeastern room was not used anymore, some sherds of jars were however found on the place¹⁴³.

On Sol I of the western room were at least thirteen human figurines in terracotta (623, 636-642, 800, 802, 806, 813) as well as a Proto White Painted skyphos and kylix (815).

- Discussion

The data of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God is presented in a confusing way in the excavation report and subsequent publications. The building appears in various guises, and plans are not always correspondent to the accompanying text. In addition, the stratigraphic position of the finds is not always mentioned.

However, following Webb, there's no doubt that the west room belonged to the LC IIIB complex from the beginning, and this is almost certainly true also of the southwest and northeast porches and the well annex¹⁴⁴. All the rooms, except the well annex and the northeastern room, remained in use throughout the life of the building.

According to Courtois, the central hall was divided into two by the central wall, forming a hall to the north and a courtyard to the south¹⁴⁵. Moreover, he interpreted some stone bases as being part of a portico built to the south of the northeast room, between this room and the southern wall of the hall¹⁴⁶. A stone base was also found to the south of the central wall, but apparently not identified or included into the eastern portico. Still following Courtois, another portico would have been built along the northern wall (fig. 48). The columns or pillars of this northern portico could simply have been additional support for the roof. The eastern one is more difficult to explain. If there was indeed a courtyard to the south neighbouring a northern hall, why would then a side portico continue into the hall? Burdajewicz suggested that the pillars supported awnings, in a "canopy-like structure"¹⁴⁷. In this case, the argument doesn't hold. However, and in addition to the others, the western bench lined the whole wall, without any other interruption than the doorway to the western room. This seems also not in favour to the hypothesis of Courtois. Moreover, the heavy construction of the wall suggests, according to Wright, that it was a load bearing and heavily charged wall, so that it seems reasonable to accept that the hall was entirely roofed¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴³ COURTOIS 1971:308.

¹⁴⁴ WEBB 1999:112.

¹⁴⁵ COURTOIS 1971:159.

¹⁴⁶ COURTOIS 1971:162.

¹⁴⁷ BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 32, 83.

¹⁴⁸ WRIGHT 1992: 96.

However, the signification of the central wall still remains unclear, as is its use instead of a whole series of columns to support a roof.

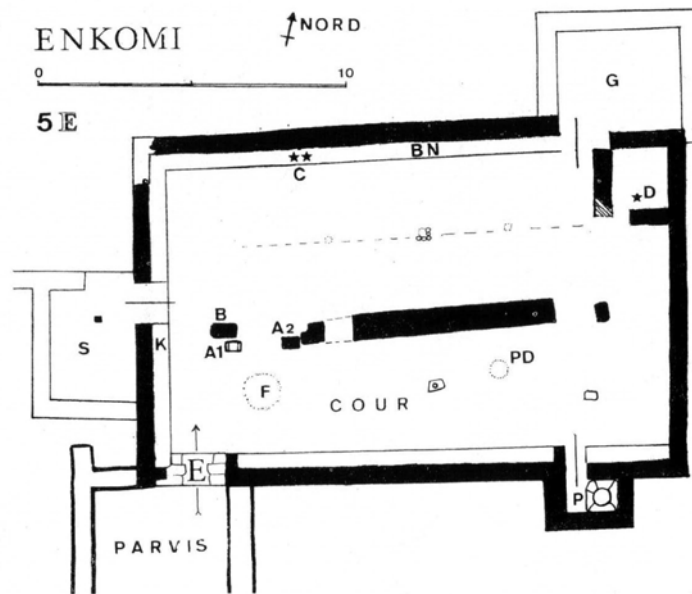


Figure 48: Plan of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God indicating the position of the stone bases in the hall according to Courtois (COURTOIS 1973: 226 fig. 3).

The west room was entered through a wide doorway framed by benches and housing a mudbrick feature on Sol IV, a baetyl on Sols III (?) to I, as well as vessels, figurines, clay balls and other objects which are of considerable importance. This west room could thus have served as an inner room or adyton for Sol IV and all the subsequent phases, according to Webb¹⁴⁹.

The northeast room was added to the original structure for Sols III and II. The bronze statuette, with his feet resting on Sol III, apparently was deliberately buried at the time of the construction of Sol II (fig. 49). The reasons for this burial are obscure. Schaeffer proposed a desire to protect the god from flood and earthquake¹⁵⁰. Webb suggested a change in the cult or its recipient, or simply that a new statue superseded the old one¹⁵¹. Whatever the case, the presence of the statue in the northeast room suggests that this room too served as an adyton at least for Sol III and possibly also Sol II.

This means that the building could have comprised two inner rooms or adyta located at opposite ends of the structure, at least during Sol III. Webb therefore suggests that the

¹⁴⁹ WEBB 1999: 112.

¹⁵⁰ SCHAEFFER 1971a: 531.

¹⁵¹ WEBB 1999:122.

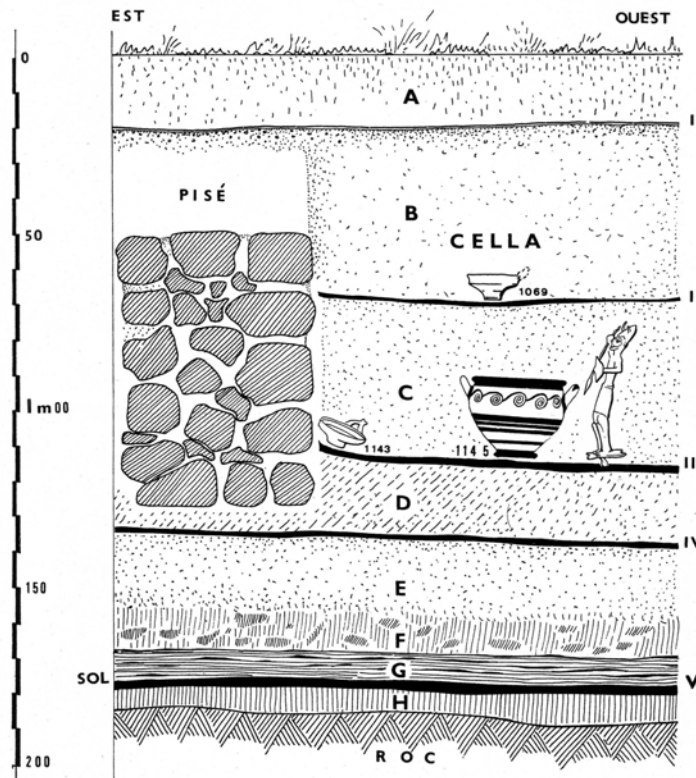


Figure 49: East-west section through the northeastern room of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (SCHAEFFER 1971a: fig. 10).

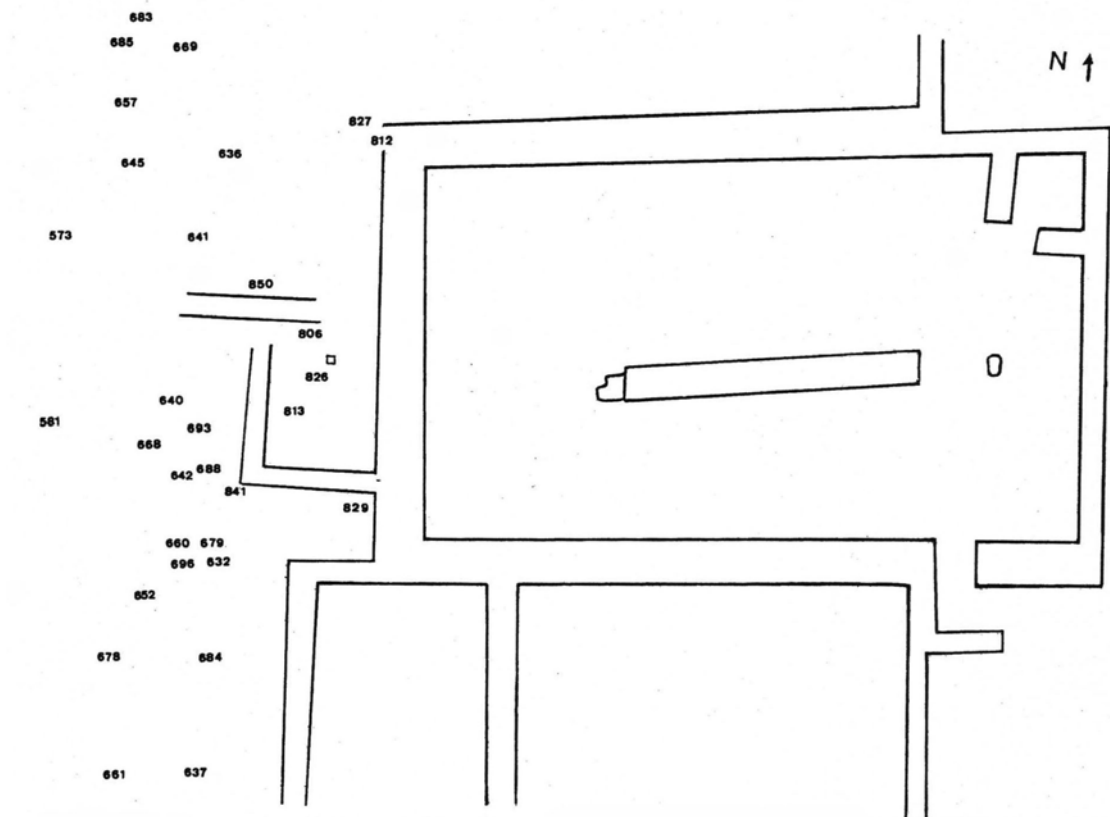


Figure 50: Plan of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God indicating the location of the figurines west of the hall (COURTOIS 1971: 326 fig. 140bis).

complex was dedicated to two deities, the Ingot God of the northeast room and a female deity associated with the hundreds of terracottas (a total of 227 on all Sols) found exclusively in the west room, on the west bench and in the west courtyard (fig. 50)¹⁵². The great majority of these figurines are human according to Webb, possibly broken from ring dance compositions in which three or four female votaries with their arms upraised were arranged around a central musician¹⁵³. Several larger and more finely decorated fragments, originally at least 25-30 cm high, may have been images of the goddess¹⁵⁴. Still according to Webb, the bicephalous centaurs/sphinxes and the double hearth of Sols II and I may also be manifestations of the dedication of the building to two deities.

The iconography of the Ingot God is that of a warrior deity, in its position and with greaves, a helmet, a shield and a spear. It has been interpreted by Schaeffer as being responsible for the protection of the city's important bronze industry, a role maybe underlined by the proximity of his sanctuary and in particular the northeast adyton to metallurgical workshops in the north and the northwest of Quarter 5 East¹⁵⁵. However and as noted before, there is general uncertainty over whether Sols III to I were in use before or after the abandonment of the town¹⁵⁶.

The adyton of the goddess of the west adyton was built earlier, was larger, and closer to both altars and offering benches. This may indicate that, if the identification of a female deity in the Sanctuary is correct, she was at least initially the more important one of the two.

Apart from these considerations, oxen played a significant role in ritual practice and iconography. This will be discussed in more detail in the second part of the study.

In addition, near the *Autel Supérieur* on Sol III was found a pithos decorated with a snake in relief. Snakes appear relatively often on eastern Mediterranean vases, large pithoi or various jugs. These are interpreted as cult vases linked generally to a funerary and chthonic cult¹⁵⁷.

It's also worth noticing that the hearth during the four, and maybe even the five, last stages of the Sanctuary was always situated at the same place. However, the construction, the shape and so the use of the fireplace changed through time. It one on Sol V, it was a hearth without a real structure. F. 4 on Sol IV was circular in shape and carefully built. F. 3 presented as a rectangular platform. F. 2 and F. 1 were much the same, showing less care, but

¹⁵² COURTOIS 1971:326. WEBB 1999: 112.

¹⁵³ WEBB 1999: 112, 213.

¹⁵⁴ COURTOIS 1971: 330, 332, 334-335, 340; WEBB 1999: 112.

¹⁵⁵ LAGARCE 1971; COURTOIS 1973: 243; COURTOIS 1982: 161-63, fig. 3.

¹⁵⁶ WEBB 1999:113.

a greater organisation with their two fireplaces. The western fireplace could have been used for a moderated fire and the eastern one for a more intense fire, according to Courtois¹⁵⁸. The eastern fireplace was less covered with sherds, but well carbonised.

According to Wright, the unit of the Ingot God was a separate building, an independent temple¹⁵⁹.

“Sanctuaire du Dieu Lunaire”

In the northeast corner of the same quarter 5 East, a second cult place was identified, the interpretation being not too reliable. It was investigated in 1958 and 1959 and only published in some preliminary reports¹⁶⁰.

- Architecture

The only information available concerning the architecture is that the building housing the presumed cult place in its western aisle was built of ashlar¹⁶¹. Schaeffer dated it to the 12th century BC¹⁶².

- Finds

The western sector of the ashlar building produced during the excavations a fragmentary object identified at first as a lunar crescent of limestone (0.3 m across), a phallus (of stone?), a painted terracotta figure said to be of a “style osé” and engaged in a “geste impudique”, and a stone block with a frieze of bronze sickles in relief. The terracotta figurine is a nude wheel-made female figurine (15.8 cm high) of an unusual type¹⁶³. Its right arm is broken away, but the left one is bent with the hand holding the left breast. The vulva is shown in prominent relief, below a narrow painted belt at the waist. These finds led to the identification of the aisle as a cult place of the Moon and Fertility¹⁶⁴.

In 1960, the remainder of the “lunar crescent” was found in the same building and the whole finally identified as a saddle quern¹⁶⁵. The sickle block, according to Courtois, is not a cult object, but a multiple mould for casting bronze sickles similar to examples from Enkomi

¹⁵⁷ COURTOIS 1971, 190, 194-195.

¹⁵⁸ COURTOIS 1971: 220-221.

¹⁵⁹ WRIGHT 1992: 97, 266.

¹⁶⁰ PICARD 1958; SCHAEFFER 1958; SCHAEFFER 1959-1960: 237; KARAGEORGHIS 1960, 283.

¹⁶¹ SCHAEFFER 1958: 288.

¹⁶² SCHAEFFER 1958: 289.

¹⁶³ COURTOIS 1984: 75, 81, fig. 26.1, pl. X.

¹⁶⁴ SCHAEFFER 1958.

¹⁶⁵ WEBB 1999: 130.

and Hala Sultan Tekke, although here the sickles remained in their matrices¹⁶⁶. In addition, numerous engraved seals, Egyptian scarabs and pottery were found on the place¹⁶⁷.

- Discussion

The function of the building, and more particularly of the western sector remains uncertain. The unusual character of the figurine and the possible presence of a phallus can support the identification of a ritual use, but the lunar associations are inappropriate.

¹⁶⁶ DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 132.34; HULT 1978: 83, 93, fig. 183, N1055; COURTOIS 1984: 99-101, nos. 886, 889, 897, fig. 34.6.

¹⁶⁷ SCHAEFFER 1958: 289.

Quarter 6 West

Quarter 6 West produced two complexes that can be identified as cult places, one in the northeast corner, the other one to the north. However, as Webb grouped both complexes in the less reliably identified sites, this interpretation is not sure and accepted by everyone.

Freestanding Two-Roomed Complex

Revealed by the excavations of Schaeffer in 1949, 1959 and 1966, the northeast corner of Quarter 6 West housed a free-standing two-roomed complex of late C12th BC date (*Chypriote Récent IIIB*), provided with a ritual purpose by Caubet and Courtois¹⁶⁸.

- Architecture

The presumed cult place was situated in a freestanding building limited by Street 5, the Main Street North/South and small lanes to the south and the west (fig. 8). To the southwest was an open **court**, provided with a large built stone well. The complex contained two rooms, one to the south, the other at the north (fig. 51).

The rectangular **room to the south** was entered to the south through its longest side. The entrance was added with a retracting corner in ashlar. Between the two rooms, a thick wall not well preserved doesn't allow the identification of a link or doorway between these two places. To the west of the room, a thin wall divided the place in two. The southwest corner contained a circular stone base. To the

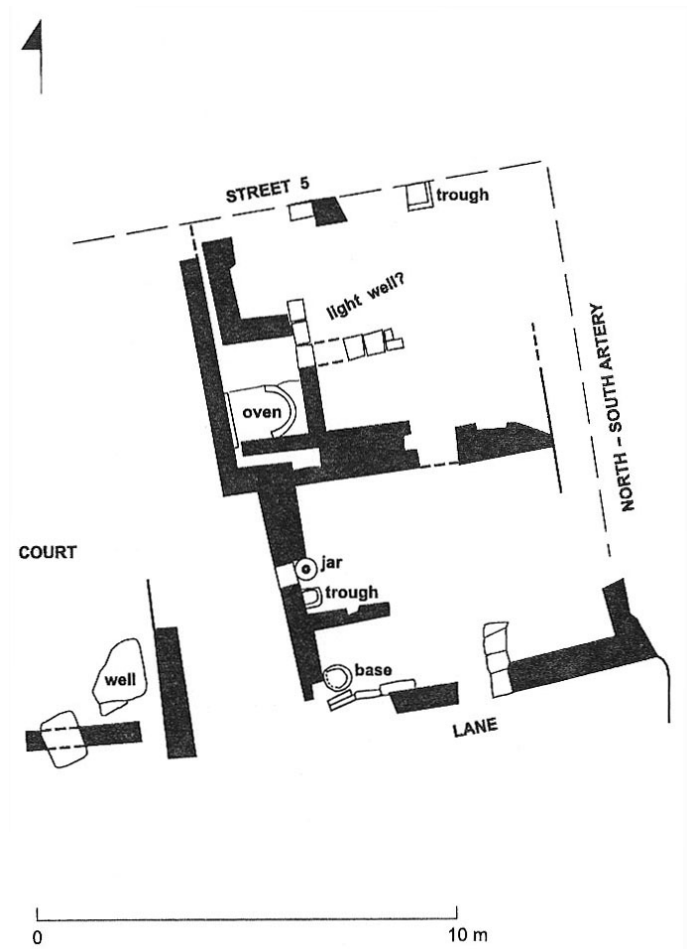


Figure 51: Plan of the two-roomed complex in Quarter 6 West (WEBB 1999: 133 fig. 55).

¹⁶⁸ CAUBET & COURTOIS 1986: 73, 75.

north of the dividing wall was found a stone trough.

The northern wall of the **north room** was badly preserved and the eastern one destroyed. In the space between, the remains of ashlar walls may indicate the presence of a light-well¹⁶⁹. In the southwest corner was found an oven or hearth.

- Finds

The western half of the **south room** contained a large jar near the trough as well as a terracotta liver model¹⁷⁰. The rest of the room produced sling bullets¹⁷¹, a bronze needle¹⁷², a wall bracket and two stamp seals. One of the seals represents a bucranium, the other one a bird.

The **north room** contained an inscribed plaque and three stamp seals. Another bucranium was represented on one of the seals. Another one shows two figures, two caprids and plants. The last one presents a bird and a snake.

In the **court** to the west were found eight painted bull figurines in the well¹⁷³ as well as fragmentary Proto White Painted skyphoi. In the west lane itself was a fragmentary Common Style cylinder seal¹⁷⁴. It represented a bird, a caprid, astral symbols and script signs.

- Discussion

The concentration of the seals in this complex is unusual and their iconography suggestive, showing bucrania, birds, a snake, humans, quadrupeds, plants, astral symbols and script signs. However, the subject matter of Cypriot glyptic is predominantly mythical or talismanic. This is thus an insufficient reason to identify the seals as votives.

Liver models were used in the Near East for divination not only in temples, but also in palaces and related buildings¹⁷⁵.

To summarize, neither the internal arrangements nor the associated finds allow a definitive identification of the complex¹⁷⁶.

¹⁶⁹ CAUBET & COURTOIS 1986: 73.

¹⁷⁰ For the detailed inventory, see CAUBET & COURTOIS 1986: 74.

¹⁷¹ COURTOIS 1984: 69, no. 652, fig. 23.1.

¹⁷² COURTOIS 1984: 16, no. 98, fig. 4.4.

¹⁷³ COURTOIS 1984: 87-89, nos. 843-850, figs. 29.6-10.

¹⁷⁴ CAUBET & COURTOIS 1986: 74; WEBB 1999:132.

¹⁷⁵ CAUBET & COURTOIS 1986: 75-76.

¹⁷⁶ WEBB 1999:132.

Complex Bordering Street 5

A sacred function was also suggested for another complex bordering Street 5 in Quarter 6 West¹⁷⁷. Only the northern part of the building, 50 m from the gate of the city, has been uncovered.

A room measuring 10 m east/west contained two large stone column bases on the central north/south axis and several other dressed blocks.

This room produced a small jug with a base in the form of a sieve, a carved stone channel with six script signs and, on an earlier floor, inscribed handle and conical rhyton of White Painted Wheel-made ware III.

¹⁷⁷ WEBB 1999: 134.

Quarter 6 East

Ashlar Building (“House of the Columns”)

The French excavations in Quarter 6 East between 1955 and 1958 uncovered a large ashlar building south of the paved place in the centre of the city, called “le Bâtiment à la Colonne”, “le Bâtiment aux Colonnes”, “le Temple à la Colonne” or “le Sanctuaire à la Colonne”. As indicated by the names given by the excavators, at least part of the building, the southwest corner, was attributed a ritual function. The building, however, received only brief publication and much about it remains uncertain¹⁷⁸. Webb, who therefore grouped this complex in the less reliably identified sites, included additional details coming from the excavation notes of de Contenson, made available by Courtois¹⁷⁹.

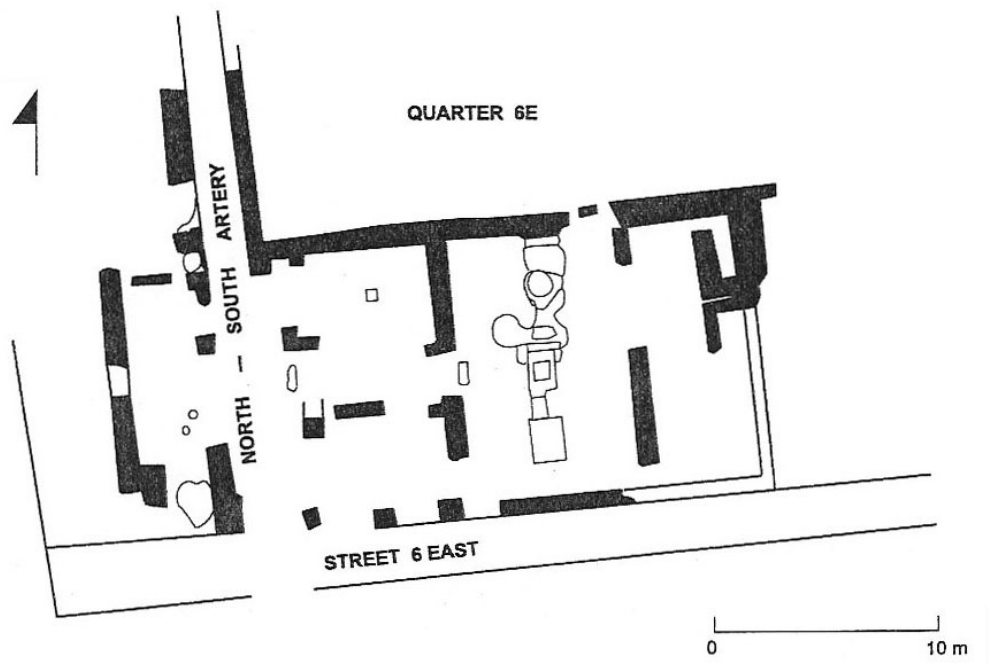


Figure 52: Plan of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 West (WEBB 1999: 117 fig. 49).

- Architecture

The southwest corner of Quarter 6 East, 30 m southwest of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, is constructed of fine ashlar blocks (2.1 m average length), standing independently of the surrounding structures (fig. 52). The complex is oriented east/west and provided by direct

¹⁷⁸ It was published by Courtois in 1986, but this publication was not accessible for the study.

¹⁷⁹ WEBB 1999:116.

access from the main north/south artery located 5 m to the west via a monumental entrance (3.5 m wide) in the centre of the western wall.

Courtois described the complex, measuring 19 m east/west by 16 m north/south, as having only two rooms, a “vestibule” to the west and a “cella” to the east. However, the published plans suggest a third room to the east and made it a tripartite building¹⁸⁰. This innermost room, poorly preserved is not mentioned in the preliminary publication of the building and nothing is known of his finds. It has tentatively been identified as an adyton or an altar room¹⁸¹.

The **westernmost room or hall** (14.5 m north/south by 8 m east/west) comprised a central north/south row of stone bases, to support the roof, of which only three survive. Two of these blocks present square tenons and the third was surmounted by a block thought to be part of the original pillar. Along the eastern wall of the room, an earth bench framed a central monumental doorway, almost 3 m wide and provided with ashlar orthostats, leading to the eastern or central room.

This **eastern or central room** is slightly larger in size (14.5 m north/south by 9 m east/west) and also divided along the central north/south axis, by a row of flat closely fitting slabs (ca. 1.1 m wide) of uncertain function. This row, bench, platform, wall base, or something else, ends 2 m before the south wall. In the centre of it, on the east/west axis of the building opposite to the entrance, was put a large stone base (1.1 m square, 0.1 m high). A partly embedded block with a rectangular socket stood immediately to the east within the inner room. De Contenson identified these two particular blocks respectively as an altar or offering table, and the base of a statue or post¹⁸². Burdajewicz interpreted the square block as being part of a pillar, one of a series originally standing on the row of slabs, as in the westernmost room¹⁸³. According to him, the altar proper may have been located in the third room to the east. Webb replied that the size of the block is too large for a pillar¹⁸⁴. In the northwest corner of the room laid a tomb of LC I-II date sealed below the floor. A large bothros of well was found nearby, in which were some Hellenistic material, a stepped capital of Bronze Age type and a pair of cylindrical column drums inscribed in Greek. The drums and

¹⁸⁰ BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 39; WRIGHT 1992: 98; WEBB 1999: 116.

¹⁸¹ Respectively WRIGHT 1992a: 98 and BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 39.

¹⁸² BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 39; WEBB 1999: 118.

¹⁸³ BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 39.

¹⁸⁴ WEBB 1999: 155 note 64.

the capital could possibly have been used in the original building, but the building should not be referred to as the “House of the Columns”¹⁸⁵.

The stratigraphic sequence varied throughout the building. **Sol I**, the latest floor, revealed material of “Age du Fer Initial” (LC IIIA) in the western room and was associated in the central room with Proto White Painted ware.

Material of the LC IIC (“Chypriote Récent Final”) and early LC IIIA was found in **Sol II**, which ended in a widespread conflagration, presumably the same catastrophe that ended Sol V of Bâtiment 18 and Dikaïos’ Level IIIA¹⁸⁶.

Sol III, only visible in the west room, contained no ceramic finds. Below were discovered post-holes and other features of MC III.

The building thus seems to have been built in LC IIC, after the sealed tomb, and remained in use until the abandonment of the town¹⁸⁷.

- Finds

The **west room** contained a rectangular bone plaque on Sol III, and in the debris overlying Sol II were an ox horn, a bronze ring and earring, a pithos and a fragmentary plaque of ivory representing the wing and the tail of a sphinx or griffin (fig. 53). Between Sol I and II

was found an axe-head of polished green stone.

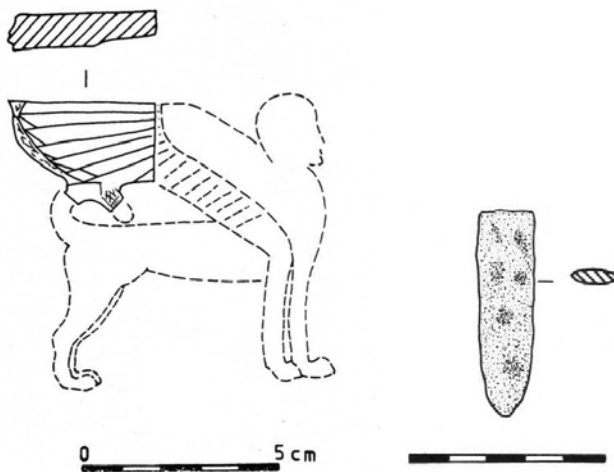


Figure 53: Ivory tail from the west room and bronze knife from the central room of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East (CAUBET, COURTOIS & KARAGEORGHIS 1987: 31 fig. 3.29; COURTOIS 1984: 171 fig. 1).

In the northwest corner of the **central room**, Sol II produced two fragments of gold leaf, an ivory disk, several lumps of slag, a pithos containing fragmentary bronze objects and copper slag, a fragmentary bull figurine of Base-Ring type and stylised human figurines. A pit at the same level contained a miniature bronze wheel,

¹⁸⁵ WRIGHT 1992a: 98; WEBB 1999:118.

¹⁸⁶ IONAS 1984a: 54; WEBB 1999: 118.

¹⁸⁷ WEBB 1999:118.

a point and other fragments of bronze. A bronze weight and a fragment of lead were close to the doorway in Sol II. In the northeast corner of the central room were an inscribed clay ball¹⁸⁸, a spindle whorl and a bronze knife (fig. 53)¹⁸⁹. To the south, a pithos mended with lead tenons contained sherds of *Bucchero*. The southwest corner contained a stone bird while the southeast produced a bronze arrowhead. Several wall brackets, a calcite bowl, a faience bead and jar fragments were also recovered.

- Discussion

The complex described above was identified as a cult place on basis of both the architecture and the finds. However, the extent of the structure is unclear and it remains therefore difficult to assess the architectural features in absence of a full publication. The full list of finds is more suggestive. All objects recovered are, according to Webb, paralleled in more reliably identified cult assemblages, and several of these have particular contextual associations with ritual installations, that is the miniature wheel, the stone axe-head, the slag, the bronze scrap and knife, the bull figurine and the ox horn¹⁹⁰. The absence of hearths and *temenos*, both features of the public ceremonial architecture at Enkomi and elsewhere, seems more problematic to Burdajewicz and Webb¹⁹¹. Burdajewicz therefore propose the use of the building as public, being something like an administrative centre or the headquarters of a high-ranking official.

¹⁸⁸ MASSON 1971: 481-482.

¹⁸⁹ COURTOIS 1984: 9, no. 9, fig. 1.8

¹⁹⁰ WEBB 1999:119, Tables II-IV.

¹⁹¹ BURDAJEWICZ 1990:39-40. WEBB 1999:119.

Conclusion

The ancient city of Enkomi situated near the eastern coast of Cyprus, not far from modern Famagusta was discovered in 1934. Although two missions, a French and a Cypriot one, excavated on the site, the events on the island didn't allow to uncover very much of the site. Its fortifications were partly excavated and the main interest went to the parts of six of the twenty insulae situated at the centre of the regular grid plan built at the beginning of the LC III period. The older remains, dating from the MC III on, could only partially be studied because of the walls of the later periods kept in place for comparison of the results of the two missions. These results were published in a final report by Dikaïos, director of the Cypriot mission, and incompletely in different volumes and papers by Schaeffer and Courtois of the French mission.

Cult places were identified by the excavators in Quarter 4 West (Dikaïos), 5 East, 6 West and 6 East (Schaeffer). These are all more or less contemporaneous, ranging from the LC IIC to the LC IIIB, the close of the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus and of the occupation of the city (\pm 1300 BC – 1050 BC). The identification of each of them was more or less discussed following their publication by other authors. Therefore, Webb grouped them into well reliably identified and less reliably identified cult places, while discussing and excluding the misidentified cult units.

Following her classification, the identification of three cult places has been accepted by most scholars. These are the Sanctuary of the Horned God, called after a bronze statue, and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess, after a female bronze statuette. Both sanctuaries were integrated in the same building in Quarter 4 West also containing rooms with other purposes. The building was limited by Street 3 to the north, the Main Street to the east and Street 4 to the south. The indications of cult activities were found at Level IIIB for the both Sanctuaries, dated to the end of the LC IIIA and the beginning of the LC IIIB, the beginning of the 12th century BC. The Sanctuary of the Horned God was reused with some modifications in Level IIIC, in the last quarter of the 12th century BC, the LC IIIB. This Sanctuary has a core of three rooms, a pillared hall containing one or two hearths at each level and two small rooms east of it. Other rooms surrounding these can be associated, such as a well annex and a vestibule on Street 4. In one of the small rooms to the east of the hall was found the famous bronze statue of a man headed with a horned cap. A miniature bronze sickle was lying before his right,

extended hand. The same room also contained numerous bowls turned upside down and stacked together. In its eastern wall was discovered a foundation deposit. Several ox skulls were found in the hall. The small room between the hall and the room with the bronze statue produced notably some animal bones and objects in gold. The Sanctuary of the Double Goddess is composed of a pillared hall with a well, a smaller one containing a hearth and a room to the west. The latter produced the female bronze figure that gave the cult unit its name, as well as some small bronze objects. In the smaller hall were several terracotta vases and a terracotta female figurine with upraised arms. The large pillared hall contained large quantities of broken pots.

In addition, the Sanctuary of the Ingot God in Quarter 5 East, again called after a bronze statuette, is also considered to be a reliably identified cult place, at least the latest Sols IV to I. Its entrance was from Street 5 and west of a possible court extended the paved square marking the crossing of the two main streets. The unit can have been surrounded by other rooms, then integrated in a larger building. Sol IV, a phase of reconstruction of the building, was dated to the LC IIIB. The sanctuary remained in use till or even after the abandonment of the city, Sol III being the main phase of the Sanctuary. As the different Sols indicate, the building went through a series of modifications in the internal organisation, accompanied by a rebuilding of the hearth in the main hall. The main features of this unit are a pillared hall, maybe entirely covered, a room to the west, one or two entrances and one or two other small rooms. A kind of court to the west can also be associated to the unit. The walls of the hall were lined with benches, while a short wall stood in the centre of it. This room revealed two altars and a tethering block, as well as several inscribed clay balls, numerous ox skulls and pottery sherds. In one of the niches on the northern bench were found the sherds of two terracotta bicephalous centaurs or sphinxes. In the western room and the western court were found numerous human figurines in terracotta, mainly female. The northeastern room revealed the famous bronze statuette of a warrior standing on a miniature ingot and some sherds. In the well annex were found notably some terracotta vases, antlers, an ox skull and other bones.

Some other, but less well reliably identified cult places have been discovered on the site. These five cult places were generally not well preserved, investigated and/or published so that only little information is available concerning these. Sols VI and V of the above mentioned Sanctuary of the Ingot God is one these possible cult places. These Sols were dated to the LC IIC – IIIA. The reconstruction by Webb of the layout of this unit proposes three

rooms disposed in a rectangular shape. These Sols yielded some pottery as well as the skulls and horns of a bovid. There may also have been a hearth associated with them.

In the same Quarter 5 East, a second cult place was called “Sanctuaire du Dieu Lunaire” after an erroneous identification of a saddle quern as a lunar crescent. It was dated to the 12th century BC without more detail. There is no information available about the layout of this place. In addition to the saddle quern, it produced a female terracotta figurine, numerous engraved seals, Egyptian scarabs and pottery.

Quarter 6 West also produced two possible cult units. A freestanding two-roomed complex dated to the end of the 12th century BC. The unit was bordered by Street 5 to the north, the Main north/south Artery to the east and small lanes to the south and west. The two rooms composing it were laying one behind the other in a general rectangular shape. A court to the west containing a well could have been associated with it. The southern room provided with a monumental entrance contained notably a terracotta liver model and two stamp seals. An oven or hearth was situated in the northern room, which may have contained a light-well. There were found three other stamp seals in it. In the court to the west were found painted bull figurines and a fragmentary seal.

The second cult unit in this Quarter also bordered Street 5 to the south. Only the northern part of it has been uncovered, which was formed by one single room. No date has been proposed for this unit. The room contained a few sherds and a carved stone channel inscribed with six script signs.

As the fifth and last less reliably identified cult place, an Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East has been attributed a religious purpose. It was limited to the west by the Main north/south Artery and to the south by Street 6. It has been attributed to the LC IIC and LC IIIA. This independent unit was composed of three rectangular rooms one behind and giving access to the other. The first two rooms to the west were pillared. The westernmost room produced a bone plaque, an ox horn, bronze rings, a pithos, a fragmentary plaque of ivory and a polished axe-head. The central room contained several lumps of slag, bronze objects, fragments of bronze, lead and gold leaf, an ivory disk, two pithos and other sherds and a fragmentary bull figurine, as well as an inscribed clay ball and a stone bird and calcite bowl.

Having presented in detail the different cult places found at Enkomi, we can now discuss the architectural evidence available to reach some conclusions about the functioning of all these cult units and of the rites practised in them.

II. Discussion

Introduction

The different cult places identified at Enkomi at the close of the Late Bronze Age each has its own architectural features and present a different assemblage of objects. However, being contemporaneous and built in the same context of a city, it is possible to compare them to identify some general standards in the construction and use of a religious building. At the same time, it is meaningful to highlight the differences in the use of each of the cult units to differentiate the cults performed in them.

The following discussion will concentrate mainly on the architectural features of the cult places. The detailed examination of the layout, the building material and the specific internal equipment can indeed give an idea of the functioning of the different rooms in the building and the rituals being practised.

For this purpose, one needs of course also to take into account the assemblages of objects found within the architectural context. However, the detailed study of these would take us too long. Therefore, references will be made to the finds described in the first part of this study without examining them closely.

Not enough information is available about the less reliably identified cult places to investigate them in detail. Therefore, their architectural features will be included in the discussion where possible, but determining their general functioning is unfeasible.



Figure 54: Map of Cyprus indicating the most important sites of the Late Bronze Age mentioned in the text (WEBB 1999: 16 fig. 1).

Architectural features

Introduction

Cult places in cities are housed in rooms and courts. The shape, relative size, arrangement and orientation of these spaces can be specific features of cult places that distinguish them from buildings with other functions or one from the other.

The care of construction of the cult buildings also may be distinctive. However, the different cult places were destroyed, and sometimes rebuilt and destroyed again. That is why the architecture at Enkomi is preserved mainly by the general layout and that there is not much information available to us about the raising of the building, its construction technique, its decoration elements etc. Therefore, only the building material, at least the material used in the first layers of construction, can be discussed here.

In addition to these features, hearths, altars and other special elements within each of the rooms can support the identification of the cult places and of the function of the rooms.

The different architectural features will be compared with contemporaneous sanctuaries discovered elsewhere on Cyprus to determine if they were peculiar to the city of Enkomi or inscribed in the Cypriot tradition.

Layout

In the case of Enkomi, the cult places appear to be established in already existing buildings. Therefore, they may not present the “standard” plan of a cult place, if this existed. Indeed, there has been an adaptation of the previously existing building to match the main features and purpose of a sanctuary. It’s thus nevertheless interesting to identify these features to understand the use of sanctuaries dedicated to the same divinity or not.

All reliably and less reliably identified cult place in Enkomi discovered till now are situated in the central part of the city, the Ashlar Building with the Horned God being somewhat to the north (fig. 8).

The principal component of each of the **reliably identified cult places** seems to be a rectangular hall with supported roof (fig. 55). In the Sanctuary of the Horned God, this hall contained three stone bases on its central longitudinal north/south axis, probably for wooden columns supporting the roof, at least at Level IIIB. The Sanctuary of the Double Goddess was also arranged around a hall, but divided by a short wall, forming the nearly square Room 12



Figure 55: Plans of the Sanctuaries of the Horned and Double Goddess at Level IIIB, of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Level IIIC and of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (WEBB 1999: 93 fig. 36; 97 fig. 39; 105 fig. 43).

and the pillared rectangular hall north of it. Room 12 can thus either be seen as an extension of the hall to the north or a distinct room. Each of these rooms was provided with columns or pillars. In Room 12 were two postholes on the east-west axis on Floor III, while Floor II supported a central stone paved area. The hall to the north contained a rough north/south wall to the west of the room, as well as a row of post-bases and -holes to the east and two wall portions at either side of the row on the same axis. A central rectangular hall was also the main feature of the plan of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God on the Sols IV to I. Along its longitudinal east/west axis, it was provided with a wall, maybe supporting the roof. The

evidence of the stone bases in this complex is too badly published to be conclusive about the roof supports, but they probably existed.

In the general layout of the well identified cult places, the pillared hall was added with other rooms as a vestibule linked directly to a secondary east/west street, a well annex and what may be called an “adyton”, an inner room; the precise function of these “adyta” will be discussed below. In the case of the Sanctuary of the Horned God, Room 1A to the south of the north/south oriented hall acted as a vestibule on Street 4 West as well as a well annex. A second well annex, Room 35A, was situated to the west of the vestibule and the hall. To the other side of the vestibule was another room, Room 1. To the east of the hall, two small rooms, 9 and 10, can be identified as two adyta, or an adyton with an antechamber. To the north and west of the hall and adyta were some other rooms. The hall of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess appears to be added with an adyton to the west of Room 12. There is no well annex directly associated with the unit, but the northern hall contained a well. The Sanctuary of the Ingot God of Sols IV to I was composed in addition to the central hall of an entrance on Street 5 East to the southwest of the hall. Another possible entrance was situated at the opposite, in this case communicating with the rest of the building; this entrance porch could also have been a separate room with only one entrance from the hall. A well annex used at the level of Sols IV and III was situated to the southeast of the hall and an adyton to the west. Another adyton was added in the northeast corner for Sols III and II.

The **less well reliably identified cult places** of which the plans are available show another arrangement (fig. 56). They are freestanding, independent units composed of two or three rectangular rooms situated one behind the other in a general rectangular shape. The freestanding complex in Quarter 6 West was composed of two rectangular rooms next to a court containing a well. The southern room was accessible from a small lane perpendicular to another lane finally ending on Street 5 West. The northern room, linked to the southern one, could have been entered directly from Street 5 West at the north and/or from the Main Street to the east, the eastern wall being destroyed and the northern one badly preserved. It may have contained a light-well. The possible cult place in the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East is also an independent unit. It contains three rectangular rooms, the westernmost provided with direct access to the Main north/south Artery and/or Street 6 East according to the published plan. It was provided with a north/south row of stone bases. A monumental doorway leads to the second room, also divided along its north/south axis but by a row of flat slabs and some possible stone bases. A well was also situated in this room. The easternmost room was not

mentioned in the text of the excavation reports; therefore, its specific features and function remain uncertain.

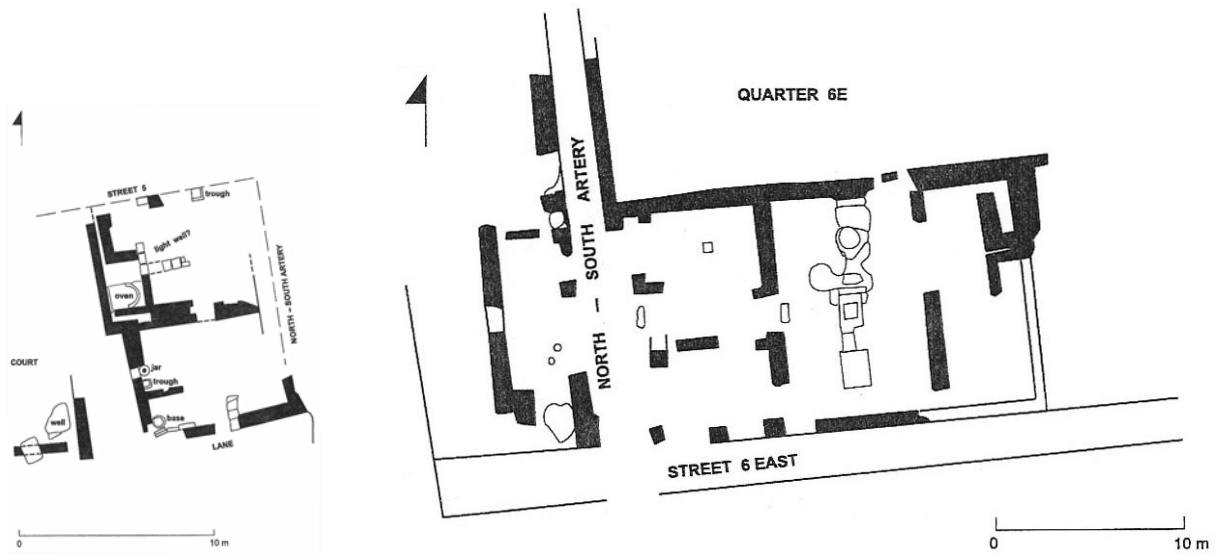


Figure 56: Plans of the two-roomed complex in Quarter 6 West and of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East (WEBB 1999: 133 fig. 55; 117 fig. 49).

Sols VI and V of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, also less well reliably identified as a cult place, can belong to both types of arrangement described above (fig. 57). The reconstruction by Webb shows a western room providing access to the unit. An east room, entered through one side of the separating western wall, also has an access to other parts of the building, to the north. In its northeastern corner, a small room occupied about two thirds of the eastern wall.

However, being not fully investigated, this unit is not useful in the discussion about the architecture of the cult places.

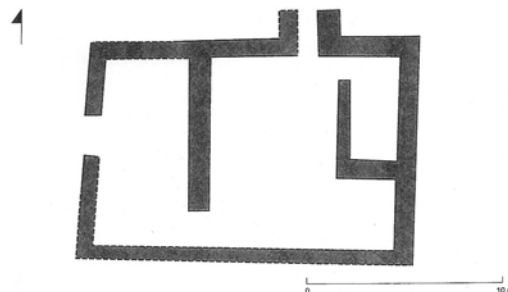


Figure 57: Reconstructed plan by Webb of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Sols VI and V (WEBB 1999: 121 fig. 50).

To **summarize**, the reliably identified cult places at Enkomi are all arranged in a pre-existing building around a rectangular hall with a roof supported on the longitudinal axis, the hall being oriented either north/south or east/west. An exception may be the Sanctuary of the Ingot God if, as Wright suggests, the remains around it were not used anymore at the time of the reconstruction of the unit on Sol IV¹⁹². In addition to the pillared hall, the entrance from one of the secondary streets to the cult units was through a vestibule; the cult units may also communicate with the rest of the building. Around the hall were a well annex in a corner of the unit, except in the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess where the well was found in the hall itself, as well as one or two adyton/adyta to the right of the hall when standing in the main entrance. The Sanctuary of the Ingot God was provided with a second adyton to the left. This forms a bent-axis entrance from the outside of the sanctuary to the innermost room, so that when entering one was not immediately facing the possibly most important rooms or features. Other rooms can be situated around these main components, the cult places not being freestanding, which may or may not have been associated with it.

It has to be noted that the general similar arrangement of the Sanctuary of the Horned God and the Double Goddess existed already in the original monumental Ashlar Building¹⁹³. However, this doesn't preclude that the rooms were chosen to be or not part of the cult units, which is difficult to determine nowadays, and that changes were even made in the internal circulation and number and disposition of the rooms. It can therefore be assumed that the similarities in the general layouts as described above are not purely fortuitous.

The less well reliably identified sanctuaries, excluding Sols VI and V of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, are freestanding units composed of two or three north/south or east/west rectangular rooms one behind the other. These rooms provide access one to the other through the centre of the separating walls. Access from outside could be directly from the main or a secondary street, or even through different perpendicular lanes.

Of course, each of the sanctuaries keeps its own peculiarities, already described above. This is even more true if we consider that nothing or very little is known about the raising of the buildings. As an example, it was assumed in the discussion about the layouts that all **rooms were roofed**. For the halls provided with pillars, there is little doubt that it indeed was so, except maybe for the Sanctuary of the Ingot God. The other rooms show no proof of the presence of a roof, if not the building technique, and some of them could have been

¹⁹² WRIGHT 1992: 97, 266.

¹⁹³ WRIGHT 1992: 94.

courtyards. As already mentioned, only little of the raising was preserved, at best some of the first layers of construction. Moreover, the possibly observed building techniques are only partly published. Dikaïos mentions some elements of it in his description in his final publication. Schaeffer's excavations were not well and entirely published, so that at least in the publications available for this study, there was no mention about the building technique that eventually could be observed. It therefore seems impossible to know with certainty which rooms were roofed and which ones not.

At this point can raise the question whether the layout of the cult units in Enkomi were very different from the ones encountered **elsewhere on Cyprus** during the same period. According to the studies of Burdajewicz and Webb, Late Cypriot cult buildings are generally freestanding rectangular structures within or beside a courtyard, which was also used in the cult activities¹⁹⁴. A covered hall and an adyton along with a bent-axis alignment between the external entrance(s) and the adyton complete the distinctive features of these cult buildings.

That the cult buildings in Enkomi are not freestanding, independent structures with a large courtyard can easily be understood by the general organisation of the city along a regular grid of parallel and perpendicular streets. This would have confined the buildings in well defined spaces and have prevented the planning of a large courtyard, even if some other courtyards could have existed, as mentioned above, in addition to the ones west of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God and of the two-roomed complex in Quarter 6 West.

When freestanding, as in the case of the less reliably identified cult places, the units in Enkomi are effectively rectangular in their general shape. In the other cases, the general shape is all but rectangular probably because of their integration into a larger building.

What is similar to most of the other cult buildings as noted by Burdajewicz and Webb is the presence of the core composed of a hall and an adyton situated in a bent-axis alignment.

About the hall, we have seen that the ones in the reliably identified cult places at Enkomi were all pillared. Only some examples of cult places elsewhere on Cyprus present a hall the roof of which was supported with pillars or columns, Temples 1, 2, 4 and 5 at Kition and Sanctuary I at Kouklia-*Palaeopaphos*¹⁹⁵. This is probably the result of a purely architectural aspect, namely that these halls were too large to be covered without additional supports. Indeed, all halls in cult buildings where evidence for a supported roof was found at

¹⁹⁴ BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 41-42; WEBB 1999: 157-158, 161.

¹⁹⁵ BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 103, figs. 4, 6-11.

Enkomi as well as Kition and Kouklia-*Palaeopaphos* had sides of at least 7 m long and more¹⁹⁶.

As a conclusion, the general layouts of the cult places at Enkomi join the contemporary tradition existing elsewhere on Cyprus, with some modifications due to their integration in the regular city plan.

Building Materials

The care with which buildings are constructed can differentiate them in terms of importance. In general, we can expect that public cult places were one of the most important buildings in a city, together with administrative buildings and the residence of the possible governor, king or another chief. In the case of the cult places at Enkomi, there is not much information available about the building techniques, as mentioned above. Therefore, this aspect will be limited to the building material, for it can give an indication of the care of construction.

To build in ashlar, finely dressed stone masonry, involves considerable expenditure, and so has been thought to be used mainly for public buildings, sacred or profane¹⁹⁷. At Enkomi, the use of ashlar has been documented mainly in the central part of the city, where the cult places were also identified. However, few other parts of the site were excavated; the identification of the public buildings in the centre of the city thus remains unproved.

Moreover, most of the cult places were encountered only after the reconstruction of the city, at the end of the LC IIIA. This reconstruction re-used the remains of the former monumental buildings constructed in ashlar masonry, but incorporated them in rubble construction. Therefore, there doesn't seem to be a general use of the same building materials in the cult places at Enkomi, even if ashlar blocks were used in nearly all possible cult places.

The cult units built before the LC IIIA logically were in ashlar masonry.

Among these are Sols VI and V of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, but these were not fully investigated; there is no information available about the building materials. The Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East was, as its name is mentioning, built of fine ashlar blocks. It also contained a central monumental doorway between the western and the central room provided with ashlar orthostats. The badly known "Sanctuaire du Dieu Lunaire" in Quarter 5 East also seems to be built in ashlar, even if dated to the 12th century BC.

¹⁹⁶ For the dimensions of the halls in *Palaeopaphos* and Kition, see WEBB 1999: 61, 65, 69, 77 and fig. 30 p. 81.

¹⁹⁷ WRIGHT 1992: 89.

All other identified cult units seem to be built after the destruction at the end of the LC IIIA, when the city was reconstructed in rubble stones while reusing some ashlar blocks.

The Sanctuaries of the Horned God and the Double Goddess were situated in an Ashlar Building. This building was however reconstructed at Level IIIB, the main level of the Sanctuaries, mainly with rubble, but also with some dressed re-used ashlar blocks and mudbricks (fig. 58). The walls of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God as rebuilt for Sol IV were also of rubble stones. About the two-roomed complex in Quarter 6 West, it is only known through the publications that there was a retracting corner in ashlar next to the entrance to the complex.

There is no information about the building material and even the date of the second complex in Quarter 6 West.

To summarize, the brief analysis of the building material used in the cult places at Enkomi only emphasizes the division of the chronological periods, by marking the transition between the LC IIIA and B. Before the destruction at the end of the LC IIIA, the buildings in the city were made of ashlar, at least in the centre of it where the excavations took place, while thereafter the reconstruction reused some of the ashlar blocks but was mainly in rubble stones and eventually some mudbrick.

Only the retracting corner in ashlar marking the entrance to the two-roomed complex in Quarter 6 West may be of some importance. However, this complex has not been well reliably identified.

Internal Furniture

- Introduction

Within their arrangement into a specific plan, the different rooms each can contain additional architectural features specific to a certain use of the room, as and within a cult place. These features include wells, troughs and other drainage elements, hearths, altars and sacrificial tables as well as benches. The use of pits will also be discussed here.

- Wells

The wells have already been discussed above together with the different annexes that surround the main hall in the reliably identified cult places. It has been noted then that all

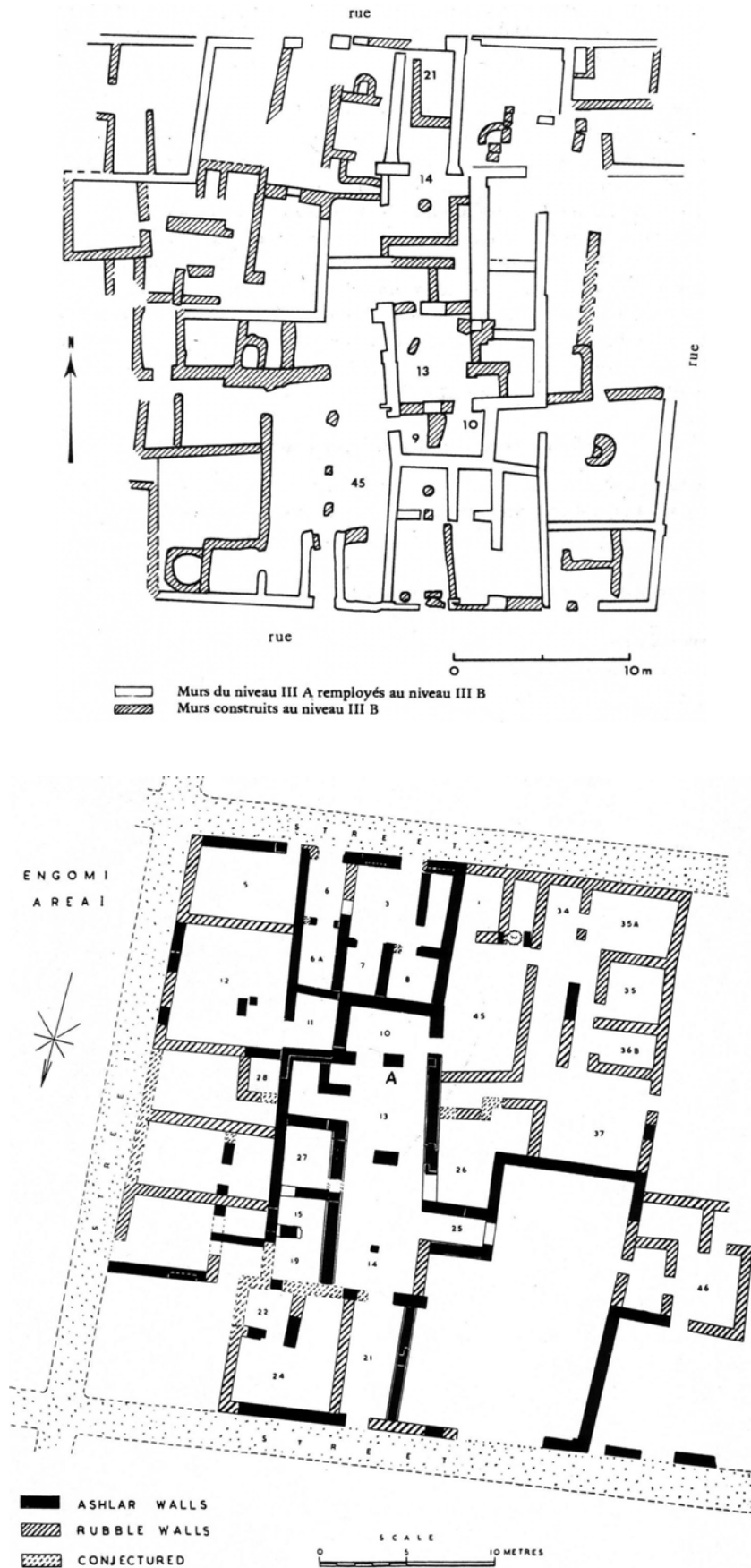


Figure 58: Plans of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 4 West indicating the walls built at Level IIIB (grey) and the materials of construction (IONAS 1984a: 101 fig. 3; DIKAIOS 1962: 5 fig. 2).

these cult units contain a well, most of them situated in a separate room and in one case in the pillared hall. Among the less reliably identified cult buildings, only the two-roomed complex in Quarter 6 West was associated a well situated in the court to the east of the complex.

Wells are not encountered in all cult units on Cyprus. They were found in the temene of Temple 4 (Room 39) and Temenos A at Kition as well as at Myrtou Pighades¹⁹⁸. Only in the Kition Temples 1 and 4 are they situated in the hall¹⁹⁹.

The primary function of wells is of course to provide a building, in this case a cult unit, with water used for drinking and cleaning.

- Drainage systems

Where water and other liquids were often used for cleaning and/or offerings, libations, a drainage system is necessary to collect and remove the wastewater and liquids. Drainage elements were encountered mainly as troughs in the cult places, if these can be considered as drainage elements.

In the Sanctuary of the Horned God, Room 9 contained a stone trough at Level IIIB. It presented a channel along one of its narrow sides connecting with a hole through the centre of its base. Underneath it were found a few bones of animals and birds. Room 10 next to Room 9 also was provided with a stone trough presenting grooves along both narrow sides ending in a perforated base. Another trough was found in the southern room of the two-roomed complex in Quarter 6 West. According to their general shape, troughs may have been used to collect liquids by the channels and grooves and to evacuate them through the perforated base²⁰⁰.

Two other elements that may have functioned in a drainage system have been discovered in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God. An oval stone-lined drainage sump was found to the south of the central wall and a terracotta tube in the shape of a bottle was identified by Courtois as the remains of the drainage channel (fig. 59)²⁰¹.

- Hearths

Hearths or fireplaces are a constant feature in the hall of the reliably identified cult place, and are sometimes even present in other rooms. Most of them are next to the entrance

¹⁹⁸ WEBB 1999: 44, 73, 77, 173.

¹⁹⁹ WEBB 1999: 65, 77, 173.

²⁰⁰ I was unable to find an illustration of one of these troughs.

²⁰¹ COURTOIS 1971: 162, fig. 12, 36.

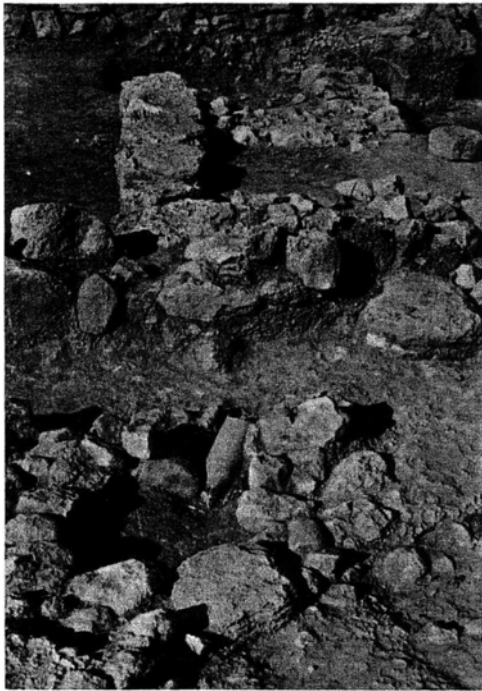


Figure 59: Oval stone-lined drainage sump and terracotta bottle from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 187 fig. 36).

to the supposed adyton. The hall of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Level IIIB contained a circular hearth without structure in its northwestern part, which was replaced after a while by a larger one more to the east and west of the doorway to Room 9. Room 35A also contained a hearth at this level, later reduced in size by some mudbricks. In Room 13 was another hearth to the east of its centre. Floor II of Room 36 on the opposite side of the hall was provided with a fourth hearth, maybe with a chimney. At Level IIIC of the same sanctuary two circular stone hearth platforms were built in hall 45, one of these just north of the doorway to Room 9, the other one west of the row of stone bases, nearly above the first circular hearth. These hearth platforms were

not used at the same time. Possible evidence of hearths in the other rooms at this Level is not mentioned in the final report. In the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess, a circular hearth platform was situated on Floor II in Room 12. It was built of sherds and mud mortar, near the centre of the room. In its centre was a rectangular enclosure built of mud enclosed by a low wall. The Sanctuary of the Ingot God contained a hearth on the four last Sols, and maybe even the five last ones, always situated at the same place, in the southwest corner of the hall. It evolved from a fireplace without real structure to a hearth with two fireplaces in a roughly rectangular structure oriented east/west.

In the two-roomed complex in Quarter 6 West, the northern room contained an oven or hearth, not described in more detail. There is no mention of a hearth in the brief publications of the “Sanctuaire du Dieu Lunaire” in Quarter 5 East, the second complex of Quarter 6 West and the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East.

In other cult buildings elsewhere on Cyprus, hearths seem to appear in the hall and also frequently the temenos of all of them, according to Webb²⁰². The construction of each of these hearths varies from one place to another, and from a hearth without structure to hearths

²⁰² WEBB 1999: 166.

carefully built with sherds, clay, plaster and/or stone chips. The hearths at Enkomi show the same variety in construction.

Some of the hearths at Enkomi produced small fragments of animal bone, such as fish bones or sheep and goat mandibles. In the Sanctuary of the Horned God, there were even two fragmentary ox skulls lying near the hearth and partly on the ashes. This may indicate that animal offerings were burnt in those hearths, the bones of which were regularly removed from them as Webb suggests²⁰³. Small bones in hearths may also come from cooking activities included in the rituals. Webb proposed that fragrant wood and other vegetable matter may also have been burnt in these hearths. She based her supposition on the presence of grinding stones and pestles in the cult units. There were indeed some of them, mainly in the halls. The Sanctuary of the Double Goddess contained a quern or grinder in its Room 12, as well as several stone grinders and a stone pestle in the hall north of it. A steatite pestle was also found in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God.

The two last hearths in the succession of hearths of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God present themselves as two associated fireplaces. According to the observations of Courtois, the western fireplace could have been used for a moderated fire while the eastern one was provided with a more intense fire²⁰⁴. This may suggest that both fireplaces were used for different purposes in the ritual of the cult, maybe to burn different matters.

- Offering structures

Altars and other offering structures are a necessary equipment in sanctuaries where the cult involves animal offerings, as was suggested by the hearths which can also be considered as an offering structure, especially hearth platforms.

Apart from the hearths, the Sanctuary of the Horned God doesn't contain an offering table or the like.

In the nearby Sanctuary of the Double Goddess on the other hand, Floor III of Room 12 supported a rectangle of three stone slabs that are identified as supports for roof columns by the excavators, but also as a table of offerings²⁰⁵. On and near it mainly pottery was found.

The Sanctuary of the Ingot God contained the most striking examples of offering structures. Two altars were found not far one from the other in the main hall. These altars

²⁰³ WEBB 1999: 169.

²⁰⁴ COURTOIS 1971: 220-221.

have the same shape, an upright rectangular monolith with a concave surface. The second altar, the *Autel Supérieur*, probably was put in place because of the subsidence of the other one not so well fixed or of its impossibility to be heightened to correspond to the level of Sol III²⁰⁶. Near the *Autel Inférieur*, a big block of stone with a horizontal hole through the upper part was identified as a tethering block to attach animals for sacrifice.

The Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East also produced a possible offering structure in the form of a square stone block in the centre of the central room. However, its identification is not certain; the block stood on a row of flat closely fitting slabs of uncertain function.

The other less reliably identified cult units don't seem to possess any kind of offering structure.

To summarize, not all identified cult places at Enkomi are provided with an offering structure. Moreover, the possible structures are all different in shape, size and construction, even if all of them are made of large stone blocks or slabs. In the reliably identified cult buildings, they are all situated in the pillared hall giving access to the supposed adyton.

Offering structures are found also elsewhere on Cyprus. According to the classification of Webb²⁰⁷, square, freestanding stone structures associated with horns of consecration situated in open courtyards were discovered at Myrtou-Pighades and in Temenos A and B at Kition. Low stone tables were inside the colonnaded courtyard at Ayia Irini and at Ayios Iakovos, of the Cult House at Idalion and of Temples 2, 3 and 5 at Kition. A rectangular stone block with relief decoration was found at Hala Sultan Tekke and a rectangular flat limestone slab with a narrow rim at Kouklia-*Palaeopaphos*.

The most notable structures in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God can be paralleled with two rectangular blocks found in Temenos A at Kition, somewhat smaller than the ones at Enkomi²⁰⁸. These are also provided with concave surfaces. Near them, the upper part of a stone anchor has been found, the function of which could have been similar to that of the tethering stone from Enkomi according to Burdajewicz.

As already mentioned before, altars and offering tables can be used to perform rituals with animal offerings, maybe burnt afterwards, or other offerings. These structures can also be used in a more symbolic way, as are the altars in today's Catholic churches; these are then

²⁰⁵ WEBB 1977: 16, no. 7, 120-121; BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 92.

²⁰⁶ COURTOIS 1971: 198.

²⁰⁷ WEBB 1977: 114-116, 119.

²⁰⁸ BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 88, 101; WEBB 1999: 171.

more looking like and functioning as tables. In fact, all kinds of ritual operations can be performed on these, the kind being difficult to determine with the evidence available only from archaeological excavations.

- Benches

Another architectural feature was encountered in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God. The walls of its hall on Sol III were lined with rubble benches except the eastern wall. The northern bench was provided with a niche in the centre of the wall. A second niche was situated to the west of the first one. Only one other cult place at Enkomi, the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East, was provided with a bench in its western room, this one made of earth, which framed the central monumental doorway leading to the central room.

Benches were encountered also elsewhere on Cyprus in the halls of Temples 2, 3, 4 and 5 at Kition, at Ayia Irini and on the site of Athienou²⁰⁹. They were built of earth, mudbrick, rubble or even ashlar.

Benches are of course used for sitting. In the main hall or the first room of a cult unit, we can expect that the worshippers or some privileged people had access and could assist the rituals while standing or sitting. However, they can also be used for storing objects. On the benches in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God were found notably some ox skulls, a rhyton with bucranial spout, a Bucchero juglet, incised scapulae, an antler and several bowls (fig. 60). In the eastern niche were found a bronze blade, incised scapulae, while the western one contained the sherds of two bicephalous terracotta figurines identified as centaurs or sphinxes, as well as two chalices, two deep bowls and the remains of bucrania and ox horns. The benches could thus have served as shelves for cult objects or votive offerings. The niches would have contained more valuable objects, e.g. the cult objects.

- Pits

Several pits have been discovered in the different cult places. Some of them were just a depression in the floor, while others show a more elaborate arrangement. Room 45 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God contained a shallow rectangular pit lined with a few stones. In Room 10, a slight depression in the floor was surrounded by two stone slabs forming a semi-circular niche. Several other pits were dug in this room, among which a pit divided by a

²⁰⁹ BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 101; WRIGHT 1992: 270; WEBB 1999: 22, 42-43, 54, 71, 77, 80, 166.

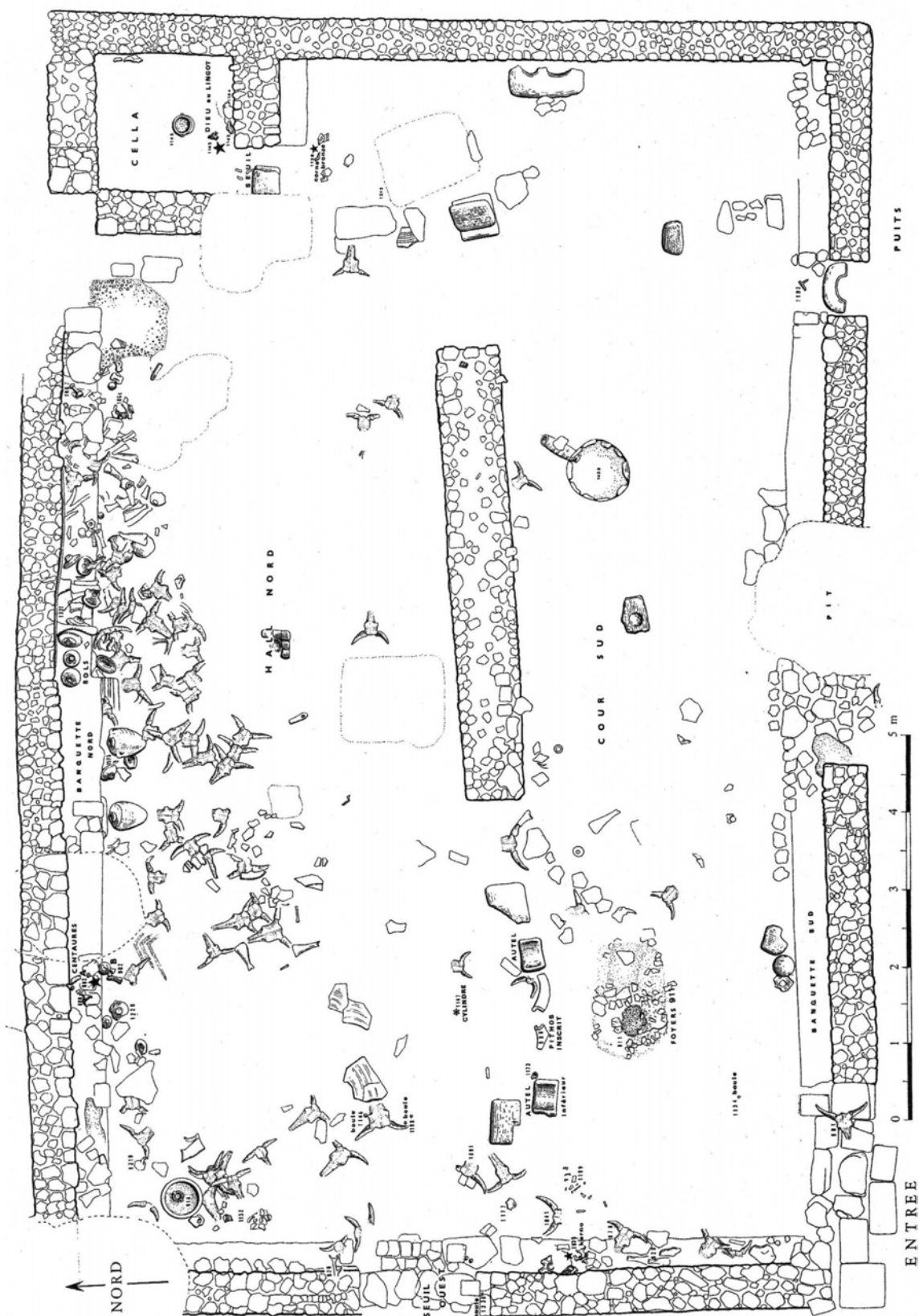


Figure 60: Plan of the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God indicating the major objects (COURTOIS 1971: fig. 2).

partition. Room 36 was provided with a circular depression the sides of which were plastered with mud mortar containing fragments of pottery. There also was a second depression in the same room.

In Room 11 of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess was another shallow pit.

The function of these pits is hard to determine and can be very diverse; therefore, each of them has to be examined separately. The function of some of them can however be understood. The semi-circular niche surrounding a slight depression in the floor of Room 10 in the Sanctuary of the Horned God may have been used for storing or exposing the bronze statue. The statue itself was found in another pit, divided by a partition, together with a miniature bronze sickle. In the other compartment was found an animal jaw and a bronze pin and ribbon. The meaning of this pit has already been discussed in the first part of this study; the statue may have been unearthed after the destruction of Floor I and replaced in a pit. The other pits in the same room may indicate the efforts to find back the statue.

The shallow pit in the southeast corner of Room 11 of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess contained the bronze statuette after which the cult place was called. It could therefore have been used, as in the case of the statuette of the so-called Ingot God, as a storing or exposing place.

The other pits, however, are more peculiar, especially the rectangular pit lined with stones in Room 45 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God and the circular depression with plastered sides in Room 36 of the same unit. The latter contained some fragments of pottery. They could have been used as a trash container, e.g. for the larger bones removed from the hearths²¹⁰. However, the description and maybe also the investigation of these pits were not carried out as well as to allow their precise identification.

- Others

We can add to our inventory of the internal furniture a central mudbrick construction of unclear purpose in the west room of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God.

On the same spot, but on the next Sol, was put a small stone pillar as well as a plaster platform. The small pillar has been identified as a *baetyl*, a stone symbol for the deity²¹¹.

To the east of the row of slabs in the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East was a partly embedded rock with rectangular socket. Webb proposed that it may have supported a cult statue or other cult objects²¹².

²¹⁰ WEBB 1999: 169, 174-175.

²¹¹ WRIGHT 1990: 96; WEBB 1999: 182-183.

The same purpose can be attributed to the small niche in Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God formed by two stone slabs and a depression in the floor already mentioned before.

- Conclusion

The internal furniture of the cult places at Enkomi differs for each of them. It has been noted that wells providing water for drinking or cleaning purpose are present in all reliably identified cult buildings, as well as in one less reliably identified cult place. These wells were situated mainly in well annexes, but also in a court and a hall. Indications of drainage systems to collect and evacuate waste water from the well as well as possible other liquids are found in the form of troughs mainly.

As offering structures, hearths have been found in the hall of all reliably identified cult building, most of them not far from the entrance to the supposed adyton. These hearths may have been used for animal offerings and possibly also other types of offerings. In addition to the hearth, some of the cult buildings were also provided with altars and possibly tethering blocks to attach animals for sacrifice. These offering structures all have different sizes, shapes and constructions.

Several pits described only for the Ashlar Building in Quarter 4 East may have played a role in the ritual, by providing a storing or exhibiting place for the cult statue or a trash container for the remains of the offerings.

Benches, mainly present in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, were built in a more public room of the sanctuary to provide seats for people and shelves for offerings and cult objects. In the other sanctuaries, there may of course have been benches, seats or shelves in wood, but these were not preserved through the ages.

This raises the question of the other furniture made of perishable materials, wood, vegetal matter and leather, present in those cult buildings as well as in all other buildings and houses in the city. It cannot however be answered until optimal conditions of preservation and carefully conducted excavations let us discover some examples. The study of the iconography may also contribute to the answer, but this will bring us too far in the discussion.

To summarize, even if the equipment differs in each building, none of the elements of the internal equipment of the cult places at Enkomi is unique to the city and may be encountered in the cult buildings elsewhere on Cyprus.

²¹² WEBB 1999: 188.

Conclusion

The cult places of Enkomi were built according to two different general plans. The reliably identified buildings were situated in already existing buildings modified to match the necessities of a religious place. They were composed of a pillared hall surrounded by one or two adyton/adyta, an well annex, a vestibule and other rooms having or not something to do with the cult. The access to the units was from one of the secondary east/west streets and the adyta were situated in a bent-axis alignment with the entrance. The less reliably identified cult buildings were all freestanding structures, containing three rectangular rooms one behind the other in a general rectangular shape. These general layouts fit with the observations made elsewhere on Cyprus in Late Bronze Age sanctuaries, but with some differences due to their situation in the city itself and the regular plan of it.

The analysis of the building material doesn't provide elements for the differentiation between cult and other buildings, or between the different cult buildings. It just emphasizes the different construction periods in the whole city.

The internal equipment of each of the cult places was different in each case. Wells, drainage systems, hearths, offering structures, benches and pits were encountered in them, but in a different assemblage and position each time. These can however be compared with the furniture of the cult buildings on the whole island and probably served the same kind of functions. Wells provided water for drinking and cleaning, the drains collected the wastewater to evacuate it. The hearths, apart from providing fire to heat the rooms, may be considered as an offering structure to burn organic matter in them. Other blocks and constructions were used for the offering probably of animals, as well as for other symbolic rituals. Images of the divinities and other cult objects were stored in pits or on benches. Some pits were probably also used as trash container. In addition to their use as shelves, benches provided seats for the cult personnel and worshippers.

Functioning of the Cult Places

Introduction

Throughout the description and discussion about the cult places at Enkomi till now, the term *adyton* was used to designate some of the rooms in the cult complexes. After the analysis of the arrangement of all rooms in the units, their building material and the internal equipment, it is time to try to clarify this notion and the function of the rooms designated as *adyton* as well as of the other rooms composing the different cult units. This will lead us to an overview of the different rituals performed in the cult places. This discussion will be based on the architectural features already examined above as well as the finds described in the first part of this study, but unfortunately too long to be examined here in detail. It has however to be kept in mind that the recovered objects do not represent the systemic original assemblage; these can represent objects with only a secondary importance in regard to the cult.

There is too much uncertainty about the architectural layout of the less reliably identified cult units and their finds are too heterogeneous to include them in this discussion; moreover, their identification as a cult place is not even sure. We will thus limit ourselves here to the three well reliably identified cult places.

Function of the Adyton

The term *adyton* is used to designate inner rooms in cult complexes or “a place apart where the cult image was kept and/or venerated away from profane view”²¹³. These are also called *cellae*, cult rooms, *holy-of-holies* or storerooms. To simplify things, inner rooms of cult places can thus either be storerooms for the cult objects and/or offerings, cult repositories, or rooms where the cult image was exposed, *cellae*, or both of them. Each of the inner rooms of the cult places at Enkomi, not comprising the halls and well annexes, have now to be confronted to each of these specific functions.

The **Sanctuary of the Horned God** in Quarter 4 West contained as core area a pillared hall 45 and two smaller rooms 9 and 10. The latter are situated one behind the other to the east of the hall in a bent-axis alignment in relation to the entrance of the unit. They can thus be called inner rooms or *adyta*.

²¹³ WEBB 1999: 8, 163.

Room 10 was identified as an adyton especially because the bronze statue of a man with a horned cap was found in it. However, the statue was found in the latest context, and may even not have belonged there originally. It is thus necessary to identify its function in a more precise way. In this room, a slight depression surrounded by a semi-circular niche was at Level IIIB. This niche could have been used as a storing or exposing place for the bronze statue of the Horned God as discussed above, or for other objects. In the northwest corner of the same room and at the same Level were found three deposits of stacked bowls turned upside down. This would indicate that the room was used as a storeroom rather than as a cella. Such a large number of similar bowls is striking and have certainly something to do with the rituals performed in the Sanctuary. The bowls could have contained liquids as well as solid food for collective libations, ceremonies or meals. The stone trough also found in Room 10 at the same Level can be an indication of the use of liquids and/or libations in the room or the sanctuary. An alabaster jug with limestone lid, a conical stone bead, a bronze knife and animal bones may represent cult objects or the remains of offerings stored in the room. At Level IIIC, the different pits encountered in Room 10 may have come from the search for the bronze statue, as already noted in the first part of this study. The use of the room as storeroom could thus have remained the same at this stage.

Room 9, situated next to Room 10, gave access to it from the hall and from Room 13 at Level IIIC, when the access from Room 13 to Room 10 was blocked. In it were found, at Level IIIB, another stone trough with a few bones of animals and birds, and mainly animal horns and bones, objects in gold and gold leaf. Level IIIC produced ox horns, antlers and animal bones. These finds may constitute the remains of offerings or cult objects as in Room 10. No special cult equipment has been found in the room so that its function as a storeroom completing Room 10 throughout the two Levels is more probable than as a cella.

If the identification of both Rooms 9 and 10 as storerooms is correct, than the bronze statue, if a god, could have been stored there when not used in ceremonies in another room of the cult unit.

In the **Sanctuary of the Double Goddess**, Room 11 was called adyton. It communicated only with Room 12 to the west, probably a kind of hall, and was situated in a bent-axis alignment with the entrance to the hall north of Room 12. Its identification as an inner room thus seems justified. Only a few objects were found in it, notably the small double-sided bronze statuette of a female figure contained in a shallow pit in the southeast corner. The rest of the room produced a paste bead, a fragment of gold leaf, a bronze nail and

pin as well as studs, rods and other small objects in bronze. No special furniture has been found in the room and the finds are too sparse to attribute a specific function to it. However, based on the analogy of the spatial context and of the sanctuaries as well as on their close neighbourhood, Burdajewicz assumes that Room 11 had the same purpose as Room 10 in the Sanctuary of the Horned God, storing the cult objects and offerings²¹⁴.

Sols IV to I of the **Sanctuary of the Ingot God** seem to contain the largest amount of objects ever found in a cult building on Cyprus²¹⁵. The famous bronze statue of a man in warrior position standing on a miniature ingot was found in the small room built for Sol III in the northeastern corner of the large hall. Its position in relation to the entrance to the unit is in bent-axis. It may thus be called an adyton. North of it, another room was either used as an entrance porch with a communication to the rest of the building if also reconstructed at the time, or another room in bent-axis alignment. If a separate room, it may be considered also as an adyton. However, it was not described in the excavation reports, neither the architecture nor the finds; it is thus impossible to discuss about its function. Let's therefore consider the unit without it. The western room was also identified as an adyton by Webb²¹⁶.

First, the room in the northeast corner was only used for two of the four last Sols, Sol III and Sol II (fig. 61). The bronze statuette stood in an upright position on Sol III to the right of the entrance. In addition, the room produced a krater, a jug and two bowls similar to the ones in Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God. Burdajewicz considers the room again

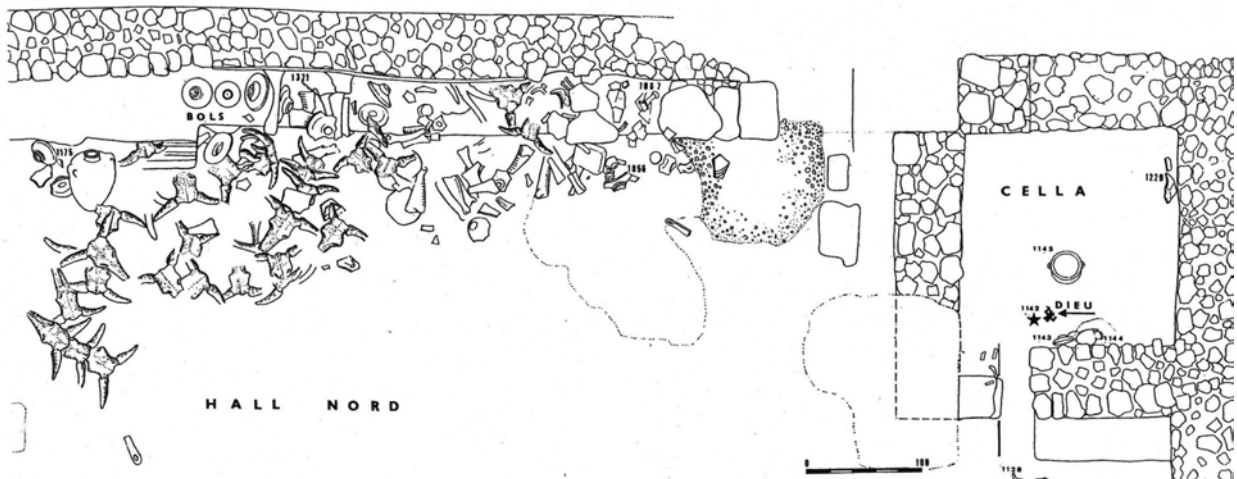


Figure 61: Plan of the northeast corner of the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: fig. 128).

²¹⁴ BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 83.

²¹⁵ WEBB 1999: 102.

as a cult repository on the basis of its secondary position in the sanctuary²¹⁷. However, the room could also have been used as a cella the access of which was restricted to the cult personnel; the pottery could have contained offerings in the form of food and drinks. An objection to this attribution is that the room was not used anymore in the last stage of the sanctuary, Sol I. A possible explanation for this may be either a change in the cult as indicated by the bronze statue buried underneath Sol II or, if used as a storeroom, the uselessness of it after a while. For the burial of the bronze statue, Schaeffer proposed a desire to protect the god from flood and earthquake²¹⁸. In that case hard to conceive, however, and without a change in the cult recipient, the exact spot of the buried god had to be indicated on Sol II. In the excavation reports, there was no mention of such a special feature. A much more plausible explanation suggested by Webb is a change in the cult or its recipient, or simply a replacement of the old statue²¹⁹. After the burial of the bronze statue, a small stone pillar or baetyl as well as a plaster platform was put in place on Sol II of the western room. There may have been a connection between the burial of the statue and the construction of the latter.

The western room was provided in the earlier Sol IV with a central mudbrick construction and a plaster on the western wall. However, without a more detailed description, it is impossible to suggest a purpose for it. No finds were mentioned to be associated on this Sol. On Sol III of this west room were found a kalathos, three bowls, a jar, a stirrup jar and a set of pierced stones, possibly set-long-line weights, as well as nine human figurines in terracotta. The stone pillar or baetyl on Sol II was associated with a rectangular plaster platform. On it was found a kalathos. In the rest of the room were numerous vessels and at least four human figurines in terracotta. No finds were noted for Sol I. All the assemblages on the different Sols of the west room are similar and contain terracotta vessels and human figurines, mainly female. A total of 227 terracotta human figures were on all Sols of the Sanctuary, exclusively on the west bench in the hall, in the west room and the west courtyard²²⁰. It is thus very likely that they were offerings brought to a possible female goddess. In the case of the small pillar being a baetyl, the room may have been a cella with the plaster platform to dispose the offerings, terracotta figurines, or to perform a ritual including terracotta vessels.

²¹⁶ WEBB 1999: 112.

²¹⁷ BURDAJEWICZ 1990: 83.

²¹⁸ SCHAEFFER 1971a: 531.

²¹⁹ WEBB 1999: 122.

²²⁰ COURTOIS 1971: 326.

General Functioning of the Cult Units

The adyton is generally considered to be the most important room in a cult building. However, as we have seen, it didn't always function as a cella, but may have been a storeroom for cult objects and/or offerings. That means that the main rituals would have taken place in other rooms, maybe the halls of the cult units where a certain amount of people can gather.

The hall of the **Sanctuary of the Horned God** was provided with a hearth at each level, at the last two stages even a hearth platform. As noted above, this may indicate that animal offerings were performed in the Sanctuary. Ox skulls and other animal bones were also found in the hall. If Rooms 9 and 10 were used only as a cult repository, then the statue, if a god, could have been moved to another place for the ceremonies. The hall with its hearths and large space is a suitable room for it, but the animal or other offerings could also have been performed in another room than the one where the image of the god was displayed.

Room 13 with its hearth, access to Room 10 at Level IIIB and access to Room 9 at Level IIIC seems also to have played a role in the cult activities. There were mainly found terracotta vessels, fish bones, fishhooks, as well as an iron knife at Level IIIB. Level IIIC produced eight ox skulls, an antler, two jars, a jug, a wall bracket and a stone quern, objects that link this room to the cult unit at least at this level. No special features were recorded for this room except the hearth so that it is difficult to trace back its original function in the complex.

Several other rooms surrounded and communicated with the core area forming together a unit without any or only little communication with the rest of the Ashlar Building. They contained no particular features that can distinguish them, except the hearth and the staircase in Room 36. They may have been the more domestic or private quarters of the cult personnel living then next to or above the cult place. Rooms 39 and 40 to the northwest of the unit contained bathrooms. Hearths, wells, platforms, benches and utilitarian objects were found in most of the rooms²²¹. The use of the building by cult personnel will not leave any distinctive traces in the archaeological record in comparison to a residential function. However, in the Ashlar Building, a number of rooms outside the cult units have produced objects with a possible ritual use²²². The well in Room 5 contained eight miniature terracotta

²²¹ DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 192-194, 199-200, 202-205, 208-211, 213-219.

²²² DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 199, 204, 208, pls. 137/9, 137/12-13, 137/16a, 137/17, 137/19, 137/21, 138/2, 138/39. WEBB 1999:101.

oxen, a pair of moufflon's horns and a single ox horn. A miniature ingot, a knife and a bull rhyton from between Floor IV and IIIA, as well as a Decorated LCIII bird rhyton were found in Room 44. An inscribed stone sinker or anchor came from the well in Room 39b, and a cylinder seal and bull figurines from Floor III and Floor II in Room 42. Webb listed also an altar or shrine model in Room 17²²³. If the identification of all these objects as votives is correct, it indicates a more widespread use of the building by cult personnel.

The final deposition of the most discussed object of this unit, the bronze statue, is unclear as already noted in the first part of this study. That it was found in relation with Floor I, the latest floor of the Sanctuary, allows to suppose its use at all previous floors and levels in relation with the cult unit. The ritual seems to have involved animal offerings particularly of oxen, as indicated by the hearths, the bone remains as well as the articulated leg bones in Room 9. The importance of oxen in this sanctuary seems evident, even if not so apparent as in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Fifteen ox skulls and other bones were discovered, as well as two ox horns in gold leaf and bull figurines in bronze and terracotta. For Helbing, even the horns of the statue may be considered²²⁴. However, there were also remains of deer, according to Webb also other horned species, and even birds²²⁵. The troughs and stone bowls in Room 9 and 10 may indicate, as noted before, that libations also were performed. Webb identified in addition votive offerings suggested by the miniature weapons and tools unparalleled in other assemblages²²⁶.

The **Sanctuary of the Double Goddess** was, in addition to the adyton, composed of two halls. Room 12 was provided with a hearth and a possible low table of offerings. On the hearth platform were found two bowls, an amphoriskos, another fragmentary vessel and a whetstone. In the rest of the room were found deep bowls and other vessels as well as a quern or grinder, a clay sling bullet and a terracotta female figure with upraised arms.

The position of this room next to the adyton as well as the presence of a hearth similar to the hall 45 in the neighbouring unit of the Horned God suggest that it had the same kind of function, the principal place for offerings. However, the pillared hall to the north containing a well and a lot of pottery provided space for the worshippers, so that Room 12 could have had

²²³ This altar as well as Room 17 was mentioned by Webb, but not in the final publication by Dikaios. The identified altar is probably the terracotta object (*Inv. 21*) represented on pls. 147.52 and 177.12 in DIKAIOS 1969/1971. Webb also listed an anthropomorphic mask from Room 43, again not mentioned by Dikaios. WEBB 1999: 101.

²²⁴ HELBING 1979: 84.

²²⁵ WEBB 1999: 99.

²²⁶ WEBB 1999: 99.

an access limited to the cult personnel and a few selected people. The cult performed in this unit would thus have been a more secluded one than the cult of the Horned God. It was however certainly not a more private cult than the one of the Horned God, the pillared hall in the former complex being larger than the one of the Horned God. Only the access to the offering Room 12 would have been restricted and the image of the cult, if the bronze statuette, exposed in Room 11 or 12.

As for the Sanctuary of the Horned God, the core area composed of three rooms communicated with some other rooms but in this case mainly to provide access to the unit from the north. If the cult personnel serving the unit of the Double Goddess lived in the building as for the Horned God, then there would have been very little or no connection between the cult place and their residence. The cult personnel could have lived e.g. in the unit formed by rooms 2, 3, 6, 7 and 8 or the one with rooms 5, 12A and 12B to the south of it. However, their entrance was situated at the opposite of the access to the cult building. In addition, the finds in the well of Room 5 suggest rather a connection with the Horned God than the Double Goddess.

The presence of the hearth in Room 12 may suggest animal offerings; however, no single animal bone was found in this unit. On the other hand, several stone grinders and a stone pestle may indicate the burning of plants or incense.

In addition to the two formerly identified adyta, the **Sanctuary of the Ingot God** was composed of a large hall, large than the ones in the Ashlar Building of Quarter 4 West. This hall was provided with benches along three sides, indicating the possibility of its use by many people. The benches and especially the niches built on them were also used to store or expose cult objects.

The presence of the altars, the possible tethering block and the hearths in the hall strengthens its identification as the most important room in the unit; this was the place where offerings were made and ceremonies held in front of the cult image or not. All offering structures as well as the presence of numerous ox skulls and other bones indicate that animals were offered to the god, which may even have been sacrificed in the hall itself. In this case, the drainage remains could have served to drain the blood as well as the water from the well used to clean the offering structures afterwards. The bronze blade in the eastern niche of the north bench may have been a cult implement used in the offering of animals or other activities.

Oxen played a significant role in the ritual practice in this unit, similarly to the unit of the Horned God. The vast majority of the almost 100 skulls and horns on and before the north and west benches belong to *Bos taurus* from both sexes, although males were predominant²²⁷. Almost all lay face upward covered with plaster and wood charcoal. Those from the west bench showed signs of burning and discolouration probably due to their proximity to the hearth. The remaining material included notably some 27 incised bovine scapulae, five astragals, a skull and four horns of goat (*Capra hircus*), two antlers of Persian fallow deer (*Dama Mesopotamia*), a Cyprus moufflon (*Ovis orientalis ophion*) skull and mandibles, and long bones of sheep or goat²²⁸. Bovids are also present among the terracottas. There was a rhyton with bucranial spout lying on the west bench, and a bronze ox horn was found before the northeast room. The presence of several ox skulls that had been cleaned of projecting bones for their use as masks indicates masked rituals²²⁹.

On the other hand, there were numerous terracotta figurines, most of which female and all found in the western part of the Sanctuary even on the open space next to the west room. This means that votive offerings were brought to the divinity probably worshipped in the west room, in the form of a baetyl or not. These votives may have been complementary to the animal offerings and masked rituals. In the case of two divinities worshipped in the Sanctuary as Webb proposed, the rituals for both gods certainly were related one to the other²³⁰. To which point is impossible to say without a detailed study of the iconography and the finds.

Webb's proposal of the dedication of the building to two deities was based on the architectural layout as well as the striking spatial difference in finds. As we have seen above, the function of the two identified adyta may have changed through time, so that the existence of two cellae dedicated to two different gods becomes uncertain. This doesn't however exclude the remarkable spatial distribution of the finds between the western part and the hall of the complex.

The presence of numerous vessels among which mainly bowls and some cooking pots may indicate, as in the Sanctuary of the Horned God, that collective activities of libations or more probably meals took place in the hall.

The meaning of the two bicephalous figurines standing next to each other in the westernmost niche or on the northern bench remains obscure.

²²⁷ DUCOS 1971:363-364.

²²⁸ For the identification of the bones, see DUCOS 1971:365-366.

²²⁹ KARAGEORGHIS 1976: 102-105.

²³⁰ WEBB 1999: 112.

The detailed study of the numerous remaining finds is beyond the scope of this study. In addition, the relation with other parts of the building containing the unit is unclear, as already mentioned above. Therefore, we will limit here the discussion of the Sanctuary of the Horned God.

Finally, the cult places examined in this section seem to have been more or less **private buildings**, as integrated in larger buildings. At least, they were not built by a central authority that imposed the regular plan of the city, except maybe the Ashlar Building that could have been allocated entirely to a religious function. However, the cult was installed some time after the construction of the city plan. Does it mean then that the city was planned without a specific cultic centre? To answer the question, the site of Enkomi has to be excavated and studied entirely and thoroughly.

Conclusion

To summarize, inner rooms in cult places called *adyta* can be either storerooms for the cult image and/or objects or rooms where the cult image was exposed. The Sanctuary of the Horned God probably contained two storerooms for the cult objects or offerings. The function of the *adyton* in the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess is not very clear. In the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, two *adyta* at opposite sides of the unit may have been rather *cellae*, at least the western one.

The hall in the Sanctuary of the Horned God was probably the place where the cult ceremonies were performed, with animal offerings mainly of bulls, votive offerings and libations. Room 13 north of the two *adyta* also played a role in the cult. The cult personnel lived or at least used the surrounding rooms and units of the building, except of course the separated unit of the Double Goddess.

The latter was used for a more secluded cult with the burning of plants or incense performed in Room 12, and maybe even in Room 11 if the cult image, possibly the bronze statue, was displayed in there. The large hall allowed the worshippers to assist to some ceremonies.

In the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, two deities could have been worshipped, one in the *adyton* to the northeast or in the hall and the other one in the western room, not necessarily at the same time. In the large hall accessible to a great number of people, rituals with animal offerings and maybe even sacrifices were practised, as well as masked rituals and possibly

communal meals. The western part of the sanctuary was reserved to votive offerings of mainly female terracotta figurines.

Conclusion

After the detailed discussion of the architectural features, we can say that the different cult units in Enkomi are more or less similar in their general layout. They can be grouped in two types of arrangement of their rooms, one fitting to the reliably identified cult buildings, the other to the less reliably identified. The former type of layout is based on a pillared hall surrounded with one or two adyton/adyta, a well annex and a vestibule. The adyton is situated in a bent-axis alignment and the cult units are enclosed in a larger building with which there is only little communication however. The second type is formed by three rectangular rooms one behind the other in a general rectangular shape. The building material cannot distinguish the cult places, but their internal equipment is different for each of them. Water systems and offering structures are present in nearly all cult units, sometimes added with benches, pits or other special features.

The layout of the cult places as well as their internal furniture is paralleled elsewhere on Cyprus, but with some modifications due to their specific situation. They thus don't differ from a certain local tradition or practice existing on Cyprus in the construction and maybe also the use of cult buildings.

Cult buildings were probably used for housing the image of the divinity and to bring offerings to it. In some cases, the image of the divinity didn't move from place to place, while in others the image seems to have been stored in a special part of the cult unit and exposed in another room, probably the hall, when ceremonies and rituals. These rituals involved animal offerings and maybe even sacrifices within the sanctuaries, plant burning, libations, votive offerings, marked rituals and communal meals. Each sanctuary may be distinguished by the type of offerings performed, as summarized in the previous conclusion, visible through the internal equipment and the finds found within it.

Conclusion

In this study, different cult units situated at Enkomi on the island of Cyprus have been examined. They all dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age, from the LC IIC to the LC IIIB (\pm 1300 BC – 1050 BC). Because the attribution of a religious function to these buildings was more or less questioned, we followed the distinction made by Webb between the reliably identified cult places and the less reliably identified ones.

The reliably identified cult buildings comprise the Sanctuary of the Horned God and the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess in the Ashlar Building in Quarter 4 West of the city. Their ritual traces were dated to the end of the LC IIIA and the beginning of the LC IIIB, the former one lasting till the end of the LC IIIB and of the occupation of the city. The third and last reliably identified cult place is the Sanctuary of the Ingot God in Quarter 5 East, also dated to the LC IIIB.

All reliably identified cult units present themselves as having the same general plan. They are composed of a rectangular pillared hall surrounded at least by one or two adyton/adyta or inner room(s) mainly situated to the right of the hall in bent-axis alignment with the entrance of the unit. A vestibule, a well annex, another adyton in the case of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, as well as some other rooms of unidentified function may surround the “core area”.

In the case of the Sanctuary of the Horned God, the two adyta next to the hall were probably used as storerooms for the cult objects and/or the offerings brought to the deity, maybe represented by the bronze statue. The rituals were performed in the pillared hall, where a hearth and objects related to oxen demonstrate the offerings of oxen and other animals as well as a cult where the ox was an important symbol. Other rituals may have included libations and votive offerings in the form of miniature bronze objects. The room north of the two adyta of this complex certainly also played a role in it, but it is not clear which one. It may have been one of the numerous rooms of the building to be used by cult personnel, which possibly lived next to the sanctuary.

The Sanctuary of the Double Goddess, even if situated in the same building didn't communicate with the other cult place. It was composed of a large pillared hall probably used by the worshippers, added with another smaller hall where the offerings were brought and a smaller number of people could enter. The offerings may have consisted of plant or incense

burning and other rituals. The image of the divinity, possibly the small bronze statue, could have been exposed in the adyton or the smaller hall where the rituals were mainly performed.

In the Sanctuary of the Ingot God too, the pillared hall seems to have been the most important place of the cult unit. The bronze statue could have been exposed either in his adyton or in the hall itself. As for the Sanctuary of the Horned God, the rituals were in relation with oxen. Animal offerings and maybe even sacrifices could have been performed in the hall as well as masked rituals and communal meals. A second divinity was probably worshipped after a while, instead of or next to the first one, in the western adyton. Votive offerings in the form of terracotta figurines were brought to this deity. His rituals were performed mainly in the western part of the Sanctuary even if a close relation to the oxen offerings cannot be excluded. The relation of the cult unit with the surrounding remains is obscure as well as the presence of many finds in the unit itself.

The second group of cult units is composed of the less reliably identified sanctuaries. It includes Sols VI and V under the Sanctuary of the Ingot God in Quarter 5 East dated to the LC IIC – IIIA, a “Sanctuaire du Dieu Lunaire” of the 12th century BC in the same quarter, a freestanding two-roomed complex dated to the end of the 12th century BC and an undated second unit of one single room in Quarter 6 West as well as an Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East dated to the LC IIC and LC IIIA. All these cult units were not well preserved, excavated and/or published so that their attribution as religious places is not reliable.

The less reliably identified cult units the plans of which were published show the same general arrangement. The freestanding complex in Quarter 6 West and the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East were composed of two or three rectangular rooms one behind the other and giving access to each other by a central doorway. Too few is known about these cult units to examine them more in detail.

The study made here is of course only a little part of what can be done with the information available about the cult units at Enkomi. It would be interesting to know more about the divinities worshipped in each of the sanctuaries the rituals of which have been investigated here. Therefore, it is necessary to examine thoroughly the bronze statues but also all other objects found in the buildings as well as their iconography. This would also allow to specify the rituals performed and noted above as well as some symbols in the cults, notably the role of oxen.

The question remains of the relation of the cult units with the city of Enkomi itself, whether these were private buildings or units planned and built by a central authority and whether the cult units were concentrated in the central part of the city or not. This can only be answered by a complete publication of the excavated remains as well as the investigation of the unexcavated parts of the city. The further study of the city would also allow to study in more detail its proper history so as to determine if some cult units were built by non-Cypriotes, Enkomi being most probably an important trading centre on Cyprus where the presence of foreign people would not have been uncommon.

List of Figures

- Figure 1: Map of the Eastern Mediterranean in the XIIth century BC indicating the position of Cyprus (COURTOIS 1973: fig. 16).
- Figure 2: Topographical map of Cyprus (WRIGHT 1992: fig. 5).
- Figure 3: Situation of Enkomi (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 240).
- Figure 4: Plan of the excavated parts of the city of Enkomi indicating the areas investigated by the Cypriot Expedition (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 241).
- Figure 5: Stratigraphies of Schaeffer and Dikaios compared by Ionas (IONAS 1984b: 63 Table 1).
- Figure 6: Chronological table for Enkomi by Dikaios comparing different dates proposed by different authors (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: 438, 496).
- Figure 7: Town plan of Enkomi (KARAGEORGHIS 1990: 90).
- Figure 8: Plan of the central part of the city of Enkomi indicating the situation of all cult places the plan of which has been published (after WRIGHT 1992: fig. 49).
- Figure 9: Ground plan at Level IIIB of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 4 West (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 276).
- Figure 10: Ground plan at Level IIIC of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 4 West (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 278).
- Figure 11: Plan of the Ashlar Building at Level IIIB indicating the situation of the Sanctuary of the Horned God and of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess (WEBB 1999: 93 fig. 36).
- Figure 12: View of Room 10 at Level IIIB (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 35A.1).
- Figure 13: Stone mould, ivory lid and bronze bull from Room 45 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Level IIIB (WEBB 1999: 94 fig. 37.2; DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 168.36; pl. 171.51).
- Figure 14: Gold leaf horns from Room 45 and lead rosette from Room 9 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Level IIIB and reconstruction of the rhyton (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 136).
- Figure 15: Bowls from the deposits in Room 10 at Level IIIB (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 95.4).

- Figure 16: Alabaster jug with limestone lid, bronze knife and bronze objects of foundation deposit from Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Level IIIB (WEBB 1999: 94 fig. 37.3; DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 171.53; pl. 172.2-11).
- Figure 17: Plan of the Ashlar Building at Level IIIC indicating the situation of the Sanctuary of the Horned God (WEBB 1999: 97 fig. 39).
- Figure 18: Bronze statue of the Horned God and miniature bronze sickle from Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Level IIIC (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 140; pl. 142; pl. 147.45a).
- Figure 19: West-east section through Room 10 of the Sanctuary of the Horned God with the indication of the modified numbering by Schaeffer (SCHAEFFER 1971a: 535 fig. 13).
- Figure 20: Plan of the Ashlar Building at Level IIIB indicating the situation of the Sanctuary of the Horned God and of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess (WEBB 1999: 93 fig. 36).
- Figure 21: Deep bowls and terracotta figurine from Room 12 of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess (DIKAIOS 1969/1971: pl. 79. 24, 36; WEBB 1999: 214 fig. 75.4).
- Figure 22: Bronze statue of the Double Goddess (WEBB 1999: 233 fig. 80.4).
- Figure 23: Plan of Quarter 5 East indicating the situation of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (WEBB 1999: 103 fig. 41).
- Figure 24: Reconstructed plan by Webb of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Sols VI and V (WEBB 1999: 121 fig. 50).
- Figure 25: Decorated bowl and cup from Sol VI in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 208 fig. 52).
- Figure 26: Plans at the different Sols IV to I of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (WEBB 1999: 104 fig. 42).
- Figure 27: Foyer 4 in the hall in the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 219 fig. 64.A).
- Figure 28: East-west section of the four superimposed hearths in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: fig. 60).
- Figure 29: North-south section of the *Autel Inférieur* and the pierced block in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: fig. 37).

- Figure 30: East-west section in the western room of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 313 fig. 131).
- Figure 31: West-east section in the western room of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 314 fig. 132).
- Figure 32: Foyer 3 in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 214 fig. 59; fig. 62).
- Figure 33: West-east section of the *Autels* and the pierced block in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 200 fig. 46 *bis*).
- Figure 34: Foyer 2 and Foyer 1 in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 214 fig. 58, 57).
- Figure 35: Rhyton with bucranial spout from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 234 fig. 77).
- Figure 36: Impression of the cylinder seal from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 239 fig. 80).
- Figure 37: Decorated krater from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 269 fig. 106).
- Figure 38: Incised ox scapula from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 258 fig. 97).
- Figure 39: Bronze blade from the eastern niche in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 277 fig. 122).
- Figure 40: Plan of the central part of the north bench showing the eastern niche of the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 274 fig. 109).
- Figure 41: Pithos decorated with a snake in relief and with inscribed rim from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 194 fig. 42; 193 fig. 41).
- Figure 42: Plan of the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God representing the ox skulls and some other important objects (COURTOIS 1971: fig. 2).
- Figure 43: Pottery found in the northeastern room of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (SCHAEFFER 1971a: 527 fig. 8A.A-B, D-E).
- Figure 44: Bronze statue of the Ingot God (WEBB 1999: 224 fig. 78.2).
- Figure 45: Terracotta figurines from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 351 fig. 149).
- Figure 46: Bicephalous figurines from the western niche in the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 291 fig. 121; 293 fig. 123; 295 fig. 124).

- Figure 47: Kalathos and amphora from the western room of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 261 fig. 99; 323 fig. 140).
- Figure 48: Plan of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God indicating the position of the stone bases in the hall according to Courtois (COURTOIS 1973: 226 fig. 3).
- Figure 49: East-west section through the northeastern room of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (SCHAEFFER 1971a: fig. 10).
- Figure 50: Plan of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God indicating the location of the figurines west of the hall (COURTOIS 1971: 326 fig. 140bis).
- Figure 51: Plan of the two-roomed complex in Quarter 6 West (WEBB 1999: 133 fig. 55).
- Figure 52: Plan of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 West (WEBB 1999: 117 fig. 49).
- Figure 53: Ivory tail from the west room and bronze knife from the central room of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East (CAUBET, COURTOIS & KARAGEORGHIS 1987: 31 fig. 3.29; COURTOIS 1984: 171 fig. 1).
- Figure 54: Map of Cyprus indicating the most important sites of the Late Bronze Age mentioned in the text (WEBB 1999: 16 fig. 1).
- Figure 55: Plans of the Sanctuaries of the Horned and Double Goddess at Level IIIB, of the Sanctuary of the Horned God at Level IIIC and of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (WEBB 1999: 93 fig. 36; 97 fig. 39; 105 fig. 43).
- Figure 56: Plans of the two-roomed complex in Quarter 6 West and of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 6 East (WEBB 1999: 133 fig. 55; 117 fig. 49).
- Figure 57: Reconstructed plan by Webb of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Sols VI and V (WEBB 1999: 121 fig. 50).
- Figure 58: Plans of the Ashlar Building in Quarter 4 West indicating the walls built at Level IIIB (grey) and the materials of construction (IONAS 1984a: 101 fig. 3; DIKAIOS 1962: 5 fig. 2).
- Figure 59: Oval stone-lined drainage sump and terracotta bottle from the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: 187 fig. 36).
- Figure 60: Plan of the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God indicating the major objects (COURTOIS 1971: fig. 2).
- Figure 61: Plan of the northeast corner of the hall of the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (COURTOIS 1971: fig. 128).

Bibliography

- | | |
|------------|--|
| AfO | Archiv für Orientforschung |
| Arch. Anz. | Archäologischer Anzeiger |
| BCH | Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique |
| CRAI | Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année |
| JFA | Journal of Field Archaeology |
| RDAC | Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus |
| SIMA | Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology |
-
- ÅSTRÖM & POPHAM 1972 *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Vol. IV. Part 1C. The Late Cypriot Bronze Age. Architecture and Pottery*, Lund.
 - CATLING 1964 *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*, Oxford (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology).
 - CATLING 1971 *A Cypriot Bronze Statuette in the Bomford Collection*, in SCHAEFFER *et alii*, *Alasia I*, Paris, 1971: 15-32, pl. I-VII (Mission archéologique d'Alasia. Tome IV).
 - CAUBET & COURTOIS 1986
Un modèle de foie d'Enkomi, in RDAC 1986: 72-77.
 - CAUBET, COURTOIS & KARAGEORGHIS 1987
Enkomi (fouilles Schaeffer 1934-1966): Inventaire complémentaire, in RDAC 1987: 23-48.
 - COURTOIS 1963 *Un nouveau sanctuaire de la fin de l'Age du Bronze et du début de l'Age du Fer à Enkomi dans l'île de Chypre*, in CRAI 1963: 155-161.
 - COURTOIS 1971 *Le sanctuaire du dieu au lingot d'Enkomi-Alasia*, in SCHAEFFER C. F.-A. *et alii*, *Alasia I*, Paris, 1971: 151-362 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia. Tome IV).

- COURTOIS 1973 *Le sanctuaire du dieu au lingot d'Enkomi-Alasia (Chypre) et les lieux de culte contemporains en Méditerranée orientale*, in CRAI 1973: 223-246.
- COURTOIS 1982 *L'activité métallurgique et les bronzes d'Enkomi au Bronze Récent (1650 – 1100 avant J.-C.)*, in MUHLY J.D., MADDIN R., KARAGEORGHIS V., *Acta of the International Archaeological Symposium. Early Metallurgy in Cyprus, 4000 – 500 B.C.*, Nicosia:155-175.
- COURTOIS 1984 *Alasia III. Les objets de niveaux stratifiés d'Enkomi (Fouilles C.F.-A. Schaeffer 1947-1970)*, Paris (Mission archéologique d'Alasia. Tome VI).
- DIKAIOS 1962 *The Bronze Statue of a Horned God from Enkomi*, in *Arch. Anz.* 1962/1: 1-39.
- DIKAIOS 1969/1971 *Enkomi. Excavations 1948-1958. III vol. 4 t.*, Mainz am Rhein.
- DUCOS 1971 *Les ossements d'animaux du sanctuaire d'Enkomi*, in SCHAEFFER C. F.-A. *et alii*, *Alasia I*, Paris, 1971: 363-366 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia. Tome IV).
- HELBING 1979 *Alasia Problems*, Göteborg (SIMA vol. LVII).
- HULT 1978 *Hala Sultan Tekke 4. Excavations in Area 8 in 1974 and 1975*, Göteborg (SIMA vol. XLV:4).
- HULT 1983 *Bronze Age Ashlar Masonry in the Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus, Ugarit, and Neighbouring Regions*, Göteborg (SIMA vol. LXVI).
- IACOVOU 1988 *The Pictorial Pottery of Eleventh Century B.C. Cyprus*, Göteborg (SIMA vol. LXXIX).
- IONAS 1984a *L'architecture religieuse au Chypriote Récent (Kition et Enkomi)*, in ROUX G. (dir.), *Temples et Sanctuaires. Séminaire de recherche 1981-1983*, Lyon: 97-105 (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient n° 7).
- IONAS 1984b *Stratigraphies of Enkomi*, in RDAC 1984: 50-65.

- KARAGEORGHIS 1960 *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1959*, in BCH LXXXIV – 1960 – I: 242-299.
- KARAGEORGHIS 1962 *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1961*, in BCH LXXXVI – 1962 – I: 327-414.
- KARAGEORGHIS 1963 *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1962*, in BCH LXXXVII – 1963 – I: 325-387.
- KARAGEORGHIS 1964 *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1963*, in BCH LXXXVIII – 1964 – I: 289-379.
- KARAGEORGHIS 1966 *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1965*, in BCH XC – 1966 – I: 297-389.
- KARAGEORGHIS 1971 *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1970*, in BCH XCV – 1971 – I: 335-432.
- KARAGEORGHIS 1972 *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1971*, in BCH – XCVI – 1972 – II: 1005-1088.
- KARAGEORGHIS 1976 *Kition. Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus*, London.
- KARAGEORGHIS 1990 *Les Anciens Chypriotes. Entre Orient et Occident*, Paris (Collection Néréides).
- KLING 1989 *Mycenaean IIIC:1b and Related Pottery in Cyprus*, Göteborg (SIMA vol. LXXXVII).
- LAGARCE 1971 *La cachette de fondeur aux épées (Enkomi 1967) et l'atelier voisin*, in SCHAEFFER C.F.-A. et alii, *Alasia I*, Paris: 381-432 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia. Tome IV).
- MASSON 1971 *Boules d'argile inscrites trouvées à Enkomi de 1953 à 1969*, in SCHAEFFER C.F.-A. et alii, *Alasia I*, Paris: 480-504 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia. Tome IV).
- MURRAY et alii 1970 *Excavations in Cyprus*, Oxford.

- PICARD 1958 *Procès-verbal de la séance du 17 octobre*, in CRAI 1958: 297-299.
- SCHAEFFER 1949 *Nouvelles découvertes à Enkomi (Chypre)*, in CRAI 1949: 88-95.
- SCHAEFFER 1952 *Enkomi-Alasia. Nouvelles Missions en Chypre 1946-1950*, Paris (Publications de la mission archéologique française et de la mission du gouvernement de Chypre à Enkomi. Tome I).
- SCHAEFFER 1958 *Nouvelles de la Mission archéologique française d'Enkomi Alasia*, in CRAI 1958: 288-289.
- SCHAEFFER 1959-1960 *Enkomi-Alašia (Kypros)*, in AfO 1959-1960: 237-238.
- SCHAEFFER 1971a *Les peuples de la mer et leurs sanctuaires à Enkomi-Alasia aux XII^e-XI^e s. av. n. è.*, in SCHAEFFER C. F.-A. et alii, *Alasia I*, Paris: 505-566 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia. Tome IV).
- SCHAEFFER 1971b *Note sur le plan général du site d'Enkomi-Alasia à la fin de la XXe campagne de fouilles 1969*, in SCHAEFFER C. F.-A. et alii, *Alasia I*, Paris: 567-573 (Mission archéologique d'Alasia. Tome IV).
- SCHAEFFER et alii 1971 *Alasia I*, Paris (Mission archéologique d'Alasia. Tome IV).
- SJÖQVIST 1934 *Enkomi. The Necropolis*, in GJERSTAD E. et alii, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927-1931. Vol. I. Text*, Stockholm, 1934, p. 467-575.
- WEBB 1977 *Late Cypriote Altars and Offering Structures*, in RDAC 1977: 113-132.
- WEBB 1999 *Ritual Architecture, Iconography and Practice in the Late Cypriot Bronze Age*, Jonsered (SIMA Pocket-Book 75).
- WEBB & COURTOIS 1980 *A Bronze Ox-Horn from the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, Enkomi*, in RDAC 1980: 100-108.

- Bibliography -

- WOOLEY 1955 *Alalakh. An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1949*, Oxford (Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London. No. XVIII).
- WRIGHT 1992 *Ancient Building in Cyprus*, 2 vol., Leiden/New York/Köln (Handbuch der Orientalistik VII. Band 1. 2B/8).
- YON 1981 *Dictionnaire illustré multilingue de la céramique du Proche-Orient ancien*, Lyon (Collection de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen n°10. Série archéologique, 7).