Melissa Veters

A Clay Ball with a Cypro-Minoan Inscription from Tiryns

Archäologischer Anzeiger

Ausgabe / Issue: 2 • 2011
Seite / Page: 1–49
https://publications.dainst.org/journals/aa/99/4770 • urn:nbn:de:0048-journals.aa-2011-2-p1-49-v4770.8
Melissa Veters

A Clay Ball with a Cypro-Minoan Inscription from Tiryns

Introduction

Recently, networks of trade, communication and movements of people in the Eastern Mediterranean during the later part of the Late Bronze Age (13th–11th cent. B.C.E.) have been the subjects of much debate in Aegean archaeology. Based on material remains excavated in both Greece and the Levant, intricate interconnections seem to emerge between these two geographically distant societies which also differed in terms of political and social organisation. The Mycenaean settlement of Tiryns in the Argolid (fig. 1) is one of the core sites in the discussion of these interaction patterns. Here, excavated artefacts not only attest to contact with contemporary societies in Cyprus and the North Levantine coast during the Mycenaean palatial period (ca. 1400–1200 B.C.E., LH IIIB) but also to a continuation of such relationships after the collapse of palatial societies on the Greek mainland (ca. 1200–1050 B.C.E., LH IIIC). This article aims to add further evidence to the material corpus of Mycenaean – East Mediterranean, especially Cypriot, interconnections and to discuss the nature of these relationships as far as Tiryns is concerned.

A tiny, seemingly inconspicuous find forms the basis for the ensuing discussion. This small clay ball with a Cypro-Minoan inscription excavated in settlement layers of the Lower Citadel in Tiryns is, however, the first of its kind found outside Cyprus. Since the clay ball (TN 2413) stems from an area with

This article is part of an ongoing research project on «Cross-Craft-Interaction in the cross-cultural context of the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean» by Ann Brysbaert (principal investigator) and myself within the larger »Tracing Networks: Craft Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond« project <www.tracingnetworks.org> (06.06.2012) funded by the Leverhulme Trust. First and foremost, I would like to thank Ann Brysbaert for all her unflagging support, the many fruitful discussions and the best collaborative atmosphere one could wish for. Many thanks are also due to Joseph Maran as director of the Tiryns excavations, who has been very supportive of our research project and has paved the way for studies of Cypriot and/or Near Eastern traits in the Late Bronze Age Tirynthian material remains. Reinhard Jung provided me with valuable comments and criticism for which I thank him very much. All views expressed and all remaining errors are, of course, my own. Alkestat Papadimitriou of the 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Nauplia is to be wholeheartedly thanked for her support as well. I gratefully acknowledge the logistical support of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens and its director, Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, who has generously permitted me the use of all facilities. I am also indebted to Hans Birk and Roxana Docsan for their help with digital images and to Ingrid Keller and Catherine Parnell for proof-reading the English text. Last, but not least, the guards of the Tiryns storerooms have facilitated all organisational and practical matters at Tiryns, for which I thank them very much.

1 The literature on this topic is vast; see e.g. Cline 1994; Hirschfeld 1996a; Jung 2009; Karageorghis 1999; Lolos 2003; Maran 2004; Maran 2009, 246 f.; Rutter 1999; Sherratt 2000; Sherratt 2003a; Yon 2003.
3 TN refers to the «Tracing Networks» database number of the object. This database is part of the project «Cross Craft Interaction in the Cross-Cultural Context of the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean» within the Leverhulme-funded programme «Tracing Networks: Craft Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond», for further information see <http://www.tracingnetworks.org/content/web/cross_craft_interaction.jsp> (06.06.2012).
strong indications of contact with the Eastern Mediterranean during the final palatial phase, its stratigraphic position is of utmost importance and hence its find context is assessed in some detail below. Based on the contextual analysis of this find and an overview of other objects found in Tiryns but ultimately originating in Cyprus or the Levantine coast, some preliminary hypotheses as to the form, frequency and intensity of contact during the Mycenaean palatial and post-palatial periods are presented at the end of this paper.

Cypro-Minoan Script/s and Inscribed Media on Cyprus

Before embarking on a discussion of stratigraphical details, the development and function of scripts on Cyprus in contrast to the Mycenaean mainland is reviewed here. This will provide a background for a contextualisation of the clay ball and other Cypriot marks on pottery in Tiryns. Cypro-Minoan (CM) is not yet deciphered\(^4\), but according to communis opinio it is a modified version of the Aegean Linear A script and was adopted on Cyprus in the 16\(^{th}\) cent. B.C.E.\(^5\). The CM signs apparently denote one or several syllabic

---

\(^4\) For a history of research see Hiller 1985; Palaima 1989, 141–147; on problems with the decipherment of Cypro-Minoan see Palaima 1989, 147–152.

\(^5\) Heubeck 1979, 54–64. 70 f. gives a slightly outdated general overview on the development and spread of Cypro-Minoan script/s on Cyprus and the Syrian littoral (mainly Ugarit); cf. Ferrara 2009, 259 on the difficulties of finding any archaeological evidence for contacts between Crete and Cyprus in the century before the earliest attestations of Cypro-Minoan (i.e. the problem of transmission of a writing system based on Linear A signs to Cyprus); the so-called Archaic Cypro-Minoan script denoted on Enkomi tablet 1885 represents an already modified stage of the donor’s sign repertoire.
scripts prevalently written from left to right\(^6\). The questions as to whether CM comprises one or up to three different scripts and denotes one or more languages are highly contested amongst scholars. Emilia Masson originally devised a classification of four different variants of CM\(^7\), whereby the oldest testimonies are characterized as Archaic CM or CM 0\(^8\), while most CM inscriptions found on Cyprus fall into her class of CM I\(^9\). According to Masson, CM II comprises the signs encountered on three clay tablets from Enkomi and reflects a process of “cuneiformization”\(^10\). The CM signs found on eight objects in the Levant, mostly in Ugarit, are assigned to class CM III\(^11\). There are 114 different signs so far, if one adds up all identified signs in Masson’s three CM systems\(^12\). Jean-Pierre Olivier has recently published a holistic edition of all CM inscriptions\(^13\); he cautiously follows Masson in the general distinction of the signs into CM I, II and III but has revised some of her signs\(^14\). Thomas Palaima and Silvia Ferrara\(^15\) are the strongest advocates for a unification of the different CM classes: Palaima suggests that Linear A signs were initially adopted and adapted on Cyprus, because the entire Aegean syllabic system could easily have been applied to a new language, whereas this would have been difficult with Sumerian and Akkadian cuneiform\(^16\). Furthermore, he argues that the CM signs represent one script and that one language is denoted by this script. Differences in the ductus or even the occurrence of signs so far singular to CM I, II or III are, according to Palaima, only due to differences in chronology,

6 Dikaios 1967, 84; Heubeck 1979, 72; O. Masson 1952, 396 n. 4; for the same direction on the Enkomi tablet 1885 see now Duhoux 2010, 22–25, esp. 24.  
8 For a chart of Archaic CM signs cf. E. Masson 1974, 12 fig. 1; Olivier 2007, 412. Only 30 different signs are attested in CM 0 (as Archaic CM is termed in Olivier 2007), collated from a vase inscription found in Katsydha and three objects found in Enkomi: a cylinder seal, a terracotta cone (possibly a weight) and a clay tablet (Enkomi inv. 1885, found in 1955; cf. Hiller 1985, 66 fig.; Palaima 1989, 136–140; Duhoux 2010). Palaima 1989, 153 f., however, notes a serious problem with Masson’s identification of Archaic CM: the objects bearing signs of this system are not unequivocally dated to the 16th–15th cent. B.C.E. and the inscribed media are of very diverse character.  
9 For a chart of CM I signs cf. E. Masson 1974, 13 fig. 2; for a revision of signs attributed to CM I cf. Olivier 2007, 414; on CM I see also Palaima 1989, esp. 152 f. CM I comprises 85 different signs compared to 89 different signs in Linear B. E. Masson 1971c, 476 believes this script to be indigenous to Enkomi. 
10 For a chart of CM II signs cf. E. Masson 1974, 14 fig. 3; Olivier 2007, 415. Smith 2003, 278 differentiates between Aegean scripts where the stylus is drawn through the clay versus cuneiform scripts where the stylus is punched into the clay. A cuneiformization was originally only assumed for CM II, i.e. three (once four, meanwhile two fragments were joined) tablets from Enkomi: Enkomi 53.5, Enkomi 1687, Enkomi 20.0 joined with Enkomi 1193, but has been extended to CM 0, cf. Palaima 2005, 50 n. 67; for a convincing palaeographical argument contra the distinction of CM I and CM II see Palaima 1989, 155 f.; Palaima 2005, 35.  
11 For a chart of CM III signs cf. E. Masson 1974, 15 fig. 4; Olivier 2007, 416. See, however, Palaima 1989, 158–160 for a critical assessment of CM III; this class seems to have been designed by Masson on a purely geographical distinction, although even she assigned two fragmentary CM tablets found in Ugarit to CM I, cf. Palaima 1989, 158 f.  
12 For a chart of all signs (except the earliest shapes) attested in Cypro-Minoan so far cf. Olivier 2007, 413.  
13 Olivier 2007.  
14 An electronic database of all then known Cypro-Cretan inscriptions was already established by Joanna Smith and Nicole Hirschfeld; cf. Smith – Hirschfeld 1999; the database is available at <http://pasp.server.class.utexas.edu/CID-about.htm> (06.06.2012). A printed publication of all CM signs and their contexts can be found in Hirschfeld 1996b. There are, however, some discrepancies in the numbers of CM inscriptions found in the literature so far: Knox 2008, 4 counted 232 known objects with CM signs in 2004, 224 of which were found on Cyprus. According to her, the remaining two objects with CM inscriptions were excavated in Ugarit and on the Levantine coast. In contrast to this, Olivier 2007, 25 collated only 217 inscribed objects: one tablet written in Archaic CM or CM 0, 205 inscribed objects that he categorizes as CM I, three inscribed media, which he assigns to CM II, and eight objects found in the Levant, mainly Ugarit, and conventionally assigned to CM III. At least four new inscriptions have to be added to this corpus, see recently Cadogan et al. 2009. For the most recent update cf. Ferrara 2012 (non vidi).  
15 Ferrara 2005, 202 laments the focus on linguistics and the lack of contextual information/analyses; Ferrara 2005, 203 focuses instead on a frequency assessment of each single sign. According to her, this method provides evidence that one language is transmitted by Cypro-Minoan signs; see now Ferrara 2012 (non vidi).  
16 Palaima 1989, 161 f.; the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet is not attested to before the 14th cent. B.C.E. and was thus not available as a model for adoption at the time of the inception of CM. See, however, Duhoux 2010, 30–32 for Near Eastern influences in the formation of CM.
scribal hands, inscribed medium or genre. The fact that many CM signs are present in varying forms in all three CM systems is another indication that CM I, II, and III all denote one language, especially in view of the small number of CM inscriptions known so far. In her latest research, Ferrara now believes that the signs belong to multiple scripts all representing one language. She compares this to the situation at Ugarit which maintained close contacts with Cyprus: seven languages recorded in five scripts co-existed here in a single geographical and chronological context at the end of the Late Bronze Age.

Recently, the focus has shifted from linguistic problems to the archaeological context of CM inscriptions. Media bearing inscriptions are manifold on Cyprus: clay balls, clay cylinders and tablets, clay and metal vessels, seal stones, gold rings, lead «sling bullets» and miniature copper ingots as well as a zoomorphic terracotta figurine were found inscribed with CM signs20. The script occurs in ceremonial and domestic contexts, in tombs and in settlements, on the coast and inland Cyprus, but not at every Late Cypriot (LC) site. Enkomi, for instance, has produced 123 inscribed objects, while Kition, second after Enkomi with regard to the quantity of inscriptions, so far features only 27 examples. Although the script is syllabic and shows strong structural parallels with Linear A (which is slightly earlier than CM), clay balls and clay cylinders are not part of the repertoire of Linear A inscribed artefacts. The geographical spread of CM signs on terracotta objects shows some differences in the inscribed media: tablets were so far excavated in Enkomi and Ugarit only, thus indicating a specific kind of literacy in Enkomi as compared to other Cypriot sites21. Inscribed clay cylinders are present at Enkomi, Kition and Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, whereas inscribed vases were found on Cyprus, in the Levant, on Crete, on the Greek mainland (especially in Tiryrs but even as far north as Thessaly)22. Also, frequencies within one type of inscribed medium vary from site to site: more than 50 % of the inscribed objects found at Enkomi were clay balls23, whereas only two inscribed clay balls and one un-inscribed example are documented at Kition, which features, however, a wide range of inscribed ivory artefacts. The role of CM in administrative processes is not clear-cut. In contrast to the majority of Linear B tablets, numbers are only sparsely documented on CM inscribed objects: there is a curious example of an ostrakon – not otherwise attested to – from Enkomi featuring a notation of numbers24. Numbers are also documented on all clay cylinders found in Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios25, which represent the first set of economic records in a building context26. While Linear A and now that Cypriot writing evolved fairly independently its own style and its own solutions to particular problems and needs.

17 Palaima 2005, 35 furthermore makes a strong case against any cuneiformization: «A brief re-examination […] makes me doubt whether even these [the CM II class of inscriptions] really show the influence of cuneiform press-and-bend writing. The ductus of individual characters looks not very dissimilar from that of the more straight- and recti-linear Mycenaean characters when they are written at such a small scale. On the large Cypro-Minoan tablets, too, the scribes had to write with their styliuses more perpendicular to the clay surface in order to avoid marring the text they were writing. I see little to no evidence of cuneiformization: of the linear signs on the archaic tablet. Here, too, I think that the clay tablets assigned by Emilia Mason to CM II and several clay balls with CM I inscriptions according to Mason were probably in use at the same time. Therefore, Ferrara, cf. n. 18 above, validly argues against Mason’s classification that literacy on Cyprus would have been limited and it seems counterintuitive to assume two separate administrations in a single city (i.e. Enkomi) using two languages and scripts.

20 For a list of inscribed media and further references see Palaima 1989, 125.
21 Smith 2003, 285 remarks that ca. 1200 B.C.E. Enkomi had «the strongest tendency toward a single tradition at a site for one time period on the island […]». In this respect, it is also noteworthy
Linear B inscribed sealings are present in copious amounts on Minoan Crete and on the Mycenaean mainland respectively, no such inscribed sealings have so far been attested to on Cyprus, but two sealings with inscribed CM signs found in the maison d’Ourtenou are reported from recent excavations in Ugarit on the North Syrian littoral. The most widely attested CM inscriptions on vessels apparently form part of a process of controlling and monitoring the movement of goods, i.e. some form of administration, but do not give evidence of accounting. Presently, at least 77 examples of clay storage vessels (mostly jugs, jars, pithoi) with CM inscriptions are known; they generally bear two or three signs, which are predominantly positioned on the handle, less often on the rim or the upper body of the vessel. Almost all vessels with CM signs are inscribed (or rather incised) after firing and most of them were found in storage rooms or domestic contexts, e.g. Area 3 at Maa-Palaekastro. Against an interpretation of the CM signs as labels of content, however, stands that generally there is no correlation between a vessel’s likely content and the sign marked upon it.

Susan Sherratt drew attention to structural differences between CM and Linear B inscriptions. There is no evidence of inscribing metal objects on the Mycenaean late palatial (LH IIIB) Greek mainland as opposed to Late Bronze Age Cyprus, where tools, seals, rings, vessels and weapons were inscribed. The marking of personal ownership is a custom only known from Cyprus and the Near East. Close ties between Cyprus and Ugarit are not just noticeable in the finds of CM inscribed objects in Ugarit but are also documented in cuneiform texts found in Ugarit. Ferrara even suggests that Akkadian cuneiform tablets sent from Alashiya, generally identified with Cyprus, and found at Ugarit and Amarna may have been composed by scribes specifically trained in the Ugarit cuneiform tradition. Written testimony supports her argument: according to a cuneiform tablet from Ugarit an unnamed scribe was a native of Ugarit, but worked in Alashiya. To summarize, Cyprus not only featured its own sign-system in the Late Bronze Age but also sent and received royal correspondence in Akkadian cuneiform, employed at least one foreign scribe and was clearly integrated into the ›Great Powers‹ in the 13th cent. B.C.E. Near East. The CM script, however, apparently survived the turmoil and collapse of most palatial societies at the end of the 13th cent. B.C.E. in the Eastern Mediterranean. Moreover, the Cypriot syllabic script of

---

27 See Knox 2008, 6 f. with fig. 6 for a sealing without CM signs from a LC IIC/ LC IIIA floor in Enkomi’s Ashlar Building; cf. also Knapp 2008, 153.
28 Also, five Mycenaean pictorial kraters, as well as a Mycenaean Psi- and bovine figurine were excavated in the maison d’Ourtenou, Vetters 2011, 285.
29 Yon 1999, 117 fig. 4. On the other hand, approximately 90 pithoi with seal-impressions are known from Cyprus so far and point to some form of administration; according to Knapp 2008, 173, “they were used to allocate certain pithoi to managerial elites or to specialized personnel who served at ceremonial centres where production and storage was linked to elite ideology. The prominent use of Aegean designs on the impressed pithoi indicates that the new island elites emulated and identified themselves with their Aegean counterparts.”
30 Hirschfeld 2002.
31 Four new inscriptions from Maroni-Vournes have recently been published by Cadogan et al. 2009.
32 Knox 2008, 5; the new inscriptions from Maroni-Vournes (three of which were inscribed on the vessels before firing) were also found in contexts indicating a managerial or administrative use of the script, see Cadogan et al. 2009, 148 fig. 2; 160 f.
33 Nicole Hirschfeld, however, could demonstrate the probability of directed trade via the incised pot marks, cf. Hirschfeld – Smith 1999; Hirschfeld 1996a.
34 Sherratt 2003b, 226.
35 Yon 1999, 116–118 on written sources found in Ugarit and pertaining to Alashiya, i.e. Cyprus; see Yon 2003 for a general overview of Ugarit’s external relations at the end of the Late Bronze Age.
36 Knapp 2008, 300–341 with further bibliography.
37 Ferrara 2009, 260.
38 RS 94.2177+, cf. Yon 2003, 47 fig. 2. Ferrara 2009, 260 also remarks that the presence of CM inscribed tablets in the archives of private merchants at Ugarit is a clear sign of the tight network that enveloped Cyprus and Syria at the end of the Bronze Age and surpassed royal correspondence.
the historical period obviously derived from it. The functions and contexts of CM, therefore, differed starkly from the palatial Linear B script on the Greek mainland, which, after ca. 1200 B.C.E., is not attested to anymore. Such structural differences between CM and Linear B warrant a closer look at the types and contexts of inscribed media on Cyprus. The following overview aims at characterizing contexts associated with CM on Cyprus and, by extension, delineating practices idiosyncratic to Cyprus. The ultimate goal is to compare or contrast Cypriot customs with practices associated with Cypriot objects at Mycenaean Tiryns.

One important difference in writing practices has already been pointed out above: locally inscribed votive offerings are unknown in the Mycenaean world, whereas on Cyprus this custom is evidenced in LC II and LC III contexts, and was therefore contemporary with the Mycenaean palatial as well as post-palatial period. A terracotta bovine figurine from the village of Psilatos, stylistically dated to LC II, is the only example so far of inscribed coroplastic art in terracotta. Also contemporary with the Mycenaean palatial period is a miniature bronze liver or kidney model found in Kition. Contemporary to the post-palatial period on the Greek mainland are two of three miniature oxhide ingots from LC III layers in Enkomi. A curious oval object of white chalk in the shape of a ‘sling bullet’ with a CM sign on each side was excavated in Kition on Floor IIIA of the Temenos A and was associated with fragmentary faience bowls, fragments of a crucible, blue glass beads and imported LH/LM IIIB as well as Canaanite pottery. Furthermore, the deposition context of a hoard containing several ivory artefacts, fragments of a crucible, blue glass beads and imported LH/LM IIIB as well as Canaanite pottery. Furthermore, the deposition context of a hoard containing several ivory artefacts, the majority of them bearing CM inscriptions, is securely stratified and dates to the historical period obviously derived from it. The functions and contexts of CM, therefore, differed starkly from the palatial Linear B script on the Greek mainland, which, after ca. 1200 B.C.E., is not attested to anymore. Such structural differences between CM and Linear B warrant a closer look at the types and contexts of inscribed media on Cyprus. The following overview aims at characterizing contexts associated with CM on Cyprus and, by extension, delineating practices idiosyncratic to Cyprus. The ultimate goal is to compare or contrast Cypriot customs with practices associated with Cypriot objects at Mycenaean Tiryns.

40 Sherratt 2003b, 228 has aptly expressed this: ‘Literacy of the Linear B variety shows every sign of having been genuinely restricted, almost a closely guarded secret – a preserve of the palace systems with which it came and with which it disappeared. Even while the palaces flourished it was put to very limited applications. The very fact that there is no continuity between it and the alphabetic writing – in other words, when writing reappears it is in the form of a completely different system adapted from the Phoenician alphabet – is a very strong (though not necessarily conclusive) argument for the complete loss of literacy from the Phoenician alphabet – is a very strong (though not necessarily conclusive) argument for the complete loss of literacy in the interval, as is the argument that there is a total lack of congruence in the uses to which writing is put at either end of the gap.’

41 The dating of the end of LC IIC and the beginning of LC IIIA on Cyprus and the synchronisation of these periods with specific phases of the LH IIIB and LH IIIC periods on the Greek mainland is still a matter of dispute. French – Aström 1980, 267–269 were the first to correlate the end of LC IIC on Cyprus with the beginning of LH IIIC on the Greek mainland. Penelope Mountjoy (Mountjoy 2010) now dates the end of Level IIB at Enkomi and thus the end of LC IIC to approx. 1180/1175 B.C.E. and correlates it with LH IIIB Final and the earlier part of LH IIIC Early on the Greek mainland. Mountjoy dates the destruction of Level IIIA in Enkomi (i.e. LC IIIA1) to ca. 1150/1140 B.C.E.; thus, Level IIIA at Enkomi is synchronized with the later part of LH IIIC Early and the beginning of LH IIIC Developed in the Argolid; for a slightly different absolute chronology cf. n. 378 and 390 below.

42 Karageorghis 1971, 350. The figurine, inv. 1970/XI-30/3, Karageorghis 1971, 352 fig. 25, bears four incised CM signs on one flank, is 8.5 cm high and 12 cm long and its inscription has been assigned to CM I; for the transcription of the signs cf. Karageorghis 1971, 352 fig. 26.


44 O. Masson 1971, 455.

45 Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 111, 3333+3336.

46 Karageorghis – Demas 1985d, 105.

47 Above the floor of Room 38C in Temple 4 the inscribed handle of a LH IIIB jar (no. 5120, cf. Karageorghis – Demas 1985a, 71) was found, as well as an ivory plaque in the shape of a lion (no. 4247+4248, cf. Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 122, 4247+4248), an ivory relief plaque in the shape of the goddess Bes (no. 4252, cf. Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 88, 1; E. Masson 2001, 187; Smith 2009, 91 fig. III.6), an engraved ivory rod (no. 4250, cf. Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 122, 4250; E. Masson 1985, 281 no. 3; Karageorghis 1985, 335 no. 8), an ivory pipe (no. 4274B, cf. Karageorghis 1985, 333 no. 4), an ivory disc (no. 4273), perhaps constituting part of a weight scale, a fragmentary bronze dagger (no. 4269), one weight of diabase (no. 4264, cf. Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 125, 4264), a lead disc (no. 4268), possibly a weight, and faience beads as well as beads of flint. These objects in all probability constitute votives or part of the temple’s treasure.

48 The rod no. 4250 is 13.5 cm long and measures 1.5–2.0 cm in diameter; it has been interpreted as a metric stick by the excavator and is cited in Cohen et al. 2011, 15 as the closest functional parallel to the ivory rod from Tiryns with incised cuneiform signs. The ivory pipe no. 4267 is 13.75 cm long; the engraved inscription comprises 11 CM signs, and the artefact has been interpreted by Karageorghis as a pipe for smoking opium, cf. Karageorghis 1976, 126 fig. 1, pl. 15b.
LC IIIA period\textsuperscript{49}. Of special interest is the ivory pipe\textsuperscript{50} found in this hoard: it was associated by Vassos Karageorghis with a cylindrical clay tube without a base bearing two identical CM signs\textsuperscript{51} excavated on Floor III in the courtyard of the adjacent Temple 5, i.e. roughly contemporary with the pipe in Temple 4. The excavator compares this vessel to ‘snake tubes’ on Minoan Crete\textsuperscript{52}, and suggests that such cylindrical vessels without base functioned as incense burners and, specifically, as utensils for smoking opium – here potentially used in conjunction with the pipe during ceremonies in the sanctuary. There might be a curious example of an inscribed object not originally intended as a votive but which perhaps was deemed suitable as such at a later stage: the find spot of a fragmentary tablet in Enkomi\textsuperscript{53} has been interpreted by the excavator Porphryios Dikaios as evidence for the ritual deposition\textsuperscript{54} of inscribed CM objects long after their original use. The tablet was found on top of a sherd pavement forming the bedding of a hearth\textsuperscript{55}.

In contrast to such CM inscriptions on votive or ritual objects the function of the inscribed clay cylinders (a medium for inscription not attested in Linear B practices) seems to be more mundane: not much can be said about the clay cylinder from Enkomi\textsuperscript{56}. It was excavated in 1967 in the centre of...
the site and is dated to the 14th cent. B.C.E.\textsuperscript{57}. The five clay cylinders found in Building X of Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, however, provide tentative evidence for administrative processes within this central building\textsuperscript{58} which probably functioned, at least in parts, as an organisational centre between the copper-extraction sites in the mountainous zone and the emporia on the coast from where the copper was exported to the Near East and the Aegean. A connection between CM records and metallurgy\textsuperscript{59} is already evidenced in the find context of the earliest known tablet with a CM inscription: Enkomi 1885\textsuperscript{60}. The tablet was excavated in Room 103 of the Fortress between Floors IX and VIII and dated to ca. 1475 B.C.E. On Floor IX, a furnace was built against the north wall of Room 103; the tablet with the CM inscription and many fragments of tuyeres were documented in the fill above the floor in the southwest corner of the room\textsuperscript{61}. Contextual associations of CM inscriptions and metallurgical activities can be traced for other inscribed media as well. Again from Enkomi, a fragmentary coarse ware basin with a pre-firing CM inscription on the lower part of the body\textsuperscript{62} was unearthed in a fill above the original surface of a street bordering the northern façade of the Ashlar Building in Area I of Enkomi\textsuperscript{63}. Its shape is comparable to basins with a perforation at the side slightly above the base or a spout in this position. Two such vessels, but without inscriptions, were found in Enkomi and were evidently used as crucibles: the first example is of LC IIB/C date, i.e. dates to the 13th cent. B.C.E., and features a thick copper incrustation; the second is a Plain White Ware vessel and has a tubular spout. The latter vessel was still filled with slag and charcoal when excavated; it is dated to LC IIC, i.e. the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th cent. B.C.E. However, the basin fragment with the CM inscription does not show any traces of use and was thus either an unused crucible or a container for liquids. Even if in this case an association with metallurgy is only tentative, another post-firing incised inscription on a pithos rim\textsuperscript{64} found in Room 15, Floor II of Kition-Kathari\textsuperscript{65} again testifies to some

\textsuperscript{57} Karageorghis 1969, 513 fig. 142; 514 fig. 143.

\textsuperscript{58} Cf. above n. 25, 26; on CM inscriptions on clay cylinders and vessels from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios see E. Masson 1989; for four of the five clay cylinders also cf. E. Masson 1983; on the date and type of the clay cylinders from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios see Palaima 1989, 154. Goren et al. 2003, 237 f. analysed petrographically four of these cylinders from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios and were able to ascertain close parallels, i.e. a similar paste in these and one of the cuneiform Alashiya-letters from Tell el-Amarna; see also Goren et al. 2003, 243–245. 249–252 on the place of manufacture of the clay tablets featuring the Alashiya-letters (which were found in Tell el-Amarna and Ugarit) in Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios or Alasa Palatavenna/Pano Manadilas.

\textsuperscript{59} Dikaios 1971a, 88. 82. The most recent discussion of the tablet is Duhoux 2010, who, however, is sceptical of the tablet’s association with metallurgy, see Duhoux 2010, 8.

\textsuperscript{60} Dikaios 1969a, 22 f.; Duhoux 2010, 7 f. See also Crewe 2007, 121. 131. 155 for a detailed analysis of the ceramic assemblage in Room 103 during Level IB. She points out (Crewe 2007, 155) that the significant increase of White Slip vessels in Room 103 during Level IB might indicate »that the ware was being transported to Enkomi along with primary smelting debris.«

\textsuperscript{61} Dikaios 1967, 81 pl. 6a.

\textsuperscript{62} Dikaios 1967, 82. This context is approximately contemporary with LH IIIC Early on the Greek mainland.

\textsuperscript{63} Smith 2009, 45–48. 52 fig. II.11 no. 1125A.

\textsuperscript{64} According to Smith 2009, 45 f. There are a few other CM inscriptions on pithoi, most without exact find contexts: for instance, Olivier 2007, 179 no. 111 (ENKO Avas 004) lists a pithos-rim with a pre-firing inscription from Enkomi. Good contextual evidence is now available from Maroni-Vournes: the pithoid jar MV/P70 was found on the floor of Room 7 in the Ashlar Building during Vournes phase IIIb, cf. Cadogan et al. 2009, 148 fig. 2; 157. A pithos rim with CM signs is also known from Ugarit, cf. Palaima 1989, 158. Comparable evidence can be cited for Linear A (e.g. Linear A inscribed pithoi from Zakro, cf. Platon – Brice 1975, 40 fig. 15; 41 fig. 16; 82–87) and potentially even for Linear B, if the Linear B inscription on a rim sherd of a pithos from Aiani (situated at the Aliakmon river, northwest of modern Servia) is authentic. On the Linear B inscription on the pithos from Aiani see Panayotou 1986; the clay analysis seems to suggest a local production of the pithos. There might even be a post-palatial imitation of a CM inscription (or a nonsense-inscription) on the rim of a fragmentary shallow bowl (or pithos?) excavated in the LH IIIC Late sanctuary in Room XXXII of House G in Asine, Persson 1930, 6 fig. 3; 11 fig. 4.
kind of contextual association between CM inscriptions and metallurgical activities66, since Room 15 functioned as a storage room for a metal workshop.

Post-firing incised CM marks on vessels provide yet another aspect on the use of script in Cyprus67. Whereas the above discussed inscribed clay cylinders, tablets and votive objects of various materials all derived from settlement contexts68, incised marks, e. g. on imported Mycenaean decorated pottery, do occasionally occur in funerary contexts, where such marked vessels had been interred as burial gifts. More important, however, is their wide geographical spread which reaches far beyond Cyprus69. Since individual syllabic CM signs were used to mark pottery, this practice attests to sign recognition, i. e. a form of literacy-awareness70, in certain circles of the society. Daisy Knox argues convincingly that the use of CM signs to mark ownership is a custom confined to the elite and thus an indication for a connection between literacy and the elite71. Nicole Hirschfeld who has assiduously studied incised pot marks all over Cyprus, the Aegean and the Levant cautions against the assumption that every mark on a vessel is a sign derived from the CM script. However, complex marks incised after firing form the best basis for comparison with punched CM marks on clay objects. In those cases, where the signs are clearly visible when handling the pottery, this marking system is best explained as some form of administrative process deployed for the circulation of goods and vessels in long-distance transactions. Thus, Hirschfeld was able to identify CM signs incised on vessels found in Tyrins: «[…] one complex mark which appears on two separate vases is certainly CM no. 87 [author's note: Hirschfeld 1993 n. 12: Tyrins LXI 43/09 XV and Tyrins inv. 27430], and another seems likely to represent CM no. 104 [author's note: Hirschfeld 1993 n. 13: Tyrins LXII 44/13 III].»72. She furthermore pointed out that «the concentration of vessels with incised signs in the Argolid, especially at Tyrins, ties in with other evidence of close relations with Cyprus.»73. With regard to the function of the CM signs, Hirschfeld states that «[…] it is strange that no examples have been noticed in the Dodecanese, particularly Rhodes, presumably way-stations

66 See, however, Karageorghis 1999, 123 f. on Cypriot pithoi as a means of transporting and/or safe-packing other perishable goods or pottery; Cypriot pithoi have been found on board the Ulu Burun and Iria shipwrecks, for the latter see Åström 1999; Lolos 1999.
68 With the exception of a few inscribed metal bowls (Palaima 1989, 153) and seal rings found in funerary contexts where the inscription on the precious object apparently further enhanced the prestige of its owner, cf. Knox 2008, 8 f. with references.
69 See recently Cross – Stager 2006 for one ostrakon with a painted inscription of modified CM signs and 16 inscribed jar handles from Ashkelon; three of the handles derive from 12th cent. B.C.E. settlement contexts, but the majority (twelve handles of storage jars and the ostrakon) were excavated in domestic contexts of the 12th–11th cent. B.C.E., Cross – Stager 2006, 129. The ostrakon, Cross – Stager 2006, 131 fig. 1, was found in a debris layer of phase 17, dating approximately to the end of the 11th cent. B.C.E. The inscription was painted in red on a storage jar and was, contrary to the Late Bronze Age Cypriot custom (but in accordance with latter syllabic inscriptions), inscribed from right to left. Petrographic analyses have demonstrated that seven amphorae with inscribed handles had been produced in coastal Lebanon (in the region between Akko and Tyre), one storage jar in the surroundings of Dor and one in or at Ashkelon, thus supporting an interpretation of a local practice of incising CM signs on Levantine soil. Furthermore, the occurrence of these in layers of phases 19–17 which feature several traits pointing to an amalgamation of Cypriot and Aegean practices in the material remains (Philistine monochrome and bichrome pottery, the consumption of pork, Aegean cooking pots and half-baked clay spools) supports an interpretation of a local, i. e. Philistine, modification of the CM script that the authors identify with the ›Old Philistine‹ script, Cross – Stager 2006, 134. 150. 70 Sherratt 2003b, 228.
71 Knox 2008.
72 Hirschfeld 1993, 312.
73 Hirschfeld 1993, 313. For numerous attestations of CM incised signs on vessels in Tyrins see Hirschfeld 1993, 314 fig. 1 (Cypro-Minoan signs on vases): left column second line conventional shape (Cypro-Minoan signs on vases): left column second line conventional shape of CM no. 87 and two incised examples from Hala Sultan Tekke (HST C434), one from Alalakh and one from Enkomi (Enkomi 5791/1); left column third line CM no. 107 and Tyrins 639, Enkomi Br. T. 68, Enkomi Sw. T. 18/57, Erlangen 1 335, Enkomi T. 3/272 and Tyrins LXII 40/36 II; left column fourth line: CM no. 104 and Tyrins LXII 44/13 II, twice from Hala Sultan Tekke (HST 1971-3-25, HST 51.330) and Dhenia 1937/IV-13/1; see also Sherratt 2003a, 42 on CM marks on vases in Tyrins.
between Cyprus and the Argolid and Crete. Perhaps this is an indication of specifically directed trade contacts, with certain wares discharged only to certain markets and not subject to peripheral trading en route.74 Post-firing incised CM signs found in the Levant usually occur on Mycenaean or Cypriot pottery and mostly on closed shapes,75 i.e. transport containers, but rarely on Canaanite amphorae.76 CM marks on imported Canaanite jars, however, are attested to on Cyprus in Kiton and Maa-Palaekastro.77 Asaf Yasur-Landau and Yuval Goren suggest that the marked Canaanite amphora found in Aphek that, according to its petrography, must have been produced between Acco and Tyre, was exported from a Levantine harbour to Cyprus, marked there and re-exported to Aphek, where the vessel was finally deposited.78 It cannot be established beyond doubt, however, that the amphora must have been marked on Cyprus rather than by someone resident in the Levant but versed in the CM script.79 In general, CM inscribed vessels reached their pinnacle in the LC II – LC IIIA periods, i.e. during the later palatial and first half of the post-palatial period on the Greek mainland; Hirschfeld suggests that the few examples from LC IIIB layers might perhaps be older kick-ups.80 Obviously, vessels inscribed with CM marks seem to circulate in different contexts than other CM inscribed objects, since (at least judging by the evidence from the best-studied site so far, i.e. Enkomi) in only one instance was a handle with incised signs associated with an inscribed clay ball.81

Last but not least, clay balls are the most numerous class of objects inscribed with a sequence of CM signs on Cyprus (table 1). Emilia Masson’s studies of the clay balls in the early 1970s82 still remain fundamental for any analysis of the clay balls. These small spherical clay objects that are on average not more than 2 cm in diameter,84 bear two to eight signs, usually distributed into two sequences with a dividing mark between the sequences.85 86 such CM inscribed balls are known from Enkomi, Kiton and Hala Sultan Tekke.86 The CM signs are difficult to inscribe on the spherical body of the clay balls before firing and were apparently pressed into the surface of the leather-hard clay with a wedge-shaped stylus or other instruments, thus attesting to different

74 Hirschfeld 1993, 315.
75 Yasur-Landau – Goren 2004, 23 n. 3.
77 An imported Canaanite amphora with CM signs is also attested in Tyrins, see n. 218 below.
79 See also Cross – Stager 2006, 134 f. n. 6 and n. 69 above for further evidence supporting a local practice of writing in a modified version of CM on the southern Levantine coast, in what they term the ‘Old Philistine’ script.
80 Hirschfeld 2002, 99. Supporting the argument of a local modification of CM signs on the southern Levantine coast, i.e. the ‘Old Philistine’ script, is the fact that such inscriptions predominantly appear in later 12th and 11th cent. B.C.E. contexts.
81 Court 64, Area I, Level IIIA, cf. Hirschfeld 2002, 62 fig. 6.2; for the inscribed handle see Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pls. 109 no. 5189; 190 no. 5189; Karageorghis – Demas 1985d, 462; E. Masson 1985, 282 no. 5 pl. B 5 (II/5189). The handle bears five signs incised before firing; the first four signs constitute a sequence (4+1), the last sign on the handle is only attested once on a clay ball, cf. E. Masson 1971b, 490 f. no. 29 fig. 25.
82 E. Masson 1971a; E. Masson 1971b.
83 I do not concur with the statement by Dikaios 1971a, 885 that the «best parallels for the clay balls [are found] in the Aegeans, since the use of clay balls as media for inscriptions is totally alien to Linear A and Linear B scribal practices.
84 The largest clay ball so far is 3.1 cm in diameter, the smallest ones cluster around ca. 1.55 cm, cf. table 1.
85 E. Masson 1971b, 479; E. Masson 2001, 186. Olivier Masson did the first thorough analysis of these clay balls, cf. O. Masson 1952, which at that time comprised only four examples from the excavations at the end of the 19th cent. or the turn of the 20th cent. in Enkomi and one from Hala Sultan Tekke; by 1971 55 clay balls were already known (the new examples had come to light during the excavations in Enkomi).
86 Olivier 2007, 26; Palaima 1989, 123 n. 4; Smith 2009, 29, 163 n. 14. The site of Enkomi also features three illegible or uninscribed, irregularly shaped clay balls, for the latter cf. Dikaios 1971b, no. 1140 pl. 316, 83; Dikaios 1971b, no. 1302 pl. 319, 88; Dikaios 1969b, no. 1548 (one blank) pl. 132, 60.
87 E. Masson 1971b, 479.
88 Smith 2009, 65 describes the mode of inscription for a clay ball with four signs found in Room 58 of Temple 5 in Kiton-Kathari and dated to the 13th cent. B.C.E.; for the clay ball see Smith 2009, 65, 157 fig. IV.26 a; 273 n. 198; Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 110; Karageorghis – Demas 1985d, 104; E. Masson 1985, 281 f. no. 4 pl. B 4; Yon 2004, 361 cat. 6005; 363 fig. 47, 6005; for the find context of clay ball no. 4215 in Room 58 of Temple 5 see Smith 2009,
modes of inscribing the balls\textsuperscript{89}. Emilia Masson who noted a great variation of signs assumed numerous, partly inexperienced scribes\textsuperscript{90} and Ferrara observed that «[…] the clay balls from Enkomi show regulated initiative not only in the layout of their information, but also through the numerous individuals seen behind their creations\textsuperscript{91}. Less than a quarter of all clay balls found on Cyprus stem from stratified contexts (table 2); out of these, however, at least twice as many were excavated in layers contemporaneous with the post-palatial period on the Greek mainland\textsuperscript{92}. A preponderance of clay balls in LC IIIA contexts has already been noticed by Olivier Masson\textsuperscript{93}. Thus, at a time, when writing systems had been abandoned in the Aegean, the CM script continued on Cyprus, as is evidenced by the frequent clay balls in LC IIIA layers. Even if a few of these might constitute re-deposited, earlier LC IIC material, such an explanation does not seem to hold true for most contexts\textsuperscript{94}. At present, there is no clear-cut evidence as to whether writing on tablets continued into the LC IIIA period\textsuperscript{95}. Clay balls seem to disappear from the archaeological record in LC IIIB\textsuperscript{96}, as apparently do the inscribed CM signs on vases\textsuperscript{97}, thus obfuscating any direct line of evidence for the transmission and transformation of CM signs into the Cypriot syllabic script of the historical periods.

\textbf{Function and Interpretation of the Clay Balls}

Since CM signs have not yet been deciphered and inscribed clay balls occur neither in Linear A nor Linear B, their function can only be established on the basis of structural observations of the sign sequences and by contextual analysis of their archaeological find spots. None of the clay balls were found in a funerary context\textsuperscript{98}, in contrast to the only comparanda known so far: two clay balls occurred in Level IIIC as residual, Dikaios 1971a, 887. Only one clay ball (Enkomi inv. 950) was excavated in Area I Level IIIC, the Ashlar Building contained one clay ball (i.e. Enkomi inv. 950) in Court 64 Level IIIA, whereas another clay ball (Enkomi inv. 702) was found in the same building in Level IIC (i.e. contemporary to the Sanctuary of the Horned God), Dikaios 1971a, 888.

\textsuperscript{99} See already Karageorghis 1970, 294: «Certain de ces boules […] d’après leur position stratigraphique, appartiennent au niveau I de l’Âge du Fer post-mycénien (XIIe s. et commencement du XIe s.), dans lequel de grandes tablettes inscrites n’ont pas encore été rencontrées».

\textsuperscript{100} See table 2 for the gap between the LC IIA examples and an apparent kick-up (Enkomi 1949, inv. 702) in a LC IIIC/Cypriot Geometric I context. Contra Karageorghis 1964, 354 f., who originally dated four clay balls from Enkomi to LC IIIB (i.e. contemporary to LH IIC/Advanced on the Greek mainland), see Dikaios 1971a, 883.

\textsuperscript{101} Cf. n. 80 above.

\textsuperscript{102} Although one clay ball – British Museum inv. 98/12-1/204, cf. O. Masson 1952, 399 f. (boule c); O. Masson 1957, 32 fig. 25; E. Masson 1971a, 13 no. 5; E. Masson 1976, 130 no. 1; 134 fig. 1

\textsuperscript{89} With regard to the two inscribed clay balls found in Kition Joanna Smith, cf. Smith 2009, 156, remarks that «[…] one has four signs punched with a wedge-shaped tool and impressed by bending the straight side of the tool sideways, in the manner of cuneiform writing. The other has three signs impressed with a thin-point implement, now obscured by breakage and wear, much in the manner of several long texts in Cypro-Minoan […] they seem to have been individualized, at least in that they were not both inscribed by the same kind of tool and probably not by the same hand.» For close up photographs of the two clay balls from Kition see Smith 2009, 157 fig. IV.26.

\textsuperscript{90} E. Masson 1971b, 479.

\textsuperscript{91} O. Masson 1971, 455. See also Olivier 2007, 33 f. on the chronology of the clay balls found in Enkomi; Olivier, however, seems to cite the published dates of the excavators for the general periods, thus giving only wide margins for the time of deposition.

\textsuperscript{92} See table 3. The ratio of ca. 2:1 for dates contemporary with the post-palatial versus the palatial period on the Greek mainland may need to be adjusted with regard to the examples found on the latest floors of Level IIB in Enkomi, since there is evidence that the dating of those floors partially overlaps with the start of the post-palatial period on the Greek mainland, see Jung 2011, 60 n. 3; 61–64 with bibliography. (This has been accounted for by the numbers in parenthesis in table 3.) For absolute radiocarbon dates for the LC IIC period cf. Manning et al. 2001; on the synchronism of LC IIC with LH IIB see Manning et al. 2001, 329; for the traditional dating of LC IIC on the basis of relative chronology cf. Manning et al. 2001, 329 table 1; absolute dates of LC IIC now range from ca. 1340/1315 B.C.E. to ca. 1200 B.C.E. ± 20/10 years (but not later than ca. 1168 B.C.E. at the extreme) cf. Manning et al. 2001, 339; for a recent synthesis of absolute dates and relative chronology in the Aegean see Jung 2010, 172 table 13.1.

\textsuperscript{93} Dikaios 1971a, 887. Only one clay ball (Enkomi inv. 702) was found in this level, and interprets the clay ball Enkomi inv. 702 was found in Level IIIB, since none were found out of its original context. According to the excavator, clay balls are not used anymore in Level IIIB, since none were found in this level, and interprets the one (Enkomi inv. 702) which actually occurred in Level IIC as residual, Dikaios 1971a, 887. The best contextual evidence stems from Enkomi: Dikaios reports that the clay ball Enkomi inv. 702 was found in Level IIIC, in a layer above Floor I, i.e. out of its original context. According to the excavator, clay balls are not used anymore in Level IIIB, since none were found in this level, and interprets the one (Enkomi inv. 702) which actually occurred in Level IIIC as residual, Dikaios 1971a, 887. The best contextual evidence stems from Enkomi: Dikaios reports that the clay ball Enkomi inv. 702 was found in Level IIIC, in a layer above Floor I, i.e. out of its original context. According to the excavator, clay balls are not used anymore in Level IIIB, since none were found in this level, and interprets the one (Enkomi inv. 702) which actually occurred in Level IIIC as residual, Dikaios 1971a, 887.
from Ugarit. These, however, bear cuneiform inscriptions. Olivier Masson reports on one of the earliest interpretations by Axel W. Persson who sees the inscribed clay balls as potential weights for precious material, this idea merits consideration, but the variations in diameter observed (see table 1) do not support an equal weight of the clay balls or a distributed weight system. Since none of the signs is so far clearly identifiable as a number, the clay balls obviously did not function as counting devices. Moreover, the material does not seem to be adequate for precise measurements, since clay chips and abrades more easily than stone or metal. Generally, the clay balls have been interpreted as votives, gaming pieces (marbles) or tokens, often without clear arguments in support of a specific interpretation of their function. Dikaios has been the strongest advocate for an interpretation of the clay balls as gaming pieces. He suggested that they were employed as marbles in ritualized games played by the elite. However far-fetched this may sound at first, he cited contextual associations (cf. table 2) at Enkomi to support his view: the first clay balls in Enkomi occur in Level IIB. From the seven examples found in the Level IIB building of Area III two came to light in Rooms 13 and 7 respectively, whereas the other four were excavated on Floor V of Room 8. This room featured evidence of copper smelting on the preceding Floors VII and VI, but on the subsequent Floor V only copper slag was encountered in the northeast of the room, while a circular pit (here interpreted as a posthole) was situated in the centre of the room. This structural feature and the find context are, according to the excavator, recurrent in other rooms containing clay balls: Room 26 of Level IIIA also featured a large central pit and six clay balls are documented within the room. Yet another room, Room (or Hall) 77 of Level IIIA, located above Room 8 of Level IIB, produced a central and a secondary pit as well as four clay balls which have been found in the northern half of this room. The excavator concludes that the arrangement of a large central pit and smaller pits placed diagonally to it is evidence for a game, in which the clay balls were presumably used as marbles. Contra such an

99 Hirschfeld 2001, 192; E. Masson 1971a, 30. The two clay balls from Ugarit are comparable to Cypriot clay balls in dimensions and type and both bear a small inscription in alphabetic Ugaritic cuneiform: The first, inv. 24.132, was excavated 1961 in tomb 3455 and bears three signs probably signifying oil; the second was found 1967 under uncertain circumstances and is difficult to interpret. 100 O. Masson 1952, 397.

101 However, it was not able to find any published information on the weight of the inscribed clay balls found on Cyprus. 102 Smith 2009, 65: Unlike other multisign inscriptions from Late Bronze Age Cyprus, none of the clay balls has a clearly identifiable number marking, further separating them from potential administrative tools. I would argue, however, that if one interprets the clay balls as tokens, they would have functioned as administrative tools. Thus, in contrast to Smith, I would draw a distinction between administrative (e.g. tokens, tablets) and accounting tools (e.g. tally sticks, weights). 103 Badisches Landesmuseum 2008, 316.


105 Dikaios 1971a, 883.

106 Enkomi inv. 1232. 1288. 1609. 1611. 1613–1615.

107 Enkomi inv. 1232 and 1288.

108 Enkomi inv. 1609. 1611. 1613–1615.

109 Dikaios 1971a, 884. Floor V is the last floor of Level IIB in Room 8 before the destruction at the end of LC IIC; since the end of LC IIC apparently overlaps chronologically with the beginning of the post-palatial period on the Greek mainland, see n. 92 above, the depositional context of the five clay balls is probably contemporary with the earlier part of LH IIIC Early on the Greek mainland.

110 Dikaios 1971a, 885 reports that Myc. IIC:1 sherds were associated with the Level IIIA building in Area III, i. e. the context is approximately contemporaneous to LH IIIC Early/Middle on the Greek mainland.

111 Enkomi inv. 1281–1283. 1604.

112 In the same vein, big stone slabs with small circular indentations have been interpreted as gaming stones, e. g. Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 104, 7 (gaming stone no. XXVIII from rubble outside the city wall); Karageorghis –
interpretation I would argue that none of the clay balls were actually found in a pit and that the central pit on Floor V of Room 8 might actually have functioned as a posthole instead of a pit. The detailed contextualized observations by Dikaios allow, however, a different interpretation: significantly, clay balls often occur in contexts with evidence for metallurgy. This is not only the case in Enkomi, but also in Hala Sultan Tekke and perhaps in Kition as well. At Hala Sultan Tekke the close proximity of a crucible to an ash concentration, querns and the clay ball potentially indicates a workshop context, where the querns might have been used for grinding materials. The faience or blue frit fragments might have constituted alternative products of metallurgical activities, and the single bronze cuirass scale as well as the bronze earring might have served as scrap metal, or, in the case of the cuirass scale, as a protective charm. Such deposition of single scales, i.e. a pars pro toto, is a custom widely documented in the Eastern Mediterranean. The evidence from Kition is less clear-cut, but the excavators explicitly state that an important feature of Floors IIIA and III in Area II at Kition is the flourishing metallurgical activity. Whatever their specific function on Cyprus, contextual evidence supports the hypothesis that clay balls and metallurgy were intricately linked.

Focusing on the structure of the CM signs on the clay balls and the overall composition of the signs, Emilia Masson classifies them as objects of practical use and identifies them as tokens or ballots. Cautiously accepting

Demas 1985c, pl. 105, 5 (gaming stones nos. XXVI, XXVII reused on the altar of Temple 4); Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 105, 6 (gaming stones no. XXXVIII reused on the altar of Temple 4).

Regarding the find spots of most of the stones, they were apparently used as spolia in the construction of the altar in Temple 4. In my opinion, these stones seem to have functioned rather as kernoi or receptacles for small offerings than actual gaming stones.

This has already been observed by Knox 2008, 7 f.

Dikaios 1971a, 884 f. remarks upon an intensification of the copper industry in the building in Area III Level IIB, where seven clay balls came to light. Dikaios 1971a, 888 explicitly states that « [...] the examples from Level IIB were found in the west sector of the building (Rooms 7, 13, 8) in which the copper workshops were housed. The core of the central sector of the same building contained two contiguous megaras, a fact which, combined with the presence of copper workshops, suggests the presence of influential or powerful inhabitants».

Obrink 1979, 46 reports that the clay ball N 6035, cf. Obrink 1979, 88 fig. 264 a, b; 89 fig. 286, was found among stones near the western border of pit V of Room 2, Layer 2b (more specifically in F [Feature] 6064, GCH 437, 75 W, 50 N +14.36). Fragments of faience or blue frit (N 6036) and quern fragments (N 6037, N 6038, cf. Obrink 1979, 87 fig. 245 stem from the same feature as the clay ball, as do sherds of Canaanite jars, cf. Obrink 1979, 29 f. Obrink 1979, 3 further describes the features encountered in Room 2, Layer 2b: «An ash-spot appeared in the corner between Walls F 6003 and F 6011 in GCh-i 442 at +14.45. It was roughly circular, with a thickness of c. 0.12 m and a diameter of c. 0.20 m. A clay crucible (N 6003 [cf. Obrink 1979, 85 fig. 231]) and a pierced, cylindrical stone (N 6002 [cf. Obrink 1979, 86 fig. 240]) were found nearby. Further to the west, a bronze plate (N 6000 [cf. Obrink 1979, 84 fig. 203 a]) belonging to a cuirass and a bronze thread (N 6001 [cf. Obrink 1979, 84 fig. 203 b]), probably an ear-ring, were found». The exact find context of a spindle whorl of stone (N 6034, cf. Obrink 1979, 87 fig. 244) is not mentioned.

In Kition, the clay ball II/4215 was found on Floor IIIA of Room 5 in Temple 5, cf. Karageorghis – Demas 1985a, 104. It was associated with a fragmentary krater of Levantine ware (no. 3806), a fragmentary cylindrical vessel-stand with two inscribed Cypro-Minoan signs (no. 4219, cf. Karageorghis 1976, 127 fig. 2 pl. 15 a; on the function of this vessel see n. 51. 52 above), parts of ostrich egg shells (no. 4224), two faience beads (no. 4231), one glass bead (no. 4232), one juglet of White Shaved Ware (no. 4234), one glass bead with white bands (no. 4235), a fragmentary bronze rod (no. 4237A), a fragmentary bronze object, perhaps a nail (no. 4237B), a hemispherical bronze object, perhaps a button (no. 4238), a fragmentary wall bracket (no. 4239), fragments of a bone stylus (no. 4967) and a steatite conulus with incised decoration (no. 5019); cf. Karageorghis – Demas 1985a, 74–76, esp. 76. The context of the objects might point to votive deposition; however, Temple 5 is located within the same sacred precinct that also housed the metal workshops, cf. Smith 2009, 38 f. fig. II.2 (Floor IIIA); 40 f. fig. II.3 (Floor III). For further examples see Maran 2004, 20–23. In the case of Hala Sultan Tekke, the scale’s function in a workshop context might have been to protect intricate pyrotechnological processes, although this must remain a hypothesis, since there is no evidence that the scale was intentionally deposited here.

Karageorghis – Demas 1985b, 277. Karageorghis – Demas 1985b, 266 date Area II Floor IIIA to the beginning of LC IIIA, i.e. roughly contemporary to the later part of LH IIIC Early and LH IIIC Developed.

E. Mason 2001, 186 likens the clay balls to marbles, but assumes that they would have been used as some kind of ballots. According to her, some nouns accompanied by some kind of abbreviated destination are written on them. Because of the structure of certain sequences followed by two signs on the CM tablet RS 20.25 from Ugarit, Mason is convinced that she is able to
an interpretation of the inscriptions as denoting names rather than simply nouns\textsuperscript{120}, they could indeed have served for personal identification\textsuperscript{121}. If so, the occurrence of the same sign sequence on a clay ball from Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke\textsuperscript{122} would indicate that perhaps the same person was active at two different sites. This, in turn, might point to administrative processes encompassing more than one site. Even if this might be stretching the available evidence, the fact that the same sequence occurs in Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke and clay balls are only present in Enkomi, Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke might be indicative of a central or supra-regional administration incorporating at least Enkomi, Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke. Thus, to sum up the evidence from Cyprus and provide a background for the discussion of the only clay ball with CM signs so far documented outside Cyprus (fig. 2): inscribed clay balls are attested in LC IIC but more frequently in LC IIIA; they are often contextually associated with metallurgical activities and occur in high-status areas. Within such contexts, they probably did not function as gaming pieces but rather as administrative tools, specifically as personal identification tags.

\textsuperscript{120} The only deciphered example of a (Ugaritic cuneiform) inscription on a clay ball, i.e. clay ball Ugarit inv. 24.132, cf. n. 99 above, refers, however, to a commodity: oil.

\textsuperscript{121} See E. Masson 1973, 92: »Ces objets de forme originale étaient, peut-être, des espèces de fiches d’identité, qui pouvaient servir pour des ouvriers engagés temporairement«.

\textsuperscript{122} Öbrink 1979, 47 on N 6035: »A ball with an identical inscription, except for the single sign after the dividing line, has been found at Enkomi. This is no. 46 in E. Masson 1971b, 497 fig. 40.

\textsuperscript{120} See E. Masson 1974, 47: »Il est à espérer que d’autres boules livreront ainsi des noms déjà attestés au Proche-Orient ou en Égée, étant donné le caractère cosmopolite que devaient avoir le site et le port d’Enkomi, dans la seconde moitié du II\textsuperscript{e} millénaire. Cependant, le fait que ces lectures demeurent plutôt isolées montrerait qu’une importante proportion des noms inscrits sur les boules appartiennent à l’élément indigène, qui nous échappe toujours.« Such a structural decipherment, however, is not universally accepted, see e.g. the cautionary comments by Knapp 2008, 322.

\textsuperscript{121} Decipher a few personal names (in the form of «x, son of y») and, by transferring keywords, to decipher a few personal names of Near Eastern origin (Semitic or Hurrian) mainly on the inscribed balls, cf. E. Mason 2001, 187. See also E. Mason 1974, 47: »Il est à espérer que d’autres boules livreront ainsi des noms déjà attestés au Proche-Orient ou en Égée, étant donné le caractère cosmopolite que devaient avoir le site et le port d’Enkomi, dans la seconde moitié du II\textsuperscript{e} millénaire. Cependant, le fait que ces lectures demeurent plutôt isolées montrerait qu’une importante proportion des noms inscrits sur les boules appartiennent à l’élément indigène, qui nous échappe toujours.« Such a structural decipherment, however, is not universally accepted, see e.g. the cautionary comments by Knapp 2008, 322.
Description of the Inscribed Clay Ball TN 241 from Tiryns (fig. 3)

Find spot: Tiryns, Lower Citadel North 2002: LXII 35/39 VB a13.18, hor. 20a3–21a0; diameter: 1.7–1.75 cm; weight: 5.0–5.1 g; except for some abrasion completely preserved; clay colour (surface and paste): 5 YR 4/4 (reddish brown) – 5 YR 4/6 (yellowish red); inclusions visible in chipped area: sub-rounded grains of sand, few burnt organic particles.

The small clay ball was formed by hand, i.e. rolled between the palms, which resulted in its smoothed surface. On one side, the clay ball bears three visible signs around its widest perimeter, but the surface in this area is slightly cracked, chipped and abraded. Thus, parts of the signs are obscured or damaged, whereas the surface above and below as well as on the back side is intact. Tiny black spots on the surface might stem from carbonized organic matter. The signs are each composed of several approximately lentoid indentations. They were punched into the leather-hard clay by a thin, pencil-like and pointed stylus (either of wood, bone or metal), the point of which left indentations of approximately 1.5 mm width or diameter (for an elongated or dot mark respectively). During the process of inscription the clay ball was probably held between the first two fingers of the left hand, while the signs were executed by the stylus held in the right hand. The pressure of two fingertips holding the ball could have resulted in the very slight flattening at the bottom left and central upper rear part of the clay ball. Three signs are extant and spaced on average half a centimetre apart, but the first sign to the left is partly erased due to surface damage; the pitting of the surface is especially acute in the lower left part of the sign. Between the first and the second sign from the left a vertical fissure in the clay disrupts the surface, which features a void of a partly burnt organic inclusion in its centre that probably caused the surface to crack initially. Another horizontal to diagonal crack in the surface is observed between the second and the third sign from the left. Above and slightly diagonally to the third sign two shallow parallel indentations might be fingernail impressions, since they are only half as deeply impressed into the surface as the punch marks.
forming the signs. To the right of the third sign follows yet another crack in the surface, beyond which the whole surface is abraded and worn in an area of ca. 1 cm². A void in the lower left part of this worn area appears to be a burnt organic inclusion (chaff) rather than part of another indentation.

The first sign consists of seven indentations, of which four are clearly visible: these are the two vertical, elongated punch marks to the left and one small punched dot on the lower left end of the sign as well as a slightly bigger punched dot on the upper right corner of the sign. Partial marks of two small vertical indentations are still visible to the right of the lower vertical elongated mark, where the surface is chipped. Below these and in a horizontal line to the right of the small punched dot at the lower left end of the sign faint traces of two additional small punched dots are observed. The whole triangular sign is 8 mm high and approximately 8 mm wide at the bottom. The second and central sign in the sequence again features two elongated vertical indentations (one on top of the other) at its left side. To the right of the lower left indentation another two roughly parallel elongated vertical impressions are clearly visible, as is another elongated punch mark at the upper right end of the sign, which is positioned roughly at a 45° angle to the upper elongated vertical indentation. Below the three vertical elongated indentations in the lower part of the sign three small punched dots terminate this sign. The sign appears to be a clearer version of the first sign and is 8 mm high and approximately 6 mm wide. The last sign at the right end of the sequence consists of six indentations – two elongated vertical and two smaller horizontal indentations roughly form a rectangle followed by two small punched dots below the rectangle. This last sign is ca. 9 mm high and 5–6 mm wide and the indentations preserve the best evidence for the direction of the punching. The stylus was apparently held perpendicular to the surface while indenting the elongated vertical marks and the lower, quite shallow horizontal one, whereas the upper horizontal indentation and the two dots below were punched with the stylus held at an oblique angle.

**Interpretation of the Signs**

The objectives of the following discussion are twofold: first, to ascertain that the inscription on the Tiryns clay ball does indeed represent CM signs; second, to analyse the chronological and geographical spread of comparable signs in CM which might tentatively provide evidence for the date and/or origin of the Tiryns clay ball. Summarizing the features of the indentations, the individual signs on the Tiryns clay ball can be identified twice as sign 41124 followed by sign 97. Sign 97125 is the third sign from the left; this sign is present in all three variants of CM (CM I, II, III) and occurs frequently on the clay balls from Enkomi126 as well as on a clay ball from Hala Sultan Tekke127. It always appears at the end of a sign sequence. Out of these 23 examples, only one clay
A Clay Ball with a Cypro-Minoan Inscription from Tiryns

ball stems from a stratified context of LC IIIA date. Sign 41 is so far only documented in texts attributed to CM I and appears on three clay balls from Enkomi; the first two were found together in Area III, Room 8 on Floor V and date to LC IIC, whereas the third one stems from a LC IIIA context. Yet none of the clay balls feature a sign sequence identical to the Tiryns clay ball. However, the sequence can be observed on another terracotta medium: in lines 10 and 11 on the clay cylinder from Enkomi the same signs are documented in the same sequence as in the Tiryns inscription, i.e. the fifth and sixth sign in line 10 and the first sign in line 11, where they are separated from the other signs in lines 10 and 11 by dividing marks. The fifth and sixth sign of line 10 are unique in the text of the cylinder. A relationship between sequences inscribed on the clay cylinder and those on clay balls has already been observed by Emilia Masson. Moreover, it seems plausible that the same sequence consisting of two instances of sign 41 followed by sign 97 is also incised into a pithos-rim. This rim fragment was apparently found in 1995 on the surface of the West Acropolis of Idalion-Ambileri, more specifically, on its south-western edge. The authors date it to approximately 1100 B.C.E., but no reasons for such a dating are given. Thus, the sign sequence inscribed on the Tiryns clay ball is attested as early as the 14th cent. B.C.E. (i.e. the date of the Enkomi clay cylinder) and perhaps as late as the 11th cent. B.C.E. This wide temporal margin circumvents any attempt to precisely fix the date of the Tiryns clay ball on the basis of epigraphic evidence.

Although the sequence on the Enkomi cylinder represents the best match for the signs on the clay ball from Tiryns, the visual characteristics of the clay ball from Tiryns do not fit the description of the Enkomi clay paste in comparison with the petrographic description of the Enkomi inscribed objects. Olivier 2007, 128 f. lines 10 f. with sign nos. 41, 41 and 97 in CM I. For the Enkomi clay cylinder 19.10 see Olivier 2007, 121-132 ENKO Arou 001, 484 f.

128 Olivier 2007, no. 016.
129 On the Tiryns clay ball in the form of the second variant in the CM I chart by Olivier 2007, 414.
130 See, however, n. 124 above.
131 Olivier 2007, nos. 004 (1st sign), 006 (4th sign), 018 (1st sign).
132 Area III, Room 77, north part, on Floor V. According to Olivier 2007, 65 his no. 004 is by the same scribal hand and even made of the same clay as no. 018 but was found in Area III, Room 8, Floor V. Olivier 2007, no. 002 was found in a stratified LC IIC context in Area III, Room 13 almost on Floor IV. If one takes into account that Olivier 2007, 64 also considers no. 002 as having been inscribed by the same hand as nos. 004 and 018, the later deposition context of no. 018 might indicate that some clay balls were circulated for longer periods. There is no inherent reason to interpret no. 018 as an older re-deposited kick-up from an earlier layer, since within the same part of the room, but one floor below, three other inscribed clay balls had come to light within a layer dated already to LC IIIA.
133 Cf. Olivier 2007, 126 f. lines 10 f. with sign nos. 41, 41 and 97 in CM I.
134 For the Enkomi clay cylinder 19.10 see Olivier 2007, 121-132 ENKO Arou 001, 484 f.
135 Sign no. 18 in Masson’s earlier CM I list, see E. Masson 1971a; CM I sign 41 according to E. Masson 1974. This sign has a strange shape and only occurs twice, together in line 10 on the cylinder; in its design, it is one of the most complex signs and is also found on the clay balls as well as on a small round weight (?) in Enkomi (1966), where it occurs as an isolated sign; E. Masson 1971b, 472.
136 Sign no. 46 in Masson’s earlier CM I list see E. Masson 1971a; sign 97 in CM I list according to E. Masson 1974. This sign is well known in Cypro-Minoan and a rather important sign; on the clay balls it is the sign that is most often employed at the end; 23 sequences end with this sign; E. Masson 1971b, 471.
137 E. Masson 1971b, 464. 469. 474 fig. 4.
138 Cf. n. 56 above.
139 Olivier 2007, 190 no. 123; 421
140 Gaber – Bazemore 1999, 239 figs. 2. 4 (signs upside down); 240.
141 According to Goren et al. 2003, 248: [...] the locally produced pottery and Cypro-Minoan tablets at Enkomi are characterized by a fine texture and light shades [...]. Moreover, Goren et al. 2003, 236 state: "In terms of petrography, the Enkomi documents are extremely homogeneous." See Goren et al. 2003, 248 on the local geology around Enkomi; the examined Enkomi tablets cover a period of 300 years (in part contemporaneous with the Amarna and Ugarit letters) and since the clay composition of all analysed documents is extremely homogeneous, the clay source/s used must have remained stable over 300 years, Goren et al. 2003, 249.
objects\textsuperscript{142}. Also, colour photographs of clay balls from Enkomi\textsuperscript{143} indicate that the clay used for their manufacture is lighter than the clay of the Tiryns example. Therefore, an origin of the Tiryns clay ball in Enkomi can probably be excluded. However, this does not preclude the possibility that the clay ball found in Tiryns might have been inscribed in Kiton or Hala Sultan Tekke (or another site on Cyprus for which inscribed clay balls are not yet attested).

**Discussion**

On visual inspection, the clay paste of the ball with CM signs compares well with a potential Linear B tablet fragment from Tiryns\textsuperscript{144}, found east of the well in the fortification chamber 14 West, i.e. above the palatial Room 226 and below the post-palatial Room 224\textsuperscript{145}. Also of comparable fabric are certain functional ceramics, e.g. a so-called torch holder\textsuperscript{146} unearthed in an open area which features indications of lead working during LH IIIB Developed and half-baked clay reel\textsuperscript{147} found in a LH III C Late pit\textsuperscript{148}. Thus, even if the clay ball TN 241 was produced locally (which only future scientific analyses will be able to prove/disprove), the objects made of such a fabric span the entire period between LH III B and the end of LH IIIC and do not give preference to either a palatial or a post-palatial date for the manufacture of the clay ball. Moreover, none of the four uninscribed clay balls so far documented in the small find-corpus of Tiryns are made of this fabric. These clay balls (fig. 4) are all slightly larger than the inscribed clay ball and none actually derived from a clear Mycenaean stratum. The first one\textsuperscript{149} was found in an Early Helladic layer and is probably made of a local fabric, since the same clay paste is also present in later Mycenaean cooking vessels, e.g. in a post-palatial cooking amphora from the Lower Town Northeast\textsuperscript{150}. The second clay ball is unstratified and the third and fourth were excavated in a Geometric potters’ quarter\textsuperscript{151} located in the Lower Town Northeast and probably constitute test-pieces to assess kiln temperatures and atmospheres.

\textsuperscript{142} Cf. Goren et al. 2003, 236 f.; sampled were clay tablet Enkomi 1687 deposited in Level IIIA, cf. Dikaios 1971a, 885 f.; Dikaios 1971b, pls. 317, 318; Palaima 1989, 183 fig. 17; Enkomi clay tablet 1885 from Level IB, cf. Dikaios 1971a, 882 f.; Dikaios 1971b, pl. 314; Hiller 1985, 66 fig. 1; Palaima 1989, 175 fig. 5; the clay cylinder Enkomi 19.10 (wrongly cited as E-1610 in Goren et al. 2003, 236), cf. E. Masson 1971c; Hiller 1985, 67 fig. 4; Palaima 1989, 182 fig. 15; the tablet Enkomi 1193, cf. Hiller 1985, 68 fig. 5, joined with the fragmentary tablet Enkomi 20.01 (from the French excavations), cf. Hiller 1985, 70 fig. 7; 71 fig. 8; 72 fig. 8a; tablet Enkomi 1193 was found in Level III B, cf. Dikaios 1971a, 887; Dikaios 1971b, pls. 319, 320; and another clay tablet, now in the Louvre, AM 2336.

\textsuperscript{143} Cf. Badisches Landesmuseum 2008, 316 fig. 189a–c. Could the new Akkadian clay tablet RS 94.2173 found in the maison d’Ourtenou perhaps come from Enkomi? Malbran-Labat 1999, 121 describes its paste as «d’une argile particulièrement fine et blanche» which would fit the description given by Goren et al. 2003.

\textsuperscript{144} Olivier 1988, 253 ff. 257 fig. 1, 1; 260. 264 fig. 4, 1.

\textsuperscript{145} Find spot: LXI 35/89 XII, hor. 19 a0.

\textsuperscript{146} Rahmstorf 2008, pl. 44, 12 cat. 2362; find spot: LXII 36/01 Off. VII a12.52, hor. 17 a1.

\textsuperscript{147} For example Rahmstorf 2008, pls. 30, 10.11.; 90.8 (cat. 1678, 1679).

\textsuperscript{148} Find spot: LXI 42/59 IV C9, hor. 22.

\textsuperscript{149} Find spot: LXII 38/53 XIV grau a14.28.

\textsuperscript{150} Ti 00 LXVIII 30/49 IX Nr. 120/00, cf. Stockhammer 2008, pl. 54 cat. 1210.

\textsuperscript{151} On this partially excavated potters’ quarter of the Geometric period in squares LXIX 28 and 29 of the Lower Town Northeast see Maran – Papadimitriou 2006, 121; kilns (Maran – Papadimitriou 2006, 123 figs. 35–37, 39) and contemporary occupation layers attest to a production area. A loamy walking horizon was excavated around one of the kilns at an elevation of approx. 5.92–6.11 m ASL, under parts of which a pebble pavement was encountered at 5.82–5.96 m ASL. An alley approximately 40 cm wide paved with sherds of storage vessels ran from the northeast of the excavated area towards the kiln (at an elevation of circa 5.97–6.06 m ASL), see also Maran – Papadimitriou 2006, 125 on several wasters of large decorated open and closed vessels found in the area of the kilns.
A Clay Ball with a Cypro-Minoan Inscription from Tiryns

No. 1: Find spot: Lower Citadel, LXII 38/53 XIV grau a14.28; diameter of ball: 2.5–2.55 cm, weight: 15.6 g; smoothed surface; colour of surface: 10 YR 6/2 (light brownish grey) – 7.5 YR 6/4 (light brown); inclusions visible on the surface: sand, quartz, lime, no mica; medium-fine ware fabric.

No. 2: Find spot: Lower Citadel, LXII 39 I a16.67; diameter: 2.1–2.2 cm, weight: 11.2 g; smoothed surface with traces of paint applied randomly and with a hasty brush; colour of paint: 5 YR 4/6 (yellowish red); colour of surface: 10 YR 6/4 (light yellowish brown); inclusions visible on the surface: sand (?), no mica; fine ware fabric; publication: Rahmstorf 2008, 78 cat. 1506 pls. 34, 1506; 97, 2 (bottom row left).

No. 3: Find spot: Lower Town Northeast, Ti 00 LXIX 28/86 VII a5.92; diameter: 2.3 cm, weight: 10.1 g; monochrome, crazed and flaking paint on surface; colour of paint: 10 YR 2/1 (black); colour of clay paste: 10 YR 7/4 (very pale brown) – 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink); inclusions visible in the clay paste: few quartz particles; fine ware fabric.

No. 4: Find spot: Lower Town Northeast, Ti 00 LXIX 29/13 IV–V; diameter: 1.9–2.1 cm, weight: 6.8 g; surface only hastily smoothed, object is not entirely spherical; colour of surface: 10 YR 7/4 (very pale brown); colour of clay paste in core: 5 YR 7/6 (reddish yellow); same fabric as above no. 3.

Turning to the actual inscription, the ductus of the impressed signs on TN 241 is closely comparable to CM signs on Cypriot clay balls152. Yet again, there is no conclusive evidence pro or contra a local or Cypriot origin of the clay ball TN 241. Therefore, an assessment of the wider context of Cypriot – local interactions (as reflected in material remains of the palatial and post-palatial periods in Tiryns) might help to clarify whether the clay ball constituted an ›out-of-context‹ exoticum or was integrated into practices of a »Lebenswelt« some contemporary Tirynthians might have experienced or that was at least familiar to them.

152 Cf. Smith 2009, 156 on »signs [on clay balls from Kition] punched with a wedge-shaped tool and impressed by bending the straight side of the tool sideways, in the manner of cuneiform writings and on »signs impressed with a thin-point implement, […], much in the manner of several long texts in Cypro-Minoan«. Regarding the implement with which the clay balls were inscribed, Smith 2003, 282 observes that »the tool used to make punches, however, is thin, rounded, and pointed«. On styli cf. Papasavvas 2003, esp. 80. A bronze stylus from Enkomi, inv. 98, cf. Papasavvas 2003, 81 figs. 1–4, is 15.1 cm long, has a diameter of 5–6.5 mm and the length of the sharp point measures ca. 4 mm, whereas the chisel-like part is ca. 9 mm wide; it was found during the French excavations at »point 71, à 1 m. de profondeur«; another bronze stylus from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios is 17.7 cm long and has a diameter ca. 0.8 cm. Thus, marks made with the Enkomi stylus would fall approximately into the size range of the impression on the clay ball TN 241 from Tiryns, where the elongated indentations vary from 3–4 mm in length.

One find from the LH IIIC Developed workshop area is a fragmentary bone tool, and might perhaps have been used as a stylus; TN 85: length: 4.4 cm, width: 0.65–0.5 cm, thickness: 0.4 cm, weight: 1.3 g; broken at both ends (on bone...
The Archaeological Context of the Tiryns Clay Ball

The northern tip of the Lower Citadel was first excavated in 1982 and 1983 by Klaus Kilian\textsuperscript{153}. Since this part of the Lower Citadel was included in an \textit{anastylosis}-project aimed at presenting different settlement layers and making them accessible to visitors, the area of the 10 × 10 m squares LXII.LXIII 34.35 was re-investigated in 2000–2003 by Joseph Maran\textsuperscript{154}. The latter excavations brought to light a multitude of architectural features, ceramics\textsuperscript{155} and small finds. As a result, parts of the building history of the Cyclopean fortification wall were substantially revised\textsuperscript{156}. However, a workshop context in the LH IIIB Final (ca. 1230/1225–1210/1200 B.C.E.) Building XI adjacent to the fortification wall and on the terrace immediately west of the passageway leading to the North Gate has drawn most of the scholarly attention so far\textsuperscript{157}. This workshop, where intricate luxury objects for elite consumption were given their final embellishment\textsuperscript{158} and which was in all probability supervised by the palace\textsuperscript{159}, provided evidence for object associations and thus practices pointing to Eastern Mediterranean and especially Cypriot and/or Levantine influences\textsuperscript{160}. The occupational history of Building XI was short compared to other late palatial architectural complexes in the Lower Citadel: its construction can be dated to the latest phase of the LH IIIB2 period\textsuperscript{161} and it was destroyed at the end of this phase in the conflagration\textsuperscript{162} that put an end to Mycenaean palatial society in Tiryns.

A hiatus in the building history of the northern tip of the Lower Citadel is evidenced throughout the subsequent LH IIIC Early phase. During these years the area probably retained its connotations as a funerary sector, since at least six individuals had been interred here at the very end of the palatial or the very beginning of the post-palatial period, apparently without any accompanying offerings\textsuperscript{163}. Afterwards, a small building complex consisting of a central courtyard and adjacent rooms to the north and east\textsuperscript{164} was erected in LH IIIC Developed (ca. 1170/1160–1150/1140 B.C.E.; fig. 5)\textsuperscript{165}. The architectural design reflects the characteristic layout of the post-palatial period (room suites grouped around open spaces)\textsuperscript{166}. Walls of the former Building XI of the final palatial phase were reused as a foundation of the LH IIIC Developed architectural complex comprising several rooms\textsuperscript{167}. The post-palatial building consisted of two rooms or rather a suite of two rooms, grouped around a courtyard, Room 78c to the south and Rooms 78a and 2/02 to the

\textsuperscript{153} Kilian 1988, 108–111.
\textsuperscript{154} Maran 2008.
\textsuperscript{155} The pottery is currently under study by Sonicka Wirghova and forms the subject of her PhD thesis at the University of Heidelberg.
\textsuperscript{157} Kilian 1984, 56, 69 fig. 1; Maran 2004, 13 f. 16. 17 fig. 5; Maran 2008, 50–53. 90 f.; Brysbaert – Vetters 2010; Cohen et al. 2011; Kostoula – Maran 2012.
\textsuperscript{158} Maran 2008, 90.
\textsuperscript{159} Brysbaert – Vetters 2010, 33 f.
\textsuperscript{160} Cohen et al. 2011; Kostoula – Maran 2012; Maran 2009, 247 with n. 33.
\textsuperscript{161} This is the stratigraphic horizon 17 a5 in Tiryns terminology.
\textsuperscript{162} The debris of the conflagration constitutes the stratigraphic horizon 18 in Tiryns terminology. Building XI, however, does not show evidence of extensive destruction by fire as observed on the Upper Citadel, as Ursula Meinhardt informed me (email 26.01.2011).
\textsuperscript{163} On pit no. 123/02 and the skeletal remains see Maran 2008, 60–65, 91–94.
\textsuperscript{164} For a detailed plan of the area cf. Maran 2008, fig. 55 after p. 66.
\textsuperscript{165} Maran 2008, 94. The dating of the layers is provisional, until all finds and pottery are studied. So far, this phase is termed phase 2 within the sequence of the post-palatial strata encountered in the northern tip and is assigned to the stratigraphic horizon 20 a3 in Tiryns terminology.
\textsuperscript{166} Brysbaert – Vetters 2010, 31 f.; Kilian 1988, fig. 9 (before p. 111); p. 111.
north. Apparently, an entrance allowed access to the yard from the passageway to the east and another was documented in the south-wall of Room 78c. The threshold of the yard’s southern entrance was built of small stones and rounded pebbles, was approximately 1.30 m wide and opened onto a street, which lay east of Room 78c and increased in elevation from 12.72 m to 12.96 m ASL towards the north. Kilian excavated two concentrations of burnt mud bricks in Room 78a which might have formed some sort of installations and a pit which probably contained a clay bin in the southwest corner of the courtyard between Rooms 78a and 78c. In the eastern part of the courtyard bordered on the west by a terrace wall (a reused palatial wall), parts of two phases of an occupation layer which were immediately superimposed upon each other were documented during the re-investigation of the area: a pebble pavement above a layer of sherds was excavated in squares LXIII 34/92 and LXIII 35/02–03 at 12.96–13.01 m ASL. A partially preserved rectangular clay installation, probably an oven (no. 78/02), was erected on top of this pavement. Further south, in squares LXIII 35/11.21, a small carefully built, horseshoe-shaped oven (no. 79/02) had a floor level of 12.93 m ASL. The rear wall of the oven was vertical and the oven featured an opening towards the west. The oven’s floor and the entire area in front of its opening showed traces of ash and intensive fire. Remnants of another but less well preserved clay oven with traces of fire were unearthed in squares LXIII 34/81.82–91.92. This almost rectangular construction (no. 73/02) was built with its east wall against a stone wall segment on the east side of Room 78a. The southern end of the installation is missing; it seems reasonable, however, to assume that the oven had an opening at this side. The functions of the three ovens are not yet determined.

---

168 The only find already mentioned in the preliminary report is a well preserved krater which was excavated at the threshold to the yard; cf. Maran 2008, 66 fig. 54.
171 The floor of oven no. 78/02 was excavated at 13.02 m ASL; cf. Maran 2008, 67 fig. 56.
172 Maran 2008, 68 fig. 57.
173 Maran 2008, 67 fig. 56.
174 Samples of the oven walls and the ash have been taken and will be analysed in the future. Another partially preserved clay structure had been excavated by Kilian in LXII 35/10.20, but due to a lack of further information its function cannot be assessed anymore.
Copper, which was the main export product of Cyprus\textsuperscript{180}, was definitely exported to the Greek mainland during LC IIC\textsuperscript{181} and LC IIIA, i.e. in the Mycenaean late palatial and post-palatial periods\textsuperscript{182}. The adjectives \textit{ku-pi-ri-jo} and \textit{a-la-si-jo} mentioned in the Linear B tablets of Pylos and Knossos point to substantial economic relations between the Mycenaean palatial world and LBA Cyprus\textsuperscript{183}. According to the tablets \textit{Cyripiots} are involved in bronze-

\textsuperscript{175} Brysbaert – Vetter 2010, 32. 43 table 5 (TN 106, TN 215, TN 231).
\textsuperscript{176} TN 241: clay ball with three Cypro-Minoan signs; LXII 35/39 VB a13.18; coordinates within the square as measured from its northeast corner: 85 cm from North/47 cm from West; hor. 20 a3–21 a0.
\textsuperscript{177} According to Maran 2008, fig. 55 (after p. 66); see also p. 66 fig. 53.
\textsuperscript{178} Maran 2008, 70 fig. 61.
\textsuperscript{179} Maran 2008, 72 describes the stratification of the layers in detail: »Der jüngere diente als Stückung einer nur in den Qu. LXII 35/39, 49–50 in Fragmenten erhaltenen Lehmoberfläche (Oberkante bei 13,33 m bis 13,36 m ü. NN). Bei der darunterliegenden Pflasterung des älteren Nutzungsabschnittes (Oberkante 13,24 m bis 13,29 m ü. NN) gab es keine Spuren einer ähnlichen Oberfläche aus Lehm.«
\textsuperscript{180} See Sherrat 2000, 89 n. 1 on perhaps 30 tons of copper from Alashiya documented in the Amarna tablets; cf. Knapp 2008, 309–312 with tables 5. 6, on mentions of Cypriot copper exports in Near Eastern written sources from the Middle Bronze Age to the LBA; see also Mulzan-Laban 1999, 122 with n. 9 on quantities of copper documented in the Ugarit tablets and Von 2003, 48 on a ton of copper mentioned in correspondence RS 94.2177+ and RS 94.2447 between the king of Ugarit and the king of Alashiya, i.e. Alashiya at 1200 B.C.E.
\textsuperscript{181} For a general overview of major LC IIC sites and for contextual evidence of extractive metallurgy or the processing of copper on Cyprus cf. Karageorghis 1990, 2–26.
\textsuperscript{182} Just to mention two examples relevant to the context of this paper: the so-called Tiryns treasure contained oxhide ingots and also a rectangular, smaller bronze ingot, cf. Karo 1930, 135 fig. 3; Kilian 1988, 140 fig. 37, 3. According to scientific analysis, the latter is of bronze containing Cypriot copper, cf. Kilian 1988, 130 n. 54; see Lolis 2003, 112 fig. 22 for a fragment of an oxhide ingot recently excavated in Kanakia on Salamis; another fragment of such an oxhide ingot is known from post-palatial layers in Emborio on Chios, see Jung 2007, 231 n. 91. On the import of Cypriot copper on the Mycenaean mainland during the post-palatial period see Jung et al., 90 n. 31.
\textsuperscript{183} Palaima 2005, 28 states this explicitly: »In fact, the range of references in the Linear B tablets to the foreign ethnic \textit{ku-pi-ri-jo} is absolutely unique, and speaks of some form of special contacts between the Mycenaean sphere and the Cypriot sphere in the Late Bronze Age. This is also true for the imbedding of individuals named \textit{ku-pi-ri-jo} and \textit{a-la-si-jo} on Crete and in Messenia in various sectors of the Mycenaean economy. […] The place name \textit{ku-po-ro} and the goods or individuals associated with it cover a wide range of Mycenaean industries. Among trade goods are cloth and wool, dye mordant, plant materials with numerous applications, spices, oil, and perhaps pottery.«
working, shepherding, the religious offering of honey and in one of the few records of compensatory o-no exchange and are, in some instances at least, from the higher echelons of society. The presence of CM signs on LM/LH III vessels found in the Aegean suggests that certain individuals, perhaps even officials in the palatial administration, on Crete or the Greek mainland were familiar with the CM script and possibly involved in exporting specific products, e.g. perfumed oil, to Cyprus. Yet there is further evidence of contact between the Mycenaean and Cypriot worlds amounting to more than just trading relationships. The pottery of Enkomi, for instance, reflects that with the integration of Mycenaean imported vessels and local imitations changes in feasting and cooking practices start in LC IIC. These changes become even more pronounced in LC IIIA, when Mycenaean-type wheel-made cooking pots first appear in Enkomi. Also, a parallel development between White Painted Wheel-made III pottery on Cyprus (which can be interpreted as a derivate of Mycenaean pottery traditions) and LH IIIC pottery styles on the Greek mainland has been observed. Both aspects, the parallel stylistic development, but especially the local production of Mycenaean-type pottery, attest to continued relationships and probably multi-directional social interactions of individuals on Cyprus and on the post-palatial southern Greek mainland after the collapse of the palatial administrative and social structures.

Cypriot Imports and Cypriot Derivates in Tiryns

Turning to the evidence from Tiryns, the earliest example of a Cypriot or Levantine object does not come from the settlement but the chamber tomb necropolis at the Prophitis Elias hill east of Tiryns: one faience cylinder seal of Mitanni style was excavated in chamber tomb XIX in a context not later than LH IIIA and thus coinciding with the inception of Mycenaean palatial society on the Greek mainland. A Minoan stirrup jar with a painted inscription, which Jacques Raison suggested to be Cypro-Minoan rather than Linear B, was found within the same necropolis but in a funerary context probably dating to the very late palatial or even early post-palatial period: the stirrup jar was excavated in chamber tomb XV. Since it was found in the chamber but immediately beyond the stomion, this find position suggests that the stirrup jar constituted one of the latest offerings in this chamber. The latest burials and figurines probably date to LH IIIC Early and, consequentially, the deposition date of the stirrup jar would then be either LH IIIB Final or LH IIIC Early. However, the chamber tombs of the Prophitis Elias

---

184 Palaima 2005, 29; see also discussion in Knapp 2008, 303–307; it is strange, however, that the attestations of ›Cypriots‹ in the Pylian records so far do not tally with the archaeological evidence for Cypriot imports, i.e. objects, in late palatial Messenia.
186 Jung 2009, 79; see also Sherratt 2003a, 40 on the local production of Aegean pottery in the second part of the 13th cent. B.C.E. and Sherratt 2003a, 45 on the inception of White Painted Wheel-made III in LC IIC and its increase in quantity in LC IIIA, i.e. at the beginning of the 12th cent. B.C.E. Note, however, that two opposing interpretations of those changes visible in the ceramic repertoire are offered by Reinhard Jung and Susan Sherratt: whereas Jung 2011 argues for a selection of imported Mycenaean vessels according to local taste and local imitations of those shapes by Cypriots in LC IIC, he observes a wholehearted adaptation of Mycenaean consumption patterns in LC IIIA which he links to the influx of new population segments ultimately originating on the Greek mainland. Sherratt 2003a, on the other hand, explains the shift in the pottery repertoire as an economic phenomenon where former imports from the Mycenaean mainland were substituted by local imitations without any change in the group–composition of the (Cypriot) consumers.
187 Jung 2009, 81 notes that: »[...] regarding pottery typology, the Mycenaean component became clearly dominant in Enkomi right from the start of settlement Level IIIA.«
188 Sherratt 2003a, 46 f.
189 Rudolph 1973, 85. 123 pl. 52, 4. 5.
190 Vettets 2009, 200 n. 1291.
193 Rudolph 1973, 63.
194 Vettets 2009, 199 f.
necropolis do not offer any evidence for a concentration of East Mediterranean objects in a specific funerary context. If one turns to the settlement of Tiryns the picture changes. The unusual concentration\textsuperscript{195} of CM marks on Mycenaean and imported pottery\textsuperscript{196} found in Tiryns has long been remarked upon and has often been quoted to support claims for a small number of Cypriots residing in Tiryns\textsuperscript{197}. Recent discussions have focused on another class of objects: hand-made, unpainted wall brackets of rather coarse fabrics are artefacts typically encountered in Cypriot metallurgical and ritual contexts\textsuperscript{198}. On the Greek mainland they are extremely rare outside the Argolid and within the Argolid they are almost entirely confined to Tiryns\textsuperscript{199}. Previous scholars assumed that these apparently utilitarian objects had been imported from Cyprus, arguing, however, that due to the inferior quality of these products they must have had a specific symbolic value for Cypriots and accordingly were taken along when a person moved abroad\textsuperscript{200}. Lorenz Rahmstorf merits praise for his careful study of stylistic differences between wall brackets found on Cyprus and those excavated in Tiryns\textsuperscript{201}. The majority of the latter is now presumed to have been produced locally and interpreted by Maran as constituting evidence for the continuation of idiosyncratic Cypriot practices in a foreign context. The first stratified examples of wall brackets in Tiryns occur in LH IIIB Middle contexts in the Lower Citadel\textsuperscript{202} and the latest examples in LH IIC Early contexts in the Lower Town Northwest\textsuperscript{203} and Northeast\textsuperscript{204}. Thus, wall brackets in Tiryns are not confined to a specific settlement area (cf. fig. 1)\textsuperscript{205}. Apparently however, there is a concentration of Cypriot and East Mediterranean objects in certain habitation areas: frequent CM incised marks on Minoan stirrup jars from the Epichosis\textsuperscript{206} and the aforementioned wall bracket from the Western Staircase were excavated in debris layers ultimately deriving from the destruction of the palace at the end of LH IIIB on the Upper Citadel. Due to limited information provided by the early excavation records, it is impossible to conduct a detailed contextual analysis of this material. However, a bronze figurine of the ›smiting god‹ type excavated by Heinrich Schliemann on the Upper Citadel\textsuperscript{207} with best parallels in Ugarit and Enkomi\textsuperscript{208} further strengthens the suggestion that objects from the Eastern Mediterranean were once used in the palace proper. Find spots of Eastern Mediterranean objects, especially wall brackets, are better documented in the Lower Citadel\textsuperscript{209};

\textsuperscript{195} Hirschfeld 1996a, 297 mentions 24 marked vessels (i.e. incised after firing) from Tiryns.
\textsuperscript{196} Döhl 1979; Olivier 1988; Hirschfeld 1993.
\textsuperscript{197} Cline 1994, 54 f.; Hirschfeld 1996a, 297 states that «Tiryns was an important centre of Cypriot-Argolic trade» and ›marked vases may be evidence that Cypriot merchants took substantial initiative in administration and handling of trade«.
\textsuperscript{198} See the detailed analysis of the geographical spread and find contexts by Rahmstorf 2008, 95–111, esp. 103 f.
\textsuperscript{199} Maran 2004, 13.
\textsuperscript{200} See especially Cline 1999.
\textsuperscript{201} Rahmstorf 2008, 91–95, 110.
\textsuperscript{202} Rahmstorf 2008, 94 cat. 1821 pl. 39, 1821 (probably to be joined with cat. 1827, hor. 19 a0, 27 m north of cat. 1821); cat. 1828 pl. 41, 1828.
\textsuperscript{203} Kilian 1978, 452 fig. 7; Rahmstorf 2008, 93 f. cat. 1826 pl. 39, 1826.
\textsuperscript{204} Maran 2004, 13. 14 fig. 1; 15 fig. 2.
\textsuperscript{205} Within the acropolis, wall brackets might have been used even on the Upper Citadel: Eleutheria Kardamaki identified one wall bracket which was recovered in the 1910 excavations of the Western Staircase, cf. Rahmstorf 2008, 91 n. 431; Voigtländer 2003, 16 pl. 3, 17. The material from the Western Staircase constitutes debris from the final conflagration on the Upper Citadel.
\textsuperscript{206} Döhl 1979, 50–52 nos. 81–86; 52 f. no. 89; 53 f. no. 92; parallels cited are mostly from Enkomi.
\textsuperscript{207} On the approximate find context of the Tiryns ›smiting god‹ figurine cf. Vetters 2009, 276 f. n. 1910. 1911. See the tentative stylistic dating of the ›smiting god‹ figurine from the Upper Citadel in Tiryns to the palatial period: Vetters 2009, 276 n. 1908.
\textsuperscript{208} If a palatial date of the Tiryns figurine is accepted, it would be contemporary with the majority of ›smiting god‹-figurines in Ugarit and with a figurine of the same type from Enkomi, cf. Vetters 2009, 276 n. 1909.
\textsuperscript{209} The following list contains fragments of wall brackets if not otherwise noted. Listed are find spot, area, stratigraphic horizon and date.
1. LXII 34/89 IVb\textsuperscript{210}; floor context in Room 78a of Building XI; hor. 17 a5, i.e. LH IIIB Final.
2. (LXII 36/100 IVb) corrected: LXII 34/100 IVb\textsuperscript{211}; floor context in Room 78a of Building XI; hor. 17 a5, i.e. LH IIIB Final\textsuperscript{212}.
3. LXII 43/67 XV grau\textsuperscript{213}; destruction debris immediately south of Room 210 of LH IIIB Middle terrace building; hor. 16 a7–17 a0, i.e. end of LH IIIB Middle, start of LH IIIB Developed.
4. (LXII 43/63 Off. XV) corrected: LXII 43/69 Off. XV\textsuperscript{214}; destruction debris in Room 216 of LH IIIB Middle terrace building; hor. 16 a7–17 a0, i.e. end of LH IIIB Middle, start of LH IIIB Developed.
5. LXI 40/01 XII\textsuperscript{215}; residual, since probably joining with no. 3 above\textsuperscript{216}.
6. LXI 42/59 XI c14.15 + LXI 42/69 XII\textsuperscript{217}; in debris layers above LH IIIB Middle strata but in the area immediately west of LH IIIB Middle terrace building and south of the LH IIIB Developed Building VI; hor. 18, i.e. end of LH IIIB Final, final palatial destruction layer.
7. (Canaanite amphora) LXIII 34/36.46 III\textsuperscript{218}; passage way, in the entrance area of North Gate; residual in hor. 21, i.e. LH IIIC Advanced.
8. LXII 43/92.93 Off. XV Nr. 20\textsuperscript{219}; in debris layers above the LH IIIB Middle strata but immediately south of the LH IIIB Middle terrace building; hor. 16 a7–19 a0, i.e. end of LH IIIB Middle – start of LH IIIC Early.
9. LXII 43/46 X\textsuperscript{220}; in debris layers above the LH IIIB Middle strata but in the area of the former LH IIIB Developed Room 191 within Building VI, which, in turn, lies immediately on top of remains of Room 210, i.e. the southern part of the LH IIIB Middle terrace building; hor. 19 c–21 a0, i.e. end of LH IIIC Early – start of LH IIIC Advanced.
10. LXII 43/46 Xb\textsuperscript{221}; (as above).
11. (Cypriot milk bowl) LXII 43/81 XIV\textsuperscript{222}; destruction debris and levelling layer in the area south of the LH IIIB Middle terrace building; hor. 17 a0, i.e. start of LH IIIB Developed.
12. (Canaanite amphora) LXII 43/34 XIV\textsuperscript{223}; destruction debris and levelling layer in corridor Room 211 of the LH IIIB Middle terrace building; hor. 17 a0, i.e. start of LH IIIB Developed.
13. (Canaanite amphora) 1968\textsuperscript{224}; unstratified.

\textsuperscript{210} TN 52: Kilian 1988, 128 fig. 24, 1; Rahmstorf 2008, 92, 241 cat. 1819 pls. 39,1819; 91, 2.
\textsuperscript{211} Kilian 1988, 128 fig. 24, 2; Rahmstorf 2008, 92 cat. 1820 pls. 39, 1820; 91, 2; Maran 2008, 51, 52 fig. 27; Brysbaert – Vettes 2010, 29 f. The find spot originally cited by Kilian was corrected by Rahmstorf and find spots of additional sherds are noted in Brysbaert – Vettes 2010, 41 table 1 cf. TN 22.
\textsuperscript{212} Additional fragments of wall brackets derive from the new excavation in this area: Ti 02 LXIII 34/91 VI + LXII 34/100 IVb + LXII 35/10 IVa + LXII 35/10 IVb + LXII 35/19 IVb (TN 29); LXII 34/79 IVa (TN 30) from Rooms 78a. 78b and one very well-preserved example from LH IIIB Final destruction debris in the passage way: Ti 02 LXIII 35/19 Va; Ti 02 LXIII 35/34 Off. VA Nr. 44/02, cf. Maran 2004, 18 fig. 9.
\textsuperscript{213} TN 643: Kilian 1988, 128 fig. 24, 3; Rahmstorf 2008, 92 cat. 1821 pl. 39, 1821.
\textsuperscript{214} TN 644: Kilian 1988, 128 fig. 24, 4; Rahmstorf 2008, 94 cat. 1828 pl. 41, 1828.
\textsuperscript{215} Kilian 1988, 128 fig. 24, 5; Rahmstorf 2008, 92 cat. 1827 pl. 39, 1827.
\textsuperscript{216} Id est Rahmstorf 2008, 92 cat. 1828 pl. 39, 1828.
\textsuperscript{217} TN 708: Kilian 1988, 128 fig. 24, 6; Rahmstorf 2008, 93 cat. 1829 pl. 40, 1829. Interestingly, wall bracket no. 1829 features a clay paste which is foreign to local fabrics and might indicate that this piece was actually imported from Cyprus.
\textsuperscript{218} TN 775: Kilian 1988, 129 fig. 25, 11.
\textsuperscript{219} Kilian 1988, 128 fig. 24, 8; Rahmstorf 2008, 92 cat. 1822 pl. 40, 1822.
\textsuperscript{220} Kilian 1988, 128 fig. 24, 9; Rahmstorf 2008, 92 cat. 1823 pl. 39, 1823.
\textsuperscript{221} Kilian 1988, 128 fig. 24, 10; Rahmstorf 2008, 93 cat. 1824 pl. 39, 1824.
\textsuperscript{222} Kilian 1988, 128 fig. 25, 11.
\textsuperscript{223} TN 775: Kilian 1988, 129 fig. 25, 12. Find spot written on vessel: LXII 43/43 XIV; according to these coordinates in the destruction debris and levelling layer in Room 215 of the LH IIIB Middle terrace building; hor. 17 a0, i.e. start of LH IIIB Developed.
\textsuperscript{224} Kilian 1988, 129 fig. 25, 13.
14. (Cypriot milk bowl) LXI 41/53 XIVa\textsuperscript{225}: in the so-called open-air Zwinger area west of Building VI; hor. 17 a4, i.e. end of LH IIIB Developed, start of LH IIIB Final. Evidently, there are two areas where wall brackets and sherds of Canaanite amphorae have been discovered more frequently than elsewhere and were also associated with each other: the first one is located in the southwest of the Lower Citadel, where, during LH IIIB Middle, a multi-room terrace building\textsuperscript{226} occupied the two westernmost terraces adjacent to an earlier, not yet Cyclopean fortification wall\textsuperscript{227}. Room 210 in the southeast of this LH IIIB Middle architectural complex featured a furnace with a huge ash accumulation and a crucible in situ. It also held an enormous Aeginetan cooking pot\textsuperscript{228} with a volume of approx. 17 l (perhaps used in connection with the metallurgical workshop activities, e.g. to quench metals during the forging process), and bronze scrap as well as tools scattered about the room and the open area to the south of it, providing ample evidence for a small-scale metallurgical workshop in this area. Room 215 in the southwest corner of the building was separated by a corridor (Room 211) from Room 210. No direct material evidence for pyrotechnological or other craft activities can be derived from this room, although a bronze ingot\textsuperscript{229} was found concealed in the south wall of Room 215\textsuperscript{230}.

The second concentration of wall brackets and a Canaanite amphora, this time even with incised CM signs on the handles, occurs during LH IIIB Final in the aforementioned area at the northern tip of the Lower Citadel. Here, Building XI bordered the passage way to the North Gate on the west side, whereas Building XV lay east of the passage way. Two well-preserved wall brackets\textsuperscript{231} were excavated in Room 78a of Building XI\textsuperscript{232}, as well as a medium-sized decorated Minoan coarse-ware stirrup jar\textsuperscript{233} and, most importantly, an ivory rod with a cuneiform inscription\textsuperscript{234} representing Ugaritic. On the Mycenaean mainland, this object is so far the only known artefact bearing cuneiform signs with a probable utilitarian function\textsuperscript{235}. Apart from the Canaanite amphora and an almost completely preserved wall bracket\textsuperscript{236}, a so-called Levanto-Mycenaean chalice\textsuperscript{237} and parts of a faience rhyton in the shape of an animal-head\textsuperscript{238} were excavated on the LH IIIB Final surface on NAA-evidence for local (i.e. Argive) production of a Levanto-Helladic chalice from Thebes, which runs contrary to the long-held assumption that this vessel type might have been produced on Cyprus. An Argive production place is further confirmed by the NAA results of such a chalice with pictorial decoration found in Tell Kazel, see Jung 2006, 159–161. 165 fig. 7, 19; Badre et al. 2005, 40 no. TK 72. 238 Kostoula – Maran 2012, 195; Maran 2004, 13. Kostoula – Maran 2012, 208 f. propose to identify the fragmentary shape either with a monkey’s head or with a mask of the Near Eastern demon Humbaba and compare it to the terracotta »Humbaba mask« from Kition-Kathari Floor II in Room 12, no. 553, cf. Smith 2009, 147. 148 fig. IV.21. This mask was found in a metal workshop, cf. Smith 2009, 42–51, providing an interesting parallel to the find context in Tiryns, where the example from the

\textsuperscript{225} Kilian 1981, 184 fig. 40, 5.
\textsuperscript{226} Kilian 1988, 124 f. fig. 20 a, b; 126–137; Rahmstorf 2008, 270–273; Vetters 2009, chapter V.3.3.
\textsuperscript{227} Kilian 1988, 133, 134 fig. 28; 139.
\textsuperscript{228} Kilian 1988, 126; Stockhammer 2008, 322.
\textsuperscript{229} Kilian 1988, 140 fig. 37, 4; according to p. 130 n. 53 of bronze containing Laurion copper.
\textsuperscript{230} The act of hiding the ingot in a wall in Tiryns might be a practice structurally comparable to the deposition of bronze smiting god figures in a wall of the maison de l’artisan/maison du forgeron du bronze in the Quartier Sud of Ugarit, cf. Vetters 2009, 247 f. with n. 1669.
\textsuperscript{231} Cf. n. 210–212 above.
\textsuperscript{232} On workshop activities in Building XI, especially in Room 78a, see Brysbaert – Vetters 2010; Kostoula – Maran 2012, 194, 214 f.; Maran 2008, 50–60; Maran 2004, 14.
\textsuperscript{233} Ti 02 LXIII 34/81 VI; Ti 03 LXIII 34/81 VIIb Profilabbau unter M 3/02, cf. Maran 2008, 51, 52 fig. 28. These sherds found in Room 78a join with fragments (LXII 34/99 IVb) excavated by Kilian to the west of the Room 78a. It is thus possible that the object in question was associated with activities in a metal workshop, cf. Vetters 2009, 244 f. with n. 1649.
\textsuperscript{234} Cohen et al. 2011; see now also Dietrich – Loretz 2010; Tropper – Vita 2010; Weppert 2011. Or a cultic function, if one follows the new interpretation of Dietrich – Loretz 2010, who suggest an oracular device on the basis of their reading.
\textsuperscript{235} Cf. n. 212 above.
\textsuperscript{236} Ti 02 LXIII 35/34 Ofl. VIIb Nr. 43/02, cf. Maran 2008, 57 fig. 38. Another sherd of such a vessel was found in LXII 43/39 XVIIIb, i.e. in the area of, but below the LH III B Middle terrace building, cf. Vetters 2009, 218 f. n. 1434. The term »Levanto-Mycenaen« or »Levanto-Helladic« is somehow a misnomer: see Vetters 2009, 245 n. 1660
passageway came to light just east of the workshop in Room 78a. Furthermore, fragments of another such vessel were actually excavated within Room 78a, see Kostoula – Maran 2012, 199 ff.; Brysbaert – Vetters 2010, 30. 41 table 1 (TN 207–211).

239 Ti 01 LXIII 35/18 Of1. IVE Nr. 100/01, cf. Maran 2008, 59 fig. 41; Maran 2009, 246 fig. 2. A Mycenaean jar with Cypro-Minoan incised marks on the handle mentioned by Stockhammer 2008, 324 (Ti 03 LXIII 34/44 VIIa Nr. 18/03) derives, however, from the levelling layer below Room 1/02 of Building XI in the very northern tip of the Lower Citadel and thus must be dated to hor. 17 a0–17 a4, i.e. prior to the LH IIIB Final occupation in this area.

240 Maran 2009, 246 f.; Stockhammer 2008, 324; Brysbaert – Vetters 2010, 35. Maran 2009, 246 n. 29 suggests that the marked decrease in the export of Mycenaean pottery after LH IIIB1 was probably due to shifts in the cultural significance of these vessels in the East rather than an actual decrease in mutual contacts.


242 Sherratt 2003a, 38.

243 In 1976 the excavations of the Lower Town Northwest have brought to light two fragmentary wall brackets, the first one in LH IIIC Early layers in an open area (LIV 30/61 VIIa + LIV 30/42 VIIa, cf. n. 206 above), the second one within the LH IIIC Developed Room 303 (LIV 30/66 II, cf. Rahmstorf 2008, 92. 94 cat. 1817 pl. 39, 1817).

These two examples provide evidence for the continued use of wall brackets in LH IIIC. However, the following discussion will focus on evidence from the Lower Town Northeast, because the data from Tiryns Northeast allow for a more detailed contextual analysis.

244 TN 240: LXII 35/59 VB a13.15.
are further indications of close ties between Cyprus and Tiryns in the post-palatial period. In 1999 and 2000 excavations in the Lower Town Northeast have brought to light five successive phases of post-palatial settlement layers spanning from LH IIIC Early to LH IIIC Late. Eastern Mediterranean imports or imitations are mainly documented in phase 2 and phase 4 of Tiryns Northeast\(^\text{245}\). Room 8/00 represents the main, although partially excavated structure of phase 2\(^\text{246}\) located to the west of an open area which is bordered on the south by another building, Rooms 1–2/00. The best preserved south wall of Room 8/00 was built of rather large blocks perhaps emulating traits of palatial architecture on a much smaller scale\(^\text{247}\). Room 8/00 was internally subdivided by two parallel rows of posts and featured a hearth in its southern central part. Maran reports that a well-preserved wall bracket was excavated next to the hearth with an adjacent clay platform and thus was closely associated with a stone pavement that probably functioned as a pillar base\(^\text{248}\). He suggests that the wall bracket was formerly attached to the pillar. Philipp Stockhammer in his analysis of the pottery added further details\(^\text{249}\): two fragments of the backrest of the wall bracket\(^\text{250}\) were found in phase 1, i.e. south of Room 8/00 and probably below its floor level, the biggest fragment, however, was found in situ in phase 2, i.e. on the floor of Room R8/00\(^\text{251}\). He suggests that the already damaged wall bracket had been re-used when fastened to the wooden column. From the same phase comes a small fragment of a probably Cypriot or Levantine type terracotta lamp\(^\text{252}\). A better preserved fragment with a pinched spout\(^\text{253}\), constituting a third of the original, was found in a debris layer which probably dates to phase 4\(^\text{254}\). However, both fragments are not well stratified and thus do not constitute a sound basis for further contextualisation\(^\text{255}\). In his detailed ceramic analysis Stockhammer was able to identify three stirrup jars of the Cypriot simple style class\(^\text{256}\). Apart from actual imports he also identified terracotta lamps are not evidenced in Tiryns in palatial contexts. See, however, the lead lamp in a LH IIIB2 lead workshop context of the Lower Citadel which has been compared to Cypriot examples, e.g. from Enkomi, cf. Kilian 1983, 298, 299 fig. 22, 3. On the other hand, he suggests that the Canaanite sherd might represent a residual kick-up of the palatial period. Further evidence is needed to establish whether the fragmentary lamps are locally produced or imports. Regarding the state of preservation a production date in the post-palatial period seems more probable (at least for the example from phase 4).\(^\text{256}\)

---

\(^{245}\) The discussion will focus on Room 8/00 of phase 2 (dated to the later part of LH IIIC Early, i.e. LH IIIC Early 2 according to Stockhammer 2008) and on the open yard area with hearth no. 16/00 of phase 4 (dated to LH IIIC Advanced, i.e. LH IIIC Middle 2 according to Stockhammer 2008).  

\(^{246}\) Maran – Papadimitriou 2006, 105–111, esp. 106 fig. 5.  

\(^{247}\) Maran – Papadimitriou 2006, 105, 110.  

\(^{248}\) Maran 2004, 13; Maran – Papadimitriou 2006, 108 fig. 10; 109 fig. 11.  

\(^{249}\) Stockhammer 2008, 153 f.  

\(^{250}\) LXVIII 30/86.87 X.  

\(^{251}\) According to Stockhammer’s analysis this constitutes the only instance where he could establish joins of the same vessel between sherds found in the room and fragments from the area outside and below Room 8/00. Since the room also contained several almost complete cooking amphorae, he dismisses a post-depositional transport of the wall bracket as the cause for its deposition on the floor of Room 8/00, cf. Stockhammer 161 n. 656.  

\(^{252}\) TN 539: LXVIII 31/24 DX, cf. Stockhammer 2008, 156 f. cat. 1182 (NB Two rim sherds from this find spot – probably of the same lamp – are recorded under TN 539). According to Stockhammer 2008, 324 f. n. 1152 the fragmentary lamp derives from a context of phase 1 or 2; he cautiously assigns it to phase 2 (the lamp was found within Room 2/00 which does not feature a clear floor level in phase 2). Apart from the rim fragment cat. 1182 Stockhammer also identified a wall fragment of a Canaanite amphora in the sherd material of phase 1 or 2, cf. Stockhammer 2008, 156.  

\(^{253}\) TN 538: Ti 00 LXVIII 30/40 VIII; Maran 2004, 25 fig. 15; Maran – Papadimitriou 2006, 120 fig. 30; Rahmstorf 2008, 122 n. 640; Stockhammer 2008, 157 n. 649.  

\(^{254}\) I wish to thank Joseph Maran for further details regarding its find context (email 28.09.2009): «Das Stück fand sich beim Freilegen der W-Mauer von Raum 7/00 der Phase 3. Das Sediment muss nach Abriss dieser Mauer abgelagert worden und damit jünger als Phase 3 sein». Stockhammer 2008, 157 n. 649 dates it to «[…] Phase 4 oder jünger […] Eine Datierung älter als Phase 4 ist jedoch unwahrscheinlich».  

\(^{255}\) Stockhammer 2008, 157 regards the lamp as a post-palatial import, since it is needed to establish whether the fragmentary lamps are locally produced or imports. Regarding the state of preservation a production date in the post-palatial period seems more probable (at least for the example from phase 4).
at least one hybrid shape which attests to close stylistic and typological interaction between Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery production. Furthermore, he noted that specific vessel shapes (in this case a mug found in the Lower Town Northeast) are evidence of shared drinking habits of 12th cent. B.C.E. elites in the Eastern Mediterranean. An even more compelling parallel in shared practices between Greece and Cyprus might be the use of a vessel set (a small clay cylinder and a miniature amphoriskos) identified as instruments for smoking opium.

Stockhammer summarizes the traits which point to intimate ties between individuals residing in Tiryns Northeast and Cypriots. The assemblage of phase 2 in and around Room 8/00 provides material evidence for practices not attested to elsewhere in Mycenaean contexts: firstly, the wall bracket next to the hearth, secondly, the potential use of the clay cylinder and the miniature amphoriskos in ceremonies involving the smoking of opium, and thirdly, the more mundane use of a Cypriot type lamp, of an elaborately decorated mug, of Cypriot simple style stirrup jars and of a hybrid amphora.

Turning to metal artefacts there is more compelling evidence for close contacts between Tiryns and Cyprus in the post-palatial period: phase 4 of Tiryns Northeast featured a courtyard cut off from an open area to the west by transverse walls and bordered by a partially excavated structure (Room 4/00) to the north and Rooms 1–2/00 to the south. A hearth (no. 16/00) consisting of Room 8/00 and the surrounding area, see Stockhammer 2008, 190. Most of this class was probably produced on Cyprus, but some evidence from clay analyses points to Levantine, although less prolific production of such vessels as well (I thank Reinhard Jung for drawing my attention to this.).

257 According to Stockhammer 2008, 166 the amphora cat. 1186 pl. 47, 1186 (in situ find phase 2) which is decorated with wavy lines is a hybrid between Cypriot amphorae and Argive cooking wares. The amphora has a volume of more than 7 l and thus constitutes an elaborate and representative vessel (Stockhammer „Repräsentationsgefäße“).

258 Stockhammer 2008, 168 (cat. 1193). The shape of the mug, cat. 1193, can best be paralleled with LH IIIA2/B1 examples but its decoration is typically LH IIC Early. The mug came to light in the yard at the transverse wall between Room 8/00 and Rooms 1–2/00.

259 He compares the example from Tiryns with pictorially painted mugs from approximately contemporaneous contexts in Miletus and Maa-Palaekastro, Stockhammer 2008, 169, 307.

260 Stockhammer 2008, 324. The mug has a volume of ca. 3 l, i.e. its content can cater to the needs of more than one person, Stockhammer 2008, 306. According to Stockhammer 2008, 307 the shape of the mug increases in importance during the post-palatial period and the mug is the vessel that offers the highest possible volume in the whole drinking set. He also refers to the Tiryns treasure, where the only represented drinking vessels are two big bronze mugs or a mug and a cup, see Stockhammer 2008, 307 n. 1089. For the bronze mug from the Tiryns treasure see Karo 1930, 130, 131 fig. 3, insert 34, 1; Matthäus 1985, 252, 256 pl. 42, 360; 43, 364 and n. 278 below.

261 Stockhammer 2008, cat. 1203 pl. 52, 1203.

262 Stockhammer 2008, cat. 1201B pl. 59, 1200B (sic!).

263 The clay cylinder is characterized as an in situ find of phase 2 and was kept in a small rectangular building south of Room R8/00, see Stockhammer 2008, 164. Stockhammer 2008, 172 compares the clay cylinder to larger clay cylinders known from Gazi on Crete, from Temple 5 in Kiton, cf. notes 51, 52 above, and from Ugarit. The miniature amphoriskos is interpreted as the vessel which was used as an inset in the clay cylinder while smoking opium, since the amphoriskos bears heavy traces of secondary burning below its maximum diameter and because it fits well into the opening of the clay cylinder, Stockhammer 2008, 173.

264 Stockhammer 2008, 324 notes that the find spot of the wall bracket next to the hearth has wider implications with regard to the function of wall brackets: since the hearth represented the principal source of light and heat in Room 8/00, the wall bracket was probably not used as a lamp.

265 According to Stockhammer 2008, 325 the material remains point to the presence of Cypriot women rather than men, because in his view there are obvious material markers which link into Mycenaean traditions of the palatial past and that he associates with local men rooted in this cultural tradition, whereas other pottery connected to domestic chores is perceived as gender-specific and, in the case of Tiryns Northeast, would point to foreign women. Following his interpretation that the women would have come to Tiryns by marriage, one must note, however, that the numerous cooking amphorae of phase 2 are Mycenaean in type. Complicating matters, Jung has recently argued (Jung 2011) that Mycenaean-type cooking wares were dominant in the domestic pottery of Cypriot LC IIIA contexts thus obliterating any chance to distinguish between Mycenaean and Cypriot women even on Cyprus via such a material marker as a specific type of cooking dishes.

266 Maran – Papadimitriou 2006, 115–118; for a plan of the area see Maran 2004, 19 fig. 10; Maran – Papadimitriou 2006, 115 fig. 20. Phase 4 is dated to LH IIIC Middle 2 according to Stockhammer 2008, figs. 3, 4, i.e. LH IIIC Advanced in Tiryns terminology.
of a sherd pavement and covered by a slightly convex clay layer\textsuperscript{267} lay in the northwest part of the courtyard immediately south of a storage clay bin which was sunk into the floor of the courtyard. A bronze cuirass scale of Near Eastern type\textsuperscript{268} was excavated immediately beneath the sherd pavement\textsuperscript{269}. The ritual deposition of single scales has already been remarked upon in the case of Hala Sultan Tekke\textsuperscript{270} but further instances of such single scales are known from Cyprus\textsuperscript{271}. One such scale was part of the »Founder’s Hoard« in Pyla-Kokkinokremos which dates to the end of LC II C\textsuperscript{272}. Another two scales are reported from Quartier 4W in Enkomi and were concealed between two stones of the northern wall of Room 5. None of the scales on Cyprus were found beneath a hearth but a ritual deposition of artefacts beneath hearths seems to be a custom evidenced on Cyprus\textsuperscript{273}. The context in Hala Sultan Tekke points to metallurgical activities and the Founder’s Hoard has been interpreted as a cache of scrap metal and other artefacts for recycling. Although indirect, the deposition of scales thus seems to be connected to craft activities, especially metallurgy. In this respect the presence of two pieces of slag from the courtyard of phase 4 is of special interest\textsuperscript{274}. A small bronze figurine\textsuperscript{275} in the form of a bird finial (rather than a pendant) was also found in the courtyard but not clearly sealed by a super-imposed floor. Stylistic parallels for this tiny object point to Cyprus: an object in the shape of a sceptre\textsuperscript{276} within the tresor des bronzes from Enkomi features similar birds. Bird pendants are also present on a tripod of Cypriot type\textsuperscript{277} and a small bird is attached to the bronze mug\textsuperscript{278} in the Tiryns treasure. Apart from the oxhide ingots, the Tiryns treasure contained a rectangular ingot of bronze containing Cypriot copper\textsuperscript{279} and an iron knife or sickle\textsuperscript{280} probably also of Cypriot origin. Maran has already demonstrated that the Tiryns treasure is composed of a significant number of objects which point to relations with Cyprus in the post-palatial period\textsuperscript{281}. To sum up, the terracotta small finds, ceramics and metal work and the contextual analysis of find spots provide ample evidence for continued contacts between Cyprus and Tiryns in the 12th cent. B.C.E.

**Conclusion**

The artefacts discussed above are well attested in Cypriot and/or Levantine contexts, yet are rare or even singular on the Late Bronze Age mainland. The contextual association of these objects in Tiryns suggests that they reflect

\textsuperscript{267} Cf. Maran 2004, 20 fig. 12 (super-imposed clay layer). 13 (sherd pavement of the hearth).

\textsuperscript{268} LXIX 30/43 VII a5.95 57/42 unter Nr. 16A/00; Maran 2004, 21 fig. 14; Maran – Papadimitriou 2006, 118 fig. 26.

\textsuperscript{269} Maran 2004, 18.

\textsuperscript{270} See n. 115, 117 above.

\textsuperscript{271} Maran 2004, 20 f.

\textsuperscript{272} The Pyla-Kokkinokremos hoard also contained fragmentary oxhide ingots as scrap metal which might be comparable to the oxhide ingots in the so-called Tiryns treasure; see also Vettes 2009, 247 n. 1668 on certain typological parallels of the ithyphallic figurine in this hoard with the male ithyphallic wheel-made terracotta figure from the Epichosis in Tiryns.

\textsuperscript{273} See the interpretation of a fragmentary CM tablet found on top of a hearth in Enkomi, n. 53–55 above.

\textsuperscript{274} LXIX 30/73 VIII a5.76: metalliferous slag in clay matrix (TN 939); LXIX 30/64 VI: slag (TN 941). The pieces have not yet been analysed and at least the first one was found in a disturbed area.

\textsuperscript{275} LXIX 30/38 VII a5.90.

\textsuperscript{276} Schaeffer 1952, 40 fig. 1, 6, 39 no. 6 (inv. 3774). The tresor des bronzes was excavated 1947 within a building in the north of the city; the deposit was dated to LC IIIB. The object was interpreted as a ritual paraphernalium and the tresor des bronzes perhaps constituted a foundation deposit; for the bird finial or pendants cf. Matthäus 1985, 47 pl. 127 B 5.

\textsuperscript{277} National Archaeological Mus. Athens inv. 6225; Karo 1930, insert 33; Matthäus 1985, 305 f. pl. 135, 1; Maran 2006, 130 n. 12. On the Cypriot origin of the tripod see Matthäus 1985, 328; Maran 2006, 134; Papasavvas 2001, 230 f.

\textsuperscript{278} National Archaeological Mus. Athens inv. 6224, cf. Karo 1930, insert 34, 1.

\textsuperscript{279} See n. 182 above.

\textsuperscript{280} Karo 1930, 135 f. fig. 6. For an elemental analysis of the iron see Varoufakis 1982, 316 table 1 no. 11; 317 pl. 31, 3.

\textsuperscript{281} Cf. Maran 2006, especially 137 n. 19 on ivory which might still have been traded via Cyprus in the 12th cent. B.C.E.
more than just instances of trade between Cyprus or the Levantine coast and Mycenaean Greece. Moreover, contextual analysis allows for a reconstruction of practices in which these objects were engaged. Several coincidences (the association of the ivory rod bearing cuneiform signs with head-shaped faience vessels best known from Near Eastern elite contexts, the occurrence of the inscribed clay ball probably in a metal workshop, the ritual deposition of a single bronze cuirass scale underneath a hearth) point to parallel practices on Cyprus and in Tiryns. These practices are so specific that they cannot be explained by some generalized pattern of behaviour or conduct. Therefore, two scenarios seem likely: either a small number of individuals native to Cyprus were resident in Tiryns, or persons, who had been exposed to living the ‘Cypriot way’ for a prolonged period of time and maintained such a habitus, i.e. Cypriot practices, in certain realms of their daily life, left the material traces observed in the contexts discussed above. A network of interpersonal ties between Tiryns and Cyprus certainly existed in the late palatial and in parts of the post-palatial period, but the question remains as to whether one can pinpoint specific places of contact even further. It may be stretching the available evidence, if one surmises direct contacts between Tiryns and Enkomi in the post-palatial period on the basis of available evidence. However, the closest stylistic or typological parallels for the Cypriot objects found in Tiryns point to Enkomi and there are certain similarities in practices observed on both sites. These similarities are: the deposition of two bronze cuirass scales in a wall of a building and the potentially deliberate deposition of a fragmentary clay tablet on top of a LC IIIA hearth in Enkomi versus the deposition of an ingot in a LH IIIB Middle wall and of a cuirass scale in a LH IIC Advanced hearth in Tiryns and the occurrence of wall brackets and inscribed clay balls in contexts with metallurgical activities on both sites. Moreover, the exact sign sequence of the Tiryns ball is present on the clay cylinder from Enkomi and most CM incised signs on vases in Tiryns find a parallel in Enkomi. Even if these parallels are accepted as evidence for direct contact, the question remains as to whether the clay ball found in Tiryns, although clearly stratified in a post-palatial layer, was originally employed in a post-palatial context or constitutes an older kick-up of the palatial period in the same area. Here, it has to be emphasized once again that on Cyprus the majority of stratified clay balls occurs in LC IIIA contexts rather than in LC IIC indirectly supporting an association of the clay ball with post-palatial activities. Yet any assessment of relations between Cyprus and Tiryns has to take into account the late palatial evidence from the Lower Citadel, before turning to the Cypriot side of the equation. The ivory rod with cuneiform signs found in Room 78a apparently points to Ugarit rather than Cyprus. 13th cent. B.C.E. Ugarit was probably the most important port of call in the Eastern Mediterranean. Meanwhile, palaeographic and other textual evidence puts interaction between Enkomi and Ugarit on very intimate terms. Figuring out a pre-eminent site on Cyprus is complicated. During LC I Enkomi was apparently not the capital of research regarding harbour sites in the northern Levant is still sketchy thus perhaps leading to an overestimation of the importance of Ugarit. 284 For textual references of Cypriots resident in Ugarit or people from Ugarit living on Cyprus see Knapp 2008, 319 f. 323.

282 The latter might be partially a relic of the state of research in the late 1970s when sites such as Kition, Maa-Palaekastro, Pyla-KokkinoKremos and foremost Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios had not yet been published, see, for instance, the attestation of CM sign 41 (i.e. the sign twice occurring on the clay ball TN 241 from Tiryns) as an incised mark on a vessel from Pyla-KokkinoKremos, cf. Hirschfeld 1993, 314 fig. 1 (second row from above in right column). 283 Yon 1999; Yon 2003. One has to keep in mind, however, that Ugarit is the most extensively excavated site on the Syrian littoral. The current state of research regarding harbour sites in the northern Levant is still sketchy thus perhaps leading to an overestimation of the importance of Ugarit.
but probably the main emporion. Since Enkomi acted as the main port for the foreign trade of copper and was the only centre of glyptic production during the whole LC period, it seemed to have had a special status in the site-hierarchy on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. However, recent archaeometric data on the Alashiya tablets found in Tell el-Amarna and Ugarit complicate the matter. According to petrographic and neutron activation analyses the clays of these tablets originate in the area of Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios and Alassa Paliotaverna and are incompatible with clay sources around Enkomi. Since the Near Eastern cuneiform documents imply that Cyprus was under the reign of one person in LC IIC, this further fuels the discussion about Cyprus’ capital in LC IIC. Bernhard Knapp recently considered all evidence pertaining to the political geography of LC IIC Cyprus and concluded that Enkomi was a preeminent site nevertheless. He suggests that the attested monarchy on Cyprus was perhaps temporally residing in different sites, i.e. he conceptualizes it as a travelling monarchy, thus trying to bridge the inconsistencies in data and interpretation. If Enkomi is accepted as the Cypriot capital in LC IIC and an important (perhaps the most important) site in LC IIIA, this could shed further light on Tirynthian-Cypriot interaction in the post-palatial period. Judging by the material evidence from final palatial Tiryns and written documents from Ugarit it might be hyperbolic to suggest a ménage à trois between Ugarit, Enkomi and Tiryns. However, changing networks of relations between Tiryns and the East Mediterranean seem to emerge from the material remains. After the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial society and the fall of Ugarit, Enkomi apparently seems to have taken over the role of Ugarit as the node of contact for Levantine-Aegean interaction in the East Mediterranean acting as a mediator of new technologies and practices and maintaining especially close ties with Tiryns during the 12th cent. B.C.E. How does this tie into a general picture of Mycenaean-Cypriot contacts in the post-palatial period? Recent research on CM script/s tends to favour a scenario where script, Cypriot elites and metallurgy are closely intertwined, where the script was an active means to promote elite status, and where copper extraction, metallurgy (especially new technological developments such as iron) and copper export are increasingly brought under ritual and elite control. On the Mycenaean mainland, on the other hand, in a period where hierarchical institutions and social order had just collapsed and societies had to re-organize themselves, i.e. at a time where social hierarchies had to be re-negotiated and re-defined for almost every member of the society, establishing close interpersonal contacts with foreign elites would have been an effective means to increase personal and familial status. By adopting certain foreign ritual practices, gaining access to new high-tech products and linking oneself to metallurgical activities, either by actively pursuing this craft or by supplying materials, such individuals would gain even further prestige in their own society. Establishing such personal, yet global contacts is successful networking in the very modern sense of the word.

286 Goren et al. 2003, see also Knapp 2008, 301–303.
288 For instance, the bronze figure of a ‘smiting god’ from Tiryns is similar to Ugaritic examples and a contemporary ‘smiting god-figure in Enkomi, see n. 207, 208 above; cf. Vetters 2009, 277 f. for this and other evidence that tentatively suggests the introduction of Cypriot and/or Levantine typological forms for religious paraphernalia in elite contexts of the late palatial period.
289 See also Stockhammer 2008, 325.
Table 1 Dimensions and number of signs on 86 clay balls with Cypro-Minoan inscriptions from Cyprus and one clay ball from Tiryns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary publication</th>
<th>Clay ball no. in primary publication</th>
<th>Site/Excavation</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Number of signs and signs in sequence</th>
<th>Height of signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 11 f. fig. 1 pl. 1, 1</td>
<td>boule 1292</td>
<td>Enkomi 1896, BM inv. 97.4-1.765</td>
<td>2.8–3.0 cm</td>
<td>8 signs (3+5+)</td>
<td>12–20 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 12 fig. 2 pl. 1, 2</td>
<td>boule 2293</td>
<td>Enkomi 1896, BM inv. 97.4-1.766</td>
<td>2.0–2.5 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (1+3)</td>
<td>10–15 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 12 fig. 3 pl. 1, 3</td>
<td>boule 3294</td>
<td>Enkomi 1896, BM inv. 97.4-1.767</td>
<td>1.0–1.5 cm</td>
<td>2 signs (1+1)</td>
<td>8–9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 12 f. fig. 4 pl. 1, 4</td>
<td>boule 4295</td>
<td>Enkomi 1896, BM inv. 97.4-1.768</td>
<td>1.5–2.0 cm</td>
<td>7 signs (prob. 4+3, but no divider)</td>
<td>4–6 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 13 fig. 5 pl. 1, 5</td>
<td>boule 5296</td>
<td>Hala Sultan Tekke 1897, BM inv. 98.12-1.204</td>
<td>1.8 cm</td>
<td>6 signs (prob. 4+2, but no divider)</td>
<td>5–8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 13 f. fig. 6</td>
<td>boule 6297</td>
<td>Enkomi 1949, inv. 4.034</td>
<td>ca. 1.8–2.0 cm</td>
<td>3 signs</td>
<td>3–8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 13 f. fig. 7 pl. 1, 6</td>
<td>boule 7298</td>
<td>Enkomi 1949, inv. 4.115</td>
<td>ca. 2.1 cm</td>
<td>8 signs (3+5)</td>
<td>4–7 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 14 fig. 8</td>
<td>boule 8299</td>
<td>Enkomi 1949, inv. 4.072</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>5 signs</td>
<td>8–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 14 fig. 9</td>
<td>boule 9300</td>
<td>Enkomi 1949, inv. 4.091</td>
<td>2.0–2.2 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>6–9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 14 f. fig. 10 pl. 1, 7</td>
<td>boule 10301</td>
<td>Enkomi 1950, inv. 5.523</td>
<td>1.8–1.9 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>5–7 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 15 fig. 11 pl. 1, 8</td>
<td>boule 11302</td>
<td>Enkomi 1949, inv. 702</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (3+2)</td>
<td>5–8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 15 f. fig. 12 pl. 1, 9</td>
<td>boule 12303</td>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 950</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>3 signs</td>
<td>5–7 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 15 f. fig. 13</td>
<td>boule 13304</td>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 1139</td>
<td>2.1 cm</td>
<td>at least 5 signs (1...+4)</td>
<td>6–9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 16 fig. 14 pl. 2, 1</td>
<td>boule 14305</td>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 1232</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>7–9 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

290 Additional publications are cited in the footnotes, if they contain either an additional photograph or transcription of the respective clay ball.

291 + = word divider/dividing mark; ... = damaged area.

292 Cf. O. Masson 1952, 398 (boule a); Olivier 2007, 40. 74 no. 21 (ENKO Abou 018).

293 Cf. O. Masson 1952, 400 (boule d); Olivier 2007, 40. 74 no. 22 (ENKO Abou 019).

294 Cf. O. Masson 1952, 398 f. (boule b); Olivier 2007, 40. 75 no. 23 (ENKO Abou 020).

295 Cf. O. Masson 1952, 400 f. (boule e); Olivier 2007, 40. 75 no. 24 (ENKO Abou 021).

296 Cf. O. Masson 1952, 399 f. (boule c); O. Masson 1957, 32 fig. 25; E. Masson 1976, 130 no. 1; 134 fig. 1 pl. 18c; d; Yon 2004, 364 cat. 609; Olivier 2007, 44. 108 no. 88 (HALA Abou 001).

297 Cf. O. Masson 1952, 401 f. fig. 124 (boule f); Olivier 2007, 41. 77 no. 28 (ENKO Abou 025).

298 Cf. O. Masson 1952, 402 f. figs. 126, 129 (boule g); Olivier 2007, 40. 76 no. 25 (ENKO Abou 022).

299 Cf. O. Masson 1952, 403 f. figs. 130, 131 (boule h); Olivier 2007, 40. 76 no. 26 (ENKO Abou 023).

300 Cf. O. Masson 1952, 404 f. fig. 133 (boule i); Olivier 2007, 41. 78 no. 29 (ENKO Abou 026).

301 Cf. O. Masson 1952, 404 fig. 135; 405 f. fig. 133 (boule k); Olivier 2007, 40. 77 no. 27 (ENKO Abou 024).

302 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pl. 147, 10; Dikaios 1971a, 891; Dikaios 1971b, 763 pl. 319, 116; Olivier 2007, 40. 73 no. 20 (ENKO Abou 017).

303 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pl. 132, 55; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 676 pl. 316, 81; Olivier 2007, 40. 69 no. 11 (ENKO Abou 010).

304 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pl. 132, 58; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 678 pl. 316, 82; Olivier 2007, 40. 69 no. 12 (ENKO Abou 011).

305 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pl. 191; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 640 pl. 316, 47; Olivier 2007, 39. 62 no. 2 (ENKO Abou 001).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary publication</th>
<th>Clay ball no. in primary publication</th>
<th>Site/Excavation</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Number of signs and signs in sequence</th>
<th>Height of signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 16 fig. 15 pl. 2, 2</td>
<td>boule 15306</td>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 1281</td>
<td>2.2 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (3+2+)</td>
<td>8–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 16 fig. 16 pl. 2, 3</td>
<td>boule 16307</td>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 1282</td>
<td>1.9 cm</td>
<td>3 signs (2+1)</td>
<td>7 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 16 fig. 17</td>
<td>boule 17308</td>
<td>Enkomi 1952, inv. 1283</td>
<td>2.2 cm</td>
<td>at least 5 signs (damaged)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 16 fig. 18 pl. 2, 4</td>
<td>boule 18309</td>
<td>Enkomi 1952, inv. 1288</td>
<td>2.2 cm</td>
<td>3 signs (3+)</td>
<td>6–8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 17 fig. 19</td>
<td>boule 19310</td>
<td>Enkomi 1952, inv. 1301</td>
<td>2.1 cm</td>
<td>7 (?) signs</td>
<td>5 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 17 fig. 20 pl. 2, 5</td>
<td>boule 20311</td>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1604</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>5–9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 17 fig. 21 pl. 2, 6</td>
<td>boule 21312</td>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1611</td>
<td>1.9 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>7 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 17 fig. 22 pl. 2, 7</td>
<td>boule 22313</td>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1613</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>3 signs</td>
<td>9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 17 fig. 23 pl. 2, 8</td>
<td>boule 23314</td>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1614</td>
<td>2.1–2.3 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>8–11 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 17 fig. 24 pl. 2, 9</td>
<td>boule 24315</td>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1615</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs</td>
<td>6–8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 17 f. fig. 25</td>
<td>boule 25316</td>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1609</td>
<td>2.2 cm</td>
<td>3 signs</td>
<td>5–13 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971a, 18 fig. 26</td>
<td>boule 26317</td>
<td>Enkomi 1968, inv. 1968/ XII-12/1</td>
<td>1.9 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 481 fig. 1</td>
<td>no. 1318</td>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 53.6</td>
<td>ca. 2.0 cm</td>
<td>7 signs (3+4)</td>
<td>6–8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 481 fig. 2</td>
<td>no. 2319</td>
<td>Enkomi 1955, inv. 54</td>
<td>2.3 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>10–11 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 482 fig. 3</td>
<td>no. 3320</td>
<td>Enkomi 1955, inv. 63</td>
<td>1.9 cm</td>
<td>3 signs</td>
<td>6–8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 482 fig. 4</td>
<td>no. 4321</td>
<td>Enkomi 1955, inv. 74</td>
<td>2.2 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>10 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

306 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pls. 132, 59; 164, 42; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 682 pl. 316, 84; Olivier 2007, 40. 70 no. 13 (ENKO Abou 012).
307 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pls. 164, 42; 191; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 682 pl. 319, 85; Olivier 2007, 40. 70 no. 14 (ENKO Abou 013).
308 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pl. 132, 57; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 682 pl. 319, 86; Olivier 2007, 40. 71 no. 15 (ENKO Abou 014).
309 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pl. 128, 60; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 640 pl. 316, 48; Olivier 2007, 39. 65 no. 3 (ENKO Abou 002).
310 Cf. Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 682 pl. 319, 87; Olivier 2007, 40. 71 no. 16 (ENKO Abou 015).
311 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pls. 132, 63; 191; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 688 pl. 319, 89; Olivier 2007, 40. 72 no. 18 (ENKO Abou 016).
312 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pls. 128, 61; 191; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 643 pl. 316, 50; Olivier 2007, 39. 65 no. 4 (ENKO Abou 003).
313 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pl. 191; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 643 pl. 316, 51; Olivier 2007, 39. 66 no. 5 (ENKO Abou 004).
314 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pls. 128, 58; 191; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 644 pl. 316, 52; Olivier 2007, 39. 66 no. 6 (ENKO Abou 005).
315 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pls. 129, 59; 191; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 644 pl. 316, 53; Olivier 2007, 39. 67 no. 7 (ENKO Abou 006).
316 Cf. Dikaios 1969b, pl. 191; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 643 pl. 316, 49; Olivier 2007, 39. 67 no. 8 (ENKO Abou 007).
317 Olivier 2007, 44. 104 no. 81 (ENKO Abou 077).
318 Olivier 2007, 41. 78 no. 30 (ENKO Abou 027).
319 Olivier 2007, 41. 79 no. 32 (ENKO Abou 029).
320 Olivier 2007, 41 (wrong museum inventory number; correct one would be Louvre AM 2234), 80 no. 33 (ENKO Abou 030).
321 Olivier 2007, 41. 80 no. 34 (ENKO Abou 031).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary publication</th>
<th>Clay ball no. in primary publication</th>
<th>Site/Excavation</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Number of signs and signs in sequence</th>
<th>Height of signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 482 fig. 5</td>
<td>no. 5&lt;sup&gt;322&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1955, inv. 96</td>
<td>2.1 cm</td>
<td>at least 3 signs (3+...)</td>
<td>ca. 5 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 483</td>
<td>no. 6&lt;sup&gt;323&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1957, inv. 31</td>
<td>ca. 2.0 cm</td>
<td>6 (?) signs (2+4?)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 483</td>
<td>no. 7&lt;sup&gt;324&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1957, inv. 73</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>2+ signs</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 483</td>
<td>no. 8&lt;sup&gt;325&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1959, inv. 5</td>
<td>1.6 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (3+2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 483</td>
<td>no. 9&lt;sup&gt;326&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1959, inv. 6</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>3 signs (2+1)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 483 f. fig. 6</td>
<td>no. 10&lt;sup&gt;327&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1960, inv. 19</td>
<td>2.5 cm</td>
<td>4 signs</td>
<td>8–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 484 fig. 7</td>
<td>no. 11&lt;sup&gt;328&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1960, inv. 20</td>
<td>2.5 cm</td>
<td>3 signs</td>
<td>5–8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 484 fig. 8</td>
<td>no. 12&lt;sup&gt;329&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1960, inv. 267</td>
<td>2.7 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>6–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 484 f. fig. 9</td>
<td>no. 13&lt;sup&gt;330&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 24</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs</td>
<td>8–9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 485 fig. 10</td>
<td>no. 14&lt;sup&gt;331&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 25</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>7–9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 485 f. fig. 11</td>
<td>no. 15&lt;sup&gt;332&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 26</td>
<td>1.9 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>6–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 486 fig. 12</td>
<td>no. 16&lt;sup&gt;333&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 27</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>8–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 486 fig. 13</td>
<td>no. 17&lt;sup&gt;334&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 28</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>6 signs (5+1)</td>
<td>ca. 7 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 487 fig. 14</td>
<td>no. 18&lt;sup&gt;335&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 29</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>5 signs</td>
<td>7–9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 487 fig. 15</td>
<td>no. 19&lt;sup&gt;336&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 30</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>9–11 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 487 fig. 16</td>
<td>no. 20&lt;sup&gt;337&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 31</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>7 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 488 fig. 17</td>
<td>no. 21&lt;sup&gt;338&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 32</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>6–12 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 488 fig. 18</td>
<td>no. 22&lt;sup&gt;339&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 33</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>8–11 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 488 f. fig. 19</td>
<td>no. 23&lt;sup&gt;340&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 34</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>8–10 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>322</sup> Olivier 2007, 41. 79 no. 31 (ENKO Abou 028).
<sup>323</sup> Olivier 2007, 41. 81 no. 35 (ENKO Abou 032).
<sup>324</sup> Olivier 2007, 41. 81 no. 36 (ENKO Abou 033).
<sup>325</sup> Olivier 2007, 41. 82 no. 37 (ENKO Abou 034).
<sup>326</sup> Olivier 2007, 41. 82 no. 38 (ENKO Abou 035).
<sup>327</sup> Olivier 2007, 41. 83 no. 39 (ENKO Abou 036).
<sup>328</sup> Olivier 2007, 41. 83 no. 40 (ENKO Abou 037).
<sup>329</sup> Olivier 2007, 41. 84 no. 41 (ENKO Abou 038).
<sup>330</sup> Olivier 2007, 41. 84 no. 42 (ENKO Abou 039).
<sup>331</sup> Olivier 2007, 41. 86 no. 43 (ENKO Abou 040).
<sup>332</sup> Olivier 2007, 41. 86 no. 44 (ENKO Abou 041).
<sup>333</sup> Badisches Landesmuseum 2008, 316 no. 189 a fig. 189 a; Olivier 2007, 42. 85 no. 45 (ENKO Abou 042).
<sup>334</sup> Badisches Landesmuseum 2008, 316 no. 189 b fig. 189 b; Olivier 2007, 42. 85 no. 46 (ENKO Abou 043).
<sup>335</sup> Olivier 2007, 42. 90 no. 54 (ENKO Abou 051).
<sup>336</sup> Olivier 2007, 42. 91 no. 55 (ENKO Abou 052).
<sup>337</sup> Olivier 2007, 42. 91 no. 56 (ENKO Abou 053).
<sup>338</sup> Olivier 2007, 42. 87 no. 47 (ENKO Abou 044).
<sup>339</sup> Olivier 2007, 42. 87 no. 48 (ENKO Abou 045).
<sup>340</sup> Olivier 2007, 42. 88 no. 49 (ENKO Abou 046).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary publication</th>
<th>Clay ball no. in primary publication</th>
<th>Site/Excavation</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Number of signs and signs in sequence</th>
<th>Height of signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 489 fig. 20</td>
<td>no. 24³⁴¹</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 35</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs</td>
<td>7–12 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 489 fig. 21</td>
<td>no. 25³⁴²</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 36</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>7–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 489 f. fig. 22</td>
<td>no. 26³⁴³</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 37</td>
<td>2.0 cm (truncated ball)</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>7–9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 490 fig. 23</td>
<td>no. 27³⁴⁴</td>
<td>Enkomi 1961, inv. 38</td>
<td>1.8 cm</td>
<td>3 signs</td>
<td>9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 490 fig. 24</td>
<td>no. 28³⁴⁵</td>
<td>Enkomi 1962, inv. 4</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>8–9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 490 f. fig. 25</td>
<td>no. 29³⁴⁶</td>
<td>Enkomi 1962, inv. 18</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>5–6 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 491 fig. 26</td>
<td>no. 30³⁴⁷</td>
<td>Enkomi 1962, inv. 19</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>3 signs (2+1)</td>
<td>6 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 491 fig. 27</td>
<td>no. 31³⁴⁸</td>
<td>Enkomi 1962, inv. 20</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>5 signs</td>
<td>4–6 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 491 f. fig. 28</td>
<td>no. 32³⁴⁹</td>
<td>Enkomi 1962, inv. 21</td>
<td>2.2 cm</td>
<td>2 signs (1+1)</td>
<td>9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 492 fig. 29</td>
<td>no. 33³⁵⁰</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.24</td>
<td>3.8–1.6 cm (ovoid)</td>
<td>? (very damaged)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 492 f. fig. 30</td>
<td>no. 34³⁵¹</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.25</td>
<td>1.8 cm</td>
<td>4 signs</td>
<td>8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 493 fig. 31</td>
<td>no. 35³⁵²</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.26</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>6 signs (3+3)</td>
<td>6 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 493 f. fig. 32</td>
<td>no. 36³⁵³</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.27</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>3 signs</td>
<td>8–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 493 f. fig. 33</td>
<td>no. 37³⁵⁴</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.28</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>6 signs (2+4)</td>
<td>6–8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 494 fig. 34</td>
<td>no. 38³⁵⁵</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.29</td>
<td>1.8 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>7–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 494 f. fig. 35</td>
<td>no. 39³⁵⁶</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.30</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>3 signs (1+1–2)</td>
<td>8–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 494 f. fig. 36</td>
<td>no. 40³⁵⁷</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.31</td>
<td>2.1 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>10 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**References:**

³⁴¹ Olivier 2007, 42. 87 no. 50 (ENKO Abou 047).
³⁴² Olivier 2007, 42. 89 no. 51 (ENKO Abou 048).
³⁴³ Olivier 2007, 42. 89 no. 52 (ENKO Abou 049).
³⁴⁴ Olivier 2007, 42. 90 no. 53 (ENKO Abou 050).
³⁴⁵ Olivier 2007, 42. 92 no. 57 (ENKO Abou 054).
³⁴⁶ Badisches Landesmuseum 2008, 316 no. 189 c fig. 189 c; Olivier 2007, 42. 92 no. 58 (ENKO Abou 053).
³⁴⁷ Olivier 2007, 42. 93 no. 59 (ENKO Abou 056).
³⁴⁸ Olivier 2007, 42. 93 no. 60 (ENKO Abou 057).
³⁴⁹ Olivier 2007, 42. 94 no. 61 (ENKO Abou 058).
³⁵⁰ Olivier 2007, 43. 94 no. 62 (ENKO Abou 059).
³⁵¹ Olivier 2007, 43. 95 no. 63 (ENKO Abou 060).
³⁵² Olivier 2007, 43. 95 no. 64 (ENKO Abou 061).
³⁵³ Olivier 2007, 43. 96 no. 65 (ENKO Abou 062).
³⁵⁴ Olivier 2007, 43. 96 no. 66 (ENKO Abou 063).
³⁵⁵ Olivier 2007, 43. 97 no. 67 (ENKO Abou 064).
³⁵⁶ Olivier 2007, 43. 97 no. 68 (ENKO Abou 065).
³⁵⁷ Olivier 2007, 43. 98 no. 69 (ENKO Abou 066).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary publication</th>
<th>Clay ball no. in primary publication</th>
<th>Site/Excavation</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Number of signs and signs in sequence</th>
<th>Height of signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 495 fig. 36</td>
<td>no. 41</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.32</td>
<td>ca. 3.1 cm</td>
<td>8 signs (3+5)</td>
<td>6–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 495 f. fig. 37</td>
<td>no. 42</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.33</td>
<td>2.2 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>8–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 496 fig. 38</td>
<td>no. 43</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.34</td>
<td>2.0 cm (truncated ball)</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>8–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 496</td>
<td>no. 44</td>
<td>Enkomi 1963, inv. 16.55</td>
<td>max. 1.7 cm (irregular)</td>
<td>? (very damaged and cracked)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 496 f. fig. 39</td>
<td>no. 45</td>
<td>Enkomi 1965, inv. 17.13</td>
<td>2.5 cm</td>
<td>5 signs</td>
<td>8–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 497 fig. 40</td>
<td>no. 46</td>
<td>Enkomi 1965, inv. 17.14</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>6–7 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 497 f. fig. 41</td>
<td>no. 47</td>
<td>Enkomi 1965, inv. 17.15</td>
<td>2.2 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>8–10 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 498 fig. 42</td>
<td>no. 48</td>
<td>Enkomi 1967, inv. 19.04</td>
<td>ca. 1.5 cm</td>
<td>2 signs</td>
<td>7 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 498 fig. 43</td>
<td>no. 49</td>
<td>Enkomi 1967, inv. 19.14</td>
<td>1.8 cm</td>
<td>at least 5 signs</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 498 f. fig. 44</td>
<td>no. 50</td>
<td>Enkomi 1967, inv. 19.05</td>
<td>3.0 cm</td>
<td>at least 4 signs (2+2...)</td>
<td>8–12 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 499 fig. 45</td>
<td>no. 51</td>
<td>Enkomi 1969, inv. 20.02</td>
<td>1.5–2.0 cm (ovoid)</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>5–7 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 499 f. fig. 46</td>
<td>no. 52</td>
<td>Enkomi 1969, inv. 20.03</td>
<td>2.3 cm</td>
<td>at least 2 signs</td>
<td>8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 500 fig. 47</td>
<td>no. 53</td>
<td>Enkomi 1969, inv. 20.04</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs</td>
<td>6–8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 500 fig. 48</td>
<td>no. 54</td>
<td>Enkomi 1969, inv. 20.05</td>
<td>2.2 cm</td>
<td>5 signs (4+1)</td>
<td>5–8 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1971b, 500 f. fig. 49</td>
<td>no. 55</td>
<td>Enkomi 1969, inv. 20.253</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>5 signs</td>
<td>5–7 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dikaios 1969b, pl. 132, 62; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 678 pl. 316, 83</td>
<td>no. 83</td>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 1140</td>
<td>1.8 cm</td>
<td>at least 3 signs</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

358 Olivier 2007, 43. 98 no. 70 (ENKO Abou 067).
359 Olivier 2007, 43. 99 no. 71 (ENKO Abou 068).
360 Olivier 2007, 43. 99 no. 72 (ENKO Abou 069). Olivier 2007, 43. 100 documents under no. 73 (ENKO Abou 069ter) a probably plain, but apparently partly pierced clay ball which was found together or at least is now stored with the inscribed clay ball.
361 Olivier 2007, 43. 100 no. 74 (ENKO Abou 070).
362 Olivier 2007, 43. 101 no. 75 (ENKO Abou 071).
363 Olivier 2007, 43. 101 no. 76 (ENKO Abou 072).
364 Olivier 2007, 43. 102 no. 77 (ENKO Abou 073).
365 Olivier 2007, 43. 102 no. 78 (ENKO Abou 074).
366 Olivier 2007, 44. 103 no. 79 (ENKO Abou 075).
367 Olivier 2007, 44. 103 no. 80 (ENKO Abou 076).
368 Olivier 2007, 44. 104 no. 82 (ENKO Abou 078).
369 Olivier 2007, 44. 105 no. 83 (ENKO Abou 079).
370 Olivier 2007, 44. 105 no. 84 (ENKO Abou 080).
371 Olivier 2007, 44. 106 no. 85 (ENKO Abou 081).
372 Olivier 2007, 44. 106 no. 86 (ENKO Abou 082).
373 Olivier 2007, 39. 68 no. 10 (ENKO Abou 009).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary publication</th>
<th>Clay ball no. in primary publication</th>
<th>Site/Excavation</th>
<th>Diameter</th>
<th>Number of signs and signs in sequence</th>
<th>Height of signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dikaios 1969b, pl. 132, 56; Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 682 pl. 319, 88</td>
<td>no. 88</td>
<td>Enkomi 1952, inv. 1302</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>? (very damaged)</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olivier 2007, 44. 107 no. 87</td>
<td>ENKO Abou 83</td>
<td>Enkomi 1953–1955? inv. 3493/3</td>
<td>2.6–2.9 cm</td>
<td>at least 4 signs</td>
<td>ca. 18 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1985, 281 f. no. 4 pl. B4</td>
<td>II/4215</td>
<td>Kition</td>
<td>2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Masson 1985, 282 no. 6 pl. B6</td>
<td>II/4995</td>
<td>Kition</td>
<td>1.7–2.2 cm (bulle ovale)</td>
<td>at least 2 signs</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Öbrink 1979, 46, 88 fig. 264 A–B; 89 fig. 286</td>
<td>N 6035</td>
<td>Hala Sultan Tekke</td>
<td>ca. 2.0 cm</td>
<td>4 signs (3+1)</td>
<td>4.5–9 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpublished [TN 241]</td>
<td>LXII 35/39 VC a13.18</td>
<td>Tiryns UB Nord</td>
<td>1.7–1.75 cm</td>
<td>3 (?) signs</td>
<td>8–9 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

374 Olivier 2007, 39. 68 no. 9 (ENKO Abou 008).
375 Cf. Yon 2004, 361 cat. 6005; 363 fig. 47, 6005; Olivier 2007, 44. 110 no. 90 (KITI Abou 001); Smith 2009, 157 fig. IV.26 a.
376 Olivier 2007, 44. 111 no. 91 (KITI Abou 002); Smith 2009, 157 fig. IV.26 b.
377 Olivier 2007, 44. 109 no. 89 (HALA Abou 002).
Table 2  Clay balls with stratified and published provenience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clay ball no.</th>
<th>Bibliography</th>
<th>Context Description</th>
<th>Date of Context</th>
<th>Associated Finds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 1232</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890;</td>
<td>Area III, Room 13,</td>
<td>Level IIB, i.e. LC</td>
<td>fragmentary LH IIIB (?) bowl³⁷⁹,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dikaios 1971b, 640;</td>
<td>almost on Floor IV</td>
<td>IIIC; LH IIIB²³⁷⁸</td>
<td>fragmentary LH IIIA2 animal rhyton³⁸⁰,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hirschfeld 2002, 66 fig.6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stone spindle whorl³⁸¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1952, inv. 1288</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890;</td>
<td>Area III, Room 7, E-Z 14-16 east, in layer overlying Floor IV</td>
<td>end of Level IIB, i.e. end of LC IIC; LH IIIB2 – first part of LH IIIC Early</td>
<td>neck of Base Ring II jug³⁸², Rude-style krater fragment³⁸³, two perforated ivory disc³⁸⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dikaios 1971b, 640;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hirschfeld 2002, 66 fig.6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1609</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890;</td>
<td>Area III, Room 8, Floor V</td>
<td>late Level IIB, i.e.</td>
<td>four additional inscribed clay balls³⁸⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dikaios 1971b, 643;</td>
<td></td>
<td>end of LC IIC; LH IIIB2 – first part of LH IIIC Early</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hirschfeld 2002, 66 fig.6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1611</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890;</td>
<td>Area III, Room 8, Floor V</td>
<td>late Level IIB, i.e.</td>
<td>four additional inscribed clay balls³⁸⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dikaios 1971b, 643;</td>
<td></td>
<td>end of LC IIC; LH IIIB2 – first part of LH IIIC Early</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hirschfeld 2002, 66 fig.6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1613</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890;</td>
<td>Area III, Room 8, Floor V</td>
<td>late Level IIB, i.e.</td>
<td>four additional inscribed clay balls³⁸⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dikaios 1971b, 643;</td>
<td></td>
<td>end of LC IIC; LH IIIB2 – first part of LH IIIC Early</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hirschfeld 2002, 66 fig.6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1614</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890;</td>
<td>Area III, Room 8, Floor V</td>
<td>late Level IIB, i.e.</td>
<td>four additional inscribed clay balls³⁸⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dikaios 1971b, 644;</td>
<td></td>
<td>end of LC IIC; LH IIIB2 – first part of LH IIIC Early</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hirschfeld 2002, 66 fig.6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1615</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890;</td>
<td>Area III, Room 8, Floor V</td>
<td>late Level IIB, i.e.</td>
<td>four additional inscribed clay balls³⁸⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dikaios 1971b, 644;</td>
<td></td>
<td>end of LC IIC; LH IIIB2 – first part of LH IIIC Early</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hirschfeld 2002, 66 fig.6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³⁷⁸ The dates for LC IIC (ca. 1300–1230 B.C.E. or 1300–1250 B.C.E. for the first phase of Level IIB and 1250–1230 B.C.E. for the second phase of Level IIB) given by Dikaios 1969a, 438 table, are now lowered to ca. 1220–1190 B.C.E. by Åström 2007, 506 table 1. This later date (1220/10–1190 B.C.E.) was originally assigned by Dikaios 1969a, 438 table to the beginning of Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA1. An earlier dating to LC IB, as mentioned in Olivier 2007, 33 (ENKO Abou 001) seems to be a mistake.

³⁷⁹ Dikaios 1969b, pl. 67, 77 no. 1157.

³⁸⁰ Dikaios 1969b, pl. 67, 77 no. 1157.

³⁸¹ Dikaios 1969b, pl. 67, 77 no. 1157.

³⁸² Dikaios 1969b, pl. 62, 24 no. 2794/18.

³⁸³ Dikaios 1969b, pl. 62, 24 no. 2794/18.

³⁸⁴ Dikaios 1969b, pl. 67, 26 no. 2889/2, found above Floor IV.

³⁸⁵ In Floor V: LH IIIA2 sherd no. 2575/3, Dikaios 1969b, pl. 66, 40; under Floor V: LH IIIA2 sherd no. 3227/1, Dikaios 1969b, pl. 66, 42; between Floors VI–V: ivory bead no. 1618, Dikaios 1969b, pl. 128, 67; 156, 38; fragmentary wall bracket no. 2584/1; although 40 cm below the clay balls on Floor V, two objects intimately connected with Cypriot metallurgy are noted by the excavator on Floor VII: a terracotta crucible with copper incrustation no. 1640, Dikaios 1969b, pl. 159, 20, and a fragmentary wall bracket no. 2608/2.

³⁸⁶ Cf. n. 385.

³⁸⁷ Cf. n. 385.

³⁸⁸ Cf. n. 385.

³⁸⁹ Cf. n. 385.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clay ball no.</th>
<th>Bibliography</th>
<th>Context Description</th>
<th>Date of Context</th>
<th>Associated Finds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 950</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 676; Hirschfeld 2002, 62 fig. 6.2</td>
<td>Area I, Court 64 southwest corner, Floor V</td>
<td>Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA&lt;sup&gt;390&lt;/sup&gt;, end of LH IIIC Early&lt;sup&gt;391&lt;/sup&gt;/ LH IIIC Developed</td>
<td>fragment of a plain wheel-made jug with incised CM signs&lt;sup&gt;392&lt;/sup&gt;; LH IIIC rim and handle of a bowl&lt;sup&gt;393&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 1281</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 682; Hirschfeld 2002, 67 fig. 6.9</td>
<td>Area III, Room 77, north part, on Floor VI</td>
<td>Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA, end of LH IIIC Early/ LH IIIC Developed</td>
<td>two additional inscribed clay balls, another on the superimposed floor, a terracotta loom weight&lt;sup&gt;394&lt;/sup&gt; and a whetstone&lt;sup&gt;395&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 1282</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 682; Hirschfeld 2002, 67 fig. 6.9</td>
<td>Area III, Room 77, north part, on Floor VI</td>
<td>Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA, end of LH IIIC Early/ LH IIIC Developed</td>
<td>two additional inscribed clay balls, another on the superimposed floor, a terracotta loom weight&lt;sup&gt;396&lt;/sup&gt; and a whetstone&lt;sup&gt;397&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1952, inv. 1283</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 682; Hirschfeld 2002, 67 fig. 6.9</td>
<td>Area III, Room 77, north part, on Floor VI</td>
<td>Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA, end of LH IIIC Early/ LH IIIC Developed</td>
<td>two additional inscribed clay balls, another on the superimposed floor, a terracotta loom weight&lt;sup&gt;398&lt;/sup&gt; and a whetstone&lt;sup&gt;399&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1604</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 688; Hirschfeld 2002, 67 fig. 6.9</td>
<td>Area III, Room 77, north part, on Floor V</td>
<td>Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA, end of LH IIIC Early/ LH IIIC Developed</td>
<td>for the finds between Floors VI–III see above; three additional inscribed clay balls were found on the floor below</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

390 For different absolute dates cf. Dikaios 1971b, 487 table; Mountjoy – Gowland 2005, 163 table 7; see also Åström 2007, 506 table 1 who now proposes a date range for LC IIIA1 from ca. 1190 to 1150 B.C.E.; see Mountjoy 2007 for a short gap in the occupation of Area I after the end of Level IIIB and before the start of Level IIIA which according to her is contemporaneous with the earlier part of LH IIIC Early in the Argolid.

391 Cf. Mountjoy 2007, 583, on the dating of the material found in the make-up of Floor V in Court 64 contemporaneous to «LH IIIB/ C. Transitional» see Mountjoy 2007, 584, on the dating of the destruction debris on Floor V in Court 64 contemporaneous with the end of the later part of LH IIIC Early and the beginning of LH IIIC Developed cf. Mountjoy 2007, 584–587.

392 Dikaios 1969b, pls. 132, 37; 164, 25 (found in the northeast part of Court 64).

393 Dikaios 1969b, pl. 71, 9 no. 5810/2; the following artefacts were excavated above Floor V: a fragmentary LH IIIB dish, no. 5836/4, Dikaios 1969b, pl. 70, 29; a LH IIIB sherd, no. 5836/5, Dikaios 1969b, pl. 70, 31; the rim and handle of a LH IIIC bowl, no. 5836/7, Dikaios 1969b, pl. 71, 13; another two fragmentary LH IIIC bowls, no. 5836/8–9, Dikaios 1969b, pl. 71, 18, 19; a terracotta spindle whorl, no. 5865/23 and a bead of white paste, no. 925, Dikaios 1969b, pl. 161, 55, were found between Floors V and IV or IVa respectively, the first one in the north-west part of Court 64; two additional objects came to light in pits in Floor V: a terracotta loom weight, no. 5835/2, in the south-east corner and a gold rod, no. 925, Dikaios 1969b, pls. 131, 30 a; 161, 73, in the north-east part; in the make-up of Floor V the following clay objects were excavated: a fragmentary terracotta spindle whorl, no. 2023/1, Dikaios 1969b, pls. 128, 1; 155, 22; a Mycenaean sherd prob. of LH IIIB date, no. 2874/13). However, in the floor make-up of Floor V the following objects were excavated in the layer overlying Floor VI in the north part of Room 77: the following objects were excavated in the northern part of Room 77 between the Floors VI and III: a fragmentary wall bracket (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 134, 50 no. 2874/26); another fragmentary wall bracket (no. 2874/27); the neck of a LH IIIC hydria (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 75, 42 no. 2874/15); a fragmentary LH IIIC bell krater (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 75, 24 no. 2874/16); a LH IIIC Middle sherd (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 75, 4 no. 2874/13). A LH IIIA2 sherd was found in the southern part of the room between the Floors VI and V (cf. Dikaios 1969b, pl. 72, 28 no. 4503/2). However, in the floor make-up of Floor VI a fragmentary bowl of prob. LH IIIB date (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 72, 33 no. 2585/3), a terracotta bull-rhyton (Dikaios 1969b, pls. 131, 42a; 164, 2 no. 1620), and two parts of an ivory spindle whorl (Dikaios 1969b,pls. 132, 8, 9; 162, 4 nos. 1605, 1607) came to light during the excavation.

394 The loom weight was excavated in the north part of Room 77 almost on Floor VI, Dikaios 1969b, pl. 134, 40 no. 2579/12.

395 The whetstone (no. 2579/13) was also found almost on Floor VI. A bi-conical stone bead (no. 1284) was documented in the layer overlying Floor VI in the north part of Room 77; the following objects were excavated in the northern part of Room 77 between the Floors VI and III: a fragmentary wall bracket (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 134, 50 no. 2874/26); another fragmentary wall bracket (no. 2874/27); the neck of a LH IIIC hydria (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 75, 42 no. 2874/15); a fragmentary LH IIIC bell krater (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 75, 24 no. 2874/16); a LH IIIC Middle sherd (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 75, 4 no. 2874/13). A LH IIIA2 sherd was found in the southern part of the room between the Floors VI and V (cf. Dikaios 1969b, pl. 72, 28 no. 4503/2). However, in the floor make-up of Floor VI a fragmentary bowl of prob. LH IIIB date (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 72, 33 no. 2585/3), a terracotta bull-rhyton (Dikaios 1969b, pls. 131, 42a; 164, 2 no. 1620), and two parts of an ivory spindle whorl (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 132, 8, 9; 162, 4 nos. 1605, 1607) came to light during the excavation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clay ball no.</th>
<th>Bibliography</th>
<th>Context Description</th>
<th>Date of Context</th>
<th>Associated Finds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 1139</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 678; Hirschfeld 2002, 67 fig. 6.9</td>
<td>Area III, Room 26 E–Z 18–20 east, on Floor III</td>
<td>Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA, end of LH IIIC Early/LH IIIC Developed</td>
<td>three additional inscribed clay balls and another plain clay ball, a sherd of a LH IIIC bowl(^{400}), fragmentary monochrome, Apliki Ware jug(^{401}), conical limonite gaming piece(^{402})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1951, inv. 1140</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 678; Hirschfeld 2002, 67 fig. 6.9</td>
<td>Area III, Room 26, Floor III</td>
<td>Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA, end of LH IIIC Early/LH IIIC Developed</td>
<td>three additional inscribed clay balls and another plain clay ball, a sherd of a LH IIIC bowl(^{403}), fragmentary monochrome, Apliki Ware jug(^{404}), conical limonite gaming piece(^{405})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1952, inv. 1306(^{406})</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971b, 682; Hirschfeld 2002, 67 fig. 6.9</td>
<td>Area III, Room 26, on Floor III</td>
<td>Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA, end of LH IIIC Early/LH IIIC Developed</td>
<td>three additional inscribed clay balls, a sherd of a LH IIIC bowl(^{407}), fragmentary monochrome, Apliki Ware jug(^{408}), conical limonite gaming piece(^{410})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1952, inv. 1301</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 682; Hirschfeld 2002, 67 fig. 6.9</td>
<td>Area III, Room 26, on Floor III</td>
<td>Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA, end of LH IIIC Early/LH IIIC Developed</td>
<td>three additional inscribed clay balls and one plain clay ball, a sherd of a LH IIIC bowl(^{410}), fragmentary monochrome, Apliki Ware jug(^{411}), conical limonite gaming piece(^{412})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1952, inv. 1302</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 890; Dikaios 1971b, 682; Hirschfeld 2002, 67 fig. 6.9</td>
<td>Area III, Room 26, on Floor III</td>
<td>Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA, end of LH IIIC Early/LH IIIC Developed</td>
<td>three additional inscribed clay balls and one plain clay ball, a sherd of a LH IIIC bowl(^{413}), fragmentary monochrome, Apliki Ware jug(^{414}), conical limonite gaming piece(^{415})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1953, inv. 1548(^{416})</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971b, 686</td>
<td>Area III; Room 50, Z-H 40-42 east, in material of Floor III</td>
<td>early Level IIIA, i.e. LC IIIA1, LH IIIC Early</td>
<td>two fragmentary wall brackets(^{417}) came to light 15–56 cm above the clay ball in the floor make-up in a layer dated to the end of Level IIIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi 1949, inv. 702</td>
<td>Dikaios 1971a, 891; Dikaios 1971b, 763; Hirschfeld 2002, 64 fig. 6.4</td>
<td>Area I, Room 12, B–Γ 20-22 south, in layer overlying Floor I</td>
<td>end of Level IIIIC, prob. CG I, after 1070 B.C.E.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{400}\) Dikaios 1969b, pl. 71, 23 no. 153.  
\(^{401}\) Dikaios 1969b, pl. 68, 2 no. 3627/5.  
\(^{402}\) Dikaios 1969b, pl. 165, 24 no. 3624. The following artefacts were found in the debris overlying Floor III: a hoard of 40 unbaked clay sling bullets (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 166, 7. 11–14 no. 3636); a neck of a faience (?) jug (no. 3929/43); a fragmentary LH IIIC krater (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 71, 32 no. 161); the neck of a Base Ring II juglet (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 68, 16 no. 2626/3); the rim of a LH IIIC bowl (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 74, 23 no. 3628/20); the rim of a LH IIIC bell krater (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 75, 27 no. 3628/21); two LH IIIC sherds (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 74, 36–37 nos. 3628/23, 26); the neck of a stirrup jar (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 72, 35 no. 3628/30); a LH IIIC Middle sherd (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 74, 28 no. 3629/18); the rim of a LH IIIC bowl (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 74, 29 no. 3632/1); a fragmentary LM IIIB stirrup jar (Dikaios 1969b, pl. 73, 22 no. 4368/1).  
\(^{403}\) Cf. n. 400.  
\(^{404}\) Cf. n. 400.  
\(^{405}\) Cf. n. 402.  
\(^{406}\) Plain, un-inscribed clay ball; diameter: 2.0 cm; Dikaios 1969b, pl. 132, 61; Olivier 2007, 40, 72 no. 17 (ENKO Abou 015bis).  
\(^{407}\) Cf. n. 400.  
\(^{408}\) Cf. n. 401.  
\(^{409}\) Cf. n. 402.  
\(^{410}\) Cf. n. 400.  
\(^{411}\) Cf. n. 401.  
\(^{412}\) Cf. n. 402.  
\(^{413}\) Cf. n. 401.  
\(^{414}\) Cf. n. 402.  
\(^{415}\) Cf. n. 402.  
\(^{416}\) Plain, un-inscribed clay ball; diameter: 1.5 cm; Dikaios 1969b, pl. 132, 60; Olivier 2007, 40, 73 no. 19 (ENKO Abou 016bis).  
\(^{417}\) Dikaios 1971b, 707 (nos. 4178/9, 4205/8).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clay ball no.</th>
<th>Bibliography</th>
<th>Context Description</th>
<th>Date of Context</th>
<th>Associated Finds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hala Sultan Tekke N 6035</td>
<td>Öbrink 1979, 46, 88 fig. 264 A; B; 89 fig. 286</td>
<td>from Room 2, Layer 2b, F 6064, GCH 437, 75 W, 50 N +14.36; found among stones near western border of pit V</td>
<td>LC IIIA1, ca. LH IIIC Early</td>
<td>Finds from Room 2 Layer 21419 comprise inter alia a single cuirass scale of bronze (N 6000)420, a bronze thread (N 6001)421, a pierced stone cylinder with a channel (N 6002)422, a clay crucible (N 6003)423, a spindle whorl of stone (N 6034)424, faience pieces (blue frit) (N 6036), quern fragments (N 6037–38)425; the faience and querns do come from the same feature as the clay ball, sherds of Canaanite jars are also reported from F 6064426.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiton II/4215</td>
<td>Karageorghis – Demas 1985a, 76; Karageorghis – Demas 1985d, 104</td>
<td>Room 58 (main hall), Temple 5, Floor IIIA</td>
<td>beginning of LC IIIA1, ca. LH IIIC Early</td>
<td>krater of ›Levantine‹ ware428, wall bracket429, glass and faience beads430, ostrich egg fragments431, steatite conulus432, fragmentary bronze objects433, large cylindrical vessel with CM signs434, bone stylus435, juglet of White Shaved ware436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiton II/4995</td>
<td>Karageorghis – Demas 1985a, 114; Karageorghis – Demas 1985d, 460</td>
<td>Area II, Courtyard B, Floor IIIA437 – Floor III438</td>
<td>LC IIIA, i.e. LH IIIC Early/ Middle, until 1125 B.C.E.439</td>
<td>associated with terracotta loom weights440, sherds in the courtyard comprised LH IIIB, late LH IIIB, Bucchero Wheelmade, Base-Ring Wheelmade, Plain White-Wheelmade ware and ›Canaanite‹ pottery; copper slag was also found441</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

418 Öbrink 1979, 43; Ulla Öbrink mentions that monochrome deep bowls were found in layer 2. Olivier 2007, 34 mistakenly mentions his catalogue no. HALA Abou 001 in his list of dated examples, which, however, is the unstratified clay ball from the earlier excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke.

419 Öbrink 1979, 47.

420 Öbrink 1979, 84 fig. 203a (N 6000).

421 Öbrink 1979, 84 fig. 203b (N 6001).

422 Öbrink 1979, 86 fig. 240 (N 6002).

423 Öbrink 1979, 85 fig. 231 (N 6003).

424 Öbrink 1979, 87 fig. 244 (N 6034). Öbrink 1979, 3: »An ash-spot appeared in the corner between Walls F 6003 and F 6011 in GCh-i 442 at +14.45 m. It was roughly circular, with a thickness of c. 0.12 m and a diameter of c. 0.20 m. A clay crucible (N 6000) and a pierced, cylindrical stone (N 6003) were found nearby. Further to the west, a bronze plate (N 6000) belonging to a cuirass and a bronze thread (N 6001), probably an ear-ring, were found«.

425 Öbrink 1979, 87 fig. 245.

426 Öbrink 1979, 29 f.

427 Karageorghis – Demas 1985b, 266.

428 Karageorghis – Demas 1985d, 104 no. 3806.

429 Fragment of wall bracket, cf. Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pls. 94, 1 (cylindrical vessel on Floor IIIA of Temple 5 in situ); 111 no. 4219; 192 no. 4219.


432 Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 111, no. 5019.

433 A fragmentary bronze rod (Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 112, no. 4237A), perhaps a fragmentary bronze nail (Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 112, no. 4237B), and possibly a bronze button (Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 112, no. 4238).

434 Found in the central aisle, east of pit A; still used on the subsequent Floor III, cf. Karageorghis – Demas 1985a, 76 no. 4219; Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pls. 94, 1 (cylindrical vessel on Floor IIIA of Temple 5 in situ); 111 no. 4219; 192 no. 4219.

435 Fragments of a bone stylus, Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 112 no. 4967.

436 Fragmentary vessel, Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pl. 111 no. 4234.

437 Karageorghis – Demas 1985a, 55.

438 Karageorghis – Demas 1985d, 106.

439 Karageorghis – Demas 1985b, 272 fig. 1.

440 Karageorghis – Demas 1985d, 470; nos. 4990, 4996, 4998, 4999; Karageorghis – Demas 1985c, pls. 107, 4998; 118, 4990, 4996, 4999.

441 Karageorghis – Demas 1985d, 115.
Table 3  Summary table for the deposition dates of Cypriot inscribed clay balls found in LC IIC or LC IIIA layers and synchronized with the chronological phases of the Greek mainland (The numbers in parenthesis account for the fact that six clay balls have been found on or above the last floors of Level IIB in Enkomi and that the dating of those floors partly overlaps with the first phase of LH IIIC Early. Thus, with regard to their context, the majority of Cypriot clay balls may actually have been deposited during the Mycenaean post-palatial period)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Date of find context approx. contemporary to LH IIIB</th>
<th>Date of find context approx. contemporary to LH IIIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enkomi</td>
<td>7 (1)</td>
<td>11 (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kition</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hala Sultan Tekke</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (20 altogether)</td>
<td>7 (1)</td>
<td>13 (19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4  Small finds around the clay ball TN 241 in the area of the southern entrance to the post-palatial courtyard of phase 2, i.e. LH IIIA Developed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. in database</th>
<th>Find spot</th>
<th>Description of object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TN 79</td>
<td>Ti 02 LXII 35/39 VC a13.05, on floor of hor. 20 a3</td>
<td>Bronze, arrow head or stud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN 352</td>
<td>Ti 02 LXII 35/39 Ofl. VC Nr. 92/02, on floor of hor. 20 a3</td>
<td>Conglomerate, grinding stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN 316</td>
<td>Ti 02 LXII 35/39 VB a13.11, above floor of hor. 20 a3</td>
<td>Obsidian, secondary decortication flake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN 333</td>
<td>Ti 02 LXII 35/39 VB b13.14, above floor of hor. 20 a3</td>
<td>Chert, tertiary flake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN 158</td>
<td>Ti 02 LXII 35/40 VI c12.99, in floor make-up of hor. 20 a3</td>
<td>Basalt, pestle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN 136</td>
<td>Ti 02 LXII 35/40 VC c13.05, on floor of hor. 20 a3</td>
<td>Obsidian, micro-blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN 145</td>
<td>Ti 02 LXII 35/40 VC d13.05, on floor of hor. 20 a3</td>
<td>Obsidian, chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN 165</td>
<td>Ti 02 LXII 35/40 VC a13.07, on floor of hor. 20 a3</td>
<td>Obsidian, retouched blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN 169</td>
<td>Ti 02 LXII 35/40 VC b13.05, on floor of hor. 20 a3</td>
<td>Obsidian, blade blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN 351</td>
<td>Ti 02 LXII 35/49 VI a 13.02, on floor of hor. 20 a3</td>
<td>Andesite, grinding stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN 240</td>
<td>Ti 02 LXII 35/59 VB a13.15, above floor of hor. 20 a3</td>
<td>Terracotta, fragmentary wall bracket</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abstract

Melissa Vetters, A Clay Ball with a Cypro-Minoan Inscription from Tiryns

A clay ball with a Cypro-Minoan inscription excavated in a LH IIIC Developed workshop context at the northern tip of Tiryns’ Lower Citadel forms the basis for this discussion on interaction patterns and contacts between Mycenaean Tiryns and Late Bronze Age Cyprus. To provide a background to the contextual assessment of the Tiryns clay ball documents, contexts and practices associated with the Cypro-Minoan script/s on Cyprus are discussed. The analysis of the Tiryns clay ball focuses on epigraphy, find context and the dating of the object. While it is impossible to establish the provenance of the clay ball on the basis of current evidence, stratigraphic details and its find spot within a workshop area point to a post-palatial date. An overview of East Mediterranean (especially Cypriot) objects found in Tiryns identifies a few areas where such artefacts occur more frequently and discusses implications of “Cypriot” practices on the basis of contextual data. Intimate contacts between Tiryns and Cyprus are attested to during the late palatial period, but continue into the post-palatial period and point to interpersonal contacts rather than merely long-distance trade.

Keywords

Tiryns • Cypro-Minoan • inscribed clay balls

Sources of Illustrations

Fig. 1: Tiryns archive, with kind permission of J. Maran • Fig. 2: H. Birk and Anavasi editions, modified by M. Vettes • Fig. 3: Photo and drawing: M. Vettes, arrangement and inking: R. Docsan • Fig. 4: M. Vettes • Fig. 5: Tiryns-archive, drawing: M. Kostoula, modified by M. Vettes, with kind permission of J. Maran
**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASL</td>
<td>Above Sea-Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Cypro-Minoan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LBA</td>
<td>Late Bronze Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Late Cypriot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH</td>
<td>Late Helladic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LM</td>
<td>Late Minoan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAA</td>
<td>Neutron Activation Analysis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Åström 2007 • P. Åström, Sinda and the Absolute Chronology of Late Cypriote IIIA, in: Bietak – Czerny 2007, 505–507


Cline 1994 • E. H. Cline, Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea. International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean, BARIntSer 591 (Oxford 1994)


Crewe 2007 • L. Crewe, Early Enkomi: Regionalism, Trade and Society at the Beginning of the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus, BARIntSer 1706 (Oxford 2007)


Döhl 1979 • H. Döhl, Bronzezeitliche Graffiti aus Tiryns 2. Nach dem Brand eingeritzte und gemalte Zeichen, Kadmos 18, 1979, 47–70

Karageorghis 1971 • V. Karageorghis, Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1970, BCH 95, 1971, 335–432
Karageorghis 1990 • V. Karageorghis, The End of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus (Nicosia 1990)
Karageorghis 1999 • V. Karageorghis, Aspects of Trade Between Cyprus and the West During the 14th–13th centuries B.C., in: Phelps et al. 1999, 121–130
Masson 1971a • E. Masson, Etude de vingt-six boules d’argile inscrites trouvées à Enkomi et Hala Sultan Tekke (Chypre), SIMA 31, 1 = Studies in the Cypro-Minoan Script 1 (Gothenburg 1971)


E. Masson 2001 • E. Masson, Κυπρομινωϊκές γραφές, in: A.-Ph. Christidis (ed.), Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας από τις αρχές εως την ύστερη αρχαιότητα, Κεντρό ελληνικής γλώσσας, Ινστιτούτο νεοελληνικών σπουδών, Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη (Athens 2001) 185–188


O. Masson 1957 • O. Masson, Cylindres et cachets chypriotes portant des caractères chypro-minoens, BCH 81, 1957, 6–37


Matthäus 1985 • H. Matthäus, Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern, PBF 2, 8 (Munich 1985)


Olivier 2007 • J.-P. Olivier, Édition holistique des textes chypro-minoens, Biblioteca di Pasiphae 6 (Pisa 2007)

Papasavvas 2001 • G. Papasavvas, Χάλκινοι υποστάτες από την Κύπρο και την Κρήτη: τριποδικοί και τετράπλευροι υποστάτες από την Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού έως την Πρώιμη Εποχή τού Σιδήρου (Levkosia 2001)

Palaima 2005 • T. Palaima, The Triple Invention of Writing in Cyprus and Written Sources for Cypriote History, Annual Lecture in Memory of Constantine Leventis 14 (Nicosia 2005)


Penner 2006 • S. Penner, Kamid el-Lôz 19. Die Keramik der Spätbronzezeit, SaarBeitr 63 (Bonn 2006)

Persson 1930 • A. W. Persson, Schrift und Sprache in Altkreta, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1930, Program 3 (Uppsala 1930)

A Clay Ball with a Cypro-Minoan Inscription from Tiryns

Rahmstorf 2008 • L. Rahmstorf, Kleinfunde aus Tiryns aus Terrakotta, Stein, Bein und Glas/Fayence vornehmlich aus der Spät bronzezeit, Tiryns 16 (Wiesbaden 2008)
Raison 1968 • J. Raison, Les vases à inscriptions peintes de l’Âge mycénien et leur contexte archéologique, Incunabula Graecae 19 (Rome 1968)
Rudolph 1973 • W. Rudolph, Die Nekropole am Prophitis Elias bei Tiryns, Tiryns 6, 2 (Mainz 1973)
Rutter 1999 • J. B. Rutter, Cretan External Relations during Late Minoan IIIA2–B (ca. 1370–1200 B.C.), A View from the Mesara, in: Phelps et al. 1999, 139–186
Smith 2009 • J. S. Smith, Art and Society in Cyprus from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age (Cambridge 2009)
Vogtländer 2003 • W. Vogtländer, Die Palaststileramik, Tiryns 10 (Mainz 2003)
Yon 1999 • M. Yon, Chypre et Ougarit à la fin du Bronze Récent, RDAC 1999, 113–119

Address
Melissa Vetters
University of Leicester
School of Archaeology and Ancient History
University Road
Leicester, LE1 7RH
United Kingdom
mv95@le.ac.uk