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Marks on Pots: Patterns of Use in the Archaeological Record at Enkomi



Nicolle E. Hirschfeld

Marks scratched or painted on the Late Bronze Age (LBA) pottery of the eastern Mediterranean are often highly visible elements of the ceramic assemblage because of their bold rendering and prominent placement (fig. 1). Nevertheless, often they have been overlooked. In those instances where they have been noted, interest in them has been primarily epigraphical. Certainly some of the potmarks are connected somehow with contemporary writing systems. But all of them, signs of script or not, have some reason(s) for being painted or incised on certain vases. This paper begins the process of looking systematically for those reasons.

Potmarks may be applied in the process of manufacture, exchange, use, or deposition of a vase, and they may identify potter, workshop, merchant, owner, quality or quantity of contents, price, batch, point of origin, destination, or other information. The potmarks studied in this paper are single signs whose forms give no indication of the value or meaning of the marks. Therefore, a contextual approach is adopted: the marks are examined in terms of the containers on which they appear and the types of deposits in which they were found in order to try to identify patterns of occurrence. Those patterns form the basis for interpreting the significance of the signs boldly painted (fig. 2) or incised (figs. 1, 3, and 4) especially on the pottery found in LBA Cyprus.

Even a subject so seemingly confined as the study of potmarks from LBA Cypriot contexts becomes immense on closer inspection. This paper



Fig. 1. Handle and disk fragment from a large fine ware stirrup jar from an Enkomi tomb with post-firing mark (published in J.-C. Courtois, *Alasia II: Les tombes d'Enkomi—le mobilier funéraire* [fouilles C. F.-A. Schaeffer 1947–1965] [Paris 1981] 285, no. 15, 289, figs. 175.2, 177.6). (Photo by N.E. Hirschfeld)

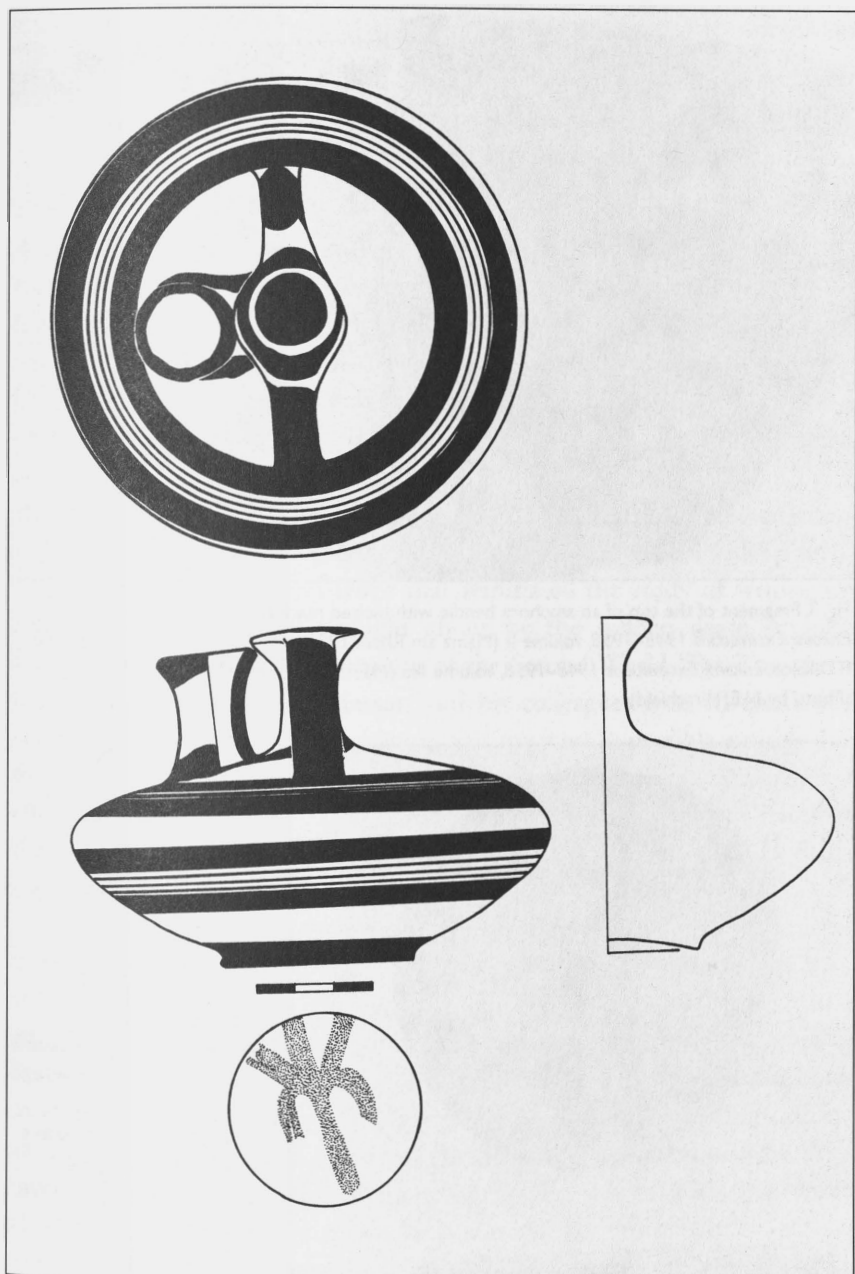


Fig. 2. Squat Mycenaean stirrup jar (FS 180) with painted mark under base (published in V. Karageorghis, *CVA Cyprus I Cyprus Museum I* [Nicosia 1963] A 1632, pl. 22.11, fig. 3.9). (Drawing by N.E. Hirschfeld)



Fig. 3. Fragment of the top of an amphora handle with incised mark (published in P. Dikaïos, *Enkomi: Excavations 1948–1958*, volume II (Mainz am Rhein 1971) 726, 891, no. 734/29, pl. 175.10; P. Dikaïos, *Enkomi: Excavations 1948–1958*, volume IIIa (Mainz am Rhein 1969) pl. 319.93). (Photo by N.E. Hirschfeld)

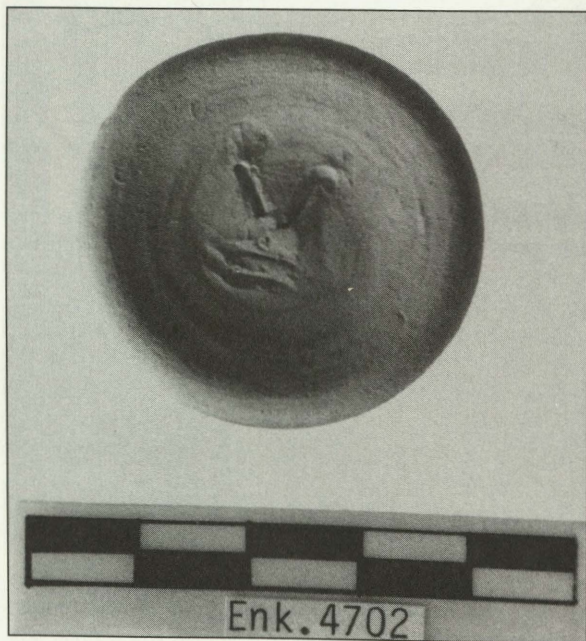


Fig. 4. Base of a Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle with typical pre-firing mark (published in P. Dikaïos, *Enkomi: Excavations 1948–1958*, volume II [Mainz am Rhein 1971] 778, 891, no. 4702, pl. 319, no. 132; P. Dikaïos, *Enkomi: Excavations 1948–1958*, volume IIIa [Mainz am Rhein 1969] p. 149.29). (Photo by N.E. Hirschfeld)

attempts only a beginning and focuses specifically on the material from LBA Enkomi.

History of the Study of Potmarks

Partially because of the high visibility of LBA potmarks and partially because even to the present day no archive or substantial assemblage of formal texts predating the Iron Age has been found on Cyprus, students of Cypriot writing and language have resorted to every scrap of evidence available, including the single signs incised or drawn on the handles, bodies, and bases of Late Cypriot (LC) ceramic containers. Since 1900 these marks have been noted regularly in excavation publications.¹ In addition, synthetic catalogues and discussions of the marks as evidence for formal script have appeared every 20 years or so.² Olivier Masson was among the most industrious and thorough collectors of this evidence, and it was his 1957 presentation³ of the state of knowledge that reinitiated the study of writing on LBA Cyprus after a lull brought about by the sudden death of John Franklin Daniel and the disruptions of the Second World War. The attention paid to potmarks by Masson and his colleagues ensured continued recording of this category of evidence, and my work is possible entirely due to their precedent. Olivier Masson's recent death is a loss to scholarship: I take this opportunity to recognize explicitly the inspiration and challenges that his scholarship has provoked in my own studies of marking and writing systems on LBA Cyprus.

The following study of the potmarks found at the LBA site of Enkomi owes, also, a great debt to the professional and intellectual generosity of another scholar, Jacques-Claude Courtois. It is through his kindness that I was granted access to the entire collection of material, published and unpublished, excavated by Claude Schaeffer at Enkomi and now stored in the basement of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. Beyond merely granting me access and publication privileges, Courtois made time to reexamine Schaeffer's inventory records and maps in an attempt to find out as much as possible about the findspots of the marked pottery. Unfortunately, Courtois's untimely death interrupted our collaboration early in the process of study. I dedicate this study of the Enkomi potmarks to the man who worked so hard to present thoughtfully and thoroughly the minutiae of Schaeffer's sweeping glimpses into the history and culture of that Bronze Age site.⁴

The Study of Potmarks at Enkomi

Previous studies of the Enkomi potmarks have concentrated primarily on their possible identification as signs of the LBA Cypriot script, Cypro-Minoan, and, therefore, as evidence of literacy. Already the first publication of discoveries from the site referred to the “Cypriote letters” incised and painted on Mycenaean pottery.⁵ The meticulous publications of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition catalogued and discussed the potmarks much more thoroughly, but still almost exclusively in terms of their relationship to formal scripts of the eastern Mediterranean.⁶ Dikaios also presented a list of Cypro-Minoan inscriptions that includes every potmark he uncovered, and the potmarks are presented as evidence for literacy in his summary discussions.⁷ Schaeffer, too, accepted the equation of the painted potmarks, at least, with signs of the Cypro-Minoan script.⁸ But he alone explored the implications of that equation and eventually formulated his theory of the production of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus based on the evidence of the potmarks.⁹ In fact, I do not agree with Schaeffer’s conclusions,¹⁰ but I do agree with the direction of his investigations: surely the identification of potmarks with formal script is only a first step, and any such identification demands further inquiry into the patterns and reasons for use of a particular script as a marking device. I extend the process of inquiry in the other direction also and question the initial assumption equating marks with script. Can we truly assume that the marks on pottery from LBA Cyprus are evidence for literacy? As it stands, that claim is based on assumption rather than on methodical evaluation.¹¹ Furthermore, the study of potmarks from LBA Cyprus is truncated severely by focus on that one question. In their place and context, potmarks functioned as something other than evidence of script. Although my approach to the study of potmarks does not ignore the ties with script and the potential implications, instead it concentrates on attempting to understand the potmarks in terms of their function(s) as marks on pottery. Since we cannot read the marks themselves (they are isolated signs, not deciphered), their meaning must be sought in the patterns of their application on the vases and their deposition in the archaeological record.

This study of the potmarks found at Enkomi is part of a larger-scale project to analyze patterns of potmarking practices found at sites throughout the island during the later Bronze Age. Enkomi was chosen as the starting point because the quantity and range of artifacts and the variety of contexts

excavated makes it likely that the material from this site, better than any other single location, might illustrate the kinds and numbers of marked vases in circulation on LBA Cyprus. Enkomi was among the wealthiest, largest, and most powerful of the centers on the island during much of this time. As such, the finds recovered from its tombs and settlement include the full range of objects imported to and produced on the island in the LBA. Enkomi is also the most extensively excavated Late Cypriot site (fig. 5), with major expeditions mounted by British, Swedish, French, and Cypriot

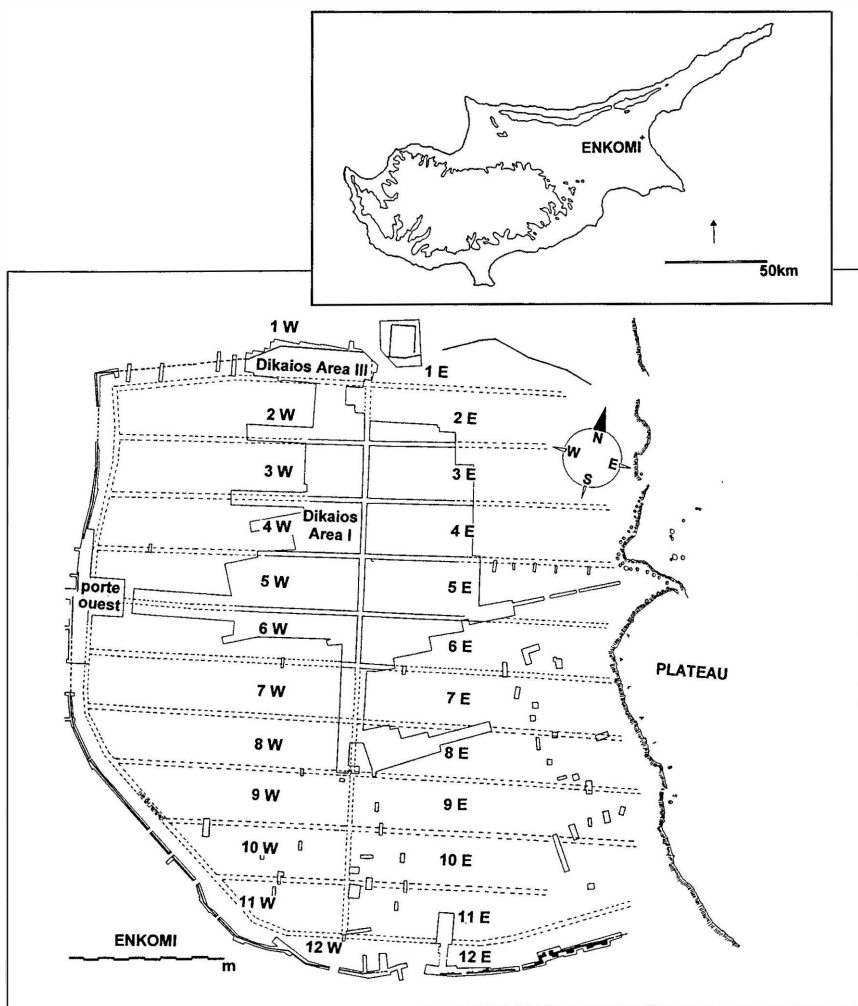


Fig. 5. Enkomi site plan showing areas excavated. Inset of Cyprus showing location of Enkomi.

archaeological missions. Final accounts of the work undertaken by the Swedes and Cypriots have been published, and the results of the British expedition have been summarily documented, while the work done by the French has been haphazardly reported.

The Sample

The four archaeological expeditions excavated approximately 200 tombs and about one-quarter of the 15-ha settlement, recovering at least 250 marked vases.¹² Figure 5 illustrates the general layout of the settlement at Enkomi, with excavated areas demarcated. Table 3 presents the tombs excavated by the various missions, distributed according to the sector of the site in which they are located. Only tombs with marked vases are listed specifically. Table 2 lists the numbers of marked vases found in each sector (quartier), specifying also the excavator and funerary/nonfunerary contexts.

British Museum Turner Bequest Excavations, 1896

Number of tombs excavated: ca. 100

Number of tombs with marked vases: 13?

Number of settlement areas: 0

Extensive plundering of Enkomi's tombs had revealed the archaeological potential of the site long before the British Museum commenced the first systematic excavations there, in 1896. The team dug up approximately 100 tombs. The published records of those tombs and their contents are very brief and incomplete, focusing especially on the luxury objects and Mycenaean pottery.¹³ They sometimes note the appearance of painted and incised marks on individual vases. Occasionally the marks are illustrated; however, no detailed descriptions of the marks are provided, and it is clear that the listing of marks was not exhaustive, particularly with respect to those on vases stored in the Cyprus Museum.¹⁴ As a result of sporadic initial recording and the subsequent dispersal and loss of significant amounts of material, there is no way to ascertain to what extent the marked vases now known accord with the patterns of marking in the original tomb depositions. In particular, painted marks (often very faint) and any marks on plain and coarse wares may be significantly underrepresented. Of the approximately 100 tombs, we know of marked vases from 13 only, most containing 1, some with 2 marked vases. The total number of marked

vases known to have been recovered by the British Museum expedition to Enkomi: 18 Mycenaean¹⁵ and 2 local (Plain White Wheelmade jugs).

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 1930

Number of tombs excavated: 22

Number of tombs with marked vases: 6

Number of settlement areas: 0

Three decades later, in 1930, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated 22 mostly-intact tombs at Enkomi. The Swedes excavated, recorded, and published in meticulous detail.¹⁶ Even so, subsequent work in museum storerooms has brought to light additions to the published inventories of objects from each tomb.¹⁷ These finds consist mostly of sherds; evidently, only fairly complete vases were included in the original published catalogues. In general, these recent (re)discoveries do not markedly alter the interpretation of the wealth, kinds of objects, or number of individuals buried in each tomb. There is no reason to doubt that the presently known distribution of marked vases presents a fairly accurate picture of the types and quantities of marked vases deposited in these funerary assemblages. Only 6 of the tombs excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition contained vases marked with single signs; a 7th held a vase with a multisign inscription incised into the handle. Finally, an unprovenanced handle fragment probably also comes from a burial, since the Swedes excavated only tombs. The number of marked vases found in any one tomb ranged from 1 to 3, with the remarkable exception of Tomb 18, which contained 16 marked vases. The total number of marked vases recovered by the Swedish Cyprus expedition to Enkomi: 27 Mycenaean and 5 local.

Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, 1934–1972

Number of tombs excavated: 23+

Number of tombs with marked vases: 9+?

Number of settlement areas: see figure 5

The British and Swedish expeditions excavated only tombs at Enkomi; Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, director of the French mission to Enkomi, first recognized the presence of a settlement at the site. In the course of almost 40 years (1934–1972, intermittently) of excavations on a grand scale, Schaeffer uncovered great tracts of the settlement that included domestic, ritual, and industrial, private and public, elite and humble spaces. Figure 5 illustrates the layout of the site as uncovered by Schaeffer: the area enclosed by a circuit wall,

bounded by cliffs, divided into eastern and western halves by a central north–south road, and further subdivided by a series of cross-streets. Schaeffer designated the subdivisions “quartiers,” numbering them 1–12 (north to south); thus the sectors of the site are referred to as Quartier 1E, 1W, 2E, etc. Schaeffer also uncovered at least 23 (but probably many more) tombs. Thus, Schaeffer’s work at Enkomi, in contrast to that of his predecessors, uncovered material from a range of functional contexts and offers an opportunity to study the appearance of potmarks in nonfunerary contexts.

Unfortunately, publication of Schaeffer’s discoveries has been erratic, and much material and information are now lost.¹⁸ Although a large collection of inventoried finds is still stored in the basement of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, the bulk of the archaeological assemblage was culled long ago. The kindness of Schaeffer’s colleagues did make it possible for me to look through all the extant finds in Nicosia. That search allowed me to increase by one-third the known assemblage of marked vases found by Schaeffer.¹⁹ There is no way to ascertain how completely this collection of marked vases represents the total number of marked vases uncovered by the French mission. There are some indications that the assemblage might be reasonably complete, at least insofar as it may preserve the bulk of marks noted by Schaeffer and his team. Schaeffer’s research interests²⁰ as well as the inclusion of so many marked handles among the inventoried objects make clear that marks—even simple crosses or strokes on plain wares—were collected by the excavator and his team. The inventory dates associated with the marks span many of the years of fieldwork and indicate that this collection is not selective according to field season or area of excavation. These indications are, however, tenuous arguments for arguing that the finds in the museum represent the complete collection of potmarks recognized by Schaeffer. In any case, given the magnitude of his operations and the demonstrable lapses in recording and storing, it is clear that some quantity of marked pottery escaped the notice of the excavator and his team. Although the collection cannot be assumed to be complete, it does, nevertheless, provide valuable evidence for the variety of marks and marked vases.

It also serves to demonstrate at least the minimum dispersal of marked vases in the nonfunerary contexts. Again, the sparse publication and cataloguing procedures hamper full evaluation of the material, but thanks to the efforts of the ever-generous and diligent Courtois, the proveniences of as many of the marked vases as possible were pinpointed. Inclusion of settlement areas in the

analysis of potmarks adds a new category of marked vases, namely amphoras (Canaanite jars), as well as adding substantially to the numbers and varieties of marked local wares. The total number of marked vases recovered by the French expedition to Enkomi: ca. 24 Mycenaean, 36 amphoras, and 31 local.

Porphyrios Dikaïos (Department of Antiquities, Cyprus), 1948–1958

Number of tombs excavated: 25 + 5 other burials

Number of tombs with marked vases: 0

Number of settlement areas: Area II/Quartier 1W, Area I/Quartier 4W

In 1948 Porphyrios Dikaïos, at that time curator of antiquities of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, commenced 11 seasons of excavation in northern (Area III = Quartier 1W) and central (Area I = Quartier 4W) sectors of the site (fig. 5). Those excavations, which included a variety of settlement and funerary deposits, have been published fully. Like his predecessors, this excavator took an interest in the potmarks as traces of Bronze Age writing. He took pains to inventory and publish in detail the painted and incised signs.²¹ As a result, much information is available concerning not only the marks themselves but also the date and function of their findspots. In spite of Dikaïos's interest and care, I found several unrecorded examples of marked handles while checking the trays of uninventoried finds from Enkomi. While the marks on Mycenaean wares are less likely to be missed, because of the attention given to this class of pottery, it should be kept in mind that those occurring on plain and coarse wares are probably underrepresented in most collections and publications of archaeological material. The total number of marked vases recovered by the Cypriot expedition to Enkomi: ca. 9 Mycenaean, 1 Bichrome, 41 amphoras, and 57 local.

Finally, a few marked vases in various collections are thought or suggested to be from Enkomi, probably looted from tombs.²²

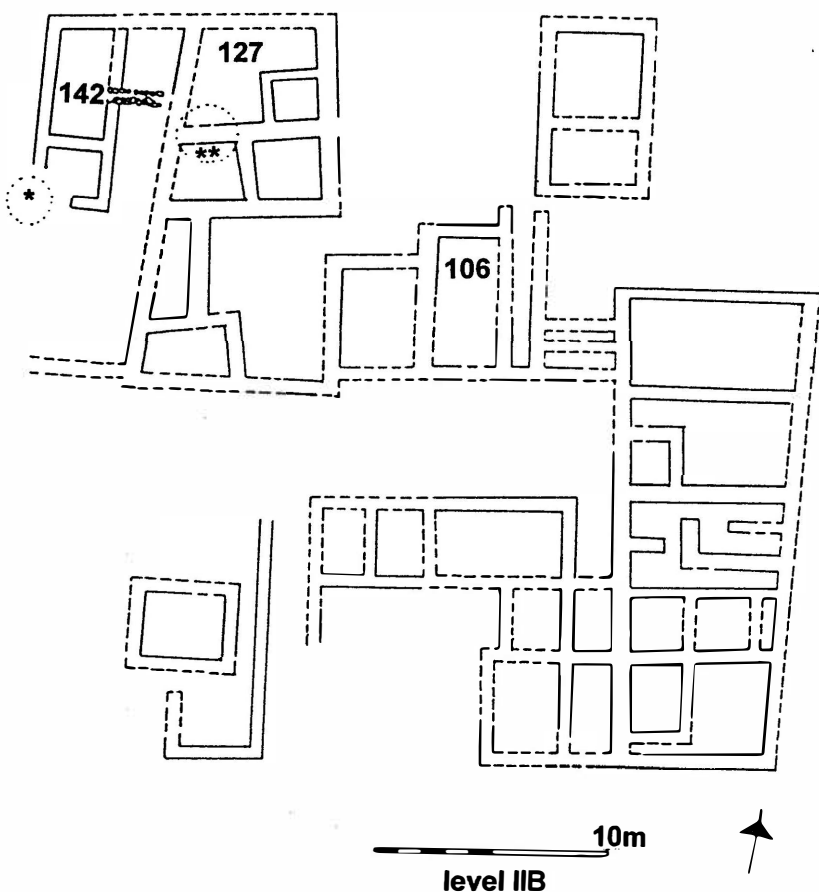
In total, about 250 marked vases can be identified among the finds recovered from Enkomi. That sample is at the same time both large and small. It is large in terms of quantity, outnumbering all assemblages of marked vases known from any other LBA Cypriot site. It is also qualitatively large: all types of marks are represented—painted (fig. 2), incised (figs. 1, 3, and 4), and impressed; pre- and postfiring; single signs, multisign inscriptions, graffiti, and even a scarab impression—appearing on bases, handles, shoulders, and bodies of all sorts of shapes in a variety of wares, from a range of chronological and functional contexts. Thus, the number and range of marked vases from Enkomi

make this a good sample from which to commence analysis of marking patterns on Cyprus. On the other hand, considering the area of ground excavated, the 200 or so tombs excavated by archaeologists, and the tens of thousands of ceramic vases and sherds uncovered, 250 marked pots is a modest number. Of course, the documented sample is not comprehensive. Many examples must have been lost among the booty of tomb robbers or in the piles of discarded plain and coarse wares. Some may simply have gone unnoticed. In spite of these lacunae, the impression that marked vases were relatively scarce features in the LBA ceramic assemblage is probably valid. This general impression is corroborated by the small numbers of marked vases recovered at Enkomi in the course of the controlled excavations of both tombs and settlement by the Swedish and Cypriot missions.²³ The sample of marked vases from Enkomi, then, may be understood to demonstrate, in broad outline, the range and rarity of marks on vases from the site. To what extent this is a truly representative sample of the use and appearance of marked vases at the LBA site is impossible to ascertain.

The Marks

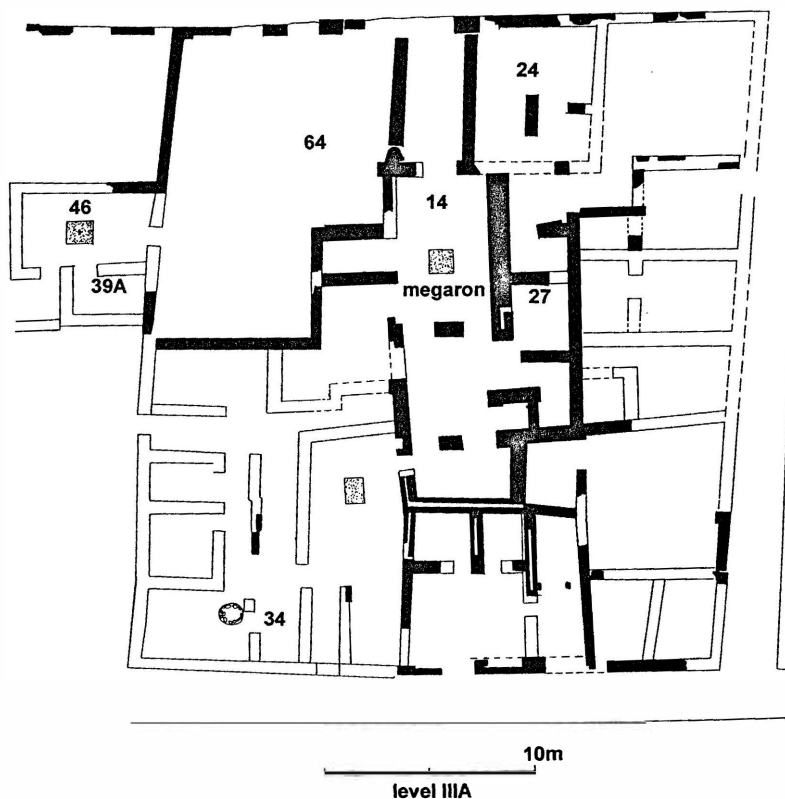
Vases at Enkomi are marked in a variety of ways: multisign inscriptions and isolated, single marks that may be incised, painted, or impressed on the handles, shoulders, and bases of open and closed, local and imported, fine and coarse, plain and decorated vases. This study examines closely most, but not all, marked vases. Certain kinds of markings appear to be fundamentally different in nature from the general corpus of postfiring single potmarks found at the site. They require further study in their own right; here, they are identified and discussed mainly in comparison and in contrast to the usual range of potmarks.

One such group contains the vases that carry inscriptions. Two or more marks located adjacent to one another, in alignment, and made using the same tool are considered to be an (Cypro-Minoan?) inscription.²⁴ By this definition, approximately 25 vases with inscriptions have been found at Enkomi, primarily plain ware jars with two or three signs incised into the handle, often before firing. It is possible that there is some connection between inscriptions and potmarks on vases. This question will be examined in detail in a separate paper. Here simply note that the function(s) of the (undeciphered) inscriptions are not known and therefore do not offer suggestions for the purpose of potmarks. There are also no obvious patterns of clustering in the spatial distributions of vases with inscriptions and those with potmarks (fig. 6.1–6.11).



Area I, level IIB

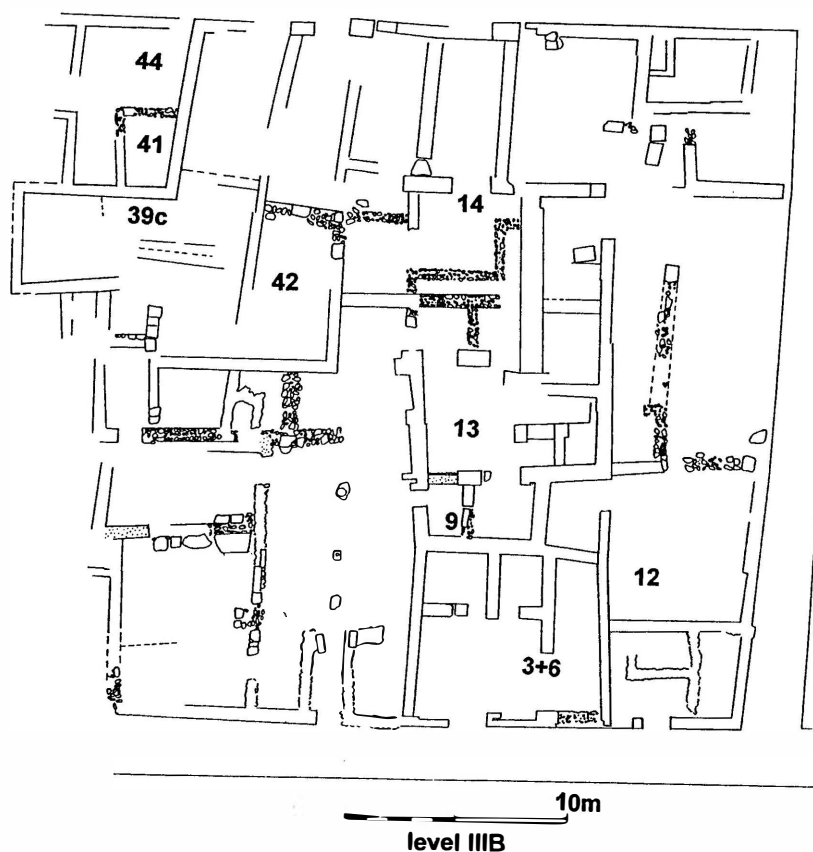
room 142	5897/4 5902/4 5903/4	plain amphora local (cw SJ)	+ ☆ +
room 106	2130	plain	+
room 127	1972	plain	+ (BF)
* = OP 0-2	6009/5	Aegean (cw SJ)	-
** = tomb 19	2199	amphora	+



Area I, level IIIA

room 46	1687	tablet	
room 39A	5791/1	Aegean (cw SJ)	Λ
room 64	930	plain	Σ
		1 <i>boule</i>	
room 14	1944	amphora	⌘
room 24	1906	plain	⌘
room 27	5590/3	amphora	⌘⌘
room 34	5902/2	amphora	⌘

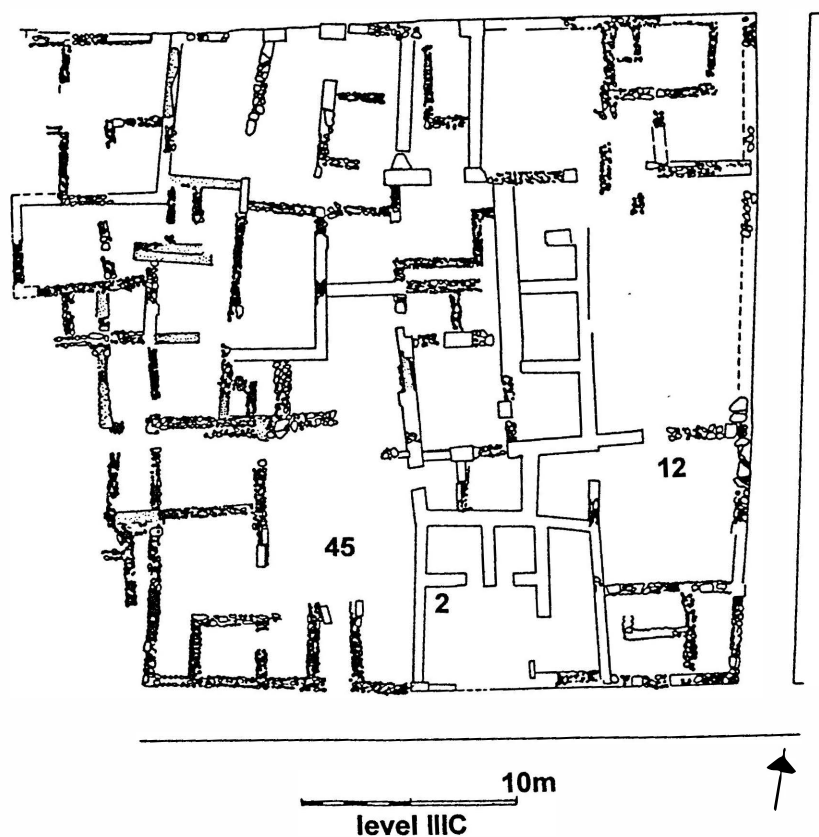
Fig. 6.2. Distribution of marked vases from Enkomi, Dikaioi Area I Level IIIA



Area I, level IIIB

room 44	5926/4	plain	X
room 41	5819/5	amphora	III
	5819/6	amphora	III
room 39c	6098A	amphora	V
room 42	1085	plain	71
	5837/20	Myc IIIC:1b	III
room 14	1020/4	amphora	+
room 13	760/12	amphora	I
	265	plain	+
room 9	5183/4	amphora	-T-
room 3+6	734/29	amphora	#
	717/8	plain	I
	718/7	amphora	⊕ painted
room 12	5240/1	plain	III

Fig. 6.3. Distribution of marked vases from Enkomi, Dikaioi Area I Level IIIB



Area I, level IIIC

room 45	5985/2 5972/3	amphora amphora	== -III-
room 2	4936/5	Black Slip	-III-
room 12	<i>boule</i>		

Fig. 6.4. Distribution of marked vases from Enkomi, Dikaioi Area I Level IIIC

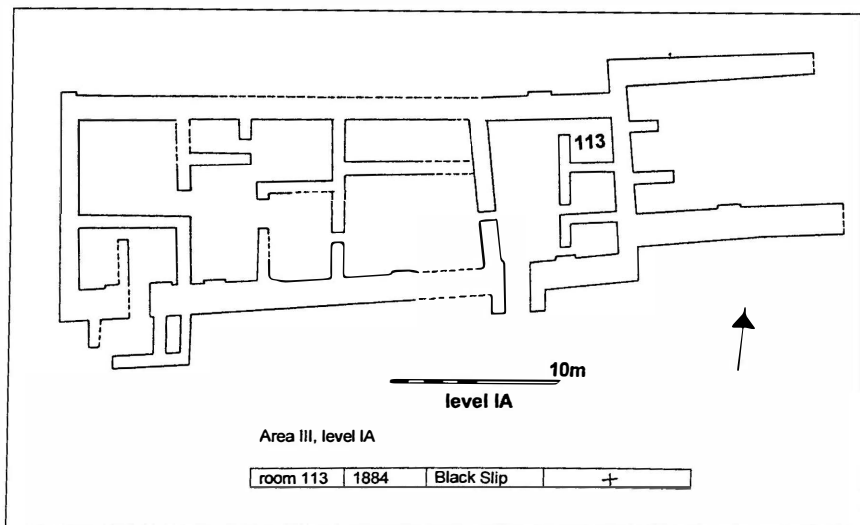


Fig. 6.5. Distribution of marked vases from Enkomi, Dikaioi Area III Level IA

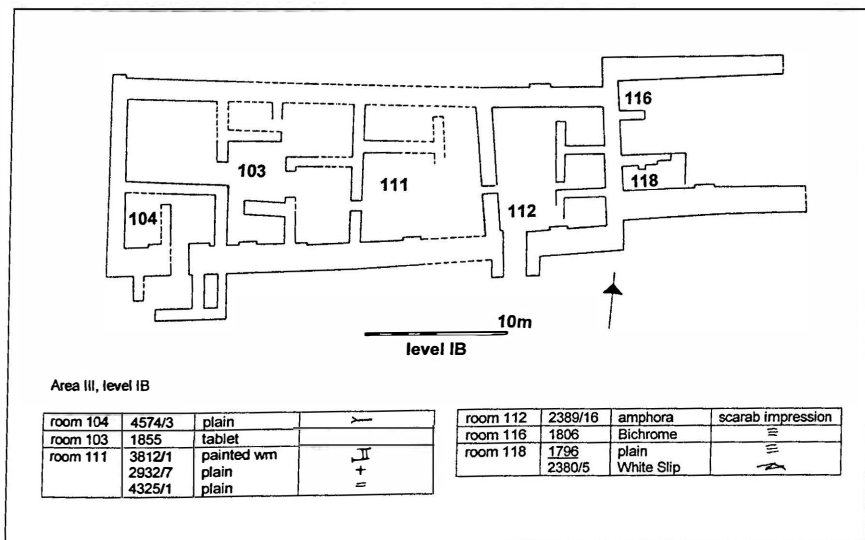


Fig. 6.6. Distribution of marked vases from Enkomi, Dikaioi Area III Level IB

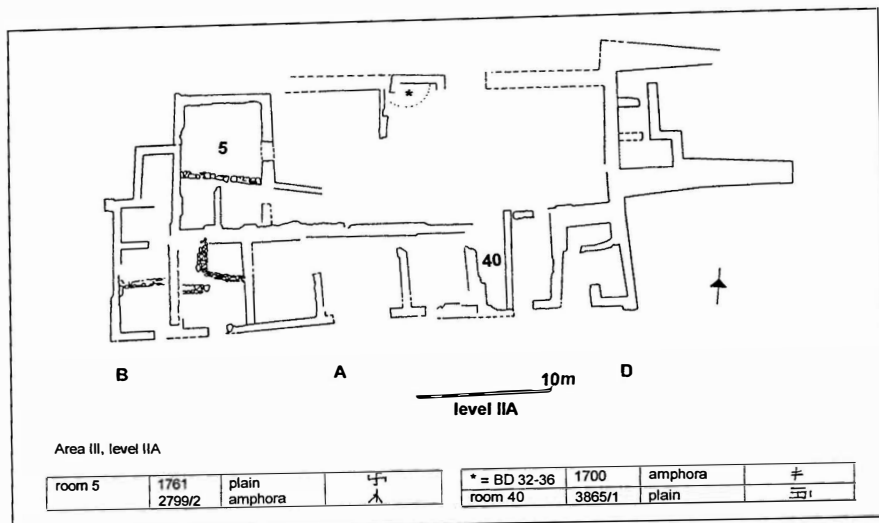


Fig. 6.7. Distribution of marked vases from Enkomi, Dikaioi Area III Level IIA

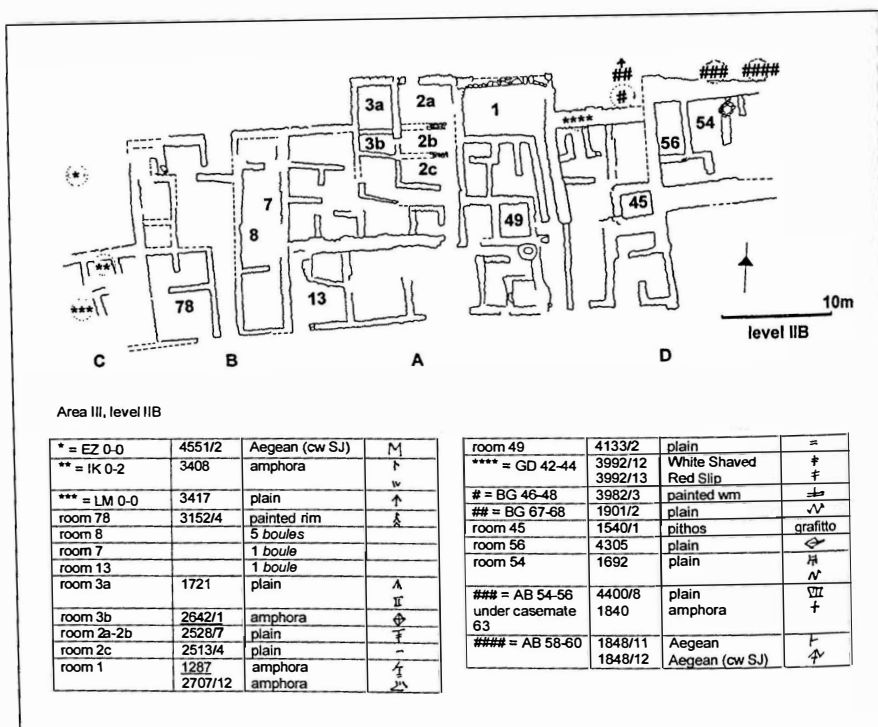


Fig. 6.8. Distribution of marked vases from Enkomi, Dikaioi Area III Level IIB

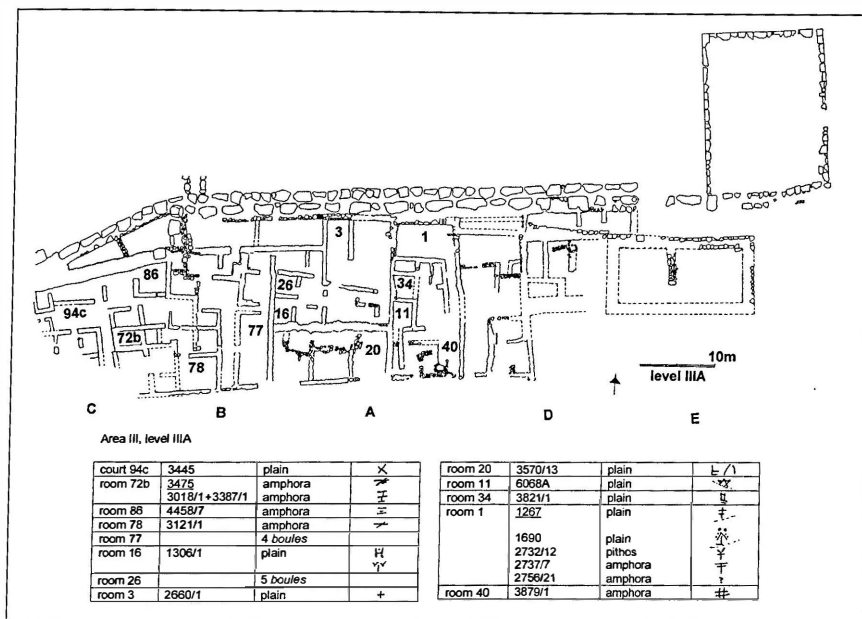


Fig. 6.9. Distribution of marked vases from Enkomi, Dikaioi Area III Level IIIA

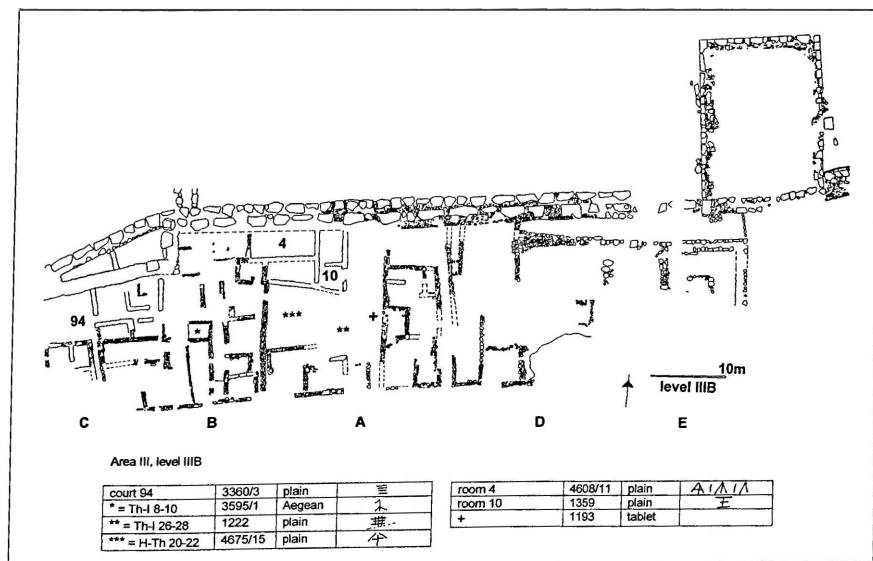


Fig. 6.10. Distribution of marked vases from Enkomi, Dikaioi Area III Level IIIB

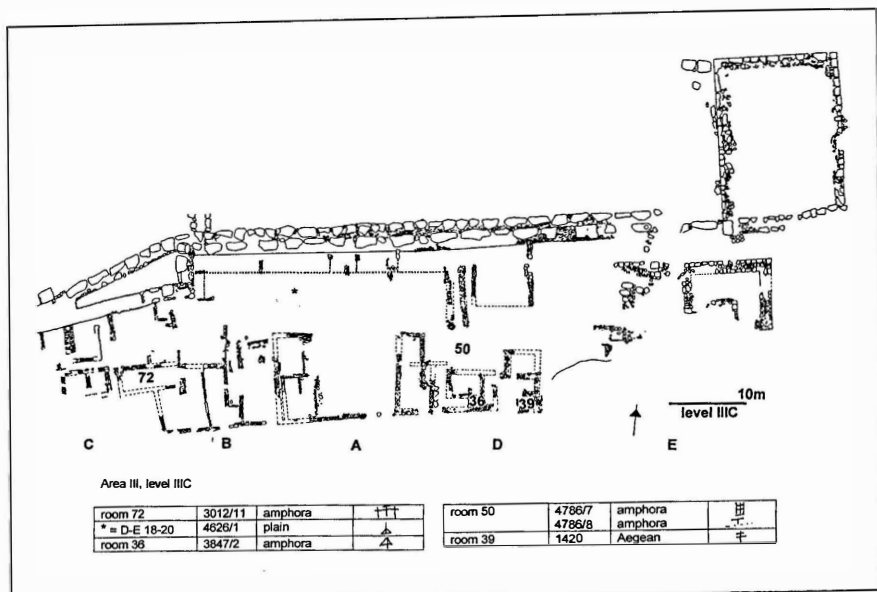


Fig. 6.1 I. Distribution of marked vases from Enkomi, Dikaioi Area III Level IIIC

Included in the discussion of potmarks, however, are those painted marks consisting of the same sign, repeated twice. Such immediate repetition of signs is not a feature of Cypro-Minoan writing as far as we now know; therefore, these doubled signs on vases, even though they can sometimes be identified as Cypro-Minoan characters, fall somewhere in between multisign combinations and the single potmarks.

The potters' marks that occur frequently on Red Lustrous Wheelmade (RLWM) vases (fig. 4) are very clearly a distinctive and self-contained marking system, unrelated in every aspect to the potmarks on all other vases from the site. Although I return to the subject of the RLWM marks later, they are not tabulated in the general sign lists discussed below.

Two impressed (prefiring) marks and an impressed scarab are unusual features and differ from the general marking patterns in use at the site.²⁵

The central column of table 1 is a list of known potmarks from vases found at Enkomi. The tremendous variety is immediately striking. Most of the potmarks are simple forms and can be identified with signs appearing in several of the scripts and marking systems current in the LBA eastern Mediterranean.²⁶ They may just as easily have been developed completely independently of the influence of any external systems of notation. It is only

Table 1. Potmarks from Enkomi: comparison with formal scripts and distribution on vases. P=painted, BF=before firing, cwSJ=coarse ware stirrup jar, WhSh=white shaved, BR=base-ring.

scripts*				vase types			
other	Linear B	Cypro-Minoan	MARK	amphora	local	Aegean	other
	10		—		1		
	20		==	7	2		
	30		≡	4			1 Myc.III C:15
	40		≡≡	1	2		
			≡≡≡	1			
	1			1	3		
		∧ ¹²	·∧			1	
			↓	1			
			↘	1+1?			
			—	1		1 ^P	
AB 01	† da	† ⁴	† —		2	7+3 ^P	
A 319	I		I	1	2		
		III	III	2			
			⊥	1			
			⊥		1		
			⊥	1			
			⊥	1?			
			⊥	1			
			⊥		1		
			†		1 ^{cw SJ}		
AB 05	† to	† ⁸ ⊥ ⁹	† ⊥ ⊥	1	2	5	
AB 03	† pa	† ⁶	†	2	4+1 ^{WhSh}	5+1 ^{disk}	
			†		1		
			†		1		
			†		1		

* AB (Linear A and B) and A (Linear A) designations as in L. Godart and J.-P. Olivier, *Recueil des inscriptions en Linéaire A* vol. 5: *Addenda, corrigenda, concordances, index et planches des signes* (Études Crétoises XXI:5 Paris 1985). Linear B as in M. Rui Pérez and J.L. Melena, *Oi Mykenaioi Ellenes* (Athens 1996) 84–85. Cypro-Minoan as in E. Masson, *Cyprominoica: répertoires, documents de Ras Shamra, essais d'interprétation*. (Studies in the Cypro-Minoan Scripts 2, SIMA 31:2 Göteborg 1974) 12–15, figs. 1–4.

Table 1 continued on the following page

Table 1 continued from the preceding page

scripts				vase types			
other	Linear B	Cypro-Minoan	MARK	amphora	local	Aegean	other
AB 24	𐀓 te	𐀓 7	𐀓 𐀓 𐀓			9+1 ^P	
AB 24 𐀓	te		𐀓	1	2	1	
			𐀓	1			
			𐀓		1		
AB 02 𐀓	𐀓 ro	𐀓 5	𐀓	10	5+2 ^{BF}	1 ^{P?}	
			𐀓 𐀓		1	1	
			(𐀓)			1 ^P	
			𐀓			1	
		𐀓 78	𐀓	1	1?		
		𐀓 60	𐀓		1 ^{BF}		
			𐀓	2	1		
			𐀓 varia	2	2		
		𐀓 77	𐀓	1			
		𐀓 69	𐀓		1		
			𐀓 𐀓		2		
			𐀓		1		
		𐀓 3	𐀓			1 ^P	
AB 77 𐀓	𐀓 ka		𐀓 𐀓 𐀓	1+1 ^P		1 ^P	
		𐀓 15	𐀓	1			
		𐀓 21	𐀓 𐀓 𐀓	3		2	
			𐀓 𐀓	2	1+1?		
AB 37	𐀓 ti	𐀓 23	𐀓	1	2		
AB 38 𐀓	e (variant)		𐀓			1	
		𐀓 25	𐀓	1	2		
			𐀓			2	






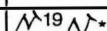










Table 1 continued on the following page

Table 1 continued from the preceding page

scripts			vase types				
other	Linear B	Cypro-Minoan	MARK	amphora	local	Aegean	other
				1			
				1			
				2	3+2 ^{BF} +1 ^{BA}		
A 318					1		
AB 46	je					1	
						1?	
		104			1	1?	
AB 44 45	ke de	107				1 ^P	
AB 44 45	ke de	107				2	
				1			
				1			
AB 09	se	44				1	
					1		
					1		
		87				1	
		87				1 ^P	
					1		
AB 27	re	82		2	1+1?		
						1 ^P	
						1 ^P +1 ^P ?	
		26			1	1	
		31			1	1	
		36			1		
A 312		27				3+1? ^P +1 ^P	
		27				2 ^P	
		variant 27?				1 ^{cwsJ}	
				1			

Table 1 continued on the following page

Table 1 *continued from the preceding page*

scripts				vase types			
other	Linear B	Cypro-Minoan	MARK	amphora	local	Aegean	other
		 104			2		
		 87			1+1?		
					1		
		 19			1		
		 20			1		
cuneiform ?				1			
cuneiform ?				1			
				1			
					1		
				1	1		
				1			
				1			

by means of the more complex marks that one may assess whether (some of) the potmarks are related to any specific script or marking system. The left-hand set of columns in table 1 records possible parallels for the potmarks. Concentrating on the more significant parallels, namely, those among the comparatively complex signs, it is readily apparent that relatively few identifications are possible. In other words, as a group these potmarks are not connected strongly with any script or known contemporary LBA marking system. The traditional equation of these potmarks with signs of the Cypro-Minoan script or as indications of literacy should not be made automatically.²⁷ On the other hand, that tradition is not completely without merit, since it is almost solely with Cypro-Minoan that any parallels between complex potmarks and script signs can be made.²⁸ The number of these parallels may increase as more examples of Cypro-Minoan writing are discovered and the script becomes better understood.²⁹ Only one complex potmark may be identified possibly with a Linear B sign.³⁰ That identification is very tenuous, and there exists also a Cypro-Minoan counterpart for that mark. Given the lack of any other Linear B comparanda among the complex marks as well as the certain identification of several Cypro-Minoan signs among the potmarks, the identification of the possible Linear B mark with Cypro-Minoan seems more likely. There is no reason to propose any close connection

between the Mycenaean script and any of the marks on the vases found at Enkomi, including the ceramics imported from the Aegean.

Macro-Context: The Site

Figure 5 outlines the areas excavated by the Cypriot and French missions; the tombs excavated by the British and Swedish expeditions are scattered within and outside these boundaries. The figure is composite, including features from several different periods of the site's existence. Enkomi, of course, changed substantially through time. Certain aspects of those changes are well documented; many others remain murky.

Table 2 presents the distribution of marked vases according to the sector of the site in which they were found. It can be seen that marked vases were found in all excavated areas of the site. The high numbers of marked vessels recovered from Quartiers 1W and 4W reflect the careful work of Dikaïos. They probably should be viewed as indications of the amount of evidence lost in the excavation and documentation of material from other areas of the site rather than as unusual concentrations of marked pottery in these particular areas. Large numbers of marked vases from Quartier 5W may also be more the result of recovery and publication than original deposition, since the bulk of material from this area comes from two tombs (Swedish Tomb 18 and French Tomb 110) that happen to have been published thoroughly. One wonders if similar concentrations of material in other sectors would have been apparent had other tombs been documented similarly. Finally, Quartier 6W is the one other sector from which a comparatively large quantity of marked vases has been retrieved; most of these finds come from the "maison aux couteaux." The haphazard nature of Schaeffer's records make it difficult to determine whether the apparent concentration of finds in this building is also real, or whether it is the result of methodological happenstance (these particular rooms more carefully excavated, or the finds more diligently inventoried, for example). Several of the buildings excavated by Dikaïos contained similarly large numbers of marked vases, suggesting that the quantity in the "maison aux couteaux" was not unusual. The finds scattered throughout the site, then, indicate that marked vases were deposited in all areas. The fact that the significantly higher numbers of marked vases in some sectors correlate (for the most part) with detailed publications of features in those areas suggests that the quartier totals reflect the documented rather than the depositional record. No weight can be given to the relative numbers of marked vases recorded in the various sectors.

Table 2. Distribution of marked vases at Enkomi.

quartier	vase type	tombs				tomb totals	non-funerary		non-funerary totals	quartier totals	
		BM	SCE	Schaeffer	Dikaioi		Schaeffer	Dikaioi			
1 W	Aegean					0		5	5	5	
	amphora					0		18	18	18	
	local					0		41+1 incl: 7 inscr 1 WhSh 1 WS	41+1?	41+1?	
	other					0		5 incl: 1 bichrome 2 BF (1 Myc, 1 local) 1 scarab (amph) 1 grafitto	5	5	
						0			69+1?	69+1?	
rue 1E	Aegean	2 ^P				2 ^P			0	2	
2W + rue 2W	Aegean			2		2			0	2	
	local			3		3			0	3	5
3 W	Aegean		5			5			0	5	
	amphora					0	2		2	2	
	local		2			2	3 incl: 1 cw SJ		3	5	12
3E + rue 3E	Aegean	3 incl: 1P 1P inscr?				1+2 ^P	1+2 ^P		1+2 ^P	6	
	amphora					0	1		1	1	8
	local					0	1		1	1	
4 W	Aegean	1 ^P				1 ^P		3	3	4	
	amphora					0		16	16	16	
	local					0		10 incl: 2 inscr	10	10	
	other					0		1 Myc III B 2 BF: 1 local 1 inscr 1 ostrakon	4	4	
						1 ^P			33	34	

Table 2 continued on the following page

Table 2 continued from the preceding page

quartier	vase type	tombs				tomb totals	non-funerary		non- funerary totals	quartier totals	
		BM	SCE	Schaeffer	Dikaiois		Schaeffer	Dikaiois			
4 E	Aegean	1 ^P				1 ^P	2		2	3	
	amphora					0	2		2	2	
	local					0	Incl: 1 inscr 2 ^{BF} amph		2	2	
	other					0			2	2	
						1			8	9	
5 W	Aegean	2+3 ^P	12+ 4 ^P + 1 ^{VP}	2 ^P + 4 ^P + 1		14+ 1? 9 ^P + 4 ^P ? 1 ^{VP}	1		1	15+1? 9 ^P +4 ^P ? 1 ^{VP}	
	amphora					0	1		1	1	
	local		1 Incl: 1 WS	1		2	2		2	4	
	other			1 ^{BF} local		1	1 ^{BF} local		1	2	
						27+ 5?			5	32+5?	
5 E	Aegean			1		1	2		2	3	13
	amphora					0	4		4	4	
	local			1+ 1?		1+ 1?	Incl: 1 cooking pot 2 inscr		4	6	
6 W	Aegean					0	1		1	1	
	amphora					0	10		10	10	
	local		1?	1		1+ 1?	Incl: 1 BR		2	3+1?	
	other					0	1 ^{BF} local		1	1	
						1+ 1?			14	15+1?	

Table 2 continued on the following page

Table 2 *continued from the preceding page*

quartier	vase type	tombs				tomb totals	non-funerary		non-funerary totals	quartier totals	
		BM	SCE	Schaeffer	Dikaïos		Schaeffer	Dikaïos			
7 W	Aegean	2 ^P + 1(P?)	1+ 1 ^P	1 ^{P?}		1 ^P + 1 ^{P?} 1(P?)			0	5+ 1?	7+ 1?
	local		1+1 local?						0	2	
9 W	Aegean	1 ^P				1 ^P			0	1	
?	Aegean					0			0		
	local			3 Incl: 1each inscr WhSh		3			0	3	
	other					0			0		
abbreviations: BM = British Museum SCE = Swedish Cyprus Expedition P = Painted Mark I = Incised Mark BF = Before firing mark inscr = inscription BR = Base Ring WhSh = White Shaved WS = White Slip Myc = Mycenaean cw SJ = coarse-ware stirrup jar amph = amphora											

Marked vases have been found in every type of context: funerary, ritual, domestic, storage, and industrial. The following discussion separates these contexts into two main categories: funerary and nonfunerary.

Archaeological Contexts: Funerary Deposits

Perhaps 1,000 tombs at the Enkomi site have been located and explored. Not even 200 have been excavated by archaeologists, and of these we have thorough records of the architecture and contents for only one-third. The incomplete and skewed nature of the sample should be kept in mind in reviewing the observations offered below.

It is fair to say that many more tombs did not have marked vases among their assemblages than did. This is clear from the careful work of the Swedish and Cypriot expeditions. Six (of 22) tombs excavated by the Swedes contained vases marked with single signs; a seventh tomb held a vase with a long inscription on its handle. None of the 30 funerary deposits excavated by Dikaïos included marked vases. It is more difficult to evaluate the tombs excavated by the British and French expeditions, since the former are only briefly published and the latter sporadically. But here, too, the presence of marked vases seems to be the exception rather than the rule. Marked vases

are recorded for 13 of the 100 tombs excavated by the British. Approximately half of the tomb groups were brought back to England and subsequently catalogued and published in the form of both brief inventories and detailed descriptions of individual vases.³¹ Attention was paid to marks in both publications, particularly in the catalogue of vases. Only six of the tomb groups now in the British Museum include vases with marks, and this can be assumed to reflect fairly accurately the depositional record. The tomb groups that remained in Cyprus were less thoroughly inventoried, and most of the marks have been identified in the course of subsequent, unrelated, studies.³² No systematic search for marks has been made. For these reasons, it may be that the small number of marked vases known (8, from 5 different tombs) underrepresent the actual number of marked vases originally deposited in these tomb groups. Because so few of the minimum 37 tombs excavated by Schaeffer have been fully documented, it is not possible to assess the significance of the fact that 9 (possibly 11) have been noted as containing one or more marked vases.

Table 3 illustrates the distribution of tombs containing marked vases in relationship to the total number of tombs excavated in each sector of the site.³³ It can be seen that tombs containing marked vases are scattered across the entire site. Sectors with higher numbers of tombs with marked vases are also the sectors in which greater numbers of tombs have been excavated. In other words, there is no significant clustering of tombs with marked vases, and marked vases in funerary contexts cannot be associated with any particular area of the site. Two observations may throw some doubt on this generalization but, in my mind, do not negate it: First is the absence of any marks in the tombs of Quartier 1W, in spite of the careful excavation and documentation of 10 tombs in that sector. Second is that only one of the 26 tombs excavated in Quartier 4W contained a marked vase. Because of the large numbers of tombs carefully excavated, one would expect larger numbers of marked vases to have been found in each of these sectors. The fact that Dikaios was responsible for excavating all or most of the tombs in these two quarters makes it impossible to suggest that negligence or oversight could explain the dearth of marked vases in tombs. The significance of these lacunae is not clear, although some possible explanations are offered below.

There are few patterns in the kinds of burials in which marked vases have been found. Chamber tombs are by far the most common types of graves at

Table 3. Distribution of tombs and tombs with marked vases at Enkomi.

W		E	
Tombs with Marked Vases	Total Number Tombs Excavated	Tombs with Marked Vases	Total Number Tombs Excavated
1	10 C	1	1
rue 1		BM T.67	
2	2 1 F 1 BM	2	BM 1 BM
F T.1851			
rue 2			
F T.1907			
3	3 1 BM + 7? 1 SCE SCE 1 F	3	5 1 F 4 BM
?SCE T.3			
?SCE T.6			
rue 3			
4	26 + 2? 6 BM BM 20 C	4	1 ? BM 12 + 1? 3 F BM 9 BM
BM T.91			
5	19 + 8? 13 BM 4 SCE 2 SCE 4 F 4 F	5	3 BM 5 F
SCE T.18 BM T.43			
F T.110 BM T.45			
?F T.12 BM T.48			
?SCE T.19			
6	10 + 4? 7 BM SCE 3 F	6	
F T.p.t.134			
?SCE T.13			
7	3 + 7? BM SCE	7	
BM T.78			
BM T.83			
?SCE T.11			
?SCE T.7A			
?F T.7			
8	2? SCE	8	2? F
			1 F
9	3? F 3? BM	9	10? BM
?BM T.94			1? BM
10		10	
11		11	
12		12	1 F

abbreviations: BM = British Museum
SCE = Swedish Cypress Expedition
F = French Expedition (Schaeffer)

C = Cypriot Expedition (Dikaos)
T = Tomb

Enkomi, and, not surprisingly, most marked vases in funerary contexts come from chamber tombs. Marked vases are not limited to this burial type; examples have also been found in ashlar-built tomb(s) and perhaps in two different tholoi.³⁴

Multiple burials were the general practice, and in all cases where records are available, marked vases come from tombs with more than one interment. The number of burials varies tremendously, from a minimum of three to at least 55.

All graves with marked vases exhibit some degree of wealth (indicated by the presence of imports or objects of precious materials), but it is difficult to evaluate relative richness.³⁵ This may explain the lack of marked vases in the tombs excavated by Dikaïos, which, with only two exceptions,³⁶ had few bodies and only a small number of associated finds. Half of Dikaïos's tombs had been looted or emptied, but the other 14 were intact. The paucity and nature of finds in the latter presumably reflect low-status burials; the lack of marked vases in these tombs suggests that marked vases circulated (only?) in contexts of prosperity.

The other consistent characteristic among the tombs that contain marked vases is that almost every one is dated to the earlier phases of the Cypriot LBA, i.e., pre-LC IIIA (table 4).

To some degree, the last two observations discussed in the paragraphs above—the wealth and dating of the tombs with marked vases—rely on circular reasoning. In tombs most marks occur on the same Mycenaean vases that serve both as indicators of wealth and particularly as the primary chronological criterion for dating most of these tombs. However, the other objects associated with each funerary assemblage do provide some independent confirmation of both wealth and date.

More than two-thirds of the marked vases known to have been found in funerary contexts at Enkomi are Aegean.³⁷ This proportion may be artificially elevated because Mycenaean pottery traditionally has received much greater attention than the plain local wares. So, for example, the Mycenaean pottery recovered in the British tombs has been published in much more detail than the plain wares, which must have been found in much greater quantities than indicated by the occasional cursory mentions in the catalogues. The range of marked Mycenaean shapes includes open and closed, large and small varieties. Kraters,³⁸ piriform jars,³⁹ and many kinds of stirrup

Table 4. Chronology of tombs and tombs with marked vases at Enkomi.

	1725	1650	1475	1400	1325	1225	1150
	MC III	LC I	LC II A	LC II B	LC II C	LC III A	LC III B
BM 52							
SCE 12							
F 11 (34)							
F 12 (46)							
F 240 (59)							
C 15							
C 17							
F 32 (57)							
SCE 20							
F 390 (60)							
C 3							
SCE 4							
F 547 (60)							
C 13							
F 3 (47)							
F 134 (57)							
F 325 (60)							
F 365 (60)							
C 16							
C m 79							
SCE 21							
BM 92							
BM 67							
SCE 19							
BM 1							
BM 10							
BM 19							
BM 28							
BM 45							
BM 51							
BM 54							
BM 61							
BM 63							
BM 64							
BM 66							
BM 71							
BM 80							
BM 83							
BM 84/84 A							
BM 86							
BM 87							
BM 88							
BM 90							
BM 93							
BM 94							
SCE 7-7B							
F 12 (34)							
F 110 (57)							
C 10							
C 11							
C 12							
SCE B							
C 20							
C 21							
C 22							
F 4 (34)							
F 8 (34)							
F 10 (34)							
F 15 (49)							
F 1851							
C 14							
SCE 2							
F 3 (34)							
F 126 (57)							
SCE 17							
SCE 3							
SCE 13							
BM 4							
BM 6							
C 5							
F 5 (49)							

Table 4 continued from the preceding page

Table 4 continued from the preceding page

	LH IIIA ₁	LH IIIA ₂	LH IIIB ₁	LH IIIB ₂	LH IIICearly
	400	375	350	325	300
	LC IIB	LC IIC	LC IIIA	LC IIIB	LC IIIB
Dates for Mycenaean pottery phases from P. Mountjoy, <i>Mycenaean Decorated Pottery: A Guide to Identification</i> (SIMA 73, Göteborg 1986) 8, table 1.				BM 58	
				BM 61	
				BM 75	
				SCE 7A	local pt
Dates for Cypriot phases and individual tombs from P.F.S. Keswani, <i>Mortuary Ritual and Social Hierarchy in Bronze Age Cyprus</i> (Diss. Univ. of Michigan, 1989) 635 table 4.1, 660-665 tables 5.24-5.27.				SCE 11A	
				SCE 14	
				SCE 15	
				SCE 16	
Criteria used to date chronological range of marked pottery indicated for each relevant tomb. LH IIIA, IIIB, etc. refer to Aegean pottery sequence.				SCE 19A	
				F6 (34)	
				F1 (47)	
Abbreviations:				Crm 72D	
BM = British Museum				Crm 79	
SCE = Swedish Cyprus Expedition				Crm 81	
F = French (Schaeffer)				BM 38	
C = Cypriot (Dikaios)				BM 44	
— tomb without marked pottery				SCE 5	
----- tomb without marked pottery (chronological range uncertain)				SCE 13C	
— tomb with marked pottery				F 12 (46)	
- - - - - tomb with marked pottery (chronological range uncertain)				F 13 (34)	
..... chronological range of marked pottery				F 15 (34)	
..... chronological range of marked pottery (uncertain)				F 16 (34)	
— no finds from this period				F 108 (52)	
				F 430 (60)	
				F 634 (61)	
				F 979 (62)	
				C 4	
				C 4A	
				C 8	
				C 9A	
				C 23	
				C 24	
				Crm 7	

jars⁴⁰ form the bulk of marked shapes. Others include shallow cups, jugs, a patera, a deep bowl, and possibly a flask. Except for a single large stirrup jar, all are fine ware. All are decorated. Motifs vary, from simple linear arrangements to elaborate pictorial representations.

Nineteen Cypriot vases carried marks. With two exceptions, these are all small to medium-sized jugs or jars.⁴¹ Ten of the jugs are identified as Plain White Wheelmade ware, the standard LC plain fabric. An assortment of wares make up the rest of the jars: three Black Slip, one Monochrome, one Painted Wheelmade, and one Base-Ring.

The one class of vase conspicuously missing from the list of marked vases found in tombs is the amphora, often called a Canaanite jar (fig. 3). Marked amphoras, as will be seen below, form a significant proportion of the marked vases found in nonfunerary contexts. No amphoras at all, marked or unmarked, were noted in the tombs excavated by any of the expeditions.⁴² Otherwise, the kinds of marked vases found in tombs do not differ significantly from the range of marked vases excavated in nonfunerary contexts at Enkomi.

A variety of marks is found on the vases from tombs. Many are the same as those on vases from nonfunerary contexts, but there exists also one class (the painted marks, discussed below) specific to tombs. One vase from the LBA tombs is marked by means of three holes drilled into the handle; all the other marked vases bear painted or incised signs. Most of these are applied or cut after firing, and most commonly they consist of a single mark only (fig. 1). The incised signs, whether single marks or multisign inscriptions, do not differ from the kinds of marks found in nonfunerary contexts except, of course, that the range of marks found on amphoras is missing from the tomb finds. Painted signs (fig. 2), however, are special to funerary deposits. Of 39 painted marks recovered from Enkomi, only 3 were found in nonfunerary contexts.⁴³ All the rest were recovered from tombs, and all of these occurred on Mycenaean vases. The connection between painted marks and Aegean vases is striking and will be discussed in further detail below. Here, in the discussion of findspots, it should be noted that since Aegean ceramics traditionally are given close attention, it is fair to assume that marks on Mycenaean vases were more likely than not to be noticed and recorded. The fact, therefore, that only one painted mark has been noted on the hundreds of Mycenaean vase fragments found in nonfunerary contexts reflects a real difference between funerary and nonfunerary deposits and suggests that painted marks somehow were connected directly with the deposit of these vases in tombs.

Thirteen of the 28 to 30 tombs in which marked vases were found contained more than one such vessel (table 5). With one exception, Swedish Tomb 18, which will be discussed separately (below), the number of marked vases found in any one tomb is limited to two or three. As can be seen in table 5, there are no consistent patterns of marking in the tomb assemblages: The number of marked vases bears no relation to the number of interments. The marked vases in any tomb differ in shape, decoration, and even fabric. The marks found in a particular tomb vary in shape and type (painted, incised; single, multiple) and placement; there is no repetition. In other words, there are no patterns in the marks found in a tomb, and thus there is no discernible evidence for an explicit connection between a particular mark and either individual burials or tomb groups as a whole.

The exception to this generalization is Swedish Tomb 18, whose unlooted contents included 16 vases marked with some consistency. It is worth examining this tomb's contents carefully, both because of the intrinsic importance

Table 5. Enkomi tombs containing multiple marked vases. Ø=no mark, NP=not preserved, P=painted, BF=before firing, PW/WM=Plain White Wheelmade.


















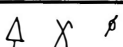



Enkomi BM tomb 22					
#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
97. 4-1. 878			 rim	PWWM I jug	none
97. 4-1. 879				PWWM I jug	none
Enkomi BM tomb 45					
#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
97. 4-1. 928			P	amphoroid krater (FS 54)	pictorial: warrior procession, vegetal, sphinxes
97. 4-1. 932	A ≠ ø			amphoroid krater (FS 36)	double row of joining semicircles (FM 42) frames field above and below; dotted rosettes (FM 27, "sea anemone") in center
Enkomi BM tomb 48					
#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
97. 4-1. 967	 			large fine stirrup jar (FS 164)	linear
97. 4-1. 970			 body P	stirrup jar (FS 185)	concentric semicircles
Enkomi BM tomb 67					
#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
97. 4-1. 1088	ø NP		  interior rim P	amphoroid krater (FS 54)	floral
97. 4-1. 1089			  body P	ring-based krater (FS 7)	zigzag (FM 61:15)
Enkomi BM tomb 68					
#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
1646			   body P	amphoroid krater (FS 55)	pictorial: chariot
1650	≠ T NP			three-handled piriform jar (FS 36)	pendant scale pattern (FM 70)
1656 ?	≠ ^ ≠			three-handled piriform jar (FS 36)	pendant scale pattern (FM 70)
Enkomi BM tomb 83					
#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
97. 4-1. 1149			  ≠ interior P	amphoroid krater	octopi
97. 4-1. 1162			P	small globular stirrup jar (FS 178)	flowers

Table 5 continued on the following page

of the evidence and because Persson's initial publication and interpretation of that evidence has played an important role in the study of potmarks and writing on LBA Cyprus.⁴⁴ In brief, Persson argues, based on the repeated appearance of specific combinations of signs on the vases from this tomb,

Table 5 continued from the preceding page

Enkomi SCE tomb 11 (21+ burials)					
#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
24				three-handled piriform jar (FS 36)	pendant scale pattern (FM 70)
33			P	amphoroid krater (FS 54)	pictorial: chariot, vegetal, fish
115				monochrome jug with trefoil mouth	none
acc. 708			??	deep bowl (FS 284)	vegetal





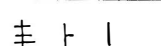
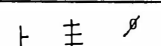
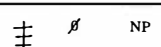
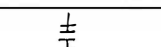
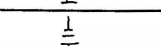

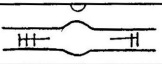

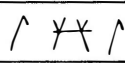





Enkomi SCE tomb 18, side chamber 1 [37 burials]					
#	handles	base	body	shape	decoration
6				amphoroid krater (FS 55)	pictorial: bulls & birds
53				large fine-ware stirrup jar (FS 164)	linear
48				bell krater (FS 281)	panel decoration (FM 75) with U-pattern (FM 45); below the handles: bulls
31				three-handled piriform jar (FS 36)	two rows of joining semicircles (FM 42:14) frame field above and below; half-rosettes (FM 74) in center
58				three-handled piriform jar (FS 36)	vertical wavy lines (FM 53:32)
77		NP		three-handled piriform jar (FS 36)	single row of joining semicircles (FM 42) frames field above and below; dotted rosettes (FM 27, "sea anemone") in center
5				jug (FS 110)	pictorial: single bull (filled with "I"s, circles on hindquarters)
74				jug (FS 110)	pictorial: two bulls (stars on neck, dot-rosettes and crossed ladders on hindquarters)
54				large fine-ware stirrup jar (FS 164)	linear

Table 5 continued on the following page




that the sign groups refer to the names of the individuals buried here.⁴⁵ There is then, according to Persson's interpretation, a direct correlation between archaeological context (individual burials) and the marked vases. But the details and methodology of Persson's argument are not satisfactory,⁴⁶ and a re-examination of the evidence from Tomb 18 is in order.

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated Tomb 18 in characteristically meticulous fashion. Plans, stratigraphy, and a complete list of finds were recorded and published.⁴⁷ The tomb is a typical LC example, with a dromos, stomion, main chamber, and two smaller subsidiary chambers. It was not looted. The stratification of the main chamber shows two different burial






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55				large fine-ware stirrup jar (FS 164)	linear
47				ring-based krater (FS 281)	pictorial: water birds
57				three-handled piriform jar (FS 36)	horizontal wavy lines (FM 33)
19			P	three-handled piriform jar (FS 48)	quirk chain (FM 48)
26			P	small stirrup jar (FS 180)	multiple stem (FM 19)
45			P	ring-based krater (FS 281)	fish flanking panelled pattern (FM 75) with chequers (FM 56)
43			P	ring-based krater (FS 281)	heraldic goats(?) frame panelled pattern (FM 75) with chequers (FM 56) alternate squares with diagonal cross-hatching
59			P	three-handled piriform jar (FS 40)	two rows of joining semicircles (FM 42:14) frame field above and below; horizontal wavy line (FM 53)

Enkomi SCE tomb 3 [15+ burials]

#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
218				PWWM I jug	none
272				amphoroid krater (FS 54)	pictorial: chariot
1	 NP			amphoroid krater (FS 54)	pictorial: chariot

Enkomi SCE tomb 6* [19+ burials]

#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
48			P	patera (FS 250)	quirk frieze?
52			P	deep bowl (FS 284)	quirk frieze
77				PWWM jug	none
?			P	small stirrup jar (FS 172?)	




*Present location of these objects unknown; not seen by NEH.

Table 5 continued on the following page


periods separated by a layer of fill, the lower one dating to LC IIC, the upper one to LC IIIA. Skeletons and associated finds were fairly well preserved for the upper burial, but only jumbled remains were found in the lower level. With regard to the lower deposit, the excavators mention one skull (possibly two), ribs, and a femur as well as 25 vases. Side Chamber 1 was evidently

Table 5 *continued from the preceding page*





Enkomi French tomb 1907E [24 burials]

#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
20. 229	 NP	NP	NP	krater?	
20. 230	 NP NP	NP	NP	three-handled piriform jar	
20. 56				PWWM I jug	none
20. 199	X			Base Ring I pitcher	none

Enkomi French tomb 5 [55+ burials]

#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
4. 529		X?	P	stirrup jar (FS 171)	linear; spiral on disk
5. 199				plain handmade jug with trefoil mouth	none

Enkomi French tomb 110 [3+ burials]

#	handles	base	other	shape	decoration
282			 interior P	shallow cup (FS 220)	stemmed lozenges (FM 73)
283			 interior P BF?	shallow cup (FS 220)	foliate band (FM 64)
267			P?	squat stirrup jar (FS 180)	multiple stem (FM 19)
266			P?	squat stirrup jar (FS 180)	linear
260			P?	horizontal flask (FS 191?)	linear
246			P?	three-handled piriform jar (FS 45)	foliate band (FM 64)
296				Black Slip jug	
268		BF		Black Slip jug	

used to house the remains of burials from the lower level of the main chamber that had been swept aside to make room for subsequent interments. Scattered fragments of about three skeletons were found in this chamber along with 70 “Levanto-Helladic” vases, 7 bronze bowls, 17 pieces of gold jewelry, 2 glass bottles, fragments of an ostrich egg, and only a handful of local ceramics. The high proportion of imports and general richness of this assemblage is noteworthy. The second side chamber was probably intended for the same use but for some reason never was used. In summary, the finds from Side Chamber 1 of Tomb 18 can be considered as a coherent, if scrambled, assemblage of bones and objects deposited as secondary interments. Whether those secondary burials were installed individually or deposited

together as part of a general clearing operation is unclear. For this reason it is also not certain whether any of the vases recovered from the lower deposit of the main chamber might originally have been associated with burial groups transferred into Side Chamber 1.

None of the vases from the main chamber were marked in any way; of the 79 vases found in the side chamber, 16, that is, one-fifth, are marked (table 5). The proportion would be slightly less if the vases in the lower stratum of the main chamber should be considered part of the assemblage in the side chamber. The marked vases include a range of shapes: one large amphoroid krater, three bell kraters, three large fine-ware stirrup jars (FS 164) and one smaller squat version (FS 180), six piriform jars (three FS 36), two jugs. Two of the bell kraters, the two non-FS 36 piriform jars, and the small stirrup jar carry painted signs; all the others have incised signs on their handles or bases. There are no surprises here—the kind of mark (painted or incised) carried by each of these vase shapes conforms to general patterns. The individual marks, too, are not unusual in any way and parallels for all the completely preserved signs are easily found.

What is unusual, as Persson noted, is the repetition of certain signs and combinations of signs on many of the marked vases found in this tomb. Eleven of the 12 incised vases all have one sign in common, \equiv . Most of these vases carry two-sign inscriptions, with the second sign being either a \vdash or a $\overline{\text{F}}$. It is likely that FS 36 piriform jar no. 77 also fit into one of these categories⁴⁸ and that the inscription on the base of krater no. 47 consisted of only the two signs, $\equiv \overline{\text{F}}$.⁴⁹ One vase, FS 36 piriform jar no. 31 carries a third sign. In sum, almost all the vases in this tomb with incised marks fall into one of two categories of sign combinations, $\equiv \overline{\text{F}}$ or $\equiv \vdash$. There is one exception: FS 36 piriform jar no. 57, incised on all three handles with signs that are not found on any other vessel in this tomb.

It is possible that one of the vases with painted marks may also fit the pattern observed above. The mark painted on the base of piriform jar no. 59 is the one common to most of the incised vases, and Persson suggests that the painted version should be interpreted as serving the same function as its incised counterparts. Exciting as it is to think about the implications of that statement, it should also be remembered that the sign under consideration is very common in both the painted and incised potmark repertoires. Although it is seductive to view the sign painted on the base of no. 59 as related to the incised marks, it is equally possible that its co-occurrence is coincidental.

The four other painted marks (on vases nos. 19, 26, 43, and 45) are badly preserved and it is difficult to discern their forms. The traces that are still visible do not seem to match any of the signs common to the other vases from this tomb, nor do they appear to be similar to one another. Thus, these painted signs seem to be a collection of renegade singles, unrelated to each other or to the incised marks. This observation bolsters the argument that the sign painted on the base of no. 59 should be considered as unrelated to the incised marks found in this tomb.⁵⁰ It also removes the reason for suggesting that painted and incised marks had similar functions in the context of this tomb. The painted marks from Tomb 18 appear on a variety of shapes, variously decorated. There is no pattern among these painted marks or the vases on which they appear to suggest any specific connection with each other, or with vases marked by means of incised signs.

Persson suggests that there may be a connection between the incised marks and their funerary context. This reasoning is based partly on elimination: There is nothing about the signs or the vases upon which they are inscribed to suggest a reason for their repeated occurrence. Differences in the renderings of marks within each of the two sign groups indicate that neither sign combination can be associated exclusively with a single inscriber.⁵¹ Neither are the sign groups associated with particular types of vessels; each occurs on a range of shapes, open and closed, variously decorated. The one feature common to all the vases in each sign group is their depositional context—the tomb. Persson suggests that each of the three sign groups (the third being the single example, no. 57) should be correlated with the three (preserved) burials in the tomb, and that the marks signify ownership.⁵² The material from Tomb 18 fits this theory, but does not prove it. First, the evidence from the tomb is too fragmentary and jumbled to allow a certain correlation between number of sign-groups and number of interments, a correlation that would strongly support the identification of the incised signs as marks of ownership. Second, owners' marks do not form the only explanation that fits the evidence. It is possible, for example, that the marks indicate lots of vases sold or transported or bought and eventually deposited together. Thus, the same set of marks on very similar vases (nos. 5 and 74, or 54 and 55) may reflect the acquisition and movement of these vases in a group.

In summary, examination of all the possible variables among marks, vases, associated finds, burials, and tomb types reveals that the practices of marking vases and burying them in tombs are certainly connected only with

reference to the painted marks. At Enkomi, painted marks are found almost exclusively on Mycenaean pottery deposited in tombs. A survey of all the ca. 115 vases with painted signs found on Cyprus corroborates the pattern noticed at Enkomi: with perhaps only half a dozen exceptions, all Mycenaean vases with painted marks whose context has been recorded⁵³ were found in tombs. The absence of painted marks in nonfunerary contexts cannot be explained by a lack of appropriate pottery found there. This pattern strongly suggests that painted marks are somehow associated with their funerary contexts.

Incised marks, on the other hand, are not exclusive to tombs and, with one exception, there are no indications that the reason(s) for incising marks was connected with their eventual deposit in tombs. The one exception (Swedish Tomb 18) should not be relegated to a footnote because its evidence, if further supported or somehow corroborated, would refute the preceding statement. At present, however, the evidence is inconclusive.

Other observations that can be made about tombs, funerary assemblages, and marked vases at Enkomi do not aid in elucidating the purpose(s) of the marks: all the tombs with marked vases contained multiple burials and relatively rich deposits of funerary goods. The tombs were of various types and scattered throughout the site. A wide range of marked ceramic types were found in the tombs, excepting amphoras, which were not present at all.

Finally, it should be noted that any possible connections between funerary context and marked vases were apparently severed in the transition from LC IIC to IIIA, after which the deposit of any marked vases in tombs ceased altogether.

Archaeological Contexts: Nonfunerary Deposits

Enkomi seemed an excellent site to test possible associations between marked vases and nonfunerary contexts because of the large areas and varied deposits (ritual, industrial, domestic, public, and private) excavated by the French and Cypriot missions. Incomplete publication and secondary contexts, however, have rendered the evidence less useful than had been hoped. (Published) records of Schaeffer's work are not complete and yield only limited contextual information for much of the material. Dikaios's complete and detailed report, on the other hand, provides a great deal of contextual information for nearly every marked piece. Unfortunately, most of the marked vase fragments were found in secondary contexts (between floors, in

dumps, pits, and fill) and thus removed from the contexts to which the marks on the vases may have had relevance. Still, some observations about findspots can be made.

It has already been remarked that the kinds of marked vases found in tombs and in nonfunerary contexts differ (table 2) in that painted marks are particularly characteristic of the former while marked amphoras are found only in the latter. Local vases, of whatever types, marked in whatever way, are much more abundant in nonfunerary contexts than in burial deposits, but they are not unusual in the tombs. In general, the total number of marked vases found outside of tombs at Enkomi is about three times the number found associated with burials. But it is impossible to assess whether the relative proportion of marked to unmarked is greater in one type of context than the other because so much material has not been recorded.

Jacques-Claude Courtois spent many long hours helping me to locate—on Schaeffer's state plans and in the inventory notebooks—the findspots of as many marked vases recovered by the French as possible. Many proveniences could not be traced; other findspots have been located, but very little information is readily available concerning the associated remains, date, or function of the area. There is some obvious clustering of marked pottery in certain areas, notably the “*maison aux couteaux*” and “*sondage XLI*,” but it is not possible to examine this in further detail because both contexts are unpublished and even the location of the latter is now unknown. The marked vases from those contexts display no consistency in kinds of marks or in types of vases marked.

Dikaïos worked in Quartiers 1W and 4W, each area including a substantial building that housed domestic, industrial, public, and ritual spaces in the middle and later phases of the LBA. Figures 6.1–6.11 illustrate the distribution of marked vases and discoveries of traces of formal writing in each area, in each period. The relatively few marked vases found in primary contexts are noted specifically by means of underlining in the chart accompanying each map. It can be seen readily that the only clustering of marks occurs in certain periods, that is, chronologically (see below). Otherwise, the distribution of marked vases shows no patterns; they are found sporadically throughout the area uncovered, and there is no consistency in type of vase or kind of mark discovered in proximal areas. Examination of the findspots reveals no connection among marks, the vases on which they occur, and function of space.

The evidence from nonfunerary contexts at Enkomi suggests no strong correlations between nonfunerary context and marked vases or specific marks. However, this conclusion must be regarded as very tenuous. Most of the marked vases uncovered by Dikaios were found in secondary contexts; thus, whatever connection there may have been between mark and place of use of the vases is not reflected in the depositional record. There are hints of connections between findspots and some marked vases in Schaeffer's material, but unfortunately the information needed to examine this further is not available. The correlation between potmarks and archaeological contexts must be examined at other Late Cypriot sites. This process is currently under way.

Micro-Contexts: The Vases

The immediate context of the marks is the vases on which they appear. Significant correspondences between specific vase types and certain marks might suggest that the reason for marking was directly connected with the container itself, especially in the absence of correlations between mark and depositional context. Table 1 documents the marks in relationship to the types of vases on which they appear. The category labeled "local" includes all types of pottery traditionally recognized as Cypriot, that is, manufactured on the island. In fact, most of the marked local vases are plain and Plain White Wheelmade (semicoarse) jars; other kinds of local pottery are labeled specifically. As noted above, *amphoras* refer to the two-handled transport jars typical of the LBA eastern Mediterranean, often called Canaanite jars (fig. 3). Many Canaanite jars may actually have been produced on Cyprus.⁵⁴ Technically, this category overlaps the "local" column, but until closer study of these jars sorts out their various places of origin, here they are included in a single category whose criteria are a specific shape and function (transport/storage jar). The third category of vase types, Mycenaean, includes both the fine ware decorated vase types traditionally labeled Mycenaean as well as coarse ware (Minoan?) stirrup jars (figs. 1 and 2). Like the amphoras, Mycenaean pottery was produced in a number of regions, including locations outside the Aegean and perhaps even Cyprus itself. Thus, the "Aegean" and "local" columns are not necessarily entirely discrete in terms of place of origin of the vases. There is some overlap, also, in terms of function, between the Aegean large stirrup jars and the amphoras. However, for the most part, the kinds of Mycenaean vases that

are marked are very different in shape (and function) from the local jugs and the amphoras.⁵⁵ Thus, although there are some inconsistencies in sorting vases into these particular categories, these designations do in general reflect basic differences not only in the origins of the vases, but also in their use.⁵⁶

The central column of table 1 lists the known potmarks from vases found at Enkomi. The tremendous variety of signs and the lack of repetition is striking. No sign is found on large numbers of vases, the majority occur on fewer than five vases, and most signs appear on only one or two vases. Nevertheless, some patterns emerge.

Marks that can be associated certainly with the Cypro-Minoan script are found on local and Aegean vases only, never on amphoras. In fact, aside from the simple signs that cross all boundaries, it is apparent that, while there is some overlap between the signs appearing on local and Aegean vases, there is practically none between either of these categories and the amphoras.⁵⁷ These two observations lead to the hypothesis that, while marks on local and Aegean pottery may borrow from the Cypro-Minoan repertory, the marks on amphoras do not. Different marking systems were evidently in use on the different vase types.

RLWM spindle bottles, also found in LBA contexts at Enkomi, lend support to this hypothesis. These vases, distinctive in fabric and shape, are often marked, always in a singular fashion: small-scale, simple patterns of curved lines, short strokes and dots, drawn into the wet clay bases (fig. 4).⁵⁸ The consistent form and application of the marks makes it possible to speak of a marking system. Because the marks were made before firing and are inconspicuous in appearance and location, by ethnographic analogy⁵⁹ it is possible to suggest that these are truly potters' marks, somehow related to the manufacturing process. If indeed RLWM vessels were made and marked on Cyprus,⁶⁰ then their marks are further evidence that Cypriots had developed different marking systems for use in different ceramic contexts.

The observation that local and Aegean ceramics carried marks based on the Cypriot script while amphoras did not implies that those people marking the local and Aegean vases were accustomed to using the Cypro-Minoan script to keep track of objects, while amphora markers either were not familiar with Cypro-Minoan or chose not to use it. Somehow Aegean and local vases moved through similar channels or were used for similar purposes, while amphoras were accounted for differently.

The Cypro-Minoan-related marks must have been made by people familiar with the Cypro-Minoan script, very likely (although not absolutely necessarily) Cypriots. Non-Cypro-Minoan signs on amphoras, however, do not necessarily indicate non-Cypriot inscribers.

Conclusions

Potmark studies in LBA Cyprus have so far been one-dimensional in that they have concentrated almost exclusively on the identification of marks with signs of the formal script(s). This approach is doubly shortsighted. First, the repertoire of Cypro-Minoan signs is hardly known, and it is often difficult to ascertain whether or not any mark occurring in isolation indeed belongs to or was derived from the formal script. Even if one can be sure that a mark is indeed Cypro-Minoan, the script is not yet deciphered and the import of any one sign is unknown. Second, concentration on marks merely as writing ignores a wealth of other evidence pertaining to the function(s) and writers of these signs. Not only the form of the sign, but the manner of its application, its position on the vase, the kinds of vases on which it appears, its chronological and depositional context, and its distribution by site and region are all clues to the reasons vases were marked.

Of course, the connection between mark and script is important, and it is certain that at least some of the marks are based on Cypro-Minoan signs. At present, because the Cypro-Minoan script is undeciphered and its structure poorly understood, it is not immediately possible to use the script to understand the meaning of the marks. Nevertheless, examination of the placement of the potmarks that also appear in formal texts may yield significant information. If, for instance, such marks commonly appear as initial signs or perhaps ideograms in the texts, this would suggest a definite relationship (rather than haphazard borrowing) between potmarks and writing. An analysis of the appearance and function of potmark signs in the Cypro-Minoan texts is currently in progress.

However, even now, the simple observation of some sort of connection with Cypro-Minoan can be taken further by looking more closely at the marks themselves and the vases on which they occur. When marks are looked at in conjunction with the types of vases on which they appear, then it becomes clear that, while (some of) the signs on Aegean pottery and on local plain wares are based on Cypro-Minoan signs, there appears to be no

connection between the Cypriot script and the marks on the amphoras. It should be emphasized that this conclusion is based on a pattern of marking that is suggestive but certainly not conclusive. As it stands, the implication is that marks based on different sign repertoires were used on different sorts of pottery.

An obvious example of a close association between a recognizable group of marks and a specific category of ceramic vases is provided by the RLWM spindle bottles. Here, the consistent form and application of the marks makes it possible to speak of a marking system.

Consistencies in the marks incised on local plain ware jugs and imported Aegean vases (fig. 1) suggest that these two wares may share a common marking system. The repertoires of incised marks on local and Mycenaean vases overlap. Both incorporated at least some Cypro-Minoan signs. The signs on both kinds of vases also have in common that they were generally incised after firing and that they were intended to be seen (as evidenced by their large scale and prominent positioning on handles). All this suggests that the reason(s) for marking Mycenaean imports was somehow closely linked with the reason(s) for marking local wares.

The signs incised into amphora handles exhibit the same features of application described above: they are also incised after firing and are highly visible because of their large size and prominent locations (fig. 3). The repertoire of signs incised on amphoras differs significantly from those on the local and Mycenaean vases, however, and therefore, at this point, the amphoras cannot be included in the same marking system.

Finally, the painted marks that appear on Mycenaean pottery constitute another marking system (fig. 2). The repertoire of painted marks overlaps extensively with that of the incised local/Mycenaean marks, and the painted marks were added similarly after firing. However, their application is very different in two important respects: they are painted rather than incised, and immediate visibility (on a properly stanced pot) was not the primary criterion in the positioning of the painted signs. Painted marks, although large-scale and therefore quite obvious if looked for, generally appear under the base, occasionally on the interior wall of the vase, and only exceptionally on the exterior lower body.

Thus, four different marking systems are exhibited on the vases found at Enkomi: (1) prefiring marks on RLWM spindle bottles; (2) postfiring incised marks on the handles of local plain wares, mainly jugs and jars, and

Mycenaean pottery; (3) postfiring incised marks on amphoras; and (4) postfiring painted marks on Mycenaean pottery. Only two of these marking systems—the incised marks on local and Mycenaean vases and the painted marks on Mycenaean pottery—exhibit any connection with the signs in Cypro-Minoan script.

The use of different systems may reflect different people making the marks or different functions for the marks. Because the signs, isolated and with undeciphered values, cannot be read, the clues to their meaning must be sought in the differing patterns of occurrence of the marks on vases and the marked vases in the archaeological record. The fact that the incised marks, except for those on RLWM spindle bottles, were cut after firing suggests that they were not made by the potter, who had the much easier option of incising into unfired malleable clay. The blatant positioning of the postfiring marks on the handles of vases indicates that they were intended to be highly visible. Beyond this, there are almost no other patterns to indicate any particular function for the marks: there are no consistent correspondences between any particular mark and specific vase shapes or decoration, container sizes, or general or specific archaeological contexts. Thus, the incised marks on these vases do not seem to be related to workshop, volume, ownership, or the function of any area in which they were found. The few consistencies among these incised marks (postfiring, highly visible) and the variability with respect to all other features of the vases and their depositional contexts are the only clues to the meaning(s) of the marks. One explanation that satisfies all these observations is that the marks were made by individuals handling these vases, in the process of trade, exchange, or deposit.⁶¹ There is no reason to think that the Cypro-Minoan-based marks on local plain ware vases were made by anyone but Cypriots. Since the incised marks on Mycenaean vases fit into this same system, the inference is that those marks were also made by Cypriots.

The marks on amphoras belong to a system that differs from the local/Mycenaean system in terms of the repertoire of signs but shares the other features of application (postfiring, highly visible) and the lack of any discernible patterns of depositional contexts. It is not yet clear whether the differences in sign types reflect different reasons for marking or different people making the marks. The shared characteristics of the two marking systems suggest that the function of the marks may have been the same. The simplest explanation for the difference in repertoires is that different people

were marking the amphoras.⁶² The only sure statement that can be made is that the marking of some Mycenaean imports was closely linked with local Cypriot marking practices, while the marking of amphoras differed somewhat. The significance of those differences cannot yet be pinpointed.

The fourth marking system in evidence at LBA Enkomi is the painted marks. The application of the painted marks is limited and consistent: the marks are painted after firing, on the bases, lower bodies, and interiors of Mycenaean vases.⁶³ Several of the marks are definitely Cypro-Minoan signs, and many others may be. In general, the painted marks fall into the same sign repertoire as the local/Mycenaean incised signs. Thus the painted marks share the features of repertoire and postfiring application with the marks incised on local and Mycenaean vases. Other features, however, are different, including the use of paint, the positioning of the signs in less obvious places on the vase,⁶⁴ and the restriction to Mycenaean vases only. Again, while these characteristics distinguish the vases with painted marks from the groups of vases with incised marks, they do not provide enough evidence to indicate whether the differences in marking are due to different people making the marks or to different functions for these marks. In this case archaeological context does provide an important clue. Almost all vases with postfiring painted marks whose depositional context can be determined were found in tombs. This holds true not only for Enkomi, but also for the rest of Cyprus. It seems, therefore, that the painted marks somehow are connected specifically with the deposit of Mycenaean vases in burials.

Marks appear on vases on Cyprus throughout, before, and after the LBA period at Enkomi. As with ceramic features such as shape, fabric, and manner of decoration, the way in which a pot was marked varied through time and space. It is possible, in many cases, to ascertain the date and orbit of a vase from the form and application of its mark. LBA potmarks found at Enkomi exhibit a distinctive shift from the simple, mostly prefiring, dots and slashes marking Early and Middle Cypriot pottery⁶⁵ to more complex signs. This change coincides roughly with the first appearances of writing on Cyprus in the LC I period, and it may be that these two events are related.⁶⁶

Potmarks at Enkomi are most numerous and diverse in LC IIC–IIIA, which are also the periods corresponding to the floruit of formal writing at the site. Thus, the connection between writing and the appearance of complex potmarking systems holds true. But there are marked changes in other aspects of life at Enkomi during the course of these two eras, including

substantial changes in the town planning, architecture, and material assemblages, and the arrival of significant numbers of Aegean immigrants. A fall-off of trade with the now-devastated mainland centers is also apparent. The cessation of Aegean imports means, of course, the disappearance of the marks painted and incised on this pottery. The vacuum in Aegean luxury wares is filled by local production of vases in the tradition of the earlier imports (White Painted Wheelmade III, i.e., so-called Mycenaean IIC, Rude/Pastoral style, Late Mycenaean IIIB, decorated LC III, etc.). The change does not, of course, happen suddenly or cleanly, and it is often difficult to determine whether a vase is a local production or import, especially in the LC IIC period, when both are present. This complicates the very important question of how the new production venues affected the way in which Mycenaean vases were marked. Without doubt, there is a change: marks on identifiable local Mycenaean are extremely rare, and those few exceptions are very different in form and nature from the marks boldly painted and incised on the Late Helladic/Late Minoan (Mycenaean) IIIA-B imports. Clearly, therefore, the reasons for marking the Aegean imports did not apply to (most of) the local imitative productions. This supports the hypothesis that the prominently incised marks on Aegean vases were somehow connected with their import into the island, since local production and circulation marked the demise of this marking system. It also indicates that the association of painted marks and funerary contexts seems to have been specific to Mycenaean vases. Clearly, the changes associated with the local manufacture of Mycenaean pottery are very significant to understanding the reasons for marking pottery both before and after the LC IIC/IIIA transition. Partially due to the inadequate publication of the much of the material, partially due to the author's initial lack of expertise in examining the rest, this question has not here been given the thorough treatment that it merits. But efforts are under way to redress this fault by means of extensive investigation of the evidence yielded at Hala Sultan Tekke, another major LBA site on the southern coast of Cyprus. Here, both potmarks and the distinction between Aegean imports and locally made pottery of Aegean type have been subjects of keen interest to the excavators; thus the evidence relevant to this line of questioning is accessible.

The changes observed in the marking of Aegean and Aegean-type vases do not occur among the amphoras and traditional local vases. These both continue to be marked with no substantive changes detectable between LC IIC

and IIIA and are found in plenty throughout the later period. If the suggestion that marks were connected with trade of the vases is valid, the fact that the same marking practices continue on amphoras and local plain wares suggests that IIC/IIIA disruption did not alter organization/administration of trade within Cyprus, and, if amphoras were marked in the importing process, between Cyprus and its eastern neighbors.

The absence of marked vases from funerary contexts is the one universal change detectable in the transition from LC II to III. The disappearance of marked Mycenaean pottery in funerary contexts is due to external circumstances—the halt in production and import of the traditionally marked vase types. But the disappearance of marked local pottery in tombs cannot be similarly explained. The number of marked local vessels deposited in tombs was always relatively small, and so this drop-off seems a subtle change. The large number of LC IIIA and IIIB tombs—all without marked vases—makes clear that this change is not a matter of archaeological happenstance (table 4). Whether and in what way the absence of marked local pottery in tombs is related to the disappearance of marked Aegean vases is unknown.

The floruit of potmarks (LC IIC–IIIA) coincides with that of formal writing—at least as far as can be ascertained from the numbers of inscriptions preserved in the archaeological record. Traces of writing continue to be found in later (LC IIIB) contexts, though in much smaller numbers, many of these perhaps misplaced holdovers from the previous period. Potmarks, too, continue to appear, also in decreased numbers. Dikaios points to the number of potmarks as evidence of continued literacy, but, as we have seen, marks cannot be indiscriminately equated with script signs. In fact, the majority of marks found in LC IIIB contexts occur on amphora handles—the ceramic type whose associated marking system(s) has no demonstrable connections with formal writing on Cyprus or anywhere else. If one discounts the potmarks, the evidence for writing in LC IIIB is very meager. The fall-off of the knowledge/use of formal writing on Cyprus may have been much more sudden than Dikaios's tally suggests.

All of these hypotheses can be and are being tested with the examination of potmarking practices at other LBA sites on and outside of Cyprus. Whether or not all the patterns observed at Enkomi hold true elsewhere, I can already state with confidence that one does, and that is the generosity with which excavators have shared material and knowledge. I continue to bump into the spirit of Olivier Masson and Jacques-Claude Courtois.ⁱ

NOTES

- ¹ Among the earliest reports: A.S. Murray, "Excavations at Enkomi," in A.S. Murray, A.H. Smith, and H.B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus* (London 1900; reprint 1969) 1–54; M. Markides, *Cyprus: Annual Report of the Curator of Antiquities, 1916* (Nicosia 1917) 16–20.
- ² S. Casson, "The Cypriot Script," *Ancient Cyprus: Its Art and Archaeology* (London 1937) 72–109; J.F. Daniel, "Prolegomena to the Cypro-Minoan Script," *AJA* 45 (1941) 249–82; O. Masson, "Répertoire des inscriptions chypro-minoennes," *Minos* 5 (1957) 19–27. E. Masson includes potmarks in her sign lists, which currently serve as the standard reference, published in *Cyprominoica: Répertoires, documents de Ras Shamra, essais d'interprétation* (SIMA 31:2, Göteborg 1974) 12–15 figs. 1–4, but does not discuss the potmarks per se.
- ³ O. Masson (supra n. 2).
- ⁴ My gratitude also to Jacques-Claude and Elisabeth Lagarce, who have allowed me to continue unhindered the work begun with J.-C. Courtois, and to the officials in the Cyprus Museum: Dr. Demos Christou, past director; Dr. Pavlos Flourentzos, curator of antiquities; and Mr. Gregoris Christou. My work in the Enkomi storerooms of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia was generously funded by the Mellon 1984 Foundation and Fulbright Commission. Finally, I am tremendously grateful to Joanna S. Smith and Susan Sherratt for taking time to read my thoughts carefully and comment extensively and perceptively. The shortcomings of this paper can only be attributed to me.
- ⁵ Murray (supra n. 1) 9, 27.
- ⁶ A.W. Persson, "Appendix I: More Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions," in E. Gjerstad, J. Lindros, E. Sjöqvist, and A. Westholm, *SwCyprusExp* III, 601–618.
- ⁷ P. Dikaios, "Appendix V: The Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions," in P. Dikaios, *Enkomi: Excavations 1948–1958*, volume II (Mainz am Rhein 1971) 881–91.
- ⁸ C. F.-A. Schaeffer, *Missions en Chypre, 1932–1935* (Paris 1936) 76.
- ⁹ Schaeffer (supra n. 8) 76–79, Appendice I, 119–21.
- ¹⁰ Schaeffer's argument is based in large part on his supposition that the painted marks were applied *before* firing and, therefore, that they were indicators of where the vases were made. But I believe it is more likely that the painted marks were applied *after* firing, and so could have been applied at any point after a vase's firing until its final deposition. My assessment is based on the following observations: The paint of the marks is always obviously different in hue, luster, and density from the paint used to decorate the vases. There are a few vases where the painted mark and the painted decoration overlap; in these cases, it is apparent that the mark extends over the decoration. This at least shows that the mark was painted after the decoration had dried, and that the two did not meld, as might be expected if the pot was fired after the mark had been applied. Finally, the painted signs are generally faint or even fugitive—as if the paint was never truly fixed and therefore relatively easily rubbed off. These are admittedly subjective arguments; until one or some of the painted marks can be scientifically analyzed, the important question of whether the painted marks were applied before or after firing cannot be answered definitively.
- ¹¹ In 1941 J.F. Daniel (supra n. 2) 252 laid out systematic criteria by which to evaluate

whether a potmark might be identified as Cypro-Minoan. Very few subsequent publications have heeded those suggestions or explicitly established alternative guidelines.

- ¹² Estimates for the size of Enkomi appear in R.S. Merrillees, "The Government of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age," in P. Åström ed., *Acta Cypria: Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology Held in Göteborg on 22–24 August 1991*, pt. 3 (SIMA-PB 120, Jonsered 1992) 328 and O. Negbi, "The Climax of Urban Development in Bronze Age Cyprus," *RDAC* 1986, 101.

Illustrations (drawings and photographs) and catalogue entries for every potmark known from Enkomi will soon be available on an electronic database, reached via a link with the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory of the Department of Classics at the University of Texas at Austin (<http://www.utexas.edu/research/pasp>).

- ¹³ Murray (supra n. 1) esp. 51–54; H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum, volume I, pt. II: Cypriote, Italian, and Etruscan Pottery* (London 1912) passim; J.L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (Oxford 1899) 183–86.

- ¹⁴ Indication that the potmarks listed in Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter (supra n. 13) are an incomplete corpus is found in the many potmarks, previously unnoted, among the Enkomi material published by V. Karageorghis in *CVA Cyprus 1 Cyprus Museum 1* (Nicosia 1963) fig. 3 and passim.

- ¹⁵ "Mycenaean" here refers to any vase made in the tradition of the fine, decorated wares characteristic of the Late Helladic IIIA–B period in the Argolid.

- ¹⁶ *SwCyprusExp* I, 467–575, pls. LXXVI–XCII.

- ¹⁷ V. Karageorghis, "Supplementary Notes on the Mycenaean Vases from the Swedish Tombs at Enkomi," *OpAth* 3 (1960) 135–53; P. Åström, "Supplementary Material from Ayios Iakovos Tomb 8, with a Note on the Terminal Date of Mycenaean IIIA:2 late," *OpAth* 4 (1962) 207–224; E. Mossberg, "Sherds from Enkomi Tomb 5 and Ayios Iakovos Tombs 3 and 5," *OpAth* 11 (1975) 119–28; K. Andersson, "Supplementary Material from Enkomi Tombs 3, 7, 11 and 18 s.c.," *MedMusB* 15 (1980) 25–40; E.T. Skage, "Supplementary Sherds from Ayios Iakovos Tomb 9, Dromos," *OpAth* 20 (1994) 211–20.

- ¹⁸ Bibliography collected in J.-C. Courtois, J. Lagarce, and E. Lagarce, *Enkomi et le Bronze Récent à Chypre* (Nicosia 1986) xiii–xvi, to which should be added J.-C. Courtois and J.M. Webb, *Les cylindres-sceaux d'Enkomi* (Nicosia 1987); A. Caubet, J.-C. Courtois, and V. Karageorghis, "Enkomi (Fouilles Schaeffer 1934–1966): Inventaire Complémentaire," *RDAC* 1987, 23–48; J.-C. Courtois, "Enkomi (Fouilles Schaeffer 1934–1966): Inventaire Complémentaire (Suite): Les Objets en terre cuite et en pierre," *RDAC* 1988 pt. 1, 307–318; J.-C. Courtois, "La Céramique de la tombe 501 d'Enkomi 1950 du Chypriote Récent IIIA," *RDAC* 1988 pt. 1, 301–305; V. Karageorghis, "Kypriaka XI: A. Late Bronze Age Material from Enkomi," *RDAC* 1988 pt. 1, 331–32.

- ¹⁹ Many of these had already been noted in an unpublished manuscript compiled and shared with me by Courtois, titled "Corpus céramique d'Enkomi" (n.d.).

- ²⁰ Schaeffer (supra n. 8); "Sur un cratère mycénien de Ras Shamra," *BSA* 37 (1936–1937) 212–35. Relevant to this point, Joanna Smith reminded me that Schaeffer's personal library, particularly strong in reference to scripts and seals, especially of the Bronze Age, is

indicative of the original owner's interest in these subjects. Schaeffer's library is now incorporated into and available for use in the holdings of the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI).

²¹ Dikaios (supra n. 7).

²² For example, Rochester Memorial Art Gallery 51.204; most recently published in E. Rystedt, "New Light on a Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painter," *MedMusB* 23 (1988) 21–32 passim, fig. 8.

²³ This impression of the relative scarcity of marked vases is further confirmed by recent excavations at numerous other LBA Cypriot sites, where there has been both careful control and an interest in identifying writing and marks on vases.

²⁴ "A group of at least two signs" is an accepted definition of an "inscription" among some scholars of Aegean scripts; see, for example, J.-C. Poursat, L. Godart, and J.-P. Olivier, *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: Le Quartier Mu I: Introduction générale, écriture hiéroglyphique crétoise* (*EtCret* 23, Paris 1978) 34. Almost all the inscriptions were incised *before firing* on plain jars of *local* manufacture and can therefore provisionally be classified as examples of the local script, Cypro-Minoan.

²⁵ Dikaios 2389/16, published in P. Dikaios, *Enkomi: Excavations 1948–1958*, volume IIIa (Mainz am Rhein 1969) 627, pl. 126:53; Schaeffer 1958/216 and Schaeffer 1961/13 are unpublished amphora handles with impressed marks.

²⁶ Other contemporary LBA marking systems include, for example, those on ingots, masonry, and metal tools. Systematic study of marks in these media, especially the ingot marks [P. Sibella, "The Copper Oxhide and Bun Ingots," *INA Quarterly* 23.1 (Spring 1996) 9–11] is in various stages of completion, and so the far left column in table 1 in future publications could eventually include more parallels. Also still in progress is the full identification of comparanda from other writing systems—Minoan Linear A, Old Canaanite, and other Proto-alphabetic scripts. Preliminary (extensive, but not exhaustive) examinations of these scripts provide no contradictions to the conclusions mentioned in this essay.

²⁷ See the comments in the text above, in the introductory remarks.

²⁸ The potmarks that I regard as certainly Cypro-Minoan are those corresponding to CM no. 26, 27, 31, and 87. The potmarks identified with CM no. 25 and with *N* should also probably be added to this list.

²⁹ The repertoire of Cypro-Minoan signs is as yet poorly understood. At present, "Cypro-Minoan" is essentially a catchall phrase used to refer to any trace of LBA writing on Cyprus, including potmarks. The sign lists generally cited (E. Masson, supra n. 2) represent a substantial beginning but are neither accurate nor complete. No Cypriot archives have yet been uncovered; our understanding of the LBA script(s) used on Cyprus is based on sporadic finds of inscriptions on a variety of media on an assortment of objects found in all parts of the island. The sign lists represent a somewhat indiscriminate and largely undocumented compilation of signs from all of these sources. Inaccurate and scattered publication of the inscriptions and objects prevents independent evaluation of the repertoire(s) of Cypro-Minoan signs and writing practices. Each new discovery adds to the repertoire. (See, for example the recent discoveries at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, first published by E. Masson, "Premiers documents chypro-minoens du site Kalavassos-*Ayios*

Dhimitrios," *RDAC* 1983, 131–41, and "Vestiges écrits trouvés sur le site de Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios," in A. South, P. Russell, and P.S. Keswani, *Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios II: Ceramics, Objects, Tombs, Specialist Studies* [*SIMA* 71:3, Göteborg 1989] 38–40, figs. 60–63, pl. XIII, and now being restudied by J.S. Smith, "Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions," in A. South, *Vasilikos Valley Project 5: Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios IV: The North-East Area* [*SIMA* 71:5, Jonsered forthcoming]). Several unpublished local handles among Schaeffer's finds from Enkomi include multiple sign inscriptions; many of these were incised before firing on local LBA vases and presumably should be incorporated into the Cypro-Minoan corpus. The author and J.S. Smith are presently studying Cypro-Minoan inscriptions to facilitate meaningful study of the script(s) in use on LBA Cyprus.

For the purposes of this paper the existing sign lists are used. In spite of the problems discussed above, because Masson's lists have been derived mainly from a few long inscriptions found at Enkomi and contemporary with the bulk of the potmarks from the site, they are appropriate sources from which to establish at least a provisory impression of the relation between potmarks and script in use at LBA Enkomi. Signs not included in these lists, but attested on multisign inscriptions on local pottery and therefore presumably Cypro-Minoan, are marked with an asterisk(*) in table 1.

³⁰ The relative complexity of a mark is, of course, a subjective judgment. In my opinion, the only potmark that is both identified with a Linear B sign and is relatively complex is the one associated with LB "ke" or "de" as well as CM 107. The fact that two different Linear B equations are proposed underscores the tenuous nature of this identification. There are three potmarks for which Linear B—but not Cypro-Minoan—equivalents can be suggested: the marks identified with Linear B "ka," "e," and "je." I do not think that any of these equations are compelling. All three are simple signs and so resemblances may easily be attributed to coincidence. The identification of the latter two are particularly questionable because of difference in form between potmark and proposed equivalent. In fact, the tang added to one leg of the X of the last-mentioned sign is more likely to be indicative of Cypro-Minoan.

³¹ Murray (supra n. 1), Walters (supra n. 13).

³² Schaeffer (supra n. 8) 119–21, and Karageorghis (supra n. 14).

³³ N.B.: This table includes only those tombs whose locations could be determined. The work of P.F.S. Keswani (*Mortuary Ritual and Social Hierarchy in Bronze Age Cyprus* [(Diss. Univ. of Michigan 1989)]) was of tremendous help in sorting out data pertaining to the locations, contents, and dating of the Enkomi tombs.

³⁴ Ashlar tombs with marked vases: BM T.66: Murray (supra n. 1) 5, fig. 5 (plan and sections), 18, fig. 34, 22–24 passim, 35, fig. 63, 36, fig. 64, 43, pls. IV and IX, tomb location identified on map, 30; Courtois, Lagarce, and Lagarce (supra n. 18) 42; P. Åström, "Some Pot-marks from the Late Bronze Age found in Cyprus and Egypt," *SMEA* 4 (1967) 9, no. 4; and Walters (supra n. 13) 122; Fr. T.1409 (in dromos, possibly not from within tomb); Courtois, Lagarce, and Lagarce (supra n. 18) 42, marked vase, unpublished; tholoi: BM T.48 (or rubble-lined?): Murray (supra n. 1) 8, fig. 14, 45, fig. 71, no. 927, 47, 48, fig. 73, 52, tomb location indicated on map, 30; Courtois, Lagarce, and Lagarce (supra n. 18) 45, marked vases from BM T. 48: O. Masson (supra n. 2) 20, no. 202; Persson (supra

n. 6) 607; Casson (supra n. 2) 99 (10b), 102 (27); A.H. Smith in *CVA Great Britain 1 British Museum (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities)* 1 (London 1925) 5, 7, Group Ilcb, pls. 3.35, 6.10; Walters (supra n. 13) 103, 107; Murray (supra n. 1) 48, fig. 73, nos. 967, 970; P. Åström, "Some Pot-marks from the Late Bronze Age found in Cyprus and Egypt," *SMEA* 4 (1967) 9, no. 5, fig. 7; A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification* (Stockholm 1941) 615 (FS 185:12); ?Fr. T.1336 (in dromos); W. Johnstone, "A Late Bronze Age Tholos Tomb at Enkomi," in C. F.-A. Schaeffer, *Alasia I* (1971) 80, fig. 18, 111 (D32). A handle with a multisign inscription comes from shaft grave *SwCyprusExp* I, T.7A.

³⁵ Inadequate documentation of finds and bone counts, looting, and confusion caused by multiple interments makes it difficult to evaluate relative wealth among the burials and tombs, but cf. P.S. Keswani, "Dimensions of Social Hierarchy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus: an Analysis of the Mortuary Data from Enkomi," *JMA* 2/1 (1989) 49–86.

³⁶ Cypriot T.2 and T.10 in P. Dikaios, *Enkomi: Excavations 1948–1958*, volume I (Mainz am Rhein 1969) 336–47, 357–94.

³⁷ Out of a total of 75 marked vases found in tombs at Enkomi, 56 are Aegean.

³⁸ 12 amphoroid and 7 (including one "Rude Style") ring-based.

³⁹ 13, including one example where the existence of a painted mark is disputable.

⁴⁰ Eight small (various types, including one possibly Minoan, and two examples where the existence of painted marks is disputable), five large fine ware, and one large coarseware (Minoan?).

⁴¹ The exceptions are a White Slip bowl (*SwCyprusExp* T.19/146) and an unpublished white shaved juglet handle (Schaeffer 1958/IV-241).

⁴² I do not regard the context of handle fragment Dikaios 2199 (Dikaios (supra n. 25) 654, 889, pl. 315:26) found "in debris filling tomb 19" as secure.

⁴³ With one exception (amphora Dikaios 718/7, see Dikaios (supra n. 25) 596, pls. 77:23, 125:4), painted marks at Enkomi are associated exclusively with Aegean vases. The amphora was found in a nonfunerary context. Perhaps only 2 of the 38 Aegean vases with postfiring painted signs were found deposited in nonfunerary contexts at Enkomi: (1) Schaeffer 1960/C646, an unpublished Mycenaean krater base, was definitely found in a nonfunerary context; its topographical findspot has been noted, but further details about its context are lost; (2) a small Mycenaean closed vessel (Schaeffer 1959/ C334, also unpublished) with a mark painted on its base was recovered from a building which housed industrial, ritual, and domestic spaces; (3) Dikaios 2661/11 (Dikaios (supra n. 25) 580, pl. 69:8) also definitely comes from occupational debris, but its mark is prefiring and therefore probably related to the vessel's manufacture rather than its place of deposition. The findspots of (4) an amphoroid krater handle (H. Catling, "Unpublished Finds from Cyprus (I) Graffiti in the Late Cypriot Linear Script (II) Imported Greek Pottery at Chytroi," *RDAC* 1988 pt. 1, 326 no. 5, 327 fig. 1:5, pl. XLIV:5) picked up by the Cyprus Survey and (5) a vase recorded by S. Casson ([supra n. 25] 102 [27e]) are unknown. Finally, (6) a fairly complete vessel now in the Rochester Art Gallery (51.204, supra n. 22) may or may not have come from Enkomi—its condition suggests that it was probably looted from a tomb.

⁴⁴ Persson (*supra* n. 6).

⁴⁵ Persson (*supra* n. 6) 613.

⁴⁶ The starting point for Persson's interpretation of the marks on the vases in Tomb 18 is a general argument that the signs on handles and bases of vases refer to the owner. He arrives at the generalization that the marks refer to names by eliminating other possibilities (potters' marks, marks of dedication, references to contents); the hypothesis that they refer to the owner in particular is grounded in analogy to a Cypriot Syllabic example but is also based on the pattern of finds from Tomb 18 (pp. 611–12). It is, therefore, somewhat circular reasoning to then use this hypothesis to explain the function of the marks in Tomb 18.

Persson postulates that the inscriptions on 12 of the 14 marked vases found in Tomb 18 may all be related to a long inscription on the base of krater no. 47. Persson sees four signs on the ring of this base: three grouped together separated by a punctuation point from a fourth (p. 602 no. 12a); he also notes a fifth sign in the base's central portion (p. 602 no. 12b). Persson's discussion is accompanied by an excellent photograph of this base (p. 614 fig. 318), but it is difficult to see anything beyond the first and last signs of his sequence. Looking for traces to confirm the author's reading, it is perhaps possible to interpret some very vague marks or scratches close to the first sign as representing the middle signs of Persson's sequence. If so, the spacing is very strange, with the first three signs closely packed together and then big blank spaces between those and the isolated sign. I can see no trace in the photograph of the separation marker that Persson transcribed. The inscription would also be unique in that it consists of more than two signs, which is the maximum on all other bases with incised or painted signs. Unfortunately, it is now impossible to confirm Persson's transcription firsthand, because the supporting surface of the base has deteriorated badly in the intervening years.

In accordance with his general theory that marks on handles and bases refer to the owner, Persson suggests that the three signs spell out some form of a name, with the single fourth sign perhaps an abbreviated patronymic (p. 613). (The single sign in the center of the base is a puzzle to Persson and is ignored in his interpretive discussion). It is striking that 11 other vases from Tomb 18 repeat certain combinations of the signs Persson sees on krater no. 47, and the author argues that these are alternative references to the individual most fully identified on the krater base.

In a similar fashion, two other inscriptions on separate vases (p. 603 nos. 13 and 14 = Tomb 18 nos. 74 and 57), both with (according to Persson) the same initial sign, must refer to a single individual, the second of the three bodies known to have been buried in this chamber. However, Persson evidently forgot that one of these inscriptions is found on the base of a jug whose handle also carries inscribed signs that fit the pattern of the vases associated with krater no. 47, i.e., two different inscriptions on a single vase are taken to refer to two separate individuals! In this case, for Persson's ownership theory to hold true, he would have to assume that this vase had been transferred from one individual to another without the original owner's mark having been erased. In fact, my examination of the vase leads me to interpret the marks on the base of no. 74 as accidental scratches, which would eliminate the entire problem of two different sets of marks on the same vase. But it also denies Persson a second pattern (i.e. consisting of more than one example) of marking in the tomb.

In sum, although I agree with Persson that the consistency of marks on the vases found in the side chamber of Tomb 18 is remarkable, I question his argumentation and some of his observations. He uses the same assemblage both to formulate and to confirm the hypothesis that the marks refer to owners' names. The single external piece of evidence cited as evidence that inscriptions on vases can refer to owners is not a convincing analogy—it consists of a true inscription rather than one or two isolated marks. Two centerpieces of Persson's argument are suspect. His reading of the base of krater no. 47 is not visible in the accompanying photograph and cannot be confirmed today; and its uniqueness in regard to both format and nature calls that reading into question. The scratches on the base of no. 74 are still clearly preserved and, in my judgment, are not deliberate. Persson has not satisfactorily demonstrated that the marks are abbreviated names or that those names refer to the vases' owners, buried in the tomb.

⁴⁷ Gjerstad et al. (*supra* n. 16) 546–58, pl. XC. In discussing pottery from this tomb I refer to Furumark shapes (FS) of Mycenaean pottery as classified in Furumark (*supra* n. 34) and A. Furumark *Mycenaean Pottery III: Plates* (Stockholm 1992).

⁴⁸ Only two of FS 36 piriform jar no. 77's handles are preserved: one carries a π , one is blank. The pattern of marking on all the other incised vases from this tomb makes it likely that the missing handle also bore an incised sign, either a ρ or a τ .

⁴⁹ *Supra* n. 47.

⁵⁰ The argument against viewing no. 59 as fitting the pattern of the incised signs is further strengthened by consideration of the two additional signs painted on the lower body of this vase. (Persson apparently did not notice them.) At first glance these signs seem actually to further Persson's hypothesis, since one of them, if taken in conjunction with the sign on the base, builds one of the patterns observed among the incised marks. But the apparent fit of the marks painted on no. 59 with the incised sign-groups may well be apparent rather than real. First and most important, there is no certainty whether the signs on the body and that on the base were intended to be read together. It is fairly unusual for the FS 36 shape to carry painted signs, and it is even more unusual for the signs to be distributed on the lower body as well as the base. Only four other vases with painted signs similarly distributed are known. Two FS 36 piriform jars (unpublished) from Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios Tomb 13 both bear the same painted sign, in both cases repeated once on the base and once on the body. In this case it may be that the sign on the lower body was intended to reduplicate in a more visible space, rather than supplement, the information provided by the sign on the base. The sign on base of a small stirrup jar (A. Peridiou, "A Tomb-Group from Lapithos 'Ayia Anastasia'," *RDAC* 1966, 9 no. 98b, pl. 1:3–4) found in Tomb 2 at Lapithos *Ayia Anastasia* is only partially preserved, and it is difficult to say whether it repeats the sign on the body; based on what is there, it is possible but unlikely. A cup (Åström [*supra* n. 34] 9 no. 4) found in Enkomi British Tomb 66 has one sign painted on its base and clearly a different one on its lower body. None of these examples give a certain answer as to whether the signs on piriform jar no. 59 from Enkomi Tomb 18 ought to be read in conjunction; common sense dictates that in all these examples, there was plenty of space to display a complete inscription, at least on the body, and that the appearance of a different sign on the base probably pertained to a separate message.

Second, it is also not certain that the \vdash on the lower body of piriform jar no. 59 is intended to be the same as the incised \vdash . The painted sign has curvilinear arms of equal length rather than the straight longer vertical and shorter horizontal characteristic of most of the incised marks. Are these significant differences, or incidental features stemming from (careless) painting (on a curved surface)? There is no way to tell. Third, there is a second mark painted on the body of the piriform jar; although it is only partially preserved, the bit which remains shows a form unrelated to any of the signs in the incised groups, and this argues against associating the painted signs on the body and base of jar no. 59 with either of the incised sign groups.

⁵¹ The identification of hands and the hope of associating a particular sign combination with a single inscriber are problematic. In general, the vases carrying the combination $\equiv \ddagger$ seem to have been cut with a tool that left a deeper and wider groove; the tool(s) that cut the other sign combination seems to have been sharper and narrower. But it is difficult to carry the argument further. If manner of inscribing, exact form of sign, and order of strokes are all considered essential to characterizing a hand, then only in the case of the amphoroid krater (no. 6) and one of the large stirrup jars (no. 53) can it be hypothesized that the same individual incised these marks. If some leeway is given to the criterion of sign form, and it is allowed that the difficulty of scratching into baked clay may cause an individual to vary the extensions of his strokes somewhat, then it may also be hypothesized that the signs on the jugs (no. 5 and 74) may have been incised by a single hand. However, because of the varied order of strokes—something that presumably is a habit not affected by what medium is being inscribed—it doesn't appear that the same hand inscribed the other vases with this sign combination (nos. 54 and 55). In sum, neither sign combination can be associated with a single hand. (Illustrations can be viewed on the Internet site, *supra* n. 12.)

⁵² If indeed Persson is correct and each sign group corresponds to an individual, it is interesting that neither sign combination can be associated with a single hand, i.e., no one person was making the owner's mark.

⁵³ Contexts can be established for approximately 80 of the ca. 115 Mycenaean vases marked by means of painted signs found on Cyprus. At least 74 were found in tombs. Of the remaining ca. 40 unprovenanced examples, most were purchased early in this century and, along with the circumstances of acquisition, their relatively intact state suggests that they were also probably looted from tombs. Thus, the proportion of Mycenaean vases with painted marks found in tombs is very high.

⁵⁴ See, for example, M. Hadjicosti, "Appendix IV. Part 1: 'Canaanite' Jars from Maa-Palaeokastro," and R.E. Jones and S.J. Vaughan, "Appendix IV. Part 2: A Study of Some 'Canaanite' Jar Fragments from Maa-Palaeokastro by Petrographic and Chemical Analysis," in V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at Maa-Palaeokastro. 1979–1986* (Nicosia 1988) 340–85 and 386–98. Also, Michael Sugerman, in the context of larger research project, is examining (by means of petrographic analysis) the fabric of some of the marked amphora handles found on Cyprus. Cf. M.O. Sugerman, *Webs of Commerce: The Archaeology of Ordinary Things in Late Bronze Age Israel and Palestine* (Diss. Harvard Univ. 2000); also M.O. Sugerman, "The Production and Distribution of

'Canaanite' Jars in the Late Bronze Age East Mediterranean," in the session "Ancient Mediterranean Trade," organized by A. Leonard Jr. for the annual meeting of ASOR 1995; M.O. Sugerman, "Investigating Contact and Carriage through Petrographic Analysis," presented at the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem 1996.

- ⁵⁵ The Mycenaean jars with painted marks are typically fine ware and decorated, i.e., fancy. The range of shapes is large, but most often small containers (especially stirrup jars), small open shapes, or, if large, pictorial kraters—i.e., very different shapes (and presumably functions) from those found in the local or amphora categories. Incised marks are indeed found on shapes that overlap somewhat with the amphoras in function: large stirrup jars and large piriform jars. The large coarseware stirrup jars found throughout the eastern Mediterranean certainly functioned as transport jars; their shape, however, suggests specialized commodities, perhaps not carried in amphoras. There were also large stirrup jars made of fine fabric, and large piriform jars, both decorated. Although they, like amphoras, certainly stored and carried commodities, surely this fancy packaging indicates some special use, distinctive from the all-purpose amphoras. Thus, separating amphoras from Mycenaean pottery does reflect real differences in use of the jars.
- ⁵⁶ It could be argued that the category of Mycenaean vases, which is composed of a wide range of shapes and fabrics, should be further subdivided. This is avoided here for reasons of clarity; the table as it stands provides enough information to see clearly where marks overlap categories. Those overlaps are few and can be easily researched (by searching the database available on the Internet, *supra* n. 12).
- ⁵⁷ The local/Mycenaean and amphora mark repertoires are not completely distinctive. The overlaps are all simple signs, and one explanation is that their appearance in both marking systems is coincidental. A second possibility is that some of the amphoras were locally made and also marked (*supra* n. 55). There is one complex mark possibly identified with CM no. 25 (without tang) which has been noted on one amphora handle as well as local vases. Two possible explanations may be proposed: First, this design is not terribly complex and may well have been developed independently in the different marking and script systems. Second, it may be that this amphora was one produced (and traded) locally (*supra* n. 54).
- ⁵⁸ K.O. Eriksson, *Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware (SIMA 103, Jonsered 1993)* 146, figs. 41–42.
- ⁵⁹ For example, C.B. Donnan, "Ancient Peruvian Potters' Marks and Their Interpretation through Ethnographic Analogy," *AmerAnt* 36 (1971) 460–66; B. Wood, "Potters' Marks," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 103 (1990) 45–48; and especially A.S. Bailey, *The Potters' Marks of Phylakopi* (Diss. Univ. of Edinburgh 1996); all with further bibliography.
- ⁶⁰ The place of manufacture of RLWM vases is debated; see Eriksson (*supra* n. 58) 149–53, who argues that these vases were made on Cyprus.
- ⁶¹ Further discussion of LBA potmarks (on Mycenaean vases) as marks of handlers in N. Hirschfeld, "Cypriots in the Mycenaean Aegean," in E. De Miro, L. Godart, and A. Sacconi eds., *Atti e Memorie del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia I: Filologia* (Rome 1996) 289–97, and "Incised Marks (Post-Firing) on Aegean Wares," in C. Zerner ed., *Wace and Blegen: Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze 1939–1989* (Amsterdam 1993) 311–18.

- ⁶² While there is nothing implicit in the amphoras' marking system(s) to require a specific connection with Cyprus, the very few marked amphoras outside Cyprus and the similarity in general character and placement of these marks to those incised on local pottery suggest that incised marks on amphoras may somehow be connected with the island. No comprehensive study of marked Canaanite jars exists, although some commentaries on individual finds from sites scattered throughout the eastern Mediterranean have been published (for example, from mainland Greece, E. Cline, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean* [BAR International Series 591, Oxford 1994] 168–72 passim, with references; from Crete, J. Bennet, "Marks on Bronze Age Pottery from Kommos," in J.W. Shaw and M.C. Shaw, eds., *Kommos I:2, The Kommos Region and Houses of the Minoan Town* [Princeton 1996] 316 no. 7 and 317 no. 13; from Thera, C. Doumas, "Aegeans in the Levant: Myth and Reality," in S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern eds., *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE* ([Jerusalem 1998] 133–35; from Israel, A. Raban, *The Commercial Jar in the Ancient Near East: Its Evidence for Interconnections amongst the Biblical Lands* [Diss. Hebrew Univ., 1980], esp. 229–41). This author and Michael Sugerman are currently undertaking a comprehensive study of marked Canaanite jars.
- ⁶³ The single example of a painted mark on a non-Mycenaean vase from Enkomi—the cross-within-a-circle painted onto the shoulder of amphora 718/7 (Dikaios (supra n. 7) 596, pls. 77:23, 125:4)—can at present only be regarded as an anomaly. There are very few other examples of LBA amphoras with painted marks: another example from Hala Sultan Tekke on Cyprus (G. Hult, *Hala Sultan Tekke 7: Excavations in Area 8 in 1977* (SIMA 45:7, Göteborg 1981), one from Mycenae (Cline (supra n. 62) 171, no. 308), and perhaps three from Hazor in Canaan (Y. Yadin, Y. Aharoni, R. Amiran, T. Dothan, I. Dunayevsky, and J. Perrot, *Hazor I* [Jerusalem 1958] C11083, pls. LXXXIX.7, CLVIII.8 and D2338, pls. XCIX.20, CLX.2; Y. Yadin, Y. Aharoni, R. Amiran, T. Dothan, I. Dunayevsky, and J. Perrot, *Hazor II* [Jerusalem 1960] C1140/12, pl. CXXVII.6).
- ⁶⁴ Less obvious, if proper stancing is assumed. It is possible that certain shapes were stored upside down or leaning strongly; changing the orientation would affect the visibility of the signs. The large scale of the painted marks does suggest that they were intended to be readily visible, despite their location on bases, lower bodies, and interiors.
- ⁶⁵ V.R. Grace, "A Cypriote Tomb and Minoan Evidence for its Date," *AJA* 44 (1940) 32, 40–43; E. Stewart and J. Stewart, "Appendix 12: Potters' Marks," in *Vounous 1937–38: Field-report on the Excavations Sponsored by the British School of Archaeology at Athens* (Lund 1950) 390–94; P. Åström, "A Corpus of Pot-Marks," *Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus* (SIMA 2, Lund 1966) 149–92; E. Herscher, *The Bronze Age Cemetery at Lapithos, Vrysi tou Barba, Cyprus: Results of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Excavation, 1931* (Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania 1978) 732–34.
- ⁶⁶ Similarly, A.H. Bikaki, *Keos*, volume IV, *Ayia Irini: The Potters' Marks* (Mainz am Rhein 1984) demonstrates the effect the introduction of formal accounting and writing systems had on the pottery of Bronze Age Keos. On Cyprus, E. Herscher continues work on defining the changes in potmarks on vases in the transition from the Middle to Late Cypriot periods.