Exploring Regional Settlement on Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age: The Rural Hinterland[1]

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Introduction

This paper examines the evidence for settlement in the rural hinterland of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, specifically through detailed examination of the survey and excavation results of a little known settlement type at Arediou *Vouppes* (*Lithosouros*).[2] The site lies at the interface between the sedimentary rocks of the Mesaoria plain and the pillow lavas of the northern foothills of the Troodos Mountains, in an area with plentiful evidence for metallurgical activity in antiquity. *Vouppes* has been the focus of intensive research by a team from the University of Wales Lampeter since 2004.[3] Consequently the results of region-

Fig. 1 Map of Late Bronze Age Cyprus

[1] I would like to thank Irmgard Hein for inviting me to take part in this very stimulating workshop on Bronze Age regionalism in Cyprus. I would also like to thank Alison South for illustrations, Steve Thomas for photography, and Bernard Knapp for comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Especial thanks are due to the χοινοταρχης, Andreas Petevenos, and the community of Arediou for their continued support for the project.

[2] The site was named from the 1923 cadastral map, however, *Vouppes* refers to the field systems in the bed of the Aloupos river valley, running along the east of the site. The local name for the site is *Lithosouros*, meaning mound of stones. Although it would be preferable to refer to the local nomenclature, given the number of publications that already refer to Arediou *Vouppes* and material housed in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, under this name we have decided to continue with the name given to the site by SCSP.

[3] Steel and Janes 2005; Steel 2007; Steel and McCartney 2008; Steel and Thomas 2008.

al survey,[4] and more intensive site-specific survey[5] can now be correlated with the excavation data. It is anticipated that these results will allow for a more meaningful interpretation of survey data from other sites, and intra-site correlations. This paper considers the material remains of *Vouppes* with a view to exploring regionalism during the LBA and more specifically the adaptations made by a small rural community and the dynamic way it may have contributed to the region as a whole. First, however, I will look in some detail at our current understanding of Late Cypriot settlement hierarchy and economy, in order to provide a context for interpreting the remains at *Vouppes*.

Settlement Hierarchy

Various studies have postulated the development of a complex settlement hierarchy in Cyprus during the later second millennium BC (Fig. 1). This contrasts with the preceding MC period, characterised by agricultural villages such as Alambra *Mouttes* and Marki *Alonia*, with no evidence for differential access to wealth and status expressed in house size or contents.[6] Sites were mainly located in the Kyrenia foothills, and in river valleys on good farming land lying at the interface between the Troodos and Mesaoria.[7]

During the MC III–LC I period (c. 1700–1400 BC) a simple two-tiered settlement hierarchy developed on the island. This was apparently associated with the development of social complexity, illustrated by a number of significant changes in the archaeological record including increasing social stratification in burials, greater Cypriot involvement in international maritime trade and the development of writing.[8] For the most part settlement continued to be in small village communities such as Kalopsidha[9] and Episkopi *Phaneromeni*.[10] A number of small centres ("towns"), such as Enkomi[11] and Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou,*[12] were established on the coastal plains, possibly in response to an external demand for Cypriot copper.[13] A series of forts and fortified sites were built along the Karpass peninsula, the southern slopes of the Kyrenia range and the north-eastern slopes of the Troodos massif.[14] In addition to their defensive role it is suggested that some forts had an economic function, acting as local centres for the collection and redistribution of agricultural surplus;[15] moreover, their strategic position, lining the route between the copper-rich Troodos and the newly established coastal centre of Enkomi, suggests that these were built to protect the movement of copper.[16] Alternatively, some archaeologists view the forts as one of a number of aggrandising phenomena on the part of local elites, who were seeking to emulate Levantine practices.[17] Alongside the establishment of a very different use of the Cypriot landscape during the formative stage of the LBA, the key defining attribute of this period is regionalism, defined through the emergence of varied ceramic traditions in different parts of the island.[18] Possibly this reflects the emergence of regional polities; certainly it illustrates diverse responses by the inhabitants of the island, on a regional basis, to new economic circumstances and their adaptations to the breakdown of the ancient MC village-based society.

By the 14th century BC (LC II) a common material culture was established throughout the island – evident in the LC pottery tradition, and the range of other domestic and cult equipment, reflecting a "broadly shared complex of ideological and prestige symbolism".[19] Nonetheless, regional variation is still apparent in terms of the diversity of public building types,[20] perhaps illustrating the establishment of regional polities. Also by this period a more complex settlement hierarchy had evolved, which can be organised into three[21] or possibly four[22] levels. It has been suggested that sites might be classified according to their size, location, and their material remains, in particular the presence or absence of certain key elements, such as metallurgical remains, Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, seals, weights, and prestige imports.[23] At the

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4 Knapp 1997; Given and Knapp 2003.
5 Steel and Janes 2005; Steel and McCartney 2008.
6 Frankel 1993, 60–61; Coleman 1996; Frankel and Webb 1996; 2001; 2006.
7 Knapp 2008, 134, fig. 22.
8 See Knapp 2008, 133.
9 Gjerstad 1926, 27–37.
10 Swiny 1986.
11 Crewe 2007a.
12 Vermeule and Wolsky 1990.
13 Knapp 2008, 136.
14 Merrillees 1971, 75; Catling 1962, 141.
15 Peltenburg 1996, 35.
16 Merrillees 1982, 375; Keswani 1996, 219; Peltenburg 1996, 30.
17 Philip 1991, 93; Crewe 2007b, 214.
18 Merrillees 1971; Manning 2001, 80.
19 Keswani 1993, 75.
20 Keswani 1993, 74.
21 Catling 1962.
22 Knapp 1997.
23 Knapp 1997; Keswani 1993; 1996.

apex of the settlement hierarchy were the coastal towns, such as Enkomi, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* and Episkopi *Bamboula*, which are well known through excavation. These sites are distinguished by their size (usually around 10 hectares), the distinctiveness of elite (ashlar) architecture, and evidence of centralised urban planning. Imposing ashlar buildings with probable economic and administrative functions have been identified at several of these sites;[24] it has been suggested that a major aspect of these buildings was centralised storage within tithe/taxation and tributary systems for surplus agricultural produce.[25] Knapp[26] suggests that "[t]he variety and quantity of local and imported pottery, other prestige goods, metal objects, ashlar masonry, Cypro-Minoan inscriptions and seals … differentiate them markedly from most inland village centres". Possibly, these towns functioned as centralised production and administrative centres, with some form of hierarchical control over the surrounding region. They were, moreover, clearly involved in maritime trade with the Aegean, Syro-Palestine and Egypt and possibly had diplomatic contacts with the major powers of the East Mediterranean.[27]

A number of smaller settlements in the hinterland have been identified as "second order centres", which are believed to have functioned as economic intermediaries between the coastal towns and the mining sites around the foothills of the Troodos. The current hypothesis is that these were places where surplus agricultural produce was collected and stored, to be redistributed to urban and mining centres, and in addition that they handled semi-processed copper in transit from the mines to the coastal towns.[28] The distinctive characteristics of these sites are their location in the interior, strategically positioned on "primary communication nodes where the production or flow of copper and exchanged goods could be controlled",[29] as well as their size, and the absence of ashlar buildings. Knapp[30] suggests that several of these inland sites may primarily have been religious centres, forming a sacred landscape within the Cypriot hinterland. Nonetheless, it remains the case that the separation of a sacred function from more utilitarian activities of production and storage is problematic. There is, for example, limited evidence for metallurgical activity at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, whilst Athienou appears to have fulfilled a number of economic roles, including storage (of up to 11,000 litres of olive oil) and copper production. Likewise, the posited rural sanctuary at Ayia Irini[31] had a strong agricultural component. The extensive storage facilities and the range of equipment, including pestles, grinders and spindle whorls[32] suggest the structure more plausibly served as a farming site. The interpretation of Ayia Irini as a cult building[33] largely rests upon the later Iron Age religious function of the site; possible LC religious attributes comprise a concentration of coloured pebbles associated with a bull figurine, a Plain ware fruitstand/offering stand, and a glassy stone slab.[34] These might indicate some provision for household cult, an aspect of Late Cypriot religion that requires further exploration. While the "second-order sites" are viewed as distinct from the primary urban centres, it is worth noting that they share certain characteristics, such as concentrations of prestige goods. The apparent fluidity between the various categories of these sites indicates the problems with our understanding of Late Cypriot settlement; namely the function(s) of specific sites, the activities of their occupants, and how these sites interacted with others within an overarching settlement hierarchy.

Copper is commonly acknowledged to be the nexus of the Late Cypriot economy. Primary copper production sites have been explored at Apliki *Karamallos*[35] and Politiko *Phorades*.[36] These sites are located in the lower reaches of the Troodos mountains, in the zone of the pillow lavas. *Phorades* dates to around 1600 BC. Metallurgical debris from the site included more than 2000 kg of slag, and fragments of furnace-lining and tuyères. There was also a possible baetyl, similar to that from the sanctuary at Kouklia.[37] The excavators suggest the site represents localized extraction and smelting of copper ores, rather than integration within an island-wide exchange system.[38] Apliki, which dates to the late 13th–12th century BC, provides the most convincing evidence for a LBA

[24] Fig. 2; Cadogan 1988, 230; 1989, 50; 1993, 76–77; South 1992, 137–139; Hadjisavvas 2001a, 213–218.
[25] Keswani 1993.
[26] Knapp 1997, 57.
[27] Goren *et al.* 2003.
[28] Keswani 1993, 79.
[29] Knapp 1997, 57; 2008, 139.
[30] Knapp 1997, 58.
[31] Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 667–668, 820–821.
[32] Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 820–821.
[33] Most recently Webb 1999, 53–58.
[34] Webb 1999, 188.
[35] Du Plat Taylor 1952; Kling and Muhly 2007.
[36] Knapp *et al.* 2002.
[37] Kassianidou pers. comm.
[38] Knapp *et al.* 2002.

mining village. In addition to the plentiful evidence for copper production (quantities of slag, tuyères, crucible fragments, stone hammers and substantial stone pestles), there is evidence for centralised agricultural storage in Building A; moreover, it appears that certain members of the community had access to luxuries, in the form of plentiful Mycenaean tableware[39] and a serpentine stamp seal.[40] The latter was found in House A in a small room. Associated finds include a variety of stone tools, utilitarian vessels and loom weights in a room either set aside for storage of equipment or used in the processing of foodstuffs and textile production. If the building served as an official residence and workplace controlling copper extraction and primary processing[41] then this no doubt would have included some form of administrative system, which could indicate a possible function for the stamp seal, although sphragistic use of seals in the LC period has yet to be confirmed.[42]

The smaller villages, hamlets and farmsteads which indubitably supported the mining and urban communities, however, have received considerably less attention, at least in terms of excavation. This is a common problem in the study of early complex societies and states, where the urban focus tends not to be counterbalanced by analysis of the social/political organisation of the state at the regional level.[43] The assumption is that power resides in the state institutions of palace or temple, and the role played by the rural hinterland is largely disregarded.[44] Nonetheless, there is a rich, albeit sporadic body of survey data, which can contribute towards exploring this aspect of Late Cypriot settlement. The salient characteristic of these probable farming sites is the prevalence of equipment for processing and storing agricultural produce – namely rubbers, grinding stones and pithoi. The presence of several such sites around the foothills of the Troodos massif[45] might indeed indicate that they served a particular role supporting mining activities. But the possibility of villages and farmsteads likewise needs further exploration.

One of the best known of these agricultural villages is Analiondas *Palioklichia*.[46] The site covers an area of around 8 hectares, as represented by a surface scatter of ground stone artefacts and a dense concentration of pithos sherds. These sherds belong to a variable range of forms, perhaps indicative of different storage strategies or commodities. In contrast to other potential agricultural sites identified in survey, such as Phlamoudhi *Sapilou*[47] no LC fine wares were collected, although fragments of a Mycenaean vase were found in association with a probable looted tomb. An impressed pithos fragment was also identified, the second one from the site. Similar impressed pithoi have been recovered from many of the large urban centres along the south coast of Cyprus in 13th century contexts,[48] most significantly within the large ashlar-built complex at Alassa *Palaeotaverna*.[49] Their occurrence in the smaller, inland settlements such as Analiondas, is unusual, although they have been found at smaller second order sites such as Athienou and Maa *Palaeokastro*[50] Significantly, they are not attested in either of the two pithos halls excavated in Building X at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, nor in the ashlar building at Maroni *Vournes*, although these two sites provide the clearest evidence of centralised storage within a LC IIC context. While Knapp[51] posits that the impressed pithoi illustrate the transport of agricultural produce (grain/olive oil) between the hinterland and the urban centres, the role they played in LC exchange mechanisms and possible taxation systems requires further investigation. Nonetheless, they were associated with large-scale, centralised storage at some sites, possibly being used to identify particular pithoi whose contents were reserved for a specialised workforce.[52]

Arediou *Vouppes* (*Lithosouros*)

Arediou *Vouppes* has been highlighted as another probable agricultural support village, which Knapp suggests would have served mining sites in the Politiko-Mitsero region. The Sydney-Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP) first identified the site in 1993.[53] Their survey suggested Arediou was a small settlement of 2 hectares, the predominance of pithos and ground stone on the surface identifying it as an agricultural settlement. Since 2004 the site has been the focus of research by a team from the University of Wales Lampeter. Intensive survey[54] confirmed and complemented many of SCSP's results, and further suggested that

[39] Kling 2007, 151–167, pls. 53–60.
[40] Webb 2007, 269–271, pl. 72.
[41] Keswani 1993, 77.
[42] Webb 1992; 2002.
[43] Stein 1994, 10–18.
[44] Knappett 1999, 618.
[45] Knapp 2008, 140–141.
[46] Webb and Frankel 1994.
[47] Catling 1976.
[48] Webb 1992, 114–115; 2002, 127–128; Knapp 2008, 167.
[49] Hadjisavvas 2001b, 61.
[50] Knapp 2008, 167.
[51] Knapp 2008, 164.
[52] Webb and Frankel 1994, 19.

Fig. 2 Pithos Hall, Building X at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*
Photo S. Thomas

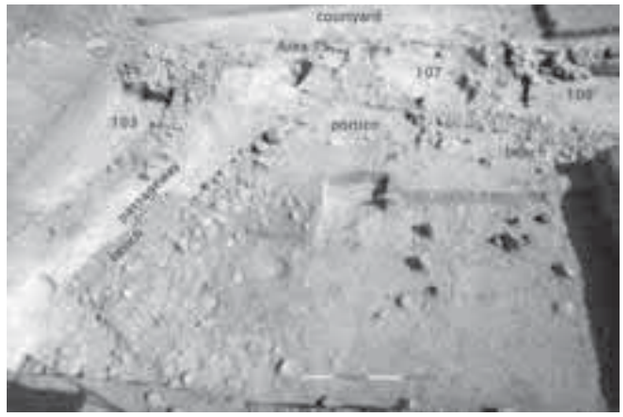

Fig. 3 Aerial view of Building 1, Arediou *Vouppes* (*Lithosouros*)
Photo S. Thomas

the spread of LBA material continued for an additional 500m to the north.[55] A greater range of LC wares was recovered, including plentiful local tableware and imported Minoan, Mycenaean and Egyptian pottery. Of particular interest is the false neck and handle of a Late Minoan IIIB stirrup jar,[56] a form usually interpreted as an olive oil container used in large-scale commodity trade. Significantly, the handle of the stirrup jar had been incised with a Cypro-Minoan or Linear B sign after firing. The surface finds therefore suggest Arediou's integration within intra-island patterns of exchange and that the community there had access to imported commodities. There was also substantial evidence for earlier, LC I activity at the site.

Analysis of the surface pottery demonstrates the predominance of pithos.[57] These, however, were largely from smaller, short-necked pithoi[58] and illustrate small-scale domestic use rather than centralised control over production and storage.[59] Amongst the plentiful stone artefacts there was a large fragment of a crudely formed limestone vessel,[60] similar to examples from Analiondas[61] and possibly related to specific processing activities. Small finds included a couple of gaming stones (one double-sided), a bull figurine fragment and a piece of a wall-bracket,[62] firmly placing the material culture from Arediou within the typical LC spectrum.

Subsequent excavations have uncovered several buildings, which were located through geophysical survey and surface distribution of finds.[63] These were built on the same alignment (NE–SW) and apparently within discrete activity zones, suggesting some form of centralized organisation. Nonetheless, present evidence suggests that these do not form part of a continuous planned grid over the site, but scattered activity zones. Buildings 1 and 2 have been the main focus of excavation; neither building conforms to the range of known LBA buildings on Cyprus in terms of their architectural layout and some of the architectural practices.

Building 1 (Fig. 3) is a large L-shaped building with a massive southern external wall measuring 0.5m thick, built from large diabase pebbles and other volcanic rocks. The main entrance was marked by a white stone threshold. The north wall of the structure was identified in geophysics in 2007 as a linear anomaly running parallel to the southern wall.[64] A series of small stone piers jutted out from the southern wall of Building 1; together with a stone column base, these are interpreted as supports for an external covered area, analogous to a colonnaded porch or portico. This was facing south and would have provided a shady area for a variety of activities during the summer and a sheltered area in which to

[53] Knapp *et al.* 1994; Given and Knapp 2003, 179–182.
[54] Steel and Janes 2005; Steel and McCartney 2008.
[55] This area, centred on Field 1033 on the 1923 cadastral, was fully surveyed in 2008.
[56] Steel and McCartney 2008, 12–13, fig. 14.
[57] Steel and McCartney 2008, Table 1.
[58] Keswani's Type IA and B, Keswani 1989, 14–15.
[59] Steel and McCartney 2008, 8, 14, 24–25.
[60] Steel and McCartney 2008, fig. 22.
[61] Webb and Frankel 1994, 14–16.
[62] Steel and McCartney 2008, 21–24, figs. 20, 21, 23, 24.
[63] Steel 2007; Steel and Thomas 2008.
[64] Preliminary excavations were carried out in 2008 to identify the full extent of this structure.

work during the winter months, and possibly provided a communal meeting place. The external surface comprised a tamped mud floor; this was extremely fragile and did not survive beyond the covered area of the porch. A low stone bench built from flat sedimentary slabs abutted the southern wall, the purpose of which is unclear. However, excavation at Arediou indicates that these stones were retained specifically for certain activities. Plain ware basin sherds were found *in situ* on the stone bench, suggesting it was used as a stand for certain processing activities. Just beyond this bench a work area was excavated in 2008 (Area 243/244): this comprised a surface of pebbles and slag set in mortar, associated with three stones that had plausibly been used as anvils. A range of semi-restorable utilitarian wares were found *in situ* on the tamped surface around the main entrance, together with an upturned, well worn saddle quern immediately by the doorway, a small quantity of slag, and a very large stone pestle or pounder,[65] similar to those from Apliki *Karamallos*.[66] The quern suggests that agricultural produce was processed in the area of the portico. It should be noted, however, that querns, pestle/pounders and other ground stone tools were used for processing metallurgical materials at other LC sites.[67] Although no ore and only limited quantities of slag were found in the portico area, such activities should not be dismissed.

Inside Building 1 the floor surface was simply cut into the sedimentary bedrock; in places this had been patched with a basic mud mortar. Various activity areas and a number of small rooms have been identified within the building. Immediately to the north of the southern external wall there was a small work area (Area 75). This comprised a small pebble surface, a pit, and another series of flat sedimentary slabs set in a circular pattern. These flat stones are intrusive to Arediou and had clearly again been selected by the community for certain specific properties needed within this work area. Associated finds comprise more slag, perhaps originally bedded in mortar to create a hard standing analogous to Area 243/244, some small copper/copper alloy trinkets and fragmentary pottery – primarily cooking ware, Plain ware (jugs and basin), and pithos sherds, also several pieces of WS hemispherical bowls, some Base Ring, and a WPWM III krater fragment. The work area was located in the southern limits of a large courtyard, cut into the natural sedimentary rock. A sounding beneath the modern field boundary, excavated in 2008, indicated that the courtyard area extended some 10m to the north. Very few finds were found *in situ* in the courtyard: a small polished stone pestle and the upper body of a Plain ware jug,[68] and in the area of the sounding there was a pit and a posthole. The activities performed in this courtyard still need to be defined, but it certainly provided the inhabitants of Arediou with a large open area, protected within substantial external walls.

Immediately to the east of the work area were two small rooms (107, 109), furnished with robbed-out stone benches and with a scatter of artefacts on the floor. These comprised several semi-restorable vessels, including Plain ware basins and jugs, a small pithos, and a Monochrome ladle. In addition there were several stone tools (Fig. 4), including a polished axe, a tethering stone, an anchor or weight, and a perforated stone hammer. The latter has parallels at Apliki *Karamallos*, Episkopi *Phanerometi* and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*.[69] These rooms were possibly work rooms or storerooms for equipment used in various activities within the adjacent courtyard. The pottery indicates that storage and processing of liquids was a key activity, either within these rooms or in the adjacent courtyard. The stone tools point to a variety of activities being performed, possibly outside Building 1, within the wider settlement. The tethering stone was presumably used in adjacent fields, or probably outside the main settlement area. One possibility for the "anchor" is that it was used as a line weight in the nearby Aloupos river – certainly it does not conform to tethering stones and pulley weights attested elsewhere on Cyprus. Of particular interest is the perforated stone hammer, a tool type usually associated with ore dressing both on Cyprus and in other mining areas, such as Timna in Israel.[70] This tool type further reiterates the close ties between Arediou and the nearby mining sites.

The western wing of Building 1 comprised a narrow N/S passageway running to the west of the main external wall. A stone bench abutted the wall, of which only the lowest course of stones survived. Asso-

[65] Steel and McCartney 2008, fig. 18.
[66] Du Plat Taylor 1952, pl. XXVII.a1.
[67] See Kassianidou 2007, 278, 279, 281–283.
[68] Steel 2007, fig. c.
[69] Du Plat Taylor 1952, pl. XXVII.a5; Swiny 1986, fig. 17; South *et al.* 1989, pl. XIV, K–AD 417; Kassianidou 2007, 280, pl. 76.
[70] Kassianidou 2007, 280.

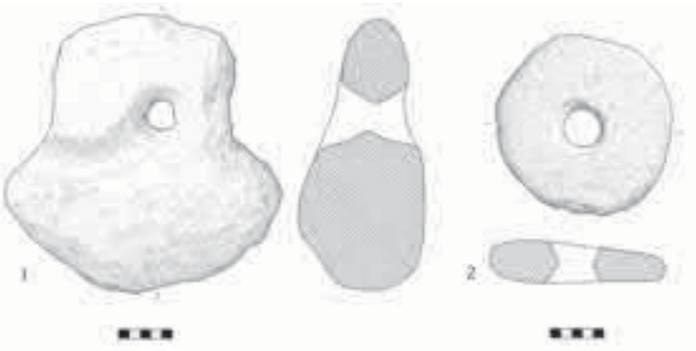

Fig. 4 1. Weight/anchor, 2. perforated hammer stone from Room 109. Drawing A. South

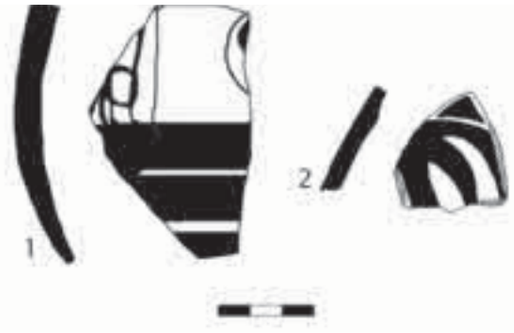

Fig. 5 1. Mycenaean pictorial sherd, 2. Minoan sherd from Room 103. Drawing L. Steel

ciated with this was a broken gaming stone, which had possibly been used as building material. To the west of the passageway there was a large room (103), entered through a narrow doorway in the south-west corner. Access to this room appears to be controlled and kept separate from the production activities in the portico and courtyard areas, as movement from the main entrance into Building 1 was along two passageways. Unusually room 103 was sunken, either taking advantage of a substantial dip in the natural or specifically being cut, possibly to create a cool room for storage. Despite the depth of deposit sealing the floor the finds from the room were very fragmentary, perhaps because the room had been cleared before the building was abandoned. Nonetheless these finds are intriguing and are suggestive of specialised activities. In the upper fill, mixed with rubble tumble, there was a complete scoop from a wall-bracket, which presumably had been suspended on the southern wall of the room. Numerous wall-bracket fragments were also found in the lower levels of deposit. Other finds included plentiful Cooking ware sherds, an inscribed Canaanite Jar handle,[71] imported Minoan and Mycenaean pottery, one possibly from a pictorial krater (Fig. 5), part of a Levantine LB platter bowl, a bronze ring, fragments from Base Ring bulls, and a Plain ware horse figurine fragment. There are certain parallels with Apliki *Karamallos* House A, which Begg identified as an "important industrial and cultic complex"[72] on the basis of fragmentary terracotta female and bull figurines. While Webb suggests Apliki represents small-scale domestic ritual,[73] it is worth noting that at Arediou these finds are associated with a non-domestic, public building. Moreover, the controlled access to room 103 should be reiterated. Likewise, Apliki *Karamallos* can reasonably be identified as an official residence, maybe suggesting a supra-domestic aspect to cult activity.

Building 1 is unique in terms of the range of LC structures known to date and it evidently housed a range of specialist, non-domestic activities, the nature of which are enigmatic. The pestles, saddle quern, weights and utilitarian wares (basins, pithoi, jugs, Canaanite jars) indicate large-scale processing, possibly of agricultural produce. This presumably occurred within the portico and courtyard areas, while the subsidiary rooms may have been for storage. The copper slag suggests links with nearby mining sites, and possibly some limited metallurgical activity (supported by certain tool types with parallels at Apliki: large pestle, perforated stone hammer). The range of activities carried out in rooms 107 and 109 are paralleled by those posited for Apliki *Karamallos* House A, Room 1.[74] Furthermore the presence of tableware might illustrate some (communal) consumption within this building. Particularly intriguing is the function of room 103. Certain aspects, in particular the figurine fragments and possibly also the wall brackets,[75] might suggest some cultic function. The consistent occurrence of imported wares demonstrates that the inhabitants were in contact with the coastal trading communities and had access to luxury commodities. At

[71] Steel and Thomas 2008, fig. 23.
[72] Begg 1991, 31.
[73] Webb 2007, 270.
[74] Webb 2007, 270.
[75] See Caubet and Yon 1974, 126–131.

Fig. 6 View of Building 2, Arediou *Vouppes* (*Lithosouros*)
Photo S. Thomas

present it is difficult to mould this evidence into a model of sustained agricultural activity, perhaps demonstrating that the occupations within these rural hinterland sites were more diverse than present models suggest.

Building 2 (Fig. 6) is located some 25m north of Building 1, on the same orientation. It consists of two long rooms, room 96, some 9m in length, and immediately to the west a second long room (208),[76] a smaller room (95) abutting room 96 to the south, and a large open courtyard (92). Room 95 was furnished with a partially stone-lined well, 5.2m deep, which had a configuration of flat slabs set around the opening (recalling the work area in Building 1), and a small pebble surface in the south-east corner, perhaps a stand for water jugs. Access into this room was restricted by its narrow entrance, which additionally was shielded by the long southern wall of the adjacent courtyard (92). Collection of water was clearly not a communal activity and moreover was controlled, emphasising the importance of this resource. The two long rooms (96 and 208) were open-ended, and there was no return to the walls at their north end, possibly facilitating access for pack animals and/or carts. This might indicate the primary function of these rooms was storage – given the absence of pithoi from these rooms we posit that this was primary storage of harvested cereal. This is supported by the limited number of finds, which included a large saddle quern (c. 90 kg) from the well, two gaming stones, one found in the collapsed southern wall, the other walled into the western wall, and a near complete

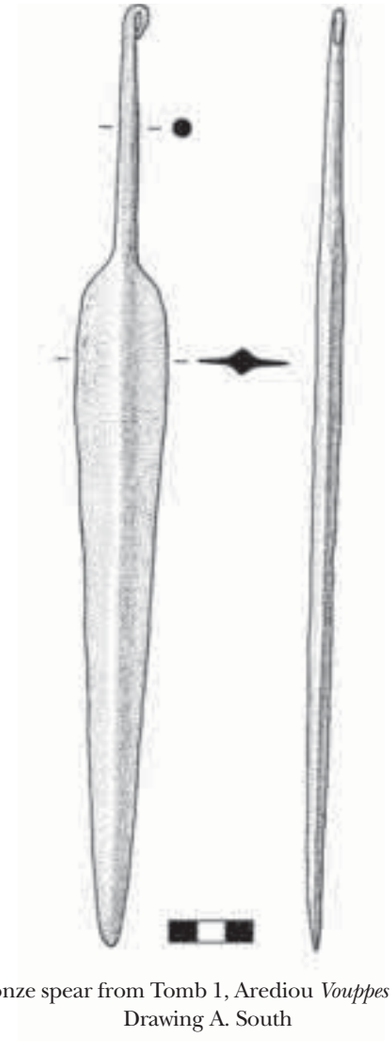

Fig. 7 Bronze spear from Tomb 1, Arediou *Vouppes* (*Lithosouros*)
Drawing A. South

Plain ware jug in an apparent foundation deposit. However, a loom weight and a small circular stone weight were found in the rubble tumble immediately to the south of room 208. The loom weight is paralleled by the pyramidal weights from Apliki *Karamallos*.[77] Unlike the examples from Apliki,[78] the Arediou loom weight was not found as part of a group, but was broken and discarded. It is however, the first indication of the household activities carried out at Arediou, perhaps by female members of the community.[79] The function of Building I is enigmatic, but possible interpretations include a barn or warehouse.

SCSP had suggested the presence of tombs at the south-western edge of the site.[80] The apparent sepa-

[76] Partially excavated in 2008.
[77] Smith 2007, 231, pl. 64 A2: 48 and A1: 13.
[78] Smith 2007, 232.
[79] Cf. Smith 2002, 304.
[80] Given 2002, 7; Given and Knapp 2003, 179.

Fig. 8 Mycenaean stirrup jar from Tomb 1, Arediou Vouppes (Lithosouros). Drawing A. South

ration between the presumed tombs and the main area of the settlement would contrast with usual LC burial practices, which were typically within the domestic environment, either beneath the courtyards of houses or under the streets – possibly indicating that mortuary ritual persisted along traditional lines in the communities of the hinterland. Subsequent excavations proved this not to be the case.[81] However, a tomb was located in the eastern part of the site, clearly associated with architecture, suggesting burial location at Arediou follows the LC norm. Grave goods included a LC I bronze spearhead (Fig. 7) and a Mycenaean stirrup jar (Fig. 8). The spearhead places Arediou culturally and economically with a group of wealthy MC III–LC I tombs from the central, copper producing region, that were furnished with bronze weaponry.[82] Current thinking suggests such wealth was acquired from exploitation of nearby copper mines. This indicates that the initial establishment of the settlement at Arediou in LC I was linked to copper extraction in the nearby hinterland, contemporary with the intensification of the copper industry and increasing Cypriot participation in external maritime trade. The stirrup jar further illustrates development of intra-island exchange in the LC II period. Analogous to the Mycenaean jar from Analiondas, it is clear evidence that the inhabitants of these inland sites had access to imported commodities.

Conclusions

The key distinguishing feature of the settlement hierarchy devised by Knapp[83] is the distinction of inland sites involved in production from other distribution and administrative centres. Given the posited economic relationship between agricultural production centres and mining sites, the discovery of slag at Arediou is particularly pertinent. Excavations in 2008 suggest that in some areas of Building 1 slag was being used to create a hard-standing work surface; nonetheless, the question of whether copper-working was amongst the activities practised at the site should not be dismissed, especially given the range of ground stone tools found in the building. There was clearly considerable internal organisation, in terms of architectural layout/orientation throughout the site, and its organisation into discrete activity zones (processing, storage and possibly residential/burial). A possible ritual/cultic function to room 103 in Building 1 is intriguing; the site evidently does not belong to the category of inland sanctuary fulfilled by sites such as Myrtou *Pigadhes* and Athienou, and yet the posited cult remains were located within a public, non-domestic building. This might be paralleled by the structures at Ayia Irini and Apliki *Karamallos*, indicative of a new category of communal or public cult building within the inland production sites, an aspect which requires further investigation.

As noted above, it has been suggested[84] that certain complements of artefacts differentiate production sites from the primary urban centres; this has been brought into question by the results of fieldwork at Arediou, which clearly demonstrate that the communities of the rural hinterland had access to a wide variety of imported wares from the Aegean, Egypt and the Levant. Moreover, the use of Cypro-Minoan to mark pottery implies some familiarity with the writing systems used in the urban centres and might illustrate specific handling practices associated with intra-island mechanics of economic control. Similarly, Apliki *Karamallos* and Analiondas *Palioklichia* demonstrate that inhabitants of some inland production sites had access to seal stones and used LC sealing systems. Present evidence suggests that our understanding of this settlement category needs some refinement; which can only be achieved through continuing exploration of the rural hinterland.

[81] Steel and Thomas 2008.
[82] Keswani 2004, 143.
[83] Knapp 1997.
[84] Knapp 1997, 57.

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