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INTRODUCTION

Throughout its history, the island of Cyprus has been a place of interconnection. Various studies have emphasized its role in long-distance exchange by sea and the copper resources that formed a foundation of the wealth of the island. In the tumultuous period from the end of the second millennium into the first millennium BCE, Cyprus expanded its contacts by sea and was a locus for the transmission of many products and ideas among an increasing variety of peoples from the Near East and the Mediterranean. The relationship between art and society on Cyprus reveals the ways in which people sought to control their world and solve problems caused by natural disasters and political upheaval in the period from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age.

The "art" of the title does not refer simply to those objects made with particular skill in a form that today we find attractive. Art is taken more broadly to include not only how an object was fashioned and what it represented, but also how it facilitated communications among people and their deities. Art enables us to disentangle the complexities of society and understand the ways in which interrelationships on the island adapted and changed alongside shifts in the island's interconnections overseas. Its study also shows how scholars have organized information about the island's past and how that same information can be reorganized in order to refine reconstructions and ask new questions about the role of Cyprus in the ancient world.

The image repertoire of one settlement, Kition, forms the focus of this book. This ancient harbor city, which lies below modern-day Larnaca, preserves patterns of life from its establishment as an urban center by the thirteenth century BCE down to its governance by Phoenicians at the end of the eighth century BCE and into subsequent centuries. A focus on Kition is of particular importance for the art and society of Cyprus because it was based on evidence from excavations

here in 1929–30 that the Swedish archaeologist Einar Gjerstad claimed to have found proof for the cultural sequence he established for the Iron Age, published in its full form in 1948. His work still forms a foundation for studies of the island. Today Kition remains the only extensively excavated settlement with evidence for continuous occupation from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age.

Re-analysis of this city emphasizes the usefulness of a regional approach. Close examination of the excavation reports for Kition, its ceramics and sculptural finds, and the social basis that supported its long-distance contacts suggests solutions for and new ways of looking at problems of interconnection across the Mediterranean. The results of this study point to how evidence for continuity may already exist at other settlements on Cyprus. More broadly, this book serves as a case study for how archaeological sources of information can be used as a basis for understanding the way in which people sought to control the past, present, and future of the world in which they lived by means of their artistic creations.

From the Bronze Age into the Iron Age

Mediterranean peoples who lived during the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age were part of a world enlivened by and dependent on sea trade. Discoveries such as the late-fourteenth-century BCE ship wrecked off the coast of Turkey at Ulu Burun[1] display in their contents the array of luxury goods and staple products that were in demand at every coast. Raw materials such as copper, ivory, and glass, fine ceramics, and exotic foods appealed then just as much as they did in the first millennium BCE, when the Phoenicians plied their wares across the Mediterranean Sea and into the Atlantic Ocean. There was continuity in the taste for goods, and craftsmanship displays similarities over time, suggesting that some training and skills, as in ivory carving and furniture construction, were part of an unbroken artistic tradition.[2]

The flourishing exchanges of the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age are parts of a continuous tradition of sea travel, but they are separated from one another by the collapse of many of the Bronze Age centers of power. Burnt, broken, and abandoned citadels and royal residences meant fewer customers for luxury goods. A lively trade in recyclable material grew, in evidence among finds on land as well as at sea – for example, in the ship found wrecked off the coast of Turkey at Cape Gelidonya.[3] Collectors of scrap metal and parts of furniture continued to supply luxury materials, even if they were secondhand. In this way, they distributed not only material but also artistic ideas through the images remaining on objects, such as bits of bronze stands and ivory furniture, which form the material origins of Orientalizing styles in the Iron Age of Greece. Sea travel continued, even as many of the pathways of power and control shifted.

Changes in the balance of power must have left an impression on the people who survived the earthquakes, fires, raids, and famines at the end of the Late

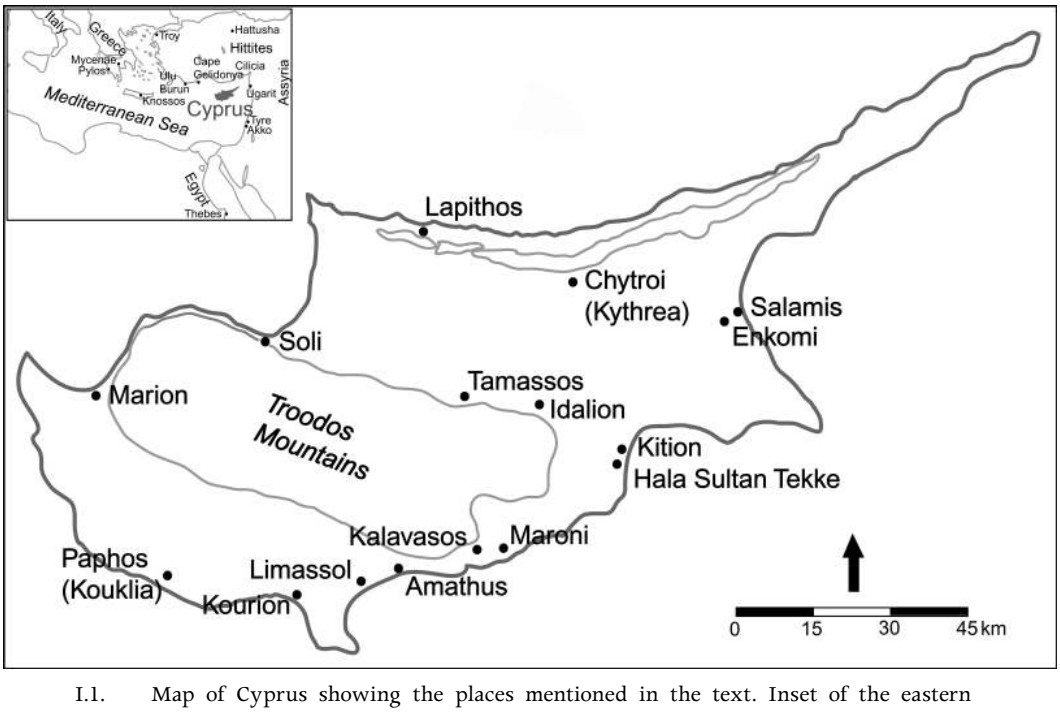
Bronze Age as well as on those who learned of this period through oral traditions. Movements of people, including the several groups often referred to collectively as the Sea Peoples, created diaspora populations across the Mediterranean. Often the events that center around 1200 BCE are viewed as an end to a way of life. The unity of power in Egypt, which had been the dominant political force in the Mediterranean world throughout the Late Bronze Age, gave way at the end of the New Kingdom to territorial division.[4] A considerable degree of continuity, however, is suggested by the enduring significance of places that had been important to earlier generations, such as palace buildings in the Greek world that were transformed into temples, even if only their foundations or a part of a structure had survived.[5] Egypt's continuing influence[6] and increasing evidence for continuity between the Hittites of central Anatolia and the Neo-Hittite city-states[7] reveal that scholarship has created too great a divide between the Bronze and Iron Ages.

Study of the period from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age for places centered on the coastal Mediterranean is complicated by a lack of written documents and a scattered and often discontinuous record of settlements found through well-documented stratigraphic archaeological excavations. Although some ruins were left standing, some surviving above ground into the modern period, most places are known through the display of wealth in tombs. While these remains are often exquisite, many of the objects being of intrinsic value and preserved intact, they are usually mixed deposits from family tombs, used and reused over generations, often disturbed by looters or tomb flooding.

The paucity of monumental structures from the twelfth through the ninth centuries BCE has complicated the search for settlements and buildings. The settlement history in the Levant is the best known for this time period.[8] In Greece, there are still only a few settlements known through extensive excavation.[9] In the most recent synthesis of this period for the Aegean, Oliver Dickinson notes that most information derives from funerary contexts and that his discussions of "settlement pattern, farming economy, trade, and ritual behavior must depend to a great extent on hypothesis and reasoned speculation."[10] Nowhere has this lack of settlement information been more of a problem than on the island of Cyprus (Fig. I.1), where there appears to be a gap in evidence during the early Iron Age, particularly the tenth century BCE.[11]

Cyprus

Cyprus was integral to Mediterranean trade by the end of the Middle Bronze Age.[12] From that point through the Late Bronze Age, there are an increasing number of settlements on the island, some of which remained in use until the end of the Late Bronze Age.[13] The several polities that make up the city-kingdoms for the Iron Age are also well documented.[14] The period from the Late Bronze Age



I.1. Map of Cyprus showing the places mentioned in the text. Inset of the eastern Mediterranean Sea region showing the places mentioned in the text. Drawing by J. S. Smith.

into the Iron Age was marked by settlement abandonment, changes in settlement location, and possibly an increase in the size of some settlements.[15] Of particular importance was the change in the location of settlements near the coast and their monumental buildings. In the Late Bronze Age, these were set back from the coast, but in the Iron Age such places are found at or near a harbor. This marks a change in the relationship between centers of power on the island and their direct role in sea trade from the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age.

This topographic change also marked a departure from inland placement in other parts of the Mediterranean, as with Mycenaean citadels and Syrian cities. For example, the harbor and palace at Ugarit were separated by less than two kilometers.[16] Although Cyprus did not have palaces with all the bureaucratic, hierarchical, and public ceremonial features of those in other parts of the Mediterranean, it did have prominent buildings that are distinguishable from others through the use of such features as ashlar masonry,[17] centralized storage,[18] and ceremonial space.[19] The choices made on Cyprus for the number and variety of such buildings varied from polity to polity. This differs from other parts of the Mediterranean: For example, in the Mycenaean world, buildings that are commonly referred to as palaces, although variable in their complete design and development through time, came to share features by the thirteenth century BCE, particularly the megaron shape in their architectural form.[20]

However, the very function of a palace, particularly outside the Near East, has been questioned.[21] Its significance – not just as a seat for a ruler, but as a ceremonial and economic center with several purposes aimed at legitimizing the social and political structure of a community, region, or territorial state – suggests that scholarly definitions need to be more flexible than they have been in the past. Therefore, even if we cannot identify any one building from Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age as a palace similar to those in the Near East or the Aegean, there were buildings marked by architectural form, construction, and function that set them apart from average domestic structures.

During the Late Bronze Age, these monumental buildings were located a few kilometers from the coast, as at places such at Enkomi[22] and Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios.[23] Even Late Bronze Age Maroni, where the locality of Tsaroukkas lies next to the sea, with its evidence for maritime trade,[24] finds its monumental building at Vournes,[25] half a kilometer inland. In the Iron Age, it was more typical to find the main settlement and public buildings, such as at Salamis[26] and Kition (see below), at a harbor location, which suggests that direct control over a port was of greater importance in the first millennium BCE than it had been in preceding centuries.

The significance of this shift to the coast, how people structured their lives within these coastal settlements, and how they adapted to changes within the island and in their relationships with people from other parts of the Mediterranean is not always clear. Often tombs and cult spaces serve as the primary indicators of the presence of a settlement, even when the settlement itself has not been revealed through excavation or only its later form is known, with earlier strata yet to be uncovered.

Textual information does little to clarify the problem. During the Late Bronze Age and into the first centuries of the first millennium BCE, Cyprus can be situated in history, but it is not a source of historical records. It can be linked only peripherally with names and historical dates as they appear in Egyptian records and cuneiform texts.[27] The *Bible* and epics such as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are often used as sources, but the purpose of these stories was not directly historical.[28] Readable inscriptional material from Cyprus is rare during this period, and none of it was meant as a record of specific people or places that illuminate the political situation on the island. We have no names of those who built buildings or fashioned objects out of metal, fibers, stone, ivory, or clay.

The material remains excavated on the island, however, are a rich resource. They are the means by which archaeologists, art historians, historians, and other scholars reconstruct Cypriot art and culture during this important point in Mediterranean history. Regalia such as scepters and maceheads indicate the preeminence of some members of society[29] who might have been considered rulers of their communities. Lavish burials show that some people could afford to place gold and other intrinsically valuable items in their tombs as a display of

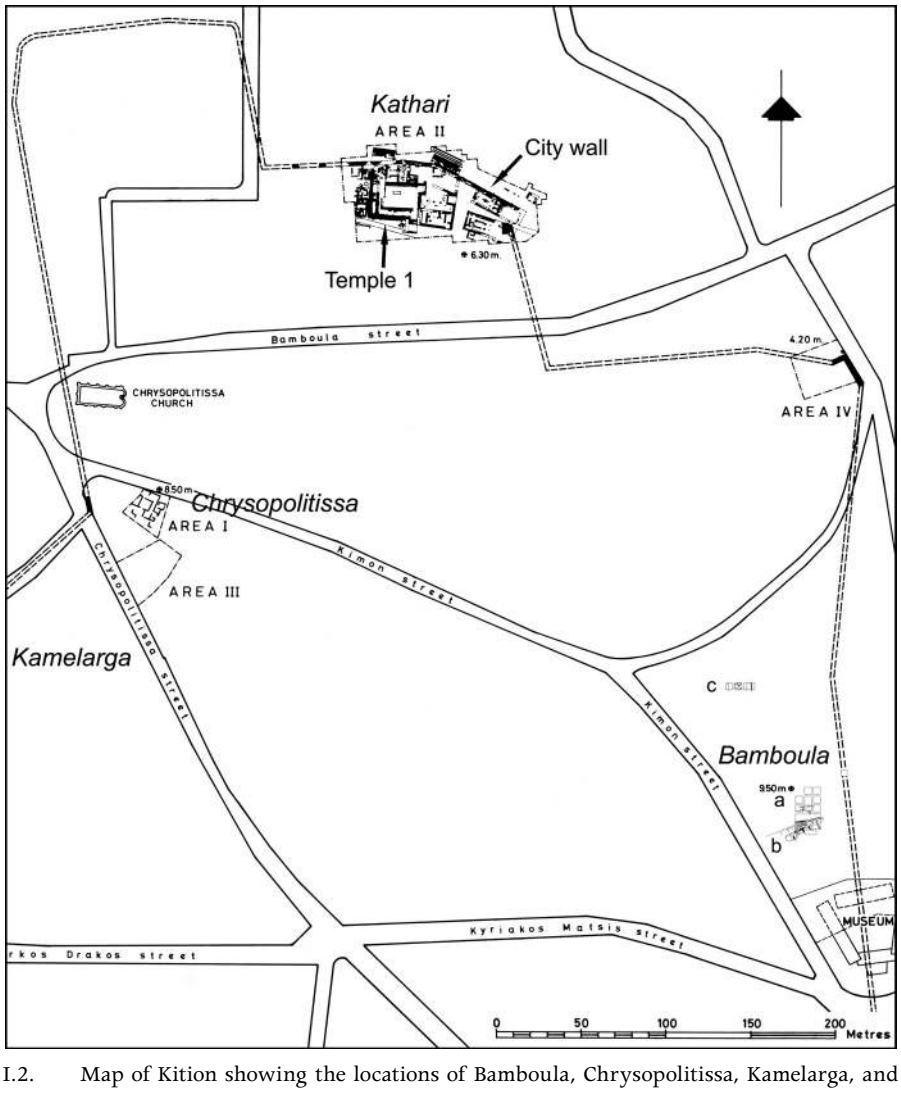
wealth.[30] Scatters of pottery and other objects help to define the borders of polities.[31] Styles of material culture serve to distinguish one place from another.[32] Socially and personally significant items are sometimes lost because of the decay of objects in archaeological context. Textiles, for example, used for clothing, house furnishings, and dowries, survive only in the tools used to make them and in representations on ceramic vessels.[33] Greek, Levantine, and Egyptian objects attest to Cypriot overseas contacts.[34] Island resources such as copper were intrinsically valuable materials that drew Cyprus into overseas exchange. Study of any image on Cyprus compels one into the study of the Mediterranean as a whole, for in iconography and style this place took artistic references as much from other regions as from itself.

Sorting all of this information so that it can be used to answer research questions and develop new ideas and approaches relies even today on the typological framework created by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, led by Einar Gjerstad.[35] It is a standard for scholars studying the island and its interconnections with other parts of the Mediterranean. Some revisions have been made to the chronology it sets forth, and more-detailed studies of parts of its whole have clarified problems in architecture, sculpture, ceramics, and other forms of material culture. However, a tenet on which its early structure lies is only now being questioned. Pottery of Gjerstad's Type II, given the range of 950–850 BCE, was considered in the original work to be a chronologically meaningful part of the typology. Analysis of the original system of Types and evidence for regional styles casts doubt on the chronological value of this category.

Critical study of the period from the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age and of the problem of Type II requires a close study of the ancient city of Kition. Ceramic evidence from Gjerstad's excavations there was used to determine that its settlement was continuous throughout that period. Furthermore, that same evidence was used by him to establish the chronological validity of his sequence of ceramic Types based on the seriation of vessels found in tombs throughout the island. Kition remains, however, the only polity on Cyprus where continuous settlement has been documented from the Late Bronze Age, through the period marked by Type II, into the later Iron Age.

Kition

Kition is known through literary references, inscriptions, topographic studies, tombs, sanctuaries, domestic remains, its harbors, and ship docks (Fig. I.2). First mentioned in texts of the thirteenth century BCE at Ugarit,[36] it is the city of primary importance for understanding the nature, timing, and form of a Cypriot city at the end of the Bronze Age, as well as the development of a Phoenician city-kingdom on Cyprus.[37] Scattered remains of earlier tombs and sherds in the area[38] show that people lived there before the establishment of an



I.2. Map of Kition showing the locations of Bamboula, Chrysopolitissa, Kamelarga, and Kathari. Adapted from V. Karageorghis and Demas 1985c: pl. 3 with the addition of locality names and squares at Bamboula excavated by the French team (a, b, c) (after Yon and Caubet 1985: Fig. 2). Bamboula at area marked "a" previously excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (see Gjerstad 1937: plan I).

urban settlement at the harbor by the thirteenth century BCE. It was a prominent port for trade from the thirteenth century until the Ptolemaic conquest of the island in 312 BCE.

There are a number of sources about the material remains of Kition found through excavations since the late nineteenth century. Kyriakos Nicolaou's *Historical Topography of Kition* is a standard reference for the polity.[39] Tombs published by John Myres,[40] Vassos Karageorghis,[41] and Georgos Georgiou[42]

provide the most complete funerary assemblages that are contemporary with the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age settlement. Several cult spaces in and around Kition,[43] such as the Archaic period Kamelarga sanctuary, are often known primarily through terracotta figurines.

The Bamboula hill, which Marguerite Yon has shown is often incorrectly referred to as the Acropolis of Kition,[44] has been the site of excavations since the nineteenth century. Early twentieth-century excavations there suggested that there was little evidence for settlement at Kition in the Bronze Age beyond a few sherds.[45] Later excavations by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1929–30 established the existence of both Bronze and Iron Age habitation there and postulated continuous settlement.[46] Evidence for both periods has subsequently been found by the French team, active since 1976 under Yon's direction.[47] In 2000, Late Bronze Age to Iron Age settlement remains were found west of the Bamboula site.[48]

The most plentiful Bronze and Iron Age remains were found in excavations by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, directed by Vassos Karageorghis, and it is these that provide the information for much of this book. Both the settlement at Kition-Chrysopolitissa (Area I), which was abandoned after its fifth-floor level, and the workshops and cult spaces at Kition-Kathari (Area II), which was also an area in use during the Iron Age, preserve buildings over an area measuring close to 6,000 square meters. These represent hundreds of years of occupation.[49] This book examines floor levels from the earliest, Floor IV, through successive Bronze Age Floor levels IIIA, III, and II, as well as Iron Age floor levels I, 3, and 2A. Of particular concern are Floor II, destroyed by earthquake and flooding; Floor I, again destroyed by flooding; and Floor 3, destroyed by fire.

Contrary to what the Swedish and French teams found at Bamboula, Karageorghis locates a gap in settlement at Kathari, which he dates to 1000–850 BCE, because of primarily the lack of ceramics of Gjerstad's Type II, thought to be synonymous with the Cypro-Geometric II period. Examination in this book of the stratigraphy of all three excavations, however, shows that settlement was continuous, even as all suffered damage from flooding and earthquakes. Patterns of damage are consistent across all three excavations in relationship to the ceramic finds from those layers.

Exactly how large the ancient city of Kition was is not known.[50] This book focuses on the settlement evidence found through excavation. This is limited to the areas extending from Kathari, west to Chrysopolitissa, and east to Bamboula, marked within the limits of known sections of the city wall at the north end of Kathari, west of Chrysopolitissa, in Area IV, and probably at the eastern limit of the northernmost area excavated at Bamboula. If that entire area were part of a contiguous settlement, it measures at least 16 hectares. However, that area was not always inhabited at the same time. The estimate of 70 hectares that appears in the original Department of Antiquities publication was based on visible, excavated, and proposed sections of the city wall encompassing the plateau on which

the settlement was built.[51] In the twelfth century BCE, there was another harbor settlement at Hala Sultan Tekke on the opposite side of the Larnaca Salt Lake.[52] Its locality of Vyzakia is about five kilometers south and west of the harbor at Kathari.

No matter how large Kition was, its monumental buildings were visible to those arriving at its port on the south coast of Cyprus, and the writers of texts at Ugarit in the thirteenth century, referencing what appears to be a place-name, *kt*, knew it well enough to mention it by name.[53] Indeed, it was the first settlement on Cyprus to have large public buildings placed at the harbor rather than just nearby.[54] This urban center played a fundamental role in the fabric of Mediterranean exchange throughout its settlement history.

Understanding the significance of Kition for the wider Mediterranean has most often focused on the study of ceramics and Kition's physical connections overseas. Imported Mycenaean pottery forms the basis for understanding when the initial settlement was established,[55] and Greek and Phoenician imports of the first millennium BCE[56] are a basis for understanding later construction periods. Kition, along with Enkomi, is unusual for its imported pottery from Anatolia.[57] Furthermore, its contacts with Egypt, probably through Syria, are represented abundantly in the faience vessels found there.[58] Rich burials at Kition-Chrysopolitissa[59] and the range of imported goods in the earliest settlements there and at Kition-Bamboula and Kathari compare with and even exceed in number and quality those at other, more established polities on the island.

The harbor of the city at Kathari had several public buildings, all of which have been published as temples. The most prominent of these, Temple 1, was built with well-cut ashlar blocks and formed part of a complex of three integrated structures along with Temple 2 and Temenos B.[60] In this book, reexamination of the areas published as distinct temples – Temples 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and spaces associated with temples such as Temenos A and Temenos B – reveals that the purpose of these spaces was more varied and that they did not serve the same purposes throughout their periods of use. Temples 2 and 4, for example, contain considerable evidence for craft activity and appear to be more similar to the large metal and textile workshops that were active during the Late Bronze Age at Kition. Furthermore, the most significant cult spaces during the Late Bronze Age did not center on the large Temple 1, but instead were located in Temenos A and the adjoining Room 16 and in Temple 5. For the purpose of consistency, even though the function of these buildings is reinterpreted, their nomenclature remains the same as that in the original publications.

As at other Late Bronze Age Cypriot settlements, such as Enkomi, there was more than one form of authority at work.[61] The balance of authority exercised in public and private structures at Kition changed during the period from the thirteenth century BCE to the period of Phoenician governance by the end of the eighth century BCE. In these changes, it is possible to begin to discern ways

in which people sought to control their world. Study of the artistic repertoire of Kition in context provides good evidence for the ways in which people anticipated, perceived, considered, and documented their total environment.

With the changes came a shift in the permanency of externally visible power. Whereas many images were small in scale and used within buildings throughout the history of Kition, the centralization of power within the large, well-constructed Temple 1 did not begin to take place until the eighth century BCE. Not long after this centralization, the first image of a ruler, a life-size image of Sargon II, the king of Assyria, was erected at the end of the eighth century BCE, probably as part of the rebuilding of the harbor site for Floor 2A after the fire that destroyed Floor 3. This was the first prominent life-size human image displayed in public, outside a building, ever in Cyprus. Its visibility[62] marks a change in the nature of power at Kition and on Cyprus, with the rise of a monarch-led Phoenician kingdom.

Phoenicians

"Phoenician" is a Greek term, the precise origins of which are unclear. Both "Phoenician" and the term "Canaanite," which is what Phoenicians called themselves, appear to relate, at least in part, to the reddish-purple color derived from the murex, used as a dye for cloth associated with royalty.[63] Although we tend to think of Phoenicians and their importance for long-distance exchange by sea as an Iron Age phenomenon, the Phoenicians were already part of the system of Mediterranean interconnections by the Late Bronze Age.[64] Settlements at Phoenician cities such as Tyre were already established before Kition came into its urban form in the thirteenth century BCE.

Cyprus and the Phoenicians shared a mercantile identity. In locating Kition's settlement and monumental buildings at the harbor, the city took a form that recalled the proximity of Phoenician cities to anchorages.[65] Also from its first establishment in the Late Bronze Age, Kition was prominent as a producer of textiles. Dyed fabrics were some of the products of a large dye works there. Murex shells at Kition and in even larger deposits at Hala Sultan Tekke[66] are evidence for purple-dyed fabrics. Traces of a purple residue in a tomb at Hala Sultan Tekke were probably from a dyed cloth wrapped around the deceased.[67] While the material remains do not suggest that Kition was founded by Phoenicians in the Late Bronze Age, it became a prominent Phoenician city by the end of the eighth century BCE.

Part of the problem in understanding the process by which Kition came to be governed by Phoenicians is the static use of the term "colony." This book resists the urge to apply that label. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the current view of Kition as a place that was reestablished by Phoenicians after an abandonment of more than one hundred years[68] does not fit the archaeological or textual evidence.[69] The range of evidence presented in this book, including pottery