FORUM ARTICLE

Cultural and Political Configurations in Iron Age Cyprus: The Sequel to a Protohistoric Episode

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Abstract

This paper attempts to show that the interpretation of the complex cultural and political configurations of Iron Age Cyprus rests on a 1,000-year long macrohistoric overview that focuses on continua rather than breaks. It maintains that the first-millennium B.C.E. kingdoms operated on very much the same decentralized politicoeconomic system as Late Cypriot polities in the 13th and 12th centuries. It argues that the long-term dynamics of this Late Cypriot model were actively and successfully promoted in the Archaic and Classical periods by preponderantly Greek central authorities. It is mostly Greek-named *basileis* (kings) that are found closely associated with the fundamental continua—the Cypriot script, the regional settlement hierarchy pattern, cult practice, and an economy based on trading metals—to the end of the fourth century B.C.E. This article argues that Greek-speaking people had become a constituent part of the sociopolitical structure of the island by the last centuries of the second millennium as a result of a migration episode.*

INTRODUCTION

Many scholarly narratives conclude with the end of the Late Bronze Age in the Mediterranean. For the historicity of ancient Cyprus, and probably not only Cyprus, this constitutes a break at the wrong juncture. The insufficient reconstruction of Cyprus' cultural and institutional history in the Iron Age is the result of this pseudobreak, which provides the excuse for

the dismissal of an almost 500-year period. In Cypriot archaeology, studies tend to stop short of the 12th century B.C.E., leaving a different group of scholars to take up the story in the Cypro-Archaic period.[1] Unless it appears as a separate stratum in excavation projects, the Cypro-Geometric period and Late Cypriot (LC) IIIB (its 11th-century introductory phase) are usually disassociated from the Late Cypriot, and especially from LC IIIA (here treated as synonymous with the 12th century; table 1).[2] The Cypro-Geometric is generally viewed as a no man's land, lacking indigenous initiatives that could have developed into a political organization for the island.[3] If it contributed something to the exuberant Cypro-Archaic era of the Cypriot kingdoms, it was to wipe the island clean of its dynamic Bronze Age traditions. Upon this Iron Age tabula rasa, Phoenicians, Neo-Assyrians, Egyptians, and Achaemenid Persians imposed either their political will or their cultural and institutional prototypes, or both.

These notions turn a blind eye to the individuality of Cypriot culture, which is evident from as early as the Neolithic, and to the immunity[4] that the Late Cypriot state model had developed against the island's powerful continent-based neighbors, which is supported by the Alasia textual evidence.[5] Other phenomena are much harder to ignore, and they throw the scheme of an externally generated Cypriot Iron Age off balance.

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[1] E.g., Reyes 1994; Knapp 1997, 69.
[2] LC IIC has a reliable absolute age range: it terminates ca. 1200 B.C.E. (Manning et al. 2001, 328). The absolute chronologies of LC IIIA, IIIB, and the Cypriot Iron Age continue to rely heavily on ceramic typologies (see Iacovou 1988, 4–11; 2004a).
[3] E.g., Rupp 1985, 1987.
[4] Cf. Sherratt 1998, 297.
[5] Knapp 1996.

Table 1. Conventional Chronology of Cyprus.

Period(s)	Date Range
Neolithic and Chalcolithic	ca. 8200–2500 B.C.E.
Philia Culture: Transition from Chalcolithic to Early Cypriot	ca. 2500–2350 B.C.E.
Bronze Age	
Early Cypriot I–III	ca. 2400–2000 B.C.E.
Middle Cypriot I–III	ca. 2000–1700 B.C.E.
Late Cypriot I–II	ca. 1700–1450 B.C.E.
Late Cypriot IIA–B	ca. 1450–1300 B.C.E.
Late Cypriot IIC	ca. 1300–1200 B.C.E.
Late Cypriot IIIA	ca. 1200–1125/1100 B.C.E.
Late Cypriot IIIB	ca. 1125/1100–1050 B.C.E.
Iron Age	
Cypro-Geometric I–III	ca. 1050–750 B.C.E.
Cypro-Archaic I–II	ca. 750–480 B.C.E.
Cypro-Classical I–II	ca. 480–310 B.C.E.
Ptolemaic/Hellenistic	310–30 B.C.E.
Roman	30 B.C.E.–330 C.E.

For instance, it is curious that, though politically and culturally under the influence or control of exclusively Near Eastern powers, the majority of the Cypro-Archaic polities and their populations adopted the Greek language. Also, if all that Cyprus had achieved in the Late Bronze Age was obliterated during the "break," how does one explain that, instead of using the cuneiform script or the Phoenician alphabet, they used the same indigenous Late Cypriot syllabary to write Greek and a second language (Eteocypriot)? Is it possible that fundamental cultural continua that bridge the divide between the island's Bronze and Iron Ages have been overlooked?

Having described the problems inherent in approaching ancient Cyprus as two different cultures with a long break in between, I pick up the thread of the argument from where it has often been left. That "developments in Cyprus after ca. 1200 B.C.E. were different from those in the Greek mainland" has been widely acknowledged since the 1980s.[6] Yet to this day, the 12th century in Cyprus has not been sufficiently or comprehensively studied.[7] Generic interpretations

continue to overshadow the vastly different responses of the island's regional economic systems to the 13th-century Mediterranean-wide crisis,[8] which ranged from system collapse and abandonment (e.g., Alassa and the Kouris River valley) to survival and relocation (e.g., Enkomi to Salamis) to urban enhancement and continuity (e.g., Paphos; fig. 1). Contrary, therefore, to what is assumed by Voskos and Knapp, our understanding of LC IIIA is seriously obfuscated, for it has been deprived of its main characteristic as a horizon of nonmatching settlement histories. That the regional patterns of the archaeology of Cyprus in the 12th century B.C.E. have not yet been sufficiently acknowledged/understood has two negative effects: it makes it difficult to see that in LC IIIA, certain regions and their urban centers must have received the impact of a migration episode, and it underestimates the significance of site (and people) relocations within the island in LC IIIA and IIIB. The power vacuum left in regions where the primary center had succumbed (e.g., Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios in the Vasilikos Valley) healed with the establishment of new and, this time, coastal settlements

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[6] Muhly 1989, 298.
[7] Hence, "minimal evidence, maximal interpretation" (Iacovou [forthcoming (a)]).

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[8] See Sherratt (1998) for a challenging approach to the absence of a centralized palatial system and the economic structure of the 13th and 12th centuries in Cyprus.
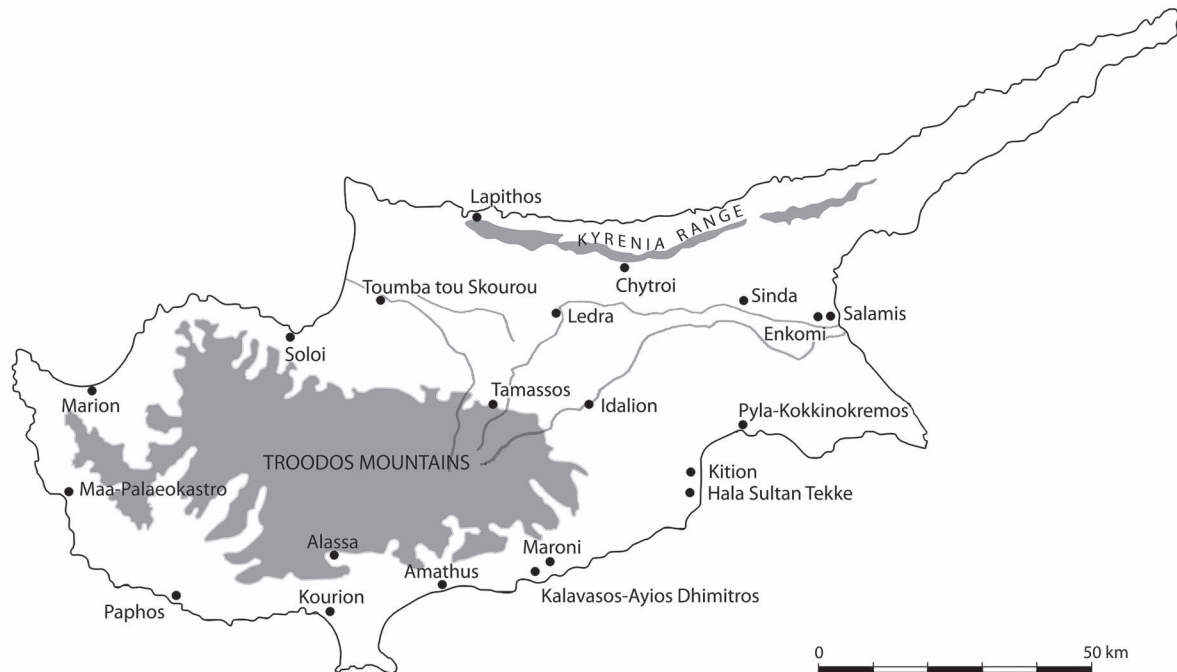
Fig. 1. Map of Cyprus, showing sites mentioned in the text (drawing by A. Satraki and A. Agapiou).

(e.g., Amathus), which became the economic centers of the agricultural and industrial hinterland of their respective regions in the Iron Age. Significantly, all settlements identified by inscriptions as state capitals in the Cypro-Archaic period were founded no later than the 11th century. This paper argues that the migrants were part and parcel of the island's Iron Age sociopolitical restructuring, but they should not be viewed as groups uniformly distributed around Cyprus: in some regions, they seem to have claimed authority from early on, in others never at all.

Like invasions, migrations are *longue durée* processes with long-term consequences for the human environment that has to absorb them.[9] As such, they cannot be properly studied on the evidence of the material culture of one cultural horizon alone—in this case by comparing the 13th to the 12th–11th centuries. I can therefore see how by limiting themselves to data from this particularly short and culturally unsettled period, Knapp and Voskos came up with "hybridization."[10] Even if we could prove that Mycenaean-Greek speakers were established in the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Late Bronze Age, their purported establishment (e.g., in Philistia) had little to no last-

ing impact on the subsequent periods.[11] Eventually, whether they had come or not and whether they had produced Mycenaean IIIC1b pottery for themselves meant very little to the social and political history of Syria and Palestine in the Iron Age. This, however, does not apply to Cyprus, where a similarly invisible event had a completely different outcome. On Cyprus, the migration acquired a linguistically and epigraphically supported physical presence. It caused the island to undergo a language change, and that became the migrants' indelible imprint. To appreciate this sequel, a thousand-year macrohistoric view is required that will take us from the 13th century into the last centuries of the first millennium B.C.E. Also, because Cyprus is an island-continent, useful analogies are drawn from the response of two other Mediterranean island-continents, Crete and Sicily, to similar events that affected their histories.

LANGUAGE CHANGE IN CRETE AND CYPRUS

Crete and Cyprus started out as pre-Hellenic islands.[12] From the outset of the Bronze Age, each had shaped its own cultural expressions and by the Middle Minoan period in the case of Neopalatial Crete and

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[9] Chapman and Hamerow 1997, 1.
[10] Voskos and Knapp 2008.

[11] Iacovou 1998.
[12] Whitley 1998, 27.

at the beginning of the Late Cypriot in the case of Cyprus, both began to employ their own distinct scripts.[13] Linear A in Crete and Cypro-Minoan in Cyprus reflect the highest level of social and political complexity attained by the two islands during the Bronze Age. Yet both scripts remain indecipherable; their epigraphic corpora are limited, and the prehistoric languages that the two scripts represented became extinct in antiquity. The language that Linear A had served was not Crete's predominant language in the first millennium B.C.E., and the language for which the Cypro-Minoan script had developed was not Cyprus' predominant language in the Iron Age. The prehistoric languages that had been in use when the second-millennium *Hochkulturen* of both islands were at their peak gave way and were eventually replaced by Greek. It is unlikely that language change was initiated by the indigenous people of Crete and Cyprus suddenly taking a fancy to a new language. It is more likely that people speaking this new language had migrated into the human environment of each island.

This should not distract us from the fact that we are dealing with two very different events that began under very different historical circumstances and that the processes that led to the two islands becoming Hellenophonic were radically different. Chronologically, the establishment of Greek-speaking people in Crete is largely at one with the political domination of the island by Mycenaean Greeks.[14] Not much else can explain the introduction of an exclusively Mycenaean administration script in the palatial context of Knossos and in Chania in the Final Palatial period.[15] The events on Crete antedate those of Cyprus by some two centuries.[16] They took place as the mainland palaces were rising to prominence, triggering "an entire series of changes that culminated in Crete being absorbed, to a greater or lesser extent, into the Mycenaean and henceforward, the Greek world."[17] The preponderant—though far from exclusive—use of the Doric dialect in the Iron Age epigraphic record on Crete is attributed to the "Dark Age migrations which brought Dorians and probably non-Dorians as well to the is-

land."[18] Unlike the Mycenaean influx, this second "wave" of Greeks to Crete remains archaeologically undetected. The establishment of Greeks in Cyprus, however, was initiated after the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system (after the 13th century) but before the development of the historical Greek dialects of the first millennium B.C.E.[19]

The transformation of the Cretan-Cypriot human landscapes by these two chronologically separate and unrelated episodes was more significant and long lasting than Greek colonization had been anywhere else in the Mediterranean. The endurance of Greek-speaking peoples in regions that were colonized by Greeks in the Iron Age, such as Sicily, was merely a chapter in their history.[20] For Crete and Cyprus, however, it did not become historical memory but remains a living reality to this day. An indelible island-human identity was forged that rendered pre-Greek languages obsolete. Crete became, and remains, the permanent southern boundary of the Hellenophone ethnos, while Cyprus, in Baurain's words, was (and is) "la terre la plus orientale de toutes cettes habitées par les hellénophones."[21] In view of the geographical distance of the two islands from the original center of the Mycenaean culture that provided the human agents for their Hellenization, Cyprus represents a unique phenomenon of ethno-linguistic endurance.

We have a responsibility to understand the process by which this fundamental language change took place. This is the primary factor that supports a protohistoric migration episode by the end of the Cypriot Bronze Age.[22] It tells us that it did happen, that people of Greek tongue were established on the island before the end of the second millennium B.C.E.—it does not tell us how it happened. How and why the language change happened, what changes it brought to the human environment of Cyprus, how it manifested itself in the linguistic and material record, and how it may have affected state formation and ethnicity remain challenging questions. "Other Eastern Mediterranean sites may have likewise been populated by Mycenaean refugees," writes Woodard, "but unlike these, Cyprus underwent

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[13] Rehak and Younger 2001, 422 n. 274.

[14] "Invasion et mycénisation, c'est-à-dire l'arrivée d'une population nouvelle et l'acculturation qui peut en résulter éventuellement, sont liées et constituent les aspects les plus ardus du problème de la 'Crète mycénienne'" (Farnoux and Driessen 1997, 4).

[15] "Le grec des archives de Knossos reste cependant l'argument le plus sûr en faveur d'un changement de pouvoir" (Farnoux and Driessen 1997, 4); see also Rehak and Younger (2001, 384, 441) on Final Palatial Crete.

[16] "That Mycenaeans from Mainland Greece arrived at some stage on the island during the Late Bronze Age is clear. When

they arrived is a matter of fierce debate (*Crète mycénnienne*), but the 'crisis years' of Late Minoan IB–II appear as the most opportune moments" (Driessen and Macdonald 1997, 118); see also Rehak and Younger (2001, 440–41) on the Late Minoan IB destructions.

[17] Driessen and Macdonald 1997, 118.

[18] Perlman 2000, 65.

[19] "Une langue grecque 'prédialectale' (ou 'grec commun')" (Baurain 1997, 126); see also Woodard 2000, 37.

[20] Cf. Dominguez 2006.

[21] Baurain 1997, 120.

[22] Catling 1975, 215.

a process of hellenization."[23] For this reason, it is imperative to understand first what Cyprus was like, and second what its dynamics were before the Hellenization process began.

PRE-HELLENIC CYPRUS

The island's Neolithization is credited with the introduction of the first farming communities by migrants who became the founding fathers of the mature aceramic Khirokitia culture.[24] The transition from the long Chalcolithic to Early Cypriot begins with the Philia culture. This mid third-millennium episode, which is attributed to an influx of immigrants, is credited with generating the dynamics that led to the first phase of exploitation of Cyprus' copper resources.[25] Almost to the end of the Middle Bronze Age, Cyprus remained a rural society, though it was by then completely surrounded by Mediterranean urban states and palatial cultures. The contrast with Crete, where state formation and urbanization are evident in the archaeological record by the beginning of the Middle Minoan period, is striking.

At the end of an almost millennium-long Early and Middle Cypriot phase, a number of coastal gateway settlements were founded. Systematic long-distance trade is first made evident at Enkomi, where, from ca. 1600 B.C.E., an industrial quarter was refining copper for export.[26] The earliest evidence of a local script, the Cypro-Minoan, comes from Enkomi's metallurgical area.[27] "Enkomi still appears to be a dominant, unique, and independent power" until sometime in the 14th century, when state authority began to be successfully claimed by several primary urban centers that "shared a similar material culture and were involved in many of the same production activities."[28] Later still, but not before the 13th century, these peer polities acquired monumental secular and/or sacred edifices.[29] The urban traits resulted from an affluence that could not have been achieved unless Cyprus had joined the international product exchange system controlled by palace societies. It was the belated connection with the centralized economies of the Mediterranean states, specifically through the export of copper, that triggered the emergence of social stratification and urbanization.[30]

MIGRATION: A STRUCTURED BEHAVIOR

During the Late Cypriot urban horizon, the only archaeologically perceptible relationship the island had with the Mycenaean-dominated Aegean was one based on commercial exchanges. Against the near-complete absence of contact that characterizes the previous phases, this constitutes a radically different situation.[31] The contemporary Late Cypriot–Late Helladic horizons qualify as the period when the distance between the island and the Aegean was for the first time almost eliminated through trading networks. In particular, during the Aegean koine of the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E.,[32] two systems that were distinctly different in their political institutions, culture, and languages came to know each other intimately. In fact, the Cypriots sought to enhance their status through the deliberate use of Aegean elements in their iconography: the adoption of sacred symbols that belonged to the political establishment of the Aegean (such as horns of consecration and double axes; fig. 2)[33] and the acquisition of masses of imported, painted, and often pictorial pottery, which was specially manufactured in the northeast Peloponnese and exported through the Mycenaean palace-controlled system.[34] Whether for ostentatious dinner parties (as the debris in Building X at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios suggests) or as burial gifts deposited in Late Cypriot "family" tombs, Late Helladic (LH) IIIA–B pottery—the cheapest of Mycenaean manufactured goods—"penetrated the countryside of the island as a whole."[35] Cyprus had become an integral part and major destination of the Mycenaean trading system in the eastern Mediterranean, and apparently—to judge from the Cypro-Minoan marks on Mycenaean vases—Cypriots moved at least some of the cargoes.[36]

In this age of Mediterranean internationalism, the Cypriots proved susceptible to a whole range of material refinements. A Cypriot metalworking style developed rapidly at this time, while specialized workshops

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[23] Woodard 1997, 217.

[24] Le Brun 1989, 95 (Neolithization); Peltenburg et al. 2001, 62.

[25] Frankel et al. 1996; pace Knapp 1999, 81; Webb and Frankel 1999.

[26] Muhly 1989, 299; Peltenburg 1996, 26.

[27] Dikaios 1969, 1:22–3; 1971, 882, pl. 315.10.

[28] Knapp 1997, 65–6.

[29] Webb 1999, 3; Keswani 2004, 84, 154.

[30] Peltenburg 1996, 36.

[31] Cadogan 1991, 171.

[32] "La formation d'une koine égéenne au xiv–xiii s." (Farnoux and Driessen 1997, 6).

[33] Webb 1992, 118; 2000.

[34] See Sherratt (1999, 183, 187–88) on state-endorsed Mycenaean pottery. See Immerwahr (1993, 219) on the Argive provenance of the so-called Levanto-Helladic (pictorial) shapes made at Berbati as "a concession to Cypriot taste."

[35] Sherratt 1999, 170. Building X contained at least 60% of imported Mycenaean vessels (South 1995, 194). See South and Russell (1993, 303–10) for the distribution of LH IIIA–B pottery in the settlement and in the tombs of Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios.

[36] Hirschfeld 1992, 316; 1993; see also Sherratt 1998, 296.

Fig. 2. Stepped capital and horns of consecration from the sanctuary at Paphos (Palaepaphos-Kouklia) (courtesy Director of Antiquities, Cyprus).

for faience, gold jewelry, and ivory were also novel introductions in LC II.[37] The most significant change that affected all levels of Late Cypriot society within the suggested tiered settlement system was in the field of ceramic technology.[38] After centuries of manufacture (since the 16th century) and regular export (14th–13th centuries) to the Levant, the handmade production of two highly distinct Late Cypriot finewares, Base Ring Ware and White Slip Ware, was being abandoned. Before the end of the 13th century, it began to be replaced by wheelmade production of a narrow range of shapes copied from the repertoire of imported LH III vases. The Cypriots did not industrialize their own finewares; they substituted them with a selection of Aegean types, which they "mixed with a healthy dose of local improvisation."[39]

Despite these strong cultural influences and innovations, Cyprus remained well beyond the periphery of Mycenaean political authority, as the contemporary evidence from Crete shows. Following widespread destructions in Late Minoan IB, the Mycenaean Linear B archival system began to be employed in Crete along with other novel features.[40] By contrast in Cyprus, no

Mycenaean palace characteristics can be traced in the otherwise cosmopolitan Late Cypriot environment. Cyprus has not revealed any traits that could justify proposing an incursion of people whose leaders inhabited megara decorated with wall paintings and situated within fortified citadels, employed scribes to maintain accounts in Linear B, or were buried in monumental tholoi.[41] In short, the politicoeconomic system of the Mycenaean palaces cannot be held responsible for "colonizing" Cyprus. Nevertheless, archaeological data confirm that while the palace era lasted, raw and secondary products were regularly exchanged between the Aegean and Cyprus, therefore sea routes were thoroughly well charted and information networks established between Mycenaeans and Cypriots. "Because information-exchange networks may be represented archaeologically by shared artifact styles and raw material exchange systems, it may be possible in some cases to reconstruct portions of the prehistoric information networks that constrained and enabled prehistoric migratory behavior."[42] As a structured behavior, migration is "targeted on known destinations and likely to use familiar routes."[43] When the economic

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[37] Matthäus 1982, 1985.
[38] Cf. Catling 1962; Keswani 1993; Knapp 1997, 46–63, 56 (on the settlement hierarchy system).
[39] Cadogan 1993, 95; Sherratt 1998, 298.

[40] Rehak and Younger 2001, 441–42, 451.
[41] Baurain 1997, 142.
[42] Anthony 1997, 24.
[43] Anthony 1990, 895–96.

system of the palaces failed, Cyprus was a known and attractive destination.

REGIONAL RESPONSES TO THE CRISIS

The 13th century B.C.E. ended in a crisis. The central event was the "spectacular collapse" of the interdependent economies of the Late Bronze Age states and their strict control over commercial exchanges, but this generated a range of other local crises that collectively make the transition to the 12th century the "crisis years."[44] On the Greek mainland, within one or two decades of 1200 B.C.E., all the large architectural complexes known as Mycenaean palaces were destroyed. "Whatever the nature of the destructions, the most important consequence was the abandonment by the survivors (at least those who remained, as opposed to those who may have opted to emigrate) of the political, economic, and social order which the palatial administrations had upheld."[45] The Postpalatial period of the 12th century proved unsuccessful and ended in a series of events that led to the precipitous decline of Mycenaean culture. On the mainland and in the Aegean islands, the Greek world remained stateless, nonurban, and illiterate for centuries. When it did come out of this bleak state, neither its newly acquired alphabetic literacy nor its new state formation, the polis, showed any connection with the script or the state system of the Mycenaeans.[46] This sharp discontinuity finds no match in Cyprus, where both the script and the state system survive into the next horizon.

The widespread economic and demographic disruptions around the Mediterranean did not leave Cyprus unaffected. The crisis translated into a horizon of settlement abandonment as sites of different types went out of use. Among them were urban establishments with ashlar complexes, which contained industrial units and had significant storage capacity: Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Maroni-Vournes, and Alassa-Paliotaverna.[47] The inhabitants never returned to these sites, nor did they or any other group revive the monumental central buildings. Following these terminal episodes, which were more than likely affected by a decrease in external demand for Cypriot copper that caused a production breakdown at home,[48] one would imagine that the LC

IIIA levels of the survivors (e.g., Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition, Paphos) would contain evidence for the establishment of Aegean immigrants. Archaeology, however, has been unable to isolate the material corpora of an immigrant influx much less blame destructions on refugees fleeing the crumbling Mycenaean world.[49] In the surviving settlements, the transition to LC IIIA is instead characterized by cultural continuities in the established religious and burial practices of the Cypriot culture, while in the field of ceramic production, "the range of shapes and motifs of generally Aegean type continues to expand steadily into and during the 12th century."[50]

Regarding burial practices, LC IIIA was the last phase during which some of the *intra muros* chamber tombs that had been constructed in LC I and II continued to receive interments.[51] Many others were abandoned, while at the same time there was a noticeable increase in the use of simple shaft graves within LC IIIA settlements.[52] This type of shallow grave could not have been the first choice of established social groups, since it was meant for single use. The proliferation of shaft graves in LC IIIA, side by side with Cypriot chamber tombs, indicates the presence of individuals detached from their place of origin, people who owned no ancestral tomb in these towns probably because they did not belong to an established "family" group.[53]

THE 12TH CENTURY B.C.E.: ABSENCE OF NEW OR CULTURALLY DISTINCT SETTLEMENTS

"Cyclopean" fortifications, ashlar architecture, horns of consecration, central hearths, bathtubs, and handmade burnished ware are some of the elements that, like the shaft graves, have been singled out as evidence pointing to the establishment of Aegean immigrants.[54] They were novel elements (though almost all can be traced at different sites before the LC IIC–IIIA transition); but the principle point lies elsewhere: they do not appear as a package in new 12th-century settlements; rather, they occur in a nonhomogeneous pattern in Late Cypriot settlements that survived into the 12th century. Consider, for instance, "cyclopean" ramparts: only four sites possessed them (Enkomi, Sinda, Maa, and Kition),[55] and with the exception of Kition,

[44] Ward and Joukowsky 1992; Sherratt 1998, 306.

[45] Rutter 1992, 61.

[46] Rutter 1992, 70; Snodgrass 1987, 182.

[47] Cadogan 1989, 1996 (Maroni-Vournes); Hadjisavvas 1989, 1996 (Alassa-Paliotaverna); South 1989, 1996 (Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios).

[48] Knapp 1997, 68; Webb 1999, 288.

[49] Iacovou 2005a, 127–28.

[50] Sherratt 1998, 293–94, 298.

[51] See the thorough treatment by Keswani 1989, 2004.

[52] Shaft grave burials are reported from Paphos (Catling 1979), Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström et al. 1983, 185; Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987), Enkomi, and Kition (Karageorghis 2000, 257).

[53] On LC III shaft graves that may represent the presence of foreigners, functionaries, or specialists, people detached from their place of origin, see Keswani 1989, 70.

[54] Esp. Karageorghis 2000.

[55] Iacovou 2007, 10.

none survived beyond the 12th century—nor was even a remotely similar type of city wall constructed in the Iron Age. The novelties create a subtle diversity and a short-term lack of cultural homogeneity among contemporary sites that has no lasting impact, for it comes to an end together with the LC IIIA settlement landscape.[56] The main issue is the absence of fresh settlements where one may seek to identify the remains of culturally distinct people. Consequently, evidence for "colonists" who lived in enclaves of their own, keeping their distance from the indigenous Cypriots, does not exist. Even Pyla-Kokkinokremos and Maa-Palaeokastro, two extremely short-lived sites that emerged during the transition from the 13th to the 12th century and were abandoned before the middle of the 12th century, are described in the literature as defensive or military outposts; they are not refugee establishments.[57]

Regardless of whether one uses anthropological theory to outline the concept of colonization and separate it from migration, the absence of a colonial episode in Cyprus has been archaeologically established from the study of settlements and their material culture. Admittedly, the term "colonization" has been used erroneously for a long time, but the content was not always wrong; it still described a migration event.[58] This *lapsus* was satisfactorily and eloquently corrected more than a decade ago by Baurain: "Au vu de l'information disponible, il ne paraît pas judicieux de continuer à recourir au terme de 'colonisation.' Mieux vaut parler plus prudemment de 'pénétration grecque' ou, mieux encore peut-être, d' 'hellénisation.'"[59] An excerpt from *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas* follows a different path to distinguish between the migration episode and the designation of Greek colonies:

> The inclusion of Cyprus in this handbook poses an unexpected problem, insofar as the book is dedicated to the memory of A.J. Graham, a scholar who would never have considered Cyprus as a territory to be associated with *his* definition of Greek colonization. Graham does not deny that "Greek colonization can be said to have gone on from Mycenaean times till the Hellenistic period." He maintains, however, that the essential character of Greek colonization rests on its being "a product of the world of the polis, of independent city-

states."[60] . . . In accord with Graham, Malkin stresses that it is the creation of a polis that distinguishes this type of colonization from earlier forms of migration.[61] As an earlier form of Greek "migration," "establishment" or "settlement," the Cyprus episode is assigned to the realm of early Greek history, or protohistory.[62]

IMMIGRANTS AND THE CYPRIOT SCRIPT

Culturally distinct 12th-century settlements remain archaeologically unsubstantiated. This adds to the invisibility of newcomers but explains the acquisition by Greek-speaking people of the local script: they infiltrated an urban environment where the indigenous society was still making use of the Cypro-Minoan syllabary. Formal writing on Cyprus appeared in the 16th century, and it continued in use into the 12th and 11th centuries.[63] Although it is far from certain that the Late Cypriot polities kept administrative archives,[64] Cypro-Minoan attained widespread use mostly for short documents and for marking pottery, tools, and weapons.[65] The frequency and island-wide distribution of objects with Cypro-Minoan signs suggests that the script was connected to decentralized commercial activities with which we associate the emergence of competing south coast polities and their separate undertaking of copper production and export.[66] Evidently, because it was not the exclusive tool of a palace economy, nor the exclusive prerogative of official scribes, it survived the crisis.

The ancestor of the Iron Age Cypriot syllabary, which had developed into a scribal tool for writing (primarily) Greek, should be sought in the latest expression of Cypro-Minoan.[67] We may therefore conjecture that Greek-speaking people had an opportunity to gain knowledge of the local writing system in the surviving LC IIIA urban centers. Cypro-Minoan did not die out completely after LC IIIA, but today the only settlement that can claim continuity of habitation and continuity of the syllabic scribal tradition after the 12th century is Paphos. Continuity of habitation is also attested at Kition, where, however, in the first millennium, the syllabic script gave way to the Phoenician alphabet. At Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke, LC IIIA was the ultimate phase in their existence. Their abandonment,

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[56] Iacovou 2005a, 128.

[57] Karageorghis 1990, 10, 26–7; 2000, 251.

[58] Cf. Iacovou 1999, 5–6.

[59] Baurain 1997, 142.

[60] Graham 1964, 1.

[61] Malkin 1998, 13.

[62] Iacovou (forthcoming [b]).

[63] Smith 2003, 281.

[64] "We may not be able to read the written documents from

Bronze Age Cyprus, but we know what they are not: they are not the inventories and transaction-records of a centralised bureaucracy" (Snodgrass 1994, 172); see also Sherratt 1998, 297. But Smith (1994; 2002, 7–8) maintains that records may have been kept on nondurable materials.

[65] Dikaios 1971, 881–91. On pot-marking systems, see Hirschfeld 1993, 2002.

[66] Pickles and Peltenburg 1998, 90.

[67] Masson 1983, 37.

though gradual, had almost been completed during the transition to LC IIIB.

THE MYCENAEAN GREEK DIALECT OF CYPRUS AND ITS SCRIBAL TOOL

The Cypro-Minoan script is still undeciphered, but since it developed in response to the requirements of Late Cypriot society, we assume that it expressed the population's prevailing language. Judging from the Iron Age epigraphic corpus, this unknown language was no longer dominant in the first millennium but was apparently replaced by a Mycenaean-related form of early Greek.[68] Although the introduction of the new language was not accompanied by a Mycenaean material culture in distinct settlements, this fundamental change between the island's Bronze Age and Iron Age languages could not have come about without human agents permanently established on the island.

To the end of the fourth century B.C.E. and even later, when the island had become a colony of the Ptolemaic kingdom of Egypt, the Greek dialect spoken/ written in Cyprus retained its "archaic," early Greek character.[69] This endurance is the result of particular circumstances: it requires the arrival of people of the same Mycenaean-Greek dialectal origin in Cyprus and their subsequent isolation from other Greek speakers to explain the fossilization of the dialect. In fact, it displays an astonishing similarity to the dialect that was preserved in the isolated enclave of Arcadia in the Peloponnese until the Classical period—though the two areas had not been in contact. Thus, the Arcado-Cypriot dialect is valued as the only historic Greek dialect that retained a very close kinship to the Greek of Linear B.[70] Apparently, the dialect spoken in these two regions had a common descent from the Mycenaean Greek one preserved in the Linear B script.[71] In fact, Morpurgo-Davies proposes that from Arcadian and Cypriot dialects "we should be able to reconstruct the main features of a language spoken in the Peloponnese just before the departure of the future Cyprians."[72] Thus, Bowra's concluding remarks in "Homeric Words

in Cyprus," published almost two decades before the decipherment of Linear B, were prophetic: "It would be too much to claim that Cypriot was the descendant of the language talked by the Achaeans of Homer, but it certainly was reasonably free of Attic and Ionic influences. Its close connection with Arcadian shews [*sic*] that it was once part of a more united language, and this language may have provided some of the enormous vocabulary of Homer."[73]

The survival of a Mycenaean Greek dialect on the easternmost island of the Mediterranean[74] implies that its introduction took place before the development of the historic Greek dialects, which are not attested in Cyprus.[75] Apparently, Cyprus did not receive additional "waves" of Greek speakers in the first millennium B.C.E. In Crete, however, direct descendants of the Mycenaean-Greek language are not attested after the end of the Palace period.[76] In the Early Iron Age, the form of Greek used in Crete was essentially a Doric dialect.

The discovery of three bronze skewers in a CG I tomb at Paphos,[77] one of which was inscribed with the Greek proper name Opheltas, provides a chronological terminus for two historical events: (1) the employment of the Cypriot syllabary as a scribal tool for writing Greek; and (2) the development of the Arcado-Cypriot dialect and its earliest recorded appearance in Cyprus ca. 1000 B.C.E. The specifically Arcado-Cypriot genitive case of *o-pe-le-ta-u* supports the presence in the population at Paphos of Greek people who belonged to the Arcado-Cypriot dialectal group.[78] The joint appearance of a new language—Greek—and of a Cypriot script that was put to its service demonstrates that Greeks had acquired a permanent presence on the island by the end of the second millennium B.C.E. and as such, they justify Chadwick's belief in "the very high antiquity of the Greek colonization of Cyprus."[79] By providing the Greek language with a scribal tool, the immigrants ensured the preservation of their linguistic identity and this, in the long run, gave substance to their ethnicity. Thus, an Aegean migration of limited archaeological visibility set off the process of Hellenization.

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[68] Masson 1983, 84.

[69] Iacovou 2006a, 37–8, 56–7.

[70] Baurain 1997, 129; see also Woodard 1997, 224.

[71] Chadwick 1975, 811.

[72] Morpurgo-Davies 1992, 422.

[73] Bowra 1934, 74.

[74] A vigorous prolongation of "a Mycenaean culture into the first millennium in a Hellenic society located on the frontier of the Greek world" (Woodard 1997, 224, 227).

[75] Morpurgo-Davies 1992, 421.

[76] After early LM IIIB, there is no evidence for writing in Crete. On the loss of Bronze Age literacy, see Rehak and Younger 2001, 441, 458.

[77] Karageorghis 1983, 60–1, pl. 88 (Skales, Tomb 49:16–18).

[78] Masson had described the five syllabic signs, engraved on the socket of the bronze skewer, as a perfect example of a transitory stage between Cypro-Minoan and the archaic Paphian syllabary (Karageorghis 1983, 412–14). This has now been challenged by Olivier and Morpurgo-Davies, who—in a joint contribution at the archaeological conference "Parallel Lives, Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus," held at the University of Cyprus, Nicosia, in 2006—showed that the signs are still in the Cypro-Minoan script.

[79] Chadwick 1996, 188.

ASCENDANCY AND ASSERTION

Three novel behaviors, first observed in the 11th century, have been associated with the ascendancy of the immigrants: moving to new sites, opening new burial grounds, and reinforcing the role of their language.[80] Below I reconsider them in reverse order.

Reinforcing the Role of Language

Migration and language shift depend upon a conscious decision to make a difficult change, which is usually prompted by a perception that the change will lead to an improvement in social opportunities and/or economic conditions.[81] Considering the conditions that prompted people from the Aegean to settle in Cyprus, we should have expected their language to change. It should have been absorbed by the language of the literate urban society of the island. In this case, however, those who migrated in order to improve their conditions were not the ones who changed their native language. The illiterate migrants, instead of adopting the language of a socially and economically superior local population, adopted and adapted the local script to write their own language. Under the circumstances, this is a rather unexpected outcome; it ought to alert us to the fact that the material record at our disposal is insufficient and fails to disclose the complexity of the event.

Perhaps a theoretical venue could render this peculiar development more accessible. For instance, many cases of prehistoric language shift were caused by elite dominance. Migration and language shift are not necessarily related to population density; the critical factor is access to positions of prestige and power. Granted that by the seventh century B.C.E., at least half the Iron Age states on Cyprus were ruled by kings who had Greek names, it is likely that in some centers the migrants rose (fought their way?) to positions of power from early on. This could explain why in the long run it was the indigenous people who had to adopt the Greek language in order to improve their position. When a language becomes the language of privilege and power, it can be widely adopted.[82] This, however, is no more than a theoretical approach that affords an insight into circumstances that can explain the unexpected and spectacular ascendancy of an im-

migrant language. As I have stressed almost a decade ago, the "peculiarity of this colonization movement is that the newcomers integrated with a highly civilized and literate indigenous population. . . . Indeed, the Mycenaean migration to Cyprus at the end of the Bronze Age is eloquently described [by Sherratt] as a move from the periphery to the core, from the Provinces to Versailles."[83] Could this be described as a top down approach, or as one that advocates a cultural division between "Mycenaeans" and the local population?[84]

Opening New Burial Grounds

Not one site shows Late Bronze to Early Iron Age continuity in tomb use, tomb architecture, or burial practices. If shaft graves were a symptom of the 12th century, they disappeared all the same from the mortuary pattern of the Early Iron Age together with the *intra muros* chamber tombs. This lack of continuity is even observed at Kition and Paphos, where the LC IIIA–B transition is not marked by settlement relocation or abandonment. The transformation is nowhere as evident as at Paphos, where the settlement acquired almost a ring of burial grounds (fig. 3).[85] With the rapidly growing use of the chamber tomb with the long dromos, variability in tomb types—observed in LC IIIA urban sites—came to an end as suddenly as it had appeared. Previously unattested in the Cypriot environment, the new grave type was not of local development.[86] The Aegean region provides ample evidence that it was the mortuary monument of established family groups in the Late Helladic period.[87] Its introduction to Cyprus and its island-wide use from the 11th century onward marked the replacement of the standard (since Early Cypriot) Bronze Age grave on Cyprus (often with multiple chambers). Like the old Bronze Age type (fig. 4), the new Iron Age chamber tomb (fig. 5) was used for inhumations over extended periods in the new, exclusively extramural, community-organized Iron Age cemeteries.

By the 10th century, the new pattern had become a structural characteristic of the Cypro-Geometric communities throughout Cyprus.[88] If the establishment of Early Iron Age settlements had been achieved by the indigenous people in the absence of a culturally distinct human element, might we not expect the Cypriots to

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[80] Catling 1994, 137.

[81] Anthony 1997, 27–8.

[82] Anthony 1997, 28–9.

[83] Iacovou 1999, 1; see also Sherratt 1992.

[84] Voskos and Knapp 2008.

[85] Maier and von Wartburg 1985, 152.

[86] Catling (1994, 134–35) writes: "The variations in form that are to be seen in the Cypriot examples can all be matched

in the chamber-tomb cemeteries of the Aegean"; in the same context, he provides a plausible interpretation for the origin of pit tombs (from the Minoan pit caves) in Early Iron Age cemeteries.

[87] Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 97, 116, 131.

[88] For material evidence dating to the 11th and 10th centuries, see Iacovou 1994, 2005b.

have continued to construct their traditional mortuary chambers? On the one hand, we must acknowledge the Aegean population sector that compelled the transformation of a millennium-old tradition as sensitive as tomb construction; on the other hand, it is essential to stress the island-wide homogeneity of the new burial pattern and also of the funerary assemblages found inside the new tomb type. Homogeneity implies that the new tomb was not reserved for the immigrants. This is amply confirmed by the evidence from Amathus. A site with no previous history, and founded late in the 11th century, Amathus is presented in literary sources as the "stronghold" of an autochthonous population.[89] Nevertheless, Early Iron Age Amathus does not produce any evidence for a separate ethnic group that either continued to practice "indigenous" burial customs or had cultural expressions that differed from those of the Geometric koine of the rest of the island. The vast Amathusian cemeteries contain as many chamber tombs with a dromos as does Paphos (fig. 6). These facts suggest that Early Iron Age demography did not develop on the basis of culturally or linguistically distinct settlements.[90]

Moving to New Sites

What, then, lies behind the Iron Age settlement configuration? To find out, we return to the LC IIIA urban centers to track down their individual histories in the course of the transition to the 11th century.

After functioning for half a millennium as the foremost Late Cypriot polity, Enkomi began to be abandoned. The silting of its original harbor by alluvial deposits from the Pedieos River estuary must have contributed to its demise.[91] The ultimate move away from Enkomi is coterminus with the growth of its successor, Salamis, 3 km to the northeast. In effect, Old Salamis (Enkomi) relocated to New Salamis, which had originated in LC IIIB as a coastal settlement that provided harbor facilities.[92] For the next 1,800 years, Salamis remained the easternmost port of call in the Mediterranean—short of the Levantine ports on the continent. Further changes to the contour of the shoreline from silting and a series of earthquakes in the fourth century C.E. are charged with the gradual destruction of the harbors of Salamis.[93]
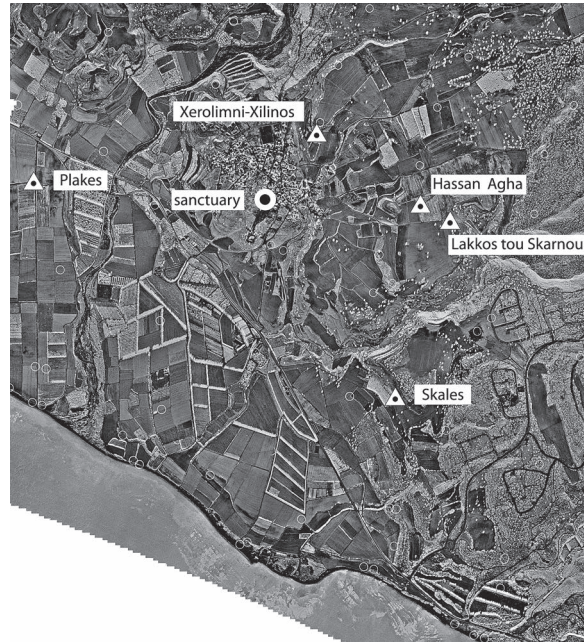

Fig. 3. Orthophoto map of Paphos (Palaepaphos-Kouklia), showing spatial relation of sanctuary to LC IIIB and Cypro-Geometric cemetery sites (drawing by A. Satraki and A. Agapiou; © The Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project).

The foundation of New Salamis in the 11th century has been established archaeologically.[94] Another fact, however, of far greater importance has no recognizable fingerprint in the material record: the development of Salamis' staunch Hellenic identity. Far from ever having been questioned, it was continuously reaffirmed throughout antiquity: by its foundation legend, which has been elaborated by many Greek authors; by its Greek royal family, from Evelthon in the sixth century to Nikokreon in the late fourth century; and by the policies of these Salaminian *basileis* (kings) in the course of the Graeco-Persian conflict, which began with the Ionian Revolt and ended with Alexander's victory over the Achaemenid empire.[95] The reasons that prompted the transfer of harbor facilities from Enkomi to Salamis are clear, but the abandonment of an urban metropolis are not. Why were the administrative functions of an entire city-state transferred from Old

[89] On the foundation of Amathus, see Iacovou 2002b. On the origin of the Amathusians, see Aupert 1984, 12–13; see also Baurain 1984.

[90] Cf. Sherratt 1992, 330.

[91] Lagarce 1993, 91.

[92] That the original name of the site at Enkomi was Salamis has been suggested by Yon (1980, 79) and has been reconfirmed by Snodgrass (1994, 169), who points out that the

name of Salamis is on a list of cities inscribed on the Temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu.

[93] Flemming 1974; 1980, 49–50; Dalongeville and Sanlaville 1980, 19.

[94] Yon 1993.

[95] For the literary material that supports these points, see Chavane and Yon 1978. Stylianou (1989) provides a concise analysis of Salaminian policies.
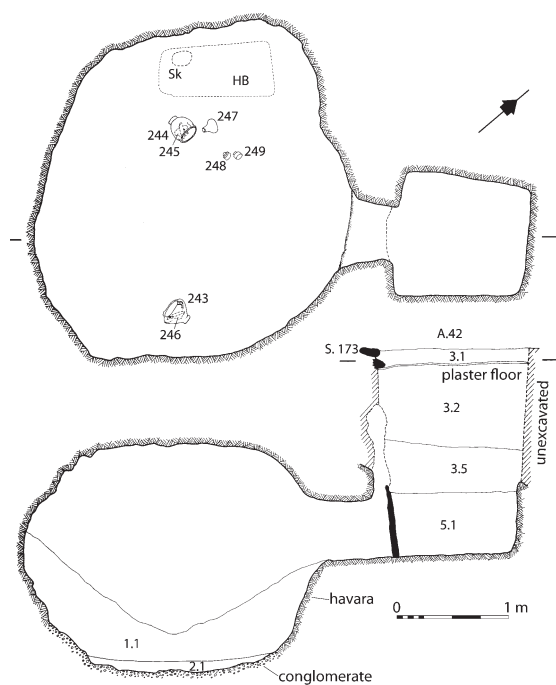
Fig. 4. Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Tomb 6. Example of intra-urban Late Cypriot chamber tomb found intact (South et al. 1989, fig. 41).
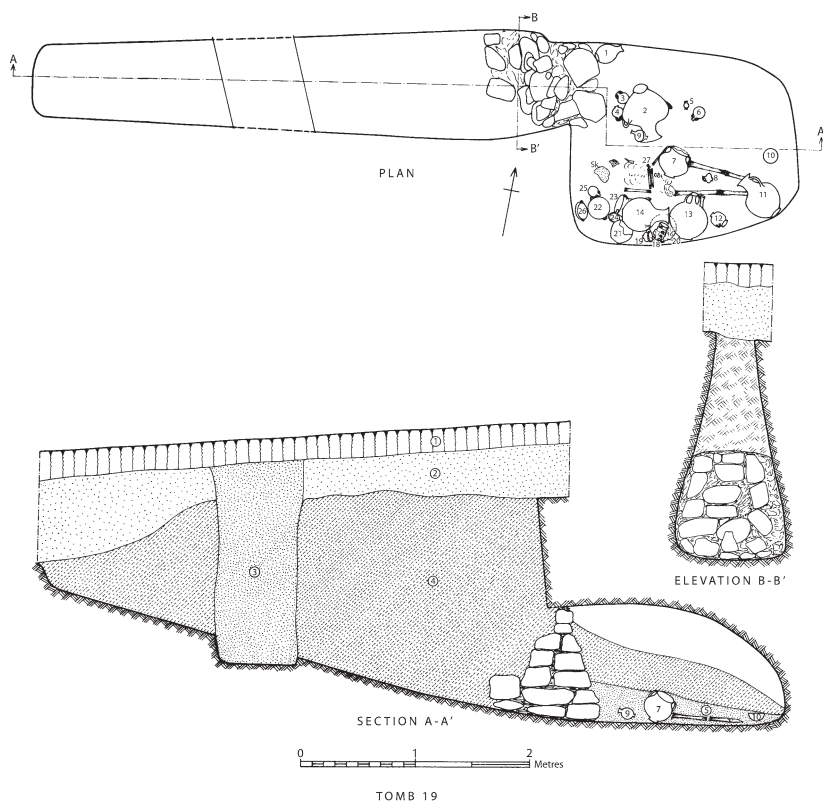

Fig. 5. Alaas, Tomb 19. Example of Late Cypriot IIIB chamber tomb with long dromos (Karageorghis 1975, pl. 51; courtesy Director of Antiquities, Cyprus).
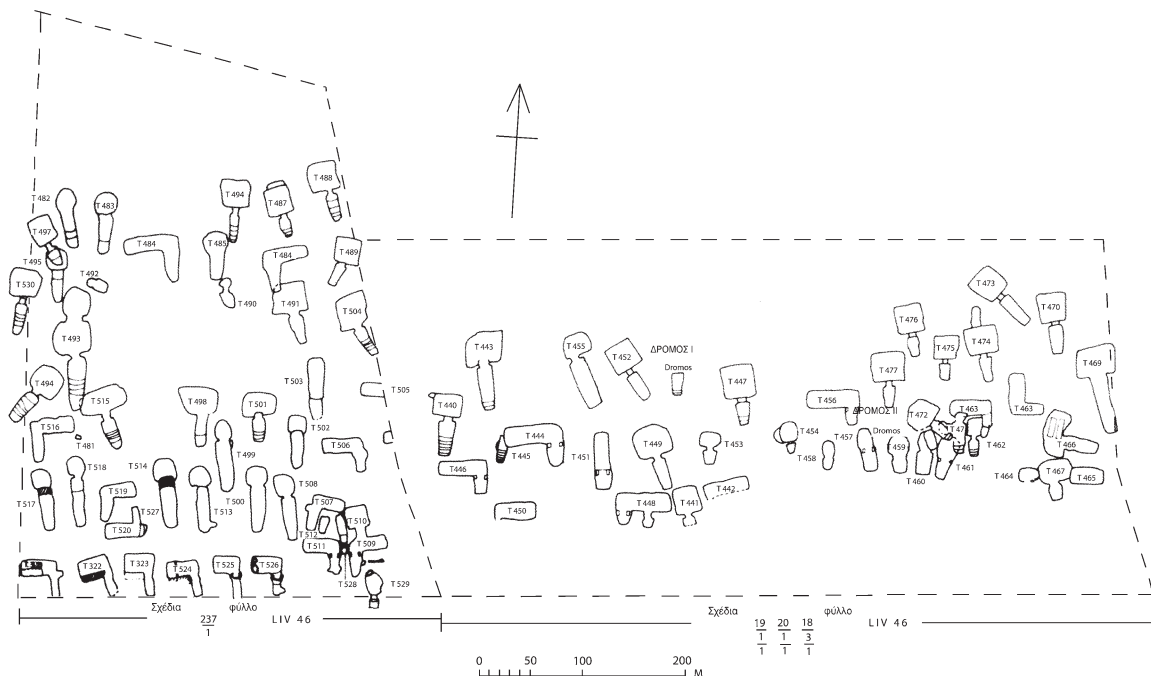
Fig. 6. Cypro-Geometric chamber tombs with dromos, from the excavated part of the western necropolis at Amathus (Karageorghis and Iacovou 1990, fig. 1; courtesy Director of Antiquities, Cyprus).

to New Salamis? The distance seems hardly significant (to our eyes) to justify the definitive closure of Enkomi in the course of the 11th century. Decisive episodes of political conflict that ended with the successful claim of Salaminian authority by a Greek dynasty known as the Teukridai remain concealed in the final strata of Enkomi and the foundation levels of Salamis.

The closure of the harbor at Hala Sultan Tekke, which by the 11th century had been transformed into the Larnaca salt lake,[96] led to the abandonment of a coastal emporium that had been founded in LC I. The gradual departure of its population in LC IIIA–B is not irrelevant to the enhancement of nearby Kition, which was favorably situated within the same region. It replaced Hala Sultan Tekke as a major port and as the primary site of the region.

Kition and Paphos appear to have benefited enormously from the crisis and almost certainly from the collapse suffered by those regional urban centers that were situated between them (e.g., Alassa-Paliotaverna, Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios). The transition to LC IIIA was marked by the unprecedented (by Cypriot standards) monumental enhancement of their open-air

sanctuaries. At Paphos, more than at Kition, the temenos walls were built of megalithic blocks (fig. 7). The construction (for the first time on the island) of monumental sacred architecture, which was labor intensive and technologically demanding, implies that these two centers were paramount administrative and economic authorities in 12th-century Cyprus.[97]

The association of urban sanctuaries and cult with metallurgy, first observed in LC IIC, was intensified at Paphos, Kition, and Enkomi in LC IIIA.[98] The location of the metal workshops set up inside the sanctuary in Kition is of particular significance. They are on the inner side of the cyclopean wall that protects the sanctuary and its industrial facilities; this section of the wall, on the other (external) side, faces the harbor front.[99] Paphos does not seem to have had a wall around the sanctuary, but we have reason to think that the sanctuary was founded in relation to and in fact overlooking the (now silted up and invisible) harbor.[100] Apparently, intramural urban sanctuaries were overseeing production and export. As long as these functions could be kept closely together, Kition and Paphos did not have to renegotiate their coastal location as Enkomi did. In

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[96] Åström 1985, 175.

[97] Sherratt 1998, 306; Webb 1999, 288, 292; Iacovou 2007, 17.

[98] Sherratt 1998, 300, 304; Webb 1999, 287.

[99] Nicolaou 1976.

[100] Iacovou (forthcoming [c]).

Fig. 7. Sanctuary at Paphos (Palaepaphos-Kouklia). View of monolithic blocks from the southwest corner of the Late Cypriot temenos.

the fourth century B.C.E., when the last king of Paphos was forced to move his port facilities, thus founding Nea Paphos, state administration had to follow suit, and thereafter Paphos was called Palaepaphos.

The foundation of Amathus on the south coast before the end of LC IIIB was also related to the control of a harbor,[101] but unlike Salamis, Paphos, or Kition, it did not take over from a Late Cypriot predecessor. It was founded in a region where no urban center had existed. Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios and Maroni-Vournes to the east of Amathus, and Alassa and Episkopi-Bamboula to the west, had all been abandoned in LC IIC–IIIA, leaving a vast area (between Kition and Paphos) in disarray. The power vacuum ended with the rise of Amathus, which controlled the area east of the Kouris River, and the contemporary establishment of Kourion west of the river. Analytical work on the production centers of votive figurines distributed in rural sanctuaries, which evidently functioned as frontier posts between Iron Age polities,[102] suggests that in the Cypro-Archaic era, the Vasilikos Valley was (stylistically speaking) within the eastern frontier of the Amathusian state. Could we ascribe the foundation of Amathus to people who had moved away from this area during the crisis? It is only a hypothesis, but it would explain

why no new urban center was developed in the Vasilikos Valley after the 13th century and why literary tradition never claimed Amathus as a Greek foundation. Theopompos describes (in an otherwise lost work) how the Greeks of Agamemnon took Cyprus and expelled the followers of Kinyras, whose remaining survivors are to be found in the Amathusians.[103] Kinyras represents the pre-Greek king of the island. This legendary association renders those responsible for the foundation of Amathus an indigenous population and, in fact, the term *autochthones* is used by Skylax of Caryanda in his description of the Amathusians.[104] The unreadable syllabic inscriptions recorded from Amathus give support to the sources, which ascribe its foundation to a pre-Hellenic Cypriot stock. With the fabrication of the modern term "Eteocypriot,"[105] linguists tried to imply that—on analogy with the ancient term "Eteocretan"[106]—this unidentified Iron Age language, which was written with the same syllabary as Arcado-Cypriot Greek, was more than likely (despite that to this day proof has not been forthcoming) the survivor of the unknown Bronze Age language of Cyprus.[107]

The rise of Kourion to the west of the Kouris River estuary was also associated with the control of a harbor but, unlike Amathus, was claimed as an Argive foun-

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[101] Hermary 1999.
[102] Fourrier 2007, 101.
[103] Recorded by Photios in the *Library* (Hadjioannou 1971, 20, no. 14.7).
[104] Aupert 1984; Iacovou 2006a, 42.

[105] "Une heureuse suggestion de J. Friedrich. [1932]" (Masson 1983, 85 n. 3).
[106] Attested in Hom. *Od.* 19.176; cf. Whitley 1998, 27.
[107] Petit 1999; Bazemore 2002, 155.

dation.[108] Apparently, in the Cypro-Archaic period, its eastern frontier extended along the bank of the river and reached as far north as Alassa, where the Limnatis River runs into the Kouris. It almost certainly included the mines in the nearby Limassol forest.[109] The site of its original establishment is elusive. It is traditionally associated with the Kourion bluff, because directly below it lies the Kaloriziki necropolis with its earliest tombs dating to the 11th century B.C.E.[110] Contemporary burials, however, are also located farther north at Episkopi-Bamboula, and they overlap with the site of a Late Cypriot settlement, which, before its abandonment in LC IIIA, may have functioned as Alassa's port of export.[111]

Amathus, as a new settlement (which was, however, founded by indigenous people and where the Eteocypriot language managed to survive), and Paphos, as an old Late Cypriot center (where, nonetheless, Greeks and their language managed to prevail), undermine the thesis that moving to new sites was an aspect exclusively related to the ascendancy of the Aegean element. The political ascendancy of the Greeks is nowhere more dynamically expressed than at Paphos, where epigraphic testimonies confirm the rule of Greek *basileis* from the seventh century.[112] As in the case of the move from Enkomi to Salamis, or from Episkopi-Bamboula to Kourion, we need to account for those archaeologically undisclosed episodes, which took place after the 12th and before the seventh centuries and led to the establishment of Greek dynasties at Paphos, Salamis, Kourion, and elsewhere. All these settlement histories have one common denominator: they are emphatic responses directed toward overcoming the crisis inherited from the end of the 13th century. In each case, the moves toward this goal are region-specific, but the result is the same: maintenance (of an old) or establishment (of a new) port of commerce, which is spatially inseparable from the management center of the region.

IRON AGE CYPRIOT SOCIETY: CULTURAL INTEGRATION AND POLITICO-ECONOMIC SEGMENTATION

Iron Age settlement strata are hard to trace as a result of their longevity. Even after the abolition of the autonomous Cypriot states at the end of the fourth century

B.C.E., the same settlements continued to function as affluent urban nuclei under the provincial government of the Ptolemies and later the Romans. Under these circumstances, the architectural landscape of old and new settlements in the Cypro-Geometric period is, with minor exceptions, invisible. Judging from their cemeteries, however, they appear to have been organized by people who did not feel compelled to safeguard their identity through the active promotion of a separate material culture.[113] Space for the dead is set apart, in sharp contrast to the *intra muros* placement of tombs in Late Cypriot settlements. A common organizational concept is evident behind the selection and long-term maintenance of extramural cemeteries at the periphery of Iron Age settlements. The type of tomb constructed in these necropoleis is a smaller version of the LH III chamber tomb with a dromos. For the first time in the history of Cypriot pottery production, tableware (e.g., from Kition-Bamboula), vases found within the boundaries or in the vicinity of sanctuaries (e.g., from Kition-Kathari), and pottery deposited in considerable numbers in tombs (e.g., from Paphos, Kourion, Amathus),[114] belong to a uniform painted pottery production, first achieved in Proto-White Painted Ware (fig. 8). This pottery, the hallmark of LC IIIB, represents the final culmination of a process of integration into a single spectrum of wheelmade ware that had begun in LC IIC and lasted to the end of LC IIIA, when Cypriot pottery manufacture had at last arrived at an "island-wide, standardized . . . mass-produced but quality controlled product" (fig. 9).[115]

The overall homogeneity of the Cypro-Geometric material culture suggests that the population had not been sharply segregated on the basis of native vs. immigrant stock. This notwithstanding, as soon as the epigraphic record begins to increase in the Cypro-Archaic period, it confirms that the island was inhabited by no less than three different linguistic groups: an Indo-European (Greek) group, a Semitic (Phoenician) group, and a group that made use of an unknown language, which linguists have christened Eteocypriot. However sparse the record at our disposal may be, written records of all three languages exist to the end of the fourth century B.C.E. How can we explain that, after sharing the same Cypro-Geometric material culture for at least 300 years, a population confined to an is-

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[108] Hdt. 5.113; Strabo 14.683.

[109] Alp 2007, 661–66. For the mines at Gerasa and Ayios Mamas, see Hadjisavvas 2002.

[110] Benson 1973; Buitron-Oliver 1999.

[111] Iacovou 2007, 14–15.

[112] Iacovou 2006b.

[113] Iacovou 2005b, 22–4 (on longevity); 2006a, 44.

[114] Cf. Benson 1973, pls. 16–19 (Kourion); Karageorghis 1983, Tombs 48, 49, 58, 67, 82, 83, 85 (Paphos); Karageorghis and Demas 1985, pls. 220, 221 (area II, floors I–II); pls. 224–26 (floor I) (Kition-Kathari); Yon and Caubet 1985, 27, figs. 23–6 (Kition-Bamboula); Iacovou 2002b, figs. 1–3 (Amathus).
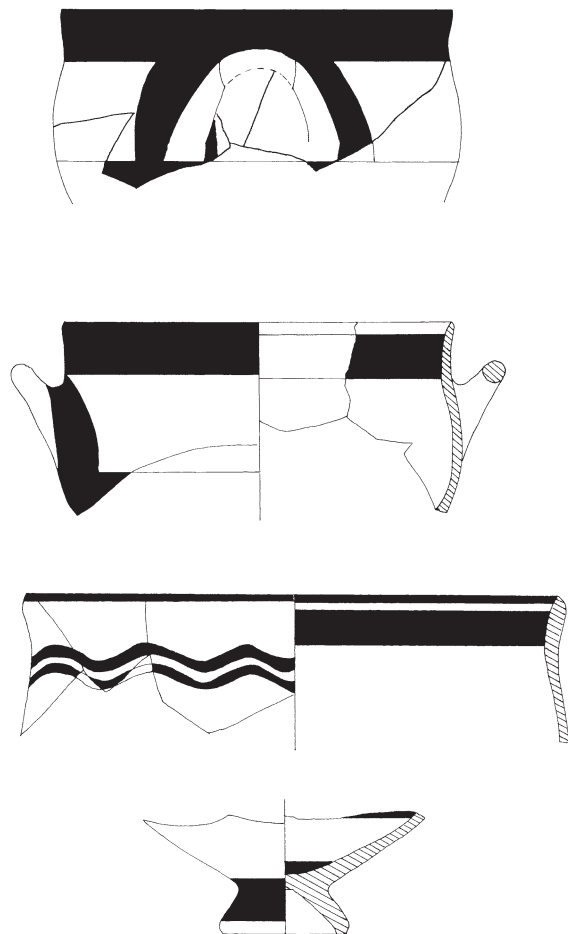
[115] Sherratt 1991, 193–94.

Fig. 8. Proto-White Painted Ware open shapes from the acropolis of Amathus (Iacovou 2002b, fig. 1).

land did not come to share the same language? Under what circumstances was one of the three prevented from silencing the other two?[116] Irrespective of their unknown spoken capacity, they were able to survive as three distinct languages, without one becoming necessarily inferior to the others, but only so long as Cyprus was divided into autonomous states.[117] Once the Cypriot kingdoms were abolished by Ptolemy I, and the island acquired a unified political environment, two of the three languages disappeared from the written record, the Eteocypriot practically overnight and

the Phoenician shortly afterward.[118] Greek, already a majority language in the age of the kingdoms, had finally become the only language. It would seem, therefore, that the first time the island achieved linguistic coherence was also the first time that there were no territorial boundaries. Was it the opposite, then, that had sustained trilingualism?

THE CONTINUUM: A REGION-BOUND ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Even during the worst recession of the LC IIC–IIIA transition, not all the regional economies on Cyprus had failed. If they had, it is unlikely that migrants would have exchanged the Aegean for a Cypriot Dark Age. But migrants seem to have come into regions whose coastal polities had survived (e.g., Enkomi), even profited from (e.g., Paphos) the crisis; they do not seem to have targeted the Vasilikos Valley, where there was a power vacuum in the 12th century. Before long, in the 11th century, even the hard-hit southern regions were reorganized with the establishment of ports of trade at Amathus and Kourion. What can be inferred from the evidence is that (1) Cyprus does not seem to have gone through any length of time when all its regional systems had altogether disappeared; and (2) the lines along which the settlement pattern was reorganized suggests that local and immigrant people alike were involved in upholding or, where necessary, reviving, the same decentralized economic system that had been operating from at least as early as the 13th century and had given the Late Cypriot polities the option to sustain separate long-distance trade relations.[119] All attempts, therefore, were geared toward region-bound objectives. Even the Aegean migration targets were almost certainly region- and polity-specific. Paraphrasing Anthony, we may describe the migration as having proceeded in streams toward known targets, not in broad waves that washed heedlessly over the entire landscape of Cyprus.[120]

The incredibly long endurance of three different languages should therefore be interpreted in conjunction with and as a result of the territorial segmentation, which had given substance and meaning to the politico-economic geography of Cyprus for a whole millennium (from at least as early as ca. 1300 to ca. 300 B.C.E.). Within these territorial units, whose homogeneity in

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[116] "Les ethnies qui composent la population de l'île se sont maintenues, il n'y a pas eu fusion des divers éléments pour former un ensemble démographique homogène, ni absorption des minorités par le groupe le plus nombreux ou le plus puissant" (Collombier 1991a, 425).

[117] "The Greek used is as good as any Greek used in Arcadia. The Eteocypriot is used separately" (A. Karnava, pers. comm. 2008); I thank Karnava for her enlightening comments on cre-

ole and pidgin languages. Although the nature of texts at our disposal does not permit such fine distinctions, there seems to be no evidence of "creolization" in Iron Age Cyprus.

[118] For the abolition of the kingdoms by Ptolemy I, see Collombier 1993. For a third-century Phoenician inscription dated to 245 B.C.E., see Yon 1997.

[119] Pickles and Peltenburg 1998, 90.

[120] Anthony 1997, 24.

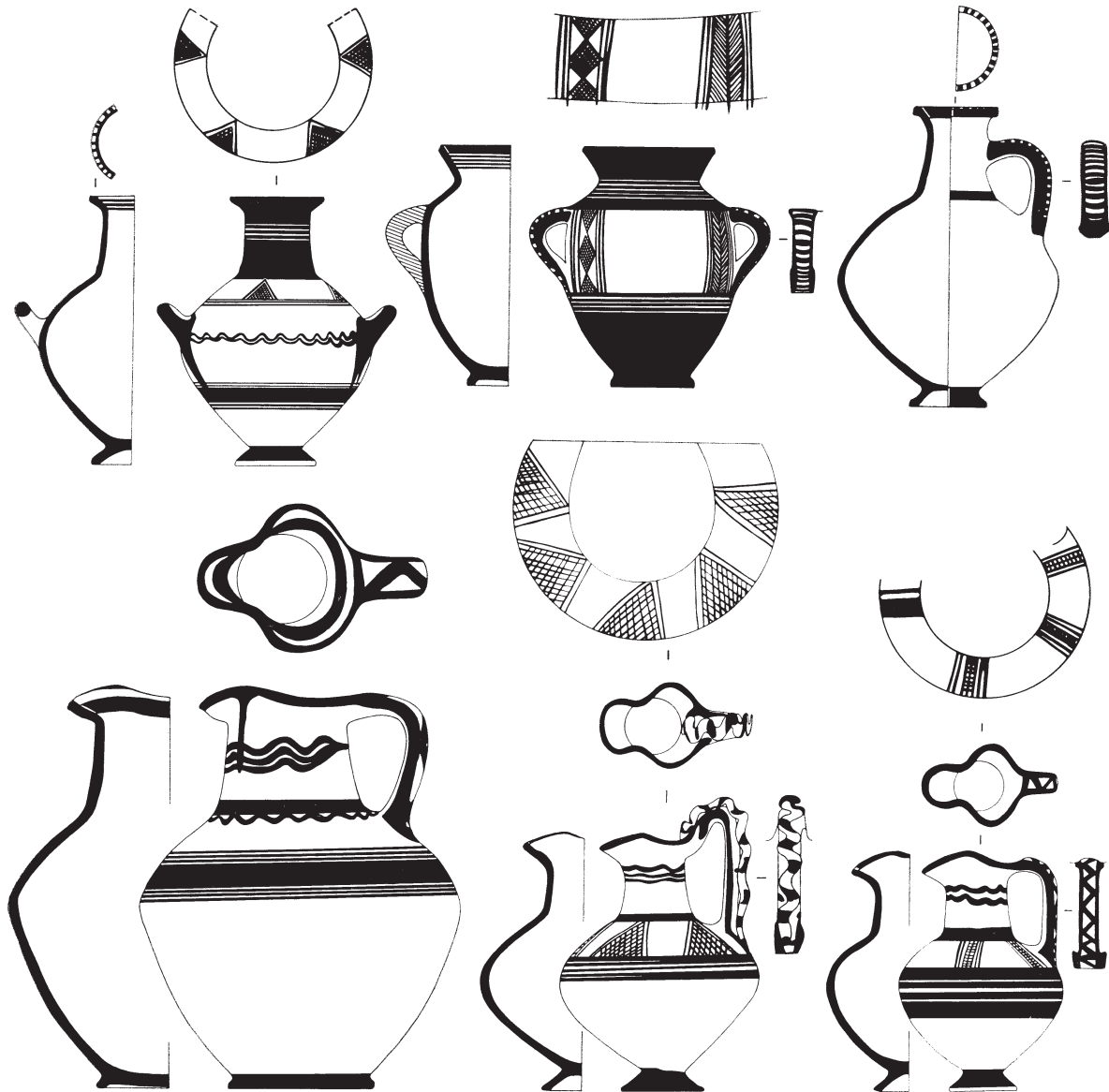CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CONFIGURATIONS IN IRON AGE CYPRUS

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Fig. 9. White Painted Ware I–II shapes from Palaepaphos-Hassan Agha (Karageorghis and Iacovou 1982, fig. 1).

material culture should be primarily attributed to their running—independently of each other—largely the same production and exchange programs, different linguistic groups became predominant in the Iron Age. Even during the Early Iron Age, when their Mediterranean clientele was not only limited but also decentralized as a result of the collapse of the Late Bronze Age palace societies, the regional systems of Cyprus garnered admirable results. The material culture of the Cypro-Geometric horizon provides impressive evidence as to the markets they were exploiting and their ability to access rare exotica (e.g., a west Mediterranean *obelos*, or spit, of Atlantic bronze from Amathus)[121] and raw materials, including precious metals (e.g., silver, gold), that were turned into finished products by craftsmen at home.[122] What were they trading? The Late Cypriot

[121] Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo 1989.

[122] Cf. Karageorghis 1983, 6–10 (gold plaques), 12, 21 (loop-shaped earrings); Tombs 43:82, 43:83 (gold rings); Tomb 49: 13 (silver fibula); Tomb 58:5 (faience bowl); Tomb 67:2–6 (circular sheets of gold with embossed rosette).

trade in metals (first raw copper then also finished bronze artifacts) included a new metallic product, which was the result of 12th-century pioneering advancements in iron technology: Cyprus was preeminent in the exploitation of functional iron.[123] There are more iron tools and weapons dating to the 12th and 11th centuries in Cyprus (Enkomi and Paphos have the highest concentrations) than anywhere else in the eastern Mediterranean, and iron objects found abroad at this time are thought to be of Cypriot manufacture.[124] The Cypriot regional systems "possessed the means, motive and opportunity for the dissemination of novel metal products within the altered social and economic environment of the 12th–11th centuries."[125]

Were these regional systems states? The answer depends entirely on how we define premodern states. Expressions of political integration (e.g., monuments) are not visible in the Cypro-Geometric period, but in an island "conspicuous for its cultural distinctiveness," this does not constitute evidence for the absence of local hierarchical structures.[126] In fact, because archaeological correlates for the Late Bronze and the Iron Age state in Cyprus are so difficult to discern, we use Near Eastern state records to identify state-level societies on the island in the second or first millennia B.C.E. In the first millennium B.C.E., it was the Neo-Assyrians who, after having established the first Iron Age empire and a new market economy, proceeded to identify in writing the existing regional hierarchies of Cyprus as kingdoms. Sargon II (722–705 B.C.E.) of Assyria declared upon a stele erected (and found) at Kition (equally on a series of inscriptions at the palace of Khorsabad) that "seven kings of the land of Ia', a district of Iatnana, whose distant abodes are situated a seven days' journey in the sea of the setting sun," had offered their submission in 707 B.C.E.[127] Thus, shortly before the expiration of the eighth century, when Mediterranean networks had begun to operate again under the auspices of an empire, the regional centers of Cyprus begin to qualify as states.[128]

The Neo-Assyrians were a land-based power. They never crossed the sea to subject Cyprus.[129] Apart from the stele of Sargon II, there is nothing in the material record of the island to suggest Assyrian (political or military) presence in Cyprus and nothing in the Assyrian state archives that records either a campaign to subjugate or to station a garrison in Cyprus.[130] As soon as all the lands to the east of Cyprus had been made part of the provincial system of the empire and the Assyrians were in control of Levantine trading ports, the Cypriot leaders hastened to submit voluntarily out of "fear of being excluded from the Assyrian economic sphere."[131] The treaty, which may have rendered the Cypriot polities client kingdoms, was negotiated by recognized leaders, whom the Assyrians addressed as *sharru*, the title born by their own emperors. The Assyrians did not introduce kings or kingdoms to Cyprus; they recognized their existence. The year 707 B.C.E., therefore, is a terminus ante quem, not post quem, for the formation of the Cypriot kingdom-states.

IRON AGE KINGDOMS

There is no record of the names of the seven kings or their kingdoms, and the number cannot be taken at face value either, for seven is a number with sacred connotations, which may have been used conventionally.[132] However, the identification of Cyprus with the land of Ia', a district of Iatnana (elsewhere Iatnana of the Middle of the Sea, Atnana, or Iadanana)[133] is not in doubt, because in 673, Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.E.) had the royal scribes record both the names and the seats of power of "ten kings of Iatnana of the Middle of the Sea."[134] The transliteration of these names identifies eight out of 10 with Cypriot toponyms: Idalion, Chytroi, Soloi, Paphos, Salamis, Kourion, Tamassos, and Ledra. On the identification of the remaining two,

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[123] Snodgrass 1982, 287; Pickles and Peltenburg 1998, 86.

[124] Sherratt, 1994, 60; 1998, 300, 304.

[125] Pickles and Peltenburg 1998, 86.

[126] Peltenburg 1996, 27.

[127] Luckenbill 1927, 186. For the Assyrian texts that refer to Cyprus, see Saporetti 1976, 83–8. On the discovery of the stele of Sargon II in Larnaca (ancient Kition) and for a critical commentary of the text, see Yon and Malbran-Labat 1995, 161–68, 169–79; see also Yon 2004, 345.

[128] A number of scholars espouse a "belated reappearance of state-level polities on the island during the eighth century" (Knapp 1994, 290; see also Rupp 1987, 147; Childs 1997, 40). Thus, prior to that time, they consider the Cypriot centers as Dark Age chiefdoms or Big Man societies (cf. Petit 2001). Lipinski (2004, 42) thinks that "the years 1050–950 B.C.E. remain on Cyprus a 'Dark Age' at the end of which the Phoeni-

cians make their appearance on the island."

[129] "The Assyrians, like other non-sea-faring people of the Near East . . . were neither very interested in what lay beyond the Levant coast nor very consistent when referring to it" (Stylianou 1989, 385).

[130] "They were not incorporated into the provincial system of the Assyrian empire. That would have involved the presence of an Assyrian governor and the annual payment of a fixed amount of tax" (Stylianou 1989, 386); see also Reyes 1994, 61; Yon and Malbran-Labat 1995, 173; Yon 2004, 351–54.

[131] For the Cypriot initiative to join the Neo-Assyrians, see Stylianou, 1989, 390.

[132] Gjerstad 1948, 449.

[133] For the variants on the Assyrian inscriptions, see Stylianou 1989, 382–89.

[134] Luckenbill 1927, 690.

Qartihadasti and Noure, there is no consensus. Based on the assumption that Tyre had established a colony in Kition, Qartihadasti (an Assyrian transcription for the Phoenician Carthage, meaning "new city") has for long been identified with Kition.[135] Hermary, however, claims that the name applies far better to Amathus.[136] Noure, for which Amathus was until recently the only candidate (based on Baurain's ingenious reconstruction of Noure as Kinouria, thus "Kinyras' place") has recently been identified with Marion.[137]

State formation, therefore, was not a post–eighth century by-product of Assyrian domination. Yet the profitable relation arranged between the Cypriot leaders and the Assyrian empire triggered the transition from a formative period (when there may have been as many as 10 regional polities) to a period of consolidation when inland regions (e.g., Ledra, Chytroi, Tamassos), despite being situated in the heart of the copper-producing zone, were apparently absorbed by the coastal trading centers.[138] Only then did the kingdoms, fewer in number and territorially strengthened, begin to afford monumental expressions of royalty (i.e., the built tombs) and the luxury to adopt status symbols from their neighbors (Hathoric heads, sphinxes, and lions),[139] with which to emulate the attitudes of states that become visually explicit in the Cypro-Archaic period.

Once the regional hierarchies had been consolidated into recognized states, it was possible even for the Eteocypriot of Amathus not just to survive but to be nurtured into a royal marker, a language used by the kings of Amathus to underline their autochthonism and, through it, their rightful claim to the land of the kingdom.[140] A corpus of Eteocypriot inscriptions has not been published, but their concentration at Amathus is undeniable. Their context, as well as their content, associates a number of them with the cult and the veneration of the Amathusian goddess and/or with state functionaries. In fact, two of these inscriptions were issued by Androkles, identified in Greek historiographic

sources as the last king of Amathus.[141] This alone rules against their being a meaningless group of unintelligible scribbles.[142] No matter how elusive the Eteocypriot language continues to be, we know that it was neither Greek nor Phoenician.[143] Of the three languages in use in the kingdoms of Cyprus, Eteocypriot could have been indigenous, but the other two were introduced by immigrant populations.

PHOENICIANS AND THEIR SCRIPT IN IRON AGE CYPRUS

The so-called Phoenician colonization of Cyprus is beset by no fewer factoids than the Greek "colonization" and is in serious need of reconsideration. Counterbalancing the dynamic development of syllabic Greek in the region of Paphos,[144] the region where the Phoenician language acquired its greatest frequency, also becoming the official language of a kingdom, is that of Kition.[145] Yon shows that "pour la période qui va du IXe à la fin du IVe s. av. J.-C., on ne s'étonnera pas de trouver presque uniquement des inscriptions en phéniciens (environ 150 numéros)."[146] In the course of these 500 years, there are almost no inscriptions in syllabic Greek in Kition, and yet the Phoenician alphabet had a precise expiration date, which coincides with the termination of the Phoenician dynasty. As soon as Cyprus was made a Ptolemaic colony, the inscriptional evidence from Kition becomes alphabetic Greek: "à partir du IIIe s. le grec devient la langue commune, et Kition perd alors sa spécificité linguistique pour s'aligner sur le reste de l'île."[147]

The establishment of Phoenicians at Kition is dated ca. 800 B.C.E., primarily on the evidence of an inscription in the Phoenician alphabet incised after firing on a fragmentary Red Slip Ware bowl imported from the Phoenician coast and found in the temple courtyard of the refurbished Late Cypriot sanctuary.[148] The inscription records a pilgrim's sacrifice to a female deity. The pilgrim is a Phoenician individual named Moula, and the divinity is identified by the name of Lady Astarte.

[135] Borger 1956, 60; Reyes 1994, 160.
[136] For Amathus as "la Carthage de Chypre," see Hermary 1987, 379–81; contra Yon 1987, 366–67.
[137] Baurain 1981; 1984, 115; Lipinski 2004, 75.
[138] Iacovou 2002a, 80.
[139] Hermary 1985; Christou 1996; Petit 2002; Yon 2006, 95, fig. 57.
[140] On the conscious and deliberate promotion of an autochthonous identity by Amathus, see Petit 1995.
[141] Cf. Gjerstad 1948, 431. Eteocypriot inscriptions have "yet to be identified, specified, and systematically studied" (Bazemore 2002, 156). One of the earliest Eteocypriot inscriptions is painted on a Cypro-Archaic pictorial amphora from the sanctuary of the Amathusian goddess (Hermary 1993, 185, fig. 19).

See Fourrier and Hermary (2006, 9, fig. 6, pls. 3, 43) for the inscriptions of Androkles.
[142] Hermary and Masson 1990, 187–206. For attempts to negate the existence of a third Cypriot language, see Reyes 1994, 13–17; Given 1998; contra Petit 1999.
[143] "[A] pre-Hellenic and pre-Semitic language" (Lipinski 2004, 42).
[144] Bazemore 1992; 2002, 157–58.
[145] Guzzo-Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977.
[146] Yon 2004, 159.
[147] Yon 2004, 154, 160–61.
[148] Guzzo-Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977, 7; Yon 2004, 169, no. 1100.

Although the context of the inscription is not associated with a Tyrian founder, governor, or king, this inscription has been treated as evidence of a ninth-century Tyrian expedition, which established in Kition its first apoikia in the Mediterranean. As with the earlier Aegean migration, the purported establishment of a Tyrian colony at Kition is not supported by a distinct (Phoenician) material package. This notwithstanding, Kition is thought to have become, by the beginning of the seventh century, the seat of a Phoenician-style state. Furthermore, this Tyrian colony-turned-kingdom is believed to have provided the model for state formation in Iron Age Cyprus.[149]

Before we review this interpretation, we should concentrate on the earliest evidence of the use of the Phoenician script in Cyprus. It consists of two Phoenician inscriptions dated ca. 900 that, despite their lack of documented findspot, do not come from Kition.[150] They suggest that from the Cypro-Geometric period, the Phoenician script had been circulating, however sparsely, in the island. This has been confirmed by the discovery of a Phoenician inscription painted on a ninth-century Cypriot vase, which comes from controlled excavations in Salamis.[151] Lipinski observes that the remarkable fact about the Archaic phase (10th–eighth centuries) of the Phoenician alphabet on Cyprus is its wide distribution across the island.[152] We are bound to underestimate the significance of this observation unless we recollect that the Greeks had reached Cyprus in an illiterate state and had to acquire a scribal system after their permanent establishment on the island. The Phoenicians may have settled in Cyprus later than the Greeks, but they arrived equipped with a fully developed script. Contrary to the illiterate character of the Aegean migration, the Phoenician presence is heralded by means of an accomplished alphabet at a time when the island could hardly lay any serious claim to widespread syllabic literacy.[153]

Had the Greek immigrants of Cyprus, such as those established in Salamis, been left without a system of writing until the day they were given a chance to encounter the Phoenician alphabet, it is unlikely that they would have opted to reject it in favor of a local syllabary. Granted that the Cypro-Minoan script is not attested after the 11th century, the Phoenician alphabet would

have been their only choice. Evidently, this did not happen because the bond between Arcado-Cypriot Greek and the Cypriot syllabary had already been forged (not necessarily that much ahead of the establishment of literate Phoenicians but probably in those polities that the Greek migration had targeted). The Phoenician alphabetic script was ignored by Greek speakers and the non-Greek speaking Amathusians alike, both linguistic groups staying with the syllabary. The endurance of the syllabary as the scribal tool of the Greek language in Cyprus is phenomenal. When in the third century B.C.E., the Greek alphabet and the Greek koine were formally introduced to the island as administrative tools of the Ptolemaic colonial system, the Greek syllabary put up a fierce resistance.[154] Its latest use is recorded on sealings preserved in the first-century B.C.E. (Roman) archives of Nea Paphos.[155]

IATNANA AND ITS PREPONDERANTLY GREEK KINGS

Were the Assyrians identifying Cyprus as a land inhabited by Greeks? It has been suggested, most recently by Muhly,[156] that Iatnana means "Land of the Danaans."[157] If this etymology were to be confirmed, the Assyrians would become the first people to acknowledge the Hellenic identity of the island. The Assyrians do settle another crucial point: Iron Age Cyprus had not developed into a unitary state. This reaffirms the island's steadfast adherence to the Late Cypriot system of political and economic segmentation. But to our lack of knowledge as to the number and identity of the Late Cypriot rulers, Esarhaddon's royal scribes respond with an invaluable piece of historical information: a complete list of 10 royal names that correspond to 10 geographical names.

The empire confirms that in 673 B.C.E., more than half of the 10 Cypriot states were ruled by kings who bore Greek proper names: Akestor of Edil (Idalion), Pylagoras (or Phylagoras) of Kitrusi (Chytroi), Kisu of Sillua (Soloi or Salamis), Eteandros of Pappa (Paphos), Eresu (Aratos?) of Silli (Salamis or Soloi), Damasos of (Kuri) Kourion, Admesu (Admitos?) of Tamesi (Tamassos), Damusi of Qardihadasti, Onasagoras of Lidir (Ledra), and Bususu of Nuria.[158] In the four centuries that had elapsed since the migration, more than 50% of the

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[149] Dupont-Sommer 1974, 75–94, fig. 2; Teixidor 1975, 121–22.

[150] Masson and Sznycer 1972, 15–20, 128–30; Lipinski 2004, 42.

[151] Sznycer 1980; see also Pouilloux et al. 1987, 9, pl. 1A.

[152] "About twenty settlements have provided at least one Phoenician inscription" (Lipinski 2004, 42–6).

[153] Masson 1983, 43; Palaima 1991, 452; Bazemore 1992, 71.

[154] Masson 1983, 46, 80; Willetts 1988, 42; Collombier 1991a, 433.

[155] Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1993; see also Bazemore 2002, 158.

[156] Thoroughly analyzed in his plenary lecture at the 2007 Postgraduate Cypriot Archaeology (POCA) conference, held at the University of Cyprus.

[157] Gjerstad 1948, 449; Stylianou 1989, 384 n. 74.

[158] See Masson 1992.

political authority on Cyprus had passed to the hands of rulers that were Greek or had become Greek.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE CYPRO-PHOENICIAN KINGDOM

Amazingly, for one who continues to favor the identification of Qardihadasti with Kition, Lipinski argues that the name of its king on Esarhaddon's list is more than likely Greek.[159] But is there conclusive evidence that can support the Qardihadasti-Kition equation? The name of Kition is much older than the Phoenician establishment. Judging from Egyptian and Ugaritic texts of the 13th and the 12th centuries, the Late Cypriot town was already known by this name.[160] The name has defied the passage of time and has remained alive to this day, for there has never been any question that Larnaca was the successor of Kition. Its diachronic survival notwithstanding, Kition is not used on Esarhaddon's list to define one of the 10 Cypriot kingdoms, despite that the stele, which Sargon II must have ordered to be shipped across to Cyprus, had been erected there.[161] Qardihadasti—as the name of one of the 10 kingdoms, and specifically as an alternative name for Kition, Amathus, or even a third candidate—is essentially a *hapax*. Its only other occurrence is on a notorious Phoenician inscription that mentions not a king but a governor of Qardihadasti who was a servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians. Inscribed on the fragments of two bronze bowls found in an antique shop in Limassol but nonetheless dated to about the middle of the eighth century, this Qardihadasti has little in terms of provenance to safely associate it with either Kition or another site in Cyprus.[162]

At present, the enigma surrounding the identification of the Cypriot Qardihadasti cannot be solved to everybody's satisfaction. The issue behind the debate is the political status of Kition and the foundation date of the Cypro-Phoenician kingdom. The ninth-century refurbishment and subsequent remodeling of the sanctuary suggest that these demanding operations were the responsibility of an established authority—one, however, that remains unidentified.[163] Yon admits that the relation of Kition to the Phoenician city-states from the ninth to the sixth centuries is unclear, but she advances the hypothesis of "une modi-fication politique" to account for a change in Kition's status: from an eighth-century Tyrian colony, already referred to as the "New City," Kition became in the seventh century a kingdom named Qardihadasti.[164] This ingenious hypothesis has unfortunately failed to find support in internal epigraphic evidence. For people who used their writing skills as much as the Phoenicians did, it remains to be explained why there is no inscribed statement as to a Phoenician authority of any kind in Kition before the fifth century. Because the issuing of coins is the definitive evidence for the independent political status of a Cypro-Archaic and/or Cypro-Classical state, it must be underlined that the earliest known inscribed coins of Kition, with the name of its king, Baalmilk I, in full alphabetic letters, date from after the Ionian revolt of 499/8.[165] It is also worth noting that the minting of coins by the Phoenician city-states on the mainland did not begin before the fifth century either.[166]

In short, to date, the language and script of the Phoenicians have not been found in association with state functions in Kition before the fifth century. Once the evidence of coins heralds the establishment of the Kitian dynasty, the amount of Phoenician inscriptions that were state generated is stunning by comparison to the contemporary (fifth and fourth centuries) evidence from other kingdoms. Because years of reign are recorded with the names of the Phoenician kings,[167] the royal house of Kition is the only one that affords a (almost) complete list of its succession of kings, from Baalmilk I (ca. 479–450 B.C.E.) to Pumayyaton (362–312 B.C.E.). As long as no evidence renders support to the formation of a Phoenician kingdom at Kition before the fifth century, the oft-repeated suggestion that Cypriot kingship was modeled after the Phoenician kingdom-states is hardly defensible.

ARCHAIC GREEK EPONYMOUS *BASILEIS* IN CYPRUS

Not only are many of the names on Esarhaddon's list of Cypriot kings identified as Greek, but Greek *basileis* are also epigraphically attested on syllabic inscriptions dating to the seventh and sixth centuries. The kingdom of Paphos, in particular, is blessed with seventh-century syllabic inscriptions. One inscription appears on a silver plate, the other on arm bracelets;

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[159] Lipinski 2004, 74.

[160] Snodgrass 1994, 169.

[161] Yon and Malbran-Labat 1995; Yon 2004, 345.

[162] Masson and Sznycer, 1972, 77–8; Masson 1985; Lipinski 2004, 46–7; Yon 2004, 51, no. 34a, b.

[163] Cf. Yon 2006, 86–8.

[164] Yon 2004, 20. For the historical sources on the establishment of Tyrians in Kition, see Yon 1987; see also Lipinski 2004, 50.

[165] A series of anepigraphic coins that predate the inscribed issues of Baalmilk I are attributed to Kition on stylistic grounds (see Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1987, 334; Collombier 1991b, 34 n. 37). For the coinage of Kition, see Hill 1904, xxix–xlii; Yon 1989, 365; 1992, 249–50.

[166] Destrooper-Georgiades 1987, 344 n. 22; Yon 1987, 357–74.

[167] Yon 2004, 169–71.

both address two Greek individuals, Akestor and Ete-andros, as *basileis* of Paphos.[168]

Evelthon of Salamis (ca. 560–525 B.C.E.), the fore-most political personality of archaic Cyprus, is the island's first Greek *basileus* whose name is histori-cally as well as epigraphically recorded (Hdt. 4.162). Evelthon is credited with the introduction of numis-matic economy in Cyprus.[169] The coins he issued and those of his successors shortly afterward carry syllabic shorthand inscriptions that identify him as *basileus* (figs. 10, 11). More relevant than the actual or fiction-al chronological precedence of Salamis' coinage over that of Paphos, Idalion, or Kourion is the exclusive use of the syllabary for the coin legends.[170] Iron Age Cy-priot literacy in its earliest direct association with state economy is not expressed in the Phoenician alphabet but in the Greek syllabary. The coinage of Amathus is also exclusively inscribed with syllabic legends, but its earliest known issues are assigned to the middle of the fifth century.[171]

The coins attributed to the kingdom of Marion are also inscribed in the Greek syllabary. The earliest known series is particularly interesting, since it was issued by a Phoenician named Sasmas (ca. 480–460 B.C.E.), who was the son of Doxandros. The legend on the obverse is syllabic, and there is a short Phoenician inscription on the reverse.[172] The history of Lapethos and its coinage is particularly complex. Its kings were Phoenician, as was Sidqimilk, who issued coins with Phoenician legends, or Greek, as was Demonikos.[173] Coins with Phoenician legends could have been issued in Lapethos earlier than in Kition.[174] The absence of coins or royal inscriptions that can be attributed to Chytroi, Ledra, or Tamassos, whose names are identified on the prism of Esarhad-don, suggests that these three inland settlements may

have lost their independent status before the introduc-tion of numismatic economy.[175]

Besides coin legends, an overall assessment of state-authorized inscriptions shows that from as early as the seventh century in the case of Paphos, and since the sixth century in the case of Salamis, Idalion, and Kourion,[176] only syllabic Greek was straightforwardly and continuously associated with these kingdoms un-til Idalion fell victim to the aggressive expansionism policy of Kition in the fifth century.

THE CYPRIOT KINGDOMS AFTER THE IONIAN REVOLT

The Ionian revolt broke out at the end of the sixth century, not long after the Cypriots had offered their submission to the Great King of Achaemenid Persia. Following the unsuccessful attempt of Onesilos of Sa-lamis to unite the Cypriots under his authority and to join the uprising, the Phoenician dynasty of Kition be-gan an aggressive policy of expansionism.[177] First, the Greek dynasty of Idalion was terminated by force dur-ing the reign of Azbaal.[178] For a period in the fourth century, Tamassos was also annexed to the kingdom of Kition. A Phoenician inscription hails the last king of Kition, Pumayyaton, as king of Kition, Idalion, and Tamassos, while his father, Milkyaton, had only been king of Kition and Idalion.[179] Even Salamis seems to have had to bear a Phoenician dynast after the Peace of Callias. Evagoras I of Salamis returned from exile in 411 B.C.E. and reclaimed the throne from a Tyrian named Abdemon;[180] the throne was considered he-reditary to the descendants of Teukros, the legendary founder of Salamis.

Despite the political supremacy of Kition, which continued unchecked until the arrival of Alexander

[168] Mitford 1971, 7, no. 1; 373–76, no. 217; Masson 1983, 192, no. 176; 412, no. 180a; 1984, 75–6 n. 23.

[169] Masson 1983, 318 (Monnais de Salamine), pl. 54; Des-trooper-Georgiades 1984; 1993, 88–9 n. 7; 1995.

[170] Hill 1904, xlviii–liii (Idalion); Masson 1983, 115, pl. 8 (Pa-phos); Kagan 1999 (Kourion).

[171] For the coinage of Amathus, see Hill 1904, xxiv–xxix; Masson 1983, 209; Amandry 1984, 57–76; 1997.

[172] "Monnaies de Marion" are late fifth-century coins of Sta-sioikos I and Timocharis inscribed in the syllabary (Masson 1983, 181, nos. 169, 170). For the coins of Sasmas, see Masson and Sznycer 1972, 79; see also Destrooper-Georgiades 1987, 347; 1993, 90, 93 n. 22.

[173] Strabo (14.682.3) ascribes the foundation of Lapethos to Praxandros, but Skylax of Caryanda (fourth century) identi-fies it as a Phoenician establishment (Hadjioannou 1971, 64, no. 24.1; 72, no. 34).

[174] Masson and Sznycer 1972, 97; Masson 1983, 267; Col-lombier 1991b, 26; Destrooper-Georgiades 1993, 89. An ex-haustive discussion of the evidence pertaining to Marion,

Lapethos, or Soloi is not attempted in the context of this pa-per. In the case of Lapethos, the disparity of the archaeological evidence is so extreme that at the moment, any interpretation would be purely hypothetical.

[175] Iacovou 2002a, 81; 2004b, 274.

[176] A syllabic Greek inscription from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Kourion suggests that Greek could have become the lan-guage of the ruling class since the seventh or sixth century (Mit-ford 1971, 42–5, no. 16).

[177] Stylianou 1989, 397–98, 413. Herodotus' (5.103–16) description of the revolt of Onesilos and its unsuccessful out-come does not mention a kingdom of Kition.

[178] See Stylianou (1989, 403–4) and Collombier (1991b, 34–5) for the problem of the chronology of the attack(s) of the Phoenicians of Kition against Idalion. For the syllabic Greek text of the bronze tablet of Idalion, see Masson 1983, 233–44; see also Hadjicosti 1997, 55–60.

[179] Guzzo-Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977, 14.

[180] Sznycer 2001, 103.

Fig. 10. Silver stater of Evelthon. Nicosia, Numismatic Collection of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, BCCF 1999–09–01 (courtesy Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation).

Fig. 11. Sixth of a silver stater struck by Evelthon's successors. Nicosia, Numismatic Collection of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, BCCF 1984–01–06 (courtesy Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation).

the Great in the eastern Mediterranean, its language failed to displace Greek. On the contrary, a Greek loan appears in a royal inscription on the base of a trophy erected by Milkyaton after he had mastered a great victory against his Cypriot enemies in 392 B.C.E.: the Greek word *tropaion* ("trophy") is spelled in the Phoenician alphabet.[181] Phoenician also failed to make inroads with the Eteocypriot of Amathus. Two dedicatory inscriptions of the last king, Androkles, to the goddess of Amathus are bilingual and digraphic texts (Eteocypriot syllabary and Greek alphabet). They suggest that in the fourth century, the kingdom of Amathus began to employ alphabetic Greek alongside the near-extinct Eteocypriot syllabary.[182] Considering that in the fourth century even its kings bore Greek names (e.g., Zotimos, Lysandros, Epipalos, Androkles),[183] the epigraphic evidence of the Amathusian kingdom does not permit the endorsement of notions that imply the Amathusians were culturally or politically allied to the Phoenicians of Kition. The evidence at hand shows that before the end of the fourth century, the Amathusians were a "population alphabétisée," but the alphabet they had adopted was the Greek, not the Phoenician.[184]

The kings of Kition retained strictly Phoenician names to the last, but in spite of their political expansion in the Cypro-Classical era, they, too, found

it necessary to inscribe in Greek, not in Kition but in Idalion and Tamassos. In the fourth year of the reign of Milkyaton, probably as long as a century after the Greek dynasty of Idalion had been abolished, Baalrom, a distinguished Phoenician prince, inscribed his dedication of a statue to the Sanctuary of Apollo at Idalion in alphabetic Phoenician and in syllabic Greek.[185] Also in the reign of Milkyaton, thus before the annexation of Tamassos to the kingdom of Kition, two different Phoenicians, who were not of royal descent, used bilingual and digraphic inscriptions to accompany their dedications to the Sanctuary of Apollo at Tamassos.[186]

Of the three linguistic groups, the Greek alone did not find it necessary to inscribe in another language. The only compromise, to which Greek statesmen gradually and reluctantly gave in, was to inscribe in the Greek alphabet alongside the Greek syllabary.[187] The Greek alphabet began to be used for public documents in the fourth century with great caution and still in parallel to the syllabary.[188] The earliest digraphic inscription, where the Ionian-Attic alphabet is used, comes from Salamis and preserves the name Evagoras.[189] Evagoras I (411–374 B.C.E.), who was awarded Athenian citizenship for his services to Athens, is credited with the introduction of the Greek alphabet to Cyprus.[190] Nonetheless, Evagoras knew better than to abandon or

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[181] Yon and Sznycer 1992; Yon 2006, 60, fig. 33.
[182] Hellmann and Hermary, 1980, 259–72; Hermary and Masson 1982, 235–42.
[183] Masson 1983, 199, 201–3, 207, 211; Amandry 1984, 60–3.
[184] Petit 1991, 489–90.
[185] Nicolaou 1971, pl. 11; Masson 1983, 246, no. 220; Sznycer 2001, 106.
[186] Nicolaou 1971, pl. 13; Masson 1983, 224–28, nos. 215, 216.
[187] Palaima 1991, 449–71.

[188] Masson 1983, 322. See Collombier (1991a, 434) for the random occurrence of the alphabet for funerary inscriptions in the second half of the sixth century. "The two earliest alphabetic texts occur as components of digraphic inscriptions" (Woodard 1997, 219); see also Bazemore 2002, 156.
[189] "La pratique de ce type d'écriture va de pair avec l'affirmation de la souveraineté" (Collombier 1991a, 436); see also Yon 1993, 145, fig. 7.
[190] Paus. 1.3.2; cf. Chavane and Yon 1978, 247, fig. 8; Stylianou 1989, 469.

suppress the syllabic script. His are the first digraphic legends on Cypriot coins of the early fourth century.[191] At Paphos, the first lapidary dedications in the alphabet were issued by the last king, Nikokles.[192]

RENDERING A LANDSCAPE GREEK

It seems reasonable to assume that Cypriot kingdoms whose statesmen made official use of Greek, written in the syllabary until late in the fifth century B.C.E. and henceforth, on occasion digraphically claimed for themselves a Greek identity. This assumption would be largely in accord with etiological myths that ascribe the foundation of these kingdoms to Greek *oikists* or "founders."[193] Myths have a historical function, but they also "constitute a right to the land and link the ruling dynasty with the heroic recipient of that right."[194] Malkin would claim that at least by the eighth century, the origins of some Greek cities in Asia Minor and Cyprus had begun to be explained in terms of *nostoi* ("those who were returning"): "The fifth-century Greek perception of the beginning of history gave the *nostoi* a special role. History began with the returns from Troy. The returns, as Thucydides' introduction illustrates, created revolutions, migrations, and foundings of new cities."[195]

It is unlikely that the Greek literary tradition would have claimed Cyprus as an integral part of the geography of the *nostoi* had the island not been settled by people who identified themselves as Greeks and were recognized as such by the rest of the Greeks. In effect, the *nostoi* who give symbolic substance to the establishment of Greeks in Cyprus are only two: the Salaminian Teukros, son of Telamon, brother of Ajax, and founder of Salamis in Cyprus; and Agapenor, king of Tegea, leader of the Arcadian contingent in Troy and Greek founder of Paphos.[196] The former story concerns the establishment of Greeks in the eastern part of the island, in the metropolitan state of Enkomi, which, to judge from the list of cities on the Temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu, was already known as Salamis.[197] The latter reinforces the epigraphic/linguistic evidence that reveals the early presence of speakers of the Arcado-Cypriot dialect in the western part of the island, notably within the immediate terri-

tory of the Late Bronze Age sanctuary of Paphos. As we have already seen, neither Teukros nor Agapenor had founded new settlements "à la manière des colons Grecs."[198] Nonetheless, the different stages of the migration have been compressed into a single act (probably under the influence exerted by the history of the later Greek colonization to the West): Aegean refugees came to (or even invaded) Cyprus and founded new, ethnically Greek cities. This foreshortened interpretation, which was not matched by a material culture that colonizers ought to have produced (in an "invasion et mycénisation" scenario), became less and less credible until it led to the scholarly rejection of the event.[199] It was a rejection, however, that threw out, together "with the properly discarded bathwater,"[200] an episode of migration and its sequel, thus denying Cyprus a comprehensive interpretation of its cultural and political configurations in the Iron Age.

We have to attempt to differentiate between the different phases of the episode. The first phase contains the move when groups of people migrated and established in certain LC IIIA urban centers. The second phase contains the power struggle for authority. We receive proof of its outcome from external and internal written sources in the seventh century. It is the second phase that the foundation legends justify by referring to the ascendance of Greeks in specific polities to a position of authority, in which they were uniformly identified as *basileis*. Let us attempt to interpret the two key foundation legends as constituent parts of the historicity of the second phase.

LEGENDARY FOUNDERS AND HISTORICAL *BASILEIS*

The foundation legend of Salamis, of which the authors of antiquity have preserved different versions, contains two seemingly minor aspects. Teukros is said to have received assistance from the Phoenician Belos, king of Sidon, to found Salamis.[201] Following his successful establishment, Teukros received as wife the daughter of Kinyras, who, at the time of the Achaean expedition against Troy, was the autochthonous king of the island.[202] The genealogy of the royal family of the Teukridai,[203] the arch-Greek kings of Salamis, originates from this mixed marriage. Thus, the legend eloquently

[191] The first coins that were inscribed in alphabetic Greek alone appear in the reign of Evagoras II (361–351 B.C.E.) (see Destrooper-Georgiades 1993, 93 n. 22).

[192] Masson 1983, nos. 1, 6, 7.

[193] For the Greek literary tradition alluding to the foundation of cities in Cyprus, see Gjerstad 1944; Catling 1975, 215; Baurain 1980; Fortin 1980, 44; Vanschoonwinkel 1991.

[194] Malkin 1994, 4.

[195] Malkin 1998, 3.

[196] For literary sources on Teukros, see Hadjioannou 1971, 20; see also Chavane and Yon 1978, 34–91. For literary sources

on Agapenor, see Hadjioannou 1971, 21.

[197] Snodgrass 1994, 169.

[198] Baurain 1997, 143.

[199] Cf. Rupp 1998.

[200] Anthony 1990, 896.

[201] Verg. *Aen.* 1.619–26; Chavane and Yon 1978, 73, no. 122.

[202] Paus. 1.3.2; Chavane and Yon 1978, 116, no. 249.

[203] The term "Teukridai" is recorded by Pausanias (Hadjioannou 1971, 56, no. 20.17; Chavane and Yon 1978, 76, no. 129); see also Isocrates in *Evagoras* (Hadjioannou 1971, 122, no. 66).

portrays the human element involved in that distant protohistoric event. The move away from the disused harbor facilities of Old Salamis to the harbor of New Salamis was a joint venture of Greek, Phoenician, and indigenous people. From this to the historical date of the rise to power of a Greek family, we are in the dark. The earliest of the monumental built tombs constructed in the plain of Salamis date from the last quarter of the eighth century and provide sufficient material expression to the first recorded reference on Cypriot kingship (the seven *sharru* on the stele of Sargon II), which dates to 707 B.C.E.[204] Heroic and Homeric burial customs notwithstanding, the Salaminian potentates buried in the "royal tombs" were not furnished with written documents as to their lineage or their linguistic identity.[205] The royal house of Salamis disclosed its Greek identity in the sixth century with Evelthon, the first Cypriot *basileus* whose involvement in Mediterranean politics won him international recognition and a fairly lengthy citation in Herodotus (4.162). The Father of History describes in eloquent terms his personality and does not fail to record his gift of a remarkable thymiaterion (incense burner) to the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.[206] By the same token, the only piece of evidence with direct reference to the rule of a *basileus* that has been recovered from the "royal tombs" are silver coins (mainly obols) from the reign of Evelthon.[207]

The foundation legend of Paphos is more complicated than that of Salamis. Agapenor is presented as founder of Paphos; he is even credited with the construction of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite (Paus. 8.5.2). Granted that the actual settlement at Paphos and the appearance of the cult and the open-air sanctuary of an aniconic fertility goddess there predate the Greek immigrants' arrival, Agapenor must represent the Greek *basileus* who seized power from an autochthonous regime. The legend is also concerned with the memory of his Arcadian origin. In his homeland, his daughter Laodice founded a cult of Aphrodite Paphia and also presented Athena Alea in Tegea with an inscribed peplos that reaffirmed her descent: broad Arcadia was her fatherland (*patrida*), but she, having been born to Agapenor, was sending her gift from divine Cyprus.[208] One would therefore expect that by analogy to the

Teukridai of Salamis, the literary tradition would have preserved a term such as "Agapenoridai" to confirm the genealogy of the royal house of Paphos, but such a term is not attested. Instead, the kingdom's rich syllabic corpus contains a series of inscriptions in which four of its kings in the Cypro-Classical period, Timarchos, Timocharis, Echetimos, and Nikokles, employ an identical formula to define their office: each is *basileus* of Paphos and *iereus* (priest) of the *wanassa* (the Lady) (fig. 12).[209] Their claim to an otherwise unique (among Cypriot kings) dual authority distances them from their legendary founding father and associates them with the Kinyradai, who, by virtue of their descent from Kinyras, were priests of Aphrodite. As acknowledged first by Pindar,[210] the autochthonous king Kinyras was also Aphrodite's beloved priest. The question at stake is the functional meaning of the extraordinary powers of a king-priest in the context of managing the state of Paphos. Evidently, to have this dual prerogative duly sanctioned was of such importance that the *basileis* of Paphos forfeited their lineage from Agapenor. But then, the Arcadian hero could hardly be a match for the king of the Island of Copper, the inventor—according to Pliny—of *metalla aeris*, whose proverbial wealth, referred to even by Plato, personified the lucrative metals' economy on which rested the existence of the autonomous Cypriot states in the second as well as in the first millennia B.C.E.[211] Dual authority (sacral kingship?)[212] was not introduced to Paphos by Greek *basileis*; rather, it was an integral part of the role of the ruler in the specific polity where their forefathers had arrived as immigrants. Late Cypriot Paphos was an urban polity with a newly enhanced cult center that embodied the region's hierarchical authority, and it was far more imposing as a visible statement of the success of the state than any secular palace.

Neither at Paphos nor Kition, or anywhere else, did the rulers of the Iron Age kingdoms try to replace the established Late Cypriot sacred architecture and cult practice with a distinctly Greek or Phoenician religious culture.[213] The indigenous, open-air sanctuary type lasted to the end of the age of the kingdoms because it continued to fulfill its original role. This role goes back to the Late Cypriot period, when the first com-

[204] Dikaios 1963; Karageorghis 1969, 25–8 (Tomb 1), 53 (Tomb 47); Christou 1996.

[205] Masson (1983, 312) notes the limited numbers of syllabic inscriptions from Salamis.

[206] Chavane and Yon 1978, 96, no. 205.

[207] Karageorghis 1969, 99 (Salamis, Tomb 80).

[208] Paus. 8.5.3; Hadjioannou 1971, 60, nos. 21.6, 21.7; see also Vojatzi 1985, 156.

[209] The name Aphrodite is not recorded in "the island of

Aphrodite" before the fourth century B.C.E. Kypris was as a rule invoked as *wanassa* in syllabic Greek (Masson 1983, 436).

[210] Pind. *Pyth.* 2.15–16. For the literary sources on Kinyras, see Hadjioannou 1971, 14–39.

[211] Pl. *Laws* 2.260; Plin. *NH* 7.195.

[212] Maier 1989, 377.

[213] Webb (1999, 8, 292). The first attempts to construct Greek-style temples in Cyprus date from the Ptolemaic period (Snodgrass 1994).

Fig. 12. Limestone stele (ht. 1.13 cm) with fourth-century B.C.E. dedicatory inscription in the Greek syllabary ("The *basileus* of Paphos, Nikokles, priest of the *wanassa*, son of Timarchos, *basileus* of Paphos, dedicated this [stele] to the goddess"). Ktima, Paphos District Museum (courtesy Director of Antiquities, Cyprus).

munal cult sites were essential to the development of a management system that could meet the demanding requirements of an economy based on the exploitation and international exchange of copper. Within each polity, sanctuaries provided sacred legitimization and held together the economic model that gave the segregated political system a long and successful life to the end of the fourth century B.C.E. In the Iron Age, extraurban sanctuaries functioned as markers and defined the territorial claims of a kingdom, especially with respect to copper sources and routes used to transport the ore to a coastal capital.[214] No wonder

that in Cyprus the original supervisory-managerial functions of the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u* were integrated into the constitutionally upgraded office of the Cypriot *pa-si-le-wo-se*. The historical significance of the transfer to Cyprus of a term that originates in the administrative system of the Mycenaean palaces has not yet been adequately explored. In the context of the Mycenaean palatial hierarchy, *qa-si-re-we* were regional officials, mainly associated with the distribution of bronze, with bronzeworking, and with worker collectives or industrial groups. When the palace system and the *wanax* were removed, the *qa-si-re-we* survived, no longer as local administrators but as regional leaders.[215] It is in this capacity that *basileis* may have first reached Cyprus: as leaders of immigrant groups. Far from having been erased from the vocabulary of the Greeks in Cyprus, the term survived and underwent "acculturation": a Cypriot *basileus* had become not simply a head of state but first and foremost the director general of his kingdom's metal industry.[216]

CONCLUSION

The permanent establishment of Greek-speaking populations in Cyprus is manifested by means of the introduction, insular confinement, and incredibly long endurance of the Arcado-Cypriot, the only historic Greek dialect that preserved much of the Mycenaean-Greek language. Long after the mainland Greeks had adopted the alphabet, the Greeks of Cyprus refused to give up their syllabic literacy. Before we disclaim this attitude as mere island conservatism, we ought to consider the extent to which this syllabary had become inseparable from their social and political identity: they had been in possession of a script when Greek was not written anywhere else in the Mediterranean. "In all of the Greek world, literacy was preserved only in Cyprus"[217] and one of the first words that was written by these literate Greeks was the term *basileus*. Thus, it is in Cyprus that one finds the earliest, epigraphically confirmed (neither legendary nor Homeric) eponymous Greek state leaders. Etewandros and Akestor of Paphos from the seventh century, Nikokreon of Salamis, Nikokles of Paphos, and Androkles of Amathus from the fourth century, as well as the Phoenicians of Kition, when they had to provide a Greek equivalent to their Semitic title (*milk*), all were unanimously identified as *basileis*. With this syllabically rendered title of Mycenaean origin, which in Iron Age Cyprus had acquired an exalted meaning of absolute monarchical

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[214] Cf. Fourrier 2002.
[215] Morpurgo-Davies 1979; 108; Palaima 1995, 124–25; 2006, 68; Weingarten 1997, 531.

[216] Iacovou 2006b.
[217] Woodard 1997, 224.

authority over industrial resources and their management, the Greeks in Cyprus defined with meticulous consistency the figure of their state leader in all the kingdoms where royal authority had been successfully claimed by descendants of Mycenaean *basileis.*

The Aegean migration's Cyprus-specific aftermath underlines the absence of compatibility between the establishment of Greeks in Cyprus and the colonial activity of Greeks in Sicily. In contrast to the urban culture, which Greek migrants knowingly came to join in 12th-century Cyprus, eighth-century Greek colonists knowingly came upon a village-based Sicilian culture. This preurban society had not yet found it necessary to develop a writing system or to establish coastal centers in the name of handling long-distance trade. The Greeks in Sicily proceeded to found—not necessarily on virgin ground but often on land inhabited by indigenous village groups, which they evicted—towns that had an urban structure from the planning stage and were meant to serve an urban function that, to that day, was unknown to the population of Sicily. The political system they imposed was one that served an economy of exploitation of Sicily's human, agricultural, and mineral resources for the benefit of a Greek aristocracy. Today, the ruins of the monumental Greek temples the colonists had constructed within towns such as Syracuse, Selinous, or Akragas stand out in the landscape as examples of human futility and hubris. They are not the monuments of a culture that changed the history of the Sicilian people, who, despite their illiteracy did not become Hellenophonic. Instead, they used the alphabetic script of the colonists to develop (from the mid sixth century) a Greek-inspired writing system for an indigenous language, which expressed non-Greek sociopolitical structures.[218]

In Cyprus, the island-wide, cross-boundary assimilation of a second-millennium tradition as fundamental as that of cult practice by a trilingual Iron Age political environment brings us full circle back to the island-specific dynamics that had rendered the Late Cypriot polities a desirable destination during the crisis years in the first place. We probably need to appreciate these dynamics at least as much as the immigrants who made Cyprus their home back at the end of the Late Bronze Age. The long-term success of their establishment lies primarily on their having adopted the established politicoeconomic system. If in this system we identify, as we ought to, the fundamental continuum that bridges the divide between the Late Cypriot and the Iron Age polities, many idiosyncratic behaviors will become comprehensible and the material culture that supports them less "hybridized"; but not if the so-called end of the Late Bronze Age, and especially LC IIIA and IIIB, become the ad hoc cut-off point of our inquiry.

Where, then, should we draw the line? For how long after this notorious (non-)break should we follow the data? The answer seems obvious: for as long as the people of Cyprus lived not in a unified island state but in autonomous polities that vied with each other for territorial preeminence. The history of *wanassa*'s abode confirms that the *longue durée* of this 1,000-year tradition had remained powerful even after the trauma of the dissolution of the Cypriot kingdom-states by an external force. In the first century B.C.E., the dedication of a statue to Potamon, a Cypriot who had held the high office of *antistrategos* and director of the copper mines of Cyprus, underlines the primary importance that the management of the copper industry continued to have for the Ptolemies' colonial administration.[219] The dedication was made by the Koinon Kyprion to her sanctuary because even when the secular authority of the Paphian kings was abolished, their sacral authority as high priests (Kinyradai) was passed on to the Koinon Kyprion, whose main function was to administer to the cult of the emperor. And the Koinon Kyprion fulfilled its role from within the same Late Bronze Age temenos that had served as the religious, social, and economic "omphalos" of a Cypriot polity since the 13th century B.C.E.

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[218] Leighton 1999, 223–25; Dominguez 2006, 324–42.

[219] Nicolaou 1971, 26, pl. 31.

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