

CYPRUS

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Contents

List of Illustrations.....	5
List of Abbreviations	8
2. Sources	17
2.1 Textual Sources	17
2.1.1 Literary Sources.....	17
2.1.2 Epigraphic and Numismatic Sources.....	18
2.2 The Archaeological Evidence	19
3. Natural Setting	22
4. Material Culture	25
4.1 Settlement Patterns and Organization	25
4.1.1 Amathous	26
4.1.2 Kourion	30
4.1.3 Paphos.....	34
4.1.4 Marion.....	38
4.1.5 Soloi.....	40
4.1.6 Lapethos.....	43
4.1.7 Keryneia	46
4.1.8 Chytroi.....	47
4.1.9 Ledrai.....	48
4.1.10 Tamassos.....	51
4.1.11 Idalion	53
4.1.12 Golgoi	55
4.1.13 Kition	56
4.1.14 Salamis	60
4.2 Common Features of the City-Kingdoms – Urban Areas and Immediate Hinterlands	64
4.2.1 Locations	64
4.2.2 Fortification Walls and Harbors	65
4.2.3 Sanctuaries.....	65
4.2.4. Palaces	67
4.2.5 Houses and Workshops.....	72
4.2.6 The Hinterland of the City-kingdoms - Suburban and Peri-urban Zones.....	72

4.3 Burial Customs	73
4.4 Pottery	78
4.4.1 Wares and Shapes.....	79
4.4.2 Chronology.....	83
5. Diplomatic History.....	86
5.1 Cyprus and Assyria: Eighth to Seventh Centuries	86
5.2 Cyprus and Egypt	92
5.3 Cyprus and Persia (Mid-Sixth to Mid-Fifth Century).....	94
5.4 The Ionian-Cypriot Rebellion and its Aftermath, to the Peace of Callias	96
6. Political History	100
6.1 The Roster of Cypriot City-Kingdoms in the Archaic (and Classical) Period.....	100
6.2 The Origins of the Iron Age City-Kingdoms	103
6.3 Foundation Legends.....	104
6.4 The Political History of the Cypriot City-Kingdoms in the Archaic Period	105
6.5 The Political System and Governance of the Cypriot City-Kingdoms	109
7. Legal History.....	117
8. Economic History	119
8.1 Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.....	119
8.2 Copper, Other Metals, Metallurgy.....	120
8.3 Other Natural Resources.....	123
8.4 Craft Production.....	124
8.5 Trade and Transport on the Island and Abroad.....	124
8.6 Coinage	125
9. Familial/Demographic History	127
10. Social Customs and Institutions	130
11. Religious Customs and Institutions.....	130
11.1 Deities of Archaic Cyprus and Their Sanctuaries	130
11.1.1 The Great Goddess - Cypriot Aphrodite – Astarte	132
11.1.2 The Great God - Cypriot Apollo – Resheph/Melqart/Baal.....	135
11.1.3 Athena – Anat	137
11.2 General Cult Practice and Distribution of Sanctuaries.....	138
12. Cultural History	138
12.1 Languages and Scripts.....	139
12.2 Literature (Poetry, Prose), Music, and Philosophy	141

12.3 Medicine	142
12.4 Terracotta Figures	143
12.5 Stone Sculpture.....	146
12.6 Metal Objects.....	148
13. Conclusion.....	150
Guide to Further Reading.....	153
Contributor Biography	154
Gazetteer	155
Bibliography	164

List of Illustrations

- Map 1: City-kingdoms in Cyprus, with approximate borders during the Archaic period. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Map 2: Some key sites and regions in the Aegean and surrounding areas mentioned in this essay. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Map 3: Some key sites and regions in the Near East mentioned in this essay. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Map 4: Topography of Cyprus. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Map 5: Some key sites in the *chōra* of Amathous mentioned in this essay. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Map 6: Some key sites in the *chōra* of Kourion mentioned in this essay. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Map 7: Some key sites in the *chōrai* of Paphos and Marion mentioned in this essay. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Map 8: Some key sites in the *chōra* of Soloi mentioned in this essay. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Map 9: Some key sites in the *chōrai* of Chytroi, Idalion, Kition, Lapethos, Ledrai, and Tamassos mentioned in this essay. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Map 10: Some key sites in the *chōra* of Salamis mentioned in this essay. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Map 11: Areas of Cyprus with a high concentration of copper ore. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 1: Plan of Amathous. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 2: Plan of Kourion. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 3: Plan of Palaeopaphos. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 4: Plan of Marion. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 5: Plan of Soloi. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 6: Plan of Lapethos. Based in part on Figure 1 in Nicolaou and Flinder 1976. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 7: Plan of Chytroi. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 8: Plan of Ledrai. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 9: Plan of Tamassos. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 10: Plan of Idalion. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 11: Plan of Kition. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 12: Plan of Salamis. © Paul Christesen 2024.
- Figure 13: Restored plan of sanctuary at Kition-Bamboula, c. 600. Based on Caubet 1984: Fig. 4 (= drawing by O. Callot).
- Figure 14: Plan of the palace at Vouni, c. 500. Based on Gjerstad 1948: Fig. 6. © Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Reproduced with permission.
- Figure 15: Limestone Hathor capital; Cypro-Archaic II (600–475); height: 133 cm, maximum width: 74 cm, depth: 37 cm; found in the 19th century built into a modern house near Kition-Bamboula (modern Larnaka). Paris Louvre AM93. Photo by Carole Raddato. Reproduced under Creative Commons Attribution-share Alike 2.0 Generic license. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chapiteau_hatorique,_AM_93_%287465579476%29.jpg
- Figure 16: Tomb 79 at Salamis. Plan (above) and view from the east (below). Plan based on V. Karageorghis 1974 Fig. I. Photograph by Kevin Norman (kjn1961@ntlworld.com); reproduced with permission.
- Figure 17: Archaic Cypriot pottery in the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. All

images © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Reproduced with permission.

- #1: Plain White Ware IV saucer-shaped lamp (Phoenician type); c. 700 – 600; max. length (nozzle to rim): 14.5 cm; found in Larnaka (ancient Kition)-Turabi Tekke, tomb 60. Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908 C.18.
- #2: Bichrome Red II-III jug with bull's head protome spout; c. 550 – 450; height: 22.8 cm; found in Polis tis Chrysochous (ancient Marion) – Kaparka, tomb 28. Ashmolean Museum, AN1890.692.
- #3: Black-on-Red II (IV) juglet; c. 700 – 600; height: 9 cm; probably from a tomb in Larnaka (ancient Kition)-Turabi Tekke. Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908 C.153.
- #4: Bichrome V barrel-shaped juglet; c. 600 – 500; height: 9.2 cm; found in a tomb in Amathous. Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908 C.210.
- #5: Black-on-Red III (V) platter/shallow dish; c. 550 – 450; diameter: 19.2 cm, height: 3.6 cm; found in a tomb in Kouklia-Palaeopaphos (Paphos). Ashmolean Museum, AN1888.1499.
- #6: White-Painted Ware IV jar; c. 700 – 600; height: 11.4 cm; found in Larnaka (ancient Kition)-Turabi Tekke, tomb 60. Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908 C.233.
- #7: White-Painted Ware IV amphora; c. 700 – 600; height: 46.3 cm; probably from a tomb in Amathous. Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908 C.255.
- #8: Bichrome IV neck-amphora; c. 700 – 600; height: 16.6 cm; found in Larnaka (ancient Kition)-Turabi Tekke, tomb 60; Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908 C.232.

Figure 18: Basalt *stēlē* erected by Sargon II of Assyria (typically known as the Sargon *stēlē*); last quarter of the eighth century; 210 cm high x 68 cm wide x 35 cm thick (originally c. 48 cm thick); found in Larnaka (ancient Kition). Pergamon Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Inv. VA 00968. Photo by Osama Shukir Muhammed Amin. Reproduced under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stela_of_Sargon_II_from_Cyprus,_late_8th_century_BCE._Pergamon_Museum.jpg.

Figure 19: Side A of inscribed bronze tablet found at Idalion (typically known as the Idalion tablet); first third of the fifth century; height: 14.2 cm, length: 21.5 cm, thickness: 1.1 cm; found at Idalion. The text, in Greek, is inscribed in the Cypro-Syllabic script. Paris, Cabinet des Medailles Bronze.2297. The lower half of Figure 19 is a line drawing of the text of the inscription produced by Olivier Masson in Masson 1961, plate XXXVI.1. Photo by Poulpy. Reproduced under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported License.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cabinet_des_M%C3%A9dailles,_Paris_-_Idalion_Decree.jpg. The Masson line drawing is in the public domain.

Figure 20: Terracotta figures found in situ at the sanctuary at Agia Irini. Photo taken by John Lindros sometime between 1927 and 1931. Photo number C01806 in the archives of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Reproduced under Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication license.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Helhetsbild._Ajia_Irini._utgr%C3%A4vnin_g._%CE%91%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%B1_%CE%95%CE%B9%CF%81%CE%B7_%CE%BD%CE%B7_-_SMVK_-_C01806.tif.

Figure 21: Cypriot statues

Left: Terracotta statue of a bearded male; c. 650 – c. 575; height: 62 cm; found at Salamis. British Museum 1891,08306.39. © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Right: Limestone statue of a priest; c. 500; height: 2.17 m; base and feet are modern; bird in left hand is heavily restored and may not belong with this sculpture; traces of pigment indicate that statue was originally painted. A Cypro-Syllabic inscription on the left shoulder reads: “of the Paphian Goddess.” Found at Golgoi. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 74.51.2466. Image in the public domain.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/242019>

Figure 22: Gilt silver Cypro-Phoenician bowl; 725-675; height: 3.1 cm, diameter: 16.8 cm; said by Cesnola to have been excavated at Kourion. The central scene shows a winged deity of Assyrian type killing a lion. The surrounding frieze includes Egyptian motifs (a sphinx wearing an Egyptian double crown and a lion trampling a dead human). There are two inscriptions on the bowl: the first, “I am [the bowl] of Akestor, king of Paphos,” is located above the deity killing the lion; that inscription was partly obliterated and replaced by the second inscription: “I am [the bowl] of Timokretes.” New York Metropolitan Museum 74.51.4554. Image in the public domain.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/243823>.

Table 1: Spellings of Some Key Sites

Table 2: Cypriot pottery: wares and chronology

Table 3: Diachronic changes in the roster of Cypriot city-kingdoms

Table 4: Securely attributed Archaic Cypriot coin series, their imagery and coin legends

Table 5: Signs and sign values in Cypro-Syllabic

List of Abbreviations

<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby. 1923–1958. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . 3 vols. in 14 vols. Berlin: Weidmann.
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
<i>OHAGW</i>	<i>Oxford History of the Archaic Greek World</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus

1. Introduction

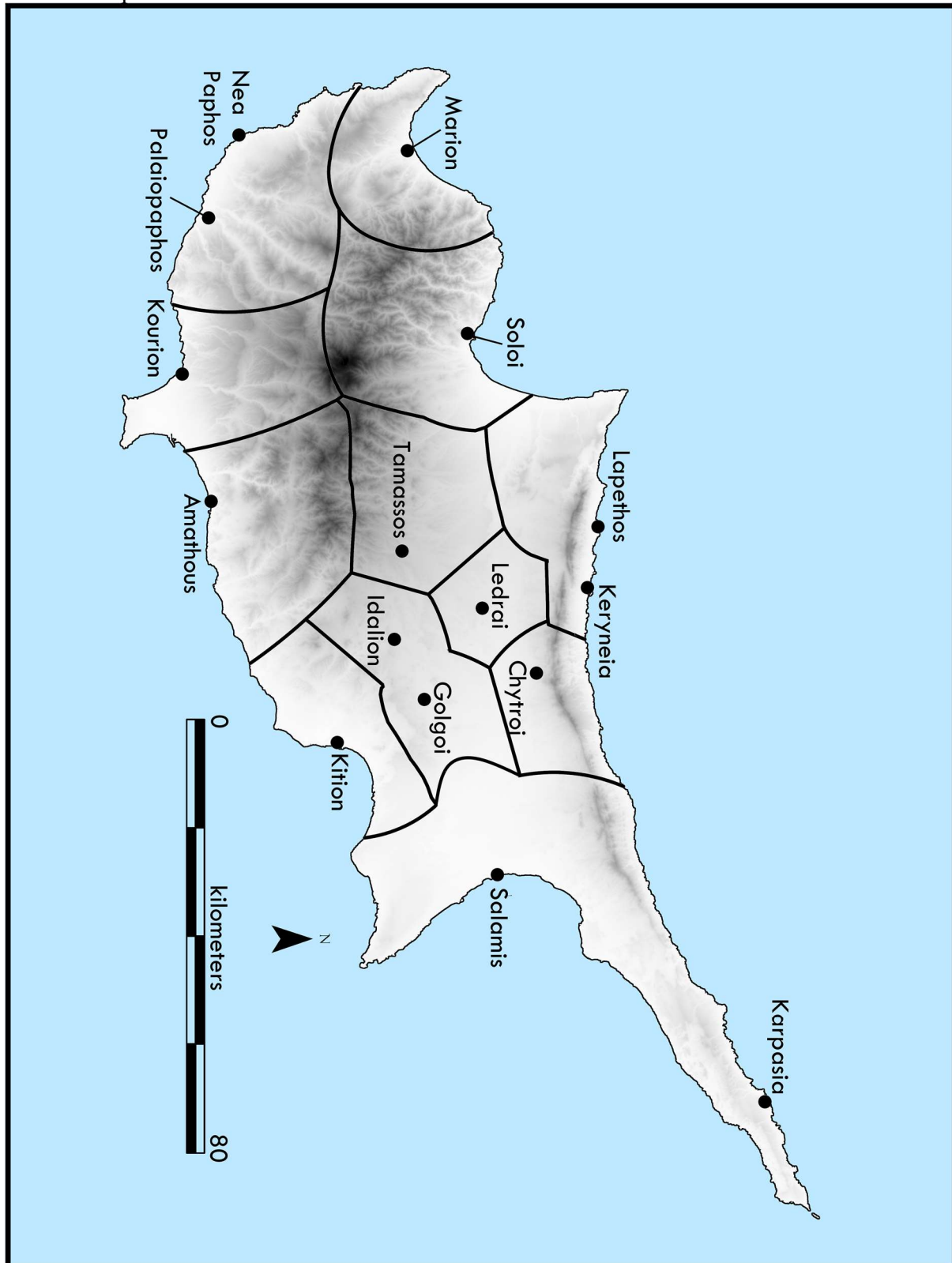
The island of Cyprus, situated much closer to the Near East than to the easternmost areas of the Greek Aegean, is commonly regarded as a crossroads between east and west (see Map 1). Due to its strategically important position and its rich copper resources, Cyprus developed extensive economic, cultural, and diplomatic relations with neighboring regions by the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (about 1650).¹ The crisis years in the eastern Mediterranean around 1200 led to the collapse of Mycenaean polities around the Aegean, and of the Hittite empire in and beyond Anatolia. Disruptions and destructions, often associated with the so-called Sea Peoples, also occurred in the Syro-Palestinian regions (Cline 2015). All these events had a deleterious impact on Cyprus' connections with its faltering neighbors as well as on economic and political conditions on the island itself.

Archaeological evidence from Cyprus, however, shows a certain continuity of external contacts and of settlement at several Bronze Age sites into the Early Iron Age, but on a much smaller scale and at a lower level, with some sites declining, while others were abandoned altogether. In the aftermath of this eastern Mediterranean turbulence, Mycenaeans from the Greek Aegean migrated to and settled in Cyprus. They brought their Greek language, culture, and customs to the island with which they had been trading throughout the Late Bronze Age. During the Iron Age (1050–approx. 310, see below), Cyprus gradually became a part of the Greek world through further Greek immigration and the maintenance, renewal, or establishment of new contacts with Greeks around the Aegean and beyond (Iacovou 2006–2008). After struggles between the rulers of the Greek Hellenistic kingdoms over the island and the gradual abolition of Cypriot city-kings between 313–306, Cyprus eventually became a permanent part of the Ptolemaic empire from 294 onward and was subsequently fully integrated into the Hellenistic *koinē* (Maier 2004a: 1223). Throughout the first millennium the island also maintained economic, political, diplomatic, and cultural relations with the Near East and Egypt, and received immigrants, mostly from the Near East, as well.

The term Κύπριος χαρακτήρ (“Cypriot character”), coined by Aeschylus (*Supp.* 282–3) in the fifth century, and remarks by other Greek authors show that Cyprus was perceived as a special and somewhat strange part of the Greek world in the first millennium. Its unique island culture was created by its mixed population groups of varying ethno-cultural backgrounds living together in the same polities, particularly in the coastal urban centers. The Mycenaean Greek immigrants settled alongside the indigenous population as it had developed on the island by the late second millennium. These so-called Eteo-Cypriots spoke their own, non-Greek language(s) and had their own customs and distinctive material culture. The close interaction, communication, and integration between Greek immigrants and Eteo-Cypriots are most clearly reflected in the development and use of a common local script now termed Cypro-Syllabic, its signs clearly derived from the so-called Cypro-Minoan script of the Late Bronze Age. From the late tenth century onward at the latest, Phoenicians from the Syro-Palestinian region of (roughly) modern Lebanon began to settle in Cyprus as the first stepping-stone of their westward expansion into the Mediterranean (Lipiński 2004). They brought their own culture, language, and script with them, as is attested by more than 500 known Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus ranging in date from the Archaic to the

¹ All dates are BCE unless otherwise indicated.

Hellenistic period.



Map 1: City-kingdoms in Cyprus, with approximate borders during the Archaic period. This map is artificially synchronous in that not all of the city-kingdoms shown here necessarily existed at the same time during the Archaic period. This map also assumes that neither Golgoi nor Keryneia were during the Archaic period the center of an autonomous city-kingdom.

During the period under consideration here, Cyprus was politically segmented into 12 so-called city-kingdoms – the conventional modern term used for the autonomous Iron-Age polities or city-states with surrounding territories that were ruled by a succession of kings throughout the Cypro-Archaic and Classical periods (750 – 310).² These city-kingdoms are, in alphabetical order: Amathous, Chytroi, Idalion, Kition, Kourion, Lapethos, Ledrai, Marion, Paphos, Salamis, Soloi, and Tamassos.

Literary, epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological evidence from these city-kingdoms shows that Eteo-Cypriots, Greek-Cypriots, and Phoenicians lived, worked, and worshipped side by side. The relative size of those different groups varied from polity to polity, each of which was ruled by a king of a hereditary dynasty of Greek, Eteo-Cypriot, Phoenician, or mixed ethno-cultural background (see Sections 6 and 12). Epigraphic and literary sources suggest that, by the end of the Archaic period, Eteo-Cypriots and Greeks made up the majority of the population in all of the Cypriot city-kingdoms, with the exception of Kition and Lapethos, where Phoenicians predominated.

Cypriot material culture of the first millennium emerged and developed through mixing and close interaction between the island's ethno-culturally diverse population groups as well as through diplomatic and trading relationships with the neighboring regions of the Eastern Mediterranean. The art and architecture of Cyprus are characterized by the continuous adoption, adaptation, integration, and amalgamation of traditional Cypriot, Greek, and Phoenician/Near Eastern features, creating a distinctive island culture with regional and local differences. Thus, an archaeohistory of Cyprus as part of the Greek world during the Archaic period, in fact during the whole first millennium, must be reconstructed and interpreted in light of the island's "multicultural" population and society as well as its external connections.

The Archaic period in Cyprus, also called the "Cypro-Archaic" (period), is conventionally dated from 750 to 475 (see Section 4.4.2) and subdivided into Cypro-Archaic I (= CA I, 750–600) and Cypro-Archaic II (= CA II, 600–475). An alternative chronology for the Iron Age in Cyprus, proposed by Joanna Smith, dates the Cypro-Archaic period from 800 to 475, with CA I dating to 800–700/650, and CA II to 700/650–475. These alternative dates are based primarily on archaeological evidence from the city-kingdom of Kition, but also pertain to other sites in Cyprus and the Near East (Smith 2009; Smith 2015).³ All upper-limit dates are based partly on textual evidence for the Cypriot city-kingdoms and partly on archaeological evidence from Cypriot and Near Eastern sites, particularly on stratigraphy (preserved only in the sites in the Near East) and on stylistic developments in Cypriot material culture, mostly pottery, terracotta figures, and limestone sculptures. The paragraphs that follow briefly explain the complex historical and archaeological reasons for those dates and argue for the most inclusive timeframe by establishing the chronological parameters of the Cypriot Archaic period as c. 800 to c. 450.

² See Section 4.1 for the possibility that two further city-kingdoms existed, Golgoi and Keryneia. The problematic term "city-kingdom," which will be used throughout this essay purely as a matter of convention, and its genesis are discussed in Iacovou 2014, particularly pp. 98-100. See also Section 6.5.

³ Due to the limited space and large number of relevant publications of both the primary material (e.g. inscriptions) and secondary scholarship on the various questions to be addressed here, the references in this contribution cannot be anywhere near exhaustive. Therefore, only the most recent or relevant publications, which provide more extensive sets of references and bibliographies, and the most pertinent ancient sources are cited.

As Archaic Cyprus has been regarded a part of the Greek world both by ancient Greek authors and by modern scholars, the conventional periodization of Cypriot history is roughly aligned with the conventional periodization of Archaic Hellas. That alignment was made through combining absolutely dated historical events and developments known from textual sources with loosely associated and gradual stylistic and typological changes in Greek and contemporary Cypriot material culture. However, Cypriot material culture in the Archaic period shows stylistic developments with longer transition periods between styles as well as regional and local differences (see Section 4.4.2).

From the historical perspective, the Archaic period in the wider Greek world is defined by the emergence or full development of politically autonomous polities, mostly the city-state, that is the *polis* in Greece and the so-called (by scholars) “city-kingdom” in Cyprus. The earliest textual evidence for fully operational city-kingdoms in Cyprus comes from an inscribed *stēlē* of the Assyrian king Sargon II, dated to 707 and found at the Phoenician-Cypriot city-kingdom of Kition. The text mentions “seven kings of Cyprus,” while sources from the reigns of Asarhaddon and Assurbanipal in the seventh century list ten city-kingdoms and their kings by name (see Sections 5.1 and 6.4).

From the archaeological perspective, the foundation horizons of the 12 attested Cypriot Iron-Age city-kingdoms go back to the Late Geometric period or, in most cases, the transition from the Late Geometric to the Archaic period, when clear architectural evidence of urbanization, e.g. fortification walls and monumental buildings, first (re-)emerges. Several of those sites, however, were already settled during the Late Bronze Age, e.g. Chytroi, Idalion, Kition, Lapethos, Ledrai, and Paphos and continued as smaller settlements throughout the Early Iron Age or Geometric period (1050-750). Kition and Paphos both had a sanctuary with monumental architecture during the Late Bronze Age, which might indicate that they were already by that point in time city-states or city-kingdoms, but there is no archaeological or textual evidence that they retained this status throughout the Geometric period (Petit 2019; see Section 6).

Archaeologically, the conventional start date of the Cypro-Archaic period of 750 is associated with changes of vessel shapes and decoration patterns of Cypriot pottery, which actually took place gradually throughout the entire eighth century. These changes are documented by stratified and datable find-assemblages and contexts in Cyprus, the Near East, and Greece, where Cypriot vessels are found together with datable Greek, Near Eastern, and/or Egyptian material (Schreiber 2003; Sagona 2008; Smith 2009; Smith 2015). From the early eighth century onward, Cypriot potters started to move away from Geometric vessel shapes and decoration styles inspired by late Mycenaean and Geometric Greek pottery. New shapes, decorative techniques, and decorative motifs, such as plants, flowers, trees, animals, and humans made an appearance. This gradual transition did not unfold in a uniform fashion across the entire island, as is evident from localized variations in chronology, vessel shapes, and decorative motifs (Georgiadou 2014; Georgiadou 2015a; see also Section 4.4).

The end of the Cypro-Archaic period is conventionally dated to 480 or 475 and is thus closely aligned with the political history of mainland Greece in its interactions with the Achaemenid Empire. The defining events were the Battle of Salamis (near Athens) in 480, in which Cypriot ships fought on the side of the Persians (Hdt. 8.68C, 8.100), and the last Greek victory over the Persians on Greek soil at Plataea in 479. In contrast to most of mainland Greece, however, Cyprus became an actual part of the Achaemenid Empire in 525 and remained so until 332, when Cypriot kings switched their allegiance to Alexander the Great

for the siege and conquest of the Phoenician city-kingdom of Tyre (Maier 1994: 330-2; see Section 5.3).

Therefore, some modern-day historians have regarded 525 as the end of the Cypro-Archaic period (e.g. Cannavò 2011: 10-11) or simply trailed off in their accounts sometime in the late sixth century (e.g. Reyes 1994). Anna Cannavò points out that the nature, amount, and content of epigraphic evidence from Cyprus change notably from 525 onward. This alternative end date is more closely aligned to the commencement of the Achaemenid (or Persian) periods in the Near East and Egypt. On the other hand, the geopolitical structure of Cyprus with its autonomous city-kingdoms did not change in 525, but continued until the abolition of the Cypriot city-kingdoms at the end of the fourth century. Furthermore, Archaic traditions in Cypriot material culture, particularly in pottery and sculpture, continued in part at least until 480/475 or even until 450. This is confirmed by evidence from Cypriot and Near Eastern contexts of the early fifth century, for example, at the palace of Vouni (see Section 4.1.5) or in tombs at Kition or other sites, where fifth-century Athenian red-figure pottery was found alongside Cypriot pottery, terracottas, and sculpture, all exclusively of Archaic styles (Raptou 1999; lists by sites in Eriksson 2011; Kushnet 2014). Therefore, the conventional end date for the Cypro-Archaic period has been set at about 480 or 475.⁴

Due to the chronological complexities of the Cypro-Archaic period outlined above, particularly the different possible terminal dates and regional chronological variances in the material culture, this essay takes the most inclusive chronological approach and assumes an a Cypro-Archaic period stretching from c. 800 to c. 450.

Before proceeding, a brief note on the transliteration of place names is in order. The standard practice in the *Oxford History of the Archaic Greek World* (*OHAGW*) is to use the spelling given in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (*OCD*) for places and people that have a specific lemma in the latter work. Otherwise, transliterations are kept as close to the original Greek as possible. (For more details, see the Series Preface at the beginning of this volume.) Cyprus presents some particular challenges because some but not all of the city-kingdoms and only one of their kings (Nicocles) have lemmata in the *OCD*. A strict application of the standard transliteration rules for *OHAGW* would thus result in a rather odd mixture of spellings from the *OCD*, which are typically heavily Latinized, and more precisely correct transliterations. With that in mind, the spellings for the names of the sites listed in Table 1, and all Cypriot kings, are all more precisely correct transliterations even in instances where there are relevant lemmata in the *OCD* (so Nikokles instead of Nicocles).

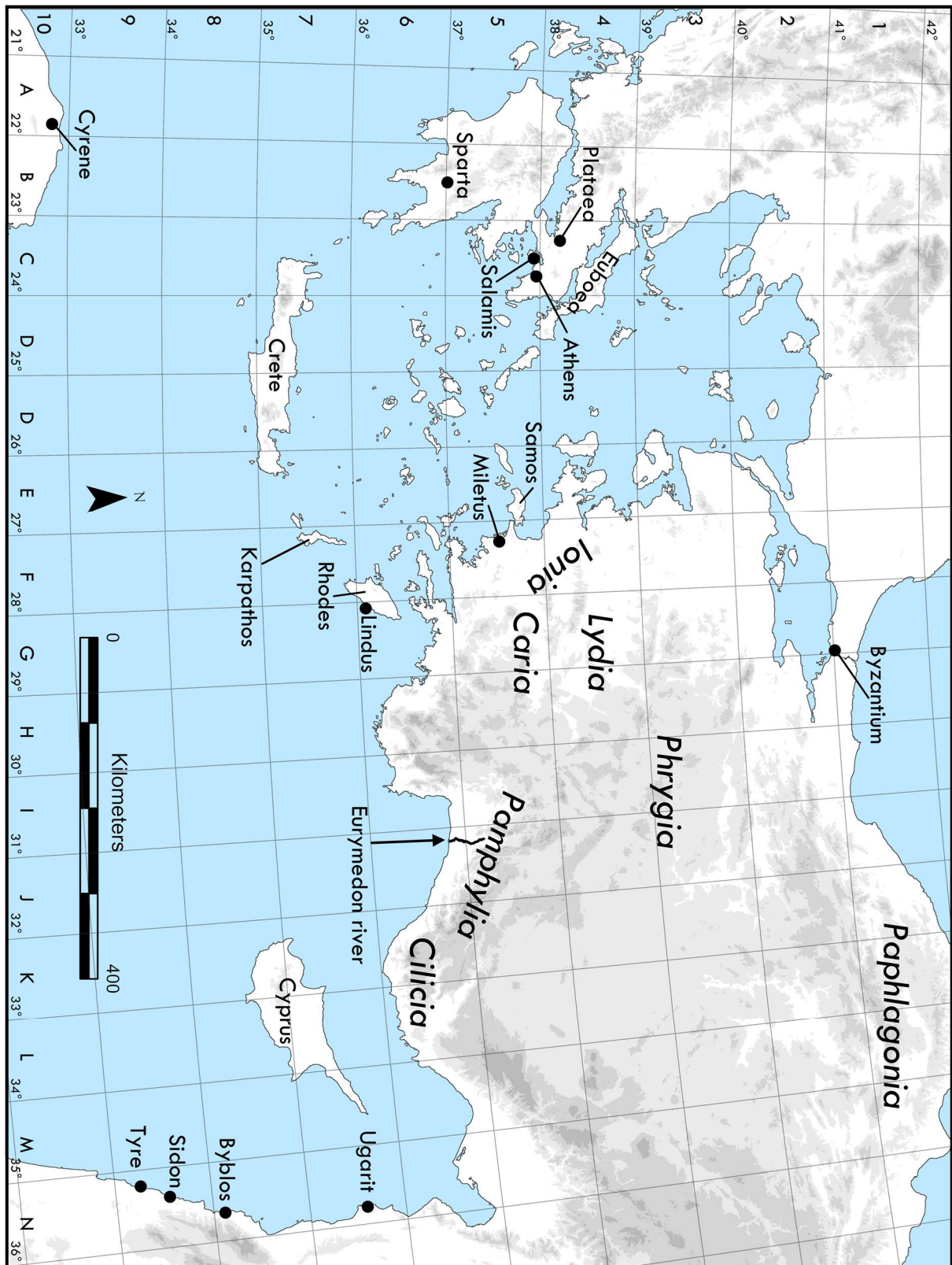
Table 1: Spellings of Some Key Sites

site name in this essay	name as given in <i>OCD</i>	site name in this essay	name as given in <i>OCD</i>
Amathous	Amathus	Lapethos	n/a
Chytroi	Chythri	Ledrai	n/a
Golgoi	n/a	Marion	n/a
Idalion	Idalium	Olympos	Olympus
Keryneia	n/a	Paphos	Paphos
Kition	n/a	Salamis	Salamis
Knidos	Cnidus	Soloi	n/a

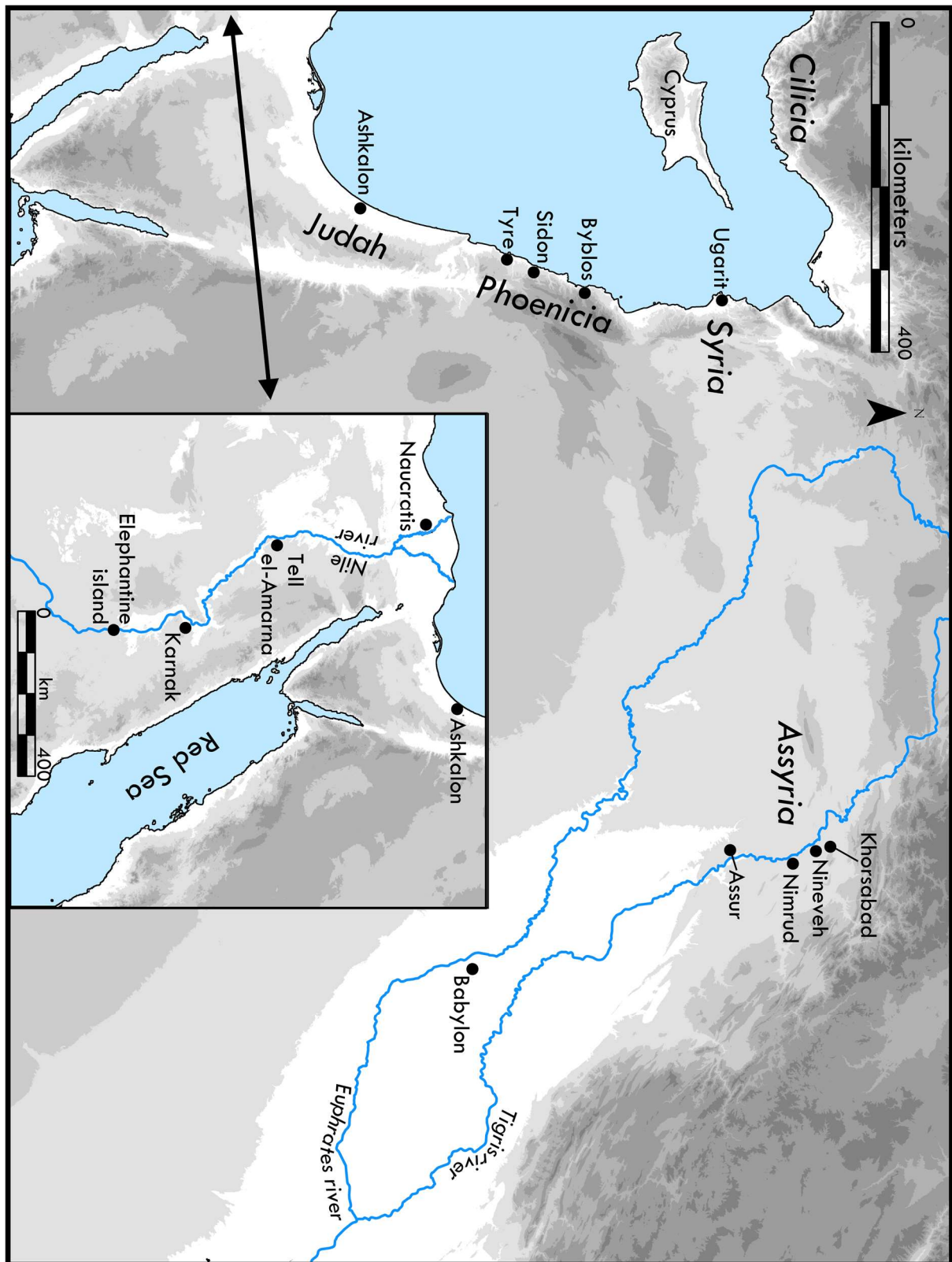
⁴ For 480, see for example Georgiadou 2015a. For 475, see the website of the Antiquities Department of Cyprus, at http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/da/da.nsf/DMLchtable_en/DMLchtable_en?OpenDocument.

Kourion	Curium		Tamassos	n/a
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Paphos presents separate complications. In the fourth century, the city was moved 16 km to the northwest of its original site. The old settlement is typically referred to as Palaeopaphos, and the new settlement as Nea Paphos. Given the chronological parameters of this essay, Nea Paphos is not of immediate relevance, and hence the place name Paphos is used throughout (as a shorthand version of Palaeopaphos) except where it is crucial to differentiate between the old and new settlement sites.



Map 2: Some key sites and regions in the Aegean and surrounding areas mentioned in this essay



Map 3: Some key sites and regions in the Near East mentioned in this essay

2. Sources

2.1 Textual Sources

The extant textual evidence for Archaic Cyprus consists of literary sources, mostly from Greek and Roman authors, but also the Bible (Hebrew Old Testament texts), as well as inscriptions and coin legends. The bulk of the inscriptions and coin legends come from Cyprus and are in the Greek and the (undeciphered) Eteo-Cypriot languages; they are written in the Cypro-Syllabic and Phoenician and scripts. However, some of the earliest (eighth and seventh century) inscriptions come from Assyria.

Greek and Roman authors call the island Kypros or Cyprus, while the Bible refers to it occasionally as Elisha, a Hebrew version of the name Alashya, already attested in Late Bronze Age Near Eastern texts and now widely accepted to refer to Cyprus or a region in Cyprus. This assumption is further confirmed by a Hellenistic Phoenician inscription from Cyprus, which refers to the island as 'LŠY, which could be transliterated as “Alashy” (Amadasi Guzzo and Zamora Lopez 2018).

2.1.1 Literary Sources

Cyprus produced its fair share of authors from the Archaic period onward, but their work survives only in fragments. We know, for example, the names of several Cypriots who wrote about Cyprus – including Asclepiades of Cyprus (*FGrH* 752), Demetrius of Salamis (*FGrH* 756), and Paion of Amathous (*FGrH* 757) – but they all significantly post-date the Archaic period, and the extant bits of their work are not terribly informative.⁵ The corpus of literary evidence thus consists of references to Cyprus by non-Cypriot, mainly post-Archaic Greek and Roman authors and some isolated passages in the Hebrew scriptures. The writers in question discuss Cyprus only as far as is relevant to their narrative or topic. Thus, Herodotus and later historians primarily mention Cyprus in the context of Greek-Persian conflicts from the late sixth century onward, particularly the combined Ionian and Cypriot Rebellion against Achaemenid rule in the early 490s and the subsequent Greek or Athenian campaigns against Persia leading to battles on or around Cyprus (see Sections 5.3-4).

A few Greek and Roman authors and scholiasts from the third century BCE to Late Antiquity record foundation legends for the Cypriot city-kingdoms; many of those legends were connected with the return of Greek heroes from the Trojan War (see Section 6.3). Those authors also sporadically mentioned deities worshipped in Cyprus or one of its cities (see Section 11). Near Eastern texts of the first millennium, mostly the Hebrew scriptures, particularly the prophets (Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, etc.) and Flavius Josephus (second century CE), mention Cyprus equally briefly and sporadically. They sometimes refer to the island as Elisha, clearly related to the name “Alashya” used for Cyprus in Near Eastern texts of the Late Bronze Age (Iacovou 2021: 230-1) or, more often, to the “Kittim” (the people of Kition), particularly in the context of political and economic interactions between the Near East and Cyprus in the seventh and sixth centuries (Yon 2004: 14-15; Cannavò 2011: 66-7, 473-82; Cannavò 2015: 2-3).

Several publications on ancient Cyprus offer collections of texts about and from Cyprus relevant to the Archaic (and later) periods. Cannavò compiled and analyzed all available Greek and Near Eastern textual – literary and epigraphic – evidence for the Archaic period down to the establishment of Achaemenid rule in Cyprus in 525 (Cannavò 2011). Kyriakos Hadjioannou assembled and translated into modern Greek all the original Greek and Latin

⁵ See also *FGrH* 751 (Androkles), 753 (Kreon), 754 (Timomachos), and 755 (Xenophon of Cyprus).

literary texts from Homer to Late Antiquity that refer to Cyprus, as well as the Greek inscriptions from the island; those texts are collated by topic (religion, political history, geography, etc.), by city-kingdom and findspot, and by chronology (Hadjioannou 1971; Hadjioannou 1973; Hadjioannou 1975; Hadjioannou 1983). The most important of these texts have been translated into English by Paul Wallace and Andreas Orphanides (Wallace and Orphanides 1990). An online collection of Greek and Latin textual sources with modern Greek translations and commentaries, with an English version planned for the future, has also been compiled by the Cyprus Institute in Nicosia.⁶

2.1.2 Epigraphic and Numismatic Sources

The vast majority of the textual evidence for Archaic (and Classical) Cyprus comes from the island itself and is solely epigraphic, consisting of Cypro-Syllabic and Phoenician inscriptions on stone, ceramic and metal objects, and, from the late sixth century onward, legends on coins minted by various city-kingdoms. Further, though temporally restricted, information can be derived from official Assyrian records of the late eighth and seventh centuries.

Almost all of the c. 1,400 recorded Cypro-Syllabic inscriptions, dating from the tenth to the third century, are written in the Greek language; only 30 are written in a non-Greek, local Cypriot language (or languages, conventionally called Eteo-Cypriot) that is not yet decoded (see Section 12.1). The Greek alphabet first appeared in Cyprus in the late seventh or sixth century; the few isolated inscriptions using the Greek alphabet and dating from the seventh to the fifth century include two digraphic Cypro-Syllabic and alphabetic Greek funerary inscriptions of the sixth century (Steele 2019: 219-23) and five pottery fragments (Cannavò 2011: 292-6). The use of the Greek alphabet on Cyprus began to broaden in the late fifth century, when it was employed for coin legends (see below). However, the Cypro-Syllabic script was used until the third century, when it was finally replaced by the Greek alphabet.

The great majority of the Cypro-Syllabic epigraphic texts come from funerary or sanctuary contexts. Most are rather fragmentary, preserving only a few signs or syllables, or recording just a name of a person or deity (as part of dedicatory formulas); one or more complete sentences are rare before the late Classical period (Masson 1983; Egetmeyer 2010; Cannavò 2011: 186-291; Steele 2013a: 99-172; Steele 2013b; Perna 2015; Körner 2017: 74-5; Steele 2019: 128-46; Karnava, Perna, and Egetmeyer 2020).

Approximately 230 Greek Cypro-Syllabic inscriptions are more or less securely dated to the period from the late eighth century to the start of Achaemenid rule in Cyprus in 525 (based on the catalogs in Egetmeyer 2010 and Cannavò 2011: 186-291). Most of these belong to the sixth century, based on letter forms, the style/date of the inscribed object, or the associated finds. After 525 the quantity of funerary and dedicatory inscriptions increases at several sites, but the format remains largely the same. Very few Cypro-Syllabic inscriptions actually provide significant historical or cultural information, e.g. about city-kingdoms and their kings, deities, or specific historical events. The longest and most informative of them is inscribed on a famous bronze tablet from Idalion (Masson 1983: 235-44 #217), dated to c. 470, and gives a unique insight into Idalion's political, legal, and economic history (see Sections 6.5 and 7).

⁶ See [DACL: Digital Ancient Cypriot Literature - The Cyprus Institute \(cyi.ac.cy\)](http://dagl.cyi.ac.cy); the actual searchable database address is: <http://akg.cyi.ac.cy/> (in modern Greek, English version not available yet).

About 550 Phoenician inscriptions from the ninth century to the Hellenistic period have so far been found and recorded all over Cyprus. The great majority date to the Classical period onward, with the largest corpora recovered in Kition and neighboring Idalion after its annexation by Kition by 450 (Masson and Sznycer 1972; Guzzo Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977; Lipiński 2004; Steele 2013a: 173-234). Inscribed or painted on objects including *stēlai* and pottery, the Phoenician inscriptions are mostly funerary and dedicatory in nature, like their Cypro-Syllabic counterparts. There is only one known bilingual Eteo-Cypriot Cypro-Syllabic and Phoenician funerary inscription (from near Kourion and dating to the seventh or sixth century), while later bilinguals until 400 are exclusively written in Greek Cypro-Syllabic and Phoenician and mostly dedicatory in nature (Cannavò 2011: 206-7, 316; Steele 2013a: 201-7).

Coins minted by the different city-kingdoms from the late sixth to the late fifth century and found in coin-hoards on the island bear either Greek Cypro-Syllabic or Phoenician coin legends, reflecting, like other inscriptions from Cyprus, the different ethno-cultural backgrounds and affinities of ruling dynasties and a large part of the local population. Thus, the coins struck by Kition and Lapethos have exclusively Phoenician legends, while the other city-kingdoms inscribed their coins almost exclusively in Greek written in the Cypriot syllabary, until the Greek alphabet was introduced on coins minted by Marion, Paphos, Salamis, and Soloi from the late fifth century onward (Markou 2015b; Markou 2015a: 103 and *passim*; see also Section 8.6).

Official Akkado-Assyrian inscriptions of the late eighth and seventh centuries, one found in Cyprus, the rest in the royal palaces in Assyria, are our earliest textual evidence for the existence and names of ten Cypriot city-kingdoms (and their kings). They also elucidate Assyrian-Cypriot relations at the time (compiled in Cannavò 2011: 707-843, I D 1 to I D 13; more detail in Sections 5.1 and 6.1).

2.2 The Archaeological Evidence

A vast and varied corpus of archaeological evidence from all over the island has accumulated through chance discoveries as well as systematic surveys and excavations. Ancient remains had already been recorded and described by travelers during the 17th and 18th centuries CE. Starting in the 19th century, the physical remains of the urban centers of city-kingdoms and settlements in their territories as well as associated necropoleis and sanctuaries were explored by missions from various countries, with widely varying standards of excavation or documentation (Cannavò 2011: 14-20; Hermary 2012). At first, diplomats, foreign and local businessmen, and scholars, mostly from France and England, acquired antiquities for their own collections and/or for sale or donation to collectors and museums abroad. This stage was followed by more targeted expeditions by scholars aimed at amassing large assemblages of objects. This “tomb-robbing and sanctuary gutting” (Casson 1937: 11–12, 14) resulted in the appearance of large collections of Cypriot antiquities (pottery, stone sculpture, terracotta figures, inscriptions, metal objects, etc.) in museums in Europe and America. The largest collections are in the Louvre (Hermary 1989; Caubet, Fourier, and Bottineau 1998), the British Museum (Walters 1903; Pryce 1931; Kiely and Ulbrich 2012; Kiely 2017: 265-71), and, through Luigi Palma di Cesnola’s activities, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Di Cesnola 1885–1903; V. Karageorghis 2000; Hermary and Mertens 2014; V. Karageorghis, Merker, and Mertens 2016).

After the establishment of British administration in Cyprus in 1878, more systematic and better documented excavations were conducted, predominantly by the British. The Cyprus

Exploration Fund (CEF) was founded in 1887 for this purpose; its primary “subscribers” included the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Kiely and Ulbrich 2012: 335-41). Each subscriber received a part of the British share of finds from CEF excavations, for example at Kition, Marion, Paphos, and Salamis. The parameters of find-sharing were based on a modified version of the Ottoman Antiquities Law of 1874: one-third of the finds from any excavation in Cyprus went to the excavator or excavating institution, e.g. the CEF; one-third stayed with the landowner of the site, who often sold the finds to excavators or other collectors; the remaining third were sent to the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, privately founded and funded in 1882/3, which relocated to its current premises in 1909 (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899; Dikaios 1961; Stanley-Price 2001; Kiely and Ulbrich 2012: 333). In 1894, the British Museum conducted its own, independently funded excavations in the necropoleis of Amathous and Kourion, and at the Bronze Age site of Enkomi and its surroundings (Murray, Smith, and Walters 1900; Kiely and Ulbrich 2012: 341-7).

The division of finds between the excavating countries (mostly Britain), the landowner, and the Cyprus Museum was reinforced by the enactment of a British Antiquities Law for Cyprus in 1905 and continued until the island became independent in 1960; the practice was finally abolished in 1964 (Kiely 2017: 277). Under British rule, the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus was founded (in 1935) with its seat in the Cyprus Museum and expanded by the establishment of a new (Archaeological) Survey Department in the early 1950s. British archaeologists and museums in the United Kingdom remained strongly involved in the archaeological exploration of Cyprus throughout the 20th century and to the present day (Kiely 2017).

A milestone in Cypriot archaeology was the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, conducted from 1927 to 1931, which carried out excavations in settlements, sanctuaries, and necropoleis from Prehistoric to Roman times all over the island. A large representative selection of the recovered material (split between the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia and the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm) was published in three volumes between 1934 and 1937 (V. Karageorghis 2003b). The first volume was dedicated to prehistoric sites, volumes II and III to Geometric to Roman sites (Gjerstad, Lindros, Sjöqvist et al. 1935; Gjerstad, Lindros, Sjöqvist et al. 1937). The analysis of these and earlier finds resulted in the first detailed typology and chronology of and terminology for Cypriot material culture of the Geometric, Archaic, and Classical periods (Gjerstad 1948). This typo-chronological system, particularly for pottery and sculpture, is still used today, albeit with modifications based on results of more recent excavations and systematic studies of different types or classes of material.

After Cyprus’ independence in 1960, the first director of the Antiquities Department, Vassos Karageorghis, and his successors invited foreign missions from various European countries (France, Italy, Germany, Greece, and the United Kingdom), North America, and Australia to conduct excavations and surveys, while the Department itself carried out its own excavations and surveys as well as numerous rescue excavations (V. Karageorghis 1985; Buitron-Oliver 1997b; Kiely 2017). Many, but by no means all, of these excavations and surveys have been published to varying extents and standards; while some site excavations are published in several volumes (see below), the great majority are only summarily published in preliminary reports. The latter can be found primarily in the yearly *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* (RDAC, 1938–2013; since then a new series is exclusively published online).

The Turkish invasion in 1974 put an end to all legal excavations in the Turkish-occupied north of the island, including those at Salamis and Soloi. Several sites were at least partly destroyed, and in some cases finds and documentation (such as field-notebooks) were lost. Many finds kept in storerooms, museums, and private archaeological collections ended up on the illicit international art market. The continued occupation of northern Cyprus and the political division of the island have prevented further legal, systematic excavations, study, and comprehensive publication of those sites and their associated finds. However, new approaches to address this problem are being explored on both sides of the divide (Pilides and Mina 2017; Lâtife, Kiessel, and Kaba 2023).

Since 1974, legal excavations and surveys have been confined, in effect, to the Republic of Cyprus. The results of French as well as Cypriot excavations at Amathous, Kition, and Salamis have since been published in several volumes over decades in various series (*Amathonte I-VI*, *Excavations at Kition I-VI*, *Kition-Bamboula I-IX*, *Salamine de Chypre I-XVI*; *Excavations at Salamis*; *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*), as have the results of Swiss excavations at Palaeopaphos (*Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern* series). Some excavations and survey projects are ongoing, others are in the process of publication, and new ones have commenced. The main target areas of planned systematic excavations have always been the urban centers of the city-kingdoms and their associated sanctuaries, larger buildings, fortifications and gates, and surrounding necropoleis, while residential areas with their housing or industrial quarters have been less systematically explored or published (see Sections 4.1-2).

Beyond the urban centers of city-kingdoms and their immediate surroundings, evidence for smaller and rural settlements of the Archaic and later periods has been found all over the island since the 19th century, particularly in the coastal and lower altitude inland areas (where such evidence is more easily detected and visible), through chance discoveries, more or less systematic excavations, and surveys. Very few of these sites have been comprehensively excavated and/or published, many are recorded only in the rescue-excavation files and survey books of the Department of Antiquities (Peristianis 1910: 549-60; Masson 1971; Hermary 1989; Bakalakis 1988; Di Cesnola 1991 (1878): 105-64; Counts, Kardulias, and Toumazou 2011).

3. Natural Setting

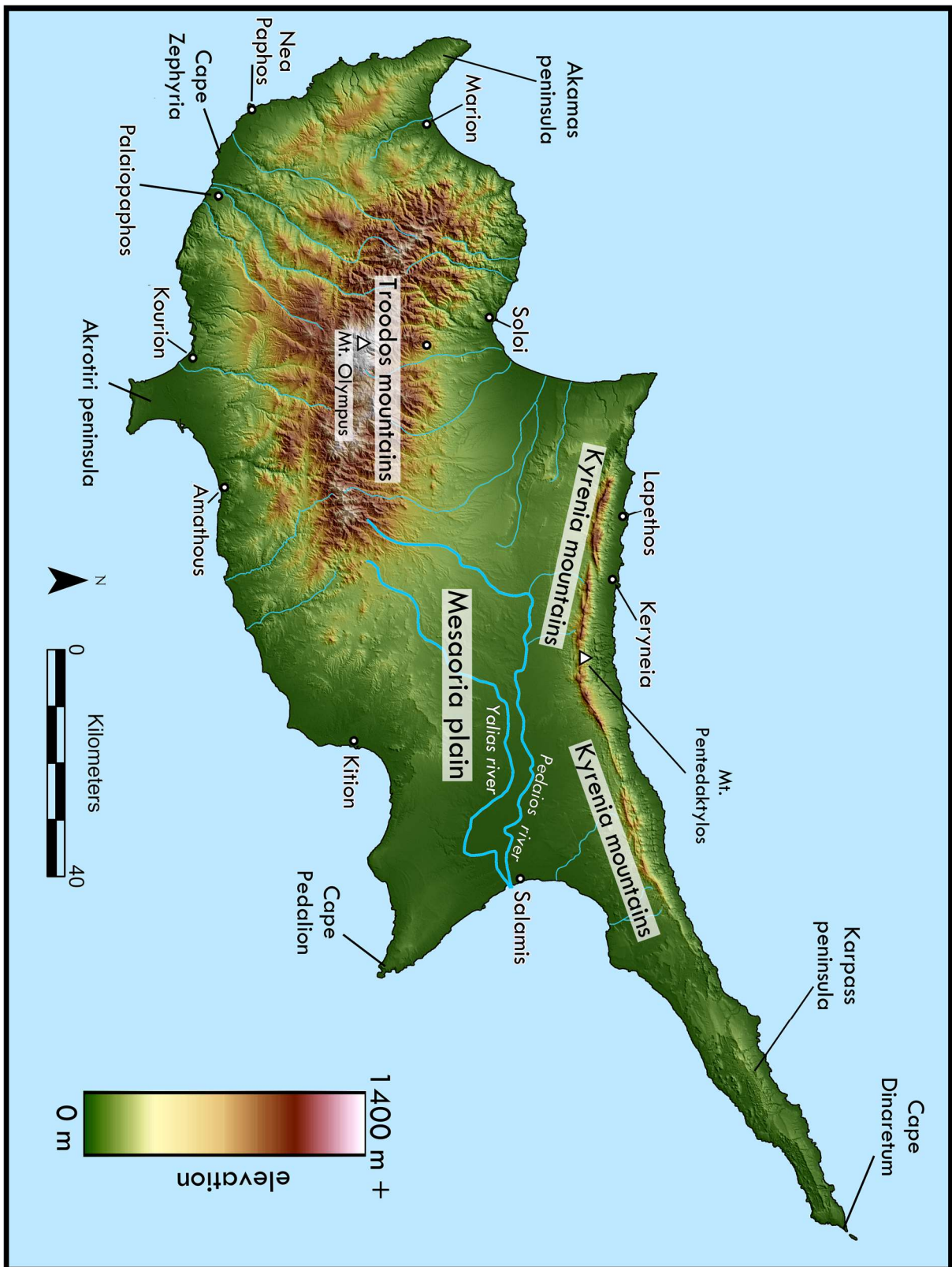
Cyprus, the third largest island of the Mediterranean after Sicily and Sardinia, covers some 9,251 sq. km and has a coastline of 648 km.⁷ It extends c. 225 km from east to west and c. 97 km from north to south. The distances from its shores to the nearest neighboring Mediterranean coastlines are: c. 75 km to the Cilician (southern) coast of the Anatolian peninsula (Turkey), c. 75 km to the Syro-Palestine coastline, c. 380 km to Egypt, and c. 380 km to the closest Greek islands, Karpathos and Rhodes (see Map 2 in Section 1).

The main geomorphological features of Cyprus are two separate mountain ranges in the northeast and southwest, which emerged as separate “islands” from the sea through underwater tectonic activity of the African and Eurasian plates some 20 million years ago. The Kyrenia or Pentedaktylos range consists of limestone peaks forming a single spine running close and parallel to the northeastern coast, rising up from its western end to 1000 masl at its central five-peaked central formation (Mt. Pentedaktylos), from where it extends and descends eastwards to the tip of the Karpass peninsula (see Map 4). The southwestern half of the island is occupied by the rugged, much more extensive, and higher Troodos mountains, rising up to 1951 m on Mount Olympus in its center. This more circular mountain range with its various peaks, ridges, and valleys is composed mainly of igneous rock, which was thrust up and turned upside down from the original earth crust and seabed, thereby generating a unique geology not found in any other region in the world. The Troodos is surrounded by extensive foothills and ridges, extending in some places down to the coast and as far west as the tip of the Akamas peninsula. So-called pillow lava zones in those foothills contained an abundance of copper ore that was essential for the Cypriot economy throughout antiquity (Zomeni 2012; Kassianidou 2013; see Map 11 in Section 8.2).

Erosion and alluvial sedimentation from both mountain ranges through the rivers, particularly the Pedaios and Yalias running north and east from the Troodos all the way to the current eastern shore of the island, helped create a relatively flat region connecting them, the Mesaoria plain.

The rivers running from the Troodos in all directions toward the coast create several adjacent hydrological basins. At present, none of these rivers runs perennially from their source to their mouths at the coasts; this is partly due to the dry summer climate with very little rainfall, partly to dam-building for agricultural irrigation and to ensure year-round water supply to a growing population and the needs of ever-expanding tourist industry. During antiquity, however, at least the larger rivers, such as the Pedaios and the Yalias, were probably (almost) perennial and pushed the eastern coastlines continuously further out. According to archaeological evidence from coastal settlements around the island, the coastlines that featured hard rock formations, particularly along the northwest coast, have hardly changed since the second millennium. In contrast, coastlines consisting of soft bedrock or alluvial sediment have changed considerably since the Late Bronze Age, particularly at the eastern shore around Salamis, but also at Kition, Marion, and Paphos (see the respective parts of Section 4.1 for further discussion).

⁷ The information in this section derives from Delipetrou, Makhzoumi, Dimopoulos et al. 2008; Nir 2010; and Zomeni 2012 unless otherwise stated. The geomorphology of the sites and hinterland of each city-kingdom is described in Section 4.1.



Map 4: Topography of Cyprus

Due to its diverse geomorphology, Cyprus has seven distinct regional Mediterranean climate zones, ranging from semi-arid and hot in lower regions (e.g. the Mesaoria), to wet and cold in the high central Troodos (Delipetrou, Makhzoumi, Dimopoulos et al. 2008: 173). In the present day the climate in Cyprus can be classified as dry Mediterranean, with long, hot, and dry summers from April/May to September/October and short, wetter winters with moderate temperatures from December to February. The short springs or autumns in between bring occasional light rainfalls in the Mesaoria and coastal areas, and longer, heavier ones in the cooler Troodos range, which also sees snowfall in winter. Annual average rainfall in the present day ranges from c. 300 mm in parts of the Mesaoria, 500-600 mm in the Kyrenia mountains, to c. 1100 mm on Mt. Olympus. There have been no systematic studies of the climate of Cyprus during the second or first millennium, but it is generally assumed that it was similar to modern times.

The flora in the different regions of Cyprus was naturally heavily dependent on the climate and the amount of rainfall over the year, as well as the nature, (geological) composition, and quality of soil in the island's different geophysical regions. The annual rainfall in the mountains allowed for dense forests of cedars and pines in both mountain ranges, particularly the Troodos, while pollen-analysis from pre-historic and later contexts also attest to the presence of cypress, oak, juniper, laurel, carob, and olive trees all over the island. Even into the Roman period, the forests extended far into the Mesaoria, and deliberate deforestation to gain agricultural and pastoral land was encouraged, according to Eratosthenes (Strab. 14.6.5), and wood was used for copper-smelting and shipbuilding (see Section 8). Rich vegetation on the island is also reflected in the vegetal motifs on Archaic Cypriot antiquities, particularly pottery, which features palm-trees, shrubs, grasses, plants, and flowers such as lotus and papyrus (V. Karageorghis and Des Gagniers 1974). The growth and use of olives, grapes, almonds, and other fruit as well as various grains are attested through archaeobotanical studies, mostly on prehistoric, but also later sites and by Roman and later texts (see Section 8.1).

The fauna of Archaic Cyprus, comprising wild and domestic animals, can be reconstructed from recorded finds of animal bones found in tombs, settlement, and sanctuary contexts. In addition, there are depictions of animals on Late Geometric to Archaic pottery and metalwork as well as zoomorphic figurines in terracotta, stone, bronze, silver, and even gold, which must have been known to Cypriot potters and craftsmen from their daily life. The wild animals attested by bones, and/or imagery and figurines include deer, mountain-goats, various types of birds (including partridges, geese, and different water birds), fish, snakes, hedgehogs, hares, turtles, and possibly monkeys, bears, and lions. Domestic animals include sheep, goats, pigs, cattle/bovines, doves, chicken, donkeys, and horses as well as dogs and cats. (V. Karageorghis and Des Gagniers 1974; Buchholz 1985: 232; Buchholz and Untiedt 1996: 27-8; V. Karageorghis 1996; Buitron-Oliver 1997a: 33 fig.4; Michaelides 1998; Hermary 2001: pl. 29-31; Columeau 2006: 167 and *passim*; Hermary and Mertens 2014: 270-7; Gardeisen and Piques 2015; V. Karageorghis, Merker, and Mertens 2016: 144-8; Lignereux and Obermaier 2023).

4. Material Culture⁸

4.1 Settlement Patterns and Organization

As already stated, there were 12 different city-kingdoms with associated territories in Cyprus at some point during or throughout the Archaic (and Classical) period: Amathous, Chytroi, Idalion, Kition, Kourion, Lapethos, Ledrai, Marion, Paphos, Salamis, Soloi, and Tamassos. Greek and Roman texts seem to suggest that two further cities, Golgoi and Keryneia might also have been city-kingdoms at that time. The number of city-kingdoms and thereby the extent of their respective territories fluctuated over the course of the Archaic and Classical periods according to the available evidence. Precisely when each city-kingdom emerged as an autonomous state, which of them continued as such or lost their independence, and when, have all been much debated questions. This is for the most part because the available literary, epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological evidence for such political developments is scarce and lacunose. Therefore, it is almost impossible to produce a precise roster of all the city-kingdoms at specific points in time in the Archaic and Classical periods (see Sections 6.1 and 6.4 for further discussion). However, as all the above-mentioned cities were important urban centers with *chōrai* throughout the Archaic and/or Classical period, whether or not they were an autonomous polity at any given point in time, all 14 merit discussion here (Fourrier 2002; Iacovou 2002; Satraki 2012; Iacovou 2013a; Iacovou 2013b).

The geographic locations of the 12 certain and two possible city-kingdoms as well as a few other cities, towns, villages, and settlements during the Archaic (and Classical) period have long been identified (Watkin 1988: 195-532; Ulbrich 2008). The literary and other documentary evidence includes accounts and geographical information such as travel distance data supplied by Greek and Roman authors and geographers, such as Pseudo-Scylax (103), Strabo (14.6), Ptolemy (*Geography* 5.13), and the *Stadiasmos Maris Magni*, a Roman sailor's guide of the third century CE (texts in Hadjioannou 1973: 316-34). There are also maps dating from Late Antiquity to Medieval and later times, partly created using the above-mentioned ancient sources (Iacovou 2004). The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, an illustrated Roman itinerarium of the fourth to fifth century CE, shows the locations of Amathous, Kition, Kourion, Keryneia, Lapethos, Palaeopaphos (Archaic and Classical Paphos), Nea Paphos (founded in the late fourth century), Salamis, Soloi, and Tamassos, which, even after the abolition of the city-kingdoms at the end of the fourth century, all remained major cities.⁹

The existence of smaller cities in the territories of the city-kingdoms is recorded by Diodorus Siculus in his account of a Cypriot and Phoenician rebellion against Achaemenid rule in 351/0 (16.42.1-6). He states that Cyprus had (only) nine city-kingdoms as well as smaller cities or towns (*mikra polismata*) governed by those city-kingdoms (16.42.4). Very few such second-order settlements are named by Greek and Roman authors and geographers; the settlements mentioned in those sources include Knidos, Karpasia, Limeneia, Melabron, Olympus, and Ourania. Most of them have not been well explored archaeologically (a few are not even securely located), so their existence during the Archaic period remains uncertain in some cases (Hadjioannou 1973: 316-44).

⁸ Contrary to common use of the term material culture among archaeologists, this section mainly deals with settlement patterns, urban design, and burial practices, with only one category of material culture, pottery, tagged on, while the other categories are only discussed in section 11.

⁹ The *Tabula Peutingeriana* is available online, with Cyprus as part of the map of Palestine: http://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/medium_zoom/original_map_34_1.html). A visually brightened image of the Cyprus map alone can be found on: [Peutinger Map - Imperial Romans New Zealand \(imperium-romana.org\)](http://www.imperium-romana.org/).

The locations of many more Archaic (and Classical) settlements of various sizes have been discovered since the 19th century CE all over Cyprus (see Section 4.3). The relevant evidence consists of finds of pottery, figures, sculptures, etc. from tombs and/or sanctuaries. Thus, about 100 extra-urban Archaic and Classical sanctuary sites are attested across the island, many at considerable distance from urban centers. The number and distribution of such sites provide a good indication for the settlement density and patterns in the *chōrai* of the city-kingsdoms (Ulbrich 2008: 233-55).

The precise extent of the territories of the city-kingsdoms is nonetheless difficult to reconstruct and requires the consideration of various factors. These include the locations of the major urban centers; geography; geology (access to copper ores) and geomorphology; the distribution of archaeological material (pottery, terracottas, sculpture) in a recognizable local style; and the language, content, and sign-shape of inscriptions found in extra-urban areas. In combination, these factors give a fairly good indication of the extent of territories as well as the border changes over time. Taken together, these factors suggest that each of the 12 city-kingsdoms during the Archaic period controlled territories of up to at least 500 sq km at some point in time, placing them among the largest city-states in the Greek world (Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 71; Maier 2004a; Ulbrich 2008: 189-96, pls. 1-3; see also Fourrier 2013; Hermary 2013b; Iacovou 2013b; Iacovou 2021).

The following paragraphs survey the settlement organization of the urban centers of the 12 definite and 2 possible Archaic (and Classical) city-kingsdoms and settlement patterns in their *chōrai* before discussing common urban and extra-urban features (Section 4.2). It will be helpful to bear in mind that some or all of the Cypriot city-kingsdoms rebelled from Persian rule in the early fifth century, which led to a Persian campaign of re-conquest on the island. Archaeological evidence for destructions dating to the early fifth century in most of the urban centers of the city-kingsdoms in Cyprus can be associated with the Persian sieges during the Ionian-Cypriot Rebellion, and will be discussed below (see Section 5.4).

Starting with Amathous, this survey proceeds clockwise around the Troodos mountains before turning to the city-kingsdoms in the eastern half of the island.

4.1.1 Amathous

The urban area and necropoleis of Amathous occupied three hills in a range running close and parallel to the island's southern coastline just 8 km east of modern Limassol (see Figure 1). The highest hill, in the center, served as the acropolis and provided a full 360-degree view of the sea, coastal region east and west, and mountainous hinterland north of the city. It also towered over the lower city, which was situated to east of the acropolis. Fresh water probably came from small streams flanking the city to the east and west, wells at the foot of the lower city slopes, and cisterns. Archaic and later remains in and around the city were uncovered in the 19th century CE, by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, and from 1975 onward through systematic excavations by French and Canadian missions as well as by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities (Aupert 1996; Hermary 2015; Petit 2019: 45-58).

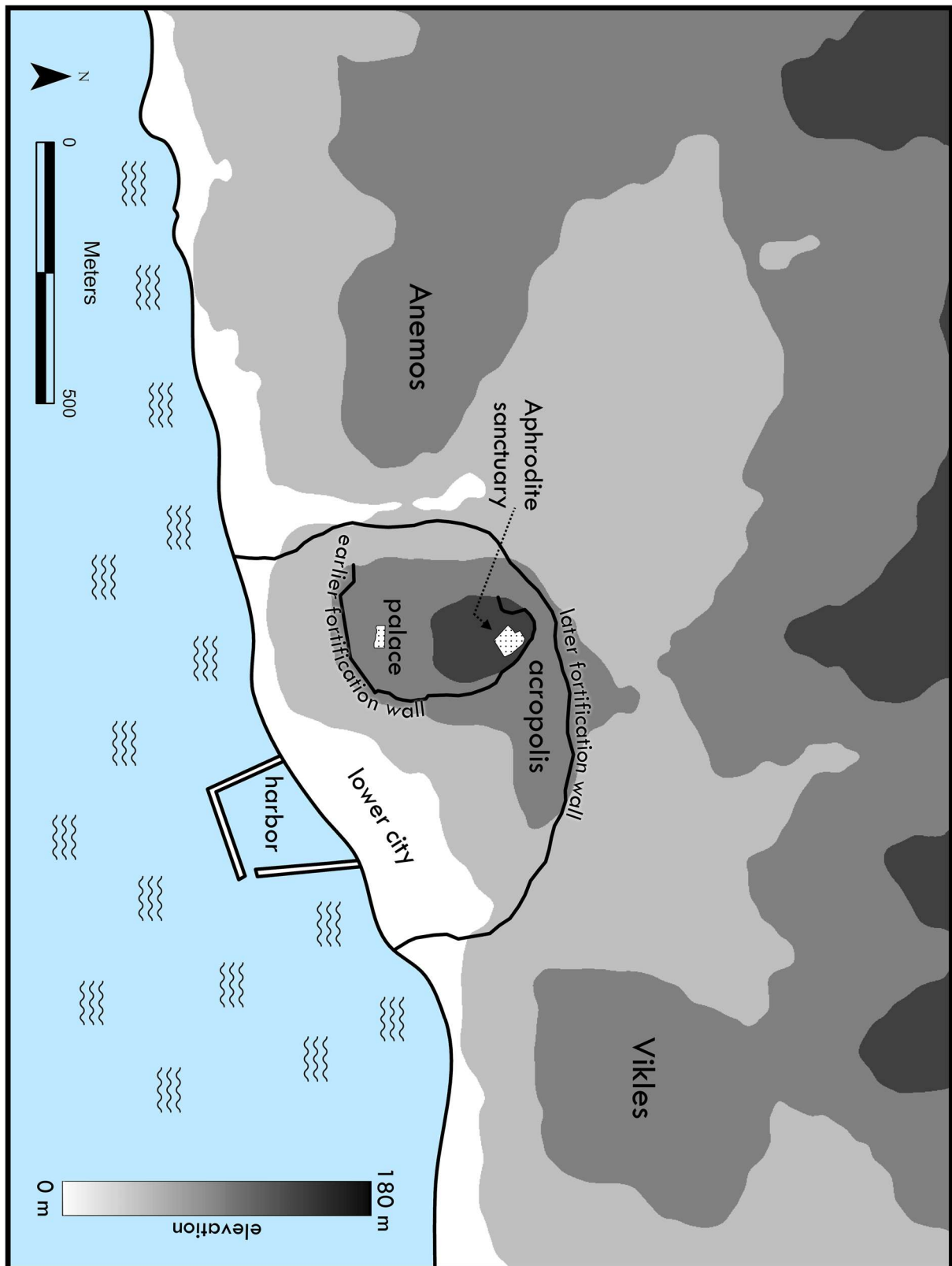


Figure 1: Plan of Amathous

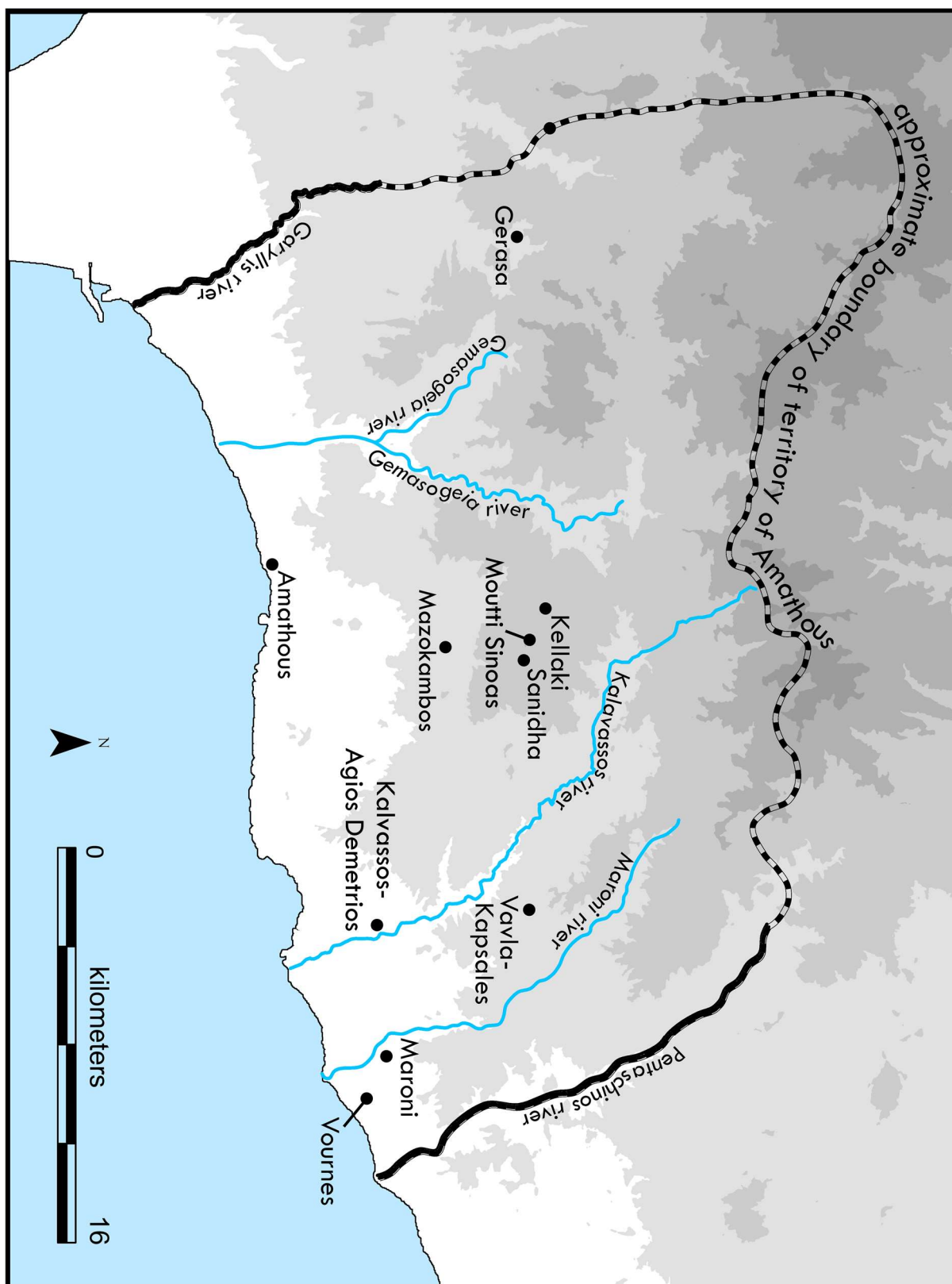
The acropolis was fortified in the eighth century, while from the sixth century onward at the latest the entire urban area of about 30 ha was surrounded by a fortification wall that followed the terrain along the ridges and incorporated natural cliffs and the coastline, including the harbor area. An epigraphically identified sanctuary of Cypriot Aphrodite occupied the

summit of the acropolis from the eighth century to the Roman period. Unfortunately, there are, due to construction activity in later periods of antiquity, only minimal remains from the Archaic period (Aupert 1996: 89-98, 110-32, 164-9; Balandier 2000; Fourrier and Hermary 2006; Aupert, Balandier, Leriche et al. 2008; Balandier 2015; Hermary 2015: 7-16; Petit 2019: 45; Hülten 2020: 253-5).

Halfway up the acropolis lay a monumental building complex or palace (see Section 4.2.3) featuring courtyards and various rooms and spaces including workshops, storerooms, and cult-rooms or shrines. First constructed in the second half of the ninth century, it was extended or remodeled in the Archaic and Classical periods (Aupert 1996: 99-107; Petit 1996; Ulbrich 2008: 271-5; Blandin, Petit, Marangou et al. 2015; Hermary 2015: 16-23; Tassignon 2018: 111-12, 115; Petit 2019: 48-55; Marangou and Petit 2023).

Excavations since the 19th century have revealed extensive Archaic to Roman necropoleis along the shore and slopes of the hills east (Vikles) and west (Anemos) of the city. Some 330 Archaic burials are recorded, most of them in the necropolis on the slopes of Anemos hill, with a smaller number of additional burials on the slopes of the Vikles hill. A few tombs have also been found in the plain north of the city (Di Cesnola 1991 (1878): 255-92; Murray, Smith, and Walters 1900: 87-126, pl.14; Gjerstad, Lindros, Sjöqvist et al. 1935: 1-141; V. Karageorghis, Picard, and Tytgat 1987; Tytgat 1989; V. Karageorghis, Picard, Tytgat et al. 1991; V. Karageorghis 2002: 136; Janes 2008: 159-248; Janes 2013: 154-5; Hermary 2015: 25-9).

Amathous and its territory is among the best explored and documented city-kingdoms. Excavations in the urban center have yielded pottery, terracotta figures, and limestone statuettes in a distinctive local style, also found at various sites at considerable distance from the capital. Their distribution, together with the geomorphology of Amathous' largely mountainous hinterland (which is segmented by river valleys), allows a plausible reconstruction of the extent of its territory (see Map 5). The boundaries of the *chōrai* probably ran north along the Garyllis river, some 10 km west of Amathous, then eastward via ridges in the Troodos, before turning south down the Pentaschinos river valley, reaching the sea about 25 km east of Amathous. The Pentaschinos river probably constituted the border with Kition's territory. Settlements are attested (through tombs and sanctuary-sites) at Kellaki-Sanida, Maroni-Vournes, and Vavla-Kapsaeles and along the Kalavassos and Maroni river valleys (Hermary and Tatton-Brown 1981; Hermary 1989; Hermary 2000; Fourrier and Hermary 2006: 48-126; Fourrier 2007: 113 fig. 9; Ulbrich 2008: 280-3, pls. 1, 28-9; Ulbrich 2011; Papantoniou and Kyriakou 2018; Petit 2019: 45-7, fig. 7; Kearns 2022).



Map 5: Some key sites in the chōra of Amathous mentioned in this essay

4.1.2 Kourion

The urban area of ancient Kourion is situated on a plateau atop a high coastal bluff west of the mouth of the Kouris river, c. 2 km southwest of the modern village of Episkopi (see Figure 2). The plateau is conventionally referred to as the “acropolis” of Kourion, but this is misleading as there is no archaeological evidence for a lower city or urban area beyond and below the cliff, only for necropoleis. The plateau offered a commanding 360-degree view over the Bay of Kourion and the surrounding hinterland, from the Akrotiri peninsula in the east via the southern foothills and slopes of the Troodos as far as Mt. Olympus in the north and, most restricted, toward the rugged higher lying coastal cliffs to the west (Swiny 1982; Christou 1989; Ulbrich 2008: pls. 1, 42).

The site was relatively easy to defend due to its steep natural sides. The ancient harbor (not yet located) was probably situated below and close to the settlement plateau, possibly toward the Kouris river. The water-supply for the city must have been provided by the river and possibly some springs at the foot of the bluff as well as cisterns. Kourion and its surroundings have been explored and excavated since the late 19th century, e.g. by Cesnola and the British Museum, and in the 20th century by two American missions and the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus (Nicolaou 1976h; Swiny 1982; Christou 1989; Buitron-Oliver 1997a; Ulbrich 2008: 359–68, pls. 42–3; Christou 1998; Christou 2013).

The plateau was levelled and heavily overbuilt during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, as a result of which no substantial earlier remains and finds have been uncovered. Therefore, the location of Archaic (and Classical) Kourion has long been considered a mystery. However, Archaic tombs to the east and below the bluff (see below) as well as evidence from the highest point on the plateau indicate that this was the site of the Archaic city. This evidence includes two fragmentary, monumental so-called Hathor capitals of the late sixth and early fifth century from the levelling strata beneath later buildings (Carbillet 2011: 291-2, A17-18); such capitals have been found in intramural palaces of several city-kings, e.g. Amathous and Idalion (see Sections 4.2.3 and 11). An additional important find from the same area is an early fifth-century decree mentioning a king and an official civic body of Kourion (J. Karageorghis and Mitford 1964; see also Sections 6.4 and 7). A short stretch of fortification wall with a bastion on the north side of the plateau, dated through associated pottery to the Classical period, has also been excavated, but no earlier fortifications were found (Christou 2013: vol. 1: 13-18).

Some 2 km to the west of the city, just north of the modern (and probably the ancient) coastal road to Paphos, an extra-urban Archaic to Roman sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, identified by dedicatory inscriptions (fifth-century to Roman) found there, has been excavated and published (Swiny 1982: 57-74; Buitron-Oliver, Dietrich, Oliver et al. 1996; Buitron-Oliver 1997a: 32-4; Ulbrich 2008: 365-8, pls 42-3; Vernet 2015c).

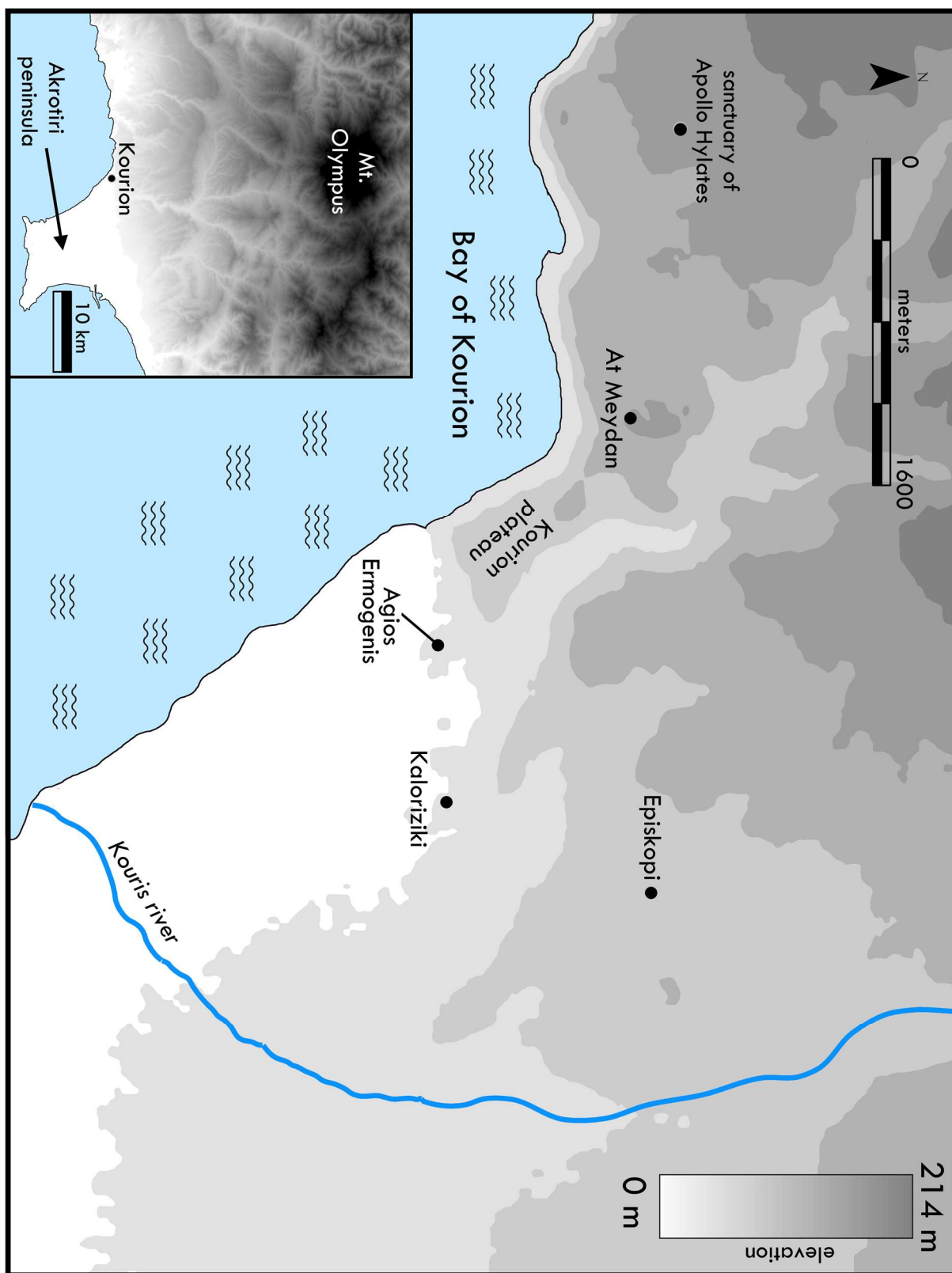


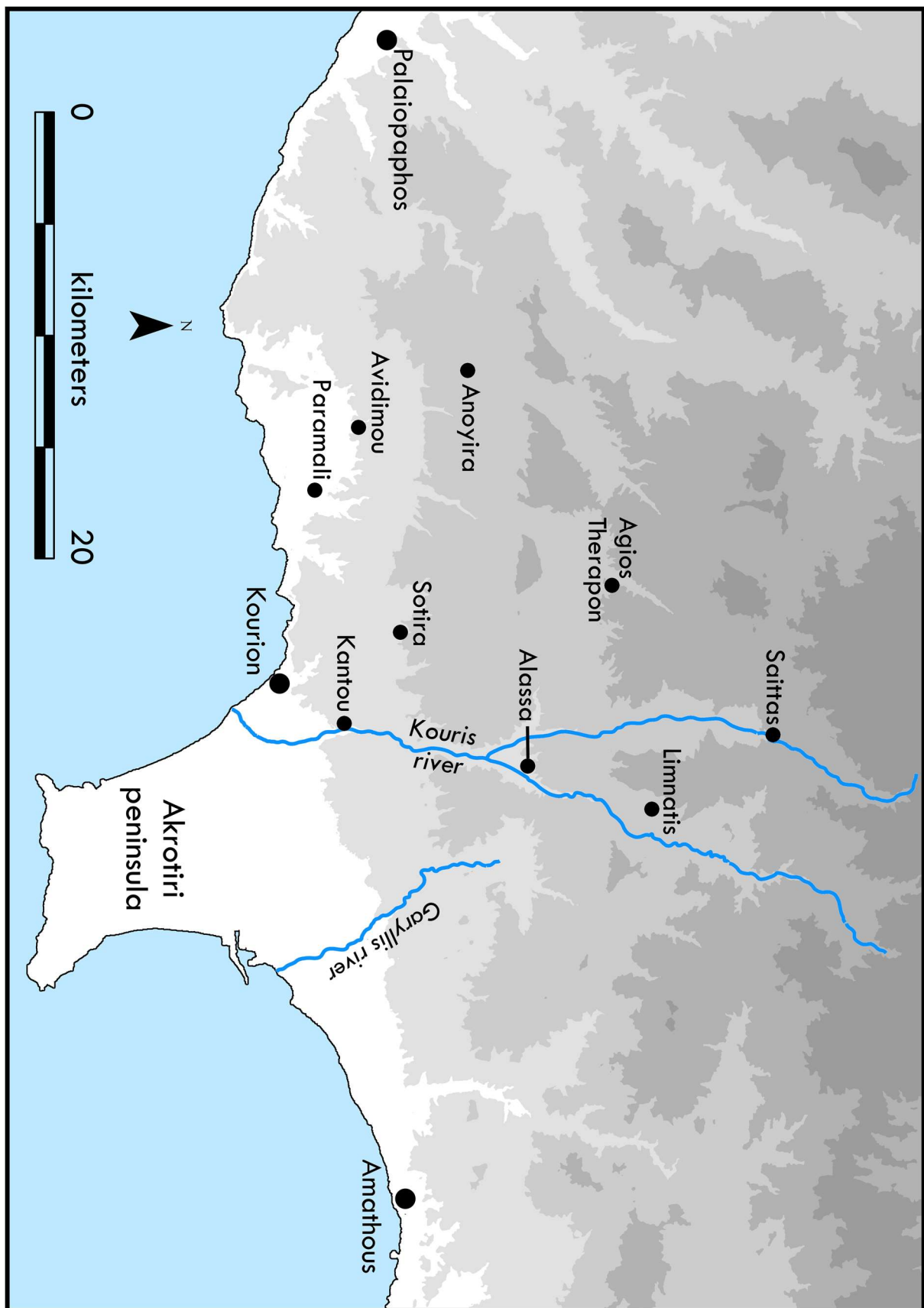
Figure 2: Plan of Kourion

An uncertain number of tombs have been excavated since the 19th century around Kourion, including near the chapel of Agios Ermogenis just east of the bluff and at the localities of

Kaloriziki and At Meydan. These tombs yielded rich finds of the Archaic and Classical periods.¹⁰ A large built, subterranean chamber tomb with a wide sloping dromos was excavated near the chapel Agios Ermogenis; this tomb, which was in use from about 575-350, yielded rich gold finds. The tomb type and find-assemblage are similar to those attested for elite or royal burials in several other city-kingdoms (Di Cesnola 1991 (1878): 292–350; Murray, Smith, and Walters 1900: 58–86, pls. IV and XIII; Benson 1973; Benson 1982: 51; Swiny 1982: 57; Christou 1996: 165-82; Buitron-Oliver 1997a: 28-32; Ulbrich 2008: pl. 42; Christou 2011: 339-40; full publication of royal tomb in Christou 2013: vol. 2: 178-235).

The territory of Kourion encompassed the entire Akrotiri peninsula west of the Garyllis river, the Kouris river valley, and Kourion's mountainous hinterland with settlements and sanctuaries at a distance up to 20 km and more, for example near the modern villages of Agios Therapon, Alassa, Anoyira, Kantou, Limnatis, and Saittas (see Map 6). A fourth-century Cypro-Syllabic inscription in non-Paphian syllabary from Sotira, as well as Roman milestones found between the modern villages of Avidimou and Paramali, suggest that the western border near the coast lay somewhere between those two villages (Mitford 1980: 1278 (map), 1337-9 with n. 235; Flourentzos 1991; Bekker-Nielsen 2004: 205, 257-25, cat. # 20-2; Fourier 2007: 113 fig 9; Ulbrich 2008: 368-9, pl. 44).

¹⁰ Cesnola claimed that he found what he called the “Treasure of Curium” – an assemblage of several thousand objects including more than 500 made from gold – in a structure in the ancient city. It is now widely accepted that the “Treasure” represents material looted from a large number of tombs in the Kaloriziki cemetery. See Masson 1984.



Map 6: Some key sites in the chōra of Kourion mentioned in this essay

4.1.3 Paphos

Palaeopaphos and its Late Bronze Age predecessor lie underneath and east of the modern village of Kouklia, whereas Nea Paphos was situated c. 16 km to the northwest, at the site of modern Paphos. The foundation of Nea Paphos by Nikokles, the last Paphian king, in the last quarter of the fourth century, was most probably triggered by the silting up of the harbor at Palaeopaphos; it evidently led to the transfer of much of the population from Palaeopaphos to Nea Paphos (Młynarczyk 1990; Iacovou 2013c: 285-6). However, the celebrated sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaeopaphos (see below) continued to function as a major Paphian and island-wide cult-site famous throughout the Greek and Roman world until Late Antiquity (Ulbrich Forthcoming). Given the chronological parameters of this essay, the focus here will be solely on Palaeopaphos, which will be referred to simply as Paphos as it was in the Archaic period (Maier 2004b: 10-11; Iacovou 2019).

The urban settlement and associated necropoleis of Paphos occupied a series of low plateaus running NW-SE (see Figure 3). The location provided a commanding view over the sea, coastal region, and into the hinterland up the slopes and river valleys of the southwestern Troodos mountains. The ancient city is c. 2 km inland from the current shoreline, but recent geophysical surveys have established that during the Archaic period Paphos was a coastal city with a natural harbor at the mouth of the Loures river, which silted up by the end of the Classical period, pushing the shoreline out. Parts of the urban area of Paphos and associated tombs have been excavated since the 19th century by various foreign archaeological missions from the United Kingdom (Cyprus Exploration Fund, St. Andrews University) and Switzerland, the (Cypriot) Department of Antiquities, and more recently a team led by Maria Iacovou of the University of Cyprus (Iacovou 2013c: 278-9, fig. 2; Iacovou 2019: 218, fig. 5).

Discontinuous parts of fortification walls were uncovered at the localities of Hadjiabdullah, Laona, and Marcellos including two adjacent gates, which provide evidence that the wall was built in CA I (750-600), rebuilt in CA II (600-475), and repaired in the Classical period. The course of the wall has been tentatively reconstructed from the distribution of tombs and settlement remains to enclose an area of c. 45 ha by the Classical period (Maier 2004b; Maier 2008 with maps; Balandier 2015; Iacovou 2019: 210, 222-6; Hülten 2020: 260-3).

Paphos was famous throughout the Greek world for its Aphrodite sanctuary. Homer, for example, in describing Aphrodite's flight from Troy after having been wounded in battle, states that the goddess fled "to Paphos, on Cyprus, where lies her sacred precinct and her incense-laden altar" (ἐς Πάφον, ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις; *Od.* 8.362-3). Unfortunately, the archaeological remains of the sanctuary as it existed in the Archaic period are exiguous both because of levelling and construction in later periods of antiquity and because the site was heavily quarried to acquire stone for medieval/Byzantine to modern constructions. The extant remains date primarily to the Late Bronze Age (when cult activity for a goddess, only later identified as Aphrodite, took place there) and to the Roman period. There is no architectural evidence from the Archaic phase of the sanctuary, which is represented only by a deposit of fragmentary votive terracotta figures (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 182-4; Leibundgut Wieland and Frey-Asche 2011; Ulbrich Forthcoming). Archaic votive limestone sculpture, weapons, and Cypro-Syllabic dedicatory inscriptions from another cult site were found in a mound adjacent to a stretch of fortification wall and gate at Marcellos (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 186-203; Maier 2008; Leibundgut Wieland, Tatton-Brown, Maier et al. 2021).

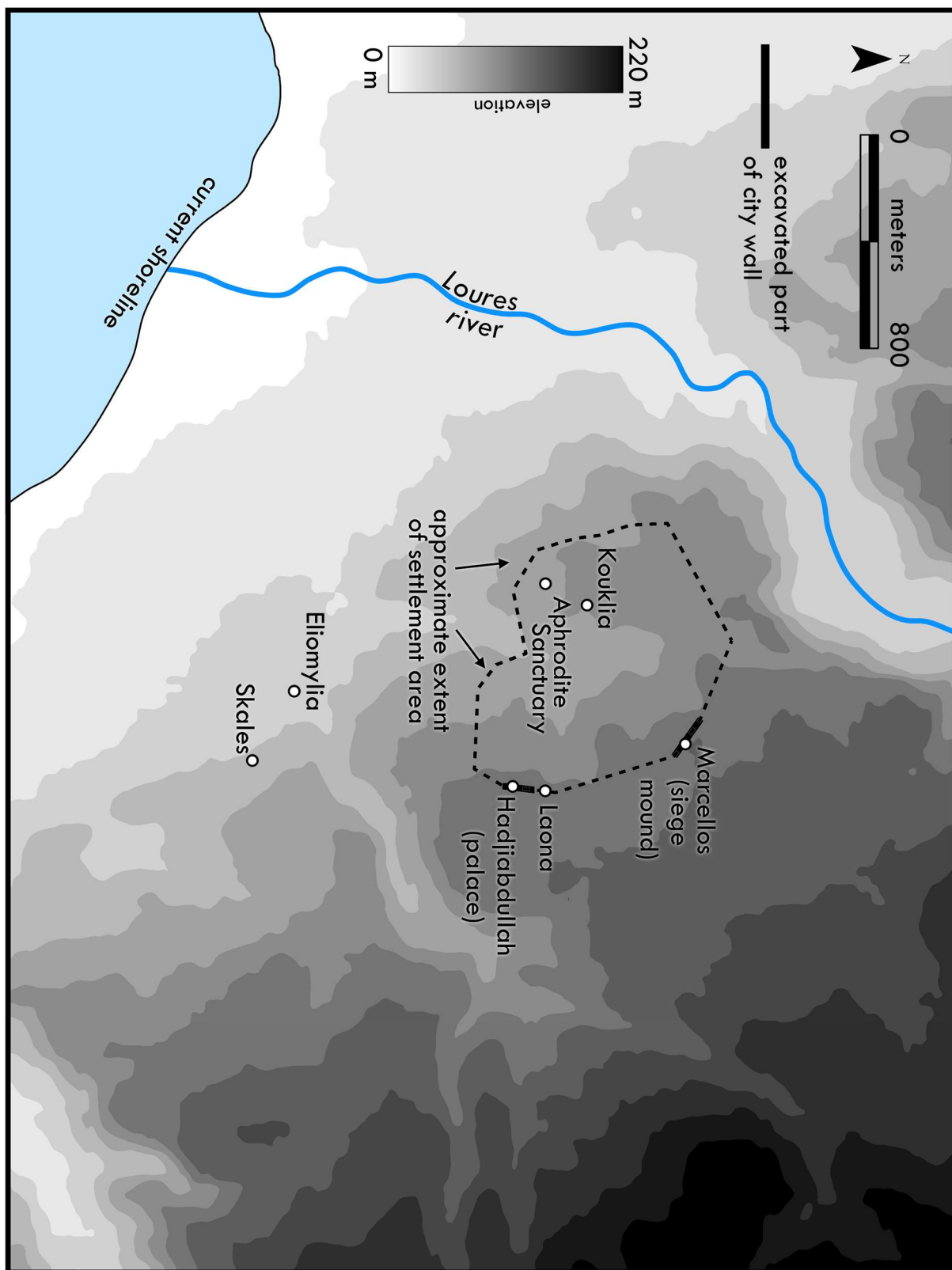


Figure 3: Plan of Palaeopaphos

At Hadjiabdullah a monumental building complex was uncovered and originally interpreted as a Persian garrison camp. It is now recognized as a palace in use since the late sixth century

at the latest, and rebuilt and extended by another building in the Classical period (Maier 1989a; Maier 2004b: 74-5; Iacovou 2019: 222-5; Petit 2019: 48).

Forty Archaic burials at various sites around the city have been published, with the majority being found at either Eliomylia or Skales. Most of these tombs had been in use since the Geometric period (Janes 2008: 82-158; V. Karageorghis, Raptou, and Charalambous 2014; Raptou 2018: 98-101).

A large mound and ramp, filled with votive sculpture, *stēlai*, and a fragmentary Cypro-Syllabic dedicatory inscription, was excavated at Marcellos, adjacent to the late Archaic fortification wall. That mound has been interpreted as a siege mound erected by the Persians, using the debris of a nearby extra-urban sanctuary. The inscriptions from the mound include two dedications of the seventh or sixth century by two different Paphian kings, which reflect the political significance of this sanctuary for Paphos before its destruction. Among the fragmentary votive sculpture is an almost life-size head of a bearded man wearing an Egyptian double-crown, which might represent a Paphian king wearing the regalia of an Egyptian pharaoh (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 189, fig. 175). Recent surveys and excavations at Paphos have led to an alternative interpretation of the mound and ramp by Iacovou; she postulates that Marcellos was the fortified citadel of Archaic Paphos with an intramural sanctuary, which was destroyed c. 500 during internal power struggles and ritually buried in a tumulus as “*damnatio memoriae*.” A new king then set up a new seat of government at Hadjiabullah, where he erected a monumental building complex in the early fifth century, alongside new fortifications at Laona (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 185-203; Masson and Mitford 1986; Reyes 1994: 87; Maier 2008: 63-97; Ulbrich 2008: 405-6; Iacovou 2013c: 284-5; Leibundgut Wieland, Tatton-Brown, Maier et al. 2021; Iacovou 2019: 221-5).

The territory of Paphos covered the entire hydrological basin created by the mountain-ridges and river valleys of the southwestern Troodos, including the entire southwestern coast of Cyprus west of Avidimou/Paramali, all the way to the tip of the Akamas peninsula (see Map 7; Iacovou 2019: fig. 10). A cult site at Rantidi, situated on a high mountain-ridge, yielded Cypro-Syllabic dedicatory inscriptions in Paphian sign-shape and dialect comparable to the dedications found on votive sculptures in the capital itself. Given the amount of dedications and votive terracottas from the site, Rantidi was clearly a major extra-urban sanctuary of Paphos and probably lay not far from the eastern border of the city-kingdom. Remains of ancient secondary settlements have been traced along the coastal plain near the modern villages of Achni, Achelia, Geroskipou, and Mandria and as far west as (Nea) Paphos, Pegia, and Maa, as well as in the mountainous hinterland near Amargeti, Archimandrita, Prastio, and Lapithiou-Agia Moni. A dedication by King Nikokles of Paphos (325-306) to Hera was found at Lapithiou-Agia Moni, high in the mountains north of Paphos; that dedication marks this remote area as part of Paphos’ territory (probably its northern limit) (Masson 1983; Mitford and Masson 1983: 26 and *passim*; Rupp and Sørensen 1993; Lund and Sørensen 1996: 143-4; Fourrier 2007: 113 fig. 9; Ulbrich 2008: 396-7, 407-17, pl. 53).



Map 7: Some key sites in the *chōrai* of Paphos and Marion mentioned in this essay

4.1.4 Marion

Ancient Marion lies underneath and to the north and northeast of the modern town of Polis tis Chrysochous (see Figure 4). It is situated at the center of the island's westernmost bay on the north coast (Chrysochous Bay), where the Chrysochous river enters the sea. The urban area and associated necropoleis east and south of Marion extended over a line of low plateaus east of the river and parallel to the coast. The archaeological evidence suggests that the settlement area shifted westward in the late sixth or early fifth century with the easternmost occupied plateau, Peristeries, being abandoned in the mid-fifth century. However, the extent of the entire urban area or the building density within it cannot yet be determined for any point in time (Ulbrich 2008: pl. 47; Childs, Smith, Padgett et al. 2012: 20–6; Smith 2018: 168, fig. 1, 185).

All the plateaus in the area have a steep, almost cliff-like northern edge facing a low-lying coastal plain extending to the present-day beach in the north, which was probably created by sediment deposited by the Chrysochous river. In the first millennium, however, the sea might have come right up to the northern edge of the plateaus. The as yet unlocated harbor might have been in the shallow waters of the bay, in a natural inlet between the hills, or west of the city at the mouth of the Chrysochous river. The site commanded a 360-degree view encompassing the entirety of Chrysochous Bay from the tip and east coast of the Akamas peninsula up the Chrysochous valley and to the mountain ridges of the northwestern Troodos.

Archaic remains and necropoleis have been excavated since the 19th century in and around the modern town of Polis tis Chrysochous, by the Cyprus Exploration Fund, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, and, more recently by a team from Princeton University and the Department of Antiquities (Peristianis 1910: 429-50; Ulbrich 2008: 385–92, pls. 47–9; Childs, Smith, Padgett et al. 2012; Smith 2018).

Five urban and suburban sanctuaries have been discovered. The oldest of those sanctuaries, located on the Peristeries plateau, was established in the sixth century and was surrounded by residences and workshops for textile production, dyeing and for metalworking (Ulbrich 2008: 388-92, pls. 47-9). Excavations by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities uncovered the foundations of a monumental building complex of the sixth century on the southeastern edge of Peristeries plateau. That building resembles in layout and plan some of the palaces in other Cypriot kingdoms (Papalexandrou 2006; Papalexandrou 2008; Childs, Smith, Padgett et al. 2012: 94-5, fig. 2.2).

One kilometer west of Peristeries, another sanctuary was discovered at Maratheri. It was situated next to a fortification wall with a gate, both erected sometime in the late sixth century. West of Maratheri toward the Chrysochous river, Archaic walls from domestic architecture were detected underneath Classical and Hellenistic structures. Archaic to Roman necropoleis have been excavated to the east, west, and south of the ancient city along the Chrysochous valley (Munro and Tubbs 1890: 1-82; Gjerstad, Lindros, Sjöqvist et al. 1935: 181-450; Nys 2009 with map; Childs, Smith, Padgett et al. 2012: 27-44, 99-106, 166-232; Smith 2018: 178-85).

Destruction horizons at Peristeries and Maratheri can be dated to the early fifth century and have been associated with the Ionian-Cypriot Rebellion. In the aftermath, the Peristeries plateau seems to have been gradually abandoned and the center of the city moved westward to Maratheri and beyond (Childs, Smith, Padgett et al. 2012: 100-2; Smith 2018: 185-6).

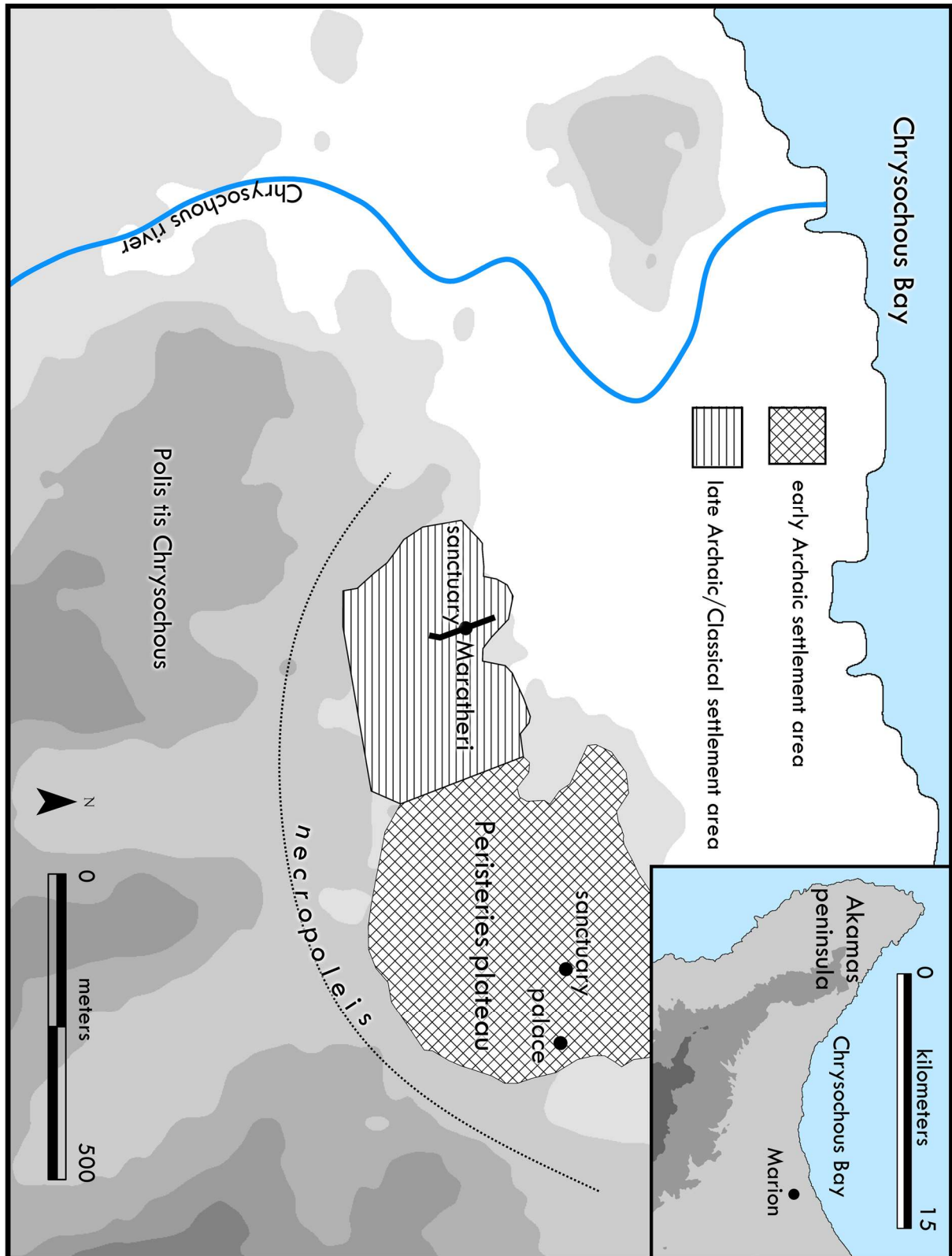


Figure 4: Plan of Marion

Forty-three of the 98 tombs of the Archaic to Hellenistic period excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition at various necropoleis south of the (gradually westward shifting) urban center, including up the Chrysochous valley, yielded evidence for one to three burials during the Archaic period. It is unclear how many of the uncertain number of Archaic to Roman

tombs excavated in the 19th century by the Cyprus Exploration Fund and a German expedition date to the Archaic period (Munro and Tubbs 1890; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899: 9-10; Gjerstad, Lindros, Sjöqvist et al. 1935: 180-459; Nys 2009).

Marion's territory (see Map 7 in Section 4.1.3) encompassed the entire hydrological basin of the northwestern corner of the island, which stretches from Cape Pomos in the east to the tip of the Akamas peninsula and includes the Chrysochous river valley. The frontier followed mountain-ridges in a semicircular arc. Near the village of Drymou, two Cypro-Syllabic dedications to a god called "Hylates" (of the woods) and three funerary inscriptions of the fifth to third century, all not written in Paphian-shaped signs and dialect, suggest this area formed part of Marion's territory. Two Archaic to Classical sanctuaries, attested through finds of large terracotta votive-figures, at Cape Pomos and at Stroumpi, probably marked the territorial boundaries toward the territories of Soloi and Paphos, respectively.¹¹ Surface finds of mostly pottery in the Chrysochous valley and at the ancient Limni/Kinoussa copper mines c. 5 km east-southeast of Marion and in the Pomos region attest to rural settlement in Marion's *chōra* (Masson 1983: 139-44, #84-8; Maliszewski 1999; Ulbrich 2008: 385-7, 393-4, pls. 1, 4, 50; Kassianidou 2013: 69; Iacovou 2019: 214, fig. 10; Karnava, Perna, and Egetmeyer 2020: 64-6 #160-4).

4.1.5 Soloi

The city of Soloi is situated on an outcrop of the northwestern foothills of the Troodos mountains, at the southwestern end of the Mesaoria plain and close to the coast, near and partly underneath the modern coastal village of Karavostasi (see Figure 5). The urban settlement, located just to the east of the Kambos river, features an acropolis hill, which slopes down gently to the north toward the lower town in the coastal plain and the ancient harbor (now silted up). The acropolis provided a commanding view over the Bay of Morphou and the Mesaoria plain toward the Kyrenia mountains. The site of Soloi was identified in the 19th century, but was not systematically explored until it was partially excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1927 and a Canadian mission from 1964-74 (Des Gagniers and Tam Tinh 1985: xiii-xiv, plans B and C; Ulbrich 2008: pl. 61-2).

The Archaic remains on the acropolis include extant parts of a fortification wall (that extends into the lower town), a sanctuary with a temple building on the summit, and a monumental building complex or palace (still only partially excavated) (Peristianis 1910: 451-76; Gjerstad, Lindros, Sjöqvist et al. 1937: 412-15; Nicolaou 1976l; Des Gagniers and Tam Tinh 1985: xiii-iv, plan C; Ulbrich 2008: 451-56, pl. 61; Balandier 2015).

In the lower town, between the acropolis and the ancient harbor, a few disjointed Archaic walls were discovered under a more extensive, multi-roomed Classical building (of uncertain date within that period) through sondages and small-area excavations by the Canadian expedition. Archaic tombs and necropoleis were excavated west, south, and east of the city, but have not been comprehensively published (Christou 1973; Nicolaou 1976l; Tam Tinh and Ginouvès 1989: 21-32).

¹¹ Fourrier 2007: 113, fig. 9 identifies the terracottas from Pomos as products of Soloi and those from Stroumpi as production of Paphos, which both were older city-kingdoms, with Marion only emerging as such and developing its one style of terracottas in the late seventh or sixth centuries.

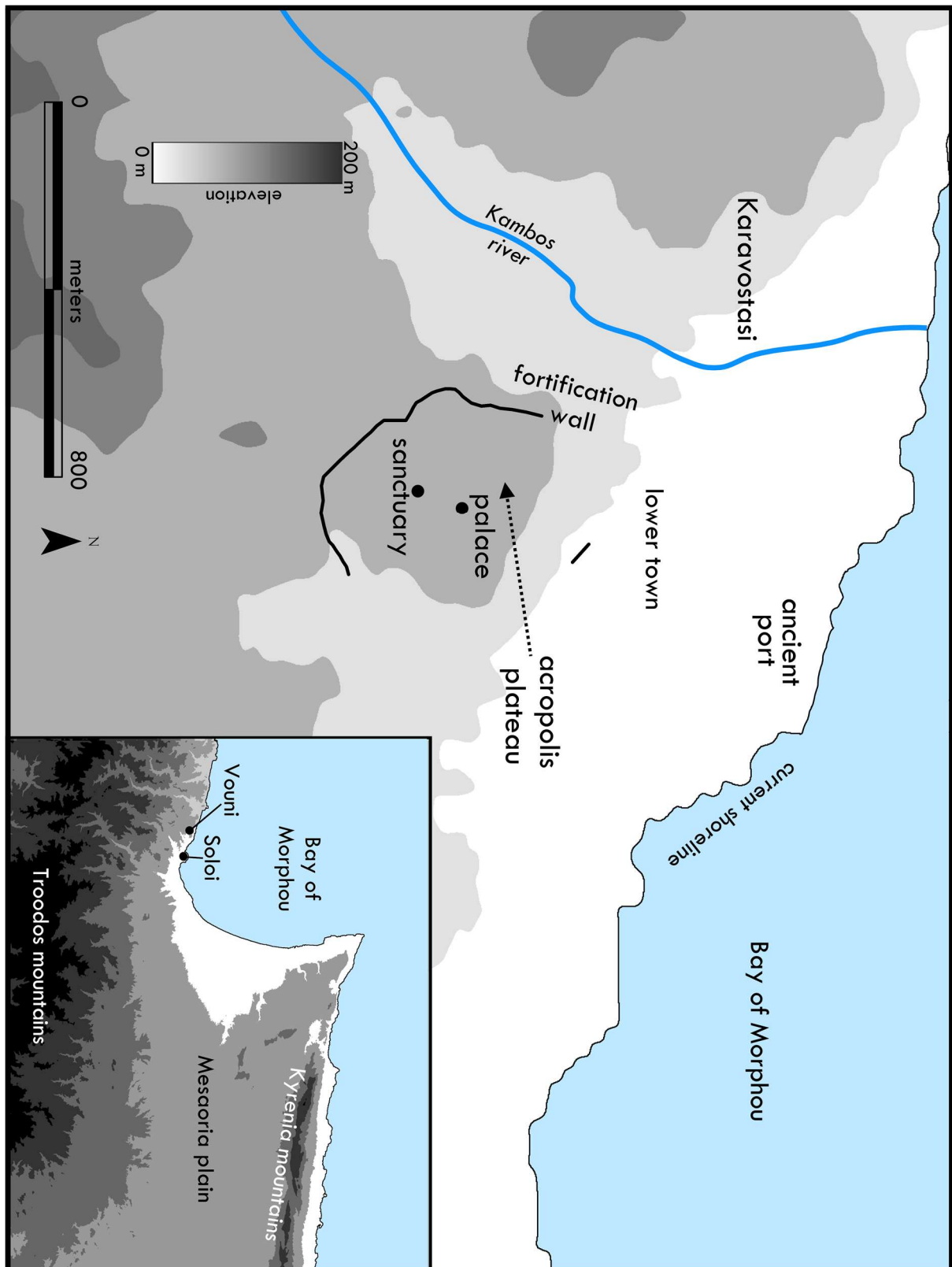


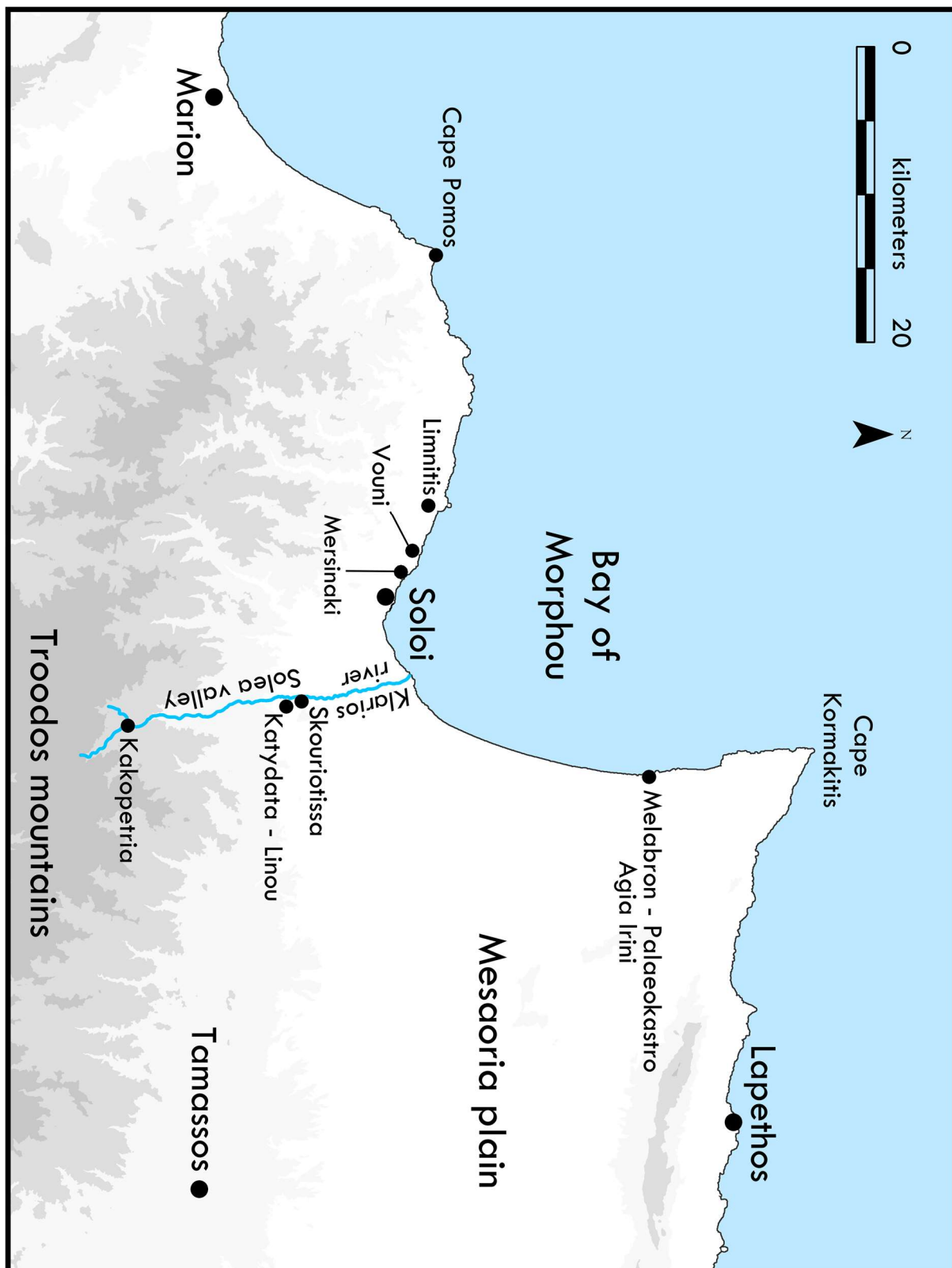
Figure 5: Plan of Soloi

The Persians laid siege to Soloi in the early fifth century and finally succeeded in overcoming the defenders by tunneling their way into the city (Hdt. 5.116). Excavations and sondages revealed signs of destruction of the early fifth-century city wall, the palace halfway up the

acropolis, and the temple on its summit. In the lower town, traces of Archaic walls were uncovered in sondages underneath a differently oriented, large, multi-room, possibly public building erected at some undetermined point in the Classical period (Des Gagniers and Tam Tinh 1985: xviii-xix; Tam Tinh and Ginouvès 1989: 29-32). No evidence for immediate rebuilding and use of these or other structures in the fifth century has been published, contrary to the pattern found at other city-kingdoms such as Amathous.

The large building complex of the palace of Vouni is situated on a striking coastal bluff c. 8 km northwest of Soloi; it overlooks the city and the entire Bay of Morphou. Unlike all other Cypriot palaces of the Archaic period, Vouni was located outside of the urban center of a city-kingdom. The palace of Vouni must have been functionally connected to Soloi in some fashion, and might have served various purposes, some possibly related to the presence of Persian officials on the island (see Section 5.4).

Soloi's territory extended from Cape Pomos all the way to the western part of the Mesaoria plain and incorporated substantial parts of the northern and northeastern Troodos mountains and foothills (see Map 8). To the west of the city, there is evidence for settlements and sanctuaries from a sanctuary at the modern site of Mersinaki, halfway between Soloi and Vouni as far west as Limnitis (probably the site of the ancient city of Limeneia; Nicolaou 1976k). To the east of Soloi, a series of settlements is attested in the Solea valley (through which the Klarios river runs) as far south as the modern village of Kakopetria, as well as ancient copper mines near Skouriotissa and Katydata Linou (see Section 8.2 for further discussion). The eastern territorial border of the kingdom was situated at or near the fortified (at least in the Classical period) settlement at Melabron-Palaeokastro with its associated Geometric and Archaic necropoleis. The nearby sanctuary at Agia Irini yielded over 200 mostly Archaic small to colossal votive-figures (see Section 12.4 and Figure 20), which indicates that it probably served not only as a major local and regional sanctuary, but also as a border sanctuary between the territories of Soloi and Lapethos, each c. 16 km travel distance to the southwest and northeast, respectively (Ulbrich 2008: 377-8, 458, pls. 1, 2, 45, 62; Fourrier 2013; Given, Knapp, Noller et al. 2013; Kassianidou 2013: 57-8; Orsingher 2016; Bourogiannis and Papantoniou 2018: 147-51).



Map 8: Some key sites in the *chōra* of Soloi mentioned in this essay

4.1.6 Lapethos

The urban center of the city-kingdom of Lapethos lies on the central northern coast, c. 3 km northeast of the modern village of Lapithos. The site, now called Lampousa and most famous for its Roman fish tanks and Byzantine monastery (Acheiropoietos), is situated on a coastal

promontory, framed to the east by the Kalembori river and to the west by the Karavas river (see Figure 6). A low hillock (Troulli hill) likely served as the acropolis and provided a complete 360-degree view across the open sea, the bays east and west of the headland, the coastal plain, and the northern slopes of the Kyrenia range (Myres 1946a: 74-5, fig. 2; Nicolaou and Flinder 1976: 133-6, fig. 1; Nicolaou 1976i).

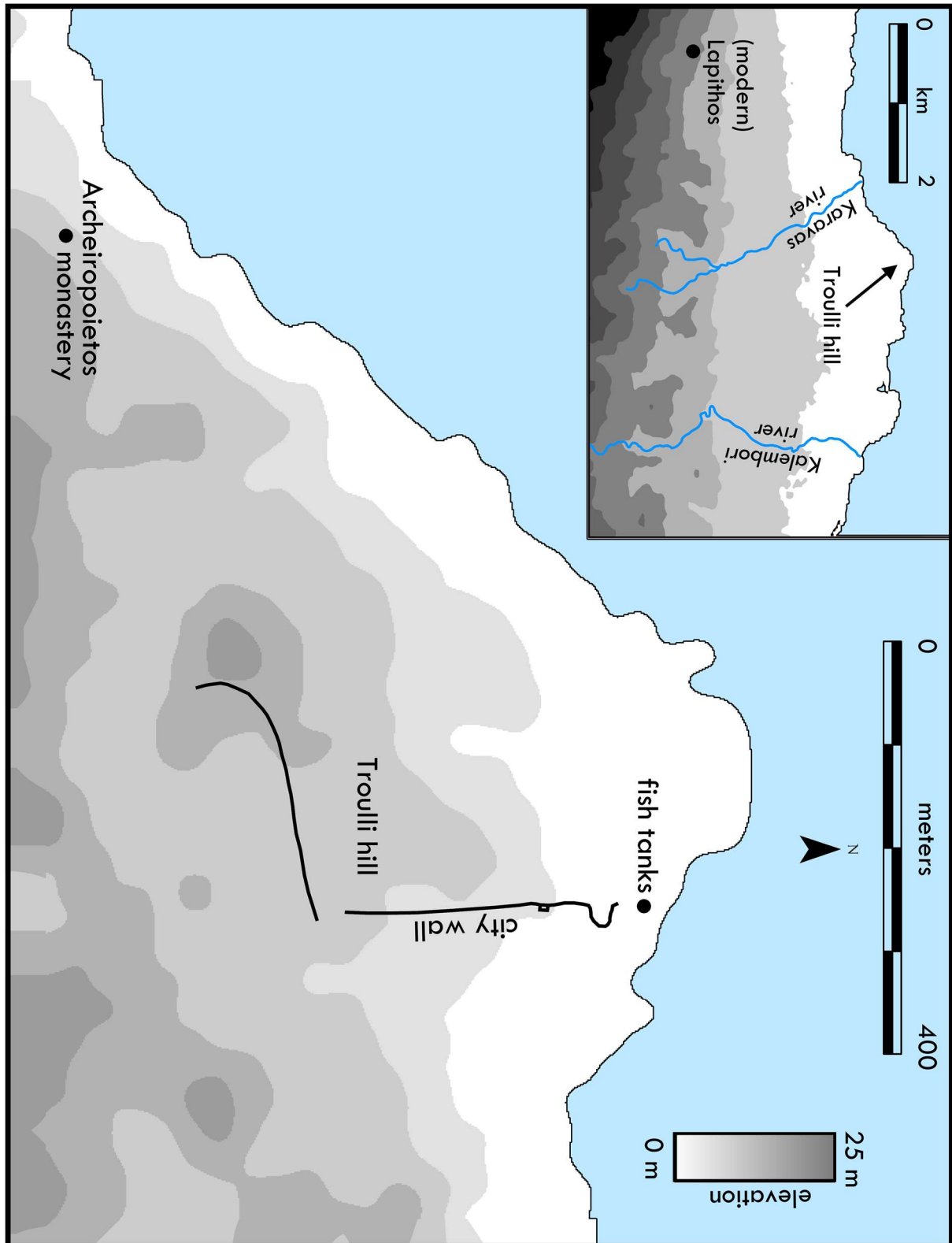
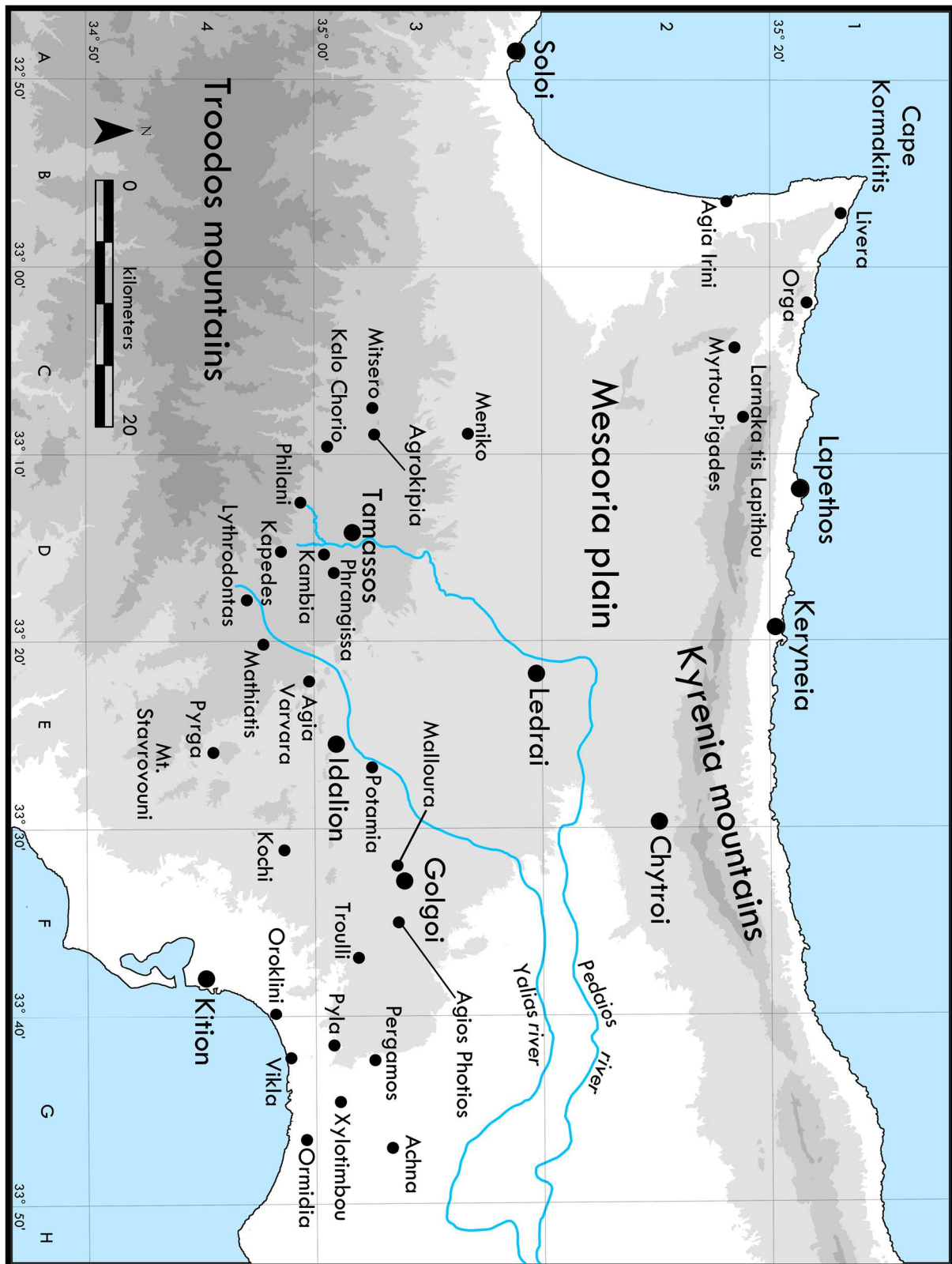


Figure 6: Plan of Lapethos. After Myres 1946a.

Sporadic, brief archaeological explorations at the site since the early 20th century have yielded evidence for a fortification wall, which is preserved in discontinuous stretches. Some (domestic?) walls and necropoleis south and southeast of the urban area have also been uncovered. However, these remains date mainly to the Bronze Age and Geometric period (tombs), and then from the late Classical period onward; Archaic remains are sparse and limited to a few rock-cut tombs, destroyed by quarrying in later periods of antiquity. Definite Archaic occupation of the site is, however, attested by votive terracottas from three extra-urban Archaic sanctuary sites 2-3 kilometers west and south of the city (Peristianis 1910: 477-94; Myres 1946a; Myres 1946b; Nicolaou 1976i; Ulbrich 2008: 370-4, pl. 45).

The territorial boundaries of the coastal and particularly inland city-kingdoms in the eastern half of the island are harder to reconstruct due to shorter distances between them and their location in flatter terrain, which offers fewer geomorphologically determined natural boundaries. An additional problem is the paucity or lack of (published) evidence for Archaic settlement across this region. As a result, the extent and location of potential boundaries of the territories of Chytroi, Idalion, Keryneia, Lapethos, Ledrai, and Tamassos are somewhat elusive. For example, it remains unclear whether and when the territories of Chytroi and Ledrai extended to the north coast of island and if and how far the territories of Lapethos and Keryneia extended southward across the Kyrenia mountains. There are, nonetheless, some indications of the extent of the *chōrai* of Lapethos, Tamassos, and Idalion (all discussed below), whereas nothing substantive can, at this point, be said about Chytroi, Keryneia, or Ledrai (Rupp 1987; Ulbrich 2008: pls. 1-4).

For the territory of Lapethos we have some evidence in the form of Phoenician and bilingual Greek-Phoenician dedications, dating to the third century, found near the modern village of Larnaka tis Lapithou (located in a pass through the Kyrenia mountains, see Map 9). These dedications mention Astarte and the “gods of Byblos” in “Lapash,” the Phoenician name for Lapethos, which was considered a Phoenician city by Pseudo-Scylax (§103); this suggests that the sanctuary and associated settlement at Larnaka tis Lapithou belonged to the territory of Lapethos, probably already in the Archaic period. The sanctuaries and associated settlements at Agia Irini, Livera, Myrtou-Pigades, and Orga might have, at some point, belonged to the territory of Lapethos. Keryneia could have initially been part of Ledrai’s territory, before being incorporated into the territory of Lapethos (Ulbrich 2008: 242, 370-9, pl. 1, 45).



Map 9: Some key sites in the *chōrai* of Chytroi, Idalion, Kition, Lapethos, Ledrai, and Tamassos mentioned in this essay.

4.1.7 Keryneia

The ancient city of Keryneia, situated somewhere underneath modern Kyrenia and its eastern outskirts, on the north coast of the island (see Map 9 in Section 4.1.6), is another possible but highly uncertain city-kingdom. The only textual evidence for its potential status as such are a

passage in Diodorus and a reference by Stobaeus, who compiled information from now lost Greek and Roman authors in the fifth century CE. However, the late date of both authors casts doubt on the historical accuracy of the information they provide, especially for earlier periods. Diodorus Siculus (19.59.1) mentions that Keryneia, Kition, Lapethos, and Marion allied themselves with Antigonos the One-Eyed (Monophthalmos) against Ptolemy in 315, who, in response, in 313 launched a military campaign against the rulers of those cities, including the *basileus* of Lapethos and the *dynastēs* of Keryneia (19.79.4). Stobaeus records that Aristotle dedicated his *Protreptikos* to the *basileus* “Themision of Keryneia” (*Eklogai* 4.32.21; Hadjioannou 1975: 344 #90.1; Körner 2017: 25-6). If Keryneia was not an autonomous city-kingdom, it must have been an important secondary city in the territory and probably under the governance of Lapethos, c. 12 km to the west, which could be reflected in the fact that Diodorus always names Lapethos and Keryneia together.

Keryneia and its necropoleis have never been systematically explored or excavated, so next to nothing is known about the settlement’s actual size or spatial organization. Published remains include some probably domestic walls, and three urban or suburban sanctuaries attested through votive deposits (which do not predate the Classical period). No traces of fortification walls have been found. Some rock-cut tombs west of Kyrenia and an unspecified number of unpublished tombs in a necropolis east of the city are said to date to the Archaic period (Peristianis 1910: 495-505; Nicolaou 1976e; Ulbrich 2008: 331-4).

4.1.8 Chytroi

The urban area and necropoleis of Chytroi were situated c. 1 km east of the modern village of Kythrea on the lower southern slopes of the Kyrenia mountains (see Figure 7). Its urban area incorporated an acropolis-hill, called Katsourkas, with a flat summit plateau, which commanded a 360-degree view over the southern slopes of the Kyrenia mountains and the Mesaoria plain. The city area was flanked to the east and west by perennial springs and small rivers (Skalipotamos, Aspropotamos) running south toward the Mesaoria, which provided fresh water for the city and irrigation of its surrounding agricultural land (Nicolaou 1976a).

The ancient remains of Chytroi have never been comprehensively explored or recorded, let alone published. To the Archaic (and Classical) periods date two urban sanctuary sites partially excavated by Cesnola in the 19th century and by Gjerstad in 1930-1932. One of them was located on the summit of Katsourkas hill, the other to its south in the lower city, near the Byzantine church of Agios Demetrianos. Another sanctuary-site, on the summit of Skali hill, northwest of the city, yielded votive-figures and dedicatory inscriptions to Cypriot Aphrodite (Di Cesnola 1991 (1878): 242-4; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893: 15 #23-44; Nicolaou 1976a; Ikosi 1993; Ulbrich 2008: 283-91, pl. 30).

Tombs of the first millennium are reported to have been found south, southwest, and southeast of the urban area (Peristianis 1910: 820-67). As neither their number nor remains of fortifications have been recorded, the size of the settlement area and the necropoleis remains unknown. As noted in Section 4.1.6, very little is known about secondary settlements in the *chōra* of Chytroi or about the extent of its territory.

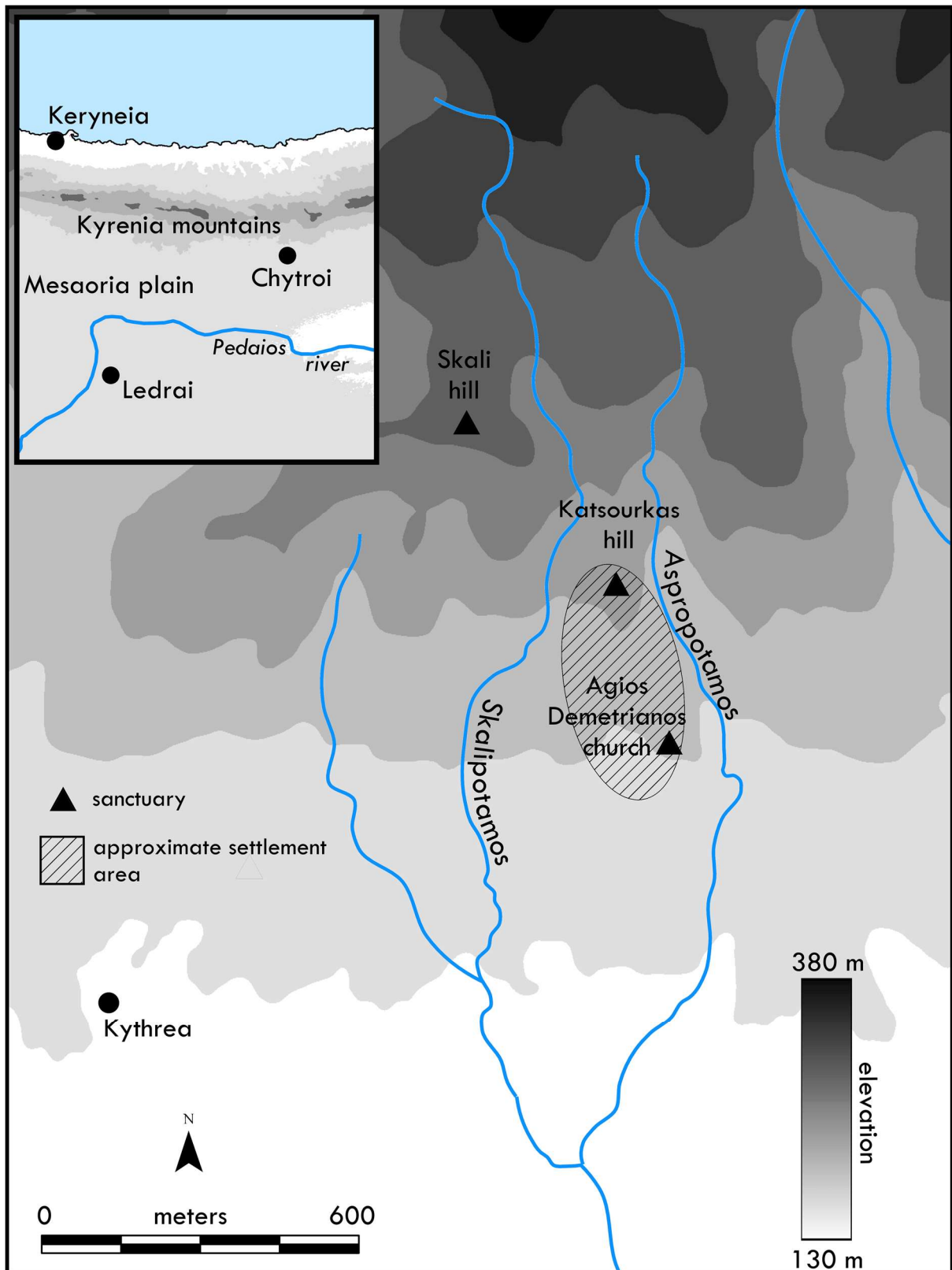


Figure 7: Plan of Chytroi

4.1.9 Ledrai

The city and necropoleis of ancient Ledrai (also known as Ledroi or Ledra) and its Bronze Age predecessor lie underneath sprawling modern Nicosia and its suburbs, in the Mesaoria plain and just to the east of the Pedaios river (see Figure 8). Due to the disturbances created

by millennia of occupation, the original nature (geography) of the terrain at the site is hardly discernible. As a result, the exact location, extent, and topography of the Archaic settlement and its associated necropoleis can be only tentatively reconstructed from archaeological evidence uncovered across Nicosia, much of which is not comprehensively published. Nonetheless, the position of the original core of the urban center can be roughly established on the basis of the distribution of tombs and isolated settlement areas with associated finds.

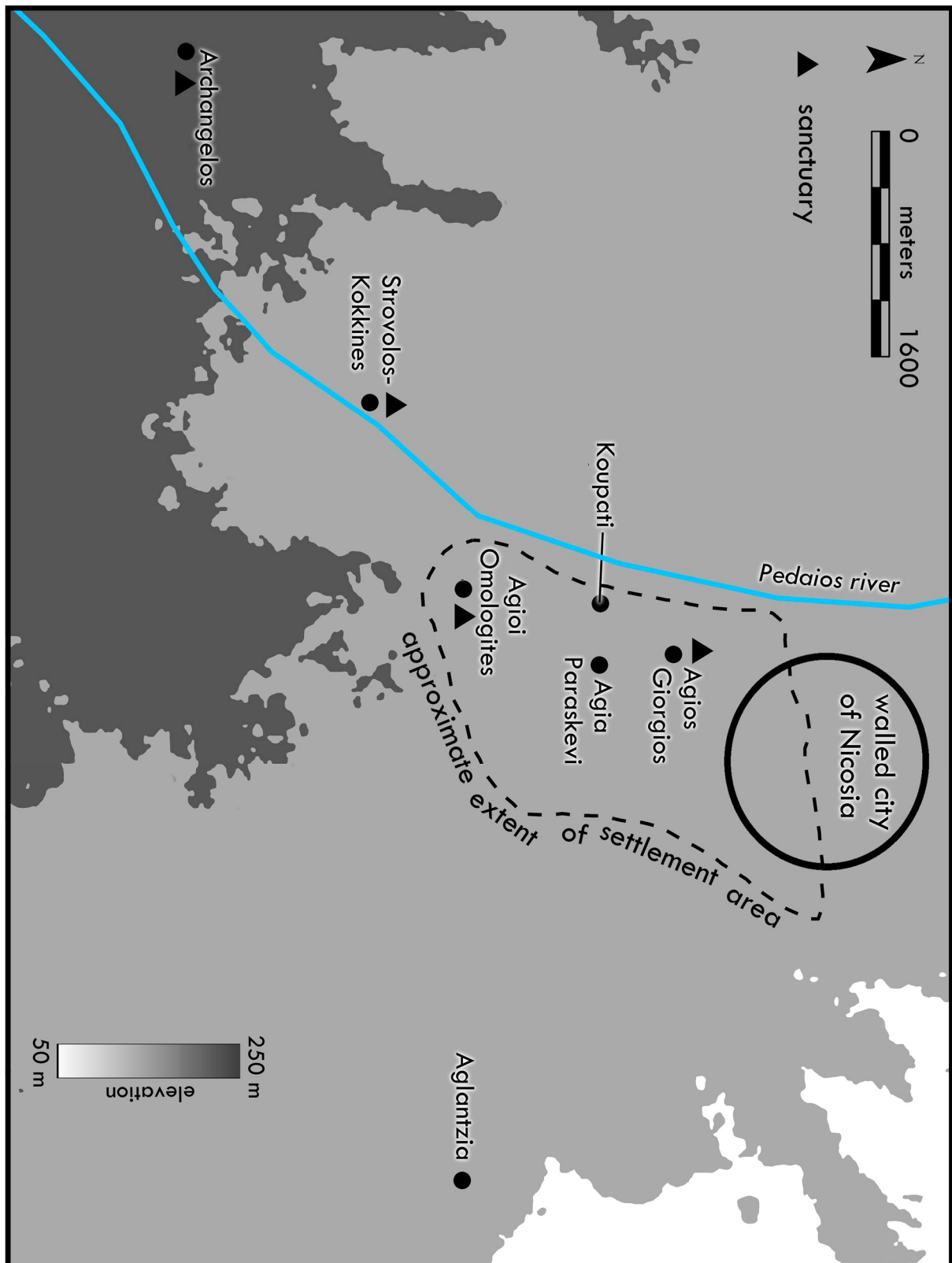


Figure 8: Plan of Ledrai

Remains and small finds (pottery, figurines, etc.) dating to the Archaic and Classical periods have been excavated all over Nicosia and its suburbs since the 19th century. The only systematically excavated (1997-2006) and at least preliminarily published area of urban

settlement of the Archaic to Hellenistic period within the city is located near the derelict church of Agios Giorgios opposite the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI). There, the Department of Antiquities uncovered a maze of walls and floor layers of various, mostly late Classical and Hellenistic buildings with roads in between. Small finds attest to the existence of workshops for pottery, copper smelting and metallurgy, and textile production. There are also remains of an olive press, domestic architecture, and two cult sites of the Archaic and Classical periods, as indicated by finds of votive figurines (Peristianis 1910: 640-1, 665-84; Nicolaou 1976j; Pilides 2003; Pilides 2004; Pilides 2007; Ulbrich 2008: 379-85, pl. 45; Michaelides and Pilides 2012: 25-34, 38-45; Pilides 2015).

Two or more urban or suburban cult sites have been identified through finds of votive-figures southwest of Nicosia, at Agioi Omologites and Strovolos-Kokkines, and at least two further definitely extra-urban sanctuaries lay on the southwestern and southeastern outskirts of the modern city, at the localities of Aglantzia and Archangelos. Necropoleis with tombs of the Archaic period have been found to the southeast, south, and southwest of Agios Giorgios, at the localities of Agia Paraskevi, Agioi Omologites, and Koupati (Hadjicosti 1993; Pilides 2004: 156; Ulbrich 2008: 383; Michaelides and Pilides 2012: 25-9). As noted in Section 4.1.6, very little is known about secondary settlements in the *chōra* of Ledrai or the extent of its territory.

4.1.10 Tamassos

The urban area of Tamassos is situated underneath the modern village of Politiko in the lower western Troodos foothills, at a roughly 20-km distance from its neighbors, Ledrai to the northeast and Idalion to the east. Excavations in and around Tamassos were conducted in the 19th century by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter and in the 20th century by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities and a German mission (Nicolaou 1976m; Buchholz and Untiedt 1996; Ulbrich 2008: 468-76, pl. 65-6; Walcher 2009: pls. 1-2; Buchholz 2010).

Archaeological exploration has uncovered a variety of Archaic (and Classical) remains and tombs. Those remains include stretches of the northern fortification walls at the locality of Chomazoudhia (see Figure 9). An adjacent intramural sanctuary complex was dedicated to Cypriot Aphrodite. Both the wall and the sanctuary were first built at the beginning of the Archaic period and extended and rebuilt sometime in the fifth century. An extramural sanctuary, attested through finds of Archaic and Classical votive-figures, was located at Mialathi, c. 700 m northeast of the city wall in or near the current bed of the Pedaios river (Hadjisavvas 1978; Buchholz 1985; Buchholz and Untiedt 1996: 46-7, figs. 16-21, 41, 61-3; Matthäus 2007a; Ulbrich 2008: 473-4, pl. 65a; Walcher 2009: 3, 20, pls. 1, 2; Buchholz 2010; Balandier 2015; Hülken 2020: 264).

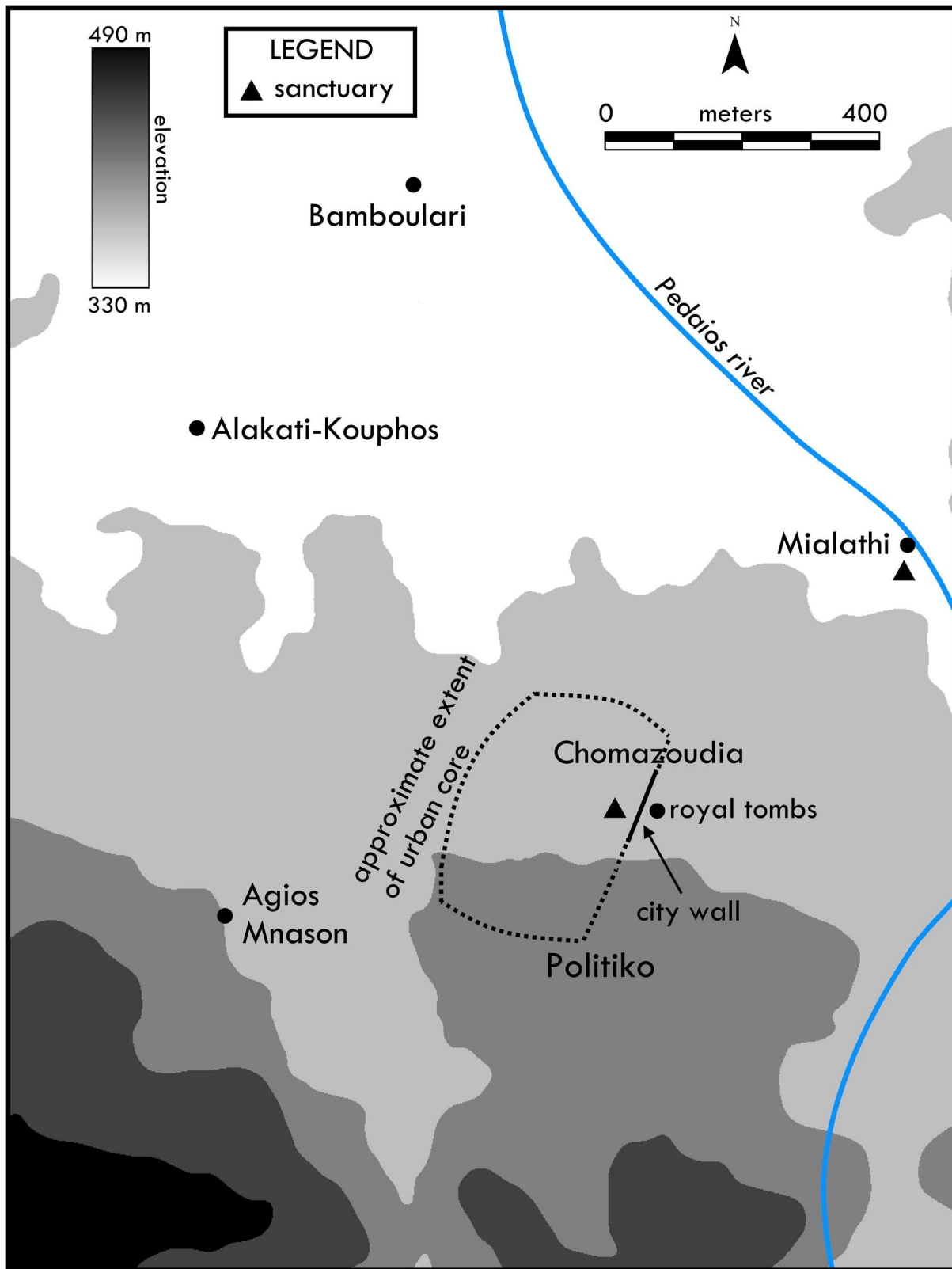


Figure 9: Plan of Tamassos

Destruction of the fortifications and the adjacent main city-sanctuary at Tamassos have been associated with a Persian attack and siege in the context of the Ionian-Cypriot Rebellion. In the aftermath, the fortification wall was rebuilt and extended, and the wall thickened from 2.50 to 4.50 m (Buchholz 1985: 247-50; Buchholz and Untiedt 1996: 24, 26).

At least 50 Archaic tombs have been excavated at various necropoleis at Tamassos, 10 of them west of the urban center, near the monastery of Agios Mnason. An Archaic necropolis of 24 small rock-cut tombs was partly excavated at Chomazoudhia in the 19th century, including four built chamber tombs with long, stepped dromoi. Due to their rich burial gifts, impressive architectural design, and associated funerary sculpture, the chamber tombs have been identified as royal tombs (see Section 4.3 for a discussion of those burials). Other tombs have been found at Alakati-Kouphos and at Bamboulari (Walcher 2009: 3; Buchholz 2010: 5, figs. 2.29 and 9, 31-2 and *passim*).

Tamassos' territory extended northwest (toward Soloi) at least to the area of the modern village of Meniko (c. 13 km air-distance from Tamassos) where a substantial settlement is attested by tombs and a sanctuary with votive terracottas in the styles of Idalion and Tamassos (indistinguishable) and of Soloi (see Map 9 in Section 4.1.6).¹² Other settlements, in the copper mining region of the Troodos mountains, closer to Tamassos, were located near the modern villages of Kalo Chorio, Kambia, Kapedes, Mitsero, Philani, and (probably) Lythrodontas. The settlements and mines near Mathiatis, southeast of Tamassos, were used by either Tamassos or, more likely, its slightly closer neighbor Idalion (Given and Knapp 2003; Fourrier 2007: 113 fig. 9; Ulbrich 2008: 474-8, pl. 66 a-b; Kassianidou 2013: 53-6).

4.1.11 Idalion

The urban area of Idalion was situated southwest of the modern village of Dali, close to the south bank of the Yalias river, roughly halfway between Ledrai and Kition. It occupied the gentle north-facing slopes of two hills in a string of hills running eastward from the Troodos mountains (see Figure 10). Excavations on both hills, often referred to as the eastern and the western acropolis, called Moutti tou Arvili and Ambelliri (or Ampeliri) respectively, have yielded evidence for a hilltop sanctuary. Their summits provided commanding views of Idalion's hinterland in all directions. Fresh water was probably supplied by the Yalias river to the north and nearby springs, wells, and cisterns (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893: pls. 2-3; Ulbrich 2008: pl. 32-3; Gaber and Bartusewich 2016: figs 1, 19; Satraki 2018: 150, fig. 2).

¹² According to Fourrier (Fourrier 2007), no distinction between terracotta production of Idalion and Tamassos can be made on the basis of the present available evidence. This possibly indicates their close relations through shared copper mining and trade in the region.

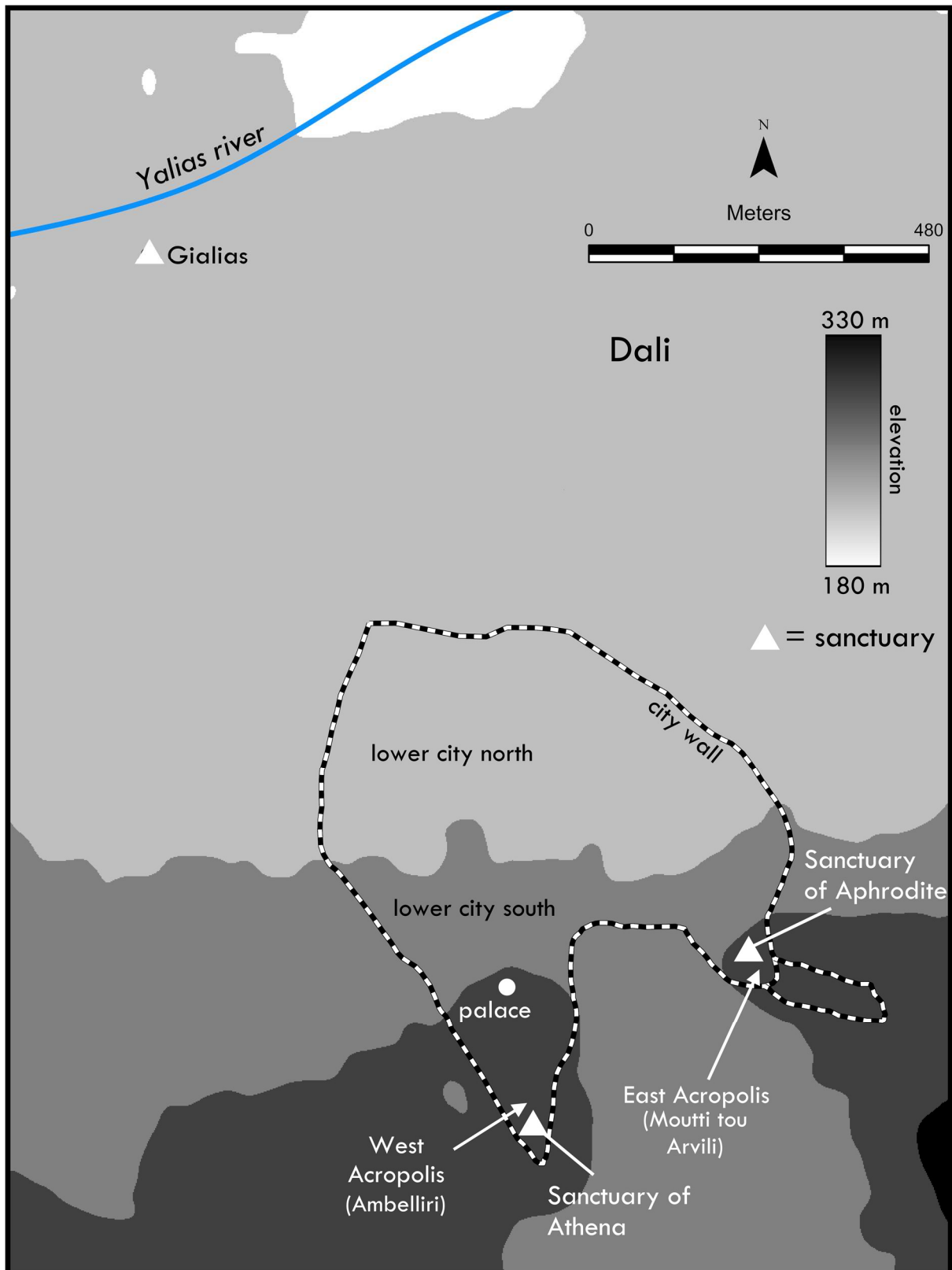


Figure 10: Plan of Idalion

The city and its surroundings have been explored, excavated, and surveyed extensively and multiple times by various expeditions since the later 19th century. That work uncovered a range of Archaic (and Classical) remains, including a fortification wall, a monumental building complex or palace, several sanctuaries, houses and industrial areas, and tombs. The

course of the fortification wall and the location of its gates are well known. By the end of the sixth century, the wall enclosed the western acropolis (Ambelliri) with the remains of a citadel (established in the Late Bronze Age) and an epigraphically identified Athena sanctuary on its summit as well as the palace on its lower slopes overlooking the lower city to the north. In the fifth century, the fortification wall was extended to include the lower city spreading north toward the Yalias river, the second hilltop sanctuary on Moutti tou Arvili hill (eastern acropolis), and the sanctuary of Apollo/Resheph located at its western base, thus encircling an urban area of c. 40 ha (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899: 3-4; Peristianis 1910: 561-602; Gjerstad, Lindros, Sjöqvist et al. 1935: 460-641; Walker, Bieber Jr., Stager et al. 1974; Nicolaou 1976c; Stager and Walker 1989; Gaber and Dever 1995; Hadjicosti 1997; Balandier 2000; Gaber 2008; Ulbrich 2008: 308–30, pls. 32–4; Balandier 2011; Hadjicosti 2012; Balandier 2015; Gaber and Bartusewich 2016; Satraki 2018; Hülken 2020: 255-8).

The earliest version of a monumental building complex or palace on the lower half of the western acropolis was first constructed in the eighth or seventh century, but only its Classical phase, which features courtyards, workshops, storage rooms, and olive oil press installations, has been fully excavated. American excavations in the lower city have uncovered domestic architecture, workshops, and industrial installations, including an olive press, a horn-working workshop, and clay-levigating installations necessary for pottery production, as well as domestic architecture and another urban sanctuary site (Walker, Bieber Jr., Stager et al. 1974: 42-50; Gaber and Dever 1995: 89-99; Hadjicosti 1997; Hadjicosti 1999; Gaber 2008: 55-8, 60-1; Hadjicosti 2012; Gaber and Bartusewich 2016; Amadasi Guzzo and Zamora Lopez 2020: 141-2).

Tombs dating from the Archaic to Roman periods have been discovered since the 19th century mostly toward the west, the north, and northeast of the city, near Dali and north of the Yalias river. They are, however, largely unpublished (Di Cesnola 1991 (1878): 64-81; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893: 341-3; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899: 3-4; V. Karageorghis 1964; Nicolaou 1976c; Satraki 2018: 151).

Idalion's territory must have been relatively small, insofar as Tamassos, Ledrai, and Kition were only c. 20 km away (see Map 9 in Section 4.1.6). If Golgoi, only 12 km to the northeast, was an autonomous city-kingdom (see Section 4.1.12) with its own surrounding territory, Idalion's *chōra* would have been even less extensive. As Idalion's distinctive terracottas have been found both close to Ledrai and around Golgoi, the latter was most likely a secondary settlement in Idalion's territory (close to its eastern border). The location of Idalion's northern territorial border toward Ledrai remains highly uncertain. The ancient settlements known to have existed in the vicinities of the modern villages of Agia Varvara, Potamia, and Pyrga were in all probability within Idalion's territory (Rupp 1987; Fourrier 2007: map on pg. 113, fig. 9c; Ulbrich 2008: 321-31, pls. 1, 33-4).

4.1.12 Golgoi

The city of Golgoi is located in the Mesaoria plain, on a flat plateau, c. 12 km northeast of Idalion. It may have become an autonomous city-kingdom sometime in the sixth century. However, there is no conclusive literary, epigraphic, numismatic, or archaeological evidence for its ever having reached that status, unless some as yet unattributed coins were actually minted in/or by Golgoi. Nonetheless, the city and its surroundings have produced some archaeological evidence comparable to or richer than that of other city-kingdoms. Several Greek and Roman authors refer to its apparently well-known sanctuary of Cypriot Aphrodite,

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