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# The First Palace of Amathus and the Cypriot Poleogenesis<sup>1</sup>

Thierry Petit

The question of palace architecture in Cyprus is related to a very important and at the same time very sensitive problem, namely the origins of the Cypriot City-Kingdoms. There are two conflicting theories: either historical states occurred in the Late Bronze Age (12th-11th cent. BC) and were due to the new Achaean settlers who imported their own kind of polity, which may have undergone some Canaanite influence,<sup>2</sup> or they were a later consequence of the Phoenician influence in the island from the 9th century onwards. This conflict is similar to the controversy, which a few decades ago divided the supporters of a continuity and the defenders of a rupture between the Bronze Age and the Late Geometric period in Greece.

The Achaean hypothesis is supported by foundation-myths. According to these traditions, some Achaean heroes landed in Cyprus and founded the historical kingdoms: for instance, Salamis was founded by Teucros, son of Telamon, king of... Salamis in Greece, and Paphos was founded by the Arcadian Agapenor. The origin of almost all the Greek-speaking cities was explained in this way.<sup>3</sup> The use of such etiological legends was of course impossible for Kition, the main Phoenician city,<sup>4</sup> and for Amathus whose inhabitants were considered as autochthonous (Ps. Skylax *GGM* I, 77-78) because they spoke a very strange language called 'Eteocypriot'.<sup>5</sup> But according to the myth the Amathusians were either descendants of the Ethiopians, or heirs of the local King Kinyras, the only Cypriot mentioned by Homer.<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, Theopompus explains that Kinyras was expelled by Agamemnon's Achaeans and fled to the south of the

island where he founded Amathus (Theopompus, *FGH* 115, F 103,3). In this way, according to the legends, there was a state-continuity: the Greek-speaking kingdoms as well as Amathus were founded immediately after the arrival of the Achaeans in Cyprus, which is generally dated to the beginning of the 11th century BC.<sup>7</sup>

However, the textual sources offer no evidence for Cypriot kingdoms before the late 8th or early 7th century BC. The name of several kingdoms in Cyprus is mentioned for the first time in some Assyrian royal inscriptions: for instance the Asarhaddon prism from 673/2 BC gives a list of ten Cypriot kings and the name of their cities. Thus there is a four-century gap in the textual evidence.

The question is: may archaeology help us to fill this gap. The supporters of the theory of continuity between the late Bronze Age and the 8th century are of course inclined to deny the existence of 'Dark Ages' in Cyprus.<sup>8</sup> Thus Snodgrass (1988) argues that the case of Cyprus is quite dissimilar to that of Greece during the so-called Dark Ages, which appear now to be less 'dark' than once thought.<sup>9</sup> Other scholars minimize the significance of the decreasing number of settlements and the obvious poverty in material culture during the Cypriot Geometric (CG) I-II period (1050-850 BC), and some refuse to attach any importance to qualitative and quantitative factors<sup>10</sup> – but in this case one must abstain from any archaeological hermeneutic at all. Others argue that royal artefacts or prestige goods do exist in the 11th century, such as the Kourion sceptre,<sup>11</sup> and the *obelos* from the Palea-Paphos – Skales necropolis.<sup>12</sup>

The first difficulty occurs when these authors must admit that the very few settlements of the 11th century do not square with the cities mentioned in the Assyrian lists, nor with later known city-states.<sup>13</sup> Possibly the only occupied sites during all the Late Bronze (LB) A – CG IA period are Kition and Paphos.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, it is commonly admitted that there is no decisive evidence for kingdoms as early as the 11th century<sup>15</sup> and that a decline within the material culture did exist in Geometric Cyprus.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, from a political point of view, one could add that the petty kingdoms and kingships of the Archaic and Classical periods are closer to the Phoenician ones or to the principalities of the ‘World of Odysseus’ than to the Mycenaean states as known from the linear B texts. In any case, it is very unlikely that the ruling classes of the late Mycenaean kingdoms could have succeeded in reproducing their former political structure in Cyprus (*pace* Iacovou 1995, 103 and 1998, 11–12). The loss of the Linear B script and the absence of evidence for a Cypro-Minoan or Cypro-syllabic script is a very important indication for the disappearance of state formation in Cyprus, or at least for the great difference between the political organization in Cyprus in the 11th century and the Mycenaean kingdoms in the 13th century BC (cf. Iacovou 1998, 111–12).

It is also worth noting that there is a wide gap of three centuries between the supposed 11th century royal items and the first signs of economic and political Renaissance in the 8th century BC.<sup>17</sup> During the 11th and 10th centuries BC, no objects have been found in tombs to identify them as royal and thus to distinguish them from the burial sites of common people.<sup>18</sup> Moreover this is true also of the 9th century BC, as the first “royal tomb” is the tomb NW 194 of Amathus dating from the end of the 9th century BC,<sup>19</sup> followed a century later by tomb I in the royal necropolis of Salamis.

On the other hand David W. Rupp has developed in some recent works what one may call the ‘Phoenician hypothesis’. He

emphasizes several points to support this view: the existence of city-walls, the distribution of luxury and/or imported items, the magnificent burial rituals in built tombs, the reappearance of the script, and the founding of sanctuaries. All the evidence shows that some kind of Cypriot Renaissance did take place during the 8th century BC.<sup>20</sup> As in Greece at the same time, there is in Cyprus a dramatic increase of population.<sup>21</sup> The most important innovations occurred during this time as well: the first built tombs,<sup>22</sup> the founding of great sanctuaries like that of Apollon Hylates in Kourion, and of Aphrodite in Amathus, and the development of some others like that of Aghia Irini.<sup>23</sup> Also the contacts with the outside world increased from the Cypro-Archaic period onwards.<sup>24</sup> Thus in most regions of the island the links with the Levant are first documented during this time,<sup>25</sup> and also the Greek imports were very scanty before the 8th century BC, Amathus thus constituting an exception.<sup>26</sup> Certainly, the revival of the script in the 8th century is a very clear sign of a political Renaissance, too.<sup>27</sup>

For these reasons, it seems more likely that the real emergence of the Cypriot city-kingdoms occurred during the 8th century,<sup>28</sup> namely immediately after the arrival of the Phoenicians in Kition, which took place according to the *opinio communis* in the middle or sometime during the second half of the 9th century;<sup>29</sup> and it is certainly easier to consider their appearance a consequence of this last event. One may agree with scholars opposed to this new theory that the archaeological evidence is rather scanty.<sup>30</sup> Since some of them have asked for ‘new hard evidence’,<sup>31</sup> the aim of this paper is to draw attention to some of that evidence.

One must admit that Rupp’s ‘Phoenician hypothesis’ is mainly based on social stratification as it appears in the burials,<sup>32</sup> and some scholars certainly agree with the viability of this method.<sup>33</sup> However, there is a general consensus that excavated settlements and survey data provide better indications for population change than do

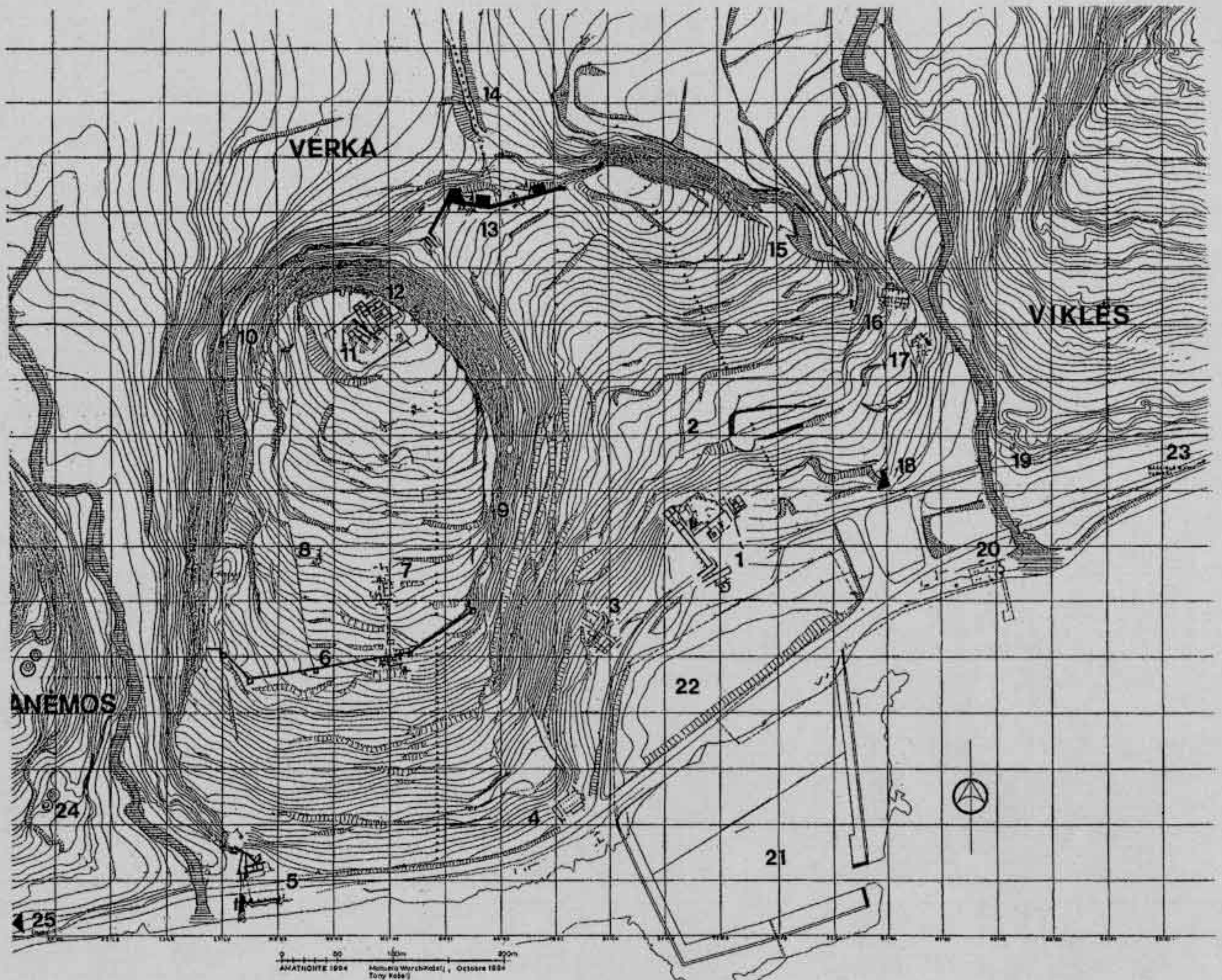


Fig. 1. The archaeological site of Amathus, with the palace (7) and the temple of Aphrodite (11).

burial assemblages.<sup>34</sup> In particular everyone agrees that the monumental architecture is a very decisive correlate for the existence of royal power: first the palaces, then the built tombs.<sup>35</sup> In fact, such buildings were discovered in several capitals of these kingdoms: the palaces of Hadji-Abdullah and Evreti in Paphos, some monumental walls in Soloi, and the store-rooms belonging to a public building in Idalion.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately these monumental buildings have not been completely excavated and the uncovered strata begin only with the (late?) sixth century at the earliest (however, it is not impossible that the Hadji-Abdullah palace could be earlier). Except for Vouni which constitutes a special case – mainly because it is not situated in a kingdom capital – the earliest

layers, that is, the first phases of these buildings, have not yet been reached.

From this point of view, Amathus is a crucial site for judging the validity of both theories. Do archaeological excavations conducted by the French School of Archaeology in Athens and the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus (Fig. 1) confirm the foundation by Kinyras or the 'Phoenician hypothesis'? On the city acropolis itself the two oldest groups of artefacts are gambling stones found in an 11th century tomb dug on the top of the hill (Fig. 1, n° 12), a burial which could be the tomb of Ariadne mentioned in texts,<sup>37</sup> and a small ceramic deposit of the CG IA period uncovered in an incomplete cistern next to the palace;<sup>38</sup> these

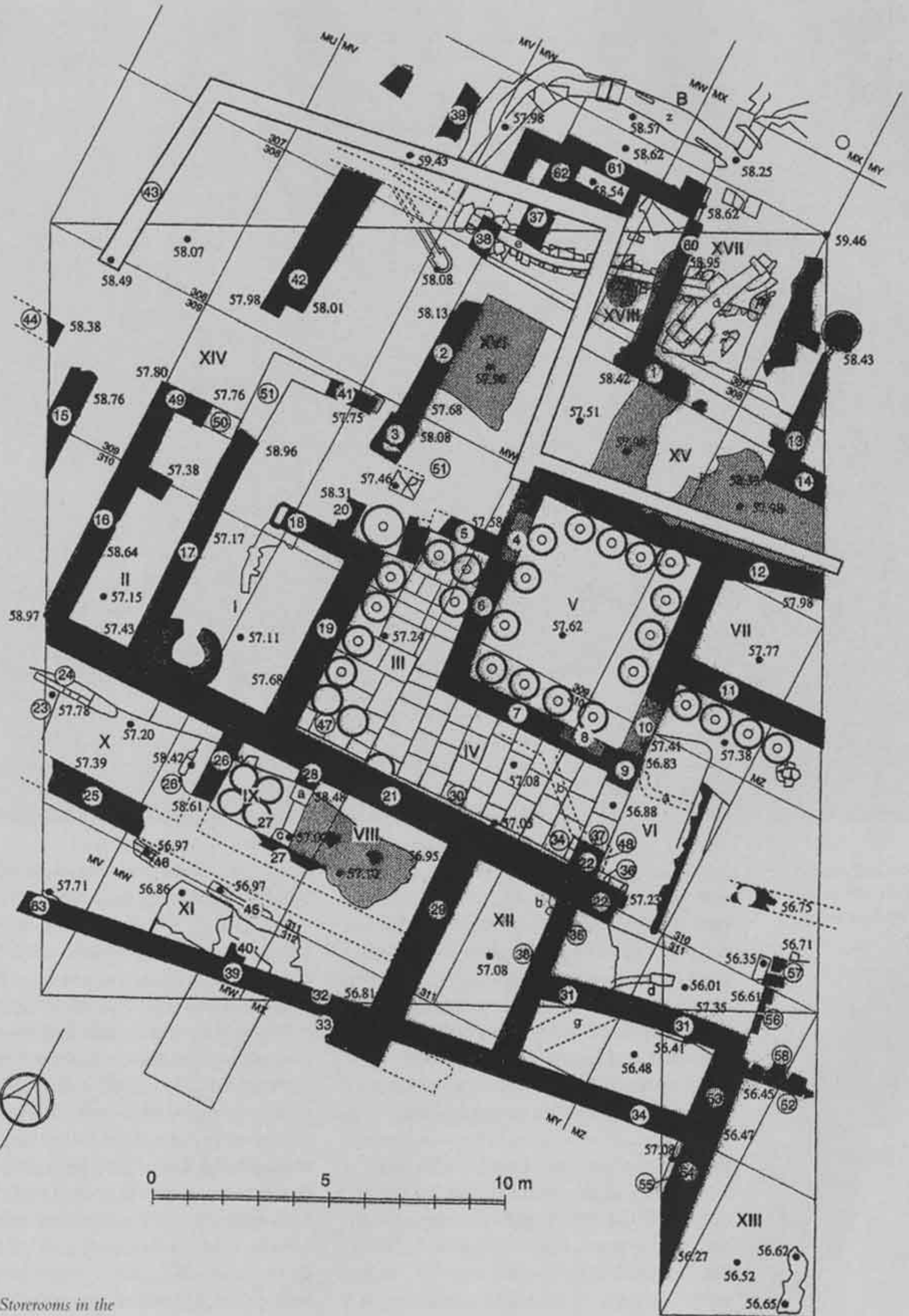


Fig. 2. Storerooms in the palace of Amathus.

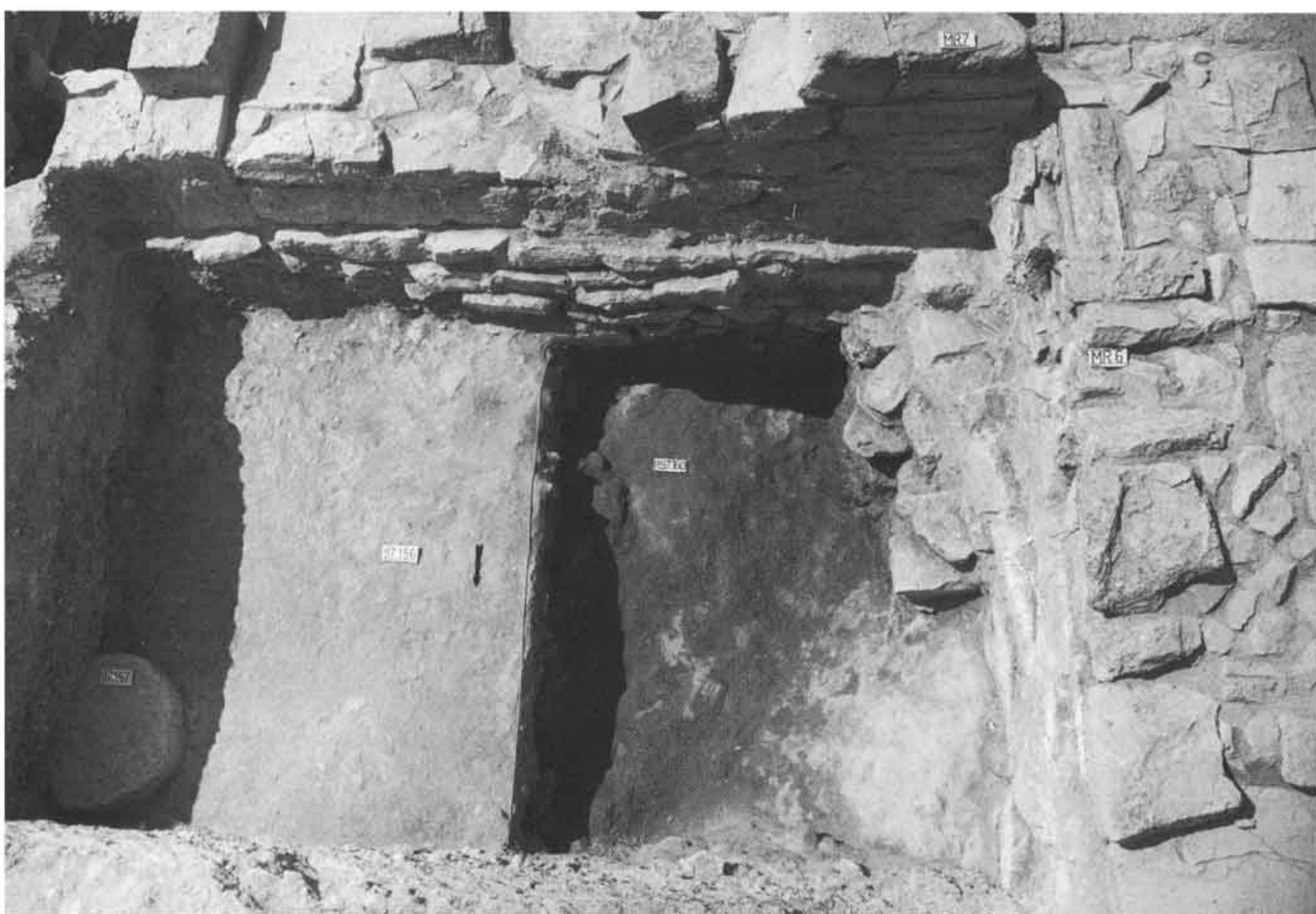


Fig. 3. Trial excavation in the floor of the first palace of Amathus.

sherds have been recently studied by Maria Iacovou and interpreted as evidence of a settlement or even as a “township” on the acropolis,<sup>39</sup> and it has been inferred that Amathus was founded in the 11th century BC. It is rather daring to conclude from a few sherds that a “township” existed, however. No architectural remains were linked to these objects and it seems more likely that they are burial artefacts from a tomb destroyed by the construction of the first palace.<sup>40</sup> After the CG IA period (late 11th cent. BC) documented by scanty evidence, it seems that there was a gap in the occupation of the hill, since no artefacts dated before the CG III period has yet been found on the acropolis, neither in the great sanctuary excavations nor in the palace (Fig. 1. nos. 11 and 7). From a political and ideological point of view, the evidence from the royal dwelling is very significant as everywhere the appearance of this kind of monumental building is linked with the rise of a monarchy.<sup>41</sup>

The French excavations on the acropolis began in 1975. During the first campaigns the excavators discovered the remains of storerooms with a number of *pithoi* (about thirty so far: Fig. 2). This building was called “a large public building” (Fig. 1, no. 7).<sup>42</sup> The exploration of this area was abandoned in 1977 and only resumed in 1987. Since that time five campaigns have been conducted, revealing very important archaeological and historical data. The two last phases of the building cover the archaic and classical periods. The former cannot be dated with certainty (maybe early 6th century BC). However, an earlier layer was found just above the bedrock. It was only in 1997 that this first palace could be firmly dated. Within a small trench under the 3rd (‘classical’) and the 2nd (‘archaic’) phases, the floor of the first phase of the palace was reached (Fig. 3). No doubt it was already then a conspicuous building since, embedded in the lime-mortar floor, a limestone base for

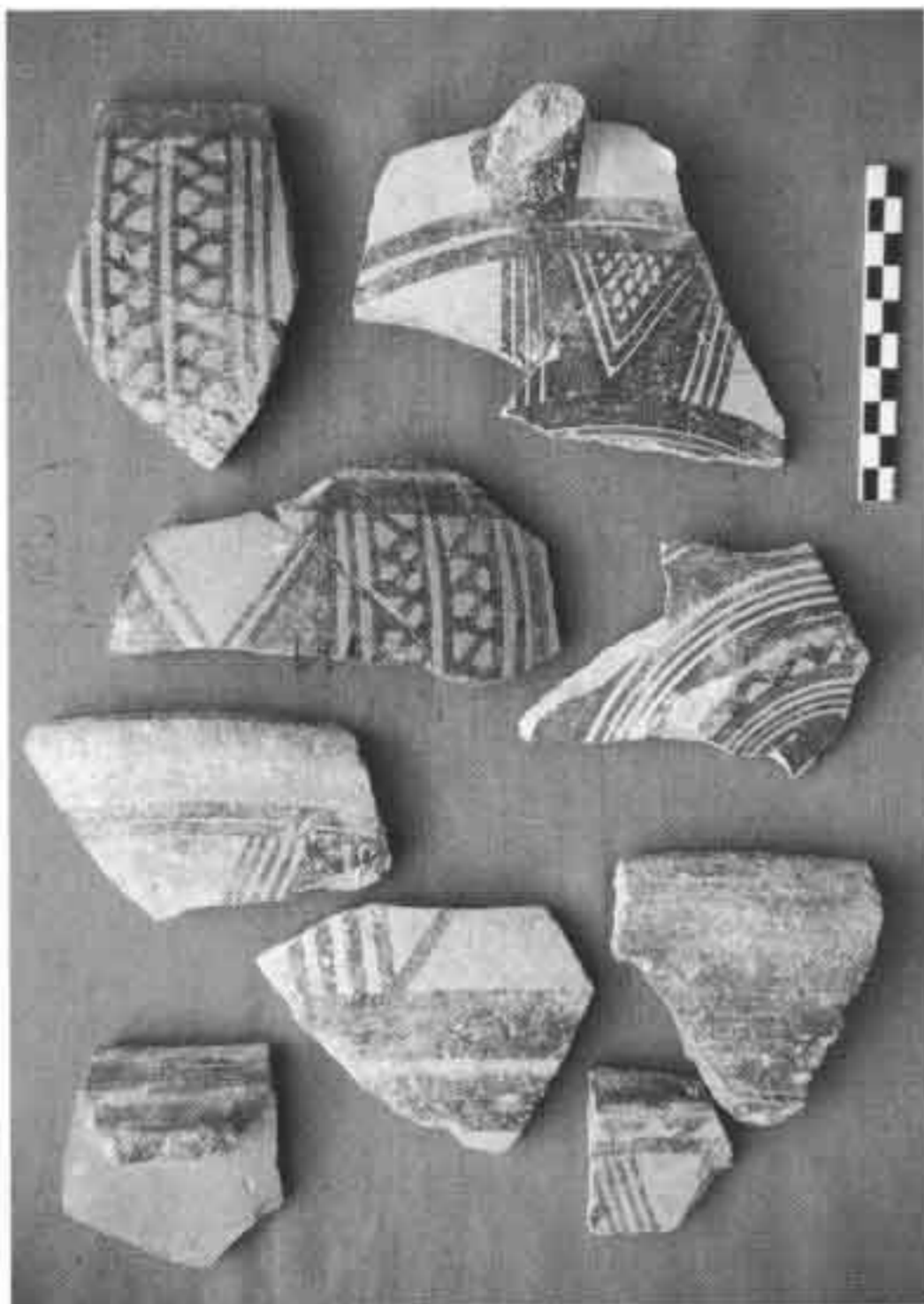
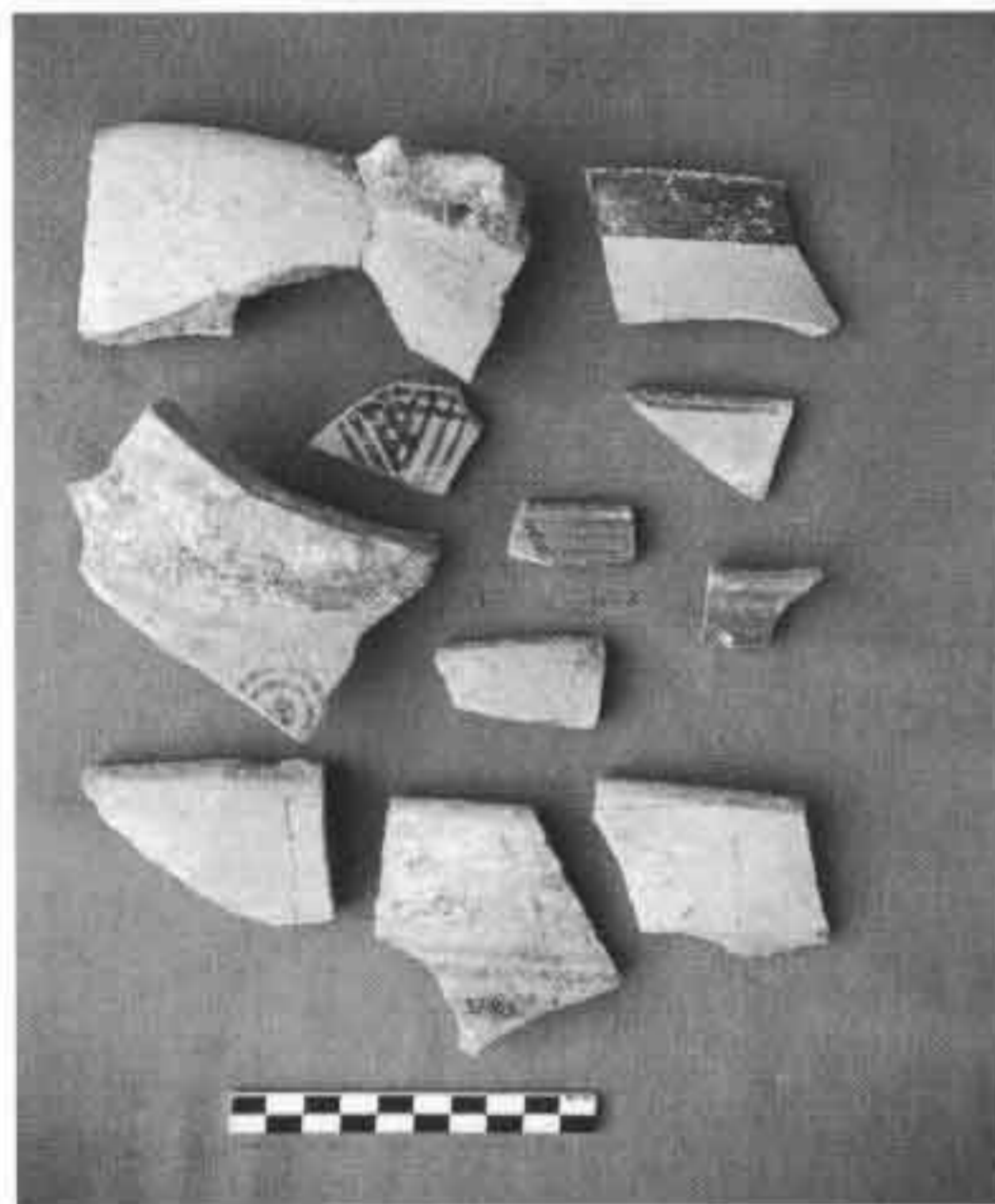


Fig. 4A-C.  
Cypro-Geometric  
sherds from below  
the floor of the  
first palace of  
Amathus.



a column was found, a very unusual feature in this early period (see Petit 1999, 2000). The great amount of pottery found under this floor (Fig. 4 A-C) was dated to the end of the ninth century BC.<sup>43</sup> This evidence is consistent with other finds from other excavations on the acropolis as, for example, those of the great sanctuary on the top of the hill (Fig. 1, no. 11). According to these finds, the site of the acropolis of Amathus, which received the

most important symbolic, administrative and religious buildings, was not occupied before the CG III period, *i.e.* the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 8th century BC.

Although the city of Amathus was well furnished with Greek imports during the Cypro-Geometric I and II periods, no doubt on account of its strategic position on the trade route between Greece and Phoenicia,<sup>44</sup> the first palace occupation on the city acropolis nonetheless did not take place before the late 9th century: this is two or three centuries later than the mythical foundation by Kinyras, but very soon after the Phoenicians founded the new Kition, the direct neighbour of Amathus to the east. Thus in Amathus, the main types of archaeological evidence, which according to the anthropologists constitute an indication of kingship, is only attested from about 800 BC.

D.W. Rupp supposes that the rise of the state in Iron Age Cyprus occurred in the middle of the 8th century BC.<sup>45</sup> In the light of the recent discoveries in Amathus, one can hypothesize that this happened at least half a century earlier. Does other evidence from Amathus support this conclusion?

Besides palaces, monumental architecture is evidenced in temples, storerooms, administrative buildings, and royal burials, all of them building-programmes which presuppose intensive labour mobilization and craft technology. But other kinds of evidence can also be used to this end: for example the emergence of full-time specialists to serve the need of an elite and accordingly a division of labour,<sup>46</sup> a highly developed ceramic tradition and an elite ceramic style, luxury metalwork, prestige and imported goods, all objects that represent the ‘Great Tradition’ of the elite;<sup>47</sup> to this should be added the presence or reappearance of the script, the existence of a symbolic ideology, and a state and/or elite cult performed in official sanctuaries.<sup>48</sup> All these things constitute *indications* of kingship and statehood, and will be examined in the following. Moreover, the *conditions* for their emergence did exist in the 9th and 8th centuries BC, namely commercial trade and a demographic increase.<sup>49</sup> Thus it is necessary for several signs forming a systemic structure to be present<sup>50</sup> before the existence of a state can be ascertained. The ‘Yoffee’s rule’ says “if you can argue whether a society is a state or isn’t, then it isn’t” (Yoffee 1993, 69). According to this author, state power operates in three directions: economic, social (including ideological) and political; and a state must thus rest upon three different kinds of power. Archaeologically, the economic power is manifest in “differing sizes of residences”, “accompanying features and artefacts”, and “mortuary furniture”; the second social one, in “urban complexes”, “ceremonial buildings”, “artistic and literary representations, symbols of cultural and political commonality”; the last political one “in the founding new capitals”.<sup>51</sup>

#### a) Sanctuaries

The creation of a state is archaeologically attested also through the changes in religious structures reflected in the appearance of the main sanctuaries. With the rise of the state, cults were performed in official temples reserved for the elite; religious authority emerges with political

authority.<sup>52</sup> We must not omit the important fact that these changes affected the ritually defined sacred space as well as the sacred landscape.<sup>53</sup> In Cyprus, the rare sanctuaries which had existed continuously from the late Bronze Age suddenly changed their types of votive iconography in the CG III period. In Aghia Irini, the sculptures of the level 3 dating from the middle of the CG III (*ca* 850–750 BC) constitute the first anthropomorphic representations of worshippers and these human-size statues are a sign of fundamental changes.<sup>54</sup> The great majority of armed figures, and the chariot statuettes “indicate that the god [of Aghia Irini] was a god of war as well as god of fertility: he had developed to a *theos sozopolis*”.<sup>55</sup> When social stratification occurs, so does a change in the cultic practice and in the type of the sacrifices; and this seems to be the case in Cyprus during CG III.<sup>56</sup> As a rural sanctuary, the development of Aghia Irini *per se* could be a criterion for such political changes.<sup>57</sup> In the same way, CG I–II remains are very scanty in Idalion, while in CG III, new architecture and evidence for a new sanctuary appeared.<sup>58</sup> At this time the acropolis was enclosed with a fortification wall, too.<sup>59</sup>

Moreover, in this period (CG III) great sanctuaries housing poliad deities such as Apollo Hylates near Kourion emerged all over the island.<sup>60</sup> In Amathus, the excavations in the main sanctuary of the Great Goddess, later called Aphrodite, have provided no artefacts dated before the beginning of the 8th century (CG IIIB). Indeed, the founding of this great sanctuary on the top of the hill with a very high visibility, is only understandable if linked with the emergence of the Amathusian state, since it reorganizes the (sacral) landscape<sup>61</sup> and because the (re)construction of a main sanctuary is generally considered as a royal prerogative.<sup>62</sup> From that moment a clear centralization of the settlements and of the cults took place in Amathus. The existence of other deities worshipped in this city and, more precisely, in this sanctuary, as evidenced by some inscriptions and texts, as well as the likely existence of



different cults in palatial chapel(s) (Petit 1996c), could also be viewed as a consequence of the creation of a state. Usually, when a state emerges, the king adopts the different local cults and makes himself the servant of all former local gods.<sup>63</sup>

#### b) City-walls

The existence of defensive city-walls is an important criterion, although not a decisive one.<sup>64</sup> It seems that the first rampart of Amathus was not built before the last half of the 6th century BC,<sup>65</sup> thus a century later than in other towns in Cyprus.<sup>66</sup>

#### c) Royal Graves

Besides palaces and official temples or sanctuaries it is well known that the emergence of the state is often accompanied by ostentatious burials and monumental royal tombs;<sup>67</sup> the more recent the state the more monumental the tombs.<sup>68</sup> Within the necropolis of Amathus, there are some CG I and CG II tombs, but the first "royal" tomb is T. NW 194, built in the middle or in the last half of the 9th century.<sup>69</sup> The finds are exceptionally rich even for Amathus, and may be compared with the Tomb I of Salamis; the architecture of the latter might have been derived from the Amathusian tomb.<sup>70</sup> Taking into account the date of the burial, the inhabitants of the first palace on the Acropolis (built about 800 BC) may well have been the owners of the tomb.

#### d) Prestige goods and exotica

Less important than monumental architecture for tracing the emergence of a state are the prestige goods and especially the imported items or *exotica*. These are obviously linked to high status groups.<sup>71</sup> Iacovou (1995, 104) admits that in the regions which are eventually designated kingdoms there is not a single tomb with precious objects indicating the presence of a royal tomb before CG III. In the greater part of Cyprus the links with the outside world were revived much later than in Amathus.<sup>72</sup> Amathus was placed on a trade route with good etesian winds which favoured trade between the Aegean and Tyre; and,

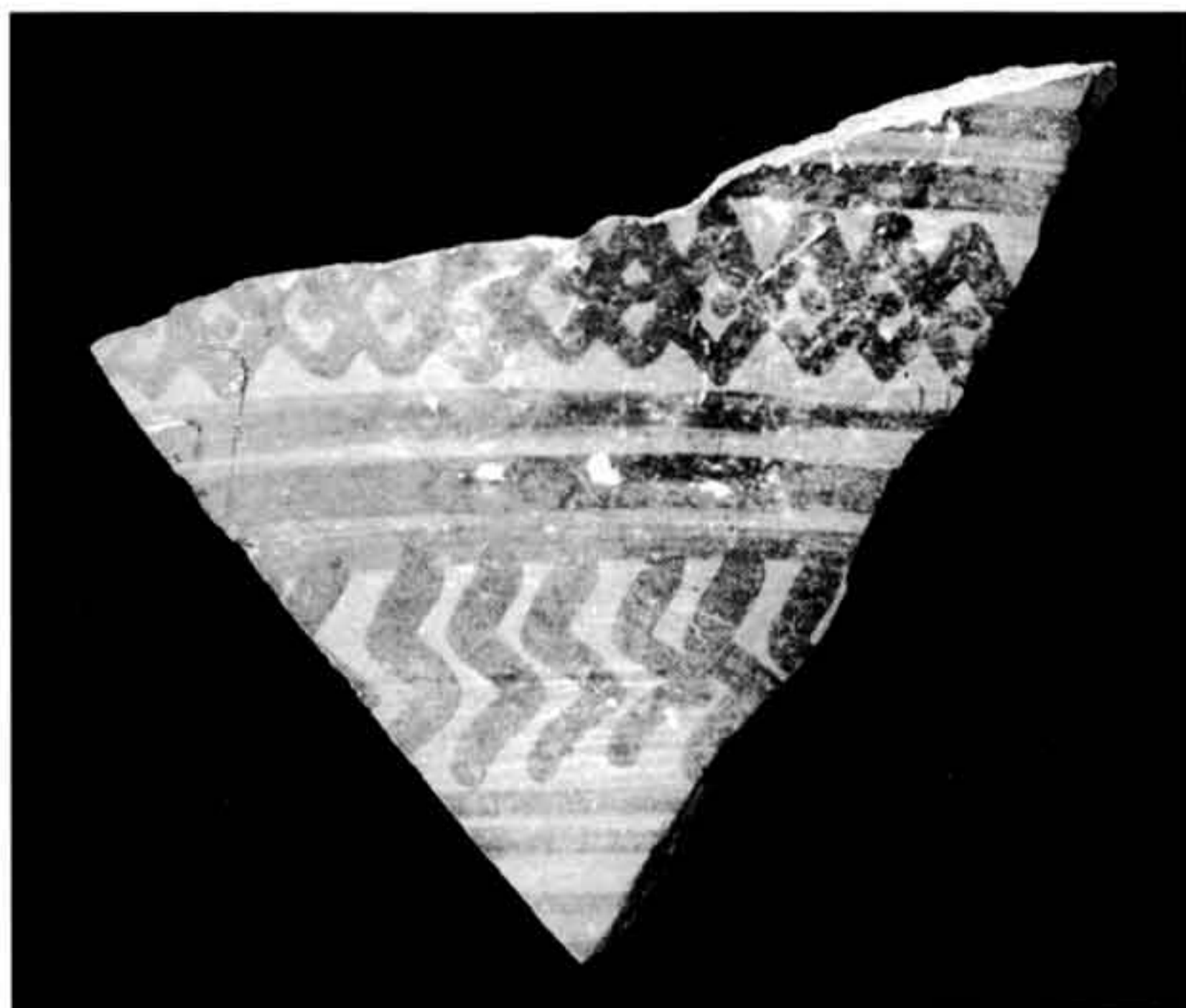


Fig. 5. Sherd from a big Aegean crater found in the palace of Amathus.

for that reason, the links with the Aegean never really stopped during CG I-II period.<sup>73</sup> Such a favourable situation might well have led to a quite large distribution of imported goods among the population of Amathus. This is, however, not the case: in the more than 500 Amathusian tombs, almost half of the Greek Geometric and Archaic pottery was found in no more than ten tombs. One could ask with Coldstream whether this concentration reflects the existence of special links among some Amathusian families with the Aegean, or the elite status of small groups within the state.<sup>74</sup> Though these solutions are not exclusive, it is worth noting that the Greek pottery was found in tombs where there was a great quantity of Phoenician imports as well.<sup>75</sup> Some tombs of the CG II period, it is true, also show a concentration of imported, prestige and/or metallic goods;<sup>76</sup> but it is worth noting that in Amathus as elsewhere in Cyprus the number and quality of prestige and/or imported goods increased suddenly during CG III;<sup>77</sup> as mentioned the first 'royal' tomb dates from the late 9th century and contained Greek Euboean *skyphoi* which can only be compared with similar dinner sets in Salamis Tomb I.<sup>78</sup> In the excavations of the palace, a fragment of a

big Aegean *crater* (Euboean?) from 730-710 BC, maybe a witness of Gift Trade, shows the desire of the Amathusian King to hold his rank within the social competition (Fig. 5: max. length: 11 cm; cf. Petit 1996b, 212, fig. 1, 219-220). Thus Amathus seems to correspond to the 'prestige goods economy model' (Knapp 1996) only from that time onwards. It is thus clear that the emergence of the Amathusian state was linked with, if not due to, privileged access to prestige goods and *exotica*. Nevertheless there is no need to consider as royal every tomb where exotic artefact or imported pottery were found. Greek ware found in the West necropolis of Amathus has been interpreted as gifts from the king to some aristocrats (Rupp 1989, 356). This was a common practice in several societies as well as in the contemporaneous Achaemenid Empire.<sup>79</sup>

#### e) *The script*

Everywhere, the emergence of the script is intimately linked with the rise of the state.<sup>80</sup> Although the script never totally disappeared in Cyprus after the end of the Bronze Age, since it reappeared in quite similar form as the old Cypro-Minoan script, the sudden reappearance of several written documents during the 8th century cannot only be due to the random character of the archaeological discoveries.<sup>81</sup> For that reason, it has been stated that in Cyprus the script is linked to power as an ideological tool since the 8th century BC.<sup>82</sup>

In Amathus the appearance of the script happened much earlier than it has been assumed. All the 'Eteocypriot' inscriptions are generally thought to have been written in the 4th century BC.<sup>83</sup> But two documents considerably antedate this time.<sup>84</sup> The big limestone vase, which remained *in situ* in the Great sanctuary until the 19th century, and is now in the Louvre, bears on one handle some syllabograms that surely note Amathusian ('Eteocypriot') words. Although it is quite difficult to date it, the vase is surely archaic.<sup>85</sup> Another undeciphered inscription was painted on an 8th century amphora,

called 'vase aux taureaux',<sup>86</sup> found in 1987 in the excavations in the same Aphrodision. Thus syllabic inscriptions appear on the acropolis of Amathus immediately after the founding of the sanctuary, that is during the first stage of its *floruit* (Cypriot Archaic (CA) IA: Hermay 1999, 55). It is very likely that this early appearance is linked to the creation of the state and its royal ideology.

#### f) *Symbols of power and warfare*

The script is by itself a sign of symbolic power, but in non-literate societies iconography is more directly understandable as an ideological vehicle to common people.<sup>87</sup> The presence of a *Stand* in the Weberian sense involves the necessity for this group to maintain an image of itself and often to use specific items produced for its exclusive use. This particular type of objects is sometimes called 'The Great Tradition'.<sup>88</sup> The royal images can be linked to the role of the king as benefactor or protector, especially as military leader (Petit 1996c). The warfare is very important for the emerging states.<sup>89</sup> It does not appear with statehood; it usually emerges at an earlier stage. The increase of warfare is thought to precede the emergence of the state.<sup>90</sup> In the context of endemic warfare, the military leaders generally rise to prominent status.<sup>91</sup> Technological progress, especially in warfare, such as the chariot, or, during other periods, the gunpowder, can lead to statehood.<sup>92</sup> The tombs of warriors bear witness to the existence of a ranked society, not necessarily of a state;<sup>93</sup> but warfare holds its importance during the first stage of the state, when it is not completely stabilized and the dynasty itself not yet well assured. That is the reason why this latter aspect is often emphasized in recently formed states. In this sense one can say that warfare creates a state and on the other hand that warfare is stimulated by statehood.<sup>94</sup>

In CG III Cyprus, the elites' ability to defend the state territory, their privileged access to the new techniques of warfare (esp. the chariot) and their ability to use it, can be illustrated by the votive offerings.

In the whole island, the beginning of the 'warrior cult' may be placed in the middle of the CG III period, *i.e.* ca 800 BC.<sup>95</sup> This increased number of votive offerings showing warriors is attested in several sanctuaries. In Aghia Irini, the images of warriors and charioteers of the CG III period<sup>96</sup> seem to be contemporary with the rise of the state and directly linked to this phenomenon.<sup>97</sup> In the stage immediately prior to the rise of polities, it seems that the sanctuaries did not to any high degree have a warrior character, since warriors and charioteers did not appear before CG III. The same is true of burials. Indeed the main and richest warrior tombs only arose during the period of CG III as well.<sup>98</sup> The appearance of a certain type of what is called a mace-head, (a sceptre or command-stick) is attested since CG III, too.<sup>99</sup> But there are other burials with an indication of warfare before that period.<sup>100</sup>

The new states needed to be protected against each other, since the struggle for space often became more and more important during the formation stage of the state.<sup>101</sup> For example, the Lelantine war has been considered a classic case of a "circumscription war".<sup>102</sup> Was it the case in Cyprus? It is surely not accidental that images of warriors and charioteers appeared in Cypriot sanctuaries<sup>103</sup> immediately after the massive settlement of Phoenicians in Kition. One may think that the Phoenician demand for copper and the ensuing struggle between Cypriot petty chiefs to control copper mines was a more decisive phenomenon in Cyprus than the lack of land.<sup>104</sup>

### *g) Demography*

The rise of the state presupposes the presence of several conditions, such as a sufficient population, emergence of complex forms of government and recruitment of different kinds of full-time specialists.<sup>105</sup> Although Cyprus did not undergo a demographic collapse comparable to the one in Greece during the Iron Age,<sup>106</sup> there had been a decrease in the settlements during the CG I-II periods and a

dramatic increase during the CG III period.<sup>107</sup> The choice of the site of Amathus, namely the acropolis and the lower town (Fig. 1) about 800 BC, may also be a sign of a demographic increase.

### *h) New capital cities*

It has been suggested that the foundation of new capital cities by political elites goes hand in hand with the emergence of the state.<sup>108</sup> The founding of such new cities constituted a way for the elite to assure and display its control over the surplus labour and to shape the landscape.<sup>109</sup> In Amathus the creation of the sanctuary of the Great Goddess on the top of the hill and the placement of the palace on an artificial terrace (for this terrace, see Petit 1993, 705-707), which occupied exactly the centre of the acropolis (Fig. 1, no. 7), are two signs of this ability. Although at the present it is difficult to evaluate the size of the population in the city of Amathus, the new town corresponds to the distribution in the 'city state system' of Trigger (Trigger 1974, 102) and it is identical to Renfrew's 'permanent functioning central place' (Renfrew 1975, 12),<sup>110</sup> which is "one of the features distinguishing civilizations from chiefdom societies". The choice of this new settlement as a seat for the public institutions, *i.e.* the main sanctuary and the palace, is a sign that at this time (second half of the 9th century) Amathus became a state and emerged from the rank of a chiefdom. Thus the Renfrew's ESM ('Early State Model'), inspired by Greece, Etruria, Mesopotamia and the Maya land, is usable also in Cyprus (and in the neo-Hittite principalities, Phoenicia, Israel, etc.). The latter display several features characteristic of such entities: in the ESM system, the distance between "central places" is ca 40 km,<sup>111</sup> which for instance is more or less the distance between Salamis, Kition, Amathus, Kourion, and Paphos, on the eastern and southern coasts of Cyprus (see Rupp 1987, map 4); most ESM have small territories of ca 1500 km<sup>2</sup>:<sup>112</sup> the map of the supposed territory of the kingdom published in the guidebook of Amathus

shows a territory of less than 600 km<sup>2</sup> (Aupert 1996, 22); the map proposed by Rupp (1987, map 4) is based on the method of Thiessen's polygons and shows a kingdom slightly larger than 800 km<sup>2</sup>. This small size may be explained by the lack of territorial depth due to the wooden and steep slopes of the Troodos Mountains, which limit the kingdom to the north. There may have been other larger states, such as Salamis, Soloi and Paphos (see Rupp 1987, map 5).

## From chiefdom to State

The archaeological evidence of Amathus during the CG I-II period corresponds to what has been observed elsewhere as the features of chiefdom.<sup>113</sup> People must have lived in the neighbourhood of the future city-acropolis since there are several CG I-II tombs in the necropolis, but nothing has been found on the hill itself.<sup>114</sup> Thus the settlements around the hill must have been non-permanent dwellings, which have left no visible traces. This kind of settlement corresponds to the archaeological correlate of the chiefdom or "big-man society".<sup>115</sup> The great amount of pottery discovered under the first floor of the palace of Amathus (Fig. 4 A-C) shows that the CG III palace was not built on a completely deserted hill. So far, no architectural remains of this first settlement has been found but, judging from the pottery, the settlers belonged to what can be described as the 'upper-middle class' (Iacovou, pers. com.)<sup>116</sup>, maybe chieftains or "big-men" in anthropological terms. This provisional settlement occurs immediately before *ca* 800 BC, or during the second half of the 9th century. It is worth noting that this time corresponds to the period of the arrival of the Phoenicians in Kition and squares with other signs of Phoenician influence in the necropolis of Amathus.<sup>117</sup>

The existence of such "big-man" communities in Cyprus before the emergence of the historical states has already been suggested by some scholars, who are not directly involved in the debate concerning

the two theories. Catling (1994, 137-8) imagines that Cyprus was then divided between 'predator heroes'; and Deger-Jalkotzy (1994, 16) had a similar idea since she states that: "military leaders may well have played an essential role during the troubles of time". It is thus likely that Cyprus did not know statehood during the CG I-II period, but rather simply stratified societies, known as chiefdoms, of which the chieftains were military leaders.<sup>118</sup> In this way one could explain the presence of some evidence of status signs at this time, such as the *obeloi* found in the Palea-Paphos – Skales cemetery, and maybe the Greek import of the 10th century in some tombs of Amathus.<sup>119</sup> The state formation in Cyprus was perhaps a long process,<sup>120</sup> and the Cypriot states could have been in formation during the CGI-II Periods as assumed by M. Iacovou.<sup>121</sup> Nevertheless, what we know about Cypriot polities during this period does not square with the criteria of statehood, and, to say the least, this level was not achieved before the end of the 9th century; Cyprus then went through the crucial phase of the development, which otherwise could have stopped before reaching the state.<sup>122</sup>

It is a well-known phenomenon that the state is frequently preceded by a chiefdom or a "big-men" society.<sup>123</sup> It is the competition between chiefs which can lead to a state.<sup>124</sup> The way which leads from chiefdom to state is likewise well-known.<sup>125</sup> First: isolated communities, with centres of similar size, are separated by buffer zones. Second: there occurs a rapid nucleation of the population at one centre, apparently at the expense of defeated or threatened neighbours;<sup>126</sup> in some cases, archaeological data suggest that raiding was replaced by organized warfare (at this point we should remember the appearance of the warriors and charioteers at Aghia Irini). Third: the creation of a general centre, the new capital, entailed a supplementary level of social stratification (the fourth one according to Flannery 1999). In Amathus, the second phase at least, is archaeologically visible, as is the third.

No doubt the arrival and installation *en masse* of the Phoenicians in Kition were very important factors in this development to statehood (see above, the warfare). Although some scholars have, indeed, minimized the role of trade in the emergence of the state, it is nonetheless a well-established factor (Peltenburg 1996, 37): "...intensive trade has a major effect on the activities of the indigenous inhabitants, amongst whom an economic organization develops with increasingly more intensive interaction. This can lead to the development of civilization without any extensive adoption of the technology, customs, or beliefs of the colonial newcomers (...) External trade brings exotic prestige artefacts which confer status on those individuals controlling the supply. A prominent hierarchy can thus emerge in what was formerly only partly a stratified society" (Renfrew 1975, 33). Referring to second millennium Cyprus Peltenburg says, "Traditional models of state formation have invoked managerial conflict and synthetic theories. The last one in which several interacting processes operate at once is most plausible. In the case of Cyprus, turmoil in the east, centre and north occurred when the eastern Cyprus came into increasing contact with Near Eastern kingdoms apparently for purpose of trade (...) Copper export, therefore, rather than agricultural surplus, or population expansion was one essential ingredient to the emergence of social stratification and urbanism" (Peltenburg 1996, 36). In my view, there is nothing but a few words to add to this statement concerning the reappearance of the state in Iron Age Cyprus. Although we know almost nothing about the exploitation of copper between 1050 and 750 BC,<sup>127</sup> an increase in the exploitation of copper seems to have occurred in the last half of the 8th century.<sup>128</sup> In this connection Amathus was a rather privileged centre as the texts say (Ovidus, *Met.* 10.220, 531) and the surveys show.<sup>129</sup> But perhaps it was not so much the economic pressure of the Phoenicians in search of copper which led from chiefdom to state in Cyprus, as it

was the consequence of this demand, which led to the competition between local chieftains to control the sources of commodities, and mainly the copper mines, in order to respond to this demand and to increase their privileges emerging from an unequal access to resources.<sup>130</sup> Thus, as usual, trade and conflict go hand in hand to give birth to state.<sup>131</sup>

The way in which chiefdoms got access to statehood is well evidenced from other ethnological or historical cases. To take an example well documented by texts, it is striking that the state-formation in Amathus (perhaps in all Cyprus), hypothesized on the basis of the scarce sources at our disposal, is very similar to the process better known in Israel. A few years ago, the present author proposed this comparison<sup>132</sup> and it seems now to be widely accepted.<sup>133</sup> In fact a new theory tends to place the origins of the Greek *poleis* within the context of the Iron Age, especially in Phoenicia and Israel, but also in Ammon, Moab, Aram, Damascus, etc.<sup>134</sup> Cyprus is thus included in that political area.<sup>135</sup> Although the historian must use these sources very cautiously (Finkelstein 1999), the Old Testament texts are quite detailed about the way Israel came to be a state (*1Kings*, 3,1; *2Chronicles*, 14,1; 17,1-12).<sup>136</sup> After a period of chiefdoms (the "Judges"), the Hebrews chose a military leader, Saul, the chief of Benjamin (*1Sam.* 10, 17-20), who quickly became a king. The reason for this decision was either that the military pressure of the Philistines was too high to be faced by single tribes, and/or that other people, amongst whom the Philistines, had a king (*1Sam.* 8,4-6; 8,19-20).<sup>137</sup> But this first monarchy was quite unstable. Saul was overthrown by David, who founded a more stable dynasty (*2Sam.* 2; see Finkelstein 1999, 42). He conquered Jerusalem from the Jebuseites and chose it for his new capital (*2Sam.* 5, 6-10; *1Chron.*, 11, 4-9), which remained quite small in size until the 7th century BC.<sup>138</sup> He immediately built a palace (*2Sam.* 5, 11; *1Chron.* 14, 1-2), and he later planned to build a temple to YHWH (*2Sam.* 7; *1Chron.*, 17; 28-29); but he was

hindered in doing so by his very important military activities (*1Kings*, 5, 17). It was his son, Salomon, who had the honour of building the Temple (*1Kings*, 5-8; *2Chron.* 2-6).

In Amathus, the sequence of events as revealed by the archaeological investigation seems to be the same: the new king (?) chose a new site to establish his capital, and he founded on the acropolis, first his palace, *ca* 800 BC, on an artificial terrace in the centre of the hill, then the sanctuary of the Great Goddess on the top of the hill, in the first half of the 8th century BC.<sup>139</sup> Of course, as the French proverb says, *comparaison n'est pas raison*, and it is not sufficient for this model to be true that the anthropological pattern seems to fit with archaeological and historical data. Indeed, in reasoning with

sociological comparison, one is maybe reduced to think in terms of "Everything goes on as if...". But in the present case there is, in fact, convergent evidence which cannot be due to chance. At least one must conclude that from the second half of the 9th century BC and only from that time, the Amathusian polity displays the archaeological evidence of a state.<sup>140</sup> Thus the discovery of this monumental building dating from the end of the 9th century BC, which is very likely the first royal palace of Amathus, pushes back the date of the rise of the Amathusian polity, one of the most important for the history of Iron Age Cyprus, but does not fill the gap between the mythical foundation by Kinyras and the Phoenician settlement in Cyprus.

# Notes

## NOTE 1

I would like to thank Dr. D. Bodi for his very kind remarks.

## NOTE 2

Maier & Karageorghis 1984, 120.

## NOTE 3

For the complete literature on Cypriot foundation-myths: Vanschoonwinkel 1994, 122ff.

## NOTE 4

But see Baurain and Bonnet, 1992, 183-88.

## NOTE 5

For this language, see Petit 1997/1998.

## NOTE 6

Ethiopians: Petit 1998; heirs of Kinyras: Petit 1995, 62-64.

## NOTE 7

See, for instance, Coldstream 1985, 47.

## NOTE 8

Snodgrass 1988; Reyes 1994, 24-25.

## NOTE 9

Snodgrass 1991; Donlan 1997.

## NOTE 10

For example, Iacovou 1995, 98-99.

## NOTE 11

Snodgrass 1988, 16-17, fig. 10; Buitron-Oliver 1997, 28.

## NOTE 12

Karageorghis 1989, 15-16.

## NOTE 13

Iacovou 1995, 101-02.

## NOTE 14

Steel 1993, 151.

## NOTE 15

Iacovou 1995, 107; Hermary 1998a, 24.

## NOTE 16

Steel 1993, 153; Coldstream 1985, 50-51.

## NOTE 17

Baurain 1995, 24; Crielaard 1998; Matthäus 1998, 137. One may seriously doubt that the Kourion sceptre belongs to the 11th century B.C. (Iacovou 1995, 104; Steel 1993, 148 and n. 20; see now, Goring 1995). By evoking this object and a *crater* dated from the second half of the 8th century BC, Buitron-Oliver 1997, 29, thinks that there was a "continued prosperity", although we have no tangible evidence for almost three centuries!

## NOTE 18

Iacovou 1995, 100, 104; cf. Gjerstad 1980, 147.

## NOTE 19

Coldstream 1995a and 1995b.

## NOTE 20

Crielaard 1998; Matthäus 1998, 137.

## NOTE 21

Rupp 1987, 149; cf. Steel 1993, 149.

## NOTE 22

Hermary 1998a cf. *Id.* 1998b, 267.

## NOTE 23

Kourion: Buitron-Oliver 1997, 29; Agia Irini: Hermary 1998a, 24-25.

## NOTE 24

For examples, see Hadjisavvas 1996; Matthäus 1998, 137, 140-2.

## NOTE 25

Marion: Childs 1997, 37; Kourion: Buitron-Oliver 1997, 29.

## NOTE 26

Yon 1981, 51; Buitron-Oliver 1997, 34; Childs 1997, 37. Amathus: Coldstream 1988 and 1989.

## NOTE 27

Baurain 1995, 84 and notes; cf. Baurain 1997, 374.

## NOTE 28

Matthäus 1998, 142-43.

## NOTE 29

Gjerstad 1948, 436; Karageorghis 1976, 95 and 97; Coldstream 1985, 51.

## NOTE 30

Certainly, because of the weakness of the *argumentum e silentio* one cannot deduce from the absence of archaeological evidence for the state system during CG I-II period that a state did not exist; but, conversely, this weakness cannot be used to conclude that states did exist.

## NOTE 31

Iacovou 1999, 155.

## NOTE 32

Rupp 1987, 151; 1988; 1989.

## NOTE 33

Morris 1987; Whitley 1991a, 354-61; Said 1998, 13-15; ; Morgan and Whitelaw 1991, esp. 93; Yoffee 1993, 69; Coldstream 1995b, 212.

## NOTE 34

Antonaccio 1995, 259.

## NOTE 35

See for instance, Driessen 1999, 122; Knapp 1996, 82-84; Trigger 1974, 100-01; Cherry 1978, 425-26; Rupp 1987, 152; Marcus and Flannery 1994, 65.

## NOTE 36

Maier 1989; for Idalion M. Hadjicosti 1995.

## NOTE 37

Paion, *apud* Plutarch, *Theseus*, 20; Hermary 1994.

- NOTE 38  
See Laffineur and Marchetti 1978, 950-52, figs. 20-21.
- NOTE 39  
Iacovou 1994, 155 et 160; Iacovou 1999, 152-153, and fig. 3a, where these pots are strangely qualified as "foundation deposit" cf. Vanschoonwinkel 1994, 112 et 125.
- NOTE 40  
See below; cf. Petit 1991/1992, 7.
- NOTE 41  
See Finkelstein 1999, 39; and below for Israel.
- NOTE 42  
Laffineur and Marchetti 1978, 797.
- NOTE 43  
These vases belong to the second and the third classes of Gjerstad's typology: Gjerstad 1948.
- NOTE 44  
Coldstream 1989; 1995b, 212.
- NOTE 45  
Rupp 1985; cf. Demand 1997, 101.
- NOTE 46  
Trigger 1974, 100-01; Cherry 1978, 425-26.
- NOTE 47  
Trigger 1974, 99 and 101; Cherry 1978, 422-23; see already Weber 1972, 651.
- NOTE 48  
See for instance Knapp 1996, 82; Trigger 1974, 96, 100-01; Cherry 1978, 425-26; Rupp 1987, 152; Steel 1993, 149; Claessen 1996, 352.
- NOTE 49  
Peltenburg 1996, 37 (trade); Claessen 1996, 352; Rupp 1987, 149-50, see below.
- NOTE 50  
Ruby 1993, 812.
- NOTE 51  
Yoffee 1993, 69-70.
- NOTE 52  
Trigger 1974, 100-01; Cherry 1978, 425-26; Rupp 1987, 152; Steel 1993, 149; see, for Hawaii between 1100 and 1300 AD, Van Bakel 1996, 323-25; in Sri Lanka: Gunawarada 1981, 140-41.
- NOTE 53  
Knapp 1996; van Bakel 1996, 323-25
- NOTE 54  
For Aghia Irini: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 777-92.
- NOTE 55  
Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 817-22.
- NOTE 56  
See for instance Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 821-22.
- NOTE 57  
Rupp 1988, 123.
- NOTE 58  
But see now Gaber *et al.* 1999, 329.
- NOTE 59  
Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 627.
- NOTE 60  
Hermay 1998b, 267.
- NOTE 61  
Knapp 1996.
- NOTE 62  
Serandour 1996, 11.
- NOTE 63  
Tanabe 1996, 210-11.
- NOTE 64  
Snodgrass 1977, 21-24.
- NOTE 65  
I am grateful to Claire Balandier for this information.
- NOTE 66  
Rupp 1988, 135.
- NOTE 67  
Knapp 1996, 82; Trigger 1974, 100; Rupp 1987, 151; 1988; 1989.
- NOTE 68  
See for instance the Egyptian Pyramids of the Old Empire: Cherry 1978, 429.
- NOTE 69  
Coldstream 1995, 187ff and 192f.
- NOTE 70  
Coldstream 1995a, 195; Rupp 1988, 125.
- NOTE 71  
Trigger 1974, 96, 99-101; Rupp 1988; 1989; Knapp 1996.
- NOTE 72  
Matthäus 1998, 137, 140-43; for Marion, see Childs 1997.
- NOTE 73  
Coldstream 1988, 43; 1989, 90-91.
- NOTE 74  
Coldstream 1995b, 212.
- NOTE 75  
Coldstream 1995b, 212, n. 51; Antonaccio 1995, 227 and n. 135.
- NOTE 76  
Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, T. 13: 79-84, T. 19; cf. Crielaard 1998, 190.
- NOTE 77  
Crielaard 1998, 187; Matthäus 1998, 140-43; cf. Hermay 1999, 58.
- NOTE 78  
Coldstream 1995a, 192-95.
- NOTE 79  
See Petit 1996a, 126-27; cf. Petit 1996b, 218-21.
- NOTE 80  
See for instance Lévi-Strauss 1955, 173-174; Skalník 1978, 607; Finkelstein 1999, 39.
- NOTE 81  
Cf. Baurain 1995, 84.
- NOTE 82  
Rupp 1987, 151; 1988, 123; Collombier 1991, 437; Steel 1993, 149.
- NOTE 83  
Reyes, 1994, 15; Given 1998, 22.
- NOTE 84  
See Petit 1999, 110-15.
- NOTE 85  
Petit 1997/1998, 250; 262; Petit 1999, 112, 114, fig. 1a-b.
- NOTE 86  
Petit 1999, 113-15, fig. 4a-b.
- NOTE 87  
See, for example, Trigger 1974, 103-04.



NOTE 88  
Cherry 1978, 422-423; Yoffee 1993, 66-67.

NOTE 89  
Trigger 1974, 99 and 101.

NOTE 90  
Webb 1975, 184-89.

NOTE 91  
Lewis 1981, 212; Gunawardana 1981, 136-40.

NOTE 92  
Cohen 1978, 61-62.

NOTE 93  
Rupp 1988, 123.

NOTE 94  
Cohen 1978, 62; Joyce and Winter 1996, 38-39.

NOTE 95  
See Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 777ff; 822; and pl. CLXXXIX-CXCVI, esp. pl. CXCIV, n° 1385+1530.

NOTE 96  
Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 817-22.

NOTE 97  
See for Greece, Polignac 1995, 27; 42-44; 64-78.

NOTE 98  
See for instance, T. 18 of Amathus: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 103-109; T. 2: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 16.

NOTE 99  
See, for instance, Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, pl. VII-VIII, CL; Moorey 1971, 92-95; Snodgrass 1988, 17 fig. 11; Kourou 1994.

NOTE 100  
Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, T. 21: CG II, T. 6: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 27ff.

NOTE 101  
Carneiro 1970; Webb 1975, 180-94.

NOTE 102  
Morris 1987, 166.

NOTE 103  
In Aghia Irini: Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 817-22.

NOTE 104  
As it is maybe the case in Greece: Polignac 1995, 51-78.

NOTE 105  
Claessen 1996, 352.

NOTE 106  
Even for Greece we cannot retain anymore the calculations of Snodgrass: see Morris 1987; 1991; Snodgrass 1991.

NOTE 107  
Rupp 1987, 149-51; cf. Steel 1993, 149.

NOTE 108  
Knapp 1996, 82; see for instance Gunawardana 1981, 140-41; Yoffee 1993, 70; Marcus and Flannery 1994, 63-65; Joyce and Winter 1996, 36.

NOTE 109  
Knapp 1996, 83-84.

NOTE 110  
See also Etienne *et al.* 2000, 99.

NOTE 111  
Kletter 1999, 21; Renfrew 1975 13-15; see also Cherry 1978, 422-23.

NOTE 112  
Renfrew 1975, 113; Cherry 1978, 422-23; Hodges 1978, 444; Kletter 1999, 21.

NOTE 113  
Crielaard 1998, 190.

NOTE 114  
Even if we may think of a settlement placed to the west of the acropolis or maybe at the foot of the hill as suggested cautiously by Hermary 1999, 57-58.

NOTE 115  
Crielaard 1998, 190; for Greece see Whitley 1991, 346-52; cf. Gunawardana 1981.

NOTE 116  
I am very grateful to Dr. Iacovou for her comments about these sherds, and I beg her pardon for my criticisms which I hope she will consider as friendly and constructive.

NOTE 117  
For instance, see Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 30ff: T. 7 the end of CG II or beginning of the CG III (*i.e.* ca 850 BC) with some Black-on-Red imported juglets; cf. Hermary 1999, 56-57.

NOTE 118  
Crielaard 1998, 187-90; cf. Earle 1991 and Gunawardana 1981, 136-40.

NOTE 119  
Palea-Paphos-Skales: Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo 1989, 15-17; Amathus: Coldstream 1989; Hermary 1999, 56-58. It is often the omission of this ethnological category, namely the chiefdom, which can supposedly explain the use of prestige goods as evidence for statehood during the CG I-II period, that creates the problem (see Crielaard 1998, 190). Prestige goods and *exotica* are evidence for *stratified society* but not necessarily for *statehood*, which is not the only form of social hierarchy. In this way, Steel (1993) seems to ignore chiefdom as a sociological concept since she considers sign of stratification as sign of statehood (p. 152-53); thus she confuses king of an early state and military leader in a chiefdom in which there are already signs of social stratification (see Whitley 1991, for 9th-century Athens). In spite of her arguments, everything she says corroborates the idea of a decline (if not a 'Dark Age') during the 10th and 9th centuries BC. Besides, several mistakes can be found in her article: for example, p. 147, Theopompus does not say that Kinyras is expelled from Paphos; Hermary does not state that Amathus is the first Phoenician colony before Kition; Baurain does not complete the word *Nuria* by *Ki-* but by *Kin-*, etc.

NOTE 120  
Iacovou 1999, 154-155

NOTE 121  
Iacovou 1995, 102. But it seems that this new position of the supporters of the 'Achaean hypothesis' is rather a withdrawal to a middle term position. They admit that the process of political formation in Cyprus which led to the historical kingdoms was not finished before the CG III period and that the process may have endured in the entire Geometric period, from before 1050 till after 750: for example, see Iacovou 1999, 154-55, which contrasts with Iacovou 1995, 100, where it is stated that in the non-monumental settlements the Cypriot city-kingdoms were actually in their early stage (*ἐν τῇ γενέσει τους*) and Iacovou 1995, 107, where she states that in 707 the kingdoms were still "in their swaddling-clothes". Such a statement does not fit with the stabilisation of the polities at the end of the 11th cent. BC (*ibid.* 104).

NOTE 122  
It seems that Cyprus underwent the same development to statehood at least twice, since what we can hypothesize for the Iron Age seems to have already occurred in the

second millennium too: Knapp 1986; Peltenburg 1996.

NOTE 123

For Greece, see Ferguson 1991; Whitley 1991a, 348-51; Donlan 1997; this 'big-men society' could be described by Hesiod: Morris 1987, 2 and/or Homer: Whitley 1991a, 361-65; see also Spencer 1998.

NOTE 124

Earle 1997; Flannery 1999; cf. Gunawardana 1981.

NOTE 125

E.g. Flannery 1999; but see Yoffee 1993.

NOTE 126

See Gunawardana 1981, 140-41; Hagerstein 1996, 192f.

NOTE 127

Muhly 1996, 48.

NOTE 128

See for Tamassos, Buchholz 1993, 195.

NOTE 129

C. Petit *et al.* 1989, 895-96; contra Iacovou 1995, 102.

NOTE 130

Cohen 1978, 56-57.

NOTE 131

Webb 1975.

NOTE 132

Petit 1991/1992, 14, n. 36.

NOTE 133

Iacovou 1995, 97-98; Hermary 1999, 55. Iacovou (1995, 104) admits that a period of chiefdoms followed the end of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus. But 1) she thinks that this period did not last longer than to the end of the 11th cent. BC (1955, 103-04); and 2) she compares the Cypriot chiefdoms with the period of the Judges and the division in twelve tribes in Israel. But 1) as she states earlier, there is no evidence of social distinction in the tombs before the end of the 9th cent. BC and no monumental architecture in the capitals (Iacovou 1995, 104); 2) it is quite obvious that the Cypriot polities are not only chiefdoms but correspond to Renfrew's Early State moduls (Renfrew 1975, 17-18) and can be compared with the kingdoms of Israel or Tyr (for the criteria of the Early States, see, for instance, Claessen and Oosten 1996).

NOTE 134

Phoenicia and Israel: Morris 1991; 1992; Ammon etc. Finkelstein 1999, 43, 47-48.

NOTE 135

See Demand 1997, 103.

NOTE 136

For the ideology, see Whitlam 1986.

NOTE 137

Claessen and Oosten 1996, 364.

NOTE 138

See the map in Finkelstein 1999, 44; for the significance of the new capital in the new state: Yoffee 1993, 70.

NOTE 139

See also for Monte Albán in south Mexico: Flannery and Marcus 1983.

NOTE 140

Trigger 1974; Yoffee 1993, 69-70; see also for instance Joyce and Winter 1996, 36.

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## Abbreviations

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BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*  
BCH *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*  
RDAC *Report of the Department of Antiquities. Cyprus*

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