

CYPRUS AND THE AEGEAN IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

The Legacy of Nicolas Coldstream

EDITED BY MARIA IACOVOU



BANK OF CYPRUS CULTURAL FOUNDATION

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THE LEGACY OF NICOLAS COLDSTREAM

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Nicholas Caldwell
Executive Director
University of the Pacific Library

Proceedings of an archaeological workshop held in memory of
Professor J. N. Coldstream (1927–2008)

Monday, 13 December 2010
Archaeological Research Unit
University of Cyprus

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Foreword

THE PRESENT VOLUME IS A TRIBUTE to the memory of an internationally acclaimed scholar and long-time friend of Cyprus; it is published by the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation as a token of our gratitude for his invaluable contribution to the field of Cypriot archaeology. During a crucial period, when there was no formal university programme on the history and archaeology of Cyprus anywhere in the world, Professor J.N. Coldstream had taken it upon himself to show through his teaching, research and publications the significance of Cypriot material culture as a vital component of Mediterranean archaeology. In recognition of his work, Professor Coldstream was invited in 1986 by the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation to give the Second Annual Lecture on the History and Archaeology of Cyprus. This institution, the first that was formally approved by the Board of Directors, and the oldest of the Foundation's annual activities, was initiated in 1985 with a lecture by the late Jean Poulloux, the French archaeologist whose name has been inextricably linked with the excavations of Salamis. At the time, Cyprus was trying desperately to heal some of the open wounds (still open today) inflicted by the invasion of 1974: the occupation of territories had led to the loss of archives and libraries, monuments and sites of primary cultural and archaeo-historical value. Given annually by a distinguished personality in the field of history and/or archaeology, the Annual Lecture and its publication were part of a policy, the explicit target of which was to remedy these vast losses by updating the study of the cultural profile of the island with scientifically first rate papers. Each lecture was published as an elegant booklet that was widely distributed to

libraries in Cyprus and, above all, to academic institutions overseas. In 2003, 18 years and 18 published Annual Lectures later, the Foundation's Board of Directors recognized that the institution had served its purpose well, but it had also completed its cycle.

Founded in 1993, the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus — first directed by Vassos Karageorghis and subsequently, and to this day, by Demetrios Michaelides — has gradually incorporated Cypriot archaeology within a highly specialized academic environment: international conferences, symposia and cycles of weekly lectures complement the teaching and enhance the research programmes of the Department of History and Archaeology; at the same time, they remain open to the international archaeological community and equally to the interested public — as the events sponsored by the Cultural foundation always were and will always be.

In view of these dramatically positive developments that are a result of the establishment of the University of Cyprus, the Board of Directors decided that the time had come to establish a closer synergy with the Archaeological Research Unit — as the Bank of Cyprus had already done with the University of Cyprus at large. The specific area, which requires a joint effort, is recognized by both parties: Cypriot studies may be thriving today but they are in great need of funds for publications and they also require assistance in the distribution of new publications. With this objective in mind, the Cultural Foundation has, with great pleasure, undertaken to publish and distribute the proceedings of the Workshop that was organized by the Archaeological Research Unit in memory of J.N. Coldstream (1927–2008). We look forward to a long, scientifically sound and fruitful collaboration that will enrich Cypriot studies with new and original works by senior as well as young scholars.

Lefki Michaelidou

Director, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation

Editor's Introduction: Nicolas the symposiast and his brood of Greek symposiasts

ON THE 13TH OF DECEMBER 2010, a small group of Early Iron Age specialists from Greece and Cyprus, who represent two generations of Greek scholars that have followed in the footsteps of Professor J. N. Coldstream, met at the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus to honour his memory. With this meeting, the University of Cyprus and especially the members of the Archaeological Research Unit, which in the last decade has become the base of the School of Cypriot Archaeology, wished to acknowledge a major debt owed to the late Professor Coldstream: in the 1990s, as chairman or member of many selection committees, Coldstream played a decisive role in electing the first professors of archaeology for the Department of History and Archaeology. This alone would have been reason enough to devote a Workshop in his memory. There was, however, a less obvious but more intimate purpose behind the meeting — which is reflected in, and should also explain, the choice of speakers — as we wished to pay tribute to aspects of his academic contribution that have had a long-term impact on the archaeology of Cyprus and also on the careers of his Cypriot students. His productive and creative association with Cyprus, from where he regularly harvested a rich collection of data, which he would then share with his circle of 'disciples', fostered the opening of channels of communication and collaboration between Greek colleagues working in the Early Iron Age of Greece and Cyprus.

Many years before the establishment of the University of Cyprus (1992), where the field of Cypriot archaeology finally found a long-deserved home in the Ar-

chaeological Research Unit of the Department of History and Archaeology, Nicolas Coldstream, Professor of Aegean Archaeology at Bedford College, London (from 1975), and then Yates Professor of Classical Archaeology at University College, London (as of 1983), was the only university teacher in Europe to have introduced regular undergraduate courses and graduate seminars on the archaeology of Cyprus. Not many scholars, other than a few ‘natives’ who were struggling to specialise and also stay in Cypriot archaeology in the ‘70s and ‘80s (especially doctoral candidates and post-doctoral researchers, like some of my Cypriot colleagues and myself), are able to look back and appreciate the significance of Nicolas’s pioneering academic agenda: he steadfastly, and against the temporal and geographical constraints of the established Classical Archaeology tradition, considered Cyprus an integral part of Aegean studies, in as much as he saw the Aegean not in isolation but as the central part of the Mediterranean world. He taught, and lived by, this credo to the end: he would travel on either side of the Aegean to study Greek pottery that appeared in assemblages in the Levant, in Italy, or elsewhere. He always kept one step ahead of everybody else as he had an unmatched ability to sew every new piece of evidence onto a big canvas — where he mapped the multidirectional movements of artefacts, ideas and influences that speak of human contacts and are the stuff from which we can begin to approach the history of our shared Mediterranean landscape in the early first millennium BC.

The Mycenaean Seminar, which he ran so diligently in the Institute of Classical Studies in London for many years, was not confined geographically or chronologically to the Mycenaean culture or even to the archaeology of Greece: it was the venue he used so that scholars would lecture in London on research projects that concerned the whole of the Central and East Mediterranean in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. Thus, promising young archaeologists of many nationalities who had found a haven in his classes and in his tutoring were also urged to rise to the podium of the Mycenaean Seminar, to present their research and defend their interpretations. But Nicolas’s tutorial method was not confined to the Institute; he was a master in developing academic ‘togetherness’ — or what one could perhaps describe better as good manners and good company in the social practice of archaeology. Those privileged to know him would agree that organising social gatherings, as a rule in his home, was an integral part of Nicolas’s scholarly *modus operandi*. In this, his spouse Nicky Coldstream was his devoted accomplice; nobody can possibly overlook her contribution. Herself a formidable Mediaeval archaeologist, Nicky deserves an honorary degree in Aegean studies, not only for her exquisite drawings of the pottery that Nicolas would study and publish but also for using her cooking skills to prepare what must certainly have

amounted to a monumentally long list of dinners at their historic house, blessed by the young Mozart, at 18o Ebury Street. There, shy and reserved juniors came to sit next to, and converse with, senior scholars — and each other. *Was it not this that the Greek Symposium was all about?* With the Cyprus University Workshop we attempted to emulate a gathering of old and new symposiasts who cherish the spiritual bonds that Nicolas nurtured between his students and himself, and likewise among his students.

Like dozens of Nicolas's one time students who are today distinguished scholars, Nota Kourou (University of Athens), Alexander Mazarakis Ainian (University of Thessaly), Irene Lemos (University of Oxford), Vasiliki Kassianidou (University of Cyprus) and Maria Iacovou (University of Cyprus), the five Greek professors who were asked to convene the Workshop (their number was kept to a minimum so as to give more time and scope to the second generation), had the good fortune to study and/or work with Nicolas; but the primary force that brought us together was the fact that it is through Nicolas that, since the 1980s, we have come to know and respect each other. It was Nicolas who showed us, by his own example, that we needed each other's knowledge and first-hand experience of the intricacies of all matters Aegean and Cypriot. The years went by, but mutual trust carried on; we have often relied on each other's regional expertise; we have also referred to each other, and exchanged, promising students who have helped to open up the Cypro-Aegean web of communication and sustain a lively archaeological dialogue. The result is an energetic and highly mobile second generation of young Early Iron Age scholars from Greece and Cyprus who can bridge the geographical — and academic — distance between the archaeologies of a central Mediterranean region (the Aegean) and an eastern one (the island of Cyprus) with an insightful understanding of regional differences and a sensitive appreciation of local identities.

In one way or another, the eight second generation representatives who were invited to the Workshop belong to this energetic category (the order of names follows the order of papers in the volume). Antonia Livieratou, now in the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in the Museum of Thebes, did her doctoral thesis in the University of Edinburgh with Lemos on the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in the Argolid and Central Greece. George Papasavvas, Associate Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Cyprus — therefore, a senior member of the second generation — is the Cretan student of Kourou, who came to Cyprus via Germany to do his doctoral research on an intriguing subject (the thesis was finished in Cyprus at the newly established Archaeological Research Unit), which was subsequently defended in the Univer-

sity of Athens and has since been published by the Leventis Foundation (*Χάλκινοι Υποστάτες από την Κύπρο και την Κρήτη*, Nicosia 2001). Antonis Kotsonas is another formidable student of Lemos, who did his doctoral thesis in the University of Edinburgh on ceramic styles in Iron Age Crete, and is now an active post-doctoral researcher at the Amsterdam Archaeological Centre. Giorgos Bourogiannis, who was also urged to look towards Cyprus by Kourou, received his doctoral title from the University of Athens, worked for the British Museum and is now post-doctoral research fellow, responsible for the Cypriot collection, in the Medelhavsmuseet at Stockholm. Anna Satraki, my doctoral student since 2005, was claimed by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus soon after she had defended her thesis: since 2011, she has been Archaeological Officer responsible for the Larnaca district. As I write this Introduction, Satraki's monograph, *Κύπριοι Βασιλείς από τον Κόσμασο μέχρι το Νικοκρέοντα*, is being released by the University of Athens in the *Archaïognosia* publication series. This concise interpretation of the political organization of Cyprus from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the Cypro-Classical period will serve for many years as the most up to date research guide and history textbook for teachers and students alike. Where Satraki ends, Giorgos Papantoniou, another one of our cherished University of Cyprus students that went on to earn his doctoral title under the guidance of Christine Morris in the Department of Classics at Trinity College Dublin (where he is currently a post-doctoral researcher), picks up the thread: his masterful, *Religion and Social Transformations in Cyprus: From the Cypriot Basileis to the Hellenistic Strategos* (Leiden 2012) will appear in the *Mnemosyne* Series of Brill any time now. Anna Georgiadou, the youngest of all contributors, is an Athenian turned Cypriot ceramic expert: after she had devoted her MA thesis to the problem of Cypro-Geometric II — her point of departure was Nicola's paper, 'On chronology: the CG II mystery and its sequel' (in Iacovou, M. and Michaelides, D. (eds), *Cyprus. The Historicity of the Geometric Horizon*. University of Cyprus, Nicosia, 1999, 109–18) — she came from Aix-en-Provence to Cyprus where, for the last four years, she has been studying Cypro-Geometric assemblages from all over the island. Georgiadou's doctoral thesis ('Les ateliers de la production céramique de la période Géométrique à Chypre (XIe–VIIIe s. av. J.-C.)', which will be submitted jointly to the Universities of Aix-en-Provence and Athens, will serve as a much-needed handbook of the Cypro-Geometric pottery, but it will also present a challenging codification of regional ceramic 'fingerprints'. Manolis Mikrakis, is another student of Kourou, who found his way to Cyprus, where he has been working for the Department of Antiquities; in his dissertation, which was defended in 2006 at the University of Heidelberg, Mikrakis dealt with string instruments and the performance of music in the Aegean and Cyprus during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

Livieratou and Bourogiannis were unable to fly to Cyprus for the meeting but they submitted their contributions for publication in the volume. Conversely, when due to other pressing commitments, Lemos announced that she could not meet the deadline for the submission of her contribution, 'After Nicolas what? The future of Iron Age studies in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean', we decided to accommodate a ninth 'second generation' paper by Vicky Vlachou, who did her doctoral dissertation with Kourou on the Geometric pottery from Oropos, excavated by Mazarakis Ainian.

The Workshop was opened by the Director of the Archaeological Research Unit, Professor Demetrios Michaelides in the presence of our guest of honour: Dr Nicky Coldstream. It was addressed by the Director of Antiquities of Cyprus, Dr Maria Hadjicosti, who on the previous day had kindly escorted the speakers and other guests on a study trip that included Amathus and the Limassol District Museum, where Nicolas, always accompanied by Nicky, had spent time working on the publication of some of the earliest Aegean imports to Cyprus. The Director of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Mrs Lefki Michaelides, spoke next and promised to have the Workshop's proceedings published in recognition of Professor Coldstream's early association with the Foundation: back in 1986, he gave the *Second Annual Lecture on the History and Archaeology of Cyprus*, on *The Originality of Cypriot Art*. Little did I know as I returned to Cyprus at the end of 1986 from post-doctoral research under Nicolas's aegis at the Institute (made possible through a BSA Centenary Bursary), that the author of the first book I would edit—as part of my 'handle-it-all' administrative duties at the newly established Cultural Foundation—was going to be Professor Coldstream. Published in Nicosia in 1987 as a pamphlet, *The Originality of Cypriot Art* has since been cited in hundreds of works and, not surprisingly, it has also found its place in many of the papers in this volume.

Professor Vassos Karageorghis, old friend and associate of Nicolas, talked with understandable emotion of 'Nicolas Coldstream: The man, the scholar' (the content of his contribution was published in *CCEC* 38 (2008), 13–16). Dr Despina Pilides, one-time student of Coldstream and now Curator of Antiquities in the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, gave a lively presentation of Nicolas as teacher and academic advisor. Her contribution, 'John Nicolas Coldstream: A personal appreciation of his legacy', is a most appropriate opening paper for the volume.

The invited speakers had not been asked to address a specific research problem but instead to present research topics they were currently working on and wanted

to share. Thus, the papers do not necessarily ‘talk to each other’; they stand on their own and, had they been presented as individual seminars at the Institute in London some years ago, we trust that Nicolas would have been there. This created a minor problem, but a problem nonetheless: the papers’ order of presentation in the volume. It was easy to put Pilides’s contribution first; it was also reasonable to choose to continue with Kourou’s ‘Phoenicia, Cyprus and the Aegean in the Early Iron Age: J.N. Coldstream’s contribution and the current state of research’. After that, however, I had to improvise: I introduced a (quasi) geographical approach starting from the north Aegean, with Mazarakis Ainian’s ‘Euboean mobility towards the north: new evidence from the Sporades’, and moving south, first on the Greek mainland, with Livieratou’s paper, ‘Phokis and East Lokris in the light of inter-regional contacts at the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age’, and then on to Crete: Papasavvas’s ‘Cretan bronze stands of Cypriot types from sanctuaries and cemeteries: Cretan society in the Early Iron Age’ and Kotsonas’s “‘Creto-Cypriot” and “Cypro-Phoenician” complexities in the archaeology of interaction between Crete and Cyprus’ fuelled the endlessly fruitful dialogue between the two *megalonisoï*. I then inserted Bourogiannis’s ‘Pondering the Cypro-Phoenician conundrum. The Aegean view of a bewildering term’, so as to begin to sail towards Cyprus and the East. The next five papers are studies firmly rooted in Cyprus. They are Iacovou’s ‘External and internal migrations during the 12th century BC. Setting the stage for an economically successful Early Iron Age’; Kassianidou’s ‘The origin and use of metals in Iron Age Cyprus’; Satraki’s ‘Cypriot polities in the Early Iron Age’; Papantoniou’s ‘Cypriot sanctuaries and religion in the Early Iron Age: views from before and after’; and Georgiadou’s ‘La production céramique de Kition au Chypre-Géométrie I’.

I decided to end the volume with two contributions upon which Nicolas would have looked with a twinkle in his eyes because of their pictorial theme: Vlachou’s ‘Aspects of hunting in early Greece and Cyprus: a re-examination of the ‘comb motif’, and Mikrakis’s ‘The “originality of ancient Cypriot art” and the individuality of performing practices in protohistoric Cyprus’. When Nicolas dealt with pictorial pottery, he allowed himself to express joy and humour and became one with the ancient potter-painter. ‘Nicolas’s scholarship’, writes Gerald Cadogan in ‘Nicolas Coldstream (1927–2008)’, commenting on his unforgettable description of the ‘*hippalektryon*’ vessel, ‘was and is human and humane, often humorous, blessed with a probing eye [...], imaginative and empathetic in his speculations about what the ancient artists, craftsmen, merchants and patrons thought and chose ...’ (BSA 104 (2009), 1–8). I left the paper by Mikrakis to the end because it is a tribute to Nicolas the passionate piano player, who would have a lot in com-

mon with Mikrakis in terms of musical interests; also, because the title and content of the paper is an elegy to the lecture Nicolas gave in Nicosia in 1986.

We asked two very special and long-time friends of Nicky and Nicolas to be chairpersons at the Workshop, and we thank them for the eagerness with which they accepted. Robert Merrillees, who had travelled with his wife Helen to Cyprus to share the experience of the meeting with Nicky and the rest of us, chaired the morning session with his well known gusto. Nadia Charalambidou, a Cypriot scholar of Modern Greek literature, who had known Nicolas and attended his classes in the early 1970s, chaired the last session, and gave a touching farewell note, after which Professor Michaelides asked our guest of honour to the podium. It was then that Nicky had the Workshop's last word, and as she did I realised that Nicolas and Nicky were last in Cyprus together in the late autumn of 2006 for the conference, *Parallel Lives, Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus*, which was jointly organised by the British School at Athens and the Universities of Crete and Cyprus. In fact, the picture on our frontispiece shows Nicolas addressing the Conference with his lecture, 'Cypriot kingdoms, Cretan city-states: what parallels?', which will appear posthumously, and almost certainly simultaneously with the present volume (in *BSA Studies* 20 (2012), edited by G. Cadogan, M. Iacovou, K. Kopaka and J. Whitley).

In editing the volume I decided that there was no point in trying to create another list of Coldstream's publications as this has been admirably compiled by two eminent colleagues in two parts: the first can be found in the Festschrift *Klados; Essays in Honour of J. N. Coldstream* (*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* Supplement 63, 1995), which was edited by Christine Morris; the second, which completes the first with Coldstream's publications that appeared after *Klados*, was recently compiled by Alan Johnston in an invaluable memoir published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* 166 (2010), 103–116. I did think, however, of putting together a Cyprus bibliography of Nicolas but soon realised that it would have been against Nicolas's own approach to try to isolate the Cypriot (and maybe also Levantine) papers, when in fact Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean played their part in almost every article and book he published. As Robert Merrillees remarked in 'Nicolas Coldstream: a personal reminiscence' (in *CCEC* 38 (2008) 17–18), 'Only he could have got away with linking Cyprus to all of its compass points'. Robert was referring to Nicolas's last public address about Cyprus, the lecture he gave in London at the inauguration of the A.G. Leventis Gallery of Cypriot Antiquities in 2007, which was entitled, 'Cypriot interconnections – North, East, South and West'. Finally, I should add that the Chronological Table



Nicky Coldstream closing the Workshop at the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus on 13 December 2010.

in the volume results from the joint efforts of the contributors, whom I thank once again for their persistence and patience.

I express heartfelt thanks to Alan Johnston and Nicky Coldstream for guidance during the preparatory stages of the Workshop, and for sharing important inside information with me that spared me not a few embarrassing errors. My gratitude goes to another life-long teacher not only because he once again stood by me, this time when writing the Introduction, but also because it was he, Gerald Cadogan, who had first introduced me to Nicolas and Nicky Coldstream in the early years of the 1980s in the Stratigraphical Museum at Knossos.

I was fortunate not to have to shoulder alone the organisation of the Workshop: as on many previous occasions, my colleagues at the Archaeological Research Unit, Vasiliki Kassianidou, Demetrios Michaelides and Giorgos Papasavvas shared the burden with me, and we all relied on the assistance of Irida Chrysafi, who was the Unit's secretary at the time. The meeting and the journeys of those of our guests that had to come from abroad were financed by the University of Cyprus, and the speakers' dinner by the Cyprus Tourist Organisation. I should also like to thank Dr Pilides for her immediate response to my request for new and good quality illustrations of Greek imports from Amathus which, in the able hands of a book

designer as finicky and as creative as Akis Ioannides, were made into a book cover that Nicolas would have certainly loved. This book has acquired physical substance due to the combined efforts of Lefki Michaelidou, who is directing the Cultural Foundation's publication programme, Akis Ioannides, who is enamoured with the art of book design and Ian Todd, a distinguished archaeologist, who accepted to read, correct and improve the English, and in one case the French, text (and references) of 14 papers written by Greeks; I thank him for his patience and kindness! It was my privilege to work with all three of them on this volume.

As I submit the proceedings to be printed, it seems to me that a wonderful cycle, in which Nicolas was vigilantly following the careers of many of his Greek students, has come to a close. We shall be blessed if we can do half as much for our students. *Syndedemenoi* is the title of the Greek edition of a fascinating book by Nicholas Christakis and James Fowler, which was originally published in 2009 with the meaningful title, *Connected – The Surprising Power of our Social Networks and how they Shape our Lives* (Little, Brown and Co.). When I came across it in 2011, I immediately knew what I would like one to remember when reading this Introduction about Nicolas the symposiast and his brood of Greek symposiasts: the reader should not try to seek in the volume a well-defined connecting theme, other than the general one of *Cyprus and the Aegean in the Early Iron Age*; it is primarily the authors of the papers that form the connection: the first generation was connected through Nicolas, while the students of Nicolas's students form the second generation and relate to each other through their teachers. Together we continue to celebrate the lasting impact of his legacy. Consequently, the papers in this volume are a collection of *cameos* submitted to the memory of a beloved teacher that built the network which brought us together.

Maria Iacovou
Summer 2012

Abbreviations

Bibliographic

<i>AA</i>	Archäologischer Anzeiger
<i>AAA</i>	Athens Annals of Archaeology, <i>Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών</i>
<i>AASOR</i>	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>ADelt</i>	Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
<i>AEphem</i>	Ἀρχαιολογική Εφημερίς
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology
<i>AM</i>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
<i>AR</i>	Archaeological Reports
<i>ARDA</i>	Annual Report of the (Director of the) Department of Antiquities
<i>ASAtene</i>	Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente
<i>AWE</i>	Ancient West and East
<i>BAR, Int. Ser.</i>	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
<i>BASOR</i>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>BCH</i>	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
<i>BICS</i>	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London
<i>BSA</i>	Annual of the British School at Athens
<i>BSA Studies</i>	British School at Athens Studies
<i>CCEC</i>	Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes
<i>ClAnt</i>	Classical Antiquity

<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<i>JMA</i>	Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
<i>Med. Arch.</i>	Mediterranean Archaeology
<i>OJA</i>	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
<i>PAE</i>	Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
<i>PBSR</i>	Papers of the British School at Rome
<i>PBF</i>	Prähistorische Bronzefunde
<i>RA</i>	Revue Archéologique
<i>RDAC</i>	Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus
<i>SCE</i>	Swedish Cyprus Expedition
<i>SIMA</i>	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
<i>SMEA</i>	Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici
<i>WA</i>	World Archaeology

Chronological

The main terms are in some cases preceded by E (Early), M (Middle), L (Late), S (Sub)

BA	Bronze Age
LC	Late Cypriot
LH	Late Helladic
SM	Submycenaean
IA	Iron Age
PG	Protogeometric
G	Geometric
EO	Early Orientalising

Chronological table

	CYPRUS	CRETE	GREEK MAINLAND
1400	Late Cypriot IIB	Late Minoan IIIA	Late Helladic IIIA
1350			
1300	Late Cypriot IIC	Late Minoan IIIB	Late Helladic IIIB
1250			
1200	Late Cypriot IIIA	Late Minoan IIIC	Late Helladic IIIC
1150			
1100	Late Cypriot IIIB		Submycenaean
1050		Subminoan	Early Proto-Geometric
1000	Cypro-Geometric I		Middle Proto-Geometric
950		Early Proto-Geometric	
900	Cypro-Geometric II	Middle Proto-Geometric	Late Proto-Geometric
850		Late Proto-Geometric	Early Geometric*
800	Cypro-Geometric III	Proto-Geometric B	
750		Early Geometric	Middle Geometric*
700		Late Geometric	Late Geometric
650	Cypro-Archaic I		
600		Archaic	Archaic
550	Cypro-Archaic II		
500			
450	Cypro-Classical I		
400		Classical	Classical
350	Cypro-Classical II		

* Coincides with the Sub-Protogeometric (I – III) phases of Euboea and related areas.

The 'originality of ancient Cypriot art' and the individuality of performing practices in protohistoric Cyprus

Manolis Mikrakis

ABSTRACT

Current archaeological approaches to ancient Cyprus emphasise the role of the island as the 'melting pot' or the 'crossroads' of foreign cultural traditions. Along these lines, the contribution of Nicolas Coldstream towards a better understanding of Cypriot interactions, especially with the Aegean, has been admirable, not least because of its unwavering attention to the material evidence. Equally impressive is the way Professor Coldstream defined the 'originality of ancient Cypriot art' in a well-known lecture with this title, which was delivered in the Spring of 1986 and was published by the Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus as the Second Annual Lecture on the History and Archaeology of Cyprus.

The present paper seeks to take that line of argument further in an attempt to trace elements of cultural and socio-political originality that underlie the artistic originality. Late Cypriot and Cypro-Geometric representations of lyre-playing stand out among the indicators of creativity assembled by Coldstream, and so the focus will be on the performance of music, in which the gifted scholar also took much delight as an excellent pianist. Cypriot innovations in performing practices include certain types of stringed instruments as well as the integration of active music-making into the lifestyle of the elite. A closer look of these achievements reveals the Early Iron Age musical culture of Cyprus to have been at the frontier of developments within the Eastern Mediterranean and, also, to have been extremely influential outside the island, especially in Attica. Cyprus was, therefore, crucial to the formation of the historic Greek culture of *mousikē* during the early centuries of the first millennium BC.

Introduction

Archaeologists interested in Cyprus are familiar with the metaphors of the ‘melting pot’, the ‘crossroads’ or the ‘bridge’ that have been used to describe the ancient (and the later) culture of the island, drawing special attention to its perceived openness towards influences from the surrounding Mediterranean world. Conceiving any cultural formation as the product of melting together (or crossing or bridging) rather than something fundamentally new requires two things: first, that other cultural formations are conceived as separate, pre-existing entities and, second, that a process is assumed which enables these entities to fuse. Long before scientific archaeological activity on Cyprus began — as indeed in most regions of the Mediterranean — scholars had a clear and comprehensive cosmology describing distinct cultural entities in the ancient Mediterranean universe. Ideas about how such entities emerge, spread and interact with each other were also established. In his recent critique of traditional archaeological paradigms, Derek B. Counts (2008, 4) speaks of conceptions of the Mediterranean as ‘a patchwork quilt of distinct units sewn together through trade and exchange, colonization, domination, and even resistance’.

This complex of assumptions was further institutionalised through the academic division of the discipline into Aegean, Near Eastern, Egyptian, prehistoric and classical archaeologies and also through the struggle between colonial powers and emergent states in the area. For such a struggle, the acceptance or the denial of a distinct cultural past was often decisive. I would argue, therefore, that the dominant crossroads paradigm of Cypriot archaeology owes much to these assumptions, their institutionalisation and their political implications. The aforementioned metaphors are indeed a good example of how pre-existing ideas shape our perceptions of the archaeological record.

Against this background, it is hardly surprising that creativity beyond the ability to integrate foreign influences could only catch the eye of scholars who strived through their work to overcome entrenched academic divisions of Mediterranean archaeology. The common chronological division between prehistoric and historic (or classical) archaeology, for example, imposes a ‘pseudobreak’ (Iacovou 2008, 625) on the Cypriot cultural sequence, as not only Cyprus lacked a Dark Age of the length and depth known from other Mediterranean areas around 1200–1000 BC; there were also fundamental institutional, economic, religious, scribal and other continuities from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age and later that have been largely overlooked precisely because of this arbitrary division (Iacovou 2008). The same is true for the split between Near Eastern and Aegean/classical archaeology, since Cypriot culture cannot be categorised as either Eastern or Western, no matter how forcefully such categories have been imposed upon it — and continue to be imposed to the present day.

Nicolas Coldstream, to whose memory the present conference is dedicated, made an immense contribution towards overcoming arbitrary archaeological divisions and boundaries of this sort. What is more, he did so with meticulous attention to the material evidence and in an engaging style of writing and teaching far removed from the theoretical disputes and polemics where such issues are so often contested. The Early Iron Age, on which the main bulk of Coldstream's research was focused, was at that time almost unknown except in Athens, and is still often treated as the poor relative of classical archaeology. Moreover, his work at Knossos balanced Minoan monomania at its very heart in a way that no theoretical polemic has ever achieved. Finally, his excavations, publications and teaching spanned the prehistoric Aegean, classical Greek and early historic Cypriot and Phoenician cultures, and he consciously included both the Bronze Age and the Iron Age in his Aegean and Cyprus courses (Cadogan 2009, 7).

Coldstream was therefore well predisposed to see what could not be seen from the standpoint of individual archaeological sub-disciplines, namely, ancient Cypriot originality. His seminal lecture with the title 'The Originality of Ancient Cypriot art' was delivered as early as 1986 at the Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus (published in Coldstream 1986), opening our eyes to a task that remains challenging to the present day. John Boardman's lecture on 'Cyprus between East and West' in the same series (published in Boardman 2001) further sought 'to isolate what is truly indigenous', criticising the view of ancient Cyprus as 'a blank sheet on which any foreigner could write what he wished' (Boardman 2001, 8).

Images of performance

Essential characteristics that run throughout Cypriot artistic production from Neolithic to Archaic times are, according to Coldstream, the endurance of rounded vessel shapes that resemble gourds, an interest in composite forms, a strong three-dimensional component in the decoration of pottery that blurs its boundaries with coroplastic art and, finally, a devotion to the realistic representation of everyday activities (Coldstream 1986, 5–9). Among the many indicators of originality assembled by Coldstream, three important pieces of evidence for musical performance rank prominently, namely, the two four-sided bronze stands (1: Fig. 1 and 2: Fig. 2) in the British Museum and the Proto-White Painted kalathos (3: Fig. 3) from Palaepaphos, modern Kouklia (numbers 1–11 refer to the Catalogue with references at the end of this paper). Drawing on my doctoral dissertation at the University of Heidelberg (Mikrakis 2006) and on a further recent study published elsewhere (Mikrakis *forthcoming* b), the present paper seeks to explore the ritual action beyond the artistic surface, action that revolves around the exploitation of organised sound as a symbolic resource. Performing practices

break through our East/West and Bronze Age/Iron Age divides, as we shall see; therefore, the abandonment of these divides is the first substantial step towards understanding Cypriot habits of musical performance. Ultimately, however, I hope to shed some light on yet another domain beyond the artistic and the performative, namely, the particularly Cypriot manner of using these symbolic resources in dealing with social inequality and power.

As far as the Bronze Age stands are concerned (1: Fig. 1 and 2: Fig. 2), Catling (1964), Matthäus (1985) and Papasavvas (2001) have conclusively established that they are Cypriot products of a number of workshops. Although they develop an idea of a possible Levantine origin and their decoration often draws upon Near Eastern and Aegean traditions as well, these stands clearly express the 'strong native element' of Late Cypriot bronzework (Coldstream 1986, 12; see also Papasavvas 2011, 59 with reference to Jim Muhly's earlier assessment of Cypriot originality in metalwork). Circumstances and contexts of discovery are insufficiently known and do not tell us much about the primary use of wheeled stands and rod tripods before their deposition in graves or votive assemblages. Consequently we can only speculate that they supported vessels with water, burning incense, wine or other substances in various ceremonial occasions including banquets (Matthäus 1985, 316, 333; 1998, 75; Papasavvas 2004, 33; Carter 1997, 109). For the morphology of the surviving examples, however, symbolic considerations might have been more decisive. Various ideological discourses would have been crucial, especially in shaping their figural decoration in openwork or solid relief, as these stands were the primary local medium of visual communication before the advent of White-Painted Ware in the eleventh century BC.

Much of this figural decoration can be derived from Near Eastern and Aegean traditions, as already mentioned, or from what is frequently called 'the international style' of the late second millennium in the eastern Mediterranean (*e.g.* Feldman 2002). Regarding the subject of musical performance, Near Eastern connections are evident in the multi-stringed angular harp (Fig. 1; Fig. 2). Consisting of an almost vertical, hollow box to amplify sound and a horizontal neck to hold the strings, angular harps are to be distinguished from arched harps, which have a more organic junction of soundbox and neck into a continuous curve. Angular harps are also different from frame harps, which have a complete closed frame to stretch the strings in between (Lawergren 1996). Angular harps are first attested in southern Mesopotamia during the early second millennium BC (Schmidt-Colinet 1981, 11; 2002, 600, pl. 3a; Rashid 1984, 80–84, figs 62–70; Rashid 1989, 23–24; Dinçol 1999, 17–18; Schuol 2004, 87, no. 74, pl. 30:74; Dumbrill 2005, 204–08), but then the type spreads to the north and west into Upper Mesopotamia, North Syria and south-east Anatolia (Fig. 4; Alp 1968, 117–19, no. 7 pl. 11:23;

Porada 1980, 29–31, fig. 13; Rashid 1984, 102–04, fig. 108; 1996, 259–60, fig. 6; Collon 1987, 151, no. 665; De Waele 1989, 29–38, figs 1–3, pls 1–6; Esin 2002, 514–15, fig. 1; Dumbrill 2005, 208–09; Feldman 2006, 24–28, figs 5–8). Texts from Mitannian Nuzi and Assyrian Nimrud testify to the presence of itinerant Babylonian and Kassite musicians from the south (Rashid 1995, 573–75), suggesting a possible scenario for this cultural transfer. The probably Mitannian cylinder seal (4) from Enkomi shows a similar angular harp held by the leader of a procession approaching a divine figure. Further representations can be found in the wider Levantine area including Ugarit (Fig. 5), with which Cypriot cultural and economic interactions were particularly intensive during the thirteenth century BC. In Egypt we see the angular harp in a representation of Akhenaten's harem from the Tomb of Ay (Fig 6; Manniche 1975, 57, 74, 86, 89; Manniche 1991, 85 fig. 50; Green 1992, 217; 1993, 56, 57; Kemp and Weatherhead 2000, 509, fig. 2b), which included several women sent by king Tušratta of Mitanni, according to the Amarna letters (Freu 2003, 117 on Amarna Tablet EA #25). The triangular stringed instrument of the mid-third millennium BC Cycladic figurines and the omega-shaped type in Middle Minoan glyptic are frame harps with entirely different technologies and cultural biographies (Younger 1998, 10–14; Mikrakis 2011a, 50; 2011b). An association of the Cypriot harps with them or with any other Aegean Bronze Age musical instrument is unlikely.

Processions that include musicians among other gift-bearers were common in many parts of the Near East and also in the Aegean. Musicians in these scenes normally participate *in* the procession or occupy other secondary positions. The focus at any rate is not on them, but on a seated figure or an inanimate feature of cultic function (e.g. an altar), while all other figures direct their movement or gestures towards this figure or feature. This is the case, for example, on the Middle Bronze Age Syro-Palestinian cylinder seal of the Marcopoli Collection (Teissier 1996, 72, 200, no. 112, fig. 112), the Hittite relief vase from the Inandık Temple (Akurgal 2001, 153–57, figs 72–75; Schuol 2004, 56–58, 61–63, 123–24, 212–14, no. 9, pl. 3) and the Canaanite ivory plaque from Megiddo (Braun 1999, 91–93, 119, 191 no. III/4–2, fig. on p. 241; Schuol 2004, 94–95, no. 91, pl. 38:91) or on the Late Minoan IIIA sarcophagus (Long 1974; Immerwahr 1990, 89, 100–02, 180–81, A.T. no. 2, pls 50–51; Carter 1995, 293–94, 306, fig. 18, 7A–C; Mikrakis 1995, 46, fig. 10; Younger 1998, 66–68, no. 29, pls 10–11, 18–19; Vavouranakis 2007, 126–28, fig. 5.27) and the fragmentary Procession Fresco (Immerwahr 1990, 101–02, 181, A.T. no. 3; Younger 1998, 68–69, no. *30, pl. 12; Militello 1998, 132–39, 284–87, fig. 33, pl. 9. I) from Hagia Triada, Crete.

In contrast, Cypriot musical representations grant extraordinary prominence to the harpists by showing them seated and all other figures standing and turning

towards them. The harpists clearly are the *target* of the procession (Mikrakis 2006; *forthcoming b*; Papasavvas 2009, 89). This observation, together with the general tendency to connect ancient music with the divine, brought much popularity to the religious interpretation of most representations of musicians from prehistoric and protohistoric Cyprus, including the harpists on the stands. Bernard Knapp (2011) recently questioned this interpretation of Cypriot musicians, suggesting secular entertainment, spectacle and feasting in elite social contexts as possibilities that deserve more scholarly attention, given the huge diversity of settings in which music appears to have been practiced in the contemporary Near East and Greece and in most cultures from which informative evidence exists.

On the wheeled stand (2), at least, musical performance is not represented as an exclusive activity but as one shared by the seated and the standing figure. Hence, these should be human figures (Papasavvas 2009, 89). The chariot scene on the same stand is indeed more consistent with the iconography of elite human warriors, especially rulers. A similar duet of harpists can be found on the fifteenth or fourteenth century BC Mitannian cylinder seal impression from the House of Tehip-Tilla at Nuzi (Porada 1947, 116 no. 711, pl. 36; 1980, 30; Matthews 1990, 8, 48, 111 no. 622). Here the antithetical pair comprises a male and a female figure, both standing. The Cypriot representation apparently adjusts this pattern to local requirements by depicting a standing and a seated harpist, but it does not change the position of their instruments. These continue to appear at equal height in the composition as in the Mitannian scene, leading to an inconsistency in scale, with the seated figure being roughly $\frac{1}{3}$ larger than the standing figure. This inconsistency does not seem to disturb the composition; rather, it further emphasises the role of the harpist.

Iconographic idiosyncrasies call for idiosyncratic interpretations, and this is precisely what local Cypriot meanings provide beyond the east/west division, and indeed beyond the god/ruler division. It is difficult not to see in the Cypriot iconography of elevated players of stringed instruments an echo — or rather a prelude — of the legend of Kinyras, king of Paphos, high priest of Aphrodite and founding father of the guild of priests at the Paphian sanctuary of the goddess. John C. Franklin (2006, 44–63; 2009) provides a recent thorough discussion of the literary testimonies for this mythical figure, placing him in a wider context of lyre-playing kings, priest-kings and gods which he considers part of a common Bronze Age musical *koine* of ultimate Near Eastern origin.

Kinyras is said to have been, among many things, a lyre-player and his name contains the Semitic word for the lyre (Akkadian *kinnāru*, Hebrew *kinnôr* and Egyptian *knmr*). Elevated social identities that combine musical and warlike activities are interestingly clustered in Early Iron Age Palaepaphos, as we shall see

shortly, and this phenomenon might be related to the Paphian myths. The historical core of the Kinyras myths and the period to which they apply cannot be determined with any certainty, and we should not forget that a Late Bronze Age date for Kinyras, Kadmos, Amphion and related legendary figures known from much later mythological sources remains speculative. Having said that, Paphian myths convey an impression of the sacral and political authority of the local kings, a dualism that is also epigraphically documented in late Cypro-Classical times with Nikokles, *basileus* of Paphos and *hiyereus* of the *wanassa* (Masson 1983, 103–04, nos 6–7, fig. 12 pl. VI:6, VII:7; Młynarczyk 1983, 113). It is significant in this context that Palaepaphos had a continuous occupation from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Musicality would have added considerably to the sacral aura of Cypriot kingship, as it did to the legitimacy of the Sumerian king Šulgi (2094–2047 BC) of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who prided himself on his command over a huge variety of musical instruments and playing techniques (Castellino 1972; Krispijn 1990; Dumbrill 2005, 318–19). Šulgi went so far as to define himself as 'god of all lands' and it is interesting to mention that *Kinnāru* is also the name of a god in the pantheon lists of Ugarit (Franklin 2006 and 2009 with further references).

It is not the seated position but the bearing of a sword that signifies the authority of a lyre-player on the Late Cypriot IIIB kalathos (3), again from Palaepaphos (Fig. 3). The represented lyre has a rounded base and a limited number of strings pointing to Mycenaean postpalatial prototypes from the twelfth century Argolid (Slenczka 1974, 69, no. 159 fig. 24:7, pl. 9:1d; Maas and Snyder 1989, 7, fig. 3b; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 21, fig. 1; Younger 1998, 71, no. 36; Brand 2000, 181, no. Myk 3; Güntner 2006, 180–81; Mikrakis 2006; 2008). The abandonment of the Near Eastern multi-stringed angular harp in favour of an Aegean postpalatial type of lyre is but the visible tip of an iceberg of musical changes that would have taken place at the transition from Late Cypriot IIIA to IIIB. The reduction of the number of strings reflects changes in tonal system and instrumental playing techniques, reduced harmonic and melodic variety as well as the introduction of a new, more recitative style of singing.

Yet all this remains embedded in the local tradition of music-making by the ruling elite – now an elite of warriors – rather than by specialised performers of lower social rank, such as the *lyrastai* 'lyre-players' of the Mycenaean tablet TH Av 106 (Aravantinos et al. 2001, 31–32, 176), the *aoidoi* 'bards' of Homer and their many Near Eastern and Egyptian counterparts (Schmidt-Colinet 2002). Active music making as an activity of elite warriors is further represented by the terracotta figurines (5) from Palaepaphos (Fig. 7) and (6) of unknown provenance. These figurines combine lyre playing with yet another favourite activity of warrior

elites—horse riding, here seen in a ceremonial side-saddle position. A similar combination can be seen in the terracotta chariot model (7: Fig. 8), on which a lyre-player and dancers stand behind the helmeted charioteer.

A high status can also be postulated for the crudely modelled lyre-player sitting in the terracotta architectural model (8: Figs 9–10), which is decorated in Cypro-Geometric style. Opposite the lyre-player, a funnel-shaped base is preserved from a feature which might have been a tree, a column or, better suited to an indoors venue, a table or an altar. If it is a tree, the iconographical correspondence to the Kourion stand (1: Fig. 1) would be remarkable. Four additional figures who cling outside on the walls and the roof of the structure to look inside strongly resemble the well-known Cretan Protogeometric B model from Archanes where a female with upraised arms is sitting inside (Mersereau 1993, 21, 39–42 no. 19, figs 28–29; Petrakis 2006, 188, 190, fig. 1.19). For the interpretation of the seated figure, a rhapsode and a priest king playing in honour of the *wanassa* have been suggested (Boardman 1971 and Młynarczyk 1983 respectively). Against the background of the local Cypriot visual and mythological traditions examined so far, this latter interpretation seems the most plausible, not least because it can accommodate the funerary associations that have been suggested for the Archanes model. J. Boardman (1967, 66) sees in that model a tholos tomb and N. Coldstream (1977, 10) the ‘house of the dead’, whereas J. Sakellarakis (1987; see also Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 35, fig. 11, 566–67, figs 565–566) reconstructed the circumstances of its illicit discovery in a tomb (probably a tholos tomb) at Phythies near Archanes, adding a further argument for the funerary interpretation. More recently, V. Petrakis (2006) has suggested a general connection of Cretan cylindrical models with funerary practices. In the case of the Cypriot model, this would mean that the figure inside could be a *deceased* priest king of ancestral or even heroic status rather than a god.

The same intertwining of active music-making, high status and divine connotations is attested in the rich imagery of musical performance on the late eighth century BC seals of the Lyre-player Group, which also show lyre-players being the focus of processions or other ritual activities. The scaraboids and scarabs of this group have been variously attributed to Rhodian, Cilician/south-eastern Anatolian, North Syrian or Phoenician workshops. The connection with what is known as the Neo-Hittite cultural and artistic sphere of the early first millennium BC (Boardman and Buchner 1966; Boardman 1990) has met the widest acceptance over the past few decades, but the attribution to a Phoenician workshop established on Rhodes has recently been revived on the basis of numerous new finds from the sanctuary of Athena at Ialysos (Rizzo 2007). As I argue elsewhere, however, an attribution to a Phoenician workshop established on Cyprus might better

solve problems concerning the shape, usage, style and distribution of the Lyre-player seals (Mikrakis 2006; Mikrakis *forthcoming a*).

Beyond Cyprus

We may then conclude that a continuous tradition of Cypriot visual culture captured active music making as a constitutive element of what it meant to be a member of the elite and especially a ruler. Placing a positive social and cultural valuation on active music-making and related practices was to have fundamental consequences not only for Cypriot culture but also for the whole of the historic Greek world, in which the performance of music and song came to be an integral feature of noble lifestyle. It is a well-documented and long-established fact that the educational curriculum in Athens, at least until well into the fifth century BC, as well as in other Greek cities, combined various forms of *mousikē* (i.e. the arts over which the Muses presided: poetry, instrumental music, song and dance) with diverse types of *gymnastikē* (bodily training, which included armed dancing and combat sports as part of the military training). Clear textual evidence for a normative model of male excellence in performing arts and warfare is first attested with Archilochus of Paros in the early seventh century BC (Mikrakis *forthcoming b*), but a profound shift from a focus on war to an emphasis on conviviality and leisure must have occurred in Athens already in the last decades of the eighth century, as E. Kistler (1998) has shown. This constitutes a major step on the way to civic development and the emergence of the *polis* in Greece, a step that can be connected to the described Cypriot idiosyncrasies, as the pointed or heart-shaped types of stringed instruments depicted in the Late Geometric representations that visualise this new understanding of music in Athens are of Cypriot origin (Mikrakis *forthcoming b*). Once we open our eyes to Cypriot originality, as the two lectures for the Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus by Coldstream (1986) and Boardman (2001) have enabled us to do, we may also begin to see the island in the role of disseminating cultural influences abroad. Boardman (2001, 8, 16–21) considers the possibility of 'native Cypriot enterprise[s] overseas' based on the abundance of locally made Cypriot-style pottery in Al Mina from the last quarter of the eighth century BC onward.

It is also against the background of the positive social and cultural valuation of amateur music making that the emergence of the Greek *symposion* (i.e. the aristocratic drinking party for male participants who recline on couches) should be understood. Owing to recent research, a date for this phenomenon in the eighth century—even during the first half of the eighth century—and an association with the cross-cultural interaction stimulated by Phoenician maritime activity in

the Mediterranean are becoming increasingly probable (Murray 1991, 95; 1994; Matthäus 1999; 1999–2000; 2005, 332–33, figs 18–19; Whitley 2001, 209; Węcowski 2002, 633–35, pl. 23c, figs 17–18, 21; Karageorghis 2003b; Baughan 2011, 25–30). A possible significant contribution of Lydo-Assyrian culture to the Greek *symposion* (Franklin 2008, 196–97) belongs to a significantly later historical horizon. Cyprus must have been important in the process at this initial stage, as in Phoenician maritime activity in general, given that the earliest and more salient evidence for the *symposion*, the metal bowls (9, 10 and 11: Fig. 11), are said to have been found on the island. Art historical analyses, however, variably attribute these bowls to mainland Phoenician, North Syrian or Cypriot Orientalizing workshops.

The Cypriot tradition of elite music-making appears to have spanned many different periods (Late Cypriot, Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic), media (bronze stands, painted vases, terracotta figurines, perhaps also glyptic products) and styles, showing that it cannot be a mere artistic continuity; there must have been a true socio-political phenomenon underlying the artistic. This is not to imply that the study of artistic-material aspects blocks the view to socio-cultural dynamics, as yet another divisive school of thought in contemporary archaeology would claim. On the contrary, whenever archaeological research is almost entirely dependent on material and visual evidence for understanding society, meticulous material studies like those conducted by Nicolas Coldstream provide the best starting point and the most solid basis for any investigation with realistic socio-logical ambitions.

Catalogue of objects (with references)

1. Fig. 1. Late Cypriot four-sided bronze stand with figural decoration, from Kourion (?); London, British Mus. inv. no. 1920/12–20/1. Catling 1964, 205–07, no. 34, pl. 34a–d; Aign 1963, 62, 227, no. III/3, fig. 27; Matthäus 1985, 314–15, no. 704, pls 100, 102; Mikrakis 1995, 42, fig. 3; Brand 2000, 48–50, 185, no. Zypr 6; Papasavvas 2001, 86–87, 89, 134, 239–40, no. 23, figs 42–47; 2004, 41–42, 46, fig. 6; 2009, 84–93, figs 1–4; Karageorghis 2002, 93, 99, figs 201–202; Pasetti 2004, 48–49, fig. 49; Franklin 2009; Knapp 2011, 123, fig. 1.
2. Fig. 2. Late Cypriot wheeled bronze stand with figural decoration, provenance unknown; London, British Mus. inv. no. 1946/10–17/1. Catling 1964, 208–09, no. 36, pl. 35; Matthäus 1985, 316–18, no. 706, pls 103–104; Carter 1995, 297–300, fig. 18.10A–E; Mikrakis 1995, 43, fig. 4; Brand 2000, 48–50, 184, no. Zypr 5; Papasavvas 2001, 87–89, 134, 242–43, no. 28, figs 61–79; 2004, 33, 38, 42–43, 45; 2009, 84

- 93, figs 7–10; Karageorghis 2002, 93, 99, fig. 204; Pasetti 2004, 48–49, fig. 50; Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2008, 315, no. 188 (R. Arndt); Knapp 2011, 123.
3. Fig. 3. Late Cypriot IIIB kalathos of Proto-White Painted Ware, from Palaepaphos-Xerolimni, Tomb 9; Nicosia, Cyprus Mus., without inv. no. Coldstream 1986, 13, fig. 44; Karageorghis 1967, 5, 17–18, no. 7, pl. 1; 2002, 122–23, figs 252–253; 2006a, 541–42, fig. 1; Iacovou 1988, 18–19, 26, 48–49, 56, no. 29, table I, figs 64–71; 2006, 200, fig. 5a–d; Maas and Snyder 1989, 8, fig. 4; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 21–22, fig. 2; Carter 1995, 300, 305, fig. 18, 11A–B; Mikrakis 1995, 43, fig. 5; Brand 2000, 50–52, 183, no. Zyrp 2, fig. 4; Iacovou 2006; Franklin *forthcoming*.
 4. Mitannian (?) cylinder seal from Enkomi, Tomb 2 of the Swedish Excavations, 'found in the sieves'; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet inv. no. E 2:67. Aign 1963, 60 no. III/1, fig. 25; Lagarce and Lagarce 1986, 178, pl. 31:9; Salje 1990, 198, Motivgruppe 1.1 no. 25; Webb 1999, 271–272; Brand 2000, 52, 186, no. Zyrp 11; Karageorghis 2003a, 280–281, no. 320; Stach 2007, 53–54 Abb. 17.
 5. Fig. 7. Cypro-Geometric terracotta male figurine of a lyre-player on a horse, from Palaepaphos-Skales, Tomb 52; Nicosia, Cyprus Mus. (previously Kouklia Mus.) without inv. no. Karageorghis 1983, 90, no. 2, pl. 73:2; 1993a, 88, no. LGC1, pl. 39:1; Voyatzis 1985, 161, pl. 19:8–9; 1992, 269–70; Kolotourou 2002, 217, fig. 4; Knapp 2011, 123–124.
 6. Cypro-Geometric terracotta male figurine of a lyre-player on a horse, provenance unknown; Nicosia, Cyprus Mus. inv. no. 1992/I–20/1. Karageorghis 2006b, 90, fig. 78, no. 68; Knapp 2011, 123–24, fig. 2.
 7. Fig. 8. Cypro-Geometric terracotta chariot model with a lyre-player, provenance unknown; Famagusta, Hadjiprodromou Collection inv. no. 424. Karageorghis 1993a, 89 no. LGC9, pl. 40:3.
 8. Figs 9–10. Terracotta architectural model with a lyre-player inside, provenance unknown; Nicosia, Cyprus Mus. inv. no. B 220. Dikaïos 1961, 205, no. 54; Boardman 1971; Karageorghis 1987, 359–62, figs 1–2; Bretschneider 1991, 116, pl. 136:69; Karageorghis 1993a, 86–87, no. LGB1, fig. 69, pl. 38:1 a–d; Kammerer 1998, 1808–1809; Yon and Caubet 2001, 149–150, fig. 5; Karageorghis 2006b, 103–104, no. 78, fig. 90; Knapp 2011, 124.
 9. Silver bowl with figural decoration, from Cyprus; New York, Metropolitan Mus.

- inv. no. 74.51.4555 (Cesnola Collection 4555). Fehr 1971, 22–24, 138 no. 4; Imai 1977, 30 no. 5, fig. 5a–d; Culican 1982; Markoe 1985, 181–82, no. Cy13; Matthäus 1985, 162–63, no. 425, pl. 32, 425; 1999, 257; 1999–2000, 48, fig. 9.
10. Silver bowl with figural decoration, from Cyprus ('from the Treasure of Curium'); New York, Metropolitan Mus. inv. no. 74.51.4557 (Cesnola Collection 4557). Markoe 1985, 22, 151, 175–76, 252–53, no. Cy6; Matthäus 1985, 161–62, 172, no. 424, pl. 32, 34, 35:424; Hendrix 1999; Karageorghis 1999; Matthäus 1999, 257; Matthäus 1999–2000, 49, figs 11–12; Hermary 2000; Brand 2000, 186, no. Zyp9; Karageorghis et al. 2000, 188–90, no. 307; Karageorghis 2002, 157, 177–78, fig. 322; Karageorghis 2006b, 140–42, no. 115, fig. 130a–b; Knapp 2011, 125–126.
11. Fig. 11. Bronze bowl with figural decoration, from Salamis, Cyprus; London, British Mus. inv. no. 1892/5–19/1. Fehr 1971, 20–22, 25, 138, no. 3; Imai 1977, 36, no. 15, fig. 15; Matthäus 1985, 163, no. 426, pl. 32:426; Markoe 1985, 174–175, 251, no. Cy5; Karageorghis 1993b, 7–13, fig. 1, pl. 1; Matthäus 1999, 257; Matthäus 1999–2000, 49, fig. 13; Brand 2000, 186, no. Zyp10; Karageorghis 2002, 175–77, fig. 365; Karageorghis 2006b, 142–43, no. 116, fig. 131; Karageorghis 2008, 210, fig. 30; Knapp 2011, 125–26, fig. 5.

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LIST OF FIGURES

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- FIG. 11. Bronze bowl 11 (after Karageorghis 1993b, 8, fig. 1).



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 5



FIG. 6



FIG. 7



FIG. 8



FIG. 9



FIG. 10



FIG. 11