

Nitovikla and Tell el-Burak: Cypriot mid-second millennium B.C. forts in a Levantine context

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The first massive structures of Bronze Age Cyprus are the varied mid-second millennium B.C. forts constructed at strategic locations in the north, east and centre of the island (Fig. 1). Some twenty-two examples of these monuments are known, ranging from little more than conspicuous platforms that could have served as fortified watch stations, to enormously walled strongholds like Krini-Merra with its bastion, and 784m² Dhali-Kafkallia (henceforth *Kafkallia*) with its shell-walls and spacious courtyard (Fortin 1981, 1983, 1989; Overbeck and Swiny 1972, 25-28). In addition to these forts, there are contoured fortification systems like that thrown up around the ca 6ha. plateau at Korovia-Nitovikla (henceforth *Nitovikla*) (Fig. 2). Together, they represent the first overt signs of communal enterprise on major building projects that visibly transformed perceptions of the landscape of Bronze Age Cyprus. For insular precedents of such collective endeavours, we have to refer back to the walls and ditches that enclosed Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic settlements, at least two thousand years earlier (Le Brun 1997; Flourentzos 2003; Peltenburg 2003). They are unconnected to the phenomenon of the MC III – LC I forts, so we should treat the latter as large-scale innovations which, like all monuments, enabled sponsors to mobilise labour in collective endeavours in order to underwrite their legitimacy and enhance group cohesion. Given the absence of immediate precursors, many scholars have investigated the causes for this significant materialisation of socio-political and architectural developments. Their studies

embrace the typology, dating, and regional and international contexts of the forts.

There is general consensus that, even if we lack precise dates for many, they belong to the MC III – LC I period of the mid-2nd millennium B.C. (Fortin 1981; Catling 1973, 169-70; Baurain 1984, 80-87; Steel 2004, 152). This is the critical era of profound changes in settlement patterns, first evidence of literacy, surge in foreign exchanges and the re-structuring of the copper industry that led to the formation of new kinds of alliances and relationships within traditional kin-based networks (Knapp 1988; Keswani 2004, 156-57; Frankel forthcoming). In this context, the forts are widely regarded as germane to an understanding of a key formative juncture in Cypriot history, but interpretations continue to vary, not least because of poor chronological controls and because we are dealing with a heterogeneous rather than a unified class of monument. Peltenburg (1996, 30-31), Crewe (2004, 131-34) and Steel (2004, 152) furnish more recent summaries of these interpretations. They primarily concern two issues: the causes for erecting such novel complexes and the perpetrators, that is, indigenous or foreign designers and builders.

With respect to causes, Merrillees succinctly sums up the general assessment when he wrote that “the fortification of strategically located emplacements ... [was] ... connected with the intensification of trade overseas, particularly copper” (Merrillees 1982, 375). It was within the

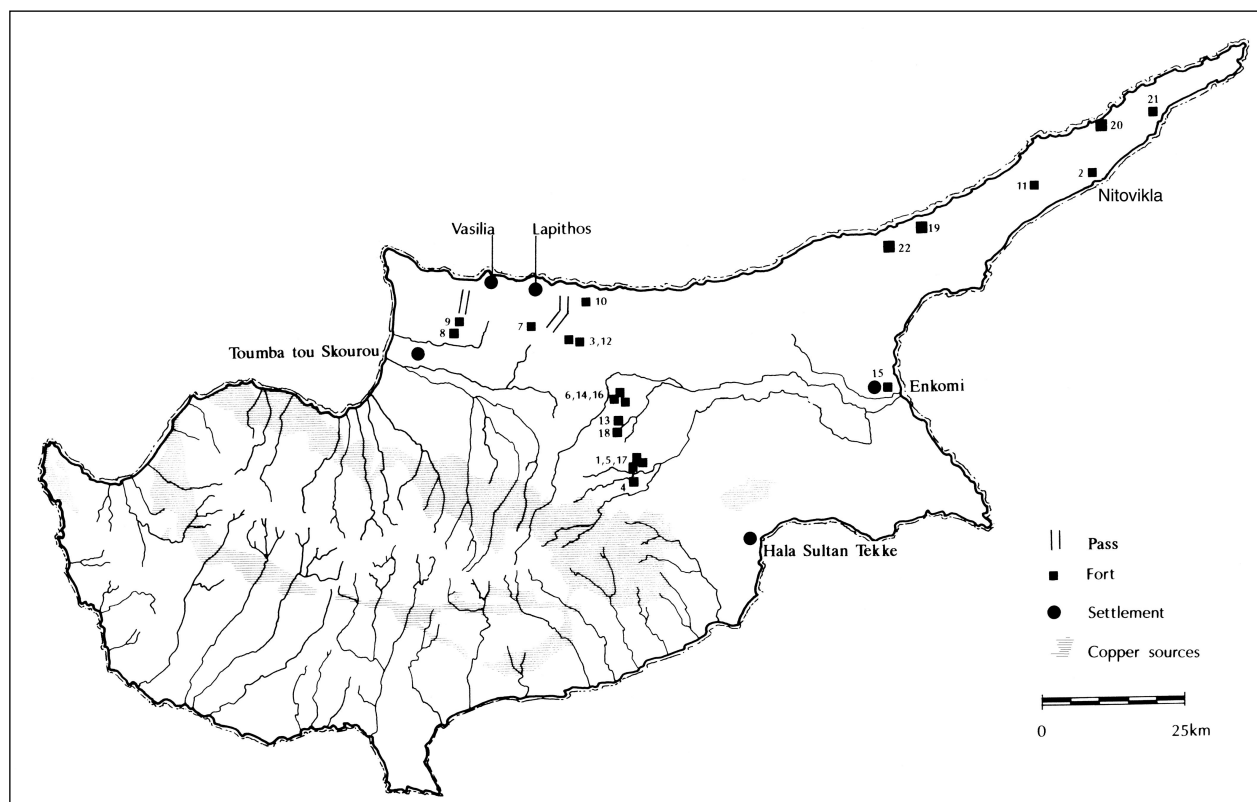


Fig. 1. Map of mid-second millennium B.C. forts on Cyprus. 1. Agios Sozomenos-Nikolides, 2. Korovia-Nitovikla, 3. Dikomo-Pampoules, 4. Dali-Kafkallia, 5. Agios Sozomenos-Barsak, 6. Aglangia-Leondari Vouno, 7. Krini-Merra, 8. Asomatos-Potimata, 9. Karpaseia-Styllomenos, 10. Bellapais-Kapa Kaya, 11. Lythragkomi-Troullia, 12. Dikomo-Onicheia, 13. Geri-Vrysi tis Pantelous, 14. Aglangia-Kafizin, 15. Egkomi-Agios Iakovos, 16. Aglangia-Nifkia, 17. Agios Sozomenos-Glykia Vrysi, 18. Geri-Ftelia, 19. Davlos-Pyrgos, 20. Agios Thyrsos-Vikla, 21. Rizokarpaso-Sylla, 22. Flamoudi-Vounari.

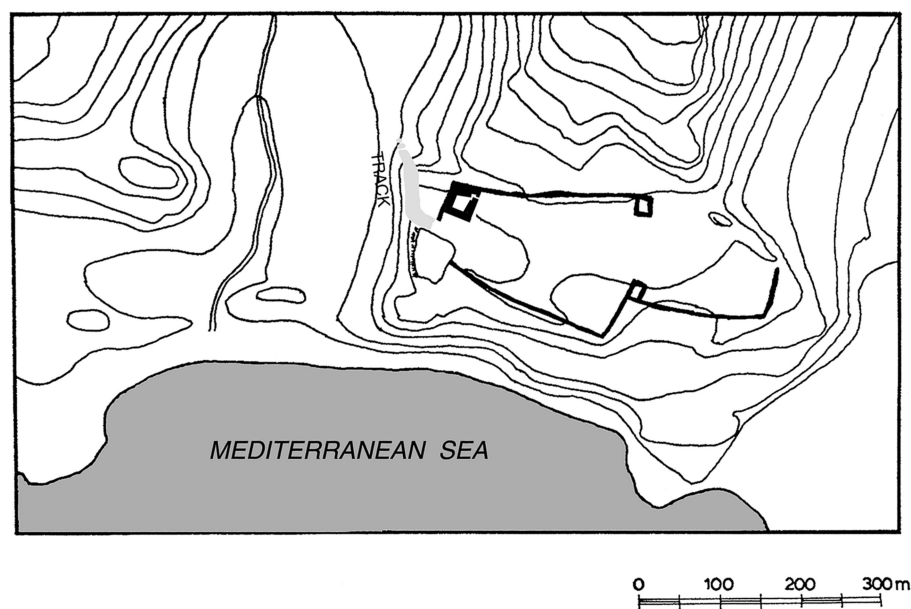


Fig. 2. Nitovikla walled plateau and fort (after Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, pl. IV:2).

competitive environment of territorial re-structuring for access to valued resources that forts were constructed. Of course, a multitude of variations appear within such an overarching interpretation. For example, some are related to strategies of long-distance control of copper mining (Peltenburg 1996) or all are regarded as part of a process of local elite behaviour (Crewe 2007). As to the actual builders, earlier studies often favoured foreign involvement, either large-scale ethnic groups such as Hyksos or Hurrians (Sjöqvist 1940), or the participation of specialist engineers (Catling 1973, 170) and master-builders (Hult 1983, 89; 1992, 75). While not ruling out the presence of foreigners in Cyprus at a time of increasing integration with the Levantine mainland, generally students ascribe all developments to embedded, local systems (e.g. Knapp and Merchant 1982; Manning and de Mita 1997, 114).

LEVANTINE FORTS

One of the least conclusive lines of investigation into these forts hitherto has been the search for foreign parallels or inspiration. This unpromising state of affairs recently drove Merrillies (2007, 93) to comment that “there is nothing sufficiently foreign about... them to warrant an assertion that they betray influence from outside the island”. Yet the search would seem to be a valid one, given the absence of a preceding local tradition of fort-building, the dramatic intensification of contacts with the adjacent mainland, and a pattern of local elite adoption of prestige Levantine symbolism. It is applied successfully to other aspects of the Cypriot material and bioarchaeological (equid burials) evidence during this period (Courtois 1986; Philip 1991). Emulation amongst emerging elites is significant since we may presume that such corporate elders or exclusionary leaders were responsible for mobilising the necessary labour for major building programmes. Philip (1991) has demonstrated how such aspiring elites emulated or imported mainland high status goods like hook-tang

weapons, shaft-hole axes and decorated metal belts. In an effort to dismiss the notion of ‘troubled times’ on the island during the MC III-LC I to account for the appearance of forts, he also ascribes the innovation to this process of emulation, citing as behavioural models the proliferation of defensive walls around large and small southern Levantine MB sites (Philip 1991, 92-93). Others have attempted a more detailed, typological approach in the search for specific analogies.

Sjöqvist was one of the earliest scholars to identify foreign precursors for the forts of Cyprus, even though he confined himself largely to parallels for well-articulated *Nitovikla* which he had excavated in 1929. His assiduous research took him to the Aegean, Anatolia and Syro-Palestine (Sjöqvist 1940, 139-46). His comparative typological methodology chiefly consisted of isolating discrete *Nitovikla* attributes –stepped foundations, shell walls, bossed masonry, monolithic gateway jambs, towers– and isolating analogies abroad. It led to the discovery of poorly dated similarities that are unhelpful for sustaining the existence of meaningful precedents and the potential direction of influence. Since then others have tried to enlarge on his study (e.g. Holmes 1969). Particularly useful is Hult’s analysis of the precocious use of ashlar masonry in the fort, its earliest occurrence on Cyprus (Hult 1983). This non-functional elaboration of masonry required special tools and presumably specialist knowledge not readily available to islanders. She was able to show that it had a number of precursors in MB Syro-Anatolia at Tilmen Höyük, Alalakh and Ebla, and since her survey more examples have come to light in the same region, for example at Ebla and Yamhad (Aleppo) (Hult 1983, 88; Matthiae 2002, 560, fig. 23; Hara-manşah 2007, 77, figs 3-5). It is now known to be a long-lived tradition in Syria where it was used in elaborate 3rd millennium tombs at Tell Banat on the Euphrates and in Hypogeum G4 under Royal Palace G at Ebla (Porter 2002; Matthiae 1997). The MB examples included trimming with drafted margins (Ebla: Hult 1983, fig. 26),

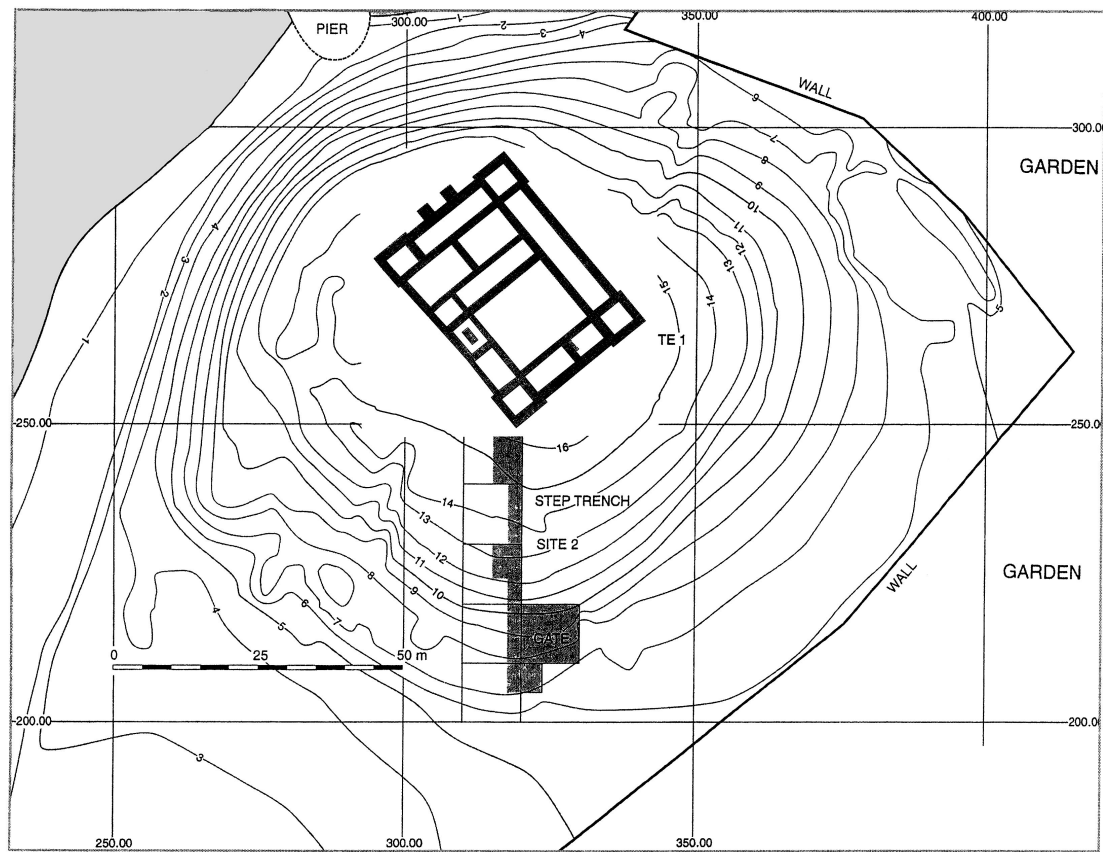


Fig. 3. Tell el-Burak site plan (after Finkbeiner and Sader 2001, 179, fig. 3).

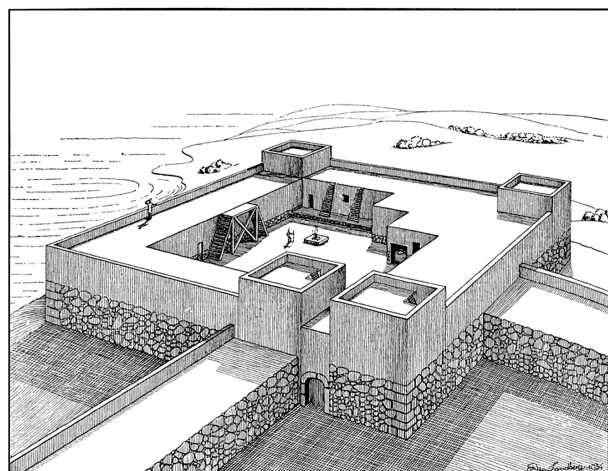
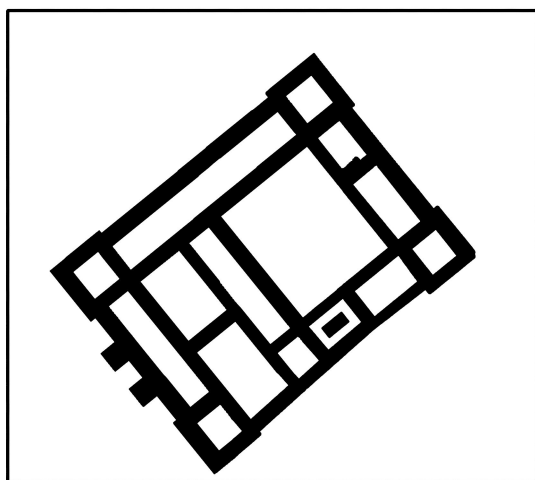


Fig. 4. Plans of Tell el-Burak fortified palace and Nitovikla fort reconstruction (after Kamlah and Sader 2003, 164, fig. 20 and from Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 402, fig. 158).

but its intermittent usage in several mainland locations inhibits the identification of specific connections. In her reconsideration of *Nitovikla*, she concluded that Syria would be the most likely place for parallels (Hult 1992, 75). The object of this note is to take the investigation forward by drawing attention to the existence of more recently discovered comparative material with detailed similarities to *Nitovikla*.

Tell el-Burak, a 19m. high, 1.3ha. mound on the Levantine coast between Sidon and Sarepta, has been excavated since 2001 (Finkbeiner and Sader 2001, 174; Kamlah and Sader 2003, 159; Sader 2006) (Fig. 3). Some of its most impressive remains belong to a MBA stronghold. This imposing building is especially significant for a floor painted with Kabri-like checks, and wall paintings with representations of humans, trees and dogs. Built of mud brick, the structure was erected as a free-standing edifice on a massive cubic substructure in MB I or IIA and abandoned at the end of the MBA. Although usually described as a palace, its excavators believe it may have served a number of alternatives: “a fortified stronghold, as an administrative building, or as a prestige palace in the southern part of Sidon’s coastal plain” (Kamlah and Sader 2003, 166). It is also described as a fortress (Burke 2008, 192) and a “massively built fortress” rising on the mound (Finkbeiner and Sader 2001, 186). About one-third has been excavated, the remainder reconstructed from geophysical mapping. Its rectilinear plan includes square, projecting corner towers, ranges of peripheral rooms built against the massive external wall up to 2m. thick around a 15×19m. central open court, and possibly an entrance with flanking towers. Room 8 was a stairwell indicating the existence of an upper storey or *chemin de ronde*. Another room, 4, served as a kitchen.

Tell el-Burak furnishes us with the first detailed insights into characteristics of a MBA palace/stronghold on the Syro-Lebanese coast opposite Cyprus, broadly contemporary with the forts of that island. Many of these features bear a striking resemblance to *Nitovikla* (Fig. 4).

Although Burke (2008, 15) contends that there are no relationships between Cypriot and Levantine fortifications, he seems to have overlooked the overall conceptual and the detailed architectural similarities between the Tell el-Burak and *Nitovikla* fortifications. Thus, both structures were strategically erected on coastal, elevated prominences, they have rectilinear plans, similar, compact dimensions (*Nitovikla* ca 36/40×36m.; 1292-1440m², Tell el-Burak ca 32×40m.; 1280m²), heavy curtain walls in relation to overall size, spacious courtyards, kitchens, projecting corner towers, entrances with flanking towers, and positioned like keeps within a larger defended area. Both of these compact rectilinear structures with projecting corner towers must have been prominent landmarks placed along the coast for maximum visibility of and to mariners.

Other mainland fortifications suggest that Tell el-Burak belongs to a more widespread Syro-Mesopotamian tradition. As Sader points out, its rectilinear plan with projecting corner towers, like that at *Nitovikla*, are also found at Tell Bi’a/Tuttul Palace A (Einwag 2002, 145, fig. 2), the Shakanakku palace in Mari and, we can add, the Old Babylonian fortified town of Haradum, just east of Mari (Kepinski-Lecomte 1992, pl. IV). They were situated along the Middle Euphrates which formed a communication route that was essential to the intense relations between Syro-Mesopotamia and the west (Charpin and Ziegler 2003). Another Tell el-Burak and *Nitovikla* feature, that of placing forts on eminences, also existed in inland Syria. The clearest examples occur at MB Ebla where a number of them crowned the ramparts (Matthiae 2002, 547-58). At Alalakh Level VII, labourers constructed another artificial mound at the north-west corner of the town in order to support a fortress (Woolley 1955, 151-52).

In general, it is clear that the well-known propensity of fort-building in the southern Levant also occurred closer to Cyprus on the mainland. Recent survey along the coast opposite Cyprus, on the Syro-Lebanese border, has disclosed the existence of MB II fortified locations

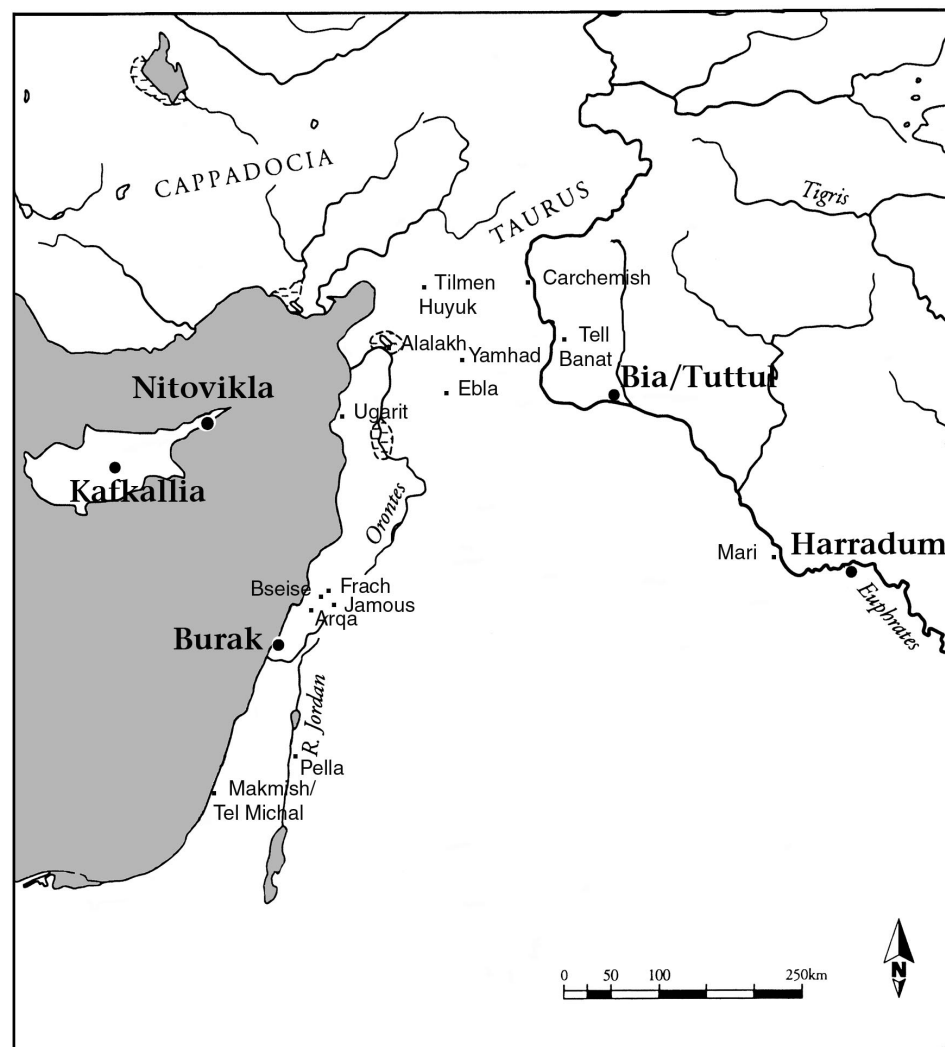


Fig. 5. Map of part of the Near East with major sites mentioned in text.

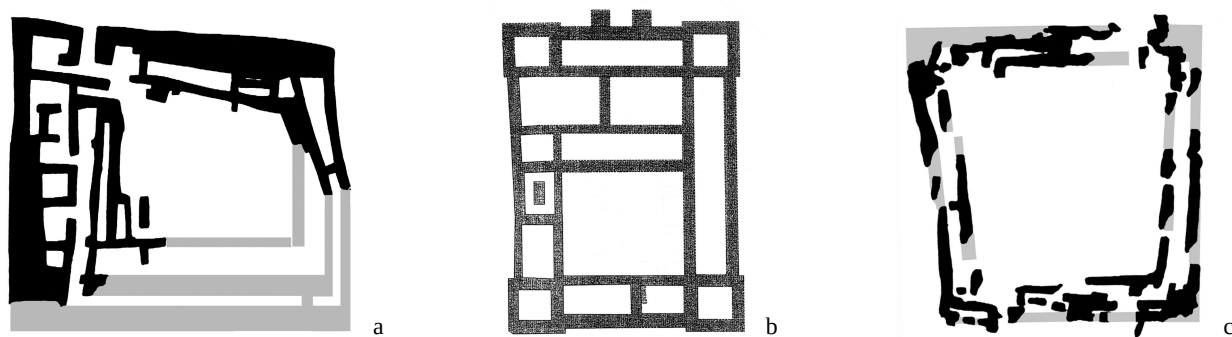


Fig. 6. Plans of a) Nitovikla fort, b) Tell el-Burak fortified palace, c) Dhali-Kafkallia fort (after Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, 374, fig. 145, Kamlah and Sader 2003, 164, fig. 20 and Overbeck and Swiny 1972, fig. 4).

of different sizes at Tell Jamous, Bseise and Frach (Fig. 5). Although we have little detailed information, the walled town of Tell Arqa may also have had curtain walls (Thalmann 2006, 211). More specifically, small robust fortresses like Tell el-Burak and Nitovikla may be typical of strategic coastal locations, even if they are not exclusive to the East Mediterranean littoral. Sader draws attention to a probable example at the contemporary high revetted mound of Makmish/Tel Michal, a little north of the Yarkon River estuary, but the top of this MB IIB structure was unfortunately completely denuded (Herzog 1989). Burke (2008, 124) lists other, more certain examples, including Tel Mevorakh, Tel Poleg, 'Ain Zurekiyeh', Tel Malhata and Qiryat Shemona.

The Old Babylonian analogies and the earlier 2nd millennium date for the installation of the Tell el-Burak palace/stronghold provide clear evidence for the precedence of eastern models for *Nitovikla*. It is probably futile to attempt to localise the source of inspiration beyond the regions in which contact between the Karpas and mainland is known to have existed. One indicator may be the occurrence of Karpas Red-on-Black pottery on the mainland. As Maguire has shown, it occurs frequently along the length of the coast, with particular concentrations at Ras Shamra-Ugarit and Tell el-Ajjul, but rarely in Egypt (Maguire 1990, 68-128). More recent excavations confirm its popularity, for example at Tell Arqa (Charaf-Mullins 2006, 183-84), Sidon (Karageorghis 2007, 43, fig. 2) and Tel Kabri (<http://digkabri.files.wordpress.com/2008/08/report-on-the-results-of-the-2008-excavation-season-at-tel-kabri.pdf>; figs 8a, 10b). That connections with the mainland were exceptionally strong is also evident from the very high percent of wheelmade pottery in the Karpas, and outstanding proportions of Bichrome Wheelmade in the first *Nitovikla* fort (Hult 1992; Crewe 2007). Outside the Karpas on Cyprus, Red-on-Black pottery is unusually prolific at only one other place, *Kafkallia*.

Fieldworkers at *Kafkallia* remarked on the high proportion of Red-on-Black in an area so far west of the Karpas where normally it is scarce (Overbeck and Swiny 1972, 19-20, 23). This surprising concentration may be meaningful when it is realised that the fort at *Kafkallia* is the only other one on Cyprus with the same rectilinear plan, shell walls and large central courtyard as *Nitovikla* (Fig. 6). The two forts are also situated just inside an entrance to a walled plateau, and both are integrated with the plateau walls. So similar is the concept, and so distinct from other forts are *Nitovikla* and *Kafkallia* that, considered together with the co-occurrence of Red-on-Black pottery, some close relationship is likely (*cf.* Baurain 1984, 82-86). Whatever the nature of that relationship, we might understand the planning similarities in terms of an analogy with the cross-cultural recurrence of other specialist high-value outputs at this time. Here I am thinking of the movement of valued palace fresco artists who, at the behest of powerful patrons, played a role in the spread of designs and techniques (Sherratt 1994, 239; Knapp 1998). Might we not equally infer the engagement of master masons who introduced such specifically eastern designs to Cyprus at a time of intensive maritime interaction, much along the lines suggested by Catling (1967), Hult (1992) and Burke (2008, 143, 157)?

Chronological refinement is needed for the demise of the Tell el-Burak palace/stronghold, but it would seem to have been deserted about the same time that the *Nitovikla* fort was erected over a pre-existing settlement. Similarly, more work needs to be carried out on the relative chronology of the forts in general on Cyprus. What does seem clear, however, is that at least some were built well after Cyprus had become internationally famous for its copper, and that we may have underestimated the role of production, extraction and export before MC III-LC I. In other words, they may have appeared at a time of intensification of copper dissemination rather than at the commencement of exports.

FORTS AND COPPER

There are a growing number of signs for the exploitation of Cypriot copper and the island's involvement in transmaritime interaction in the Levantine basin in the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C. Its copper seems to have been exported to Pella in Jordan and Aghia Photia in Crete as early as *ca* 3000 B.C. (Philip *et al.* 2003; Stos-Gale and Gale 2003, 91-92, table 5). By the mid-3rd millennium B.C., Webb *et al.* (2006) recently showed that some islanders had access to imported metals and raw materials such as tin and that they participated in copper exchanges both in ingots and finished objects. And of course we know that deep mining existed on the island in the early 2nd millennium (Merrillees 1984). Its copper may have been renowned abroad then. At that time, *ca* 1900 B.C., Amenemhat II launched a seaborne expedition against 'Ura and Alašia (*Iw3* and *I3sy*) according to annalistic accounts. Amongst the many metal items taken in the raid (the term used in this account is to "hack up" lands) were bronze battle axes, daggers, 646 deben-weight of 'sawn' copper and 125 deben of new copper (Altenmüller and Moussa 1991; Kitchen in press). The copper haul in the texts seems symbolic: 59 and 11.4kg., the latter approximately the equivalent of a 1/3 of a LB-sized copper oxhide ingot. The actual amount may have been different. Relevant to the question of the date of the Cypriot forts is the Egyptian use in these accounts of a fortification symbol around *I3sy*, implying the existence of a fortified place on Cyprus then.

To my knowledge, no one has had the temerity to suggest that any of the known forts were as early as this (MC I), and there is a tendency after Merrillees' review of Hult's work at *Nitovikla* to date all of them to LC IA (e.g. Manning *et al.* 2002, 106, n. 27). But since archaeological methodology insists we date contexts by the latest material, it may be worthwhile re-examining assemblages from new foundations for the earliest material. The presence of such datable evidence might furnish us with a better idea of the

inception rather than the terminal usage of these robust monuments, some of which may well be earlier than *Nitovikla*.

Western Asiatic textual sources are also relevant to contextualising the forts within the development of Cypriot relations with its neighbours. A comparison between Cypriot and Minoan products in the Mari documents, before the conventional MC III date for the inception of the forts, is illuminating. During the reign of Yahdun-Lim (the town of) Alašia is attested, perhaps in connection with bronze, and raw Alašian copper occurs in three administrative texts a generation later in the reign of Zimri-Lim (Charpin 1994). This contrasts sharply with contemporary references to Cretan metalwork. Yahdun-Lim received 6 Cretan cups weighing 260g. (*kâsum kaptarîtum*: style of or perhaps direct imports) (Guichard 1999; 2005, 164-66, 207-209). Zimri-Lim favoured western connections, perhaps because he lived in Carchemish before adopting the Mari throne. During his one-month sojourn at Ugarit he encountered the Man of Crete and the chief of Cretan merchants. It is evident from gifting arrangements mentioned in his accounts that Cretan products circulated widely among Near Eastern royal courts, from Babylon to Upper Mesopotamia. They included leather boots, shoes and belts, macehead of bronze capped in gold and inlaid with lapis lazuli, spearhead inlaid with gold, bronze knife decorated with gold and silver, and gold and silver (handled) vessels, some decorated with spirals and vegetation, as well as a vase support with bird motif (Guichard 1999, 169-75). The detailed descriptions, together with the use of the epithet 'Cretan', indicate just how prized were Cretan exotics, and how material culture was ethnically distinguished (but see Sherratt and Sherratt [1998, 339] for 'Keftiu' as a collective ethnonym for a pan-regional sea-linked community).

Although an Alašian product, a dagger, is mentioned subsequently (Millard 1973), the contrast between raw material from Cyprus and finished luxury goods from Crete, together with

Minoan representatives at Ugarit, is striking. Taken into consideration with the links between Aegean and Near Eastern frescoes a little later, it may well be that control of much of the trans-maritime interaction at this time lay with Levantine and Middle Minoan sailing ships. And, as Betancourt (1998) and others have argued, Minoans pro-actively sought copper sources to fashion their high quality products. That they sought it on Cyprus is evident from appreciable proportions of Cypriot copper on Crete prior to MC III, rather than finished Cypriot metal objects (Poursat and Loubet 2005; Gale and Stos-Gale in press, figs 5, 6). And yet, during that time there are few recovered imported goods on the island in return for the copper. Nor are there structural changes in the kin-based organisation of society that one might expect from the need for surplus production to support the intensification of trade. The same problem is noted by Keswani. She highlights the absence of material expressions for the accumulation of wealth and other evidence for social stratification in EC-MC society in her treatment of intra-island differential access to sources of copper (Keswani 2004, 150).

With the relative paucity of imports in metal-rich tombs where competitive displays would have prompted their insertion and Amenemhat's II raid in mind, it would seem that, prior to the conventional date of the forts, Cyprus was mainly exploited for its copper, local communities had only limited engagement in long-distance inter-societal networks and that there was resistance to a loss of cultural identity. Interaction with surrounding regions at this stage may be regarded as restricted or passive. On their current poor dating, that is well after the reigns of Yahdun-Lim and Zimri-Lim mentioned above, we can see that

forts probably came into existence after the island's copper had achieved widespread renown, and that they correlate with the appearance of significant quantities of Cypriot pottery abroad. In this stage, rather than see the forts exclusively as a symptom of internal unrest, we might treat them together with settlement relocation towards the coasts as instrumental in securing for islanders a more active and independent role in the realisation of the potential of local resources. But if so, then a question that needs urgent attention is why it apparently took so long for islanders to realize the economic and political potentials of a more fully indigenous control of the dissemination of their copper wealth abroad.

COMMENTARY

The similarities between Tell el-Burak and *Nitovikla* allow us to infer a Levantine and Syro-Mesopotamian derivation for the phenomenon of at least some fort-building in Cyprus. In general terms, the analogies presented above support the argument for emulation by indigenous segments of mainland behaviour both before and during the process of secondary state formation on the island (Philip 1991; Manning *et al.* 2002, 160, n. 255; Crewe 2007). The striking similarities are only with *Nitovikla* and *Dhali-Kafkallia*, thus emphasizing the complexities of interactions, contingent histories and varied functions of the many types of forts. Designs served diverse strategic purposes and their plans were adapted to local topography, leading to a mosaic of plans. Some features, such as the corner bastions of Enkomi fortress 1B and Ayios Sozomenos-*Glyka Vrysis* may be connected to Levantine and Syrian precepts, but the inspiration seems heavily modified and the buildings are otherwise autonomous Cypriot creations.

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η κατασκευή μνημειακών κτιρίων αντιλαμβάνεται συχνά ως ένας τρόπος ενίσχυσης της κοινωνικής συνοχής, τουλάχιστον με την επιστράτευση εργατικού δυναμικού. Τα πρωϊμότερα παραδείγματα τέτοιων κτιρίων στην Κύπρο κατά την Εποχή του Χαλκού ανήκουν στον ΜΚ ΙΙΙ-ΥΚ Ι ορίζοντα με μια ποικιλία κτιρίων με δυνατούς τοίχους τα οποία χαρακτηρίζονται γενικώς ως «οχυρά». Παρόλο που για τα περισσότερα λείπει μια ακριβής χρονολογία, εντούτοις θεωρούνται ότι κατασκευάστηκαν σε μια περίοδο εντατικοποίησης των επαφών με την ηπειρωτική Συροπαλαιστίνη, εφόσον υπάρχει στα αρχαία τοπικών τεχνουργημάτων μαρτυρία για μίμηση ξένων εκλεκτών αγαθών. Τα οχυρά πρέπει να μελετηθούν με τον ίδιο τρόπο. Επιπλέον, εκπροσωπούν ριζικές αλλαγές στην αντίληψη του κοινωνικού τοπίου και χώρου. Όμως, μας διαφεύγουν τα συγκεκριμένα ηπειρωτικά πρότυπα των κυπριακών οχυρών. Αυτό το άρθρο υποστηρίζει την ύπαρξη Συρο-Μεσοποταμιακών προηγούμενων, συγκεκριμένα το οχυρό της Μέσης Εποχής του Χαλκού στο παραλιακό Τελ-ελ-Μπουράκ κοντά στη Σιδώνα. Υπογραμμίζονται συγκεκριμένα κατασκευαστικά και σχεδιαστικά χαρακτηριστικά, τα οποία είναι παράλληλα με εκείνα στη Νιτοβίκλα, αλλά συγχρόνως δίνεται έμφαση στο ότι πρέπει να βλέπουμε τα οχυρά του νησιού σαν μια ενσωμάτωση στα τοπικά συστήματα, όπως εξελίχτησαν σε μια ειδική στιγμή και για συγκεκριμένους σκοπούς, και σαν το όργανο για τη μεταμόρφωση της κυπριακής κοινωνίας και τη σφυρηλάτηση νέων ταυτοτήτων. Υποστηρίζεται ότι κτίστηκαν όταν έλαβε χώρα μια θεμελιώδης αλλαγή κατεύθυνσης της διάδοσης του χαλκού και ότι η εξαγωγή χαλκού πριν από αυτά, την 3η χιλιετηρίδα ή τις αρχές της 2ης χιλιετηρίδας, ήταν πιο σημαντική απ'ότι συνήθως πιστεύεται.

