

Making Ancient Cities

SPACE AND PLACE IN EARLY URBAN SOCIETIES

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Making the First Cities on Cyprus: Urbanism and Social Change in the Late Bronze Age

Kevin D. Fisher

Compared with its eastern Mediterranean neighbors, the island of Cyprus is remarkable for the rapid and rather late appearance of urban centers during the Late Bronze Age. Using an approach that focuses on the role of built environments as contexts for social interaction, I argue instead that the first cities were the result of place-making by the various groups and individuals that made up an increasingly complex Late Bronze Age society. This took place at multiple spatial scales from the top-down planning of ruling elites that gave shape to the urban landscape, through the formation of neighborhoods, to the bottom-up actions of individual households and their members. As such, the new urban centers were both product and producers of social life and catalysts for the far-reaching social transformations that characterized the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus.

Even before V. Gordon Childe first coined the phrase “urban revolution,” the eastern Mediterranean and Near East had long been recognized as one of the so-called cradles of urbanism (Childe 1936). Cities first appear in Mesopotamia by the mid-fourth millennium BC and by the early third millennium, we see the emergence of fortified urban centers, generally thought to represent city-states, in the Levant and Anatolia. In the Aegean, urban centers with vast palace complexes were built on Crete by the beginning of the second millennium BC, if not earlier. Amid these developments, the island of Cyprus is somewhat of an anomaly, with urban centers not appearing until the Late Bronze Age (LBA; ca. 1650–1100 BC) and scholars have frequently noted its late arrival on the urban scene (e.g., Held 1993:29; Keswani 1996:217–218; Wright 1992:84–85). Explanations for the eventual appearance of cities on Cyprus have tended to see the process as an almost natural outcome of demographic growth and politico-economic development through secondary state formation.

The aim of this paper is to rethink the emergence of urbanism on Cyprus by placing it at the center of the profound social changes that took place during the Late Bronze Age. I see the new cities as intentional creations resulting from a process of place-making by which space was appropriated, defined, and turned into meaningful contexts for social interaction. By the fully urban period of the fourteenth through twelfth centuries BC, this process manifested itself at a number of levels from the top-down planning of the streets and fortifications of urban centers by ruling elites, to the design and construction of neighborhoods, individual buildings, and their constituent spaces, which involved decisions by various stakeholders, including the grassroots actions of various individuals and urban communities. This was truly an urban revolution in that it utterly changed the way many Cypriotes lived their lives. The new built environments became the primary arenas in which the social dynamics of the LBA were enacted, forging new relationships and identities in the process.

To examine these developments, I will begin by briefly discussing previous considerations of LBA Cypriot urbanism, before introducing an approach that investigates the mutually constituting relationship between people and places through a focus on social interaction. I then outline what we know about the rapid rise of urbanism during the LBA and address the social production of space in the first Cypriot cities by examining place-making at various scales, from the top-down planning of ruling elites, through the formation of neighborhoods, to the bottom-up actions of individual households.

WAYS OF LOOKING AT LATE CYPRIOT CITIES

In spite of excavations at a number of LBA (or Late Cypriot [LC]), as it is called locally) urban sites, there has been a notable absence of research into the social aspects of their architectural remains. Until recently, most studies of ancient Cypriot built environments, informed by traditional art-historical and culture-historical paradigms, have been descriptive rather than explanatory, focusing on issues such as stylistic classification and change, chronology, or the technical aspects of construction. In probably the most comprehensive work on ancient Cypriot architecture, Wright (1992), while recognizing the significance of the emergence of "urban society" in the Bronze Age, offers no explanation as to its cause or profound

social effects. Recognizing the limitations of such approaches, some scholars in the 1990s tried to explain the rise of urbanism in terms of the emergence and development of sociopolitical complexity (e.g., Keswani 1993; Knapp 1993; Knapp et al. 1994). Influenced by the processual paradigm in archaeology, the appearance of cities on Late Bronze Age Cyprus was viewed as the result of processes of demographic growth and nucleation and politico-economic development, usually characterized as "state formation." Such an approach emphasized the function of the new settlements within systems of production and exchange, classifying them according to their place within a politico-economic hierarchy (Keswani 1993, Knapp 1997:ch. 5; Negbi 2005; Peltenburg 1996).

Although these approaches are important in highlighting the function and articulation of settlement systems in a general sense, they ultimately fail to shed light on the far more significant social role that cities played in revolutionizing the lives of the people that lived in and around them. Even recent agent-based approaches that recognize the vital role of the built environment in social reproduction (e.g., Bolger 2003; Knapp 2008) have not adequately addressed the transformative nature of the new cities. Archaeologists working in Cyprus have often been reluctant to call the new urban settlements "cities," preferring instead to use the terms "centers" or, more often, "towns" (e.g., Knapp 2008; Negbi 2005; South 1995; Wright 1992). This reluctance likely stems in part from the relatively small size attributed to most LC urban sites, with two of the best known, Enkomi and Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, having sizes of 14 and 11.5 ha, respectively.¹ As Iacovou (2007) rightly points out, however, such estimates as published in various tables and charts (e.g., Knapp 1997:figure 5 and table 2) have taken on the weight of fact, in spite of being based on sources that use very little hard data or that amalgamate data from several phases of occupation. In any case, I have no difficulty defining the urban centers discussed here as cities.

Trying to define *city* is a complicated matter and there is no consensus among archaeologists, or even among scholars of contemporary urbanism. Factors such as large size, a dense aggregation of people, socioeconomic heterogeneity, and the performance of specialized functions in relation to their hinterlands are commonly cited as characteristics of cities (Kostof 1991:37; Trigger 2003:120; Wirth 1938:8). Yet, I would agree with Cowgill's (2004:526) argument that a "somewhat fuzzy core concept" is more appropriate than definitions

based on specific sizes or population levels – neither of which is easily determined in archaeological contexts (also Trigger 2003:120). We might define a city, therefore, as “a permanent settlement within the larger territory occupied by a society, considered home to a significant number of residents whose activities, roles, practices, experiences, identities, and attitudes differ significantly from those of other members of the society who identify most closely with ‘rural’ lands outside such settlements” (Cowgill 2004:526). An important distinction between *urban* (referring to “city-ness” [Cowgill 2004:527]) and nonurban, then, is one of identities. Monica Smith (2003:8) refers to it as an urban “ethos.”

To see a city as being about its effects on people’s lives and the formation of their identities is to see it as a *place*: the dynamic, socially constructed and meaningful context of human action and experience (Feld and Basso 1996; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Preucel and Meskell 2004; Rodman 1992; Tuan 1977). In trying to understand the relationship between people and their built environments, I take an approach that acknowledges the agency of both. It is informed on a theoretical level by the work of Giddens (1979, 1984) and others (e.g., Bourdieu 1973, 1977; Lefebvre 1991) who argue for a mutually constituting relationship between human action and social reproduction. More than mere settings for these actions, built environments play an active role in the structuring and routinizing of embodied practice through which the structural properties of social systems are produced, reproduced, and transformed. In this way cities are both producer and product of social life. Their creation and transformation are acts of place-making carried out by a range of individuals and groups at various spatial scales (M. L. Smith 2003; Soja 2000).

To investigate how this social dynamic played out in the LC built environment, I have developed an integrative approach (see Lawrence and Low 1990:482–491) that allows one to examine how built form provides contexts for various social interactions, including public-inclusive and private-exclusive social occasions, through which social boundaries and identities are negotiated and materialized (Fisher 2007, 2009a; see also Goffman 1963). The approach examines how built environments influence movement and interaction potential through their configuration and by encoding and nonverbally communicating meanings that are perceived by their occupants and visitors, potentially influencing their behavior (see Hillier and Hanson 1984; Rapoport 1990). The aim of the integrative

approach, therefore, is to repopulate the contexts in which past social interactions took place. I have applied this approach to the analysis of LC monumental buildings (Fisher 2007, 2009b) and, more recently, used it to examine the changing nature of house and household in the LC period and their articulation with urban communities (Fisher 2014). These are what Isbell (2000; after Anderson 1991) refers to as “imagined communities,” which are dynamic, fluid, and changing social institutions, formed as actors select among available alternatives while striving to create new ones in order to achieve their goals. They are historically contingent and “ever-emergent” communities that generate and are generated by supra-household interactions that are structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time (Yaeger and Canuto 2000:5–6; also Knapp 2003).

Building on this work, I will discuss how acts of place-making were materialized in LC urban landscapes at a range of spatial scales, from various levels of urban community such as the city itself and its neighborhoods, to individual buildings and their constituent spaces. First, however, I will briefly outline some of the key developments that accompanied the rise of the first cities on Cyprus.

THE RISE OF URBANISM ON CYPRUS

It is important to bear in mind that, up until the mid-third millennium BC, Cypriotes continued to live in small villages of circular, stone and mudbrick single-room dwellings, a settlement form dating back at least to the Late Aceramic Neolithic (ca. 7000/6500–5500 BC). The transition to the Early Bronze Age (locally, Early Cypriot) ca. 2500 BC brought important cultural changes, spurred in part by the exploitation of Cyprus’s rich copper resources by local emerging elites and the adoption and adaption of cultural innovations brought by immigrants from Anatolia (Knapp 2008:ch.3; Manning 1993; Steel 2004:ch.5). Emerging social inequalities were manifested most clearly in the elaboration of burial practices and deposition of wealth seen in some cemeteries (notably at Lapithos-Vrysi tou Barba and Bellapais-Vounous) in the northwestern part of the island (see Keswani 2004:42–46; Figure 6.1). Although these cemeteries are exceptional, it is clear that the funerary realm became the primary arena for display and supra-household social interaction at this time (Keswani 2005). The growing social complexity seen in the northern cemeteries is not, however, borne out in other elements of the built

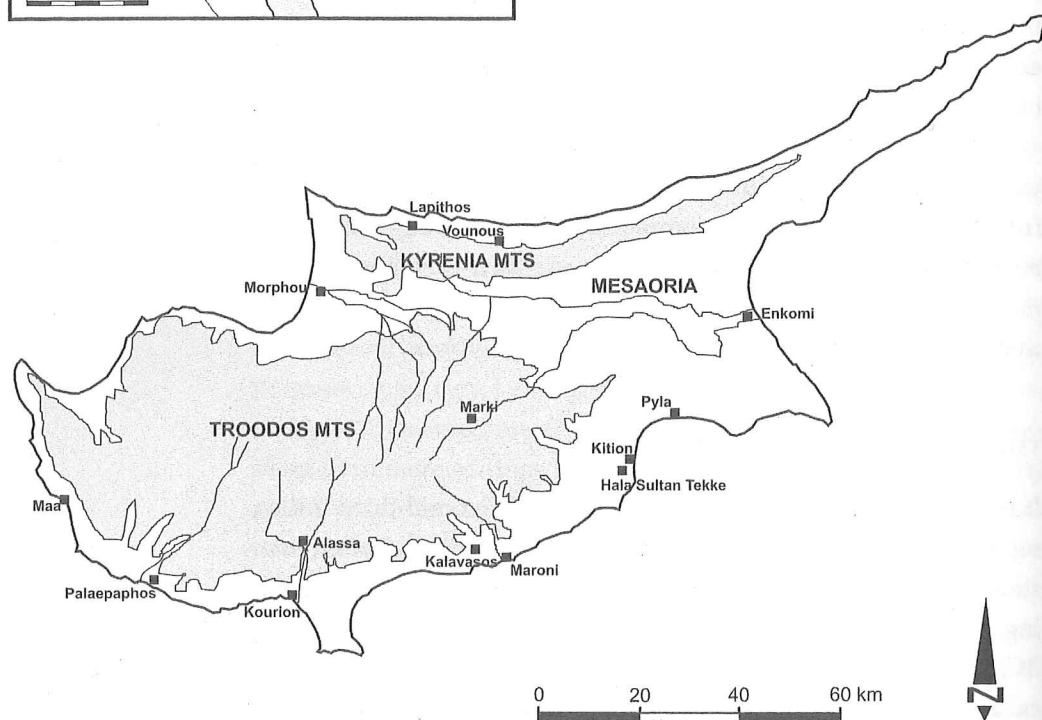
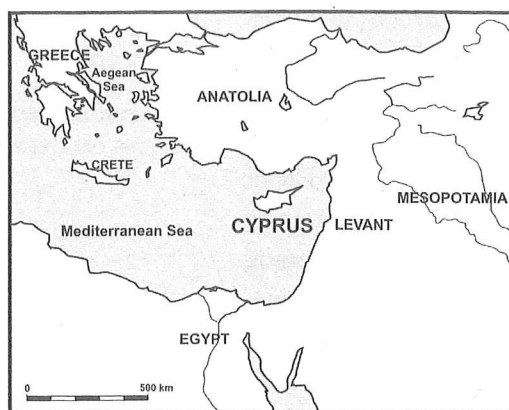


Figure 6.1 Map of Cyprus showing Bronze Age sites mentioned in text. Shaded area is land greater than 300 m asl (drawn by author).

environment. In spite of the appearance at this time of rectilinear, multiroom, agglomerative domestic architecture, there is currently no evidence for urban settlements, settlement hierarchies, or monumental architecture of any sort until the seventeenth century BC (Keswani 1996). If the evidence from Marki-Alonia, which spans most of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, is any indication, the typical house consisted of two or three covered rooms at the back of a larger courtyard, an "idealized concept" that remained in place throughout the life of the settlement (Frankel and Webb 2006:299).

The long-standing adherence to traditional "rural" architectural types can perhaps be tied to what Peltenburg (1993; 1996:27) has described as an "egalitarian ethos" and segmentary social organization that characterized pre-Bronze Age Cypriot society and largely persisted outside of the northern part of the island until the near end of the Middle Bronze Age (locally, the Middle Cypriot).

Cyprus then entered a period of rapid and profound change, culminating in what some scholars see as the emergence of state-level sociopolitical organization. Whether the island was ruled as a unified political entity or as a series of independent, regional "peer" polities (or possibly vacillated between these two forms of organization) is a matter of debate (see Knapp 2008:144–159, 324–341 for a detailed discussion of these issues; cf. Peltenburg 2012). In any case, it is clear that emerging inequalities gave way to social hierarchies as elites institutionalized their power through intensified control over increasingly specialized systems of production and exchange, legitimized through ideological means (see Knapp 1986; 2008:159–172). The basis for this control extended beyond the island's boundaries as Cyprus became ever more integrated into the wider politico-economic relations of the eastern Mediterranean and Near East. At the same time, society became increasingly heterarchical as various collectivities emerged in the context of new social, political, and economic networks and opportunities (Keswani 1996; 2004:154–157). These changes took place within the context of further agricultural intensification that supported demographic growth and nucleation, seen in an increase in settlement numbers and, more importantly, size and density (Knapp 1997:47–48). At the same time, we see far-reaching changes to the island's built environment, including the rise of the island's first urban centers and the appearance of monumental buildings and new types of domestic and mortuary architecture. As I noted in the introduction, I would see the new built environments as a driving force behind the profound sociopolitical changes of the LBA, rather than as their side effect. Cities were both product and producer of these transformations through the creation and use of meaningful contexts for social interactions.

The Proto-Urban Period

The earliest urban centers on the island were founded during what I have termed a "Proto-urban" period covering roughly the Middle

Cypriot (MC) III through Late Cypriot (LC) IIB; ca. 1750–1340/15 BC. Admittedly, my use of this term speaks more to the lack of data about the formative period of Cypriot cities than any certainty about the nature of these first urban settlements. We are greatly hampered by the relatively limited exposures of nearly all sites. Generally less than 5 percent of any site has been excavated and even those exposures tend to be fragmented into discontinuous areas. It is also likely that the earliest foundations of the cities have been obscured by the more substantial remains of their fully urban successors. Even though it appears that Enkomi, *Morphou-Toumba tou Skourou*, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Maroni are among the first of these Proto-urban settlements, only Enkomi provides any significant insight into its formative levels.

Excavations have revealed two important features from Proto-urban Enkomi: the so-called Fortress – one of the island's first monumental buildings – and a large domestic complex. Located at the northern end of the site, the Fortress is a large rectangular building, roughly 30 x 10 m in size, that contained evidence for large-scale copper working (Dikaios 1969–1971:plates 245–248; Figure 6.2). This is but one of a series of so-called forts, some twenty-one in all, which appear in the northern and eastern parts of the island during the transition from the Middle to Late Bronze Age (Fortin 1981; Peltenburg 1996). These were by far the largest structures built on the island to this point, representing an unprecedented investment in material and human resources. Peltenburg (1996) has argued that these forts were part of a strategy to secure the routes from new coastal settlements, like Enkomi, to the copper sources in the Troodos Mountains. Control of this copper production was undoubtedly one of the primary economic underpinnings of the power of emerging elites. I have argued that Enkomi's Fortress materialized both the large-scale appropriation and enclosure of space, as well as efforts to control physical and visual access to the vital copper-working facilities and their associated technologies in its west wing (Fisher 2007:199–204, figure 7.4).

If excavations in the later city center are any indication, the initial settlement that was constructed to the south of Enkomi's Fortress was fundamentally different from the agglomerative, village-based domestic architecture of the Early through Middle Bronze Age periods. It was characterized, at least in part, by large domestic complexes (see Dikaios 1969–1971:plates 267–271). The earliest complex

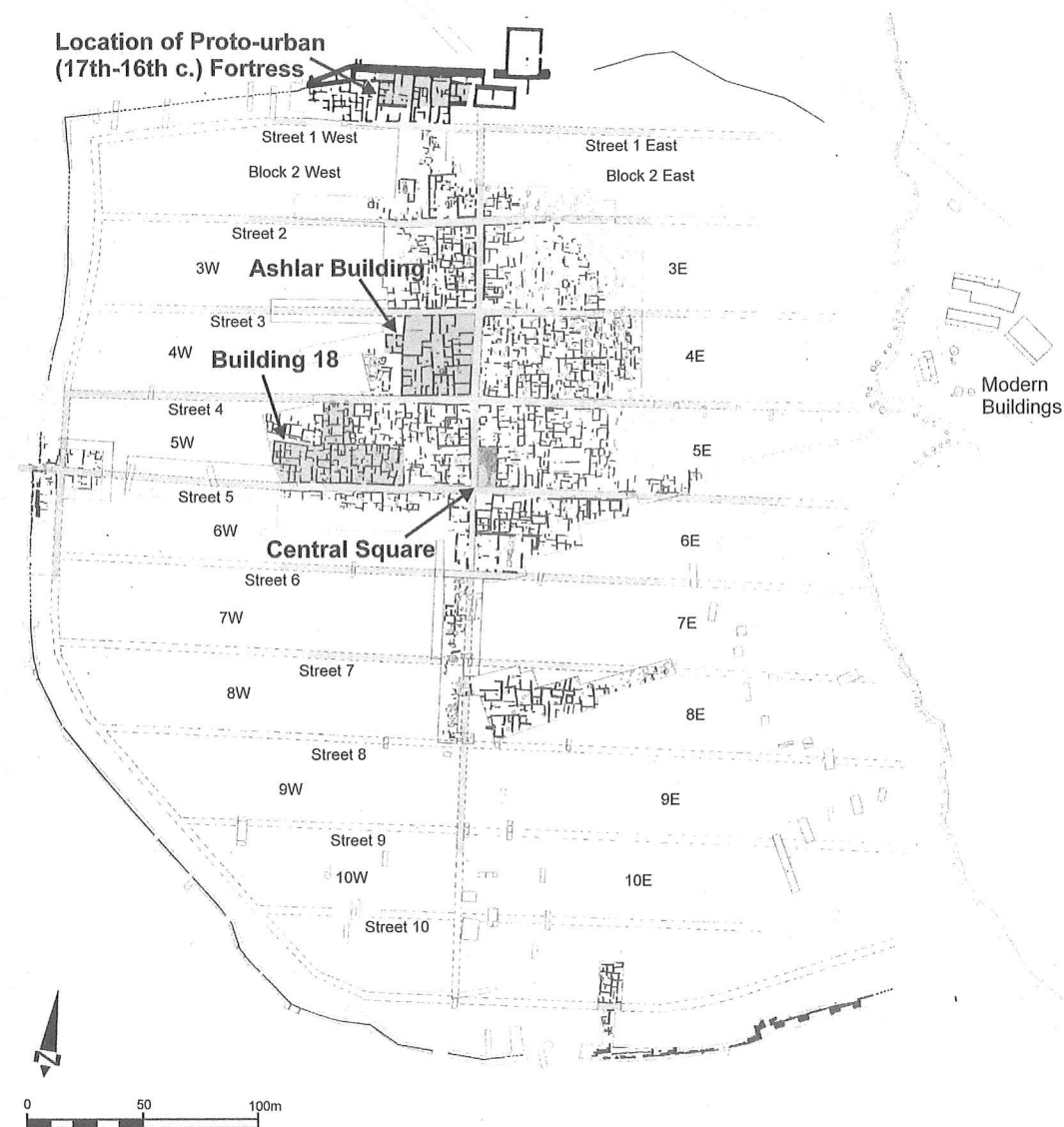


Figure 6.2 Schematic plan of Enkomi, c. 1200 BC (adapted by author from Courtois et al. 1986:figure 1 and Schaeffer 1971:plan IV).

recovered beneath the Ashlar Building occupies an area of about 30 x 22 m and has wings of rooms arranged around a central court, open on one end. It is important to note that this structure is freestanding, separated from other possible adjacent structures by open spaces. And, in a distinct break from thousands of years of burial in extramural cemeteries, we see that these open spaces are used for burials in subterranean chamber tombs. These tombs were a vital part of the Proto-urban built environments. Their location in the open space between individual buildings (rather than collective placement in

extramural cemeteries) and their continued reuse throughout the Proto-urban period indicates that they were the primary means of status display (Keswani 2004) and were used in the negotiation and demarcation of both physical and social boundaries between rival groups. These tombs provided a direct link to ancestors as well as a statement of territoriality, legitimizing these groups' claims to spatial control. They were undoubtedly meant to be encountered in the course of daily practice, as seen in the two tombs built directly in front of the Fortress's main entrance.

Keswani's (2004) important study of Cypriot mortuary practices reveals that this dynamic would change significantly over the course of the LBA. She notes a decreasing elaboration of ritual treatment accompanied by a decline in investment in mortuary architecture and the value of deposited grave goods. These trends point to a decline in the importance of funerary ritual. I agree with Keswani's (2004:143–144, 159–160) suggestion that increasingly complex political and economic opportunities became available as the LBA progressed, creating new contexts for the accumulation of wealth and the establishment of social status. This supported the emergence of political and religious institutions with officials, dependents, and functionaries whose social status and identity were increasingly independent of their associations with the earlier (Proto-urban) kin groups. It is no coincidence that the island's first urban centers were built at this same time.

PLACE-MAKING IN LATE CYPRIOT URBAN LANDSCAPES

The Proto-urban phase was followed by a phase from the mid-fourteenth century BC through to the end of the Bronze Age in ca. 1100 BC (LC IIC–IIIA periods) that witnessed the (re)construction, urbanization, and monumentalization of a number of settlements. Although we can bring evidence to bear from a larger number of sites to discuss this, it is important to emphasize that the following account is still based on limited and discontinuous exposures. Enkomi is the exception with nearly 20 percent of the known area of the site from this phase excavated (Figure 6.2), but there are various unresolved issues regarding the site's stratigraphic sequence that limit its use in understanding some aspects of LC urbanism (see Fisher 2007:120–122 for a summary). In any case, if excavations at sites such as Enkomi and Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios are any indication (and

to this we can add glimpses from Alassa, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition, Episkopi (Kourion)-Bamboula, and Pyla-Kokkinokremos), the construction of many of the new cities involved the architectural definition and enclosure of the majority of space within the urban areas through the contiguous placement of building walls and streets (Åström 1996; Courtois et al. 1986:5–8, figure 1; Hadjisavvas 1986; Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 1985; Weinberg 1983; Wright 1992:115). We can begin by examining this at the spatial scale of the city as a whole – the urban landscape – and attempts by ruling elites to impose order on it.

The Planned City: Elite Place-Making Writ Large

One of the most striking features of many LC cities is the extensive use of urban planning, often characterized by particular street arrangements, which determined the position and alignment of most of their constituent buildings. This is seen most clearly at Enkomi, which, after a major destruction ca. 1200 BC, was rebuilt in an impressive manner exhibiting a number of the hallmarks of centralized planning recently discussed by Michael Smith (2007). These include formality and a coordinated arrangement of buildings and spaces combined through the use of a modular orthogonal plan (Figure 6.2). The grid, oriented to about 7 degrees west of north, consists of a single, central north-south artery dissected by nine evenly spaced, east-west running streets, forming twenty blocks. The fact that the outer walls of the Ashlar Building follow the boundaries of an underlying building from the previous phase might suggest that at least some elements of this layout were already in place before the city's reconstruction (see Dikaios 1969–1971:plates 292–293; Wright 1992). This was demarcated by a "cyclopean" fortification wall (i.e., made with a base of massive roughly shaped boulders) with towers that enclosed an area of about 14 ha (Courtois et al. 1986:5–8, figure 1). A ring road appears to have run around the inside of the fortifications. The plan also exhibits monumentality in the construction of a number of monumental buildings built partially or wholly of ashlar masonry, some of the most impressive of which (Building 18 [which is actually a series of elite residential units] and the Ashlar Building) are found along the city's central axes. The existence or nature of any settlement outside the walls is unknown (Iacovou 2007:10).

The failure of the published plans from the French excavations (e.g., Schaeffer 1971:plan IV) to distinguish among walls of various

phases makes it difficult to ascertain the precise boundaries and internal structure of many of Enkomi's individual buildings. The centrally located Ashlar Building (Dikaios 1969–1971:171–190; Fisher 2007:ch. 6) is substantially larger than any other structure, but it appears to have been an elite residence and lacks compelling evidence for administrative activities. The lack of a single obvious administrative center and the generally widespread distribution of the highest status goods among elite graves throughout the city has led Keswani (1996; 2004:115) to suggest that there was no single focus of administrative power at Enkomi and that the site was therefore characterized by a heterarchical sociopolitical organization with power dispersed among multiple nodes (also Manning 1998:53; see Magnoni et al., Chapter 5 of this volume for a similar situation at the Classic Maya site of Chunchucmil).

The city of Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, dating mainly to the LC IIC period (ca. 1340/15–1200 BC), represents a somewhat different spatial configuration. Excavations in several areas of this site reveal various buildings and roads that are generally oriented to 25 degrees west of north, indicating that the city was laid out on a preconceived plan (South 1980, 1995; Figure 6.3). No fortification wall has yet been found, but the distribution-of-surface finds and architectural remains suggest that the site was about 11.5 ha in size. The plan consists of at least one major “north-south” street and one or more transverse “east-west” streets (Wright 1992:115).² The main north-south street, roughly 3.8 m wide, appears to extend at least 150 m through three separate excavation areas. Not enough of the urban fabric has been recovered to determine whether the plan is a modular orthogonal grid such as at Enkomi, or a simpler integrated orthogonal plan in which the buildings are aligned to one or more large-scale features (see Smith 2007:12–21). Some form of zoning may have been imposed in which the monumental administrative buildings were in the northeast, whereas higher-status residences, some of which also contained industrial facilities, were found in the eastern and central parts of the city, and smaller, and nonelite dwellings were on the western outskirts (Wright 1992:115). The latter are on a slightly different alignment (closer to north) than the rest of the city's buildings and infrastructure. Elsewhere, the plan exhibits symmetry and conformity, seen in the alignment of buildings on opposite sides of the street and the possible existence of “lots” demarcated by long stretches of wall (South 1995:192).

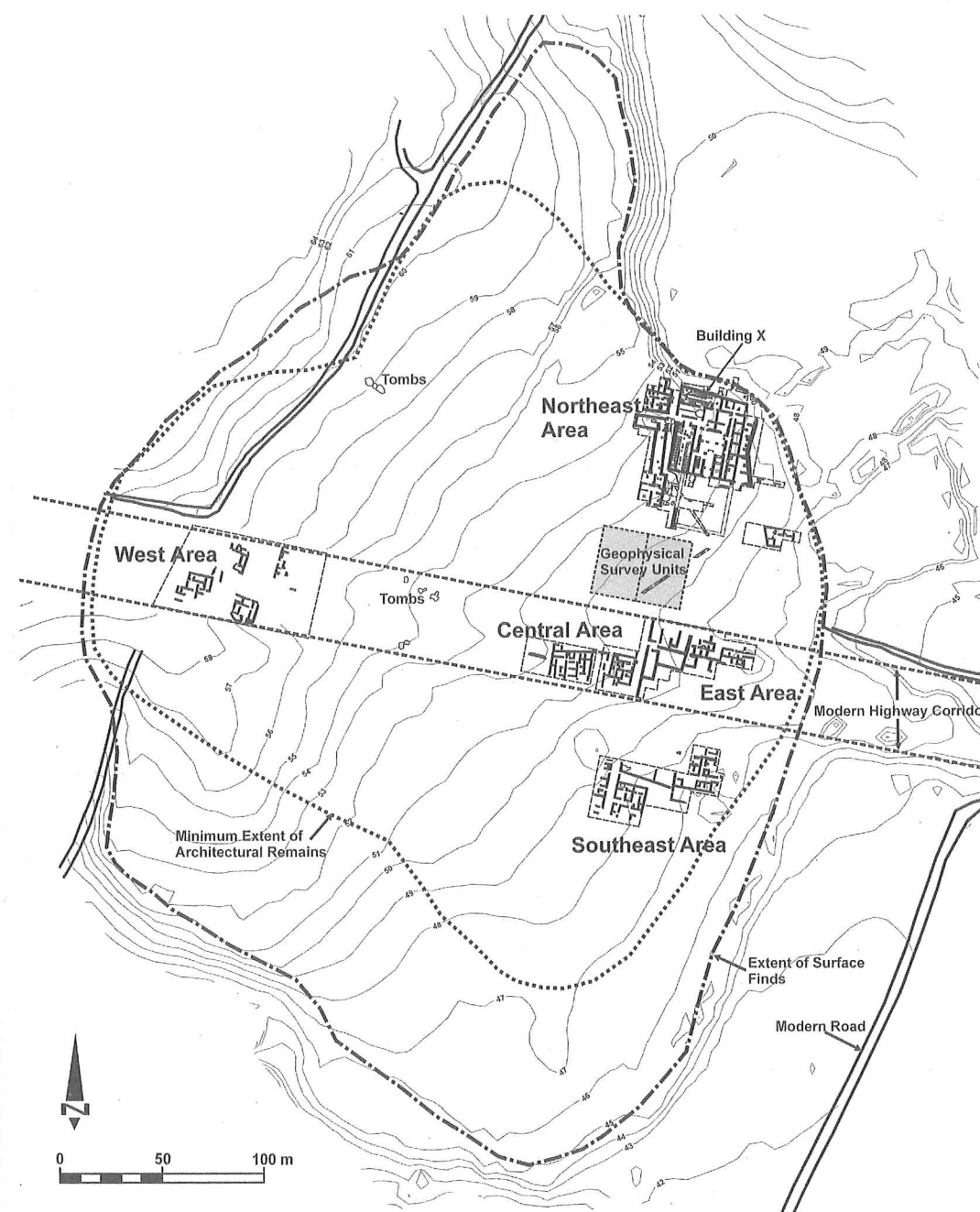


Figure 6.3 Schematic plan of Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios (drawn by author based on topographic data provided by Alison South).

South (1988:223) has argued that a large wall excavated along the north and east side of the Northeast Area may have enclosed this part of the site, which contained monumental structures, including Building X – the largest and most architecturally elaborate building

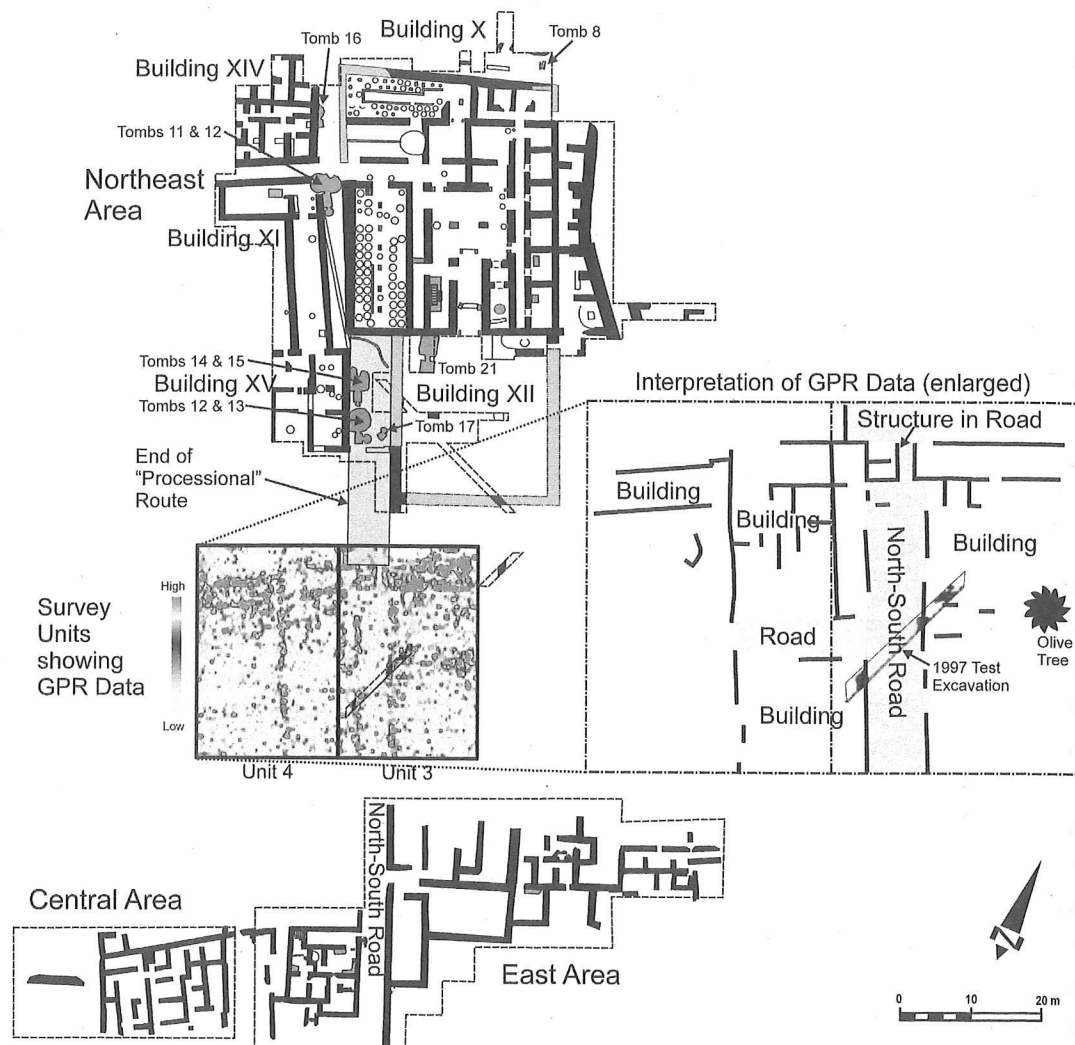


Figure 6.4 Detail of Northeast, Central and East excavation areas at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, including results of ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey (see Fisher et al. 2011–2012 for details; adapted by author from plan provided by Alison South).

yet found at the site and likely its administrative focus. A recent survey by the Kalavassos and Maroni Built Environments (KAMBE) Project using archaeological geophysics appears to support this contention, suggesting an arrangement of structures delineating the southern limit of the Northeast Area (Fisher et al. 2011–2012; Figure 6.4). Where these features intersect with the main north-south road, there appears to be a structure that narrowed the roadway, possibly indicating an attempt to control physical and visual access to this area of the city, yet another hallmark of centralized planning (Smith 2007:23–25). The presence of this single and separate

administrative area implies a hierarchical organization of power at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, with a paramount ruling individual or group (Keswani 1996).

The urban centers of Maroni and Alassa likewise had monumental zones that appear to have been the primary focus of elite power at each site, although it is unclear how they articulated with nearby settlement areas. A survey in the Maroni Valley suggests a fairly continuous 15–25 ha area of LC occupation down to the shoreline, although it is presently unclear whether remains of buildings and tombs found at *Vournes*, *Aspres*, *Kapsaloudhia* and *Tsaroukkas* represent continuous or dispersed urban development (Fisher et al. 2011–2012; Manning 1998:42; Manning et al. 1994; Manning and Conwell 1992; Manning and De Mita 1997; cf. Iacovou 2007:7; Figure 6.5). Excavations of an elevated zone at Maroni-*Vournes* revealed a monumental building complex dating to Late Cypriot IIC that included the Ashlar Building, a 30.5 x 21 m structure built in part with ashlar masonry and separated from an adjacent storage building by a 4.5 m wide street (Cadogan 1984, 1992). A few small sterile trenches to the east of *Vournes* led Cadogan (1984:2) to conclude that it was physically separated from contemporaneous utilitarian buildings and tombs found at the coastal site of Maroni-*Tsaroukkas*, nearly 500 m to the southeast. These buildings are on a different alignment (ca. 25 degrees west of north) than those at *Vournes* (ca. 45 degrees west of north). Ongoing geophysical survey and test excavations by the KAMBE Project at Maroni between *Vournes* and *Tsaroukkas* (Fisher et al. 2010–2011) have revealed the remains of contemporary LBA structures interspersed with open spaces, suggesting a lower-density or less-integrated form of urbanism than seen at sites such as Kalavassos or Enkomi.

Like Maroni, Alassa-*Paliotaverna* is characterized by the presence of monumental structures dating to the LC IIC-IIIa, including Building II, a massive court-centered building (37.7 m per side) built almost entirely of elaborate ashlar masonry (see Hadjisavvas 1986; 1996). To the south, across a 4.3 m wide street, was a large, pillared hall, also built of ashlar masonry (Building I). *Paliotaverna* appears to have been separated from an area of nonelite domestic architecture found downslope at Alassa-*Pano Mandilaris*, nearly 200 m to the east and built on a different alignment (Figure 6.6).

The coordinated arrangement of buildings and spaces seen within the monumental areas of both Maroni and Alassa is indicative

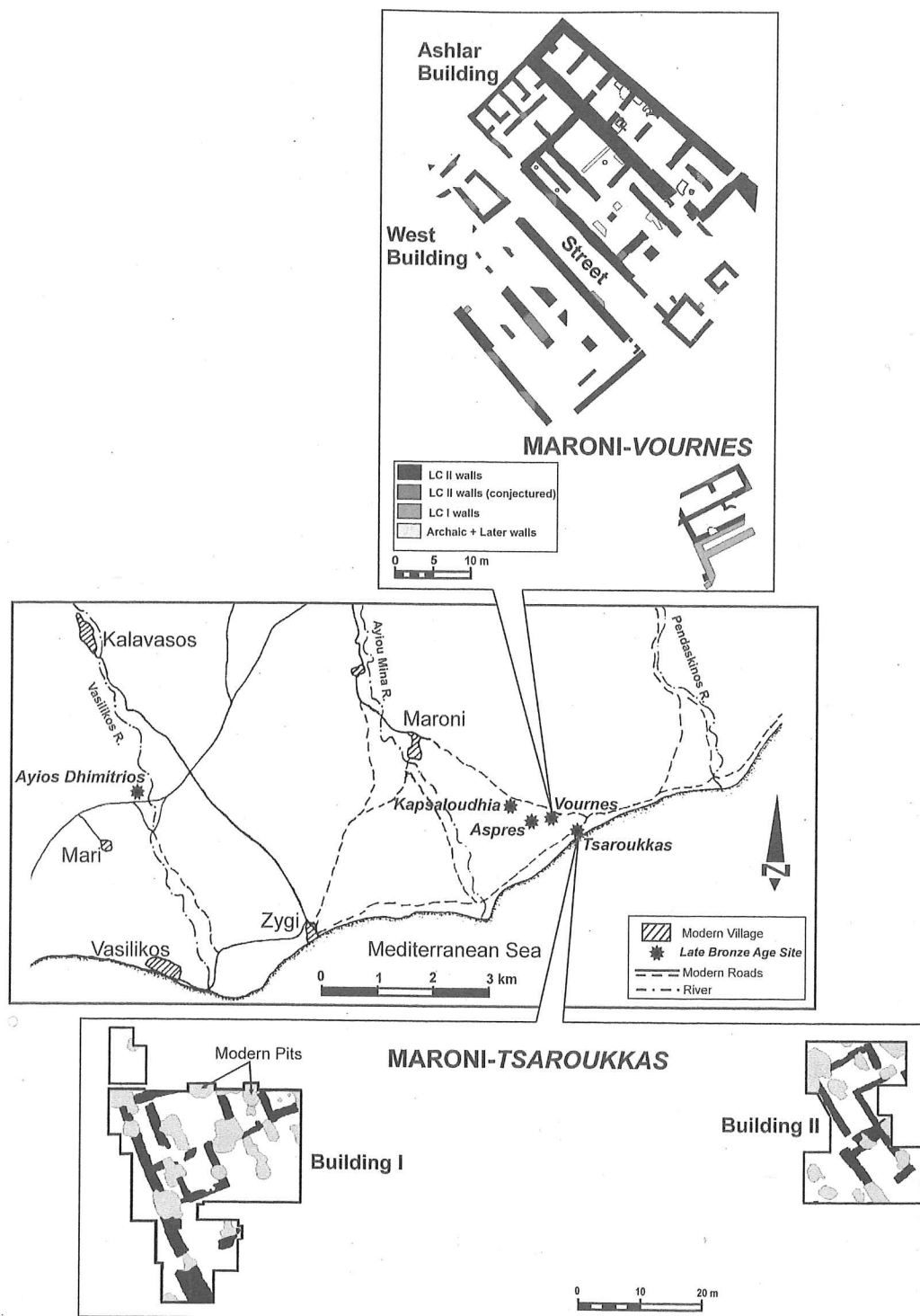


Figure 6.5 Map of the Maroni region with schematic plans of excavation areas at Vournes and Tsaroukkas (adapted by author from Manning 1998:figure 2; Fisher 2007:figure 7.24; Fisher et al. 2011–2012:figure 9).

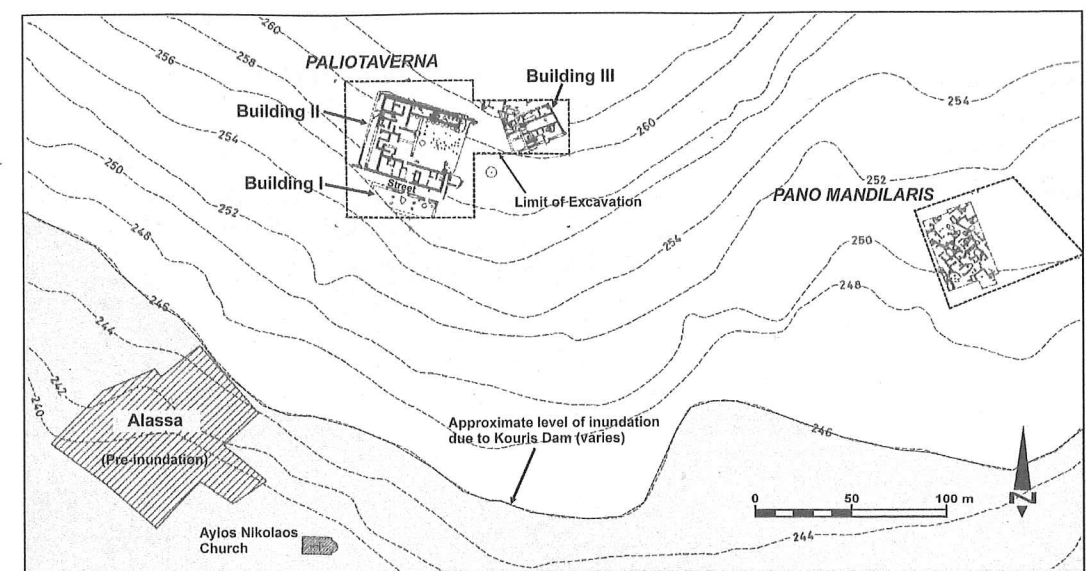


Figure 6.6 Map of the site of Alassa, showing the Paliotaverna and Pano Mandilaris localities (adapted by author from map by A. Kattos in Hadjisavvas 2003:figure 2).

of centralized planning, even if these areas were not tied to nearby domestic areas through an orthogonal grid. Similarly, one could perhaps see areas of domestic architecture at both Hala Sultan Tekke and Pyla-Kokkinokremos, in which several adjoined houses were aligned on the same orientation, as the result of higher-level planning (Åström 1989; Karageorghis and Demas 1984; Figures 6.7 and 6.8). As Smith (2007:14–16) points out, however, this sort of pattern could potentially arise from the actions of individual builders who made additions or new structures next to existing ones based on factors of practicality, efficiency, or, in the case of Pyla, the presence of the plateau edge. Åström (1996:10) claims that Hala Sultan Tekke had an orthogonal town plan with streets at right angles (he uses the term “Hippodamic”), but it is difficult to substantiate this on the basis of the published plans (e.g., Åström 1989:figure 2; Figure 6.7).

Based on the available evidence, it appears that there was no ideal plan for a Late Bronze Age city on Cyprus and that each was a product of individual site histories and trajectories of urban development (Iacovou 2007). The urban landscape of Maroni, and perhaps the still poorly understood LBA occupation of Palaepaphos (Iacovou 2007:3–6), may represent lower-density forms of urbanism than those materialized in the more integrated or nucleated plans of cities such as Enkomi and Kalavassos. In many cases, these cities share spatial configurations in which physical and social boundaries

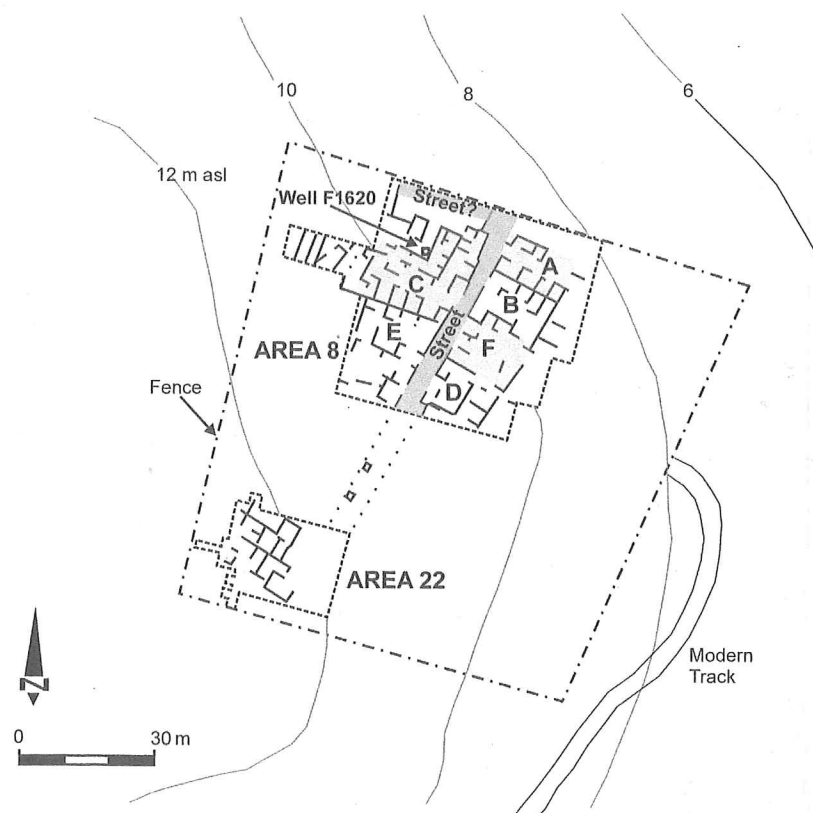


Figure 6.7 Hala Sultan Tekke, schematic plan of excavation Areas 8 and 22 (adapted by author from Åström 1989:figure 2).

were increasingly defined through the construction of buildings and street systems. For the most part, open spaces – the control of which had likely been negotiated among competing groups through the placement of tombs in the Proto-urban phase (again, based mainly on limited exposures from Enkomi) – were now incorporated within the structure of contiguously placed buildings on well-defined streets. This is quite clear in Area I at Enkomi, where a succession of Proto-urban buildings centered around multiple courtyards that were open on one side was replaced by the fully enclosed LC IIIA Ashlar Building (Dikaios 1969–1971:153–190). Here, the function of the tombs as territorial markers was preserved in the LC IIIA street pattern on the north and south of the new Ashlar Building. In some cases, earlier elite tombs continued to be used in the new urban environments, marking an attempt to demonstrate real or fictive continuity of ownership and power (e.g., Tomb 13 and its newly built subsidiary Tomb 12 in the street west of Building X at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios; South 1995:72). In other cases, as at Maroni-Vournes (Manning 1998), new elites marked their ascendancy over the

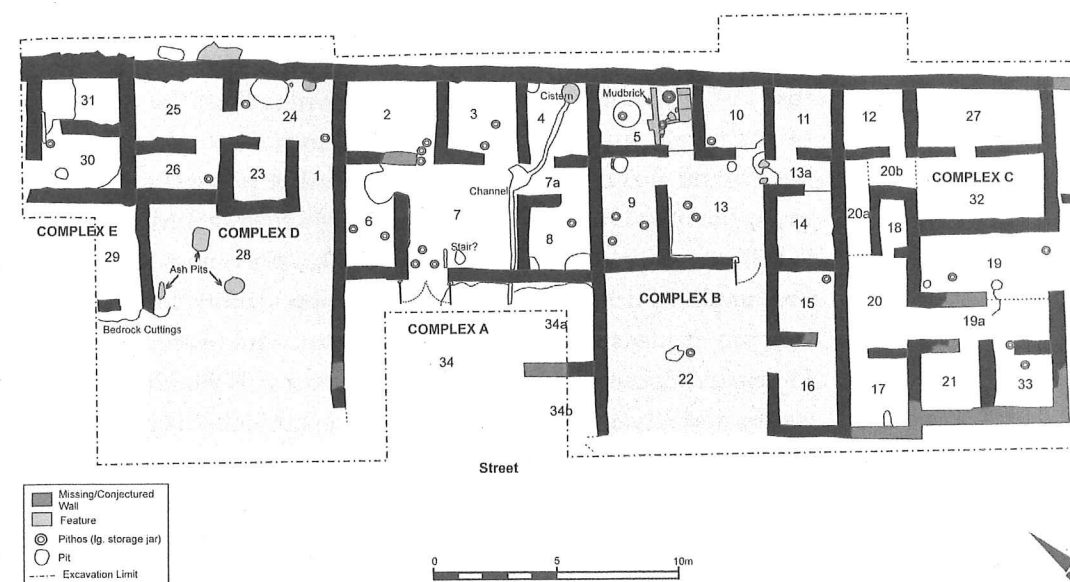


Figure 6.8 Pyla-Kokkinokremos, schematic plan of Complexes A-E (adapted by author from Karageorghis and Demas 1984:plan 1).

previous sociopolitical order by constructing their new buildings directly on top of the earlier tombs.

I would argue that the overall plans (streets, fortifications, and monumental buildings) of the new cities were products of top-down decision making by ruling elites, whether they exercised political power locally or at some wider regional or island-wide level. As Kostof (1991:33) argues in *The City Shaped*, “[c]ities, even those attributed to spontaneous processes inherent in a region, are never entirely processual events: at some level, city making always entails an act of will on the part of a leader or collectivity.” Indeed, the general form of the new urban environments was a product of elite place-making writ large, symbolized at some sites by the use of the grid, which has been recognized as a tool of dominance and oppression in societies engaged in centralizing authority (e.g., Grant 2001; Love 1999). A close association exists between the constitution of authority of political regimes and the form and aesthetic of urban political landscapes (A. Smith 2003). In a similar vein, Foucault (1977) has demonstrated how the configuration of space contributes to the maintenance of power of one group over another through the control and surveillance of the movement of bodies through space.

In addition, other than the streets, there is a notable lack of large, open, publicly accessible spaces that could be used for spontaneous

gatherings or planned public-inclusive social occasions among a city's inhabitants and visitors. This could be seen as an attempt by those who planned the city's infrastructure to limit the occurrence of large-scale, uncontrolled social gatherings. A number of studies have found that open public spaces stimulate political action, civic engagement, and democratic practices (Shin 2009:426). Monica Smith (2008) argues that open spaces provide flexible venues for planned and unplanned performances and the opportunity for consensus building in dense populations. The central square at Enkomi (see Figure 6.2), located at the city's main crossroads (the North-South Artery and Street 5), was one of few such spaces and likely an important venue for both informal gatherings and public-inclusive social occasions. Given its capacity (as many as 380 standing persons based on modern architectural conventions [see Fisher 2009a:444], not including the adjoining road space), such a place had the potential to serve as a prime context for interactions aimed at resisting or undermining the social order represented by the nearby monumental buildings and the overall urban plan.

Other large, open spaces tended to be more carefully controlled. For example, I previously noted that the main north-south road at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios may have reached some form of intervening structure as it approached the Northeast Area (see Figure 6.4). Beyond this point, the road widens to 6 m, creating a large space more than 30 m long that may have functioned as the terminus of a processional or ceremonial way or similar performative space. Here, earlier elite tombs (Tombs 12, 13, 14, and 15) would have been visible in the street, their entrances marked with vertically placed stones and possibly posts (South 1997:170). The street was bounded on the east by the poorly preserved ashlar façade of Building XII, and ended at the southwest corner of Building X. This was Building X's most impressive façade, made with a plinth of monumental ashlar blocks with drafted margins and lifting bosses, topped by an orthostat of large blocks, also with drafted margins. The space defined by these façades undoubtedly provided an imposing context for social occasions that took place here, including the arrival or departure of Building X's elite inhabitants, as well as the arrival of visitors who were permitted access to this part of the city, perhaps as participants in the feasting events that occasionally took place within Buildings X and XII (see Fisher 2009b; South 2008).

The cities of the fully urban phase of the LBA were the ultimate expressions of the desire to control movement and interaction, first seen in the Proto-urban forts. Their extant remains indicate the large-scale appropriation of space and its incorporation into planned, imageable built environments. Kevin Lynch (1960:9) sees *imageability* as "that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer. It is that shape, color, or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment." The enclosure of some urban environments (e.g., Enkomi and Kition) by massive cyclopean fortifications undoubtedly contributed to this imageability, while providing ruling elites additional means to control movement and participation in particular social interactions. In addition to their military and defensive functions, these walls vividly materialized the boundaries of the city proper and those who lived within them may have increasingly identified themselves in terms of a built-up, complex, ordered, and perhaps cosmopolitan cityscape that stood in contrast to the rural lands beyond – regardless of the failure of such an ideal to reflect the socioeconomic reality of city-hinterland interdependence.

The highly imageable urban center was likely one the more clearly defined places with which many Late Cypriot people identified. Indeed, Cowgill's definition of a city outlined earlier emphasizes the formation of a distinct urban identity through daily practice. Environmental psychologists have long noted the important role of place attachment at various scales in the formation of self- and group identities (Fisher and Creekmore, Chapter 1 of this volume; Proshansky 1978; Proshansky et al. 1983; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). Proshansky (1978:161) argues that an urban identity arises from the physical characteristics and requirements of life in urban contexts that socialize individuals to move, think, feel, play social roles, and solve problems in ways that are uniquely urban. Therefore, the experience of living in urban environments (i.e., an urban lifestyle) or, in some cases, attachment to particular cities, can form the basis of urban identities (Feldman 1990; Graumann 2002:109–110; Lalli 1992; Magnoni et al., Chapter 5 of this volume; Proshansky et al. 1983:78). This sort of place identity also developed through more localized forms of place-making that resulted in the production of (and attachment to) neighborhoods and households.

Between City and Household: Late Cypriot Neighborhoods

Urban communities that were intermediate between the city and the household undoubtedly existed in LC cities, although defining their social and material boundaries is no simple matter. Michael Smith (2010) recently argued that the division of cities into neighborhoods and districts was a universal of urban life for all time periods. He defines a *neighborhood* as a residential zone that exhibits a great deal of face-to-face interaction and is distinctive on the basis of physical and/or social characteristics, while a *district* is a larger administrative unit within a city (Smith 2010:139–140). Distinct districts are difficult to substantiate in LC urban centers, given their relatively small size and limited exposures, but we are perhaps better able to identify neighborhoods. In modern urban settings, neighborhoods have long been acknowledged as an important level of social organization (recently, Garrioch and Peel 2006). They become political and social communities, providing a frame of reference for the individual and a venue for the exchange of skills, emergency assistance, and mutual protection (Hallman 1984:11; M. L. Smith 2003:20–21). Neighborhoods have also been noted as being particularly important in the formation of individual and group identities and place attachment (often referred to as “neighborhood attachment”) among their residents (Brown et al. 2003; Comstock et al. 2010). Although mostly absent from discussions of LC cities (cf. Weinberg 1983), neighborhoods have been recognized in other ancient contexts, including Mesoamerica (e.g., Arnould et al. 2012) and Mesopotamia (e.g., Creekmore 2008, Chapter 2 of this volume; Nishimura, Chapter 3 of this volume; Stone 1996; cf. van de Mieroop 1992). Textual sources from Mesopotamian cities of the Old Babylonian period indicate that neighborhood associations actively mediated between households and the city-level bureaucracy (Keith 2003). In Mesoamerica, Cowgill (1992) has suggested the existence of neighborhoods based on ethnic groups at Teotihuacan.

An early form of neighborhood on Cyprus might be traced back to the founding of Proto-urban Enkomi and Morphou-*Toumba tou Skourou* in the seventeenth century BC. Keswani (1996) argues that these sites were initially formed by residents of other communities and even other regions, who gathered in localities well suited to exploiting foreign trade. The dispersed arrangement of compounds at early Enkomi and the residential and industrial zones associated

with multiple mounds attested at *Toumba tou Skourou* (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990) might reflect the existence of nascent neighborhoods rooted in these heterogeneous origins. This contrasts with fully urban Enkomi during the LC IIIA (ca. 1200 BC), which was arranged in clearly defined blocks by the street system previously discussed (see Figure 6.2). Although the internal arrangements of most of these blocks are unclear owing to the conflation of various architectural phases in published plans (e.g., Courtois et al. 1986:figure 1), it appears that each consisted of a number of contiguously placed buildings of various shapes and sizes. Several blocks (especially blocks 4E, 5E, 5W, and 6E) exhibit a fairly regular wall line bisecting them along their east-west axes, perhaps further evidence of higher-level planning through the use of regular lot depths. While it is possible that these blocks might have constituted some form of neighborhood, residents would likely have had greater occasion to interact with those who lived in units across the main streets. This socio-spatial arrangement is referred to as a “face-block” neighborhood, defined as two sides of one street between intersecting streets (Suttles 1972; American Planning Association 2006:409). Distinctive features, such as the ashlar façade pierced with unique windows that ran along the north side of Street 5 West (i.e., the south wall of Building 18), gave some of these face-blocks high imageability.

Karageorghis and Demas (1988:58) appear to be referring to a neighborhood when they suggest that Buildings II and IV at Maa-*Palaeokastro* combined with Areas 96 and 99 and Rooms 73, 76, and 77 to form an “architectural grouping” that might have represented a level of integration between individual households and the wider settlement (Figure 6.9). In other cities, there were areas defined by the concentration of particular building types that might also be seen as neighborhoods. The administrative areas of Kalavassos (the Northeast Area), Maroni (the *Vournes* locality), and Alassa (the *Paliotaverna* locality) discussed earlier, with their monumental ashlar buildings and evidence for production and storage, or Area II at Kition where five temples connected by courtyards and workshops were recovered (Karageorghis and Demas 1985; cf. J. Smith 2009), were all distinct in this way. But, these areas were not primarily residential and many social interactions would have been limited to particular times of day or other activity cycles.

At Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, the area of what Wright (1992:115) describes as “poorer” dwellings in the western-most part of the site

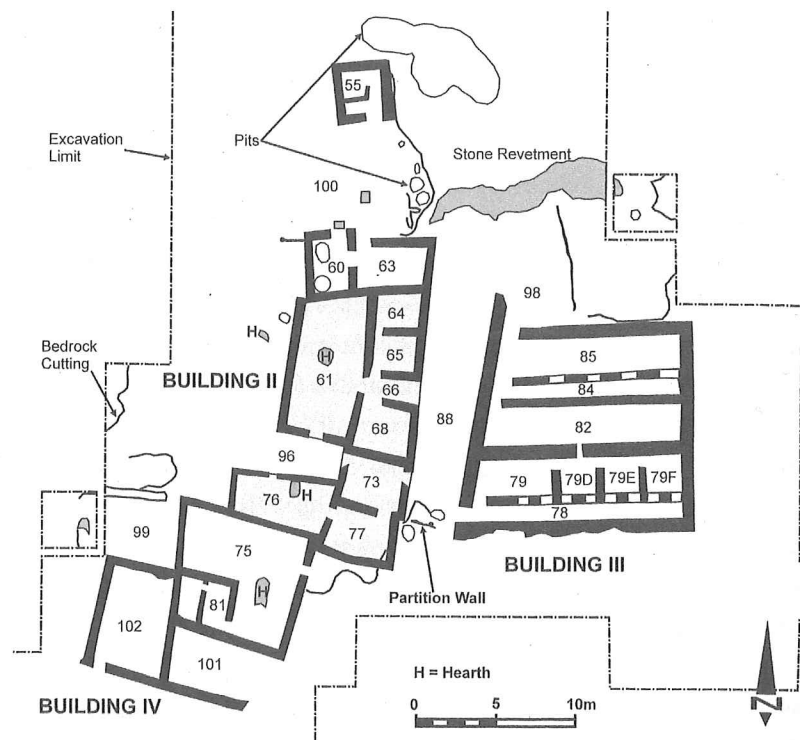


Figure 6.9 Schematic plan of Maa-Palaeokastro, Area III (adapted by author from Karageorghis and Demas 1988:figure 15).

might be an example of a neighborhood based on socioeconomic status (see Figure 6.3). As noted previously, the buildings (likely houses) in this part of the site are on a slightly different alignment (closer to north) than the rest of the site's architecture and appear to have significant spaces between the buildings, in contrast to the contiguous and more ordered construction seen along the main north-south road. It is important to bear in mind that this part of the site was incompletely excavated and that any conclusions regarding the status of its inhabitants are based mainly on the generally smaller size of these buildings and the lower quality of their extant masonry compared with houses recovered to the east (South 1980:42). A similar dynamic may have existed at Episkopi-Bamboula, where Area E has generally larger houses, which were arranged in orderly blocks delimited by streets, in contrast with the smaller and more organically arranged dwellings of Area A (Weinberg 1983:52–57, figures 18–20). This could represent a form of zoning as part of the overall urban plan. Such practices have sociopolitical implications as authority (legally based or otherwise) is employed to control social relations through the segregation or exclusion of certain groups (Madanipour 1998; Shin 2009:431). In modern cities, spatial and residential segregation is

known to create social enclaves and categorical relationships by limiting social interaction within racially, socioeconomically, and culturally homogeneous social groups, raising the potential for conflict and tension among segregated groups (Shin 2009:434).

The use of shared facilities could have been an additional basis for the kind of face-to-face interactions that defined particular neighborhoods (Keith 2003). For example, in spite of Bolger's (2003:49) contention that the water supply became increasingly privatized in LBA Cyprus, dwellings from a number of sites have no evidence for their own permanent water extraction or collection facilities, such as wells or cisterns. This suggests that many, if not most, households would have used communal water facilities, such as the large, well-built well found in Area B at Episkopi-Bamboula. This feature was 1.8 m square, aligned to the cardinal points, and does not appear to have been enclosed by any architecture (Weinberg 1983:32, plate 8). At Hala Sultan Tekke, even though Buildings A, C, and D had their own wells, the well (F 1620) located in Room 59 was located at the end of what Åström (1998:54–8) describes as a raised, communal passageway accessed by a street that ran along the northern edge of Building C (Figure 6.7). In addition, Karageorghis and Demas (1988:61) suggest that Buildings II and IV at Maa-Palaeokastro may have shared communal food preparation facilities in Area 96, Room 76, and possibly Area 99 (Figure 6.9).

Urban Households: Place-Making from the Bottom-up

It is clear that there were likely several overlapping bases around which neighborhoods might have formed, but each would have consisted of a number of individual households. Like neighborhood, *household* is a concept with interwoven material-spatial and social components. It is traditionally seen as a minimal social unit that meets certain basic needs of its members (economic, social, and biological) and is generally distinguished from family by co-residence, or at least locality, rather than kinship (Bender 1967; Rogers 1995; Santley and Hirth 1993; Yanagisako 1979). Current approaches instead emphasize the social interactions within and between households, seeing them not as functional units, but rather as a set of social relations enacted through practice (Hendon 2004; Meskell 1998). As Wilk and Rathje (1982:618) famously stated, archaeologists do not dig up households, but must infer them from the material record of houses and their

associated artifacts. The house can act as a medium through which the wider community can exercise a measure of control over what goes on within, yet it also provides a means of separating the actions of household members from that wider community (Allison 1999:1; Ardener 1993:11; also Altman and Gauvain 1981:287). The design of domestic space interacts with human action and meaning to create places "in which the house becomes integral to the construction of social identities through a process of ... movements, views and spatial arrangements" (Hendon 2004:276).

Individual houses have been identified in all of the major LC urban centers. Unfortunately, individual urban buildings have often been distinguished in binary terms of "private" domestic architecture and "public" monumental architecture, in spite of the fact that both building types contained spaces that were, to varying degrees, public and private (domestic). Whatever administrative, economic, and ideological functions they may have had (and in spite of their size and architectural elaboration), most monumental buildings were, in fact, dwellings for elite households, likely including a number of retainers. I have presented detailed arguments elsewhere regarding the vital roles that the monumental buildings and new types of nonelite housing both played in LC sociopolitical dynamics (Fisher 2007, 2009b, 2014). These new types of urban buildings and their constituent spaces provided the contexts for much of daily practice as well as occasional social interactions (such as feasts) that brought various individuals and groups together as social identities, roles, and statuses were negotiated, established, and displayed. Here I will briefly consider how these individual buildings and the households who lived in them were woven into the wider urban fabric.

In spite of the perception of LC settlement plans consisting of independent freestanding structures (e.g., Bolger 2003:49), most of the buildings from the fully urban period show, rather, an agglomerative (albeit ordered) arrangement in which they were constructed side by side and often shared outer walls. It was necessary for residents of such built environments, where nearly all space was architecturally defined, to demarcate and maintain the boundaries of the area under their direct control as unambiguously as possible. These boundaries defined what Altman (1975:111–120) refers to as household members' *primary territory* – spaces used by them on a relatively permanent basis and central to their day-to-day lives. Such spaces tend to have markers more closely reflective of the personal

qualities and central values of the occupants (Brown 1987). They also reflect an increased concern for privacy during the LBA and Bolger's (2003:49) contention that this period witnessed greater privatization of domestic activities is borne out in the limited physical and visual accessibility of LBA houses from the outside (Fisher 2014). Given the relationship between power and knowledge through surveillance (Foucault 1977), this might be seen on one level as an act of resistance against the power structures that came to intervene in various aspects of LBA life.

The importance of boundary maintenance is also apparent in the number of LC houses that show evidence of rebuilding on the same or nearly identical plan. For example, at LC IIIA Episkopi-Bamboula, the houses of Area A were destroyed at the end of Stratum D (Weinberg 1983:9–26). Houses A.V and A.VI were rebuilt in Stratum E using the same layout by leveling the debris, raising the floors and thresholds, and constructing new walls directly on top of the old foundations (Figure 6.10). Such continuity is not merely a demonstration of enduring property ownership, but indicates a constancy of dwelling that materialized a household's attachment to a particular place through the accumulation of meanings and the formation of individual and collective memories (Ingold 2000:175; Zerubavel 2003:41). Attempts to demonstrate such continuity of spatial use and control were an essential part of place-making throughout the urban social hierarchy.

In spite of such efforts at boundary demarcation and maintenance, LC urban landscapes were also places of negotiation, fluidity, and change. House A.VIII at Episkopi was built *de novo* in Stratum E and extended beyond the remains of House A.VIa, which it replaced, whereas House A.IV went out of use (see Figure 6.10), demonstrating that urban development was a dynamic process as some households in a given neighborhood grew or contracted; owners vacated, transferred, or subdivided their properties – processes that were materialized in the unique biographies of individual houses (see Tringham 1995; Düring 2005). The transformation of the Fortress at Enkomi from a freestanding monumental building and center of power at the beginning of the LC period, to a series of non-monumental domestic units that formed part of an urban block in LC II–III also attests to this dynamic (Fisher 2007:199–217; Pickles and Peltenburg 1998).

A notable example of the ambiguity of some boundaries can be seen in the design of the large external courtyards that fronted Complexes A, B, and D at Pyla-Kokkinokremos (see Karageorghis and

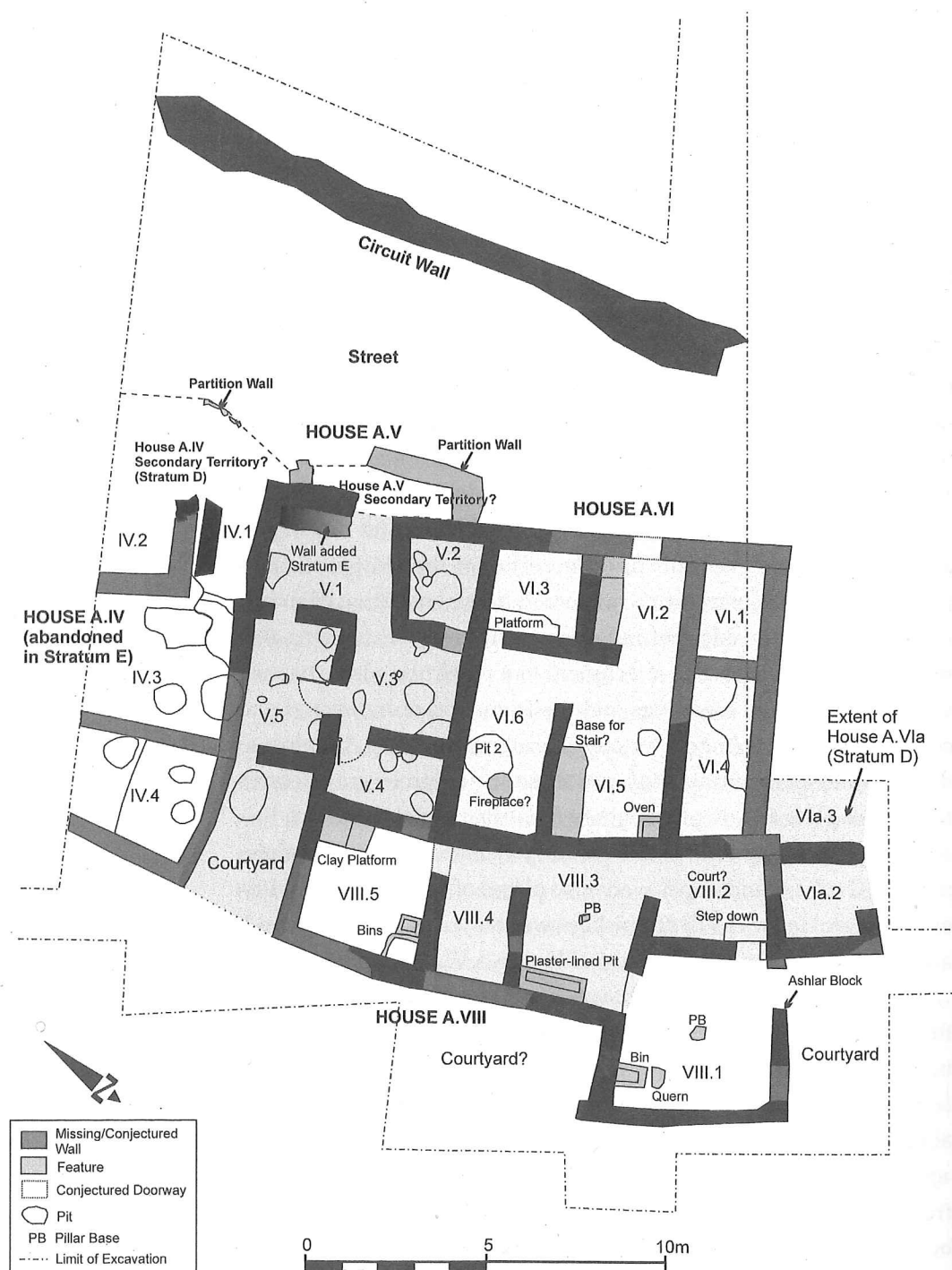


Figure 6.10 Episkopi-Bamboula, Area A (Stratum E, twelfth century BC). Schematic plan showing houses A.IV, A.V, A.VI (now abandoned) and the newly built A.VIII. Shaded area in House A.VIII shows extent of earlier House A.VIa (from Stratum D). Note appropriation of street space by House A.IV (Stratum D) and House A.V (Strata D and E) (adapted by author from Weinberg 1983:figures 7, 23, and 24).

Demas 1984:6-32; Figure 6.8). The fact that these courtyards appear to have been completely open to the space in front of the houses – presumably a street – indicates that they were intended to be both readily accessible and completely visible from the street. The function of these courts is unclear. The one in Complex A (Room 34) was not entirely excavated, while three ashy deposits that may have been hearths were found in the court in Complex D (Room 28). The court in Complex B (Room 22) contained a bronze “foundry hoard” hidden in a pit, as well as a fragmentary pithos and another pit containing copper slag, but with no associated ash (thus, likely ruling out metallurgical activity). The courts otherwise contained no built features. Although it is possible that their boundaries with the street were regulated through implicit norms or conventions (e.g., Lawrence 1990:77), the lack of a material border is rather unusual given the tendency to define spaces architecturally in LC IIC–IIIA urban environments, and introduces opportunities for negotiation and contestation. I would argue that these spaces were likely what Altman (1975) refers to as *secondary territories*, which are accessible to a wider range of users, although regular occupants often exert some degree of control over who can enter a space and their behavior. Because secondary territories combine public or semipublic access with control by regular occupants, there is potential for uncertainty and social conflict as boundaries are established, tested, and violated (Altman 1975:114; see also Lawrence’s [1990] discussion of “collective” spaces).

In addition to the negotiation invited by the ambiguous boundaries of these transitional spaces, there is evidence suggesting that the efforts of ruling elites to impose order through top-down urban planning were sometimes undermined by bottom-up actions of individual households. In some cities, there are instances of households laying some claim to sections of what would appear to be public streets. At Maa-Palaeokastro, a screen made of wooden posts and other perishable materials was erected, running perpendicular to the east wall of Room 73, blocking off part of the open space (likely a street) between Buildings II and III (Karageorghis and Demas 1988; see Figure 6.9). Elsewhere, the owners of Houses A.V and A.IV at Episkopi-Bamboula (Stratum D) constructed partition walls in front of their houses using wooden posts or shallow trenches and field stones, thereby appropriating part of the street that ran inside the circuit wall (Figure 6.10). The relative permanence of this arrangement is seen by the fact that the wall in front of House A.V was

rebuilt along with the rest of the house in Stratum E. The placement of new tombs in the streets and open areas in Area E at Episkopi-Bamboula (Benson 1972; Weinberg 1983:figure 25) and at Alassa-Pano Mandilaris (Hadjisavvas 1986) was one of the most potent symbols of the contesting, if not appropriation, of public space and indicates that at least some streets were deemed by adjacent households as a secondary territory or collective space. These acts of place-making suggest that even established, well-marked boundaries could be ignored, challenged, or at least open to negotiation. The success or permanence of such actions likely depended on the existence and degree of enforcement of norms or laws regarding the use of space established at the neighborhood and city levels, as well as the changing sociopolitical and economic fortunes of the people involved.

CONCLUSIONS

The new cities of the LC period fundamentally altered the island's physical and social landscape. They were created in the interplay of decisions made at various levels by multiple stakeholders, taking into account factors such as available material and human resources, topography, and whether or not there was preexisting architecture that had to be incorporated or removed (Fisher 2009b:189; Locock 1994:5; Markus 1993:23). On one hand, people made these decisions influenced by shared cultural ideas of what constitutes proper built form, giving rise to standardized building types or methods of construction and embellishment. We can see this in terms of the structural properties of social systems that, according to Giddens (1984:17), make it possible for similar social practices to exist across various spans of space and time and that give systemic form to these practices. This is manifested in the culturally contingent "limited palette of elements" and "display rules," which people combine to create their built environments (Rapoport 1990:figure 17). On the other hand, Rapoport (1990:15–16, 21) argues that many of the meanings that make a building a place are those encoded by its occupants and users through the process of *personalization* as they take possession of, complete, and change their built environment. This can be seen as a form of marking one's primary territory by encoding messages regarding self- or household identity (Brown 1987:519–521). The numerous idiosyncrasies in configuration and design even between the so-called twin Complexes A and B at Pyla-Kokkinokremos

(Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 9; see Figure 6.8) are testament to this process (Fisher 2014).

I have argued that the overall form of LC cities was largely the result of top-down decision making by ruling elites who rose to power in the LBA. As Knapp (2008:159) recently claimed, these elites "sought to integrate society more closely than in the past, to resolve ambiguities ... and to restructure social relationships in a manner that clarified their identity beyond doubt." The large-scale appropriation and control of space through urban planning was a vital component of these efforts, materialized in the gridded streets and fortifications of cities like Enkomi. Yet, this place-making could be met with resistance or subject to negotiation as individual households sought to create places of their own. Shared socioeconomic status or prior community affiliations among these households and the use of common facilities helped to generate the social interactions and built forms that characterized particular neighborhoods. These processes made LC cities places of contestation and fluidity, despite efforts to define social boundaries unambiguously through architectural design and other forms of nonverbal communication. The unique urban landscapes that resulted were at once creator and materialization of the increasingly complex and heterogeneous society that characterized LBA Cyprus. The new cities became an important element in the identities of these individuals and groups, drawn together in the "evocative potency" (A. Smith 2003:27) and "social drama" (Mumford 1937[2003]:94) of the urban experience.

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NOTES

- 1 The name of a Cypriot archaeological site typically consists of both a first name referring to the municipality in which it is found, followed by an italicized toponym that refers to the specific locality. Some sites, such as Enkomi-Ayios Iakovos are more typically known only by their first name.
- 2 Unless otherwise noted, architectural descriptions at Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios are given as though the roads and buildings were aligned to the cardinal points (rather than 25° west of north, etc.).

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