

MORTIMER WHEELER  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL LECTURE

KITION: MYCENAEAN AND PHOENICIAN<sup>1</sup>

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Read 24 October 1973

THE study of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus is one of the most important and most crucial in the archaeology of the island.<sup>2</sup> It includes the period when new cultural orientations became dominant as a result of Aegean expansion to the East and brought an era of prosperity, due mainly to the copper trade. The well-known site of Enkomi, on the east coast, has revealed its secrets continuously since 1934.<sup>3</sup> During the last fourteen years the site of Kition, on the south-east coast, has supplemented the information about Late Bronze Age Cyprus in a remarkable way (Fig. 1).<sup>4</sup>

Kition has long been considered a Phoenician colony and its earliest known history coincided with the initial expansion of the Phoenicians to the west, in about the ninth century B.C. In fact it is one of the kingdoms of the island known from the classical period which not only has no foundation legend but on the contrary, is said to have been founded by Belos, king of Sidon.<sup>5</sup> It was only through chance discoveries in 1959 that Late Bronze Age material came to light from the site of

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the Council of the British Academy who gave me the honour and the privilege to deliver this third Mortimer Wheeler Lecture. But for me this occasion has also a particular personal significance. Sir Mortimer Wheeler taught me how to dig, some twenty-five years ago. May this lecture be a humble expression of deep gratitude to him.

<sup>2</sup> For a short general survey of this period see H. W. Catling, 'Cyprus in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Periods', *CAH*, revised edn. of vol. i and ii (1966).

<sup>3</sup> For recent contributions on Enkomi see P. Dikaios' monumental publication *Enkomi*, vols. i-iii (1969-71), and a collection of studies by C. F. A. Schaeffer and others under the title *Alasia i* (1971).

<sup>4</sup> For a bibliography on Kition see p. 281, at the end of this paper. A number of other Late Bronze Age sites are now being excavated in Cyprus by various foreign missions. We may mention Morphou and Phlamoudhi, on the north coast, and Palaepaphos on the south-west coast, which will undoubtedly throw more light on the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. Gjerstad, 'The colonization of Cyprus in Greek legend', *Opuscula Archaeologica* 3 (1944), 119 ff.

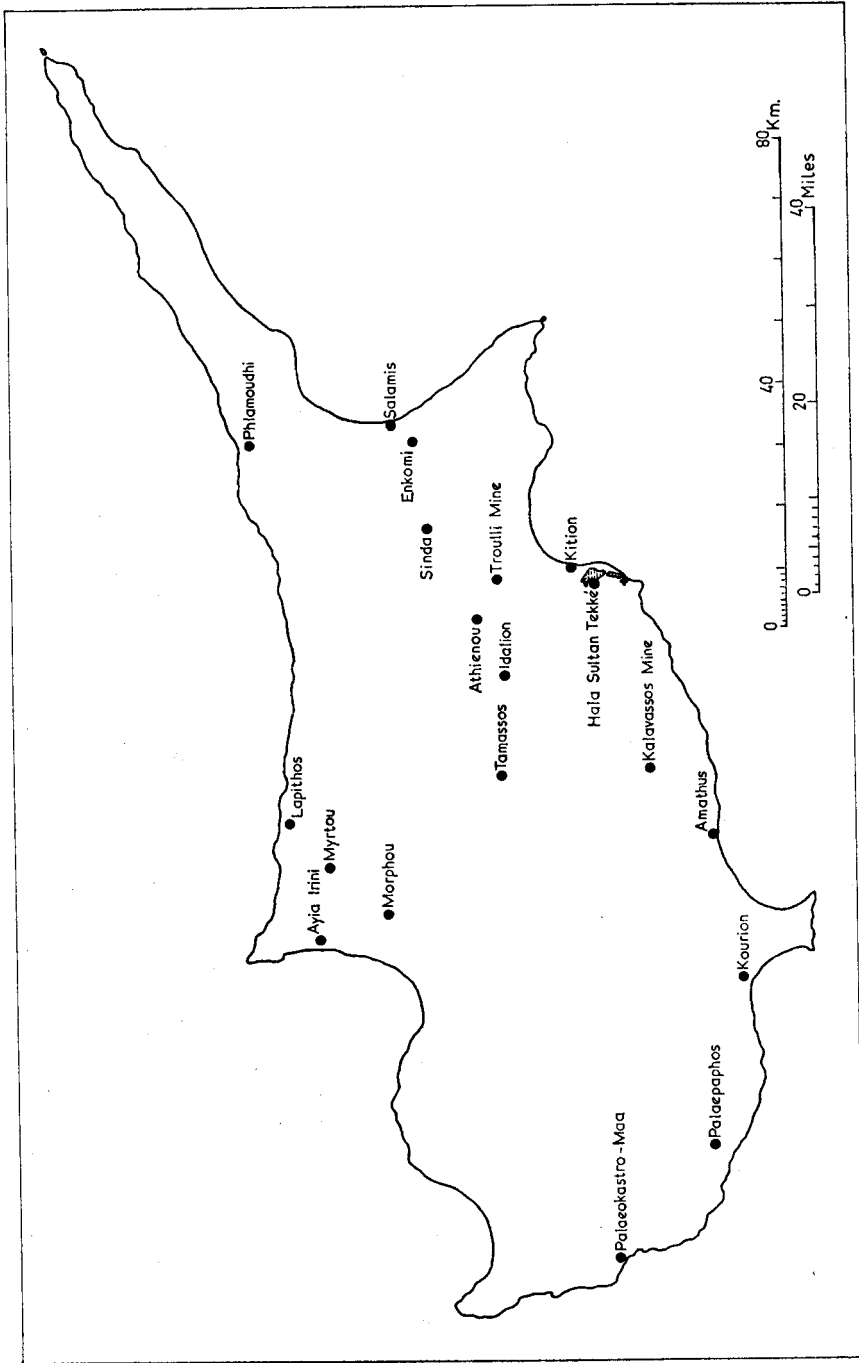


FIG. 1. Sites in Cyprus mentioned in this report.

Kition,<sup>1</sup> although some Late Bronze Age sherds had already been found on the Acropolis of Kition in 1930 but were never fully published.<sup>2</sup>

The remains of the ancient city are beneath the modern town of Larnaca. Kition had a harbour<sup>3</sup> from which copper was exported to the Near East and the Aegean as it was also from other harbour towns on the east and south coasts. It did not have a rich hinterland and therefore its main source of wealth must have been the trade of copper. At a short distance from Kition, near the salt lake, to the south-west, lies another Late Bronze Age town, known as Hala Sultan Tekké; it also had a harbour and a flourishing copper industry as far as one may judge from surface observations<sup>4</sup> and from the limited excavations which have hitherto been undertaken at this site.<sup>5</sup> The exploitation of salt may have also been one of its main industries, as it is today. Copper ore, already in a processed form, must have been brought to these two harbour towns of Kition and the Tekké from the nearby mines of Kalavassos and Troulli, which even today continue to produce copper ore. The Tekké flourished earlier than Kition, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries,<sup>6</sup> though it continued in existence down to the twelfth century.<sup>7</sup> Kition appears as a flourishing town at the beginning of the thirteenth century<sup>8</sup> and gradually became the most

<sup>1</sup> The results of the 1959 excavations were fully published by the present writer in *BCH* 84 (1960), 504–87.

<sup>2</sup> A brief mention of these sherds is made by E. Gjerstad in *SCE* iv 2 (1948), 70 f., and by E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*, p. 113. The sherds are now in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm.

<sup>3</sup> This harbour is clearly indicated on maps of Kition which appear in eighteenth-century publications, such as in R. Pockocke, *A description of the East* (1755), pl. xxxii, and Giovanni Mariti, *Viaggi per l'isola di Cipro* (1769), frontispiece. This harbour was dried up during the first years of British rule in the island. (For a recent account of this operation see D. M. Bailey, 'The village Priest's tomb at Aradippou in Cyprus', *The British Museum Quarterly* 34 (1969), 36 ff.)

<sup>4</sup> Cf. V. Karageorghis, 'Notes on a Late Cypriote settlement and Necropolis near the Larnaca Salt Lake', *RDAC* (1968), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Excavations started in 1971 by a Swedish mission under Professor P. Åström. For a short report on the 1971 season see *BCH* 96 (1972), 1066.

<sup>6</sup> The main evidence comes from tombs excavated by the Cyprus Exploration Fund late in the nineteenth century but never published. This material will shortly be published by D. M. Bailey.

<sup>7</sup> Myc. IIIC: 1 pottery was found during the 1972 campaign (see 'Chronique des Fouilles', *BCH* 97 (1973), 659 f.).

<sup>8</sup> Richly furnished tombs of the thirteenth century were excavated in Area I in 1959 and 1963. For short accounts see 'Chronique des Fouilles', *BCH* 84 (1960), 512 ff., and *BCH* 88 (1964), 346 ff.

important harbour town in the area, exploiting the copper mines of the region and probably also the salt lake.

Though one may trace the antiquity of the site to the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, thanks mainly to a number of tombs which have been discovered during recent years (Pl. IIa),<sup>1</sup> here we shall deal only with the settlement which dates from the thirteenth century onwards.

Guided by four large stones which appeared in a row near the surface, at the northern part of Larnaca (Pl. IIb), we confined our excavation of the last ten years to what proved to be the northern part of the ancient city, including part of the city wall, our Area II.<sup>2</sup> Quite unexpectedly, this small portion of the ancient city turned out to be an industrial and religious centre of extraordinary importance (Pl. III).

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the city was fortified by a wall of mud-bricks, like the early city wall of Enkomi, which had rectangular bastions at intervals, two of which have been uncovered. One of them has a width of 18.50 m and a depth of 5 m; it is preserved to a height of 2.50 m and is constructed of ashlar blocks.<sup>3</sup>

Two sanctuaries were uncovered *intra muros*, our Temples 2 and 3 (Fig. 2). Their plan is of standard Near Eastern type, with a rectangular courtyard to the east and a small holy of holies at the western part, like the sanctuaries at Lachish, at Tell Farah, at Tell Qasile, and elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> There was also a hearth altar in front of the parapet wall which separated the narrow corridor, which was used as a holy of holies, from the courtyard (Pl. VIIa). Lachish offers an almost identical parallel.<sup>5</sup> Temple 3, the smaller of the two temples, has a comparable plan but no pillars in the courtyard. Thus we have here an example of twin temples, such as appear elsewhere in the Near East, for instance at Beisan in Palestine (Temples 4 and 5),

<sup>1</sup> For the early history of the site see *BCH* 84 (1960), 508 ff. More Early Bronze Age tombs have been excavated recently at 'Prodromos', a site north of the city site of Kition.

<sup>2</sup> For an account on the early stages of the excavation see *BCH* 88 (1964), 350 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed description of these bastions see *BCH* 91 (1967), 315 ff., and 92 (1968), 302 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For convenient references see recently G. R. H. Wright, 'Pre-Israelite temples in the Land of Canaan', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (1971), pp. 17 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Olga Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish II. The Fosse Temple*, pl. 68.

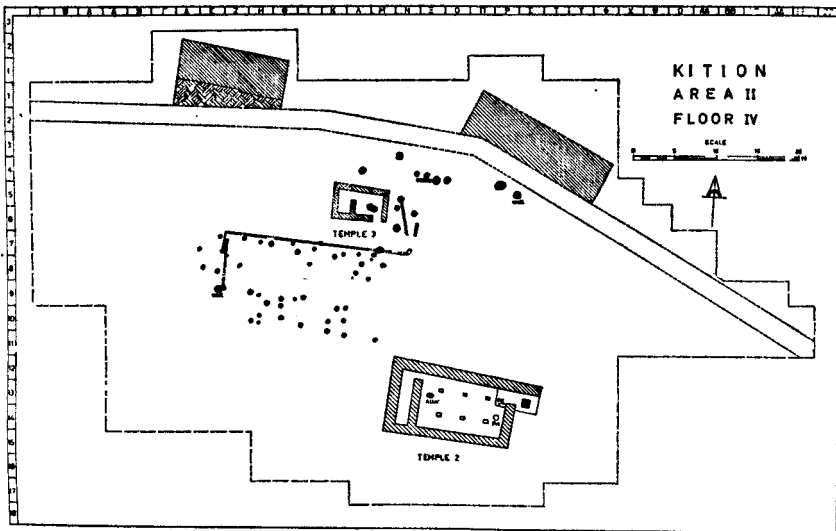


FIG. 2. Plan showing Temples 2 and 3.

at Beycesultan and Boğazköy in Anatolia, and probably in the Aegean.<sup>1</sup>

There were no other architectural remains between or around the temples. Instead we found numerous pits on the bedrock; their average diameter is 30 cm and their average depth 50 cm. Some are connected with channels and are associated with wells. We may legitimately interpret these pits as belonging to sacred gardens for flowers or small bushes such as are known from the Near East.<sup>2</sup> This is the first time that sacred gardens are found in Cyprus, but we know that they must have existed in the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, since in the classical period Aphrodite was worshipped at a locality called Ἱεροκηπιὸς or Ἱεροκηπιῶν.<sup>3</sup> The sacred gardens of Kition may be the oldest so far to have been found in the Mediterranean region.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. V. Karageorghis, 'The Mycenaean at Kition', *Biblioteca di antichità cipriote* i (1971), 230, n. 19. For the examples from Anatolia see Seton Lloyd in *Anatolian Studies* 8 (1958), 110 f. (Beycesultan), and K. Bittel, *Hattusha, the capital of the Hittites* (1970), p. 57 (Boğazköy).

<sup>2</sup> Such gardens are known in Egypt during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties (see J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne* ii. 689, 720 f.). For a general discussion on sacred gardens see W. Andrae, 'Der Kultische Garten', *Die Welt des Orients* i (1952), 6 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Strabo* xiv. 683 and 684.

<sup>4</sup> For the possibility of an earlier sacred garden, datable to the Middle Bronze Age, see G. E. Wright, *Shechem. The Biography of a Biblical City* (1965), 132 ff.

There are indications that the Kitians had already started to smelt copper at the beginning of the thirteenth century, if we may judge from the quantities of copper slag which we found in strata belonging to this period, though not in association with any well-defined workshops. In 1962-3, however, we came across such workshops dating to the beginning of the thirteenth century in our Area I.

In Area I substantial architectural remains of houses came to light, dating to the Late Cypriote II period and more precisely to the first half of the thirteenth century. Chamber tombs were found in the courtyards of these houses, as at Enkomi and Ugarit, where there were no separate cemeteries. These tombs have produced an extraordinary wealth of objects, including masses of Mycenaean pottery (Pl. IVa-c), alabaster vessels, ostrich eggs, faïence ornaments, quantities of gold jewellery (Pl. Va, b), scarabs, cylinder seals, carved ivory (Pl. Vc), and a superb faïence rhyton (Pl. VIa-c) covered with enamel and decorated in three registers with galloping animals and hunting scenes, in a style which we may call aegeo-oriental.<sup>1</sup> The contents of one simple tomb are enough to illustrate the fabulous wealth of Kition which was the result of trade with Egypt, the Syro-Palestinian coast, and the Aegean.

There is evidence that the Cypro-Minoan script was widely known at Kition. Apart from numerous signs engraved or painted on vases, we have found several bone stili which were used for engraving signs on clay tablets.<sup>2</sup> Hopefully one day Kition will give us its inscribed tablets, like Enkomi.

The end of the first phase of Kition, which coincides with the end of the Late Cypriote II period, towards the last quarter of the thirteenth century, is linked with conditions prevailing in the Eastern Mediterranean during this period. There are no signs of violent action, war, or earthquake, but rather of an abandonment. Derelict walls of buildings and abandoned floors of workshops were found in our Area I; in our larger Area II very few traces of the city wall made of mud-brick were found. We are tempted to suggest that what destroyed Kition was a long drought which caused its temporary decline and abandonment. This theory, proposed by Rhys Carpenter

<sup>1</sup> Described in V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Art from Cyprus* (1968), p. 43 f.

<sup>2</sup> See *Biblioteca di antichità cipriote* i (1971), 223 f., figs. 12-13.

for the Aegean,<sup>1</sup> is now accepted by others for the Near East, for example Ras Shamra.<sup>2</sup>

The abandonment of Kition, however, must have been of very short duration. Soon afterwards, *c.* 1200 B.C., the town was reinhabited and its abandoned buildings restored. New ones were also constructed, following a quite new town plan. The fortification wall of mud-brick was replaced by a Cyclopean wall consisting of two rows of large stones at its lower part, 2.40 m thick and reaching a height of 1.20 m with an upper part of mud-brick. Similar walls have been found elsewhere in Cyprus, at Enkomi, Palaeokastro-Maa, and Sinda, all of the same period.<sup>3</sup> The new wall followed the line of the old one, on the edge of elevated ground; at its north-east side it was partly washed by the marshes, which afforded an extra element of fortification. The old bastions were retained, and a street was constructed which ran along the city wall past the bastions (Pl. VII*b*). The tracks of the wheels of chariots are still visible on its surface. This wall has already been traced at several points outside our excavated areas and its entire course may be reconstructed (Fig. 3). The length of the new city wall from north to south is thus about 1600 m and its maximum width about 600 m.

In Area I the site was completely levelled and a thick layer of soil was laid, over which the new town was built. In digging the foundations of their new houses the new inhabitants of Kition came upon some of the tombs in the courtyard of the old houses, from which they took all valuable objects (Pl. VIII*a*). Two such tombs have been excavated. They produced a vast amount of pottery, faience, alabaster, etc. but no gold,<sup>4</sup> in contrast to an unlooted tomb a few metres from it (Pl. VIII*b*), where fourteen gold diadems, finger rings, ear-rings, and other pieces of jewellery were found.<sup>5</sup> We know that this custom of looting ancestral tombs was also practised in Mycenaean Greece.<sup>6</sup>

On the floors of the new houses large quantities of pottery have been found, of a type which was quite new to Cyprus and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rhys Carpenter, *Discontinuity in Greek Civilization* (1966).

<sup>2</sup> C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica v* (1968), 760 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. Åström, *SCE iv: 1C* (1972), 40 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *BCH* 88 (1964), 346.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 346 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See G. Mylonas, 'Homeric and Mycenaean burial customs', *AJA* 52 (1948), 70; *idem.*, 'Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον 19 (1964), 89.

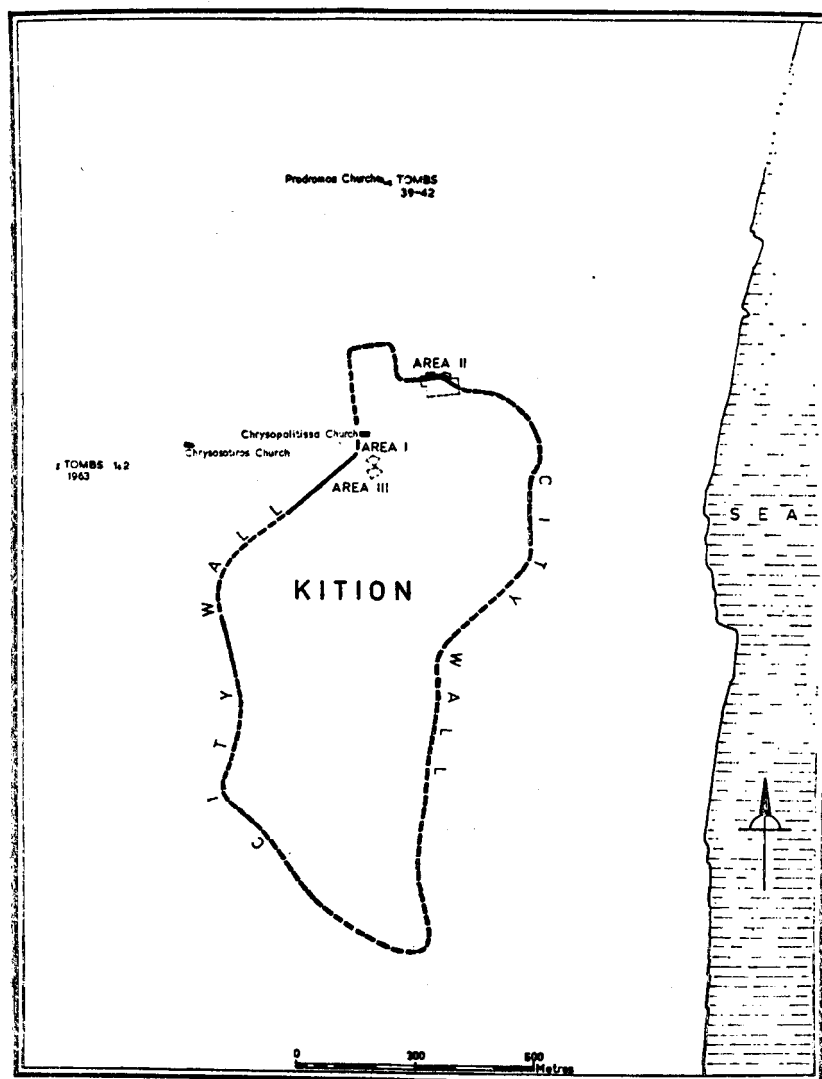


FIG. 3. The city wall of Kition reconstructed. Continuous lines indicate parts where the wall has actually been found.

which is known as Mycenaean III C: 1 (Pl. IXa, b). Its prototype is in the Argolid. We may thus suggest that as a result of the drought, refugees from the main centres of the Peloponnese left their homes and settled in Cyprus, bringing their own style of pottery. The percentage of this new pottery is so high, almost 90 per cent., that we may exclude the possibility that it was imported; it was made in Cyprus in the style of the



Myc. IIIC:1 pottery of the Argolid. The old indigenous fabrics are almost completely ousted. Similar phenomena interpreted in exactly the same way, have been observed at Enkomi, Sinda, Palaeokastro-Maa, and other Late Bronze Age centres throughout the island, thus heralding a new cultural epoch for the whole of Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> The newcomers, mixed with the local population, must have been responsible for the innovations in architecture (Fig. 4). We have already seen the Cyclopean wall. Similar changes occur in the architectural style of public buildings. In Area II, Temple 2 was remodelled on more or less the same architectural plan, except for some modifications in the courtyard, where only one portico was retained, along the north wall, supported again on three pillars, and a table of offerings was constructed near the hearth-altar, which was also retained. But the fashion of building changed completely. Large rectangular ashlar blocks of hard limestone, with drafted edges or bosses in the middle were used for the construction of walls (Pl. Xa, b), in a fashion which is also known from Enkomi.<sup>2</sup> Temple 3 was completely levelled and covered by a new floor (our Floor III). In its place a much larger temple was constructed, our Temple 1. It consists of a large rectangular courtyard with a rectangular recess at the western side, which must have been the holy of holies, containing the image of the deity. Along and outside the south wall of the courtyard there was a corridor, which may have been roofed and was probably used during ceremonial processions. The whole length of the temple is 35 m and the width, including the corridor, 22 m. The inside façade of the walls is constructed of large ashlar blocks of sandstone, some measuring 3 m in length by 1 m in height. The outside façade was of large unhewn stones. The construction of ashlar blocks with drafted edges recalls the style of the public buildings of Enkomi (Pl. XIa). On one of these blocks there is a graffito with signs in the Cypro-Minoan script.

With the construction of Temple 1 the sacred garden which existed during the previous period between Temples 2 and 3 had to be rearranged, since the north wall of Temple 1 was built on top of some of the irrigation channels of the garden. The part of the garden which was confined within the new limits of Temple 1 was maintained (Pl. XIIa), and was irrigated from the well which exists near the holy of holies;

<sup>1</sup> See P. Dikaios, *Enkomi* ii. 514 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *idem*, *Enkomi* i. 171 ff.

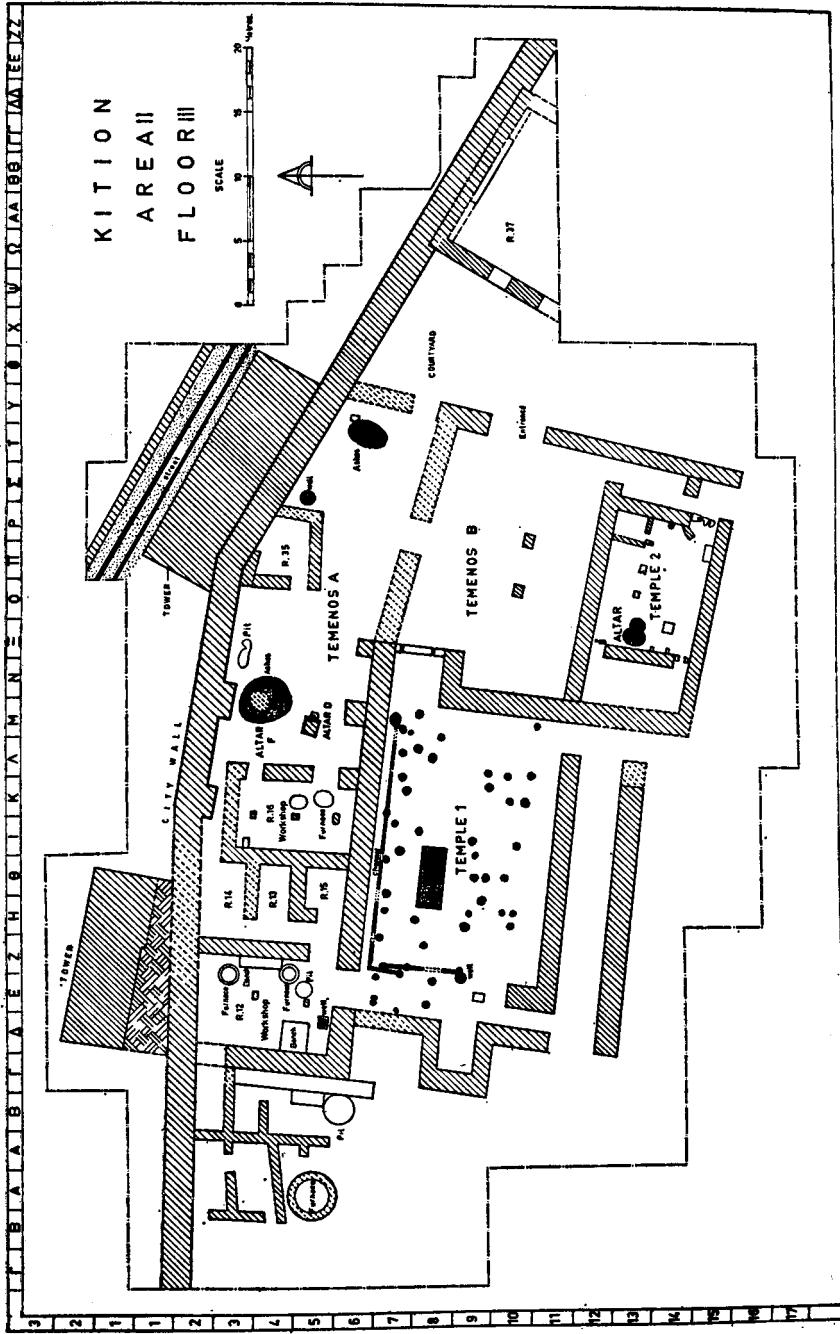


FIG. 4. Plan showing Area II as reconstructed at the end of the thirteenth century.

a rectangular pool, measuring 4.60 m × 1.80 m and 90 cm deep was carved in the bedrock, not far from the well. It must have been ornamental, perhaps a fishpond, but one may not exclude the idea that it may have been used for lustral purposes. One may even suggest that the fish which were kept in it may have been sacred fish. This recalls similar arrangements in Egyptian temples of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the garden, extending between Temple 1 and the city wall, was transformed into an open courtyard, with a floor covering the pits and channels of the old gardens. At the western extremity of the courtyard a rectangular altar was built of ashlar blocks; at its base a block of hard limestone was found carved in the shape of horns of consecration (Pl. XIIb), yet another indication of the origin of the newcomers who were responsible for the new buildings at Kition.<sup>2</sup> Next to it there was another low altar, with a cemented top; it was covered with a thick layer of ashes mixed with pottery and carbonized animal bones, suggesting that this altar was used for animal sacrifices, whereas the other one may have been used as a table of offerings. We have called this open courtyard Temenos A. The space which is confined within the angle of the east wall of Temple 1 and the north wall of Temple 2 was transformed into another open courtyard, Temenos B, with the construction of a long wall, running parallel to the east façade of Temple 1, which was in fact a projection to the north of the east façade of Temple 2. Thus the whole sacred area, including Temples 1 and 2 and Temenos A and B, became one architectural unit with a monumental façade of large ashlar blocks. A wide doorway gave access to Temenos B from a public square which extends in front of the sacred area. Temenos B communicated with Temenos A through an opening, but the latter also had an independent access to the public square. Two blocks were found in Temenos B which join to form horns of consecration (Pl. XIIIa) like those from Myrtou, which are also associated with an altar.<sup>3</sup> Two rectangular bases along the south wall of Temenos B suggest that there might have been a roofed portico along this wall supported by two pillars. In fact, two carved stone capitals found nearby may have belonged to these

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vandier, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> For the introduction of the horns of consecration in Cyprus see M. Loulloupis in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean'* (1973), pp. 225 ff.

<sup>3</sup> J. du Plat Taylor *et al.*, *Myrtou-Pigadhes* (1957), pp. 103 ff.

pillars. They have a stepped profile, with a concave lower part. Four such capitals have been found within the limits of the sacred area, the other two reused as building material. Identical capitals were found at Enkomi and at Myrtou in sanctuaries of the end of the thirteenth century,<sup>1</sup> and last August two such capitals were found in the temple of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos, together with horns of consecration.<sup>2</sup> They may have wooden capitals as prototypes. There are indications that this style of capital existed during the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean. It is doubtful, however, whether any Aegean elements may be found in the architectural plans of the two temples, except the portico of Temenos B, which recalls a similar arrangement at Pylos.<sup>3</sup> The idea of the sacred gardens must have originated in the Near East; outside Egypt this is their first known appearance in the Mediterranean region. They become more frequent during later periods, and we may mention in this respect the sacred gardens round the temple of Hephaestos in the Agora of Athens.<sup>4</sup>

We have seen that our sacred area is confined to the north by the city wall, to the east by a monumental wall in front of a public square and on the south by an open space. The western part, however, communicates with buildings which were constructed at the same time as the new sacred area, i.e. the end of the thirteenth century. There are three large consecutive workshops. One of them, Workshop 12, measures 10 m × 7 m. It was unroofed and on its floor there was abundant evidence suggesting that it was used, like the other two workshops, for copper smelting. Copper slag, fragments of crucibles and bellows and furnaces were found on it, covered by a thick layer of ashes. There was a large pit on the floor which contained bone-ash. According to metallurgists, bone-ash was used as a fluxing material in smelting, because the copper ore of Cyprus is poor in silica. Outside this workshop, to the west, a large store-room was found with more pits containing bone-ash. A large furnace was found in an adjacent

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of these capitals see V. Karageorghis in *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 4 (1971), 101 ff.

<sup>2</sup> These excavations, carried out by a Swiss-German Mission under the direction of Professor F. G. Maier have produced for the first time evidence for a Late Bronze Age sanctuary at Palaepaphos. (Information published here with the kind permission of Professor Maier.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Carl W. Blegen-Marion Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia* i, 301 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Dorothy Thompson, *Hesperia* 6 (1937), 396 ff.

courtyard for the roasting of bones and the making of bone-ash in large quantities for the needs of the workshops (Pl. XI*b*).

The presence of unroofed workshops for smelting along the northern part of the city wall is quite natural. The fumes from smelting could be blown away outside the town by the southern winds and thus avoid air pollution. The same phenomenon may be observed at Enkomi, where the workshops are arranged along the northern part of the city wall.

The proximity of the sacred area to the industrial quarter is unexpected, but the fact that there is a direct communication between the two is even more surprising. Temple 1 communicates directly with Workshop 12 through a wide door and from Temenos A one could proceed directly to all the workshops. There is no doubt that this is intentional and may be related to specific religious requirements: We have already proposed in preliminary reports on the excavations at Kition that in the twin temples (1 and 2) two divinities were worshipped, one male and one female, who were directly connected with the metal industry.<sup>1</sup>

In 1963 Professor Schaeffer discovered in a sanctuary at Enkomi a bronze statuette of a bearded god, armed with shield and spear and wearing a horned helmet, who stands on a base which has the form of an oxhide ingot (Pl. XIII*b*). The figure is dated to the twelfth century. Not far from the sanctuary, workshops for copper smelting have been found, but pending their publication it is not easy to determine the relation, if any, between the workshops and the sanctuary. A few years ago a bronze statuette of a nude female goddess of Cypriote origin, dated stylistically to the twelfth century, was bought by a private collector and is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (Pl. XIII*c*). The goddess also stands on a base in the form of an oxhide ingot. Professor Schaeffer has already identified the god as the protector of the copper mines of Cyprus and the metal industry of Enkomi.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Catling, who published the Oxford statuette,<sup>3</sup> naturally related it to the male god and suggested

<sup>1</sup> See recently in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium*, pp. 105 ff.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. A. Schaeffer, 'Götter der Nord — und Inselwölker in Zypern', *Archiv für Orientforschung* 21 (1966), 59 ff.; idem, 'An Ingot God from Cyprus', *Antiquity* 39 (1965), 56 f.

<sup>3</sup> H. W. Catling, 'A Cypriot bronze statuette in the Bomford Collection', *Alasia* i. 15 ff.

that the goddess may symbolize the fertility of copper mines and the increase of production in the furnaces. The discovery of the twin temples at Kition and their relationship to the workshops for copper smelting emphasizes the significance of the two divinities mentioned above and illustrates an aspect of religion in Late Bronze Age Cyprus which was never before suspected. It is quite natural that in a country whose economy depended entirely on the copper industry this should have been placed under the protection of the gods and that some religious control must have been exercised over the production and disposal of copper. The worship of the two divinities may have been on an island-wide basis. Apart from Enkomi and Kition indications for such worship have been found in a recent excavation at Athienou, north of Kition, where quantities of copper slag have been found in the courtyard of what may be a sanctuary, together with a large number of miniature votive vases.<sup>1</sup> A later survival of this practice has recently been traced in the copper mining area of Tamassos, in the central part of Cyprus, in a sanctuary of the Classical period.<sup>2</sup>

In South Arabia a thirteenth-century sanctuary of Hathor was found recently, which is situated near copper mines and smelting installations.<sup>3</sup> In the Aegean such a practice is known from the Athenian Agora, where we have metallurgical installations dating to the sixth century B.C. next to the temple of Hephaestos, probably in association with guilds of metalworkers whose patron god was Hephaestos.<sup>4</sup> We may trace this practice in Anatolia also, namely at Sardis, where the Pactolus gold refining installations are next to a sacred area, with the altar of Cybele in the middle, and dating to the seventh–sixth century.<sup>5</sup> Finally, the association of Aphrodite, goddess of fertility, with Hephaestos, the smith-god, evokes the antiquity of this religious conception.

A catastrophe, probably an invasion by the 'Peoples of the

<sup>1</sup> See Trude Dothan and A. Ben-Tor, 'Excavations at Athienou, Cyprus, 1971–72', *Israel Exploration Journal* 22 (1972), 201 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Excavations carried out by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin, under the direction of Professor H.-G. Buchholz. For a short report see 'Chronique des Fouilles . . .', *BCH* 97 (1973), 665.

<sup>3</sup> Published recently by Beno Rothenberg, *Timna, Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines* (1972).

<sup>4</sup> For references see V. Karageorghis, *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium* 108, n. 10.

<sup>5</sup> See M. A. Hanfmann and Jane Waldbaum, *BASOR* 199 (1970), 7 ff., fig. 8.

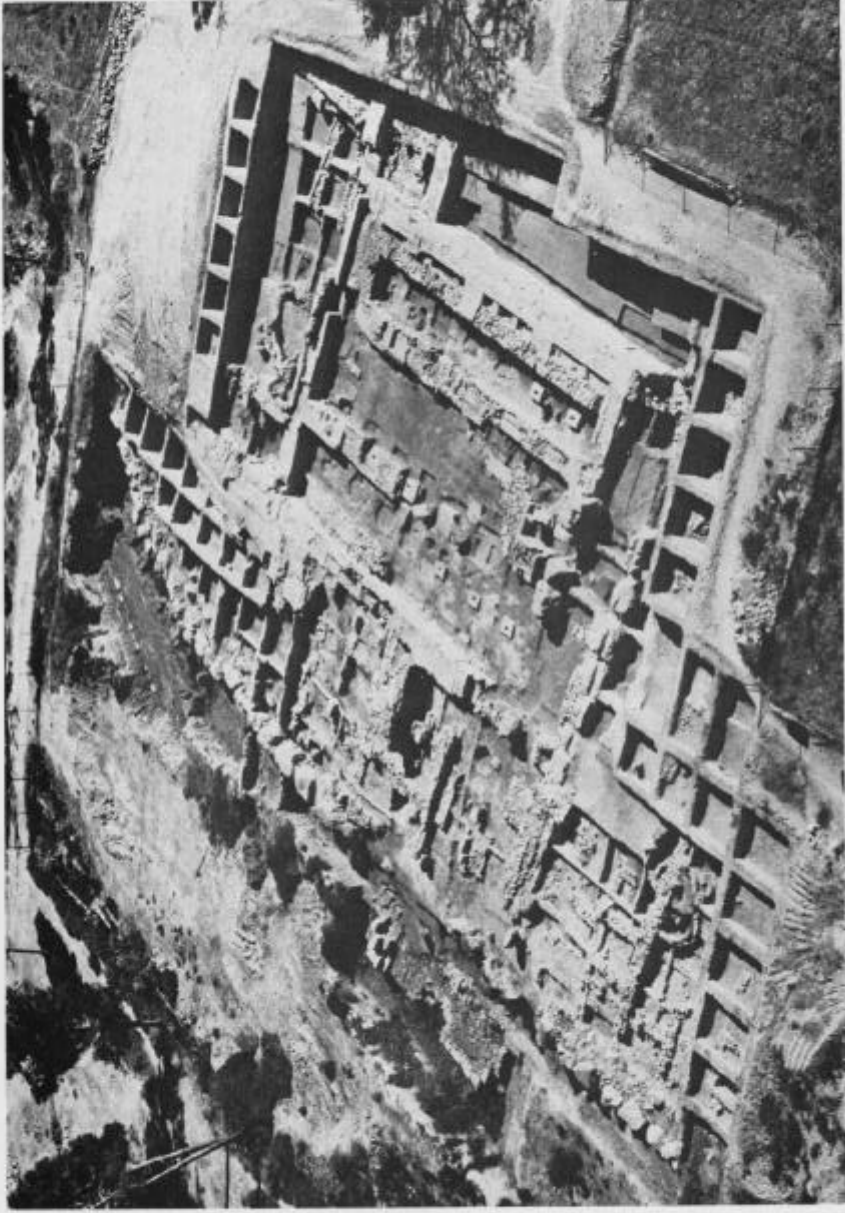


*a.* Chambers of Early Bronze Age tombs found along the northern perimeter of the city wall (Area II)



*b.* The site of the city wall (Area II) before the excavation

PLATE III

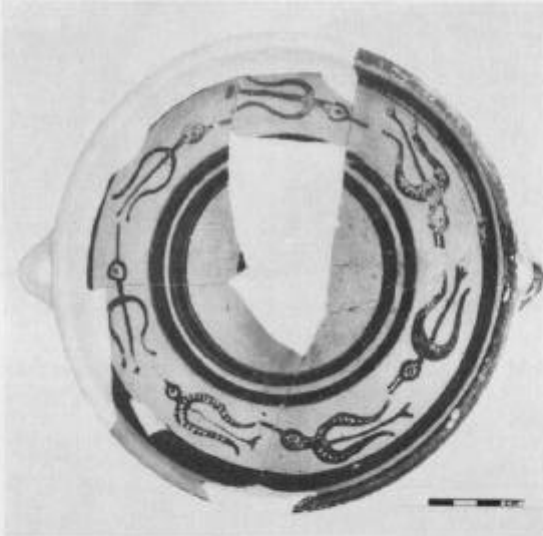


Aerial view of Kition Area II (taken in 1970). The city wall on the left





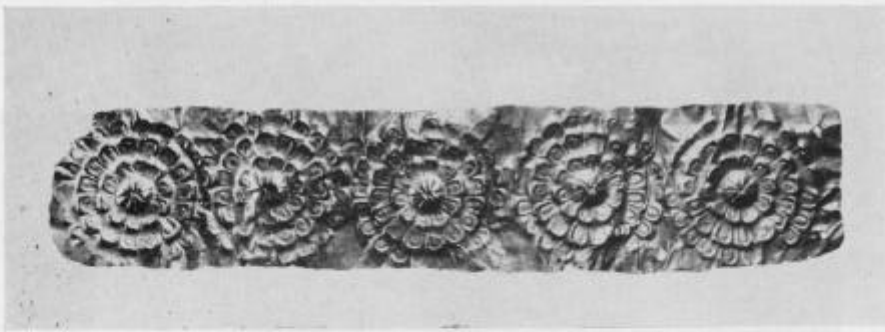
*a.* Mycenaean III B Kylix by the 'Protome-Painter A'



*b.* Mycenaean III B shallow bowl by the 'Painter of the Swallows'



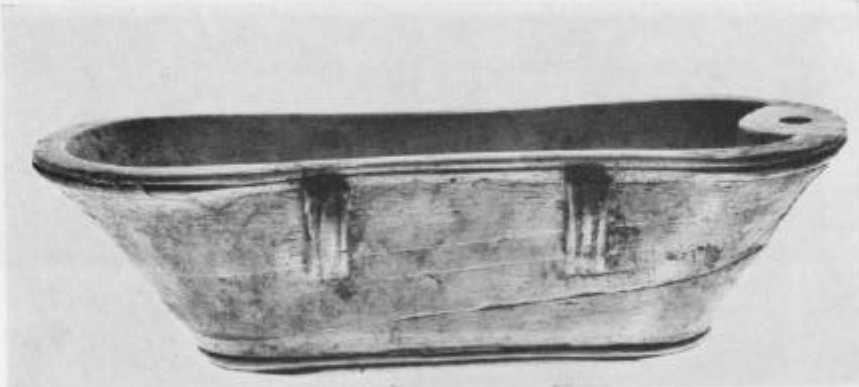
*c.* Mycenaean III B bowl with wishbone handle; imitating a Cypriote shape



a. Gold diadem decorated with rosettes in repoussé



b. Gold finger-ring of Egyptian style, with a bezel in faience, in the shape of a bull's head



c. An ivory pyxis in the shape of a miniature bath

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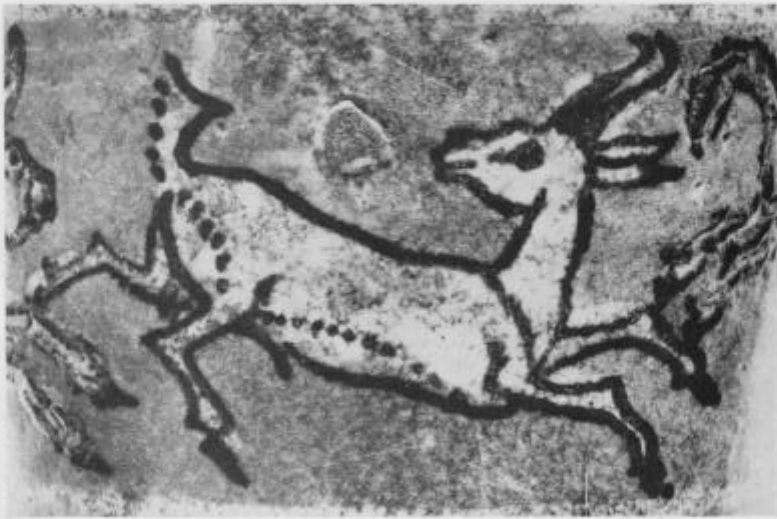


*a.*

The faïence rhyton



*b.*



*c.* Detail from the upper register of the faïence rhyton

PLATE VII



*a.* Hearth-altar of Temple 2



*b.* A street (left) along one of the bastions of the city wall



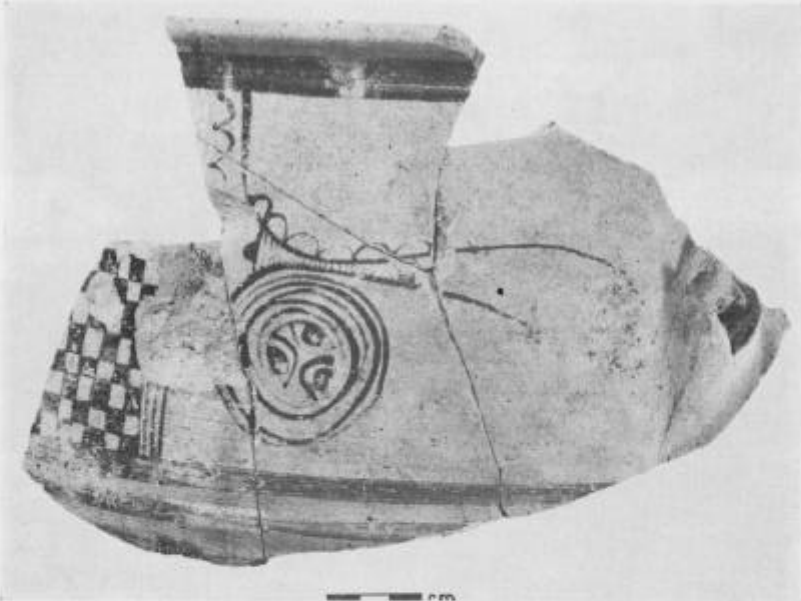
*a.* The thick floor of a house of the end of the thirteenth century lying above a chamber tomb (its dromos is shown in the foreground, on the right)



PLATE IX



*a.* Fragment from a Mycenaean III C: 1 deep bowl,  
decorated with a bird



*b.* Fragment from a Mycenaean III C: 1 bell crater



*a.* The south-west courtyard of Temple 2 showing walls constructed with ashlar blocks and lying above earlier rubble walls; later Phoenician walls lie above the ashlar blocks



*b.* Temple 2 (left foreground) and Temple 1 (right background) seen from the east

PLATE XI



*a.* Temple 1 seen from the east



*b.* Two superimposed circular furnaces (one earlier than the other) in the foreground, west of Workshop 12. Near them pits for storing bone-ash





*a.* Pits and channels within the courtyard of Temple 1.



*b.* Rectangular altar with horns of consecration at its base

PLATE XIII



*a.* Stone horns of consecration from Temenos B



*b.* Bronze statue of a horned god from Enkomi (Cyprus Museum)



*c.* Bronze statuette of an Astarte (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Photo by courtesy of the Museum)

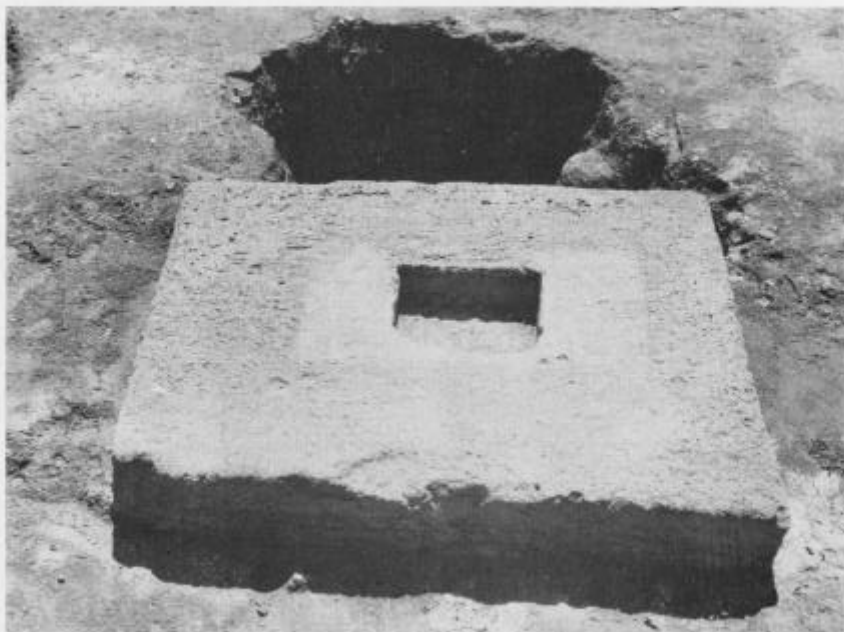


*a.* Amphoriskos of Proto-White Painted ware from Floor II



*b.* Roman coin showing Temple of Aphrodite

PLATE XV



*a.* Stone base of a pillar in the courtyard of the Phoenician temple



*b.* Two pits for trees in front of the propylaeum of the temenos of the Phoenician temple



*a.* Fragmentary Red Slip bowl bearing an engraved Phoenician inscription on the outside surface



*b.* The south façade of the Phoenician temple with graffiti representing slips

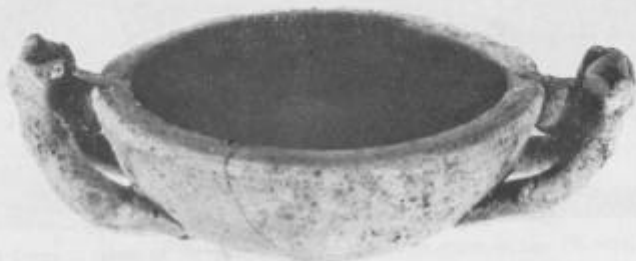
PLATE XVII



*a.* Skulls of oxen on the first floor of the Phoenician temple



*b.* A bull's mask, seen from behind



*c.* Miniature bowl from the foundation deposit of the Phoenician temple



*a.* A bothros outside the courtyard of the Phoenician temple



*b.* General view of the excavated part of Area II. In the middle of the foreground the new sanctuary

Sea',<sup>1</sup> destroyed the buildings of the sacred and industrial quarter at Kition, exactly as happened at Enkomi during the early part of the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> But these were soon reconstructed, on an even more spectacular scale, if we judge from the monumentality of the new propylaeum of Temenos B. Moreover the sacred garden in Temenos A was revived by planting a number of trees, as one may see from the pits which have been found. This new era, corresponding to our Floor II, is characterized by the introduction of a new style of pottery (Pl. XIVa), the origin of which is Aegean and which may correspond to two successive new waves of Achaean colonists from the Greek Mainland.<sup>3</sup>

A violent phenomenon, probably an earthquake or a hostile threat, destroyed Kition, and probably all the Bronze Age towns of Cyprus during the second quarter of the eleventh century B.C. Evidence for a similar destruction was brought to light at Enkomi, Sinda, and elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> This was one of the main causes for the abandonment of many old towns and the construction of new ones, as in the case of Enkomi, which was succeeded by Salamis, nearer to the sea.<sup>5</sup> This phenomenon, however, did not occur at Kition. After a period of a very short abandonment, which is represented by a thin alluvial deposit on our Floor II, the town was rebuilt. The city wall, however, was not reconstructed and its débris of mud-bricks were found lying on the street which runs parallel to the rectangular bastions, sealing pottery of the first half of the eleventh century. The workshops ceased functioning, but the use of the temples went on. This new era, corresponding to our Floor I, was a short one, lasting from c. 1050 to 1000 B.C. which covers the early part of the Iron Age. Towards 1000 B.C. the part of Kition which we have described was abandoned. A new town may have been built nearer to the sea, where a new harbour was built

<sup>1</sup> For a fresh approach to the problem of the 'Sea Peoples' see Alessandra Nibbi, *The Sea Peoples: a re-examination of the Egyptian sources* (1972).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. Dikaios, *Enkomi* ii. 522 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 525 f., 532 f.

<sup>4</sup> Dikaios suggests tentatively that Enkomi was abandoned as a result of a threat of hostile attacks against the town (*ibid.*, 534); see also C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia* i. 315 ff., who believes that this cause may have been an earthquake, and that soon after a hostile army chased away the last inhabitants of the town.

<sup>5</sup> For the problem of the succession of Enkomi by Salamis see Marguerite Yon, *Salamine de Chypre II. La Tombe T.I du XI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.* (1971), pp. 95 f., with more references.



to replace the old inner harbour which must have silted up. But another cause for the town's shifting nearer to the sea may have been the arrival of the Phoenicians, who chose Kition as their first *pied à terre* in their westward expansion. However, this constitutes a hypothesis which cannot yet be fully substantiated by archaeological evidence.<sup>1</sup>

One hundred and fifty years elapsed between the abandonment of the sacred area and its rebuilding towards the middle of the ninth century B.C. This period is represented by a thick layer of alluvial deposit on Floor I. The newcomers must have found the solid foundations of the old ashlar-block buildings and reused them (Fig. 5). A large temple was constructed on the foundations of the old Temple 1. The material from the last use of the temple, including votive terracottas, votive dishes, and clay models of naiskoi of a Cretan type,<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 6) were placed in shallow pits (*bothroi*) outside the temple, and a new floor was constructed which sealed the pits of the old sacred gardens. The corridor along the south wall was included in the courtyard of the new temple, and the holy of holies on the west became a long and narrow corridor entered through three doors (Fig. 7). On either side of the central entrance there were two large rectangular pillars, the foundations of which survive and which may have been free-standing, recalling the pillars in front of the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, as it is represented on Roman coins (Pl. XIV*b*),<sup>3</sup> or the Biblical pillars Jachin and Boaz of the Solomonic Temple in Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Next to them was a large rectangular table of offerings. The new temple measured 35 m in length and 22 m in width and retained the south and east lateral entrances to its courtyard which existed in old Temple 1. The large rectangular courtyard was roofed along its north and south sides by two porticoes, supported on four rows of pillars, a double row for each portico. There were seven pillars in each row, of which only the stone bases survive, with a rectangular socket in the middle which suggests that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. V. Karageorghis, 'Chypre', *L'espansione fenicia nel Mediterraneo* (1971), pp. 161 f.

<sup>2</sup> See V. Karageorghis, 'Naiskoi de Chypre', *BCH* 94 (1970), 27 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For such representations see A. Westholm, 'The Paphian Temple of Aphrodite and its relation to Oriental Architecture', *Acta Archaeologica* (1933), pp. 201 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For a similar arrangement of pillars on either side of the entrance to the holy of holies (*débir*) see Y. Aharoni, 'Arad: its inscriptions and temple', *The Biblical Archaeologist* 31 (1968), 18 ff.

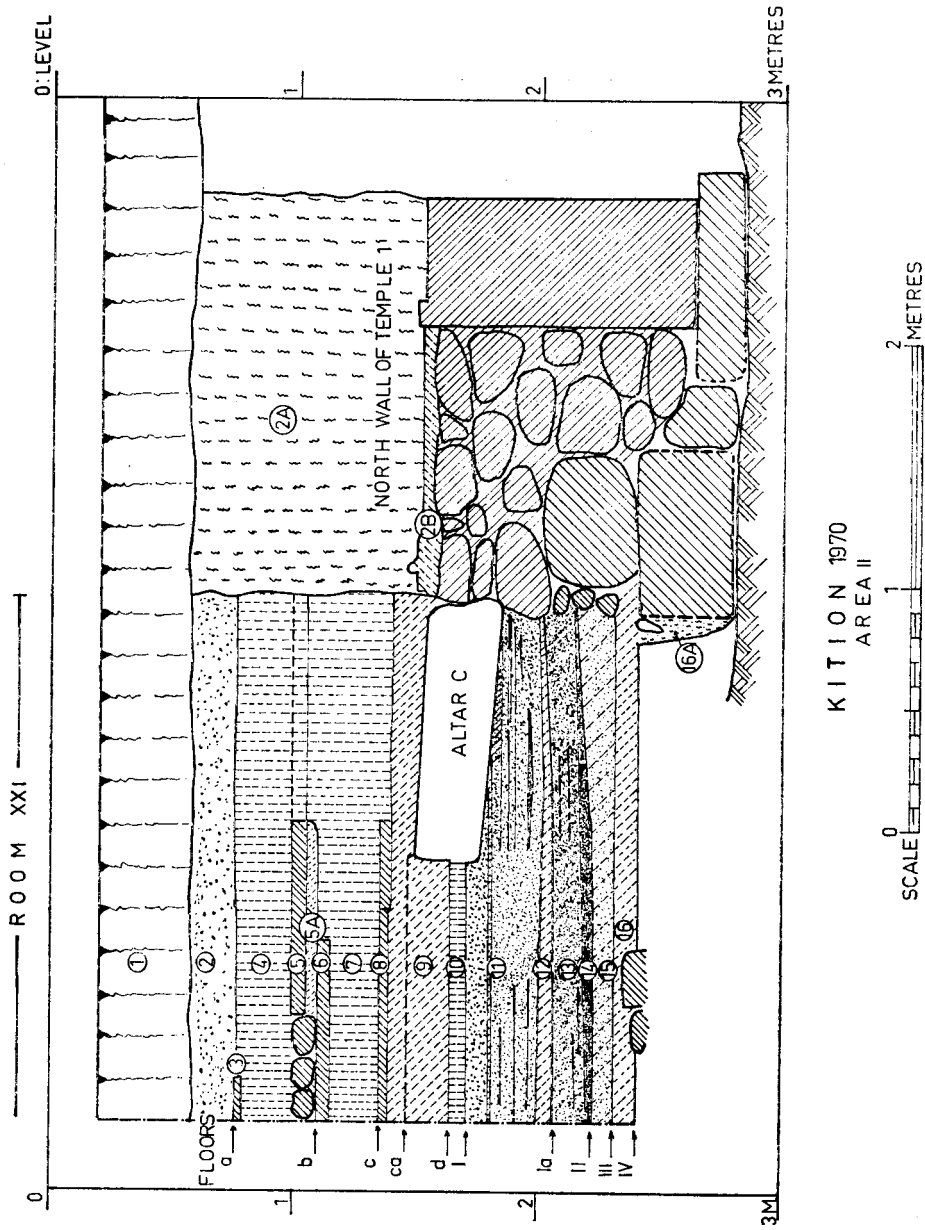


Fig. 5. Section showing floors abutting against the outside façade of the north wall of Temple 1. Floors IV-I belong to the pre-Phoenician period.

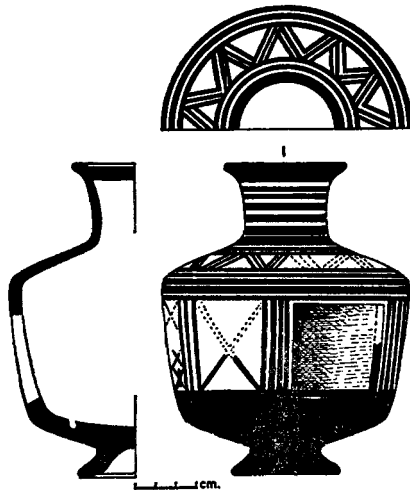


FIG. 6. Clay model of a naiskos from a bothros outside Temple 1.

pillars were of wood which left its traces on the surface of the bases. We may thus calculate their thickness to 60 cm × 40 cm (Pl. XVa).

The open courtyards (Temene A and B) were retained. A new altar was built in Temenos A. Temenos B became the most important open courtyard of the new temple, with an altar next to its east entrance. On either side of the entrance to the courtyard, on the east, two large pits were found which may have been for two trees, recalling the two biblical trees of the Paradise (Pl. XVb). Such sacred trees are seen on a representation of a temple on an eighth-century B.C. Cypriote vase.<sup>1</sup>

Abundant pottery was found on the floor of the new temple, including masses of Samaria ware and other Phoenician and local Cypriote pottery, as well as a fragment of Red Slip bowl bearing a long Phoenician inscription on the outside (Pl. XVIa). Both the architectural plan of the temple and the pottery found in it leave no doubt as to its character and the people who built it. We know that Kition as early as the ninth century was a Tyrian colony.<sup>2</sup> Those who built the temple must have been masons from Tyre, like those who built the famous temple of

<sup>1</sup> See V. Karageorghis, 'A representation of a temple on an eighth-century B.C. Cypriote vase', *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 1 (1973), 9 ff. There is evidence for sacred trees (not for a sacred garden) in the Late Bronze Age temenos of Ayia Irini (see E. Sjöqvist, 'Die Kultgeschichte eines cyprischen emenos', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 30 (1932), 348 ff.).

See S. Moscati, *The World of the Phoenicians* (London, 1968), pp. 103 ff.

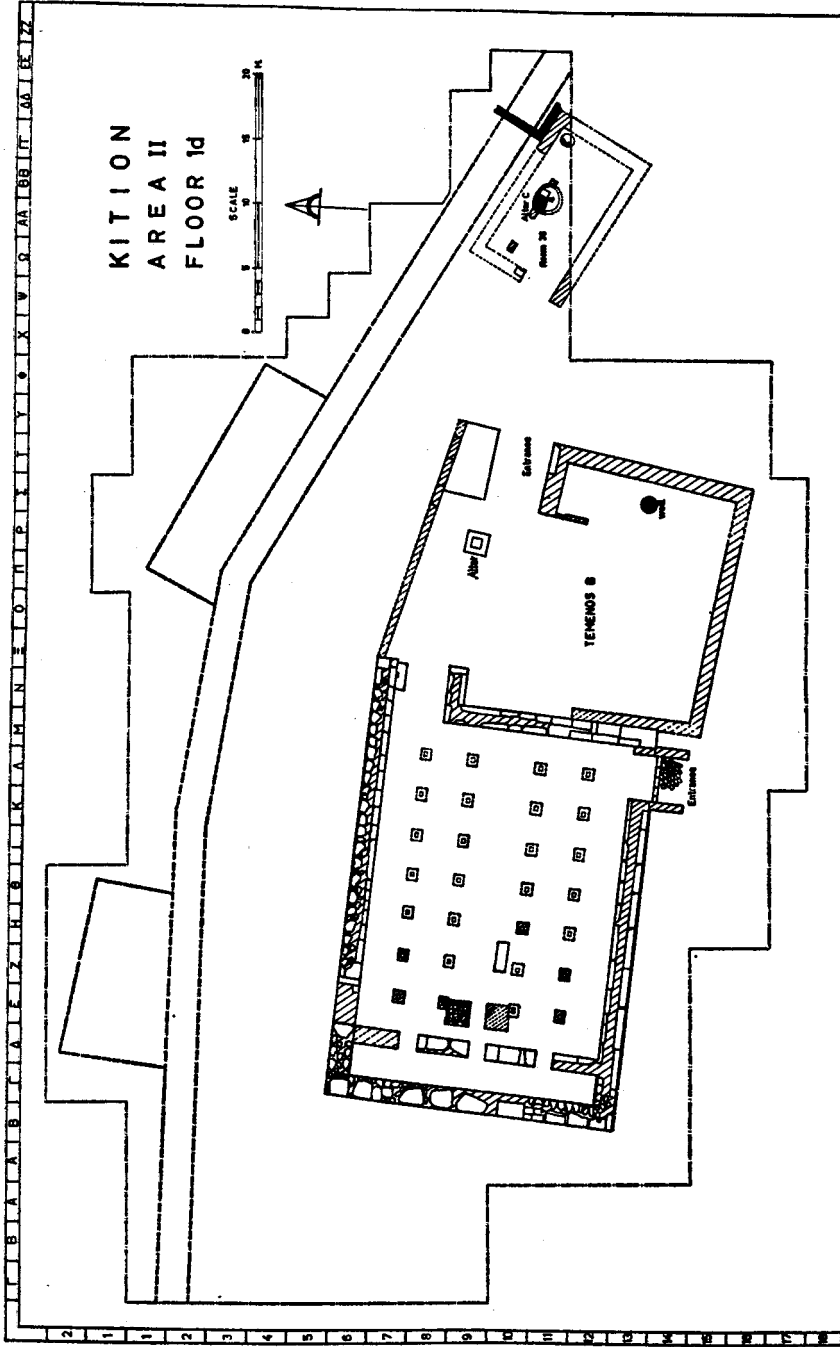


FIG. 7. Plan of the first Phoenician temple.

Solomon in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The outside façade of the temple, which consisted of large unhewn stones was replaced along the east and south walls by large ashlar blocks like those of the inside, which were taken from the nearby Late Bronze Age structures, mainly from Temple 2, which were in ruins. On the south façade of the temple, where the stones measure about 3 m in length and 1.50 m in height one may see a number of graffiti representing ships (Pl. XVI*b*), very appropriate for the seafaring Phoenicians. The Phoenician inscription on the Red Slip bowl has been deciphered by A. Dupont-Sommer<sup>2</sup> and refers to a citizen of Tamassos who went to Kition and sacrificed to the temple of Astarte. There he cut his hair, put it in that bowl and dedicated it to Astarte, according to a custom which existed in Phoenicia and which is described by Lucian in his treatise *De dea Syra*. Allusion to this custom is made in a Phoenician inscription representing the accounts of the temple of Astarte at Kition, found in 1879 during levelling operations on the Acropolis of Kition, and now in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> Among the personnel of the temple the 'sacred barbers' are mentioned, who obviously performed this ritual.

On the floor of the temple skulls of oxen were found (Pl. XVII*a*), cleaned at the back to be worn as masks (Pl. XVII*b*), following a Late Bronze Age custom which we see at Enkomi and which survived in other Iron Age cult places in Cyprus, like Aya Irini and Kourion, as we know from terracotta figurines.<sup>4</sup>

The first Phoenician temple was destroyed by fire *c.* 800 B.C., but it was soon rebuilt on the foundations of the old one. The four rows of wooden pillars, however, were replaced by two rows of rectangular pillars of masonry. The two lateral entrances to the holy of holies were closed and only the central one was maintained. Foundation gifts, consisting of numerous miniature juglets and bowls (Pl. XVII*c*), were offered in the south-

<sup>1</sup> As mentioned in the Bible (Kings 5 : 15-18).

<sup>2</sup> A. Dupont-Sommer, 'Une inscription phénicienne archaïque récemment trouvée à Kition (Chypre)', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 44 (1970), 1-28.

<sup>3</sup> Recently republished by B. Peckam, 'Notes on a fifth-century Phoenician inscription from Kition, Cyprus (CIS 86)', *Orientalia* 37 (1968), 304 ff.; discussed at length also by Olivier Masson and Maurice Sznycer, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre* (1972), pp. 21-68.

<sup>4</sup> See recently V. Karageorghis, 'Notes on some Cypriote priests wearing Bull-masks', *Harvard Theological Review* 64 (1971), 261 ff.

western corner of the new temple, after a sacrifice,<sup>1</sup> to assure the goddess that her new temple would not have the fate of the old one, which was destroyed by fire. This new temple lasted for about two centuries. Its numerous gifts were placed periodically in bothroi outside the temple, within the open courtyard to the east. The harvest from these bothroi has been particularly rich (Pl. XVIII*a*). Among the objects found on the floor of the second temple we mention particularly a fragment from the hilt of a silver-studded sword<sup>2</sup> and a small flask in faïence in the shape of a seated female figure, which belongs to a group found in various places in the Mediterranean and which, according to Professor Leclant, contained *eau de Juvence* from the Nile.<sup>3</sup> The second temple was remodelled *c.* 650 B.C. The intercolumniations were filled in with masonry, and thus the courtyard was divided into three aisles. Benches for the deposit of offerings were constructed along the south and north walls of the courtyard. An altar was constructed in front of the south entrance to the courtyard and the temenos on the east was divided into smaller compartments, including a small workshop, where quantities of copper slag were found. This may recall the association between religion and metal industry which was the prevalent feature of this area during the Late Bronze Age. This workshop, situated behind the east entrance to the courtyard of the temple which was blocked, continued also into the fifth century B.C.

The fourth and last period of the temple dates from the middle of the fifth century to 312 B.C. The courtyard was divided into smaller compartments but little is known about the general plan of the temple because the stones of its walls have been robbed, as they lay very near the surface. The floor had already risen above the first course of ashlar blocks of the original walls. According to Diodorus,<sup>4</sup> the last Phoenician king of Kition, Pumyathon, was killed by Ptolemy I in 312 B.C., the Phoenician temples were burnt down and thus was put to an end the Phoenician dynasty of Kition which ruled for over 500 years,

<sup>1</sup> An iron obelos and an iron knife were found among the ashes and the incinerated animal bones.

<sup>2</sup> For the importance of these swords in Homeric archaeology see V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis i* (1967), 43.

<sup>3</sup> This will be published, together with other Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects, in a separate volume now being prepared in collaboration with Professor J. Leclant.

<sup>4</sup> xix. 79.

having extended its rule or influence to other towns in Cyprus, like Idalion, Tamassos, Amathus, and Lapithos, and having become one of the most important Phoenician colonies in the West.<sup>1</sup>

We shall not deal here with the later occupation of the site during the Hellenistic and the Roman periods when cisterns and water-channels were built, which changed the original character of the sacred complex.

We were hoping to conclude our excavation in summer 1973 by exposing what we thought was a street along the east façade of the sacred area. Instead we came upon another building constructed of ashlar blocks of hard limestone at the end of the thirteenth century B.C. (Pl. XVIII*b*), like Temples 1 and 2, which was also replaced by a Phoenician sanctuary in the ninth century. Only part of this new sacred complex has been uncovered and it is too early to determine its architectural plan.

The relatively small area of the ancient town of Kition (Area II) which has been uncovered since 1963 has thrown new light not only on the history of the town itself but also of the whole of Cyprus. The sacred and industrial quarters of the Late Bronze Age are of unique importance, both from the point of view of architecture and of religion. The Phoenician temple of Astarte is the largest known so far in the Phoenician world. Thus Kition is of capital importance for the study of the two races which played such an important role in the development of Mediterranean culture, the Mycenaeans and the Phoenicians.

<sup>1</sup> For the history of Kition during the climax of her power, in the fifth century B.C., see E. Gjerstad, *SCE* iv 2 (1948), 484 f.

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