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Traditions and innovations during the 12th-to-11th century BC transition in Cyprus: new data from Kition-Bamboula

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Abstract. *The transition from the 12th to the 11th c. BC in Cyprus constitutes a watershed, that marks the close of the Late Bronze Age and the inception of the Early Iron Age in conventional Cypriot terminology. This transformative phase remains poorly known and ill defined, not least because of the remarkable dearth of stratified settlement strata exposed to this day on the island. Recent investigations by the French Archaeological Mission at Kition, within the locality of Bamboula, have brought to light a continuous stratigraphic succession of floor layers spanning from the 13th to the 11th c. BC, thus marking an exceptional instance on an island-wide basis. The aim of this contribution is to provide a comprehensive presentation of the stratigraphic, architectural and artefactual remains exposed at Kition-Bamboula that provide crucial new data for the transitional 12th-to-11th c. BC horizon. In particular, through the contextual analysis of well-stratified pottery remains, the study aims to discuss the transformations observed on the island's ceramic repertoire and especially as regards the impact of the large-scale adoption of wheel-made technology for the production of ceramic finewares. The study will also elucidate the extra-insular connections maintained by the cosmopolitan harbour town at Kition, based on the analysis of the plethora of imported commercial jars contained within the settlement's pertinent levels. Finally, this contribution will discuss a series of idiosyncratic phenomena, such as infant jar-burials and purple-dye production, dating to the settlement's transitional phases of the 12th and 11th c. BC. Ultimately, our contribution aspires to shed light on the continuities and innovations characterising the Cypriot material culture and the transformative capacities of the island's communities at the dawn of the Early Iron Age.*

Résumé. *La transition du XII^e au XI^e siècle av. J.-C. marque le passage du Bronze Récent au début de l'âge du Fer à Chypre. C'est une phase de transformations à l'échelle de l'île mais qui reste mal connue et mal définie, notamment en l'absence de découverte de niveaux d'habitat. Les fouilles récentes de la mission archéologique française de Kition sur le site de Bamboula ont mis au jour une séquence stratigraphique continue du XIII^e au XI^e siècle, ce qui constitue un cas exceptionnel sur l'île. Cette contribution vise à présenter les vestiges stratigraphiques et architecturaux ainsi que le mobilier associé de Kition-Bamboula qui fournissent de nouvelles données concernant la phase de transition des XII^e-XI^e siècles av. J.-C. En particulier, l'analyse contextuelle du mobilier céramique stratifié permet de dresser le tableau des modifications qui affectent le répertoire*

céramique, notamment en ce qui concerne l'usage du tour rapide pour la fabrication de céramique fine. En s'intéressant également au vaste corpus de jarres commerciales retrouvées dans ces niveaux d'habitat, cette étude permettra d'étudier les contacts extra-insulaires de la ville portuaire. On présentera, enfin, quelques ensembles particuliers tels les enchytrismes d'enfants et les traces de production de teinture pourpre, qui datent de cette phase transitionnelle. À terme, cette contribution mettra en lumière les continuités et les innovations qui caractérisent la culture matérielle chypriote et les processus de transformation qui touchent les communautés de l'île à l'aube de l'âge du Fer.

The 12th and 11th c. BC in Cyprus: the end of an era and the beginning of another?

The 12th-to-11th c. BC junction remains a poorly known, inconsistently approached and understudied period of Cypriot archaeology, primarily as a result of the dearth of successive stratified settlement contexts exposed on the island to this day. What is more, the comprehensive understanding of this transformative period has been so far obscured since it has been mostly considered through two very different spectrums: the 12th c. BC has been traditionally approached by scholars specialising on the Late Bronze Age (LBA), while the 11th has been accordingly investigated by Iron Age specialists. As a result, the 12th-to-11th c. BC has been seldom addressed as a continuum.¹

The 12th c. BC, which roughly coincides with the Late Cypriot (LC) IIIA period in conventional terms,² marks the end of the LBA in Cyprus, and corresponds to a period of substantial transformations in the island's settlement pattern and material culture, as an aftermath of the Mediterranean-wide crisis and the wider collapse of the "Age of Internationalism". Further transformations are observed in the island's topography and material culture in the 11th c. BC, which conventionally corresponds to the LCIIIB and the Cypro-Geometric (CG) I periods. The LCIIIB is a short, transitional phase, roughly coinciding with the first half of the 11th c., and, despite its name, it is considered the inception of the Early Iron Age (EIA) in Cyprus. The LCIIIB and the CGI periods form a culturally and historically uniform horizon.³

The overview of the settlement histories of Cyprus at the beginning of the 12th c. illustrates varied trajectories (fig. 1), ranging from systems' collapse and abandonment, to new foundations, to destructions of various scales and forms, but also continuous occupation, urban enhancement and economic flourishing.⁴ Indeed, the 12th c. in Cyprus, was characterised by an

1 With the notable exception of the work of Maria Iacovou (Iacovou 2008a, Iacovou 2013a), as well as Susan Sherratt (Sherratt 1994, Sherratt 2003), Joanna Smith on Kition (Smith 2009) and Anna Satraki (Satraki 2012), who have traditionally adopted macrohistorical frameworks. See also the recent work by Meyer, Knapp 2021.

2 Cf. Manning 2013, pp. 513-515; Manning, Kearns, Lorentzen 2017.

3 See discussion in Iacovou 2008a, p. 635; Georgiadou 2017, pp. 99-100.

4 For an overview on the transformations in the settlement pattern of Cyprus at the beginning of the 12th c. BC, see Iacovou 2008a, p. 631; Iacovou 2013b; Iacovou 2018; Georgiou 2015; Georgiou 2017; Georgiou, Iacovou 2020, pp. 1142-1144; Knapp, Meyer 2020, pp. 238-239; Meyer, Knapp 2021.



Figure 1 — Map of Cyprus with sites mentioned in the text (drafted by A. Georgiou with data from the Department of Geological Survey, Cyprus).

impressive level of continuity from the previous horizon, predominantly attested by the uninterrupted occupation of several urban centres, most prominently Kition in the southeast and Kouklia (Palaepaphos) in the southwest, which, amidst an otherwise ‘crisis’, took on the construction of monumental sacred edifices,⁵ and – for the case of Kition – monumental ramparts. The strengthening of Kition and Palaepaphos at the dawn of the 12th c. BC manifests the polities’ nucleation of territorial control and manpower, following the disintegration of the hierarchical networks in the southcentral coast.⁶

Kition and Palaepaphos continued to be occupied during the EIA. This remarkable level of continuity notwithstanding, the 11th c. BC was marked by another set of changes in the island’s settlement pattern. Again, several divergent site-histories can be observed. In addition to Palaepaphos and Kition, the settlement of Idalion, that was newly founded in the previous period (at least from the LC IIC/IIIA period, circa the 13th/12th c. BC), was also uninterruptedly occupied into the 11th c. BC and beyond.⁷ Other sites, such as Hala Sultan Tekke and Alassa, were

5 Karageorghis, Demas 1985, pp. 92-93; Maier, Karageorghis 1984, pp. 81-102; see discussion in Iacovou 2008a, p. 637; Georgiou 2017; Fisher 2020.

6 Iacovou 2012, pp. 215-218.

7 Hadjicosti 1999.

abandoned at the close of the 12th c. BC and were never re-occupied, although continuity of human occupation is registered at the neighbouring centres of Kition and Kourion respectively. The dawn of the 11th c. BC was further marked by site relocations, such as the movement from Episkopi-Bamboula to Kourion-Kaloriziki, and from Enkomi to Salamis, as well as by the foundation of settlements on virgin grounds, as is the case of Amathus on the central south coast,⁸ some of which developed into the administrative centres of Iron Age polities.⁹

When considering the dynamic regional restructuring of the island's settlement pattern during the 12th and 11th c. BC, one needs to take into account the discrepancies in the nature of the archaeological record represented by the two phases. The 12th c. BC is mostly manifested by settlement sites, the built environment of which was dominated by substantial, ashlar-built structures, and further incorporated intra-settlement mortuary remains with prestigious, locally produced and imported objects, that allow us to acknowledge them as flourishing urban centres. On the contrary the 11th c. BC is almost exclusively represented by cemetery sites.¹⁰ These necropoleis, discovered across the island, correspond to extensive burial grounds with remarkably wealthy burial deposits, including imported goods, which stand as tangible testimonies of the continuous economic prosperity of the Cypriot communities during this phase, while indicating the operation of hierarchical structures and a degree of socio-political organisation.¹¹ Salamis and Kition constitute the only sites where, in addition to burial grounds, excavations laid bare limited residential and sacred contexts of the EIA, with substantial evidence of urban planning.¹²

The most substantial change distinguishing the 12th from the 11th c. BC concerns the organisation of the mortuary topography. During the latter period, new burial grounds were established well beyond the limits of the settlements, marking a major break from the 'intra-mural' burial custom that prevailed in the LC period.¹³ The 11th c. BC further provides testimonies for the inauguration of a new type of funerary architecture, the long-dromos chamber, and new burial rites.¹⁴ The practical aspects associated with this type should be stressed, considering that, in the topographic context of 'extra-mural' burial grounds, more space is provided for the development of long dromoi and the undertaking of rituals within, compared to space constraints in urban settings.

Transformations in the island's material culture during the 12th c. BC are most profoundly registered in the production of ceramic finewares, specifically with regards to the establishment of wheelmade, matt-painted vessels that largely – though not exclusively – draw inspiration from the Greek mainland (see discussion below). These finewares are acknowledged by contemporary researchers as a highly experimental and transformative ware, fluidly imitating shapes and decorative motifs from various centres in the Aegean, but also incorporating elements from

8 Iacovou 1994, Iacovou 1999.

9 Iacovou 2008a, Iacovou 2013a.

10 See discussion in Georgiadou 2014, pp. 363-369.

11 Iacovou 2005.

12 Yon 1999; see also discussion below.

13 Keswani 2004, pp. 86-88; see also recent studies that explore the multi-faceted practices in the LC period, e.g. Webb 2018, Bürge 2021.

14 Steel 1995; Iacovou 1999, p. 148; Janes 2013; Janes 2015.

the LC production of handmade finewares.¹⁵ In contrast to the largely experimental character of the pottery production during the 12th c. BC, the ceramic evidence of the following horizon exemplifies the establishment of norms on an island-wide scale, as regards the repertoire of shapes and wares, as well as the use of the fast-wheel technology.¹⁶ Pottery production during the 11th c. BC presents elements of continuity and evolution stemming from the previous period. This is especially evident in the production of the so-called Proto-White Painted (PWP), which entails the predominant painted fineware of the LCIIIB. This ware evolved from the Aegean-style pottery of the LCIIIA, but also assimilated several new Aegeanising elements (see below).¹⁷

It has been long maintained that the discrete and simplistic equation of transformations observed in the archaeological remains of 12th-century Cyprus with population movements from the Aegean cannot be upheld, on the basis of recent approaches to the study of material culture in relation to 'ethnic' associations,¹⁸ and especially considering the selective and formative nature of the locally produced Aegean-style finewares in Cyprus and its appropriation within the island's cultural milieu.¹⁹ While the migration of Greek populations in 12th c. BC Cyprus can be suspected on account of a series of varied, multi-faceted and intricate phenomena,²⁰ some of which betray influence from the Mycenaean sphere,²¹ the presence of Mycenaean populations in the archaeological record remains elusive.²² The same is true for the early 11th c. BC, when a 'second migratory wave' from the Greek mainland to Cyprus has been postulated, on the basis of Mycenaean and Sub-Mycenaean influences in the period's ceramic production and tomb architecture, and of the *nostoi*, the foundation myths of the city-kingdoms.²³ Formulated during a much later period, these legends refer to mythical heroes who, after the Trojan war, were said to have arrived in Cyprus and founded the various kingdoms.²⁴

To this day we are unable to securely correlate a residential or burial context of the 12th or the 11th c. BC with an intrusive individual or a community of Aegean origin. Perhaps the most tangible manifestation of the migration of Greek speaking populations to Cyprus is the establishment of Arcado-Cypriot, a Mycenaean-related dialectal form of Greek, as the predominant language in several of the Cypriot polities of the 1st millennium BC.²⁵ The earliest attestation of this merge is the *Opheltas* inscription contained within an 11th-10th c. BC tomb of Palaepaphos, which demonstrates how the indigenous syllabic script was employed to record the Arcado-Cypriot dialectal form of

15 See, among others, Kling 1989b; Sherratt 1991; Georgiou 2018a; Georgiou 2018b; Mountjoy 2018.

16 See discussion in Georgiadou 2017, pp. 101-102.

17 Pieridou 1973; Iacovou 1988; Georgiadou 2013, pp. 373-401; Mountjoy 2018, see discussion of the relevant levels of Enkomi, Kition and Kourion.

18 Cf. Jones 1997; also various papers in McInerney 2014.

19 Iacovou 1988, p. 11; Sherratt 1991, p. 195; Georgiou 2018b, pp. 43-44.

20 Material described as 'innovative' see Karageorghis 1992, Karageorghis 2000. Cf. Georgiou 2012, pp. 299-301; Iacovou 2013b, pp. 610-612.

21 See especially the discussion on Aegean-style cooking vessels in Jung 2011, Jung 2017.

22 Discussed in Iacovou 2012; Georgiou 2015.

23 *E.g.* see the volume of Karageorghis 1994, in particular Catling 1994; Coldstream 1994.

24 Gjerstad 1944; Christodoulou 2014.

25 Morpurgo-Davis 1992, p. 422; Morpurgo-Davis, Olivier 2012, pp. 113-114; Iacovou 2008a, pp. 632-633.

Greek. The material culture of the 11th c. evidently marks the end-result of a dynamic process that was initiated during the previous chronological horizon.²⁶ Based on comparable grounds, we can also suspect the establishment of a resident Semitic-speaking population in the 12th c. BC Cyprus, established after the destruction of Ugarit and other Levantine centres.²⁷

The most profound evidence for continuity linking the 12th c. BC with the previous horizons is the perseverance of the local syllabic script, known as ‘Cypro-Minoan’.²⁸ The development of the 2nd millennium ‘Cypro-Minoan’ into the 1st millennium ‘Cypro-Syllabic’ script, that was employed to write the Arcado-Cypriot Greek dialect, and the undeciphered ‘Eteocypriot’ language(s), demonstrates the endurance of the indigenous scribal tool across an impressively broad time-span, and provides a momentous link, bridging the LBA with the EIA horizon.²⁹

Another critical indication attesting to the endurance of politico-economic structures in Cyprus is the overwhelming evidence for continuing copper-processing in post-1200 BC contexts, in the form of ceramic implements, hoards of metallic objects for recycling and substantial volumes of slag.³⁰ Recent studies on the distribution of Cypriot copper overseas demonstrate some continuity in the export of copper ingots of the oxhide and bun types during the 12th and 11th c. BC. However, the prevailing metal-trading during this period was undertaken in the form of small weight units and finished metal artefacts, such as rod tripods, stands or amphoroid craters.³¹ The late 12th and the 11th c. also correspond to the consolidation of iron technology and the widespread use of iron for utilitarian purposes on the island and across the Mediterranean, for which the Cypriot metalworkers played a pivotal role.³²

The period under consideration also coincides with an increasing number of Cypriot artefacts found in the archaeological record of western Italy and Sardinia and the spread of Sardinian artefacts eastwards.³³ Whether we take the ‘maximalist’ approach of direct contact between Cyprus and the central Mediterranean or a more nuanced ‘minimalistic’ approach that proposes an intricate communication system of smaller, overlapping spheres,³⁴ the evidence for the development of this channel in the post-1200 BC era is unequivocal and deems further scrutiny.

Kition during the 12th and 11th c. BC

The coastal settlement of Kition was founded by (at least) the early LCIC period, that is by the beginning of the 13th c. BC. Several pottery fragments of LCI-IIB date were contained in later

26 Iacovou 2008b; for a historiographical overview see Fourrier 2008; also Cannavò 2012, pp. 446-452.

27 Bell 2012, p. 186. Considering the close ties of the Cypriot communities with those in the northern Levant in the 14th and 13th c. BC, this process could have started earlier.

28 Morpurgo-Davis, Olivier 2012, p. 113; Olivier 2013; Steele 2013, pp. 15-19.

29 Masson 1983, pp. 84-85; Egetmeyer 2010; Iacovou 2013c; Karnava 2014, p. 406.

30 Kassianidou forthcoming.

31 Kassianidou 2022, pp. 81-82; Kassianidou forthcoming; Sherratt 2012, pp. 157-158.

32 Sherratt 1994; Sherratt 2016, pp. 291, 295-296; Muhly 2003, pp. 145-146; Palermo 2018, pp. 239-241.

33 Among others, see most recently Fischer, Bürge 2019; Gradoli *et al.* 2020.

34 See discussion in Sherratt 2016, pp. 294-295; Russel, Knapp 2017; Knapp, Russel, van Dommelen 2022.

strata at various localities within the settlement,³⁵ which could suggest that the area was occupied earlier than hitherto thought.³⁶ Regardless, Kition presents an impressively long and continuous history, spanning from the time of its foundation to nowadays. As a result of the area's unceasing occupation, Kition's antiquity, which is presently buried underneath the streets and houses of the modern-day town of Larnaca, is only known in segments. This fragmentary evidence notwithstanding, the digital recording of areas of archaeological interest by the French Mission has provided a more comprehensive understanding of the urban topography of Kition, at a diachronic level.³⁷

Geomorphological studies disclose that the coastline underwent substantial changes over millennia and suggest that the late 2nd-millennium BC shoreline extended several hundred meters westwards, reaching the limits of the settlement (fig. 2).³⁸ During this period, Kition lay on an open, still sheltered bay, and only during the course of the 1st millennium BC did the area develop into a lagoon.³⁹ It is evident that the town was founded in relation to this privileged haven and the accessibility to maritime trading routes.

With reference to the chronological spectrum under consideration, the largest portion of the ancient town was unearthed at the locality of *Kathari* (Area II) by the late Vassos Karageorghis, on behalf of the Department of Antiquities.⁴⁰ Excavations exposed part of the rampart that was established in the earliest occupation level (Floor IV), which corresponds to the LCIIIC period (13th c. BC) and was reinforced in the subsequent Floor IIIA (roughly corresponding to the LCIIIA period, 12th c. BC). The Kition rampart was refurbished with large boulders as foundations and a mudbrick superstructure, characteristic of the Cypriot version of Cyclopean-style defensive architecture, attested at contemporary towns.⁴¹ During the 12th c. BC, the area of *Kathari* accommodated four sacred structures (Temples 1-4), including the monumental, ashlar-built Temple 1.⁴² A series of industrial facilities were also established at *Kathari* during this period, associated with the processing of copper (Northern Workshops) and textiles (Western Workshops).⁴³ According to the excavators, the sanctuary zone did not undergo important changes in the succeeding Floor II (LCIIIB, early 11th c. BC) and the metal and textile workshops continued to function with no disruptions. The end of Floor II was marked by natural disasters.⁴⁴ In the ensuing level (Floor I), several modifications took place at *Kathari*, mainly the closure of the metallurgical workshops. This level was interpreted by the

35 E.g. Karageorghis, Demas 1985, p. 6.

36 See discussion in Satraki 2012, pp. 123-124. For the evidence of Early and Middle Bronze Age tombs at Kition-Agios Prodromos as well as at Area I and II see Herscher 1988; Karageorghis 1974, pp. 3-15.

37 Fourrier 2018, pp. 302-303, fig. 1.

38 Nicolaou 1976, pp. 11, 81; Gifford 1978; Gifford 1985; Morhange *et al.* 2000; Sourisseau, Goiran, Morhange 2003; Devillers, Brown, Morhange 2015, p. 76; Colin, Goiran 2022.

39 Morhange *et al.* 2000, p. 221; see also Colin, Goiran 2022.

40 Between the years 1963-1981: Karageorghis, Demas 1985.

41 I.e. Enkomi, Sinda, Maa-Palaeokastro and possible also Lara (Cape Drepanon): see Georgiou 2012, pp. 193-195.

42 Karageorghis, Demas 1985, pp. 38-49; Fisher 2020, pp. 311-312.

43 Karageorghis, Demas 1985, pp. 24-164; Smith 2009, pp. 34-41.

44 Karageorghis, Demas 1985, pp. 122-141; Smith 2009, pp. 42-43.

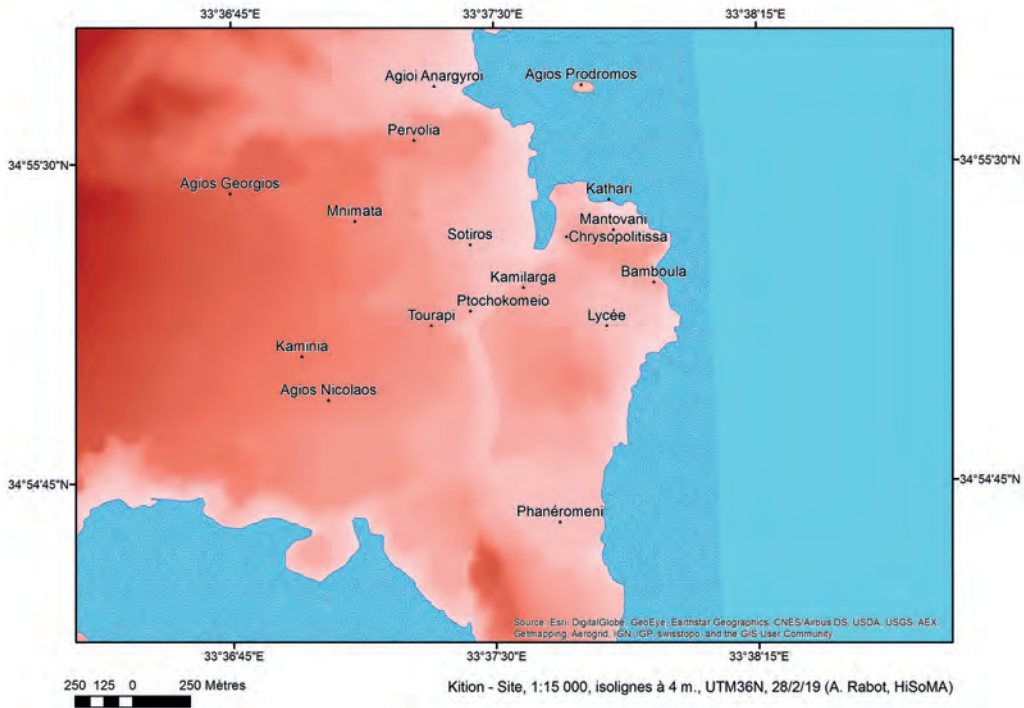


Figure 2 — Plan of Kition topography with the estimation of the ancient shoreline in the late 2nd-early 1st millennium BC. Stippled areas indicate the zone naturally sheltered by a pebble ridge. A. Rabot, SIG de Kition © Mission de Kition.

excavators as short-lived, and they suggested that the site was abandoned at around 1000 BC, for two centuries.⁴⁵ However, recent studies on the stratigraphy and material remains of Floor I suggest that *Kathari* was uninterruptedly occupied during the CGI-CGII periods.⁴⁶

Further excavations by the Department of Antiquities exposed a residential complex at the locality of *Chrysopolitissa* (Area I), comprising of at least two separate units, in association with two LC chamber tombs.⁴⁷ Small-scale metallurgical and textile production was evidenced in Area I from Floor IV through Floor I.⁴⁸ Floor I marked the final occupational layer, after which the site was abandoned until the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁴⁹ Excavations in the same area revealed three tombs and a well with a wealth of materials dating to the LBA-EIA.⁵⁰ A third cluster of Kition's urban landscape is currently being excavated at the site of *Mantovani*

45 Karageorghis, Demas 1985, pp. 141-164, 267.

46 Smith 2009, pp. 173-184, who assigned different chronologies for the occupation levels of *Kathari*: p. 189. See, however, Fourrier 2011. On the occupation of *Kathari* during the CGII period: Georgiadou 2014, pp. 382-383.

47 Tombs 4+5 and 9: Karageorghis 1974, pp. 16-94; Karageorghis, Demas 1985, pp. 5-23.

48 Smith 2009, pp. 71-75.

49 Karageorghis, Demas 1985, pp. 20-23.

50 Karageorghis 1960.

(or *Terra Umbra*). Preliminary publications demonstrate that the site yielded critical, new data, spanning from the foundation of the site in the LBA to the Hellenistic period.⁵¹ Beyond the enclosed settlement, areas that were newly established as burial grounds for the Kition communities in the 11th c. BC have been found at *Agios Prodomos* in the north, and the quarters of *Sotiros* and *Ptochokomeio* in the west (fig. 2).⁵²

Kition-Bamboula: stratified settlement contexts of the 12th and 11th c. BC

The fourth substantial cluster of Kition's urban topography is the locality of *Bamboula*, also located in the northern part of the city of Larnaca (fig. 2).⁵³ A large portion of the *Bamboula* hill was demolished in 1879, in order to fill in the stagnant marshlands, that corresponded to the city's ancient harbour basin.⁵⁴ The earliest archaeological explorations at this locality were undertaken by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (SCE), who exposed part of an Iron Age sanctuary.⁵⁵ *Bamboula* has been the focus of intermittent excavations by the French Archaeological Mission since the 1970s. During the 1976-1977 fieldwork, directed by Marguerite Yon, part of a settlement (Sondage L-N 13) was laid bare.⁵⁶ Further to the south the remains of the sanctuary that was initially excavated by the SCE were more substantially exposed, documenting also evidence for textile and copper production.⁵⁷ Excavations by the French Archaeological Mission at *Bamboula* also revealed the installations of the ancient military harbour. The *neoria* (shipsheds) of Kition's royal naval fleet, dating to the Cypro-Classical period, constitute some of the best preserved in the Mediterranean.⁵⁸

Fieldwork research in the northern part of *Bamboula* was resumed by the French Mission in 2016, under the direction of Sabine Fourrier. The expedition explored two distinct trenches, Sondage 10, which lies in association with Sondage L-N 13, and Sondage 11, at a higher altitude, further to the west. Sondage 11 contained *in situ* layers dating to later periods.⁵⁹ The excavations within Sondage 10 aimed at expanding the trench explored in 1976-1977 (Sondage L-N 13), in order to provide additional data on the stratigraphy and structures in this area. The four excavation seasons at Sondage 10 brought to light a succession of floor layers, starting from the 13th (on the bedrock) to the 11th c. BC, and ample evidence for continuous occupation until the 8th, with further occupation data extending to the Hellenistic period.⁶⁰

51 Georgiou G. 2020.

52 Tomb of *Agios Prodomos*: Georgiou G. 2003; on the early Iron Age burials at Kition: Georgiadou 2012, pp. 326-327, fig. 2; Georgiadou 2018, p. 23; on the Iron Age: Cannavò, Fourrier, Rabot 2018, pp. 18-22, fig. 1.

53 For a recent summary of the excavations at the site: Fourrier, Yon 2022.

54 Kiely, Fourrier 2012.

55 Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, pp. 1-75.

56 Yon, Caubet 1985.

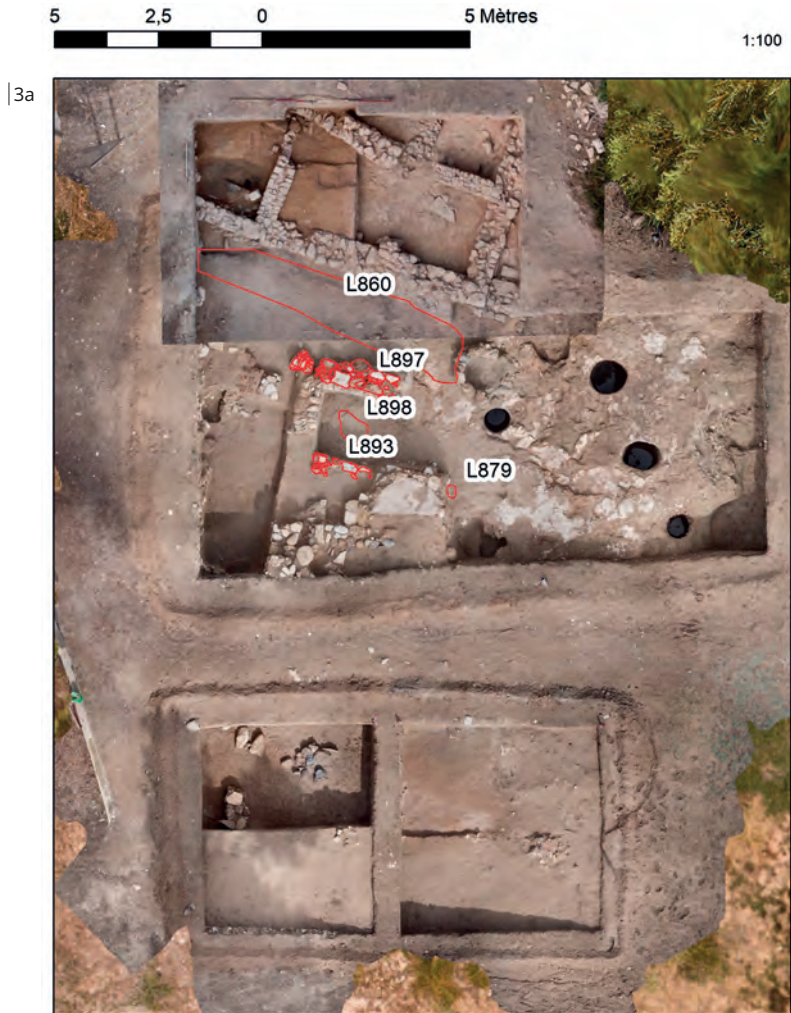
57 Caubet, Fourrier, Yon 2015.

58 Callot, Fourrier, Yon 2022.

59 Fourrier 2018, pp. 314-316; see also Fourrier, Rabot 2020, pp. 707-712.

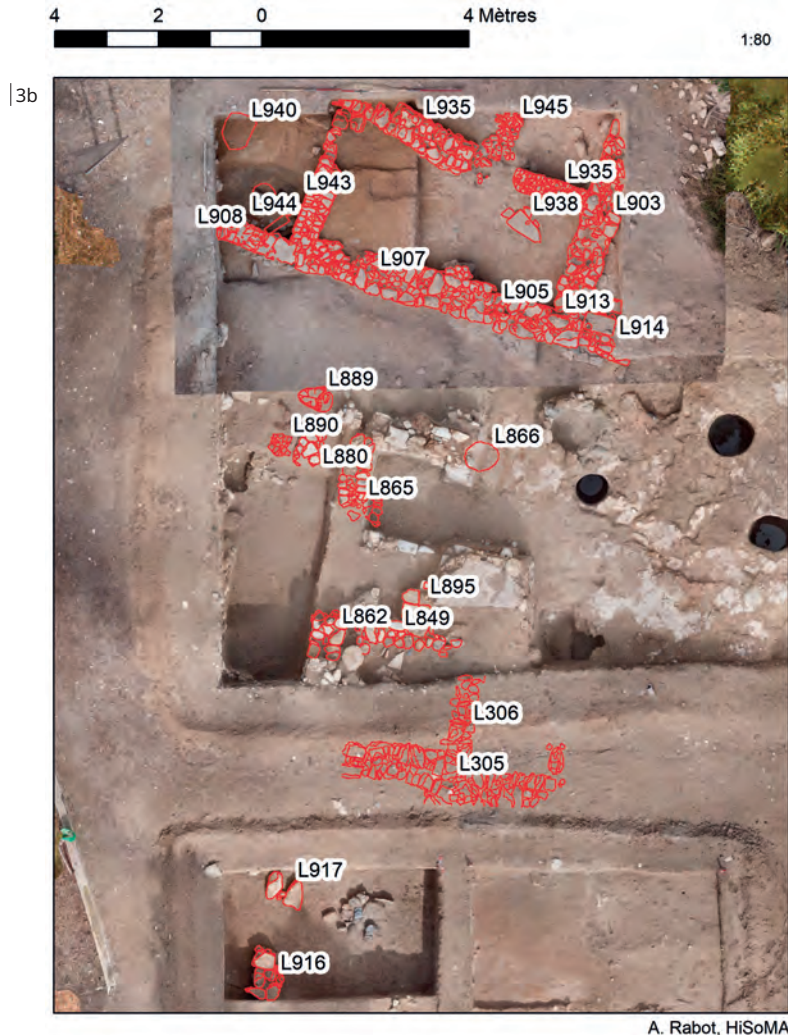
60 Fourrier 2018, pp. 316-319.

126 The earliest occupation stratum at Sondage 10 is designated as Phase V.2⁶¹ and corresponds to the LCIC period (13th c. BC) that marks the time of Kition's foundation. No built remains were preserved from this level, only several features: four wells, two additional, unfinished, wells and one shaft, found in direct association to the port basin. The evidence assigned to the 12th c. BC corresponds to Phase V.1 (fig. 3a). The beginning of this phase was marked by a level of aban-



61 It should be specified that several floor levels are associated for each phase.

donment in the form of a pebble spread, onto which rested the 12th c. and subsequent layers.⁶² This could correspond to a kind of ritual closing practice. The following occupation stratum, Phase IV.2, dating to the 11th c., *i.e.* the LCIIB and CGI periods, is better preserved (fig. 3b). It comprises two architectural units, constructed with stone foundations and mudbrick superstructure, that were separated by an open space, probably a street. Finally, Phase IV.1 at Kition-



A. Rabot, HiSoMA

Figure 3 — Plan of Sondage 10 of Kition-Bamboula showing a) Phase V.1 (*ca* 12th c. BC) and b) Phase IV.2 (*ca* 11th c. BC). Locus 889 marks the infant jar-burial. Preserved remains marked in red for each phase. A. Rabot, SIG de Kition © Mission de Kition.

62 See Fourrier 2019, pp. 400-406.

Bamboula extends from the CGII/III to the CAI periods, roughly spanning the 10th/9th to the early 8th c. BC. This phase was even less well preserved than the previous ones, with a few remains of walls, floors, hearths, pits and robbers' trenches. The poor preservation of the architectural strata notwithstanding, the uninterrupted and well-stratified residential layers dating to the LBA and the EIA horizons at Sondage 10 of *Bamboula* mark an exceptional case on an island-wide level, and the study of the material remains provides crucial insights on this inadequately addressed timeframe of the island's history.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CERAMIC PRODUCTION

The stratified levels of Kition-*Bamboula* encapsulate the ceramic transformations taking place on the island during the final centuries of the 2nd millennium BC. The impression we gain from Phase V.1 is representative of the transformative character of the LC ceramic industry during the 12th c. BC. The centuries-old handmade finewares, namely Base-ring and White Slip ware, shrink to minimal numbers, compared to their more substantial presence in the previous Phase V.2. Other wares, such as White Shaved and Monochrome/Coarse Monochrome ware, which are attested in a few fragmentary pieces in Phase V.2, are altogether absent in the 12th c. stratum of *Bamboula*. The imported Late Helladic IIIA-IIIB finewares occurring in Phase V.1 evidently correspond to residual fragments.

The preponderant finewares of Phase V.1 are the locally produced, wheelmade and matt-painted vessels that largely draw inspiration from the Aegean (figs. 4-5). Numerous terminologies have been used to describe this ceramic class, including the term White Painted Wheelmade (WPWm) III, employed in the frame of outlining ceramic developments in the local sequence.⁶³ The ware is characterised by experimentation, and the incorporation of influences on forms, decoration and manufacture techniques from various stimuli, predominantly Late Helladic painted finewares.⁶⁴ Indeed, the inspiration of Mycenaean ceramics, from various Aegean centres, is undeniable; however, this ceramic class also incorporates elements from the local Cypriot industry, specifically in terms of shapes and features (e.g. wishbone and lug-handles),⁶⁵ while, to a lesser extent, it also presents influences from the Levant,⁶⁶ such as the rare occurrence of bichrome decoration. It should be underscored that a small number of Aegean-style pottery is already attested in Phase V.2, that corresponds to the LCIIIC period, corroborating that Cypriot-made Aegean-style finewares did not appear abruptly in the 12th c. BC but were produced in a limited range of shapes and numbers already during the previous centuries.⁶⁷

Vessels in WPWm III ware from Phase V.1 of Kition-*Bamboula* are typified by a relatively gritty fabric, that is characteristic of the local production in the Larnaca region. It is light

63 On the issues regarding terminology see: Kling 1991; Jung 2012, pp. 83-84; Iacovou 2013b, pp. 589-590; Georgiou 2016; Mountjoy 2018, p. 19; Fischer, Bürge 2018, pp. 232-245.

64 Kling 1989a; Sherratt 1991; Georgiou 2018a; Georgiou 2018b; Mountjoy 2018.

65 Kling 1989b; Georgiou 2018a, pp. 38-40.

66 Kling 1989a, p. 139.

67 Graziadio 2017; Mountjoy 2018, pp. 31-82.

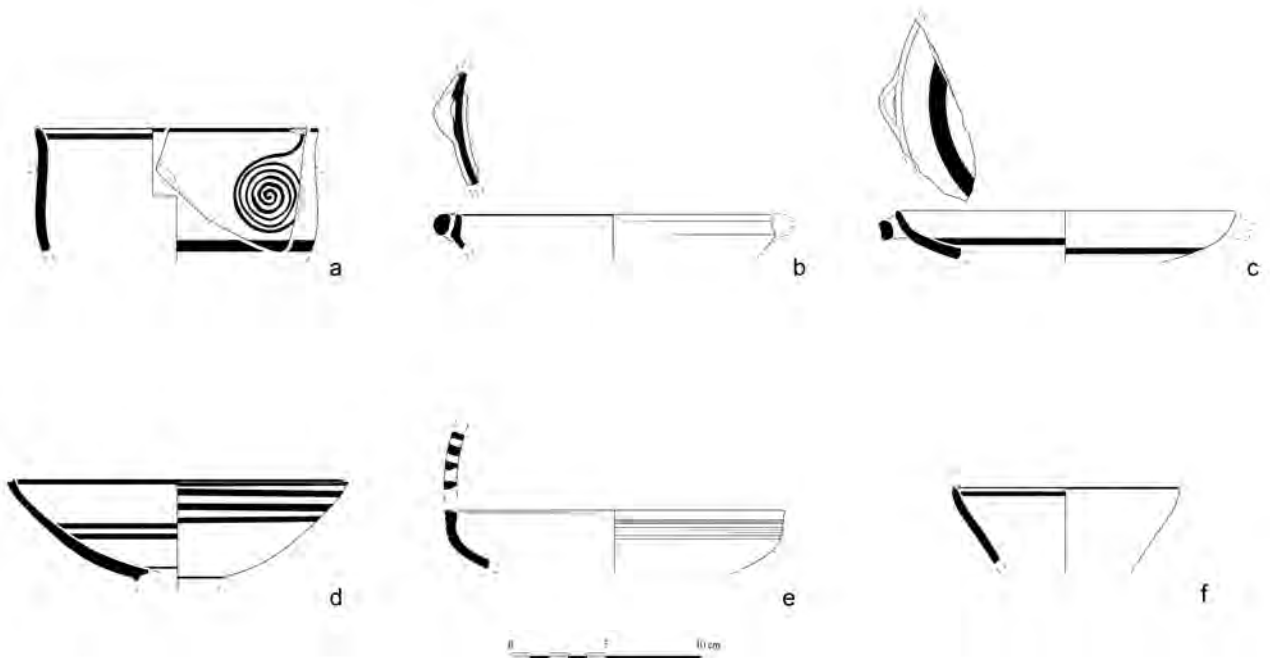


Figure 4 — White Painted Wheelmade III finewares from Kition-Bamboula Phase V.1: a) K17-221, b) K16-45, c) K17-51, d) K17-511, e) K17-50, f) K17-213. Drawings by J. Humbert © Mission de Kition.

pinkish/reddish-brown in colour, with relatively frequent inclusions, comprising mostly tiny or small-sized grits. The most popular form among the open vessels is the deep bowl (fig. 4a), with a characteristically bell-shaped body, flaring rim, a low, ring-base and a pair of horizontal loop handles. Deep bowls from Phase V.1 at *Bamboula* were mostly decorated by spiral motifs. Their inner surface was decorated by two thin horizontal bands on the top part of the rim, which seems to be a regional treatment.⁶⁸ Deep bowls were introduced in the repertoire of Cyprus-made Aegean-style finewares, already during the close of the 13th c., in limited numbers and in rather awkward forms.⁶⁹ During the 12th c. BC, they became the prevailing eating and drinking vessel in the local tableware sequence, to the detriment of the popularity of shallow bowls with varying profiles and attributes.⁷⁰

The most common shallow bowl variant within Phase V.1 is the angular form (Mountjoy's Types 8/9) (fig. 4b), but vessels with a conical/rounded profile are also attested (Types 6/7) (fig. 4c). Both types feature a pair of horizontal, strap handles and wide, shallow bodies.⁷¹ Other bowl

⁶⁸ Unlike, for instance, the solid inner surfaces of deep bowls from the Paphos region (Georgiou 2018a, p. 42).

⁶⁹ Sherratt 1991, pp. 190-191.

⁷⁰ Georgiou 2018a, p. 37.

⁷¹ In the classification of the various bowl variants, we follow the most recent and effective categorisation by Mountjoy 2018.

130 types are the handleless, conical bowls with a ridge in relief around the rim (fig. 4d) (Mountjoy's Type 1), known from other 12th c. contexts.⁷² Finally, a bowl variant found in small numbers within Phase V.1 is the one-handed bowl, with multiple incisions in relief on the outer part of the rim (Mountjoy's Type 12) (fig. 4e).

There were also a few fragmentary kylikes, most preserving a plain rim, conical body, and a long cylindrical stem with a wide foot and circular indentation below. The shape is rather rare in the local sequence of Aegean-style tablewares. Fragment K17-213 (fig. 4f) features a subtle carination below rim and could belong to a rare class of kylikes, which were produced in Cyprus under the influence of Late Minoan III paradigms.⁷³

Other WPWm ware open vessels from Phase V.1 at *Bamboula* are kraters, decorated with elaborate stemmed spirals. There were also a few fragments of amphoroid kraters, a much rarer form in the local production of finewares. The corpus includes K16-134 (fig. 5), a small-sized

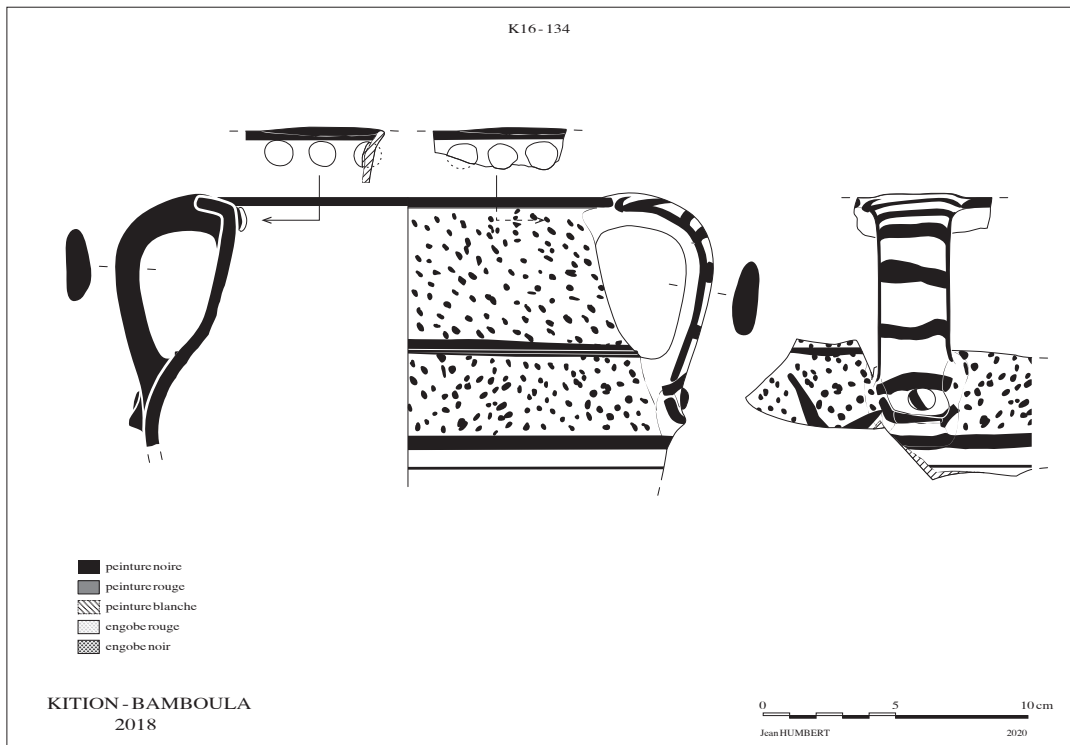


Figure 5 — Amphoroid krater in White Painted Wheelmade III ware from Kition-Bamboula Phase V.1: K16-134. Drawing by J. Humbert © Mission de Kition.

72 Examples of this form have been noted, among others, from various localities of Palaepaphos, e.g. *Mantissa* (Karageorghis 1965, Type A1, p. 174), *Eliomylia* (Karageorghis 1990, pl. LXXXVII.18) and *Evreti* (Georgiou 2016, p. 88), and Hala Sultan Tekke (Fischer, Bürge 2018, WPWM-B5, p. 235). See also Mountjoy 2018, pp. 89-91.

73 Examples are also attested at Hala Sultan Tekke (Mountjoy 2011).

amphoroid krater, with three circular pellets in relief on the upper handle attachment inside, and a single one in the lower part outside. This arrangement evidently emulates the nail attachments employed in metallic prototypes. Closed vessels in this fabric are not as common. In addition to jugs and juglets, closed vessels from Phase V.1 at *Bamboula* contained a few feeding jugs, a fragment of a spouted jug and a fragment of a small hydria/amphoriskos.

The following Phase IV.2, dating to the 11th c. BC, encapsulates further developments in the ceramic industry (figs. 6-7). In this occupation level, PWP and White Painted (WP) I, of the LCIIIB



Figure 6 — Proto-White Painted vessels from Kition-*Bamboula* Phase IV.2, found in association with the jar-burial (see figure 10): a) K17-110, b) K17-111. Drawings by J. Humbert © Mission de Kition. Photos © Mission de Kition.

and the CGI periods respectively, constitute the dominant finewares. There are also minimum numbers of WPWm ware vessels, that possibly correspond to residual fragments from the previous horizons, while the handmade finewares (White Slip and Base-ring) disappear entirely. The best parallels for the 11th c. material from *Bamboula* can be drawn from the contemporary levels of *Kathari* and *Chrysopolitissa*, as well as from tombs.⁷⁴

The *Bamboula* strata allow for a detailed consideration of the evolution in the island's production and use of ceramic finewares, from the WPWm III to the PWP and WPI during this transitional horizon. The PWP ware comprises a number of vessel shapes and decorative motifs already attested in WPWm III, but also incorporates elements from the repertoire of shapes of other LCIIIA pottery wares (such as the Plain ware), in conjunction with several new Aegean types and, to a lesser extent, betraying Levantine influences.⁷⁵ It is noteworthy that no new assimilations of Aegean elements can be traced within the WPI ware, the immediate successor of the PWP.⁷⁶ As regards ceramic technology, it has been argued that, following the manufacture of WPWm III ware on the fast-wheel, PWP and WPI wares represent a highly industrialised production, which is characterised by standardisation and mass production.⁷⁷ Vessels in PWP ware in Phase IV.2 of *Bamboula* present the same attributes as PWP samples from other localities at Kition, characterised by a buff/brownish to pinkish/greenish coloured fabric, which is porous and contains several small whitish and occasionally fewer small black inclusions. The firing of the monochrome matt black paint to brownish, orange or reddish hues is a distinctive characteristic of the ware (fig. 6a-b). This technological feature is often used as the principal criterion for distinguishing PWP from WPI ware, considering that vessels of the latter ware were decorated with black matt paint that was better fired and adhered more effectively onto the vessel's surface.⁷⁸

A wide repertoire of open and closed shapes in PWP and WPI ware are documented in this stratum. The most common drinking and eating vessel of Phase IV.2 at *Bamboula* is the footed deep bowl, evolving from the deep bowl of WPWm III. Its form continued to be produced throughout the CG period.⁷⁹ In Phase IV.2, the earliest footed bowls present the bell-shaped body with the flaring rim, that characterises WPWm III ware (fig. 7a), but the low, ring-base is now replaced by a low, conical foot.⁸⁰ The vessels are decorated by at least two wavy lines on the handle zone and by a group of horizontal lines and bands below the handles. The interior surface is most frequently painted solid, with a reserved horizontal line on the rim. It is

74 Georgiadou 2012, with references; Georgiadou 2013, pp. 248-274; Mountjoy 2018, pp. 618-624, 668-674.

75 Pieridou 1973; Iacovou 1988; Iacovou 1991; Georgiadou 2013, pp. 373-401; Mountjoy 2011-2012.

76 This is the case for the entire Cypro-Geometric period, and it is only by the very beginning of the Cypro-Archaic period that a few, new aegeanising elements are attested in Cypriot pottery. See Georgiadou 2015, pp. 4-5.

77 Sherratt 1991, p. 193.

78 Iacovou 1991, p. 200.

79 As was the case at other Cypriot centres, e.g. at Paleapaphos, Lapithos and Salamis: see Georgiadou 2012, p. 328, fig. 4.

80 E.g. Mountjoy 2018, fig. 307, no. 339 (Kition-Area I, Floor III-II); fig. 309, no. 352 (Kition-Area I, Floor II-I); fig. 336, nos. 624, 625 (Kition-Area II, Floor II).

noteworthy that these bowls often present a reddish paint, as their counterparts in WPWm III. This type may be assigned to the transition between WPWm III and PWP.⁸¹

The commonest footed deep bowl type in this level is the one with banded decoration (figs. 6a and 7b) in PWP or WPI, but the distinction between the two types is not always unequivocal. Regarding morphology, the bell-shaped body evolves into a sharply, double-curved profile, with a better formed conical foot. The decoration also betrays signs of the development from PWP to WPI types: the earliest examples bear a solid painted interior surface, most commonly with a reserved line on the rim, whereas the latest examples bear banded decoration on the interior and exterior surface. Geometric decoration on the handle zone of the footed deep bowls becomes an established feature for WPI ware, comprising a variety of motifs (fig. 7c). Among them, lozenges constitute a very popular and distinctive design in the regional production of Kition, employed in different compositions.⁸²

The repertoire of open vessels also includes characteristic shapes in PWP and WPI, such as cups, kalathoi and kylikes, which are far less represented in comparison to the footed deep bowl.⁸³ Another relatively rare shape in Phase IV.2 is the shallow bowl, which is represented, among others, by a peculiar miniature WPI handleless variant (fig. 7d). It is decorated by a well-known LBA motif, the simple ladder-pattern, in a horizontal band on the lower body. This is indeed a rare motif, principally attested in the pottery of the 11th c. that evidently echoes the

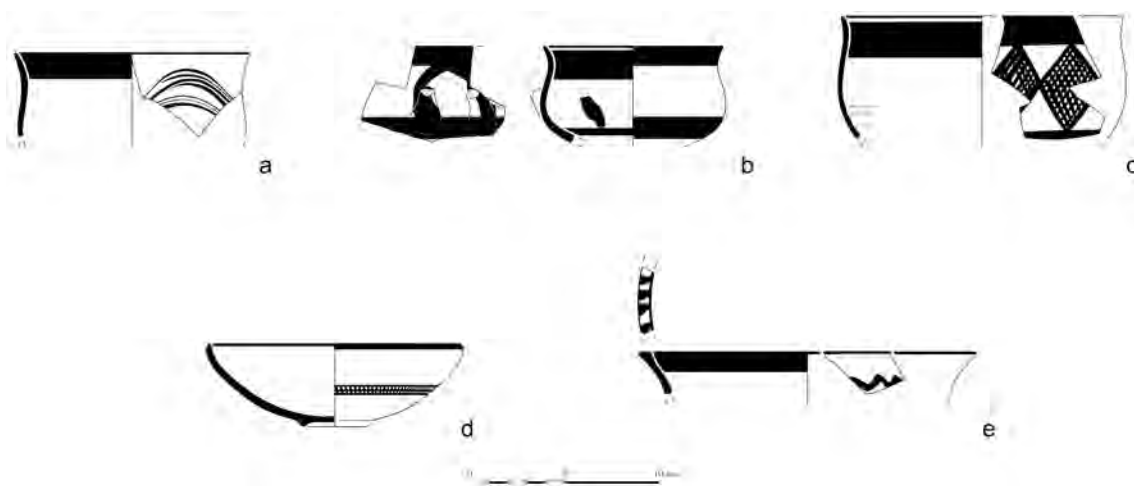


Figure 7 — Selected examples of Proto-White Painted and White Painted I wares from Kition-Bamboula Phase IV.2: a) K18-274, b) K18-275, c) K16-03, d) K18-288, e) K17-125. Drawings by J. Humbert © Mission de Kition.

81 This is an example of the so-called “wavy line style”, a much contested pottery class: Iacovou 1991; Mountjoy 2017; Mountjoy 2018, p. 27.

82 Georgiadou 2013, pp. 260-262, 248-304 regarding the CG pottery workshops of Kition.

83 E.g. Mountjoy 2018, fig. 336 (Kition-Area II, Floor II), a representative assemblage of PWP vessels.

decoration of White Slip bowls. Different variants of amphorae and amphoriskoi (such as belly handled and vertical handled, **fig. 7e**) together with variants of jugs and juglets (round-mouthed, spouted and trefoil-mouthed, **fig. 6b**) in PWP and WPI and a few stirrup-jars of the small-sized version in PWP ware compose the repertoire of closed vessels of the 11th c. single-coloured painted finewares at *Bamboula*. Principal motifs featured in the decorations of the closed vessels are the triangles and lozenges, latticed or hatched, as well as the wavy line, as for instance on the neck zone of the vertical-handled amphoriskos (**fig. 7e**), and on the neck and shoulder zone of the miniature trefoil-mouthed juglet (**fig. 6b**).⁸⁴

In addition to the elucidation of the establishment of Aegean-style pottery in the 12th c. BC and the development of the matt-painted wheelmade finewares into PWP and WPI in the 11th c., the ceramic analyses undertaken on the material from the stratified contexts of Kition-*Bamboula* are shedding light on the connection between the LBA Base-ring ware and the EIA Black Slip ware, that has been seldom addressed in past scholarship.⁸⁵ A very specific and characteristic shape that encapsulates the stages of development is the round-mouthed juglet, with vertically ridged surfaces that typify the production of both Base-ring and Black Slip ware, in the so-called *Bucchero* style (**fig. 8**).⁸⁶ The ceramic studies of Phase V.1 recorded a number of *Bucchero* juglets, which, unlike the traditional hard and dark-coloured fabric of Base-ring ware vessels, were made in calcareous and less plastic clays, perhaps corresponding to a transitional product linking the production of Base-ring and Black Slip wares. Interestingly, these specimens were either handmade or turned on a slow rotational device (**fig. 8a-c**).⁸⁷ This intriguing observation is indicative of the experimental character of the island's ceramic industry during the 12th c. BC and the, evidently gradual, establishment of wheel-forming techniques in Cyprus.⁸⁸

Already in the transitional levels of late LCIIIA and early LCIIIB layers in Phase IV.2, we note the occurrence of solely wheelmade Black Slip juglets (**fig. 8d**). These early Black Slip juglets in *Bucchero* decoration of LCIIIB date, made from a pale-coloured fabric, covered by a dark slip occasionally fired to reddish colorations, relate to the products of the LCIIIA, which emulated the appearance of Base-ring vessels.⁸⁹ The vertical ribbing comprises a characteristic decorative treatment for the Black Slip ware for the entire CG period,⁹⁰ demonstrating the perseverance of this element within the Cypriot ceramic industry throughout the LBA and EIA production.

⁸⁴ Fourrier, Georgiadou 2021, pp. 287-288. This juglet together with the footed deep bowl K17-110, also illustrated here, were deposited as burial gifts for an infant jar burial (see below).

⁸⁵ See Åström 1972, p. 425; Sherratt 1991, n. 4; Steel 2010, p. 112; Georgiadou 2017, p. 102.

⁸⁶ Åström 1972, pp. 425-430. It has been suggested that the decorative treatment in either ribs or grooves imitates metallic vessels or the natural form of the poppy seed (Åström 1972, p. 430).

⁸⁷ Numerous such examples in handmade, as well as wheelmade forms, were found inside Tomb III at Kition-*Chysopolitissa* (Karageorghis 1960, p. 554).

⁸⁸ See discussion in Crewe 2007a; Georgiou 2018b.

⁸⁹ Steel 2010, p. 112. It is worth-mentioning here the rare attestation of a WPI jug from Kition Tomb 11 which is a close imitation of a Base-ring I jug, including the painted ridge decoration (Karageorghis 1976, p. 79, fig. 2, pl. XIII.3).

⁹⁰ See for example Georgiadou 2012, p. 333, fig. 7, 1-4, CG Black Slip from Kition.

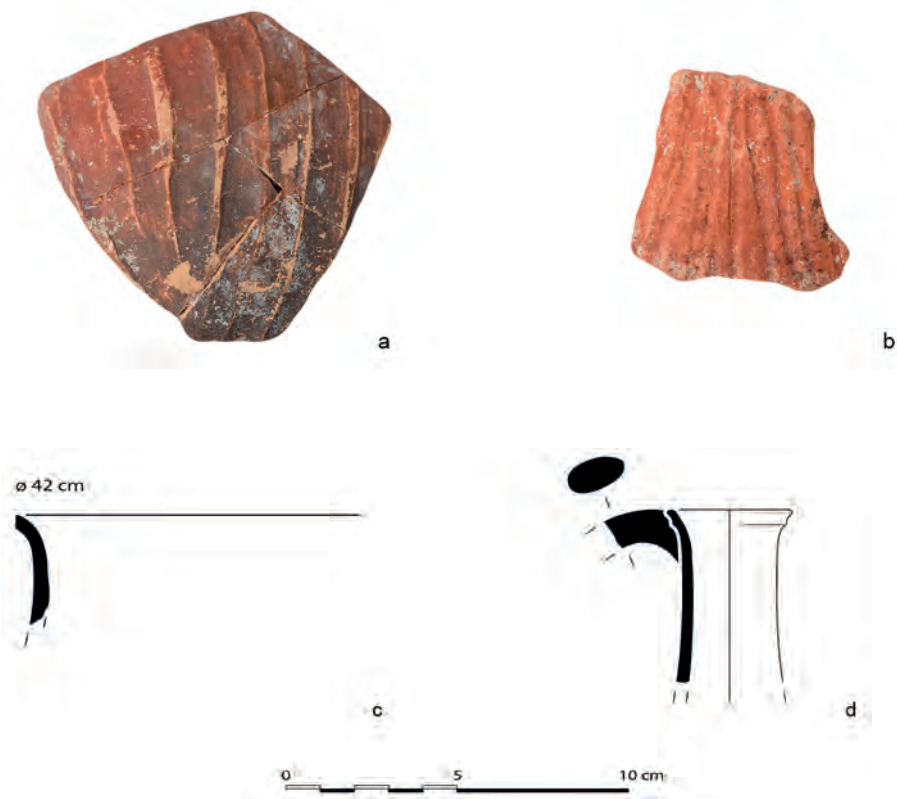


Figure 8 — Selected examples of Bucchero vessels with ridged surfaces, from Phases V.1-IV.2: a) K17-219 (wheelmade), b) K17-202 (slow wheel), c) K16-515 (handmade), d) K17-37 (wheelmade). Drawings by J. Humbert © Mission de Kition. Photos © Mission de Kition.

IMPORTED MARITIME TRANSPORT CONTAINERS AS EVIDENCE OF SEABORNE TRADE

The stratified archaeological layers of Kition-*Bamboula* contained substantial numbers of Maritime Transport Containers (fig. 9), that is specialised ceramic vessels, the primary function of which was to ensure the maritime transshipment of commodities to geographically distant destinations.⁹¹ In the temporal context under consideration, the so-called ‘Canaanite jars’ were the most common form of containers circulating in the eastern Mediterranean.⁹² Seminal studies have distinguished the large corpus of these jars into variable morphological

⁹¹ See Marcus 2002, pp. 409-411; Bevan 2014, pp. 388-397; Knapp, Demesticha 2017.

⁹² The term ‘Canaanite jar’ was coined by Grace 1956.

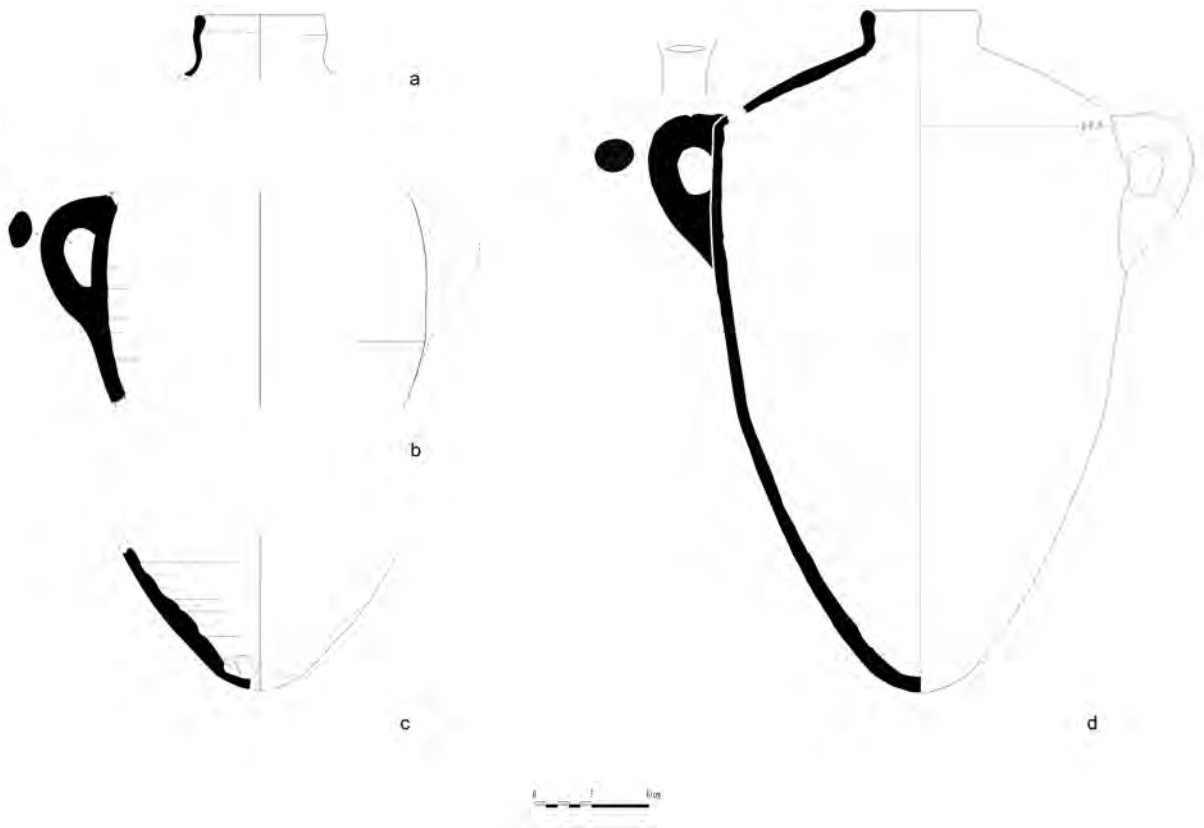


Figure 9 — Selected examples of Levantine transport vessels ('Canaanite jars') from Phases V.1-IV.2: a) K16-164, b) K16-512, c) K18-828, d) KEF-1480. Drawings by J. Humbert, and KEF-1480 by A. Georgiadou © Mission de Kition.

categories,⁹³ that correspond to the temporal evolution of several regional production centres across the Levant.⁹⁴ Canaanite jars were employed for the transshipment of a plethora of commodities, mostly wine, oil and resins.⁹⁵ Other types of Maritime Transport Containers are the 'Egyptian jars' produced in New Kingdom Egypt and the 'Transport Stirrup Jars' produced in the southern Aegean, mostly in Crete. The three classes constitute the visible hallmarks

⁹³ Among others: Grace 1956; Amiran 1969, pp. 102-103; Bikai 1987; Killebrew 2007; Pedrazzi 2007; Gilboa, Sharon, Boaretto 2008.

⁹⁴ There were several provenance studies undertaken on various 'Canaanite-jar' assemblages, including: Jones, Vaughan 1988; McGovern 2000; Sugerman 2000; Cohen-Weinberger, Goren 2004; Smith *et al.* 2004; Killebrew 2007, pp. 173-182; Day *et al.* 2011; Ownby *et al.* 2014; Gilboa, Waiman-Barak, Sharon 2015; Waiman-Barak, Gilboa 2016.

⁹⁵ *E.g.* Serpico *et al.* 2003; McGovern 2000; Negbi, Negbi 1993.

of the flourishing commercial links maintained by the sophisticated states of the eastern Mediterranean in the late-2nd millennium BC.

Maritime Transport Containers were found in copious numbers within the earliest occupation stratum at *Bamboula*, Phase V.2 (13th c. BC). Canaanite jars are by far the most sizeable transport vessels in this stratum, with much fewer quantities of Egyptian jars and Late Minoan Transport Stirrup Jars.

Fragments of Canaanite jars are equally abundant in the subsequent Phase V.1 (12th c. BC). The material is rather fragmentary, and it is, therefore, challenging to precisely discern the types represented. It appears that all extant specimens correspond to the varied morphologies of the 'bellied' category,⁹⁶ which is the prevailing type within the Cypriot contexts of the LBA,⁹⁷ and the prevailing type circulating in the Mediterranean in the 12th c. BC. The Canaanite jars of Phase V.1 feature thick and rounded or folded rims (fig. 9a), relatively short cylindrical/concave necks, subtly carinated shoulders, with two opposed, vertical, loop handles (fig. 9b) and a pointed, button-toe base (fig. 9c). At least seventeen different fabrics were identified macroscopically among the corpus of Canaanite jars from Phases V.1-2.

As at other Cypriot sites, Canaanite jars from Kition-*Bamboula* occasionally bear post-firing, incised marks. The marks are mostly simple and generic (*e.g.*, a cross, parallel lines etc.), but at least one specimen from Phase V.1 corresponds to a complex mark, tentatively identified as sign CM041 of the Cypro-Minoan script.⁹⁸ The practice of marking pottery vessels was especially common in Cyprus, noted on locally produced storage and utilitarian vessels, but also on imported Late Helladic finewares and Levantine commercial amphorae. This could signify the involvement of Cypriot merchants, or agents with knowledge of this practice, in the distribution of pottery vessels from the Aegean to the Levant, and vice-versa, via Cyprus.⁹⁹

The 12th c. levels at *Bamboula* also contained limited numbers of the so-called Egyptian jars, that is commercial amphorae, largely emulating the form of Canaanite jars, but undergoing their own morphological evolution.¹⁰⁰ Beyond Egypt, these vessels had a limited distribution, with very few instances reported from Cyprus so far.¹⁰¹ The numbers of Egyptian jars in Phase V.1 at *Bamboula* are minimal and could be residual from the previous level, considering that the production and circulation of these containers diminished in the 12th c. BC,¹⁰² unlike the production and circulation of Canaanite jars, which continued unscathed in the post-1200 BC era.

⁹⁶ Killebrew's Type 21 (Killebrew 2007, pp. 167-170) and Pedrazzi's Types 4-1 and 4-2 (Pedrazzi 2007, pp. 65-67, figs. 3.16-3.17).

⁹⁷ See discussion in Georgiou 2014; Pedrazzi 2016, pp. 67-68; Pedrazzi 2022.

⁹⁸ K17-204 = KEF 1475, from excavation unit S10-143. The study of marked pottery from Kition-*Bamboula* is undertaken by Dr Cassandra Donnely. We thank her for sharing the preliminary results of her study.

⁹⁹ Hirschfeld 2002, Hirschfeld 2004, Hirschfeld 2009.

¹⁰⁰ Wood 1987, Aston 2004, Bourriau 2004.

¹⁰¹ Eriksson 1995; Fischer, Bürge 2018, pp. 224-226.

¹⁰² Bourriau 2004, p. 92.

In the subsequent Phase IV.2, which dates to the 11th c. BC, the evidence for the continuous importation of commercial jars remains substantial. The only Maritime Transport Containers presented in this phase are Canaanite jars, with a single, possibly residual, example of an Egyptian jar. The commonest type of Canaanite jar at *Bamboula* is a development of the ‘bellied type’ with a cylindrical body, a carinated, and more or less bulging shoulder and a very short neck (fig. 9d).¹⁰³ There were also examples of handles bearing post-firing marks that vary from simple horizontal lines to more composite signs. The Canaanite jar KEF-1480 (fig. 9d), which was used as receptacle for an infant burial (see below), was incised with a thick horizontal band on the upper part of one of its handles, together with three short vertical and parallel incisions on the opposite shoulder zone, a very rare kind of mark.¹⁰⁴

The form of this Levantine transport jar is characteristic of the production of the southern Levant during Iron I (1200-1000 BC).¹⁰⁵ The shape is attested at *Bamboula* by a second, complete jar, found *in situ* during the excavations of the French Mission in the 1970s, while another, identical jar was found in the settlement of Salamis, and was similarly used for an infant burial, dating to the 11th c. BC.¹⁰⁶

INTRA-SETTLEMENT INFANT JAR-BURIALS

The recent fieldwork at Kition-*Bamboula* brought to light new data for an intriguing mortuary practice that is seldom encountered in Cyprus, that of intra-settlement, infant jar-burials (fig. 10).¹⁰⁷ The burial was found to the north of an architectural unit, in a space of undetermined nature, probably a street, corresponding to Phase IV.2 (fig. 3b, indicated as L889). It was buried within a shallow pit, underneath the street level and was backfilled with soil containing material dating to the 11th c. BC.¹⁰⁸

The jar (fig. 9d) was cut at shoulder-height to place the remains of a perinatal, that is to say, of an individual who passed away during a period extending from one month before birth to one month after birth.¹⁰⁹ The cut, top part was used to cover the body of the infant. The interment was accompanied by a perforated amber bead, probably used as a pendant, as well as a bronze fibula.¹¹⁰ Amber jewellery was not that common in LBA and EIA Cyprus; when occurring, it is associated with wealthy and high-status burials.¹¹¹ In the pit that contained the jar-burial were

¹⁰³ Pedrazzi's Type 5.5: Pedrazzi 2007, pp. 309-312, figs. 6-7.

¹⁰⁴ Fourrier, Georgiadou 2021, pp. 289-291.

¹⁰⁵ It is identified as Pedrazzi's Type 5-5 (Pedrazzi 2007, p. 79, fig. 3.28).

¹⁰⁶ Fourrier, Georgiadou 2021, pp. 290, 296-298.

¹⁰⁷ A detailed presentation of the infant jar-burial found in 2017 at Kition-*Bamboula* was published in Fourrier, Georgiadou 2021.

¹⁰⁸ Fourrier, Georgiadou 2021, pp. 285-286.

¹⁰⁹ The human remains were studied by Bérénice Chamel.

¹¹⁰ Fourrier, Georgiadou 2021, pp. 291-295, figs. 20-24.

¹¹¹ *E.g.* Kalavasos-Agios Dimitrios Tomb 11 (South 2000, pp. 349-353). See also Keswani 2004, p. 131; Fourrier, Georgiadou 2021, pp. 294-295.



Figure 10 — a) Infant jar burial and b) detail of the skeletal remains and bronze fibula inside the jar. Photo © Mission de Kition.

two small vases that were deposited upright: a PWP footed bowl and a PWP juglet with pinched mouth (fig. 6a-b; see above).¹¹² Both were of miniature size and were thus appropriate offerings for the infant burial. There were also animal bones that could represent food offerings.¹¹³

This jar burial was not the first attestation of this mortuary practice at *Bamboula*. In 1977, a jar burial was exposed by the French Archaeological Mission on the southern section of the excavated portion of the settlement, which was also dated to the 11th c. BC.¹¹⁴ The burial facility was a Levantine transport jar of a type similar to the recent find, containing the remains of a foetus.¹¹⁵

Intra-settlement infant jar-burials comprise a rather rare, but relatively long-lived, phenomenon in Cyprus.¹¹⁶ The earliest examples of this mortuary practice are attested at Level IB at Enkomi, dating to the LCI period.¹¹⁷ Three other jar-burials found at Enkomi, were assigned to Level IIIA, which roughly corresponds to the LCIIIA period.¹¹⁸ All three cases concern infant burials using imported Canaanite jars, placed inside pits in relation to walls. The latest jar-burial from Enkomi is assigned to the final occupation phases of the city (Level IIIB, late

¹¹² Fourier, Georgiadou 2021, pp. 287-289, figs. 14-15.

¹¹³ Fourier, Georgiadou 2021, p. 289. The animal remains were studied by Armelle Gardeisen, Katerina Papayianni, Tatiana Theodoropoulou.

¹¹⁴ Yon, Caubet 1985, p. 29.

¹¹⁵ Fourier, Georgiadou 2021, pp. 283, 285.

¹¹⁶ See overview in Steel 1995, pp. 200-201; Alpe 2008; Fourier, Georgiadou 2021.

¹¹⁷ Dikaios 1969-1971, pp. 28, 157, pl. 6.1; Crewe 2007b, p. 251; Kiely 2018, p. 269.

¹¹⁸ Room 79: Dikaios 1969-1971, p. 109, Inv. 3064; Room 72D: *ibid.*, p. 115, Inv. 3484/3, pl. 65.10; Room 81: *ibid.*, p. 116, Inv. 3483/3.

12th-11th c. BC).¹¹⁹ The most prolific evidence for infant jar-burials comes from the settlement of Salamis, where excavations conducted by the University of Lyon exposed the remains of eighteen infants deposited within Levantine commercial jars, dating to the 11th c. BC and possibly extending to the 10th.¹²⁰

Neo-natal burials in jars was a rather common practice in the Mediterranean world, and especially in the Levant.¹²¹ The selection of a jar as an interment facility for deceased new-borns has been understood variously, viz. as a metaphor for the womb, with symbolic connotations, returning the deceased infant to prenatal state, for rebirth or regeneration, as symbolism for the regeneration of the land, or as a way to care for the infant.¹²² The placement of jar-burials within residential areas has been interpreted as a means of keeping the deceased infants within the community, and maintaining the special bonds with their families,¹²³ or that the infants did not have access to formal burials and were thus separated from the adult deceased of the family.

We are far from fully grasping the mortuary treatment of perinatals in LBA and EIA Cyprus, as the limited data unearthed thus far cannot certainly account for the high infant mortality rate in the pre-modern world.¹²⁴ The new infant-jar burial from *Bamboula* adds to the limited corpus of this intriguing burial practice on the island, which is so far only attested at Enkomi-Salamis and Kition, suggesting a regional element in burial customs within eastern Cyprus. It further attests to a kind of continuity of LBA intra-settlement mortuary rituals into the transitional and highly transformative 11th c. horizon. The practice apparently becomes obsolete after this horizon.

The interment stands out for its wealth, considering that it involved the burying of an imported Levantine commercial amphora, with a bead made of amber –an exotic material– and a bronze fibula, presumably securing a now-lost garment, with ceramic and possibly also food offerings. The act demonstrates an elaborate and symbolic deposition within the town's domestic space.

EVIDENCE FOR PURPLE-DYEING

The renewed excavations within the late 12th to early 11th c. BC layers at Kition-*Bamboula* exposed an exceptional find that attests to the operation of purple-dyeing.¹²⁵ Fragments of a large storage vessel, identified as a pithoid jar,¹²⁶ with distinctive, purple-coloured residue on

119 *Ibid.*, p. 195, pl. 40.2.

120 Calvet 1980.

121 See Ilan 1995, pp. 126-127; Hallote 2001, pp. 37-38; Nakhai 2018; Matney 2018.

122 Ilan 1995, p. 135; Hallote 2001, pp. 37-38; Orrelle 2008; Nakhai 2018, pp. 105-106.

123 Streit 2016, pp. 180-181.

124 Reaching 40% and over. See Woods 2007; Nakhai 2008, p. 295. For child burials in LBA-EIA Cyprus in general see Steel 1995, pp. 200-201; Keswani 2004, p. 30; Fourrier, Georgiadou 2021.

125 A detailed presentation of the purple-stained jar from Kition-*Bamboula* was published in Georgiadou, Georgiou 2019. See also Fourrier *et al.* forthcoming.

126 K18-516. See Georgiadou, Georgiou 2019, p. 109, fig. 2.

the inner surface (fig. 11) were found spread out in a restricted area within the street separating the two domestic units of Phase IV.2. The vessel was not contained in its original context but was used as filling material. Its context provides a solid *terminus ante quem* for its use during or before the late 12th-early 11th c. BC.

The purple-stained pithoid jar was preserved in fragments, with its rim and base missing. It was constructed in a coarse and gritty fabric and bears traces of burning on several parts.¹²⁷ Chemical analyses undertaken on the purple-coloured stains of its inner surface corroborated our macroscopic observations of a molluscan source, specifically, *Hexaplex trunculus* murex species.¹²⁸ The jar was evidently involved in the complex *chaîne opératoire* for the production

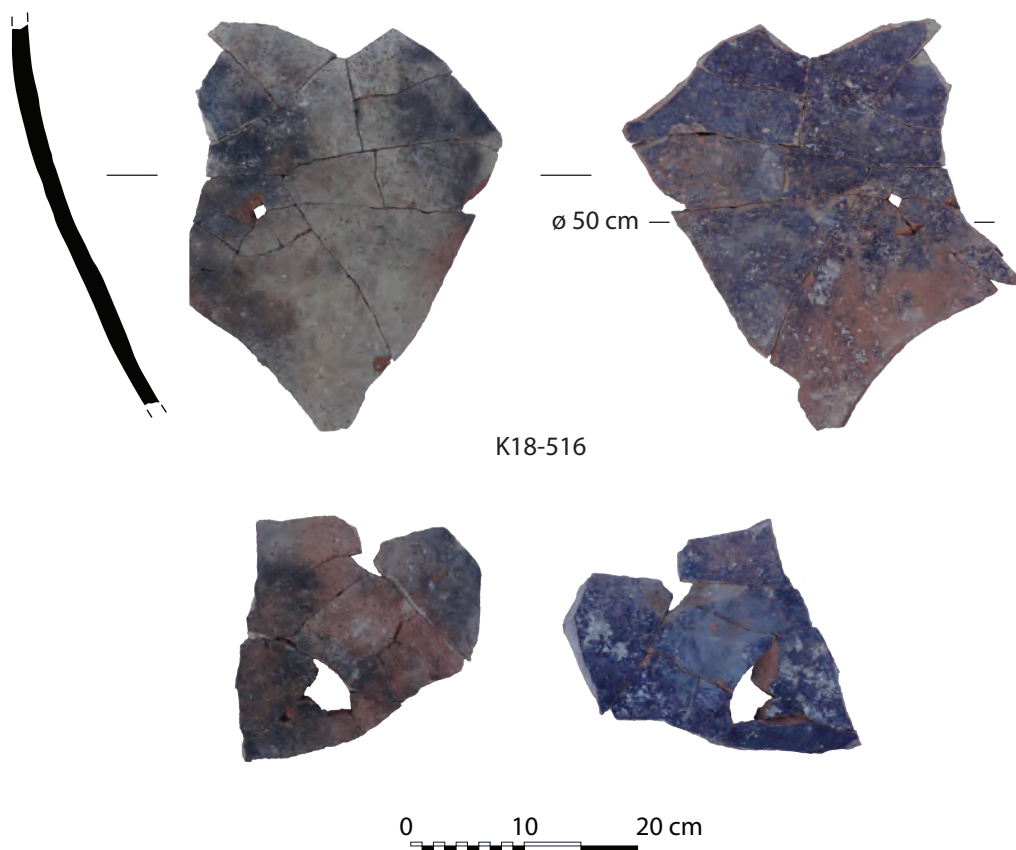


Figure 11 — Pithoid jar (K18-516) with purple-stains inside. Drawing by A. Georgiadou. Photos © Mission de Kition.

¹²⁷ Fourier *et al.* forthcoming.

¹²⁸ Garnier 2019; Fourier *et al.* forthcoming.

142 of purple dye, which was valued as a precious textile colourant. The economic and social value of purple-dyed garments in antiquity is demonstrated from various sources, *e.g.* the inclusion of purple-dye in Linear B tablets, the depiction of murex shells on Phoenician coins of the 4th c. BC, written sources mentioning that purple-dye corresponded to its weight in silver, etc.¹²⁹ The vessels employed in this intricate process are conventionally termed vats and their morphology, like the recently excavated specimen from Kition-Bamboula, was suited for this process.¹³⁰

Evidence for purple-dyeing in Cyprus is exceptionally rare. During the recent excavations at the LBA settlement of Hala Sultan Tekke, a mudbrick feature, possibly a basin, preserved traces of purple colour, which could correspond to a different type of utensil employed in the purple-dyeing process.¹³¹ Other evidence for purple-dye production in ancient Cyprus is indirect, and involves the excavation of large assemblages of smashed murex shells from later Iron Age sites, such as from the industrial complex of *Hadjiabdullah* at Kouklia (Palaepaphos),¹³² and the Cypro-Achaic sanctuary at Polis (Marion)-*Peristeries*.¹³³

By contrast, ceramic receptacles with a postulated use in the process of textile purple-dyeing are known from LBA and Iron Age contexts of the Levant, at sites such as Minet el-Beida (Ugarit), Sarepta, Kabri, Tell Keisan and Tel Shiqmona.¹³⁴ The latter site yielded the largest number of potsherds with purple-coloured stains,¹³⁵ with a comparable morphology to the *Bamboula* jar.

Conclusions

The recent excavations at Kition-Bamboula have provided precious insights into the transformative and rarely addressed 12th-to-11th c. BC horizon of Cyprus, which marks innovations, as well as continuities in the material culture, and the island's idiosyncratic politico-economic forms. The securely dated residential levels at *Bamboula* afford a rare glimpse on the developments in the island's ceramic industry during this transitional era. The 12th c. BC levels illustrate the prevalence of wheelmade finewares with stylistic elements deriving from the Aegean, that also incorporate aspects of the local handmade ceramic wares, and their development into the PWP and WPI finewares of the 11th c. BC. The ceramic remains at Kition-Bamboula encapsulate, on the one hand, the transformation of the fluid nature of the ceramic industry in the 12th c. BC, attesting to the experimentation with various construction techniques, towards a more normalised wheelmade pottery production in the 11th c. BC, and, on the other, the prevalence of

129 See Veropoulidou 2012, p. 103; Macdonald 2017, pp. 24-74; Kremer 2017.

130 For an overview of the procedure entailed in the production of purple dye, see: Cardon 2007; Alfaro-Giner 2013; Koren 2013; Alfaro-Giner, Mylona 2014; Cooksey 2016; Cooksey 2017; Kanold 2017; Kalaitzaki *et al.* 2017.

131 Fischer, Bürge 2018, p. 171; Sabatini 2018; Fischer 2019, p. 223.

132 Iacovou, Mylona 2019.

133 Smith 2002, p. 143.

134 Schaeffer 1951; Karmon, Spanier 1988; Koren 2013, pp. 52-53, 59; Sukenik *et al.* 2017.

135 Shalvi 2020, p. 1890, fig. 5.

regional elements in the pottery production during this horizon along with the amalgamation of various stimuli from within and beyond the island.

The material brought to light at the settlement of *Bamboula* demonstrates that Kition functioned as a prominent emporium from the time of its foundation in the 13th c. BC onwards. The substantial numbers of Canaanite jars contained in the 12th and 11th c. levels attest to the continuity of intense interregional commercial activities between the Cypriot and Levantine communities during the period following the collapse of several of the palatial and imperial LBA political centres during the decades around 1200 BC. The disintegration of the highly centralised interregional commerce prompted the predominance of a new dynamic economic system that favoured entrepreneurship in smaller, regional spheres.¹³⁶ It was during the post-crisis era that the Cypriots rose to the forefront of the decentralised commercial strategies that characterised the Mediterranean economy and throughout the EIA, Cyprus was a nexus for small-scale interregional commerce.¹³⁷ The impressive numbers of commercial jars within the post-1200 BC contexts at Kition, as corroborated by the latest excavations at *Bamboula*, demonstrate that the harbour-town's communities contributed to this new type of interregional commerce. The corpus of Maritime Transport Containers from Kition, as well as from other centres in Cyprus, and beyond, will be the focus of a newly established, ERC Starting Grant, at the University of Cyprus, titled ComPAS, which employs an array of interdisciplinary methodologies, to record and analyse these ceramic vessels, as indispensable indicators for the evolution of long-distance trade in the Mediterranean.

What is more, the newly excavated infant jar-burial within the residential limits of the *Bamboula* settlement provides additional grounds that this distinctive mortuary rite, which was first attested in the LBA, lingered on into the 11th c.¹³⁸ Indeed, while it is well-established that the 11th c. BC inaugurated a new era as regards burial customs, considering the shift to extra-mural necropoleis, the continuity of the previously attested tradition of infant jar-burials in 11th c. contexts provides a link with LBA burial practices and corroborates the period's transitional character.¹³⁹

Finally, the late 12th to early 11th c. BC levels of *Bamboula* contained tangible archaeological attestations for the operation of the costly and time-consuming process of murex purple-dyeing in Cyprus. The dyeing of purple-red garments constituted an intricate and multi-level *chaîne opératoire*, entangling a large number of craftspeople, specialised tools, the employment of technical expertise and a wealthy clientele appreciating the ideological and symbolic values entailed in this luxurious end-result. This is a significant indication for the perseverance of an urban lifestyle at Kition and the operation of centralised control in charge of this industry.

We anticipate that the conclusive study of the critical data encapsulated in the consecutive and secure contexts at *Bamboula*, currently under preparation for publication, will shed light

136 Sherratt 2016.

137 Sherratt 2003; Bell 2006, pp. 91-93; Broodbank 2013, pp. 472-473; Killebrew 2018.

138 Perhaps also into the 10th c. BC, considering the evidence from Salamis.

139 Fourrier 2021, pp. 64-67.

144 on the long history of Kition, especially the 12th-to-11th c. BC transition that has long remained in the shadows.

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Abbreviations

CA: Cypro-Archaic
CG: Cypro-Geometric
EIA: Early Iron Age
LBA: Late Bronze Age
LC: Late Cypriot
PWP: Proto-White Painted
WP: White Painted
WPWm: White Painted Wheelmade

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